Volume proposal

_The Handbook of Japanese Historical Linguistics_

Volume editors: Bjarke Frellesvig, Satoshi Kinsui, John Whitman

I. Editors’ profiles

**Bjarke Frellesvig** (Ph.D., University of Copenhagen, 1993)
Professor of Japanese Linguistics, University of Oxford; Director of the Research Centre for Japanese Language and Linguistics, Oxford; Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Frellesvig has worked mainly on changes in and reconstruction of Japanese phonology and morphology, more recently also on syntax. He is the author of _A history of the Japanese language_ (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and _A study in diachronic phonology: The onbin sound changes in Japanese_ (Aarhus University Press, 1995), and the editor of several volumes on Japanese linguistics, including _Proto-Japanese_ (with John Whitman, John Benjamins, 2008), _Current issues in the history and structure of Japanese_ (with Masayoshi Shibatani and JC Smith, Kurosio, 2007). He is presently directing a large AHRC funded international research project on the syntax of pre-modern Japanese, based at the University of Oxford.

**Satoshi Kinsui** (Ph.D., Osaka University, 2006)

**John Whitman** (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1985)
Professor of Linguistics, Cornell University; Director, Division of Crosslinguistic Studies, National Institute for Japanese Language and...
Linguistics, Tokyo. Whitman works on comparative syntax and historical linguistics with a primary focus on East Asian languages. He co-authored *Kaku, gojun, to tōgo kōzō* [Case, word order, and syntactic structure] (with Kōichi Takezawa, Kenkyūsha, 1998) and was co-editor of *Grammatical change: Origins, nature, outcomes* (with Dianne Jonas and Andrew Garrett, Oxford University Press, 2011) and *Proto-Japanese* (with Bjarke Frellesvig, John Benjamins, 2008). He is the author of numerous articles on Japanese and Korean generative syntax as well as the history of these two languages.

II. Timeline

1 April 2013 Submission of first manuscripts

1 October 2013 Editing of first manuscripts

2014 Reviewing of manuscripts

2014 Submission of final manuscripts

III. Significance and goals of this volume

This volume will be the first full-length exploration in any language of the details of the history of the Japanese language written by experts in the different subfields of linguistics. Overall, while including factual and background information, the volume will focus on presenting original research of lasting value. This includes presenting the latest research on better studied topics, such as segmental phonology, accent or focus constructions, as well as both introducing areas of study which have traditionally been underrepresented, such as syntax or *kanbun* materials, and showing how they contribute to a fuller understanding of all of the history of Japanese.

IV. Organization of the book

The book is organized in four parts, of which parts I-III are organized in sections, and each section into chapters. This way all major issues within the history of Japanese will be addressed appropriately by experts, in accordance with the goals for the overall series and in particular for this volume as set out above.

The parts and section are as follows. The full list of contents with individual chapters
and abstracts is given below under **V. List of Contents.** Each part and section will have an introduction, written by the three editors framing the chapters and outlining major issues addressed in the chapters.

I. Individual Periods
   1. Prehistory and reconstruction
   2. Old Japanese
   3. Early Middle Japanese
   4. Late Middle Japanese
   5. Modern Japanese

II. Materials and Writing
   6. Writing
   7. *Kanbun*-based materials

III. Broader Changes over Time
   8. Lexis and Pragmatics
   9. Phonology
   10. Syntax

IV. The History of Research on Japanese

V. Table of Contents

**INTRODUCTION**
The introduction will be written by the three editors and will outline the structure and goals of the volume and will set out the preliminaries for work on the history of Japanese, including conventions for periodization, transcription, and glossing.

**PART I. INDIVIDUAL PERIODS OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE**

**SECTION I. PREHISTORY AND RECONSTRUCTION**

1. **Comparison with other languages**
   WHITMAN, John
   NINJAL/Cornell
This chapter reviews the two most plausible hypotheses for an external genetic
affiliation of the Japonic language family: an affiliation with Koreanic (Martin 1966, Whitman 1985), or with a revised version of Austro-Tai (Ostapirat 2005). While Benedict’s (1985) attempt to argue for a Japonic/Austro-Tai affiliation has been shown to be faulty (Vovin 1994), a sounder (but still fragmentary) Austro-Tai reconstruction taking fuller account of Formosan data provides attractive source for some components of the proto-Japonic inventory. However Koreanic provides a still more robust source of cognates for both basic vocabulary and morphology. These items are discussed in light of a broader “Macro-Altaic” hypothesis that would include Koreanic, as is the longstanding hypothesis of a diffusional relation involving an ancestor cognate with Koreanic but in contact with proto-Austro-Tai varieties. The chapter argues that if a diffusional hypothesis can be maintained, its locus was far from the Japanese archipelago, probably on the northeast China littoral, and occurred not later than the third millennium BCE.

2. **Reconstruction based on external sources: Ainu, Chinese dynastic histories, and Korean chronicles**

VOVIN, Alexander

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

This chapter deals with two levels of reconstruction: proto-Japonic (proto-Japanese and proto-Ryukyuan), and para-Japonic.

The main external source on the reconstruction of proto-Japanese is represented by Japanese loans in Ainu, and to a lesser extent, Ainu loans in Eastern Old Japanese (OJ). There are multiple loans from Japanese in either surviving Ainu dialects, or recently extinct Ainu dialects. The majority of them are comparatively recent, dating back no more than three or four centuries. However, there are also a number of very old loans that go back to [Eastern] Old Japanese if not to proto-Japanese, such as for example Ainu *sippo* ‘salt’ < OJ *sipô* ‘id.’, Ainu *pone* ‘bone’ < OJ *pone* ‘id.’, etc. Another important source is represented by pre-Old Japanese words found in Chinese transcription in Chinese dynastic history of Wei kingdom, *Wei zhi* (魏志, ca. 290 AD). A unique external source for reconstructing the phonology of Old Okinawan, and consequently of proto-Ryukyuan, is a short phrasebook and vocabulary written in Korean Hangul script found as an appendix to Haedong chegukki (海東諸国記, 1501 AD).

Para-Japonic reconstruction, strictly speaking, involves not the reconstruction of proto-Japonic *per se*, but the reconstruction of para-Japonic languages that were once spoken on the Korean peninsula from the Hankang river basin in the center to the Chejudo island in the south. The sources include various Chinese dynastic histories, most of all *Wei zhi*, already mentioned above, and *Liang shu* (梁書, 635 AD), as well as
Korean chronicles *Samguk sagi* (三国史記, 1147 AD) and to a lesser extent, *Samguk yusa* (三国遺事).

### 3. Reconstruction from the standpoint of Ryukyuan

PELLARD, Thomas  
CNRS

In order to assess the importance of the Ryukyuan data for the reconstruction of proto-Japonic, the chapter will first give some background information about the different Ryukyuan languages, their relationship with Japanese, and the possible date of their separation. It will be briefly shown that since Ryukyuan and Japanese are sister branches that split before the 7th c. CE, Japanese historical linguistics cannot dispense with the comparative data from Ryukyuan.

The main concern of the chapter will be to provide an overview of Ryukyuan–Japanese comparative studies, to examine recent advances made in this domain, and to suggest directions for future research. It will show how the Ryukyuan data can shed new light on the data from the Old Japanese texts, and what advances can be made in the reconstruction of proto-Japonic from the standpoint of Ryukyuan.

Issues in the reconstruction of lexicon, morphology, and phonology will be addressed, but the emphasis will be put on phonology, the domain where the comparison with Ryukyuan has made most of its contributions. For instance, special attention will be paid to the reconstruction of vowels and of the tone/accent system.

### 4. (Morpho)phonological reconstruction

HAYATA, Teruhiro

This chapter will consider the reconstruction of the phonological system of Old Japanese, to some extent addressing also pre-Old Japanese. There is a number of phenomena which on the surface seem to make up unbalanced systems, such as: length oppositions in the vowel system; the issue of the existence of closed syllables; *kō-otsu* distinctions among *o* syllables with no initial consonant or preceded by a labial consonant, and among *i, e* syllables preceded by coronal consonants; and the distribution of glides. These issues will be discussed from the point of view of internal reconstruction, including consideration of vowel harmony. If space allows I will also touch upon issues relating to reconstruction of morphology.

