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Contraction and Monophthongization in Eastern Old Japanese

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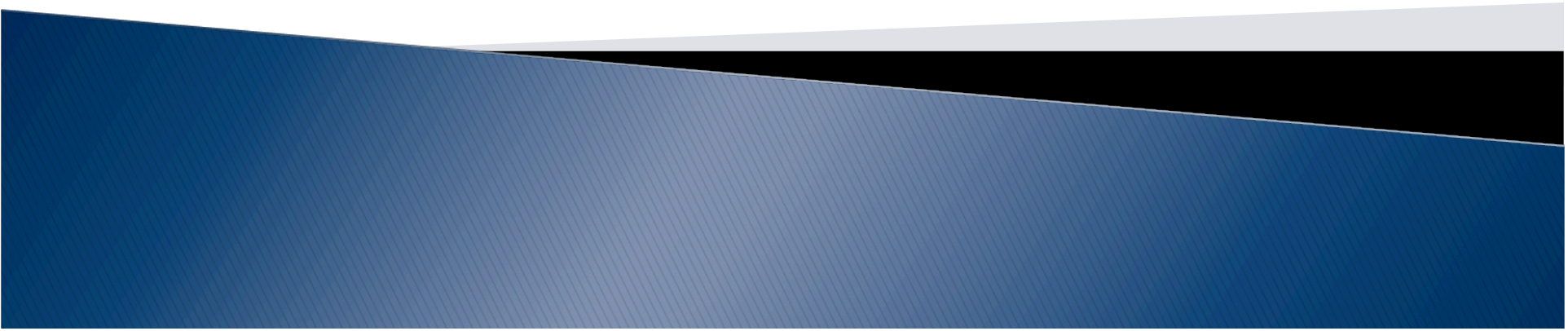

Introduction

- Contraction and Monophthongization
- Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ)

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- Old Japanese (8th century)
  - WOJ
  - EOJ

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  - WOJ
  - EOJ
    - NEOJ (Area A)
    - CEOJ (Area B)
    - SEOJ (Area C)

Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ)

- Old Japanese (8th century)
  - WOJ
  - EOJ
    - NEOJ (Area A)
    - CEOJ (Area B)
    - SEOJ (Area C)
    - UEOJ (Poems of unknown origin)

Area A: 1. Mutsu (陸奥) 2. Shimotsuke (下野) 3. Kazusa (上総)
Area B: 4. Kōzuke (上野) 5. Musashi (武蔵) 6. Shimōsa (下総)
7. Hitachi (常陸) 8. Sagami (相模) 9. Izu (伊豆)
Area C: 10. Shinano (信濃) 11. Tōtōmi (遠江) 12. Suruga (駿河)[260]

Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ)

- Old Japanese (8th century)
- Relationship between WOJ and EOJ

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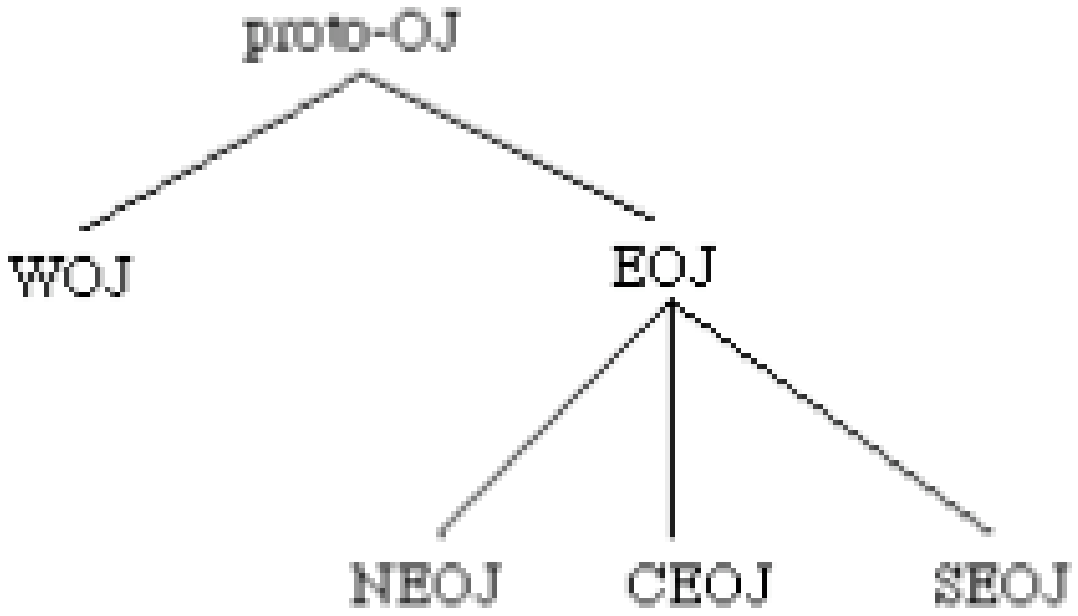

Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ)

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WOJ – SEOJ – CEOJ – NEOJ

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- Relationship between WOJ and EOJ
- Primary Sources
  - Man'yōshū Books XIV and XX

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    - But not all poems are EOJ (234/450)

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    - But not all poems are EOJ (234/450)
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Contraction and Monophthongization

Contraction and Monophthongization

- Prevent vowel-vowel sequences

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- Contraction = deletion

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  apa+umi

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  apa+umi > apaumi > apumi

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    *naga+iki

Contraction and Monophthongization

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  - 2 vowels become a diphthong then become a monophthong

    *naga+iki > (*)nagaiki > nageki

C&M in WOJ

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- Contraction

C&M in WOJ

- Contraction
  - Group I:

    polysyllabic word + monosyllabic word:

    …V1 + V2 > …V2

    polysyllabic word + polysyllabic word:

    …V1 + V2… > …V2…

C&M in WOJ

- Contraction
  - Group II:

    monosyllabic word + polysyllabic word:

    (C)V1 + V2… > (C)V1…

C&M in WOJ

- Contraction
  - Group III:

    vowel final verb stem + verbal suffix:

    (C)V1 + V2… > (C)V1…

    unless V2 is /u/, in which case:

    (C)V1 + V2… > (C)V2…

C&M in WOJ

- Monophthongization
  - *a+i > e
  - *i+a > ye
  - *o+i > e
  - *o+i > wi
  - *u+i > wi
  - *u+o > wo
  - *u+a > wo

C&M in WOJ

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  - *a+i > e
  - *i+a > ye
  - *o+i > e
  - *o+i > wi
  - *u+i > wi
  - *u+o > wo
  - *u+a > wo

C&M in WOJ

- Monophthongization
  - *a+i > e
  - *i+a > ye
  - *o+i > e
  - *o+i > wi

    kömï- > *komo-Ai- 'insert (v.t.)' (K II: 45)

    kömë- > *komo-Ai- 'insert (v.t.)' (MYS XVII: 3998)
  - *u+i > wi
  - *u+o > wo
  - *u+a > wo

C&M in EOJ

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- Vowel correspondences

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- Some correspondences reflected morphological (not phonological) differences

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- Bound and free forms of nouns

C&M in EOJ

- Vowel correspondences
- Some correspondences reflected morphological (not phonological) differences
- Bound and free forms of nouns
  - bound forms are found in compounds
  - free forms can acquire case particles

C&M in EOJ

- C&M in EOJ compared to WOJ

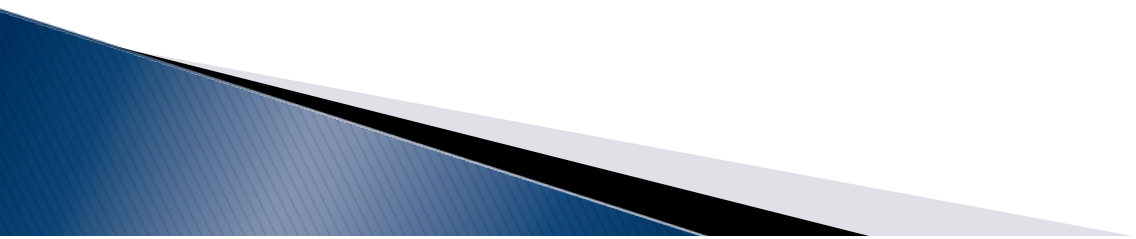
C&M in EOJ

- C&M in EOJ compared to WOJ
  - one-to-one correspondence between bound forms
    - WOJ puna– : EOJ puna–

