

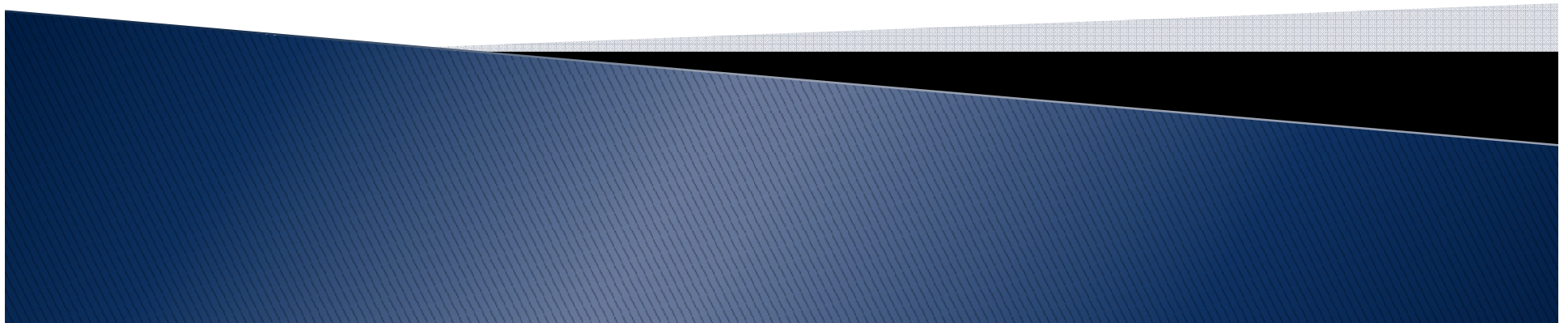
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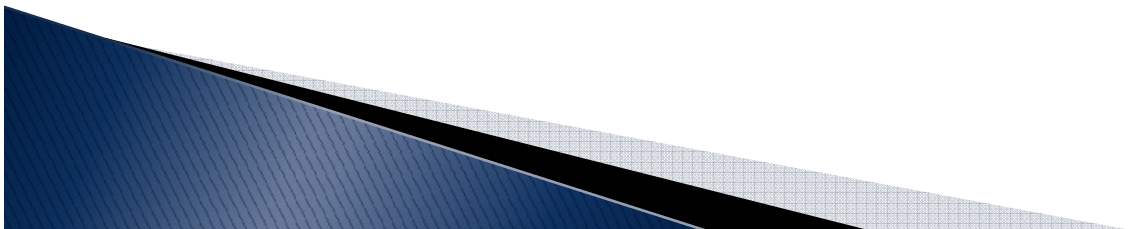
# On Modern Japanese within the history of the Japanese language

Bjarke Frellesvig

Newcastle University  
16 November 2011

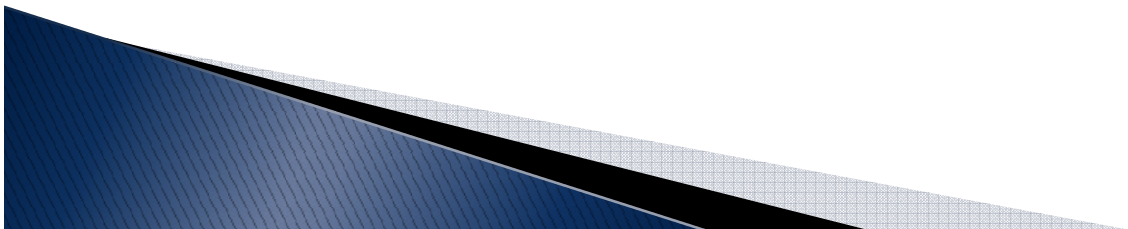


- ▶ A condensed overview over the history of the Japanese language.
- ▶ The position of Modern Japanese within the overall history of the language.



# Overview over the history of the Japanese language

(Bjarke Frellesvig, *A history of the Japanese language*,  
Cambridge University Press, 2010)



# The linguistic periods of Japanese

Old Japanese (OJ) Nara	700 – 800
Early Middle Japanese (EMJ) Heian	800 – 1200
Late Middle Japanese (LMJ) Kamakura, Muromachi	1200 – 1600
Modern Japanese (NJ) Edo/Tokugawa onwards	1600 –

# Old Japanese (OJ)

## 700 - 800

- ▶ Limited sources, but enough to get a relatively good idea of the language at the time;
- ▶ most sources reflect the language of the centre of political power, Nara, in the Kansai region, but some reflect some varieties spoken in Eastern Japan, usually collectively referred to under one as Eastern Old Japanese (**EOJ**)
- ▶ all sources were written in Chinese characters, used logographically or phonographically, so interpretation is not always simple;
- ▶ majority of sources are poetry.