### 5. Mor[pho]phonological reconstruction

FRELLESVIG, Bjarke  
University of Oxford

This chapter deals with the internal reconstruction of pre-Old Japanese morphology and morphophonology. It will give an account of the pre-history of the eight verb classes
attested in Old Japanese and of their primary inflected forms. In doing so, it will also
address issues of chronological layering within the verbal morphology, proposing that
some verb classes and some inflected forms are chronologically secondary within the
system. The chapter will also discuss the pre-history of a number of verbal flectives and
auxiliaries in Old Japanese. It will propose that it is possible to reconstruct shared
internal origins for a number of them, and that the forms thus reconstructed also are
reflected in what is traditionally thought of as adjectival inflection.

6. **Towards the accentual reconstruction of Japanese**

MATSUMORI, Akiko
NINJAL

This chapter deals with the most recent developments in diachronic studies of the
Japanese pitch-accent and tone systems, mainly based on the synchronic descriptive
data of a number of current Japanese dialects in the past 80 years. Beginning with a
brief introduction of the findings and methods made or developed for such studies in the
past, including the vocabulary lists known as *Ruibetsu-goi* and *Keiretsubetsu-goi*, useful
descriptive tools developed for the reconstruction of the proto-accentual systems of
mainland Japanese dialects (or proto-Japanese) and of proto-Ryukyuan, the chapter will
show how the merger patterns of the tonal classes assumed in the proto-systems can
provide clues to reveal the genealogical relationships of the dialects.

The chapter then proposes some essential topics for future research, especially
emphasizing that more elaborate typological studies on tonal / accentual changes and on
 tonogenesis should be made than those proposed in the previous studies to obtain
reliable results in the comparative studies of Japanese dialects.

Special focus is given to the topic of how different types of compound
accentuation of various different dialects will shed new light in the field of diachronic
studies of accent.

**SECTION II. OLD JAPANESE**

Introduction and overview

7. **Word order and alignment**

YANAGIDA, Yuko
The University of Tsukuba

Old Japanese poetic texts share a number of syntactic features that differ not only from
Modern Japanese but from Early Middle Japanese. Monosyllabic personal pronouns
such as *wa* 1P, *na* 2P show clitic-like behavior, as they are always followed by a
particle and the pronoun+particle appears next to the predicate. On the other hand
strong personal pronouns such as *ware* 1P, *nare* 2P are not followed by case particles. Embedded subjects marked with genitive *ga* appear to the right of *wo*-marked objects, resulting in OSV order. *Ga* marks NPs higher on Silverstein’s (1976) nominal hierarchy and agentive arguments, while internal arguments lower on the hierarchy are unmarked, suggesting an active-stative alignment pattern in subordinate clauses of nominalized origin. Overt accusative marking appears to pattern like Turkish and Hindi: objects marked with accusative *wo* are placed outside the VP and interpreted as [specific], while zero-marked objects stay inside the VP and are interpreted as [non-specific]. This chapter extends the investigation to the smaller corpus of OJ prose texts. In these texts as well, we find no instances of Subject *ga* Object *wo* verb, but overall the incidence of subject *ga* marking is much smaller, suggesting a transition to the EMJ accusative pattern in subordinate clauses, where subjects of all types marked with genitive *no* precede *wo*-marked objects.

8. **What mokkan can tell us about Old and pre-Old Japanese**
   INUKAI, Takashi
   Aichi Prefectural University

   *Mokkan* is the general term for wooden writing tablets unearthed from the ruins of ancient capitals and government offices in Japan. In the past several decades, *mokkan* have been unearthed from all over Japan, and now amount to some 250,000. On the surface of these wooden slips or tablets are Chinese characters written in black ink. Most *mokkan* are documents relating to daily government affairs; others were used for calligraphy practice, and a few transcribe the pronunciations of *waka*, contemporary Japanese poems. Interpreted properly, these documents reproduce the words and sentences of 7~8th century Japanese. The transcription of poems, which uses phonograms, provides valuable phonological data. Thus *mokkan* are highly important for research on 7~8th century Japanese. They are particularly important because: (1) They are primary, uncopied sources; other 8th texts such as the *Kojiki* (712) and *Man’yōshū* (compiled mid-8th century) survive only as manuscripts copied in medieval times. (2) They reflect a colloquial, non-literary register. (3) They are unearthed together with many other archaeological remains, so it is often possible to determine exactly when and why these documents were written, exactly. Through *mokkan* materials, we can improve our understanding of Old Japanese as a whole, including its phonological system.

9. **Eastern Old Japanese**
   RUSSELL, Kerri

   This chapter on Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ) presents an overview of the northern and eastern dialects of 8th century Japan, which are mainly preserved in 234 poems found in
books 14 (Azuma uta) and 20 (Sakimori uta) of the Man'yōshū. EOJ consists of several varieties of speech which differ from Central Old Japanese, (cOJ), the dialect of the Asuka and Nara regions.

The discussion in this chapter includes: (1) classification of poems as representing EOJ (and not cOJ), and, where possible, identifying which variety of EOJ is recorded; (2) an overview of EOJ phonology; (3) a synchronic description of morphology, with emphasis on verbal morphology; (4) a diachronic description of morphology and morphophonemics; and (5) an overview of EOJ syntax.

Much of the focus of this chapter is on the syntax sub-section, as an adequate description of EOJ syntax has not yet been presented. This sub-section details new research based on the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ) and the Verb Semantics and Argument Realization in Pre-modern Japanese (VSARPJ) projects being conducted at the University of Oxford. This description includes discussion of case marking and semantic role assignment of the most commonly attested verbs in EOJ.

SECTION III. EARLY MIDDLE JAPANESE
Introduction and overview

10. Morphosyntax
TAKAYAMA, Yoshiyuki
Fukui University
This chapter describes the morphosyntax of EMJ, based on kana texts of the Heian period, in particular such works of classical literature as The Tale of Genji and Makura no sōshi. The focus is on a synchronic description of EMJ rather than diachronic change. In EMJ, auxiliaries express morphosyntactic categories such as voice, tense, aspect, and modality. I focus on the latter three. The tense/aspect system is comprised of six auxiliaries: -ki, -keri, -tu, -nu, -tari, -ri; these have been called toki no jodōshi “time auxiliaries” in traditional research. The modality system is expressed by auxiliaries, for instance, -besi, -mazi, -meri, -nari (shūshi-nari), -mu, -ramu, -kemu, -masi, -zi, which have been called suiryō no jodōshi. They have similar meanings to English modal auxiliaries such as must, may, can, will, etc.

After the Edo period, there has been a great deal of discussion about auxiliaries. They have been mainly studied from the viewpoint of semantics, but little study has been done on their syntactic character. This chapter describes their properties from viewpoint of morphology and syntax, examining for example how they combine with kakari-musubi, their use in interrogative sentences, etc.

Moreover, we describe the copula form in EMJ that is called rentai-nari (It is necessary to distinguish from shūshi-nari). In my opinion, this is the most important
element for the understanding of the sentence structure of EMJ.

11. Varieties of kakarimusubi in Early Middle Japanese
QUINN, Charles
The Ohio State University
The kakarimusubi construction marked a constituent of a clause for (a) emphasis (kakari ‘suspending’, ‘catching’) by means of a particle (zo, ka, ya, namu, or koso) and then (b) closed the clause (musubi ‘tying/finishing up’) with a special inflected form (finite adnominal rentai or non-finite izen). An “it-cleft” interpretation of kakarimusubi (henceforth “Type 1”) works nicely with sentences that identify, or seek to identify, an entity against a presupposed background:

(1)  a. Hana zo mukasi no ka ni nihohi-keru. (Kokinshū)
    ‘It’s the blossoms that exude the fragrance of old [not people, who are less reliably constant].’
   b. Nanibito ka mukahe-kikoe-mu. (Taketori monogatari)
    ‘What people are they that would come get [her]?’