C&M in EOJ

- C&M in EOJ compared to WOJ
  - one-to-one correspondence between bound forms
    - WOJ puna– : EOJ puna–
  - not true of free forms
    - I'll discuss this by dialect

C&M in NEOJ



C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”

  puna- : pune 'boat'

  ipa- : ipe 'house'

  (n/a) : ame 'heaven'

  (n/a) : kaze 'wind'

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”

  puna- : pune 'boat'

  ipa- : ipe 'house'

  (n/a) : ame 'heaven'

  (n/a) : kaze 'wind'

- Monophthongization occurs (like WOJ)

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “o”

  (n/a) : ke 'tree'

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “o”

  (n/a) : ke 'tree'

- Monophthongization occurs, but not like WOJ

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “o”

  (n/a) : ke 'tree'

- Monophthongization occurs, but not like WOJ
  - WOJ: ko+i > kwi
  - NEOJ: ko+i > ke

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “o”

  (n/a) : ke 'tree'

- Monophthongization occurs, but not like WOJ
  - WOJ: ko+i > kwi
  - NEOJ: ko+i > ke
  - but, in WOJ o+i results in both /wi/ and /e/
    - different result of o+i

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  - (n/a) : kami
  - (n/a) : tuku

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  - (n/a) : kami = contraction of u+i > i
  - (n/a) : tuku = contraction? bound form?

C&M in NEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  - (n/a) : kami = contraction of u+i > i
  - (n/a) : tuku = contraction? bound form?
- Monophthongization does not occur with “u”

C&M in NEOJ

- Conclusions:
  - WOJ-like monopthongization for stems ending in “a”
  - not quite WOJ-like monophthongization for the stem ending in “o”
  - contraction (?) for stems ending in “u”

C&M in CEOJ

C&M in CEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”

  (n/a) : suga 'sedge'

  (n/a) : kaki 'shade, reflection'

  (n/a) : kami 'god'

  (n/a) : yumi 'dream'

  ipa : ipye 'house'

  puna- : pune 'boat'

  ta- : te 'hand'

  (n/a) : ame 'heaven'

  (n/a) : kaze 'wind'

C&M in CEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”
  - (n/a) : suga < contraction? bound form?
  - (n/a) : kaki < contraction
  - (n/a) : kami < contraction
  - (n/a) : yumi < contraction
  - ipa : ipye < monophthongization
  - puna- : pune < monophthongization
  - ta- : te < monophthongization
  - (n/a) : ame < monophthongization
  - (n/a) : kaze < monophthongization

C&M in CEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”
  - (n/a) : suga < contraction? bound form?
  - (n/a) : kaki < contraction
  - (n/a) : kami < contraction
  - (n/a) : yumi < contraction
  - ipa : ipye < monophthongization
  - puna- : pune < monophthongization
  - ta- : te < monophthongization
  - (n/a) : ame < monophthongization
  - (n/a) : kaze < monophthongization

C&M in CEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”
- Even in same area of CEOJ; e.g., in Shimōsa:

(n/a) : kaki < contraction

(n/a) : kami < contraction

(n/a) : yumi < contraction

(n/a) : ipye < monophthongization

puna- : pune < monophthongization

(n/a) : te < monophthongization

(n/a) : ame < monophthongization

C&M in CEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  tuku- : tuku 'moon'
  (n/a) : kami 'god'

C&M in CEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  tuku- : tuku 'moon' < contraction? bound form?
  (n/a) : kami 'god' < contraction

C&M in CEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  tuku- : tuku 'moon' < contraction? bound form?
  (n/a) : kami 'god' < contraction
- Monophthongization does not occur

C&M in CEOJ

- Conclusions:
  - Both contraction and monophthongization occur for stems ending in “a”
  - Monophthongization does not occur with “u”