# Old Japanese texts

- ▶ *Kojiki kayō* 古事記歌謡 712
- ▶ *Nihon shoki kayō* 日本書紀歌謡 720
- ▶ *Fudoki kayō* 風土記歌謡 730s
- ▶ *Bussokuseki-ka* 仏足石歌 after 753
  
- ▶ *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 after 759
  
- ▶ *Shoku nihongi kayō* 続日本紀歌謡 797
  
- ▶ *Shoku nihongi Senmyō* 宣命 697-791
- ▶ *Engishiki Norito* 祝詞 (compiled 927)

# Old Japanese

挂 畏  
KAKEMAKU MO KASIKWOKI  
speaking.of even awesome

天皇  
SUMYERA GA  
imperial.highness GEN

大御髮 乎  
OPOMI-KAMI wo  
HON-hair ACC

盜 給 波利豆  
NUSUMI-TAMAp<sub>arite</sub>  
steal-HUM

岐多奈伎 佐保川 乃  
kitanaki sapoGAPA NO  
dirty Saogawa GEN

髑髏 尔  
PITOGASIRA ni  
skull DAT

入 豆  
IREte  
put.into

大宮 内 尔  
OPOMIYA NO UTI ni  
palace GEN inside DAT

持 参入 来 豆  
MOTI-MAWIRI-KIte  
hold-enter.HUM-come.GER

厭魅 為 流  
MAZIWAZA S-Eru koto  
spell/curse do-STAT NMLZ

己止  
MI-TABI s-eri  
three-times do-STAT

三度 世利

‘They [the evil conspirators] stole hair of the unspeakably awesome imperial highness [Empress Shōtoku (*r.* 764-770) who was the ruling empress at the time], put it inside a skull from the Saogawa River, took it inside the palace, and cast spells three times’ (from *Senmyō* 43, dating from 769)



# Old Japanese

賢	良乎	為	跡	酒	不飲
SAKASI	Ira wo	SU	to	SAKE	NOMA-NU
	ACC	do	PURP	saké	drink-NEG

人	乎	熟	見者	猿	二鴨	似
PITO	wo	YOKU	MIREBA	SARU	ni kamo	NI-MU
person	ACC	well	look.PROV	monkey	DAT FP	resemble- CONJ

‘Looking closely at someone who doesn’t drink in order to appear wise, they look like a monkey or something’  
(MYS 3.344)

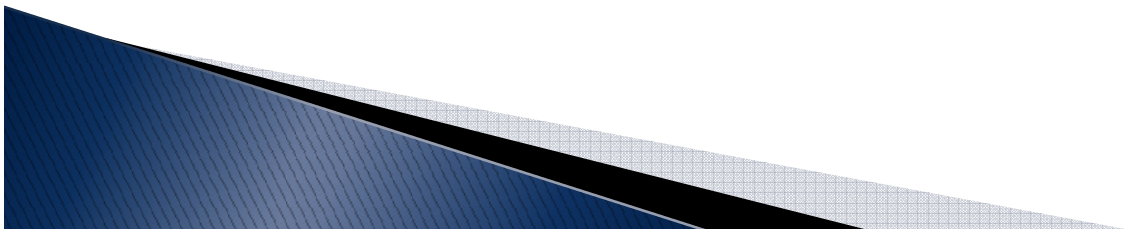
# Old Japanese

許呂佐務 苔 須羅句 塙 志羅珥 比賣那素寐 殊  
korosa-mu to suraku wo sira-ni pimye-n-aswobi su  
kill-CONJ TO do.NMNL ACC know- girl-'s-play do  
NEG

‘not knowing that somebody intends to kill you, you are flirting  
with girls’ (NSK 18)

# Early Middle Japanese (EMJ) 800 - 1200

- ▶ The political capital moves to Kyoto (also in Kansai), which remained the seat of political power until the beginning of the early modern period.