Discourse-wise, the focused element is news (offered or sought), the adnominally inflected predicator phrase, a co-referential given.

In another kind of kakarimusubi (“Type 2”), the entire adnominally inflected sentence appears to constitute news, not just its focused constituent. What is presupposed is a situation given in the discourse context, in need of clarification.

(1)  a. Mi ha iyasinagara haha namu miya nari-keru. (Ise monogatari)
    ‘While [Narihira’s] status was low, [the fact] is that [his] mother, see, was of royal stock.’
   (2)  b. Hito ya mi-tu ramu. (Genji, Wakamurasaki)
    ‘Could it be that a stranger has seen [us]?’

The difference is reminiscent of Prince’s (1978*) distinction of (1) “stressed focus” it-clefts and (2) “informative-presupposition” it-clefts. Type 1 kakarimusubi may be older than, and the source for Type 2, since a Type 2 interpretation is generally inferable from Type 1. Further, Type 2 may be more common with namu and ya than the other kakari particles.

12. Linguistic variation
OKIMORI, Takuya
Distinctions based on gender of the author are a salient feature of Heian period texts. Texts written by women typically display native Yamato (wabun) lexicon and syntax. Texts written by male authors tend to feature Sinitic (kanbun) vocabulary and the syntax and lexicon associated with kanbun kundoku (vernacular Japanese reading of Chinese
texts) as well as specialized expressions such as the first person pronoun maro, causative -sime-, and the particle sura. Female authors tend to avoid expressions characteristic of kanbun kundoku style; their texts are typified by features such as the concessive ending -do (rather than domo). In terms of script choice, women exclusively use so-called onnade (“women”’s hand”), the predecessor of hiragana writing. Once hiragana writing is established, it spreads almost immediately to the provinces. Several exemplars of ink inscriptions in hiragana are attested from the latter half of the 9th century on potsherds excavated at the Saiku archaeological site (Mie prefecture). The discovery of multiple 9th century artifacts inscribed with kana in cursive style (sôsho), such as the lacquered paper text from the Taga site and the ink inscribed potshereds from the Akata 1 site in Isui-shi, Toyama prefecture demonstrate the fact that the elegant written culture of the capital spread quite quickly to the provinces.

Textual evidence reveals clearly that the dialects of Eastern Japan and Kyushu were regarded in the capital as non- (or sub-) standard varieties. With regard to the salient phonological feature of onbin, variation between Eastern and Western Japan is clear by the 12th century. For example, the Eastern dialect onbin forms of quadrigrade verbs originally ending in -p probably reflect that /p/ was retained longer in Eastern varieties than in Western Japanese. Also in Eastern varieties the stative auxiliary tari develops through adnominal taru to -ta by the 12th century. This kind of syllable deletion is widely attested in the language of the lower classes in the capital as well. A hint of this phenomenon is found in the colloquial variant -Nzu for intentional -mu to su as recorded in the Makura no sôshi.

SECTION IV. LATE MIDDLE JAPANESE
Introduction and overview

13. The morphosyntax of Late Middle Japanese
AOKI, Hirofumi
Kyushu University
Late Middle Japanese represents a period of transition from the language of Old and Early Middle Japanese to Early Modern Japanese, and as such reveals a large number of important morphosyntactic changes. I first describe two major morphological changes in the form of the predicate: the merger of the conclusive and adnominal forms, and the shift of the bigrade conjugation to a monograde pattern. The first change began around the end of Early Middle Japanese (the Insei period, late 11th–late 12th century), as we find increasing numbers of examples of main clauses concluded in the attributive form. We may thus regard this change as a generalization of the main clause-final adnominal pattern. The second change can be seen as serving to stabilize the word shapes of an
increased stock of inflecting stems. I also take into consideration data from modern dialects in discussing this change.

I next examine two major syntactic changes: the development of the nominative particle *ga*, and the development of the so-called nominalizing particle or complementizer *no*. I analyze the first of these as resulting from the relaxation of syntactic constraints whereby the pre-existing pattern of nominalized clause + *ga* is extended to NP + *ga*, and the use of *ga* in subordinate clauses is generalized to main clauses. The second change took place in nominalized clauses, where earlier the bare adnominal form could function as an NP. The change proceeded through a pattern where *no* marked the head noun in combination with an adnominal modifying clause, Pred-adnominal + *no*. I take into account the facts from modern dialects in discussing this development as well.

14. **Late Middle Japanese phonology, based on Korean materials**

OSTERKAMP, Sven
Bochum University

This chapter will first provide an overview over the various primary sources of Korean provenance. These primarily date from about the late 15th to the late 18th century and comprise besides materials featuring transcriptions of Japanese in *han’gul* – which in fact are the earliest among all corpora of Japanese in alphabetical script – also others employing Chinese characters for their Sino-Korean sound values. Having addressed the central issues in the interpretation of Korean transcriptions (especially the status of orthographical geminates, such as `<tt>` CC, as well as that of clusters of nasal plus oral obstruent, e.g. `<nt>` – for both of which conflicting views have repeatedly been expressed), the chapter will give an account of Japanese phonology and phonetics as reflected in the corpus. Apart from purely LMJ-internal changes such as the affricatization of /t, d/ before /i, u/, a number of long-term developments extending into post-LMJ times will be discussed. For consonants these will include among others the loss of prenasalization just as of the so-called *yotsugana* distinction and the delabialization of /l/, while in terms of vocalism special attention will be paid to issues concerning monophthongization processes and the centralization of /u/ after alveolar consonants.

15. **Phonology, based on Christian materials**

TOYOSHIMA, Masayuki

The Early Christian documents by the Jesuit Mission during the late 16th and the early 17th centuries in Japan have been considered to be one of the major sources of the phonology of the late middle Japanese, not only because they were almost the sole extant transcriptions of Japanese of that era in the Latin alphabet, but also two extensive
grammars authored by a Portuguese Missionary exist, accompanied by two large dictionaries (more than 80 000 entries each).

However, the Latin transcription itself is not so transparent as it may seem to be. The very fact that the transcriptions were done by authors of Portuguese background calls for caveats. Portuguese of that era did not have a fixed orthography, the printed versions could have gone through several interventions on spelling by printers (proof by comparison of transcripts and printed versions), and the idiolect, or a personal idiosyncrasy of the writer, should be taken into consideration (examples of dialect deviations between Missionaries). For the re-evaluation of the Early Christian Mission documents, concrete examples are to be given both from the printed editions, as well as from the contemporary (i.e. of the Grand Voyage era) manuscripts by the Missionaries to Asia.

SECTION V. MODERN JAPANESE
Introduction and overview

MOROHOSHI, Michinao
Kokugakuin University

A vast quantity of textual materials in the form of komonjo (premodern archival materials) and kokiroku (historical records) were produced during the Early Modern Japanese period and have been passed down to the present day. However materials on the spoken language are scantier, and show a regional bias depending on chronology. In the first half of the period, materials reflecting Western Japanese (Kamigata-go) predominate. These include jōruri (puppet theatre) playscripts, karukuchibon (collections of jokes and humorous stories), sharebon (books describing life in the pleasure quarters), and the like. In the second half of the period materials on Edo language emerge as dominant genres using a literary rendition of the spoken language. These include hanashibon (collections of the humorous stories told by professional raconteurs, the forerunners of rakugo), Edo sharebon, kokkeibon (comic novels), and ninjōbon (love stories featuring ordinary townsfolk). A number of genres reflect the language of the educated class: these include explications of the Chinese classics in Japanese, transcriptions of lectures, vernacular translations, moral treatises, disquisitions on Shintō, and Shin-shū (Pure Land Buddhist) sermons. Since it was prohibited to directly describe the actual Tokugawa regime or its local feudal counterparts, it was typical for authors of the samurai class to set the period and characters of their writings in the medieval period (such settings are of course historically unreliable). Texts in actual spoken register are extremely rare. Exceptions
include letters involving female relatives of the samurai class and recordings of interrogations, but these are isolated instances.