C&M in SEOJ

C&M in SEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”
  (n/a) : kago 'shade'
  (n/a) : ipi 'house'

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  (n/a) : kami 'god'

C&M in SEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”
  (n/a) : kago 'shade' < neither?
  (n/a) : ipi 'house' < contraction

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  (n/a) : kami 'god' < contraction

C&M in SEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”
  (n/a) : kago 'shade' < monophthongization?
  (n/a) : ipi 'house' < contraction

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”
  (n/a) : kami 'god' < contraction

C&M in SEOJ

- Conclusions:
  - Contraction or monophthongization

C&M in UEOJ

C&M in UEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”

  ta- : te 'hand'

  (n/a) : ame 'heaven'

  (n/a) : kagye 'shade'

  (n/a) : kaze 'wind'

  (n/a) : pune 'boat'

  (n/a) : take 'bamboo'

  (n/a) : ipye & ipa 'house'

C&M in UEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “a”

  ta- : te 'hand'

  (n/a) : ame 'heaven'

  (n/a) : kagye 'shade'

  (n/a) : kaze 'wind'

  (n/a) : pune 'boat'

  (n/a) : take 'bamboo'

  (n/a) : ipye & ipa 'house'

- WOJ-like monophthongization, except for “ipa”

C&M in UEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”

  tuku- : tuku 'moon'

  (n/a) : kamu & kamwi & kami 'god'

C&M in UEOJ

- Examples where the bound form ends in “u”

  tuku- : tuku 'moon'

  (n/a) : kamu & kamwi & kami 'god'

- Contraction or bound form; monophthongization for “kamwi”

Conclusions

Conclusions

- Bound form ending in “a”
  - NEOJ = monophthongization
  - CEOJ = contraction or monophthongization
  - SEOJ = contraction
  - UEOJ = monophthongization

Conclusions

- Bound form ending in “o”
  - NEOJ = monophthongization (but different)
  - CEOJ = n/a
  - SEOJ = n/a
  - UEOJ = n/a

Conclusions

- Bound form ending in “u”
  - NEOJ = contraction (?)
  - CEOJ = contraction (?)
  - SEOJ = contraction
  - UEOJ = contraction or monophthongization
- Except for “kamwi” in UEOJ, monophthongization does not occur in this environment
  - text variants record this as “kame”

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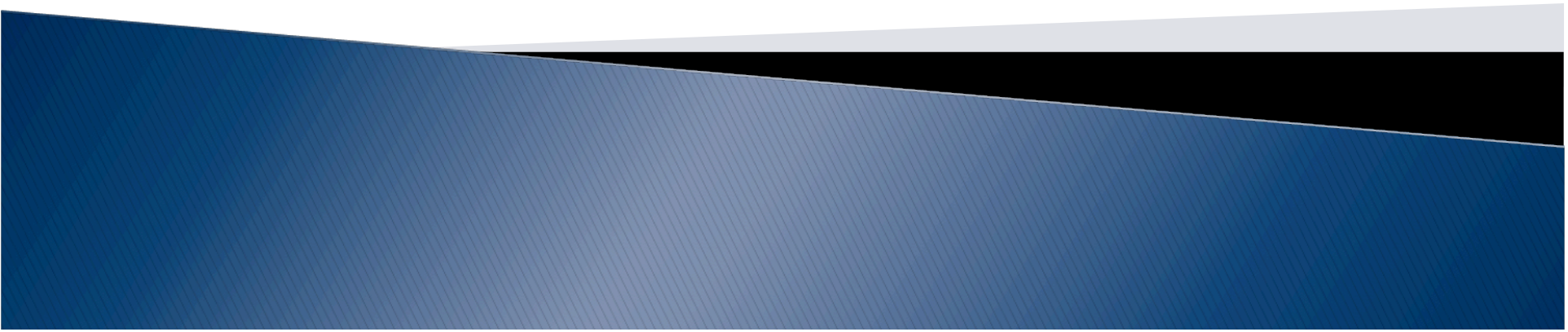
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