# Early Middle Japanese (EMJ)

## 800 - 1200

- ▶ Large body of prose texts from 900 - 1100, to a large extent reflecting the contemporary spoken language of the upper classes of the capital, written in the *kana* script which evolved at the beginning of the period;
- ▶ the written language starts fossilizing from around 1100, giving rise to the *Classical Japanese* written language which served as the basis for most writing in Japanese until the beginning of the 20th century.

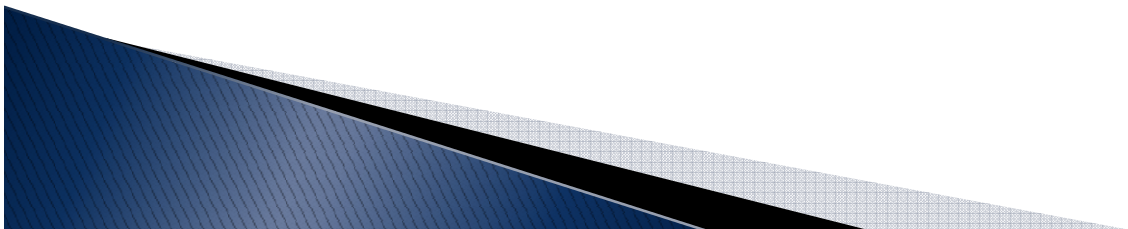
# Early Middle Japanese

## Some texts

- ▶ *Kokin wakashū preface* 古今和歌集仮名序 914
- ▶ *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 early 10<sup>th</sup> c.
- ▶ *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 935
- ▶ *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 mid 10<sup>th</sup> c.
- ▶ *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記 2<sup>nd</sup> half 10<sup>th</sup> c.
- ▶ *Ochikubo monogatari* 落窪物語 late 10<sup>th</sup> c.
- ▶ *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 c. 1000
- ▶ *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 1001-1010
- ▶ *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 1059-1060
- ▶ *Konjaku monogatari-shū* 今昔物語集 1120

# Late Middle Japanese (LMJ) 1200 - 1600

- ▶ Contemporary spoken language mainly reflected indirectly in most sources, especially in the first half of the period.



# Late Middle Japanese

## A few texts

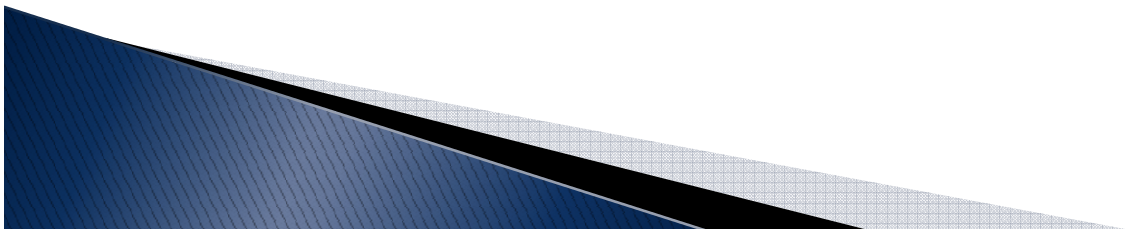
- ▶ *Hôjôki* 方丈記 (1212; Kamo no chômei)
- ▶ *Heike Monogatari* 平家物語 (c. 1220)
- ▶ *Izayoi Nikki* 十六夜日記 (c. 1280; Abutsu)
- ▶ *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (c. 1330; Yoshida Kenkô)



# Late Middle Japanese (LMJ)

## 1200 - 1600

- ▶ Valuable sources in Latin alphabet writing produced by Christian missionaries from the very end of the period (spanning the beginning of Modern Japanese), reflecting the contemporary spoken language.



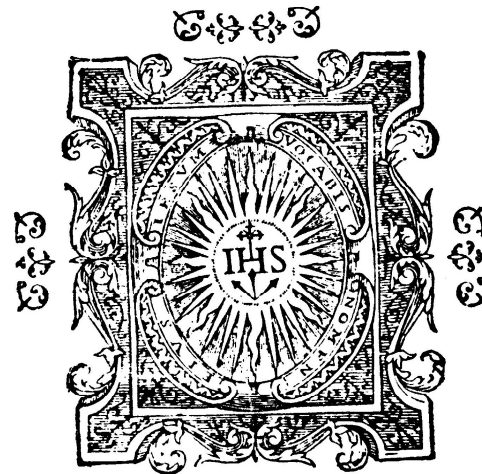
# Late Middle Japanese

- ▶ *Shômono* 抄物 (mid-15th to mid-16th century)
- ▶ *Kyôgen* 狂言 (written down from early 17th century)
  