17. **Meiji language, including what sound recordings can tell us**

   SHIMIZU, Yasuyuki

   In its basic structure, the Japanese language of the Meiji period did not change drastically from the previous period, but was a continuation of the phonemic system, grammatical structure, and basic vocabulary of the Edo period.

   On the other hand, in the aspect of practical use of language, this is the period when the most significant changes took place in the history of Japanese. The changes were deeply concerned with "the modernization" of Japan.

   With the so-called "opening of the country," many things were brought to Japan from the West, and the contact with Western languages increased. In grammar, the use of the passive voice and of abstract, non-concrete grammatical subjects increased. In phonology, while peripheral, new sound combinations and new phonemes arose. Major changes occurred in the vocabulary: Many new Sino-Japanese words were created and loanwords from Western languages also increased dramatically.

   Both the notion of a modern "Nation-State" and territorial expansion required the establishment of a "national language" or "standard language" commonly used throughout "the nation", including by other ethnic groups in occupied lands. The educational system to teach the national language was also improved. Mass media, such as newspapers and magazines, came into being. And a new "unified written and spoken language style" was created.

   As a noteworthy event for the research on the history of language, sound recording technology was put into practical use during this era and it has thus become possible to observe the spoken language of those days not by indirect written data but by more direct recorded data.

18. **Syntactic influence of European languages on Japanese**

   KINSUI, Satoshi
   Osaka University

   Since Japan had a long tradition of verbatim translation from Chinese in the practice of kanbun kundoku, similar methods were adopted during the Edo period for the translation of Dutch. In the Meiji period, when Western texts began to be translated in greater volume, translators still emphasized a verbatim method that would allow the reader to easily infer the structure of the original text, leading to the birth of “Western translation style” (ō bun chokuyakutai). Through this new written style, which exerted influence over both academic and literary writing, the Japanese written word was subject to the influence of the grammars of Western languages, receiving new forms.
such as third-person pronouns (kare, kanojo), relative pronoun constructions (e.g., suru tokoro no), inanimate transitive subjects (e.g., nani ga kanojo wo sou saseta ka), and the niyotte-passive. Because the niyotte-passive had the function of filling a gap in the existing Japanese grammar, it was distinguished functionally from native passive constructions (the ni-passive and the yori-/kara-passive) and came into wide use primarily as a written form. The third-person pronouns kare and kanojo were used also in speech, but they came to assume a connotative meaning (one’s boyfriend/girlfriend), and whether or not they ever fully assumed the grammatical function of pure anaphora (as fulfilled by the English he/she) is questionable.

PART II. MATERIALS AND WRITING

SECTION VI. WRITING
Introduction and overview

19. Old and Early Middle Japanese writing
UNGER, James
The Ohio State University
When writers of Old Japanese used a Chinese character to transcribe a syllable without regard to the character’s logographic function in literary Chinese, we call it a man’yōgana. Every Early Middle Japanese syllable corresponds to a set of several man’yōgana. For most syllables, all man’yōgana in the set are used interchangeably, but for some, near-minimal pairs of spellings in OJ texts proving the coherence of the set are absent before a certain date; that is, before then, two phonogram sets seem to correspond to one EMJ syllable. These sets and their consolidation over time provide valuable clues to the phonology of Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese, but the gathering and interpretation of the data require care to ensure that the conclusions reached are logically solid. It is easy to make missteps because of the plethora of possibly relevant evidence, which includes not only texts but also facts adduced from the comparison of Japanese dialects, the internal reconstruction of Japanese word morphology, the reconstruction of Middle Chinese phonology, and the history of the introduction of Chinese words and writing to Japan. This article identifies the most secure facts of Old and Early Middle Japanese phonology that can be deduced and explains why other claims found in the literature need to be treated with caution.

20. The continued use of kanji in writing Japanese.
KONNO, Shinji
The history of writing in Japan begins with contact with the Chinese language. Having no writing system of their own, the Japanese started using Chinese characters (kanji) to write Japanese around the 5th century. In the earliest extensive materials, from the 8th century, kanji are used to write Japanese both phonographically and logographically. These two strategies of writing, logographic and phonographic, have co-existed in the writing of Japanese up to the present time.

By the beginning of the 10th century, the two kana syllabaries, hiragana and katakana, had developed from kanji used as phonograms. Japanese therefore came to have two different subsystems of writing: kanji (mainly used logographically) and phonographic kana. With the use of kana, it is possible to write anything in Japanese in an easy and straightforward phonographic representation. And yet kanji have not been discarded in the writing of Japanese.

This chapter will explore the reasons for the continued use of kanji in the writing of Japanese despite the availability of a complete phonographic system. The chapter will also consider of the kinds of choices facing writers with respect to the extent of use of each of the subsystems of writing (kanji and kana) in mixed writing (including proportions of logographic and phonographic writing, and choices of which items to write in which way).

21. History of indigenous innovations in kanji and kanji usage [particularly: kokuji and wasei kango]

INUI, Yoshihiko

Even after their first appearance in the Japanese archaeological record around the first century A.D., Chinese characters are found for some centuries only in inscriptions in Chinese. During the sixth and seventh centuries, as more Japanese speakers became proficient in classical Chinese, Wakun (vernacular Japanese readings) and Waon (Sino-Japanese readings) were gradually established. It is thought that Wakun and Waon were created systematically in the context of Kanbun-kundoku (reading Chinese texts in the vernacular), not through oral language contact between Japanese and Chinese. The establishment of Wakun then led to the development hentai-kanbun, a method of writing premodern Japanese.

The use of writing systems based mainly on Chinese characters led also to the emergence of Chinese characters invented in Japan, and to extended uses of Chinese characters unique to Japan, including both extensions and limitations on the meaning of a character or character compound.

The status of Chinese characters in the Japanese writing system stabilized further after the development of kana (hiragana and katakana) writing. In Wakan-konkōbun (mixed Japanese-Chinese writing), the roles of kana and Chinese
characters are differentiated: *kana* are used as phonograms and Chinese characters as logograms. Prior to the 8th century, both of these functions had been fulfilled by Chinese characters. This differentiation solidified the role of Chinese characters as logograms, which further fixed their status in the Japanese writing system.

22. **From hentai kanbun to sōrōbun**
   YADA, Tsutomu

The term *hentai kanbun* can refer both (a) to a literary style of writing which is based on a classical Chinese mode of expression, but in which it is also possible to recognize a mixing in of characteristics of Japanese language; and (b) to a literary style of writing which, while being based on Japanese grammatical structure, is not written phonographically, but logographically by *kanji* and drawing on classical Chinese modes of expression. *Hentai kanbun* in the latter sense was already used in the ancient period in writing on *mokkan* (wooden slates), in addition to in documents such as the *Kojiki*, and from the Early Middle Japanese period onwards it acquires a remarkably widespread use through society in documents and records, and in such uses soon came to drive out real classical Chinese. *Hentai kanbun* in this sense was used simultaneously with and alongside writing in *kana*, but it performed an important role as a widely and commonly used style of writing.

As norms of writing became uniform through society, particularly in the Late Middle and early Modern Japanese period, a style of writing, known as *sōrō-bun*, developed out of the *hentai-kanbun* style of writing. *Sōrō-bun* was an extremely Japanified and eminently practical style of writing which retains a classical Chinese like sentence structure, by using an extremely limited and standardized classical Chinese mode of expression, at the same time demarcating clause boundaries and expressing a variety of syntactic and semantic functions with the honorific auxiliary verb *sōrō*. This chapter describes the basic characteristics of *hentai-kanbun* and *sōrō-bun* and in particular examines the development of *sōrō-bun* from *hentai-kanbun*.

**SECTION VII. KANBUN-BASED MATERIALS**

Introduction and overview

23. **Kunten texts of Buddhist provenance**
   TSUKIMOTO, Masayuki
   Tokyo University

It is believed that the practice of *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読, reading a text written in Chinese in the vernacular, that is as Japanese, commenced in Japan by the second half of the 7th century at the latest, but the practice of inscribing the interlinear space of the
text with glosses to indicate the vernacular reading in does not emerge until the end of 
8th century, in the community of scholar monks studying the Avatamsaka sūtra (華厳
経 Kegon kyō/Huayan jing). The marks or glosses used to record such kundoku 
readings are what is known as kunten 訓点. The quantity of surviving kunten material 
associated with the world of Japanese Buddhism from the 9th century on is vast; 
through it, we can see the outlines of a Japanese language whose linguistic system is 
fundamentally different from entirely vernacular or wabun texts such as the Tale of 
Genji.

The language expressed by kunten glosses on Buddhist texts is, if one likes, a 
Japanese translation of the kanbun original, but beyond this, it is the product of the 
effort by scholarly monastics to venture beyond a mere translation in order to achieve a 
more correct understanding of the original. A detailed analysis of documents from the 
9th to the 12th century reveals a process through which scholar monks, even as they 
received and transmitted the teachings of their master, continually scrutinized and 
revised the Japanese translations. The form of 9th-10th century kunten glosses and those 
from the 11th-12th century reveal striking differences in the circumstances under which 
they were inscribed and in the internal properties of the language they reflect; it is clear 
also that the characteristics and actual form of kanbun kundoku in the Buddhist world 
changed greatly with the passage of time. In the course of such development, kundoku 
practice for Buddhist texts came to form a linguistic system independent and unique 
unto itself.

24. Kunten Texts of Secular Chinese Provenance (Kanseki 漢籍)
KOSUKEGAWA, Teiji
This chapter provides an overview of the main features of kunten secular texts of 
Chinese origin, or kanseki 漢籍. It focuses on the following main points.

First, kunten glossing of Chinese classics was introduced one century after the 
introduction of glosses in Buddhist texts. Extant manuscripts demonstrate that the 
practice of annotating kanseki texts was adopted from the pre-existing practice in 
Buddhist studies during the first half of the 10th century. This chronology is at the root 
of the disparity between the number of documents pertaining to the field of Buddhist 
texts and the number of secular texts of Chinese origin.

Second, Chinese classics were processed and studied at the Daigakuryō 大学寮, 
the imperial institution of higher education created under the Ritsuryō 律令 system. 
The kunten glosses in secular texts of Chinese provenance mirror the contents of classic 
commentaries and but were also deeply influenced by the pedagogical system of the 
Daigakuryō. The resultant glossing technique differs greatly from the techniques found 
in Buddhist materials.

Finally, kunten glosses on Chinese classics in Japan share some features with
glossed manuscripts found in Dunhuang 敦煌. The existence of similarly annotated versions of the same document produced at different times and in different places suggests that a full understanding of the glossing tradition of secular texts in Japan cannot rely exclusively on the study of the transfer of knowledge from the religious to the lay world in Japan alone. The Dunhuang documents indicate that an external transmission route from China to Japan also existed.

25. **Vernacularized written Chinese (waka kanbun)**
YAMAMOTO, Shingo
Shirayuri Women’s University

*Waka kanbun* “Japanized written Chinese” is a form of written Japanese closely related to *kunten* materials, that is, Chinese texts glossed to be read in Japanese. *Waka kanbun* texts were written entirely in Chinese characters used logographically, but they were read in Japanese. The Japanese language expressed in this form of writing (also known as *hentai kanbun* “deviant Chinese writing”), is based on the style or register of *kanbun kundoku*, that is, vernacular reading of Chinese texts. During the Heian period (794-1185) the diaries, private records and letters of the aristocratic class employed this form of writing, but in recent scholarship increased attention has been drawn to the use of *waka kanbun* in the genre of *hyōhaku*. *Hyōhaku* are Buddhist liturgical texts, typically drafts of sermons. The choice of characters, vocabulary, and figures of speech in *hyōhaku* differ from the other genres of *waka kanbun*: *hyōhaku* are typified by refined vocabulary and elegant prose in matched couplets. In this regard we can see the influence *waka kanbun* on LMJ Sino-Japanese hybrid writing, so-called *wakan konkōbun*.

Scholars have argued for two different views of *waka kanbun*. One claims that the texts were intended to be written as orthodox Chinese; the second that the texts were intended, from the beginning, to be written as Japanese. This chapter argues that these views focus on the two ends of a single continuum; the *waka kanbun* corpus exist along this continuum, and is not readily divided into distinct subtypes. The chapter focuses on a comparison between a private diary and the text of a sermon by the same author, both written in *waka kanbun*. After identifying and analyzing the main orthographic, lexical and rhetorical differences between these specific two texts, the chapter provides a typology of the various genres of *waka kanbun* within the overall context of Japanese vernacularized forms of written Chinese.

26. **Early modern kanbun and kanbun kundoku**
SAITO, Fumitoshi
Nagoya University

Grammatical usage in Early Modern (Edo Period) *kanbun kundoku* materials maintains
many of the patterns established earlier for kundoku, or vernacular reading of Chinese
texts, but at the same time it reflects a number of important historical changes, and
shows various features based on the Confucian tradition. The influence of Early Modern
kanbun kundoku grammar persists beyond this period into NJ, specifically the Meiji
Period, where it plays an important role in the development of the kanbun kundoku style
of this period. Early Modern Rangaku (Dutch Studies) scholars, as well the Yōgaku
(Western Studies) and Eigaku (English Studies) of early Meiji drew on this tradition,
and employed the techniques of kanbun kundoku in the study of Dutch, English, and
other Western language texts. As a consequence we frequently see the grammatical
patterns of kanbun kundoku directly applied in Rangaku and Eigaku texts as well,
resulting in the development of the specific usage registers known ‘translation
grammar’ (hon’yaku gohō) and ‘European language direct translation style’ (ōbun
chokuyakutai), ultimately playing a major role in the development of NJ standard usage.

27. A comparison of glossing traditions in Japan and Korea

WHITMAN, John
NINJAL/Cornell

Recent research has uncovered a number of important similarities in the earliest
attestations of glossed Chinese texts in Japan and Korea. The impetus for this research
was Kobayashi’s (2002) research (see also Kobayashi 2004), which showed that the
drypoint glossing in a partial text of the Hwaŏm-gyŏng (Avatamsaka sūtra; Huayan-jing
華嚴經), held by the Sŏngam Museum in Seoul, shows remarkable similarities with the
ink glosses on a text of Sillan provenance copied in Japan, the Satō-bon Kegon mongi
yŏketsu 佐藤本華嚴文義要决, conventionally dated from around the end of the 8th
century. Subsequent research has debated whether the glosses in the latter text are
intended to be read as Korean or Japanese Kim (2002,Whitman 2009), and whether the
wokototen glosses in the Satō-bon Kegon mongi yŏketsu bear any relation to the
Japanese kunten tradition as it subsequently developed.

This paper sketches the main features of the Korean kugyŏl 口訛 glossing
tradition, highlighting not just its similarities but its differences with the kunten tradition
in Japan. It focuses on the differences between the two main kugyŏl traditions, the
Hwaŏm (Avatamsaka) and Yugasa (瑜伽師 Yogācāra) traditions, and considers whether
the latter as well as the former may have had some impact on glossing and reading
practice in Japan. I conclude that while the importation of Avatamsaka Buddhism,
chiefly from Silla, in the 8th century played an important role in the development of
some kunten techniques, specifically wokototen, other features do not reflect an
importation. For example while the general idea of using abbreviated characters as
phonological glosses may have been influenced by Sillan precursors, the specific
inventory of Heian period katakana is based on a Japanese inventory of phonograms
that precedes contact with Silla.

28. Influence of kanbun-kundoku on Japanese
   ALBERIZZI, Valerio
   Waseda University
In this chapter I will touch on kanbun kundoku vocabulary and its use to show through textual evidence how a group of writings, dating back to 11th and 13th century, incorporate vocabulary frequently used in heavily Sinicized renditions of Chinese texts in Japanese (as evidenced in the so-called kunten materials) into written Japanese rich in native expressions. My goal is to reorganize the achievements of past scholarship (Yamada 1935, Tsukishima 1963) and to integrate them with newer findings in order to show how a blending of words that, despite being particular to Sinicized or native written forms, share the same semantic area, resulted in a new Sino-Japanized way of expression that paved the way to modern language.

PART III. BROADER CHANGES OVER TIME

SECTION VIII. LEXIS/PRAGMATICS
Introduction and overview

29. History of basic vocabulary
   BENTLEY, John
   University of Northern Illinois
There is a principle in historical linguistics that states that ‘basic vocabulary’ tends to be more resistant to analogical change and borrowing than other vocabulary (cf. Hock, Principles of historical linguistics, pg. 215). Based on this principle this chapter will describe the change and evolution of basic vocabulary of Japanese from the time of Old Japanese till early Modern Japanese. This chapter is based on a 200-word list of basic vocabulary modeled on the list of Swadesh. Several influences are observable in relation to the change of basic vocabulary through time: semantic change and replacement through borrowing. Semantic change and replacement is seen in examples like OJ kemono ‘animal, beast’ which becomes archaic and eventually replaced by dōbutu, a Chinese loan meaning ‘animal’. Replacement through borrowing is seen in examples such as the replacement of the cardinal numbers one through ten with Chinese numerals.

30. History of Sino-Japanese vocabulary
   ABE, Seiya and OKAJIMA, Akihiro
Section 1 (ABE, Seiya)
This section will focus on the dissemination and spread through general vocabulary of Sino-Japanese words and morphemes. The “basic vocabulary” of Japanese can be analyzed from a number of standpoints: lexical type, semantic characteristics within the overall lexicon, and from a statistical standpoint, frequency of use.

In terms of lexical type, three categories are normally distinguished: wago (native Japanese), kango (Chinese loanwords, Sino-Japanese), and gairaigo (loans other than Sino-Japanese). In Old and pre-Old Japanese, the basic Japanese vocabulary consisted primarily of wago.

In Early Middle Japanese, a sizeable quantity of Chinese words combined with the wago stock, at first in the form of written loans. These are kango (Sino-Japanese). Wago and kango were at times differentiated while bearing the same meaning, and in written language kango were sometimes used in combination with wago within the same stylistic register. From a semantic standpoint, kango becomes an essential component of the basic vocabulary in the same manner as wago. Eventually wago and kango came to be used together in sentences of the same style. The semantic differences between synonyms belonging to the two lexical types has enriched and complicated the system of the Japanese vocabulary. Lexical choices as to whether to use primarily wago and kango in a specific context show change over time, resulting in interesting changes in basic lexicon.

In Modern-Japanese, many new loanwords from the West combined with the preexisting stock of wago and kango. As a consequence, several words with similar meanings but different lexical types come to be used in parallel.

Section 2 (OKAJIMA, Akihiro)
This section will focus on differences in distribution and frequency of use of Sino-Japanese vocabulary in different text genres and registers. There are various difficulties when considering Sino-Japanese vocabulary within the history of Japanese. Most written sources in Japan are written in kanji. However, it is often the case that research which aims to trace the history of the spoken language focuses on sources written in kana, and investigating only Sino-Japanese vocabulary in the sources written in kana makes it difficult to see the changes, developments and continuity in the use of Sino-Japanese vocabulary.

31. The history of mimetics in Japanese
ONO, Masahiro
Meiji University
Mimetics in Japanese fall into two categories: lexical items that imitate the sound of things or the cries of animals, corresponding to what is normally known as
onomatopoeia, and lexical items which represent a psychological state via some sound. In the history of the Japanese language, mimetics are found from the 8th century texts onwards. For example, koworo-koworo represents the chaotic state of the beginning of the world, and bisi-bisi indicates the sniffling sound made when one has a cold. These words show the typical form of mimetics, with reduplication of the stem. It is also noteworthy that the latter example begins with /b/. Native Japanese vocabulary do not generally allow words to begin with /b/. From OJ on, mimetics have developed systematically and abundantly, especially in Middle Japanese. During that period, mimetics grew explosively, and came to establish many patterns, including the moras /R/, /Q/, and /N/, e.g. goon (/goRN/) the sound of a temple bell, or fikka-fikka (/fiQka-fiQka/) the glowing lights of fireflies. This chapter will focus on the development of mimetics in the Middle Japanese period, especially those involving /R/, /Q/, and /N/.

32. The History of honorifics and polite language
MORIYAMA, Yukiko
Doshisha University

Japanese honorifics consist of addressee honorifics, which are used to indicate the degree of respect conferred on the hearer, and referent honorifics, which express respect toward a person or persons referred to in the discourse who may not necessarily be a discourse participant. In Modern Japanese, omission of addressee honorifics in speech directed toward a hearer deemed due respect is disallowed outside of certain specific pragmatic circumstances, but when the referent is not a discourse participant, referent honorifics are frequently omitted. However when the referent is at the same time the hearer, referent honorifics again become obligatory. This is due to the fact that in modern Japanese, items that might be expected to be referent honorifics have assimilated to addressee honorifics, and the use of addressee honorifics has come to be given priority.

Diacronically, however, the relation between the two honorific types was the reverse. Earlier Japanese had only referent honorifics; addressee honorifics did not exist. Even after addressee honorifics emerged, the expression of referent honorifics was highly important. In earlier Japanese too, the need to express respect toward a discourse referent was determined by the relation between the speaker and that referent, but in the modern language, the relative relation with the hearer must also be taken into consideration, and in group/out group relations become an important factor in honorific usage as well. This chapter proceeds chronologically through the use of specific textual examples to describe the historical origins of addressee honorifics and the process by which they became established, the emergence of the in group/out group (uchi/soto) factor, the specialization of grammatical patterns for addressee honorification — all
phenomena which can be construed within the general rubric of the relativization of honorific language.

This chapter will also address the important function of referent tracking performed by honorifics and the high degree of grammaticalization observed in honorific expressions.

33. History of demonstratives and pronouns
OKAZAKI, Tomoko
This chapter will explain the historical changes in the use of demonstratives and pronouns.

Demonstratives:
Old and Early Middle (Nara and Heian period) Japanese demonstratives consisted of the ko-, so-, ka-(a-) series of demonstrative pronouns and the kaku-, sa-series of demonstrative adverbs. During this period, the ko-, ka-, kaku-series directed attention to the visible subject, while the so-, sa-series directed attention to the subject which was not readily visible.
The ko-, so-, a-series of demonstrative adverbs began to appear in Late Middle Japanese (Kamakura and Muromachi period). In addition, the so-(sa-) series acquired a deictic use (neutral). During the latter part of the Late Middle period, they developed into almost the same indicators as those used in Modern Japanese.

Pronouns
Although pronouns have had various forms throughout history, in Old and Early Middle Japanese, there was no third person. Moreover, while the use of a demonstrative as a pronoun was present from the Early Middle Japanese (soko), the increase in the various forms began from the Late Middle Japanese.

34. History of yakuwarigo
KINSUI, Satoshi
Osaka University
The term yakuwarigo (role-language) refers to a set of stereotypical speech variants, typically appearing in fiction, drama, movies, manga, and anime, that are associated with images of specific character types (defined in terms of age, gender, ethnicity or region, social class, etc.). In Japanese, such variants are usually differentiated by means of a rich vocabulary of first-person pronouns and sentence-final expressions (copula, auxiliary verbs, and final particles). In contrast to sociolinguistic concepts such as socio-dialect/sociolect and indexicality, these variants are not necessarily associated with real social groups (they include, for example, fake dialects and alien speech). Although their origins may often be found in linguistic material taken from actual sociolects, as they have been carried across multiple generations through use in works
of popular culture, many have gradually become divorced from reality (e.g., elderly male language), while others have exerted a normative influence on real speech patterns (e.g., female language).

35. ‘Subject-Object Merger’ and ‘Subject-Object Opposition’ as the Speaker’s Stance: ‘Subjective Construal’ as ‘a Fashion of Speaking’ for Japanese Speakers
IKEGAMI, Yoshihiko
University of Tokyo

The speaker of language is known to have an ability of construing one and the same situation in a number of alternate ways and of encoding it linguistically in different ways. Being faced with one and the same situation, however, the speaker of one language will prefer to construe and encode it in one way, while the speaker of another language will prefer to construe and encode it in another way. The different stances taken by speakers of different languages will result in what Whorf called ‘fashions of speaking’, i.e. sets of turns of phrase preferentially employed by speakers of different languages. In the present paper, the author proposes to address the question of ‘subjective construal’ as a fashion of speaking for Japanese speakers. Identifying, first, some major linguistic indices of ‘subjective construal’ (among others, the zero-encoding of the speaker in particular), we investigate the rise and fall of these linguistic features through the history of the Japanese language. We hope thereby to be able to show that ‘subjective construal’ is a traditionally inherent (rather than later developed) feature of the language and that modern Japanese still retains a number of archaic(?), monologically (rather than dialogically) and ego-centrically (rather than intersubjectively) oriented features of language as a means of communication.

SECTION IX. PHONOLOGY
Introduction and overview

36. Syllable structure, phonological typology, and outstanding issues in the chronology of sound changes
FRELLESVIG, Bjarke [[,] Sven OSTERKAMP] and John WHITMAN
This chapter will address two major areas within Japanese historical phonology. First, it will give an overview over and discussion of the major typological change that has taken place within Japanese phonology over the attested history of the language, namely the introduction of quantity sensitivity, or syllable length, around the transition between Old and Early Middle Japanese. Second, the chapter will address the outstanding issues in the precise phonological interpretation and the dating of segmental sound changes which the language is known to have undergone, such as the change of /p-/ to /t/- and
the loss of prenasalization and of medial voicing.

37. **Sino-Japanese**  
MIYAKE, Marc  
Sino-Japanese is an umbrella term for several different Chinese-derived lexical strata in Japanese:  
1. **Pre-Sino-Japanese**: Early Chinese borrowings in Japanese which are not readings of Chinese characters: e.g., *uma* ‘horse’.  
2. **Early Sino-Japanese proper (Go-on)**: The earliest surviving strata of borrowed pre-Tang Chinese character readings, now known as Go-on (‘sounds of Wu’), may be better described as sounds of Paekche, as they are strongly associated with the Buddhist vocabulary that must have been brought to Japan along with Buddhism by the Paekche: e.g., 马 *me* ‘horse’.  
3. **Late Sino-Japanese proper (Kan-on)**: A fairly consistent stratum of Chinese character readings probably borrowed directly from northwestern early Tang Chinese: e.g., 马 *ba* ‘horse’.  
4. **Post-Sino-Japanese (Tō-Sō-on, etc.)**: Sporadic borrowings from post-Tang varieties of Chinese.  
This chapter will present an overview of each stratum with a focus on Sino-Japanese proper – i.e., the largest strata of borrowing – followed by original research on how Go-on confirms and complicates recent hypotheses about pre-Old Japanese vowels.

38. Development of accent, based on historical sources, Heian period onwards  
The formation of Ibuki-jima accent  
YANAIKE, Makoto  
Keio University  
The accentual system of Ibuki-jima ( Ehime Prefecture, Kannonji City) is the most complex among modern Japanese dialects and has been thought to preserve the accent of older Japanese, and it is highly significant when considering the history of accent in Japanese. Investigating accentual changes in the forms of verbs and adjectives of this dialect, it can be seen to contain vestigal forms which show that it in terms of accent is a sister language of the Central Dialect in the Early Modern Japanese period after the Great Accent Shift at the end of the Late Middle Japanese period, and there is no evidence to contradict the hypothesis that the system split off from the Central Dialect and was formed in the course of the Great Accent Shift.
39. The Ramsey hypothesis

De BOER, Elisabeth

Research into the history of the Japanese tone system has reached an impasse because it is hard to make the standard reconstruction of the Middle Japanese tone system fit in with the modern dialect data. In this chapter I will provide a brief factual explanation of the alternative reconstruction of the Middle Japanese tone system proposed by S. Robert Ramsey in 1979. I will suggest that several assumptions that have prevented Ramsey’s alternative reconstruction of the Middle Japanese tones from being accepted are unfounded. The issues include the tone systems of the modern and historical Japanese dialects, traditional Japanese vocal music notation, the development of theories on tone in medieval Buddhist texts, and the description of the tones in these texts.

I will also propose that – if Ramsey’s reconstruction is adopted – it is possible to give an account of the historical developments in the Japanese tone system that is simple, consistent, and in agreement with universals of tone rules that have been established based on the study of tone in other languages.

The predominance and peripheral distribution of the Tōkyō type tone system in relation to the Kyōto type tone system is no longer problematic. In addition, there is an explanation for the split of the Tōkyō type system into three sub-types, which has profound implications for the relative antiquity of the Tōkyō type tone systems vis-à-vis each other.

SECTION X. SYNTAX

Introduction and overview

40. Generative diachronic syntax of Japanese

WHITMAN, John

NINJAL/Cornell

This chapter investigates the major syntactic changes in Japanese from the standpoint of a generative theory of syntactic change. The syntax of 8th century Japanese presents a number of differences from Early Middle Japanese, including OSV order (Yanagida 2006) and active alignment (Yanagida 2007) in subordinate "nominalized" clauses, and a system of clitic, weak, and strong pronouns (Whitman & Yanagida 2009). The loss of active alignment in EMJ seems to have been triggered by loss of the deficient pronouns, a process that was already well underway in the 8th century, and the consequent attrition of the inherent genitive/active ga as marker of active subjects. Accusative alignment in EMJ embedded clauses of nominalized provenance involves marking with the structural genitive case marker no for all kinds of subjects and widespread marking
of objects with accusative wo. Originally the latter is restricted to [specific] objects (Yanagida & Whitman 2009), but this restriction is lost in MJ.

Early Modern Japanese inherits the syntax of EMJ adnominal clauses (see the chapters by Aoki and Kinsui). This is true of most varieties with respect to accusative o (< wo), and of some which also inherit genitive no as nominative marker. However in central dialects ga is reanalyzed as nominative marker, probably from its role as a clausal nominalizer (see the chapter by Aoki).

41. On the merger of the conclusive/adnominal distinction
KINSUI, Satoshi
Osaka University
In the spoken language of Kyoto, the conclusive (shūshikei) and adnominal (rentaikei) forms of all conjugating words (verbs, adjectives, auxiliary verbs) are believed to have merged during the 15th century. Specifically, the conclusive form is believed to have declined as the adnominal form came to assume its functions. However, the merging of these two forms into what I refer to as the “conclusive/adnominal form” (C/A form), was not merely a matter of morphological leveling of the predicate. Rather, working alongside a number of other morphological and syntactic shifts such as the elimination of the ra-row irregular conjugation, the collapse of the kakari-musubi rule, and the generalization of the nominative case particle, it brought about larger changes in syntactic structure.

Furthermore, the functions taken on by the unmodified C/A form were limited to matrix ending and adnominal clauses. In other constructions that formerly required the adnominal form, such as the juntai clause, the (pseudo-) cleft sentence, and the noda construction (formerly the adnominal-nari construction), the A/C form (in the Kansai and Tokyo dialects) came to be appended with the nominalizer no. However, the rate of this shift varied depending on the type of construction and the region, and the particle assuming the function of nominalizer differed widely between dialects.

42. Development of case marking
NOMURA, Takashi
University of Tokyo
The main case marking particles in Old Japanese are: no, ga Genitive (possessor and subject marking), wo Accusative, ni Dative, yu Place of movement, ywori Ablative. By contrast, Modern Japanese has a larger inventory of case particles, including the following: no Genitive, ga Nominative, o Accusative, ni Dative, de Place of movement, Instrumental, yori Ablative, kara Ablative, e toward, made ‘until’. In addition Modern Japanese has many phrasal particles, such as: ni totte ‘to, for, with’, ni yotte ‘by’, ni tsuite ‘about’.
This chapter will focus on some of the changes that took place between the Old Japanese case marking system and the system in Modern Japanese, particularly regarding no and ga. In Old Japanese no and ga were used to mark subjects in subordinate clauses including clauses with predicates in the adnominal form. However, in modern Japanese ga is used as the nominative case marker in both main and subordinate clauses. Furthermore, in OJ ga was restricted to NPS denoting individuals such as proper names or pronouns, while ga in Modern Japanese is not restricted in this way. This chapter will address changes in the case marking system, especially with regard to the expression of nominative case.

43. **Loss of Wh movement**
   WATANABE, Akira
   University of Tokyo

Old Japanese used to have overt, visible wh-movement, reflected in the rigid word order restriction involving the case-marked subject and the raised wh-phrase. Its loss in the transition from the Nara to the Heian periods brought about several important changes in the grammatical system, including the less prominent status of the particle ka in interrogative clauses, the demise of the attributive-conclusive distinction, and the appearance of internally-headed relative clauses. This chapter presents an overall framework of analysis that helps explain why these changes took place at the same time, as well as the cause of the loss of wh-movement itself. The discussion also situates the Old Japanese wh-movement in a cross-linguistic context.

44. **Development of delimiter/semantic particles**
   KINUHATA, Tomohide

Japanese has a class of particles which attach to nominals or noun phrases and give an implicature to the sentence in which it is used. This chapter discusses the historical development of those particles from the semantic and syntactic viewpoints. Among the semantic changes of those particles, we focus on the particles which have exclusive or scalar meanings. It is addressed in the first half of this chapter that a variety of exclusive meanings encoded in Modern Japanese particles such as dake, sika and bakari are historically developed in different ways and how the changes of the scalar meanings in the particles such as dani, sura and sae are affected by the construction with which they were used. In the second half of this chapter, we look at the syntactic change of particles: particularly how those nominal affixes or clitics are organized. Apart from a grammaticalization process like nouns > nominal affixes, we show that a subset of the relevant particles is derived from conjunctive markers or sentence final particles, i.e. a development from a clausal to a phrasal element. In those changes, we can further find two patterns of grammatical change, one of which is considered to be truly syntactic but
45. **Electronic corpora as a tool for investigating syntactic change**  
KONDO, Yasuhiro  
Aoyama Gakuin/NINJAL

This chapter discusses two major themes. The first half states how research can be conducted regarding syntactic change by using Japanese electronic corpora. In the second half, I will show research that utilizes the electronic corpora of Heian-Period Japanese that is currently in development at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. Using this, I will syntactically examine the VERB-て clauses that represent attendant circumstances, successive events, causes and reasons, and concurrent events. I will also emphasize the following points:

1. Heian-Period Japanese VERB-て clauses can be divided into two main groups. One expresses the attendant circumstances, and syntactically works as an adjunct structure (Type A). The other expresses the successive events, causes and reasons and concurrent events, and syntactically works in a manner similar to a coordinate structure (Type B).

2. The above classification has carried over almost without change into the present-day Japanese VERB-て clause.

3. By examining the distribution of adverbial particles within Heian-Period Japanese corpus, I was able to discover that only Type A VERB-て clauses are suffixed by adverbial particles. This is one piece of evidence proving the first point above (1) correct.

As stated above, methods using electronic corpora are highly suitable as a means of observing the syntax rules of classical Japanese.

**PART IV. THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON JAPANESE**

Introduction and overview

46. **Early Japanese Dictionaries**  
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This chapter examines the use, compilation, and history of early Japanese dictionaries, primarily those dating from the 8th century (Nara Period) through the 9th-12 centuries (Heian Period). The development of dictionaries during this period can be characterized as follows. The 8th century was the period of introduction and absorption of Chinese dictionaries. The 9th to the 11th century saw the imitation and assimilation (Japanization) of Chinese dictionaries. The 11th century saw the birth of Japanese language dictionaries written in *katakana* using the native *iroha* order of entries, and of
Sino-Japanese character dictionaries arranged by radical.

**47. The great dictionary of Japanese: Vocabulario …**
MARUYAMA, Tōru
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The Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary compiled and published by Jesuits in 1603-04, containing more than 32,000 entries with explanations in Portuguese, is an indispensable work for lexical research on Late Middle Japanese. It is a veritable gold mine for the study of the history of Japanese and of sixteenth and seventeenth century Japanese culture. In Japan, Portuguese missionaries adopted the strategy of propagating Christianity through printed material from the outset, based on Francisco Xavier’s recommendation that, considering the extremely high literacy of Japanese, it would be efficacious to propagate Christianity through the printed word. Moreover, in Japan there was essentially one written language throughout the entire country. On the other hand, in India, given the existence of many different languages and writing systems, the motivation to compile printed dictionaries of any one specific language may have been less. Thus only in the late seventeenth century (1679) did the Jesuits publish their Tamil-Portuguese dictionary. Thus instead of printed works, we find several different manuscripts of the Konkani-Portuguese dictionary, for example reported to be in the collections of various Portuguese public libraries. Comparisons of these manuscripts will contribute to the clarification of the editing process of the only printed version known so far of the early seventeenth century Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary.

**48. Pre-Meiji research on Japanese**
KUGINUKI, Tōru

Research on the Japanese language began in the early Late Middle Japanese (Kamakura, late 12th century) with the development of Japanese classical studies, in the form of annotations on the literary classics of the Heian period. The linguistic consciousness behind these annotations of the classics may be classified into two main focii: the study of *teniwoha* (grammatical particles and verb endings) and *kanazukai* (kana usage). The traditions of scholarship on *teniwoha* and kana usage were transmitted orally among court aristocrats the upper ranks of the samurai class. In the middle of the early modern period (18th century) both traditions were transmitted to regional urban centers, where, with the addition of a more practical and rationalized approach, scholars achieved remarkable results in the study of the classical texts of the 8th century (Nara) period. Kana usage was explicated through the use of the *gojū onzu* (50 syllable chart), eventually developing into the scientific reconstruction of the sound system of earlier Japanese. Through the use of textually based evidence, scholarship on *teniwoha* escaped from the confines of oral transmission, culminating in the analyses of the verbal
conjugations and *kakarimusubi* (focus particle) phenomena that form the core of the framework of grammatical research in Japan today.

49. **Meiji period research on Japanese**

SANTÔ, Isao

Since the Meiji period, the wave of Westernization and modernization in Japan also exerted influence on the study of the Japanese language. The arrival of linguistics from the west combined with the philological study of the Japanese language in the *kokugaku* tradition of the Edo period made it possible to establish a genuine field of Japanese linguistics. As a result, linguistic research on Japanese gained independence as an academic discipline, as opposed to the ancillary role of Japanese philology in the interpretation of ancient and classical texts in the *kokugaku* tradition. Concretely, once B. H. Chamberlain began lecturing on Linguistics (designated by the contemporary term *hakugengaku*) at the Imperial University in Tokyo (later Tokyo University) in 1886, the historical study of Japanese started flourishing, focussing on cognition (genetic affiliation), phonological history and grammar. Additionally, against this background, the notions of ‘national language’ (*kokugo*) and ‘standard language’ came to be regarded as important factors in the formation of a modern nation state. In order to establish firmly a ‘national language’ -- necessary for national integration -- standard language education and language policy became closely connected, and compilation of modern dictionaries and grammars was solicited. In this way, the study of the Japanese language finally emerged as *kokugogaku*, the study of the ‘national language’. 