- ▶ *Arte da Lingoa Japonesa* (D. da Silva; 1551)
- ▶ *Grammatica da Lingoa Japonesa* (J. Fernandes; 1564)
- ▶ *Feiqe Monogatari; Esopuno Fabvlas* (1591-3).
- ▶ *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum ac Japonicam* (1595).
- ▶ *Vocabulario da lingua de Iapom* (J. Rodrigues; 1603-4)
- ▶ *Arte da lingua de Iapam* (J. Rodrigues; 1608)
- ▶ *Arte Breve da lingua Iapoa* (J. Rodrigues; 1620)
- ▶ *Ars grammaticae linguae Iaponiae* (1632; Collado)

# Arte

ARTE DA LINGOA DE IAPÃO  
COMPOSTA PELO

Padre Ioão Rodriguez, Portuguez da Companhia de IESV diuidida em tres  
LIVROS.



COM LICENÇA DO ORDINARIO, E SUPERIORES EM  
Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapão da  
Companhia de IESV

Anno. 1604.

長崎版ロドリゲス日本大文典扉

# Vocabulario



# *Feige*



# Main changes to affect Japanese 1

## Internal ('evolutive') change

### *Sound changes* (late OJ through EMJ)

segmental changes and introduction of quantity sensitivity

disyllabic OJ *kwo.pwi* 'love' > EMJ *kwo.pi* > *ko.pi* > *ko.wi* >  
mono-syllabic *koi*

### *Morpho-syntactic changes* (mainly LMJ)

extensive changes to verbal morphological categories,  
nominalization, focus constructions

# Inflected verb forms, NJ

	'drink'	'eat'
Finite		
Nonpast; <i>-ru</i>	<i>nomu</i>	<i>taberu</i>
Nonpast volitional; <i>-yoo</i>	<i>nomoo</i>	<i>tabeyoo</i>
Past; <i>-(I)ta</i>	<i>nonda</i>	<i>tabeta</i>
Imperative; <i>-e/-ro</i>	<i>nome</i>	<i>tabero</i>
Nonfinite		
Coordinate		
Infinitive; <i>-i/Ø</i>	<i>nomi</i>	<i>tabe</i>
Subordinate		
Gerund; <i>-(I)te</i>	<i>nonde</i>	<i>tabete</i>
Alternative; <i>-(I)tari</i>	<i>nondari</i>	<i>tabetari</i>
Provisional; <i>-reba</i>	<i>nomeba</i>	<i>tabereba</i>
Conditional; <i>-(I)tara</i>	<i>nondara</i>	<i>tabetara</i>

# Inflected verb forms, OJ

	'write'	'open'
Finite		
<b>Conclusive</b>	<i>kaku</i>	<i>aku</i>
Adnominal	<i>kaku</i>	<i>akuru</i>
Exclamatory	<i>kake</i>	<i>akure</i>
<b>Imperative</b>	<i>kakye</i>	<i>ake(yo)</i>
Neg. conjunct.	<i>kakazi</i>	<i>akezi</i>
Optative	<i>kakana</i>	<i>akena</i>
Prohibitive	<i>na kaki so</i>	<i>na ake so</i>
Non-finite		
<b>Infinitive</b>	<i>kaki</i>	<i>ake</i>
<b>Gerund</b>	<i>kakite</i>	<i>akete</i>
<b>Continuative</b>	<i>kakitutu</i>	<i>aketutu</i>
Conditional	<i>kakaba</i>	<i>akeba</i>
<b>Provisional</b>	<i>kakeba</i>	<i>akureba</i>
Concessive	<i>kakedo</i>	<i>akuredo</i>
Nominalized	<i>kakaku</i>	<i>akuraku</i>



# Auxiliaries in OJ

Honorific	<i>kakas-</i>	-
Voice		
Causative	<i>kakasime-</i>	<i>akesime-</i>
Passive	<i>kakaye-</i>	-
<b>Passive</b>	<i>kakare-</i>	-
Aspect/Negation		
Perfective	<i>kakite-</i>	<i>akete-</i>
Perfective	<i>(sakin-)</i>	<i>(token-)</i>
Stative	<i>kakyer-</i>	-
<b>[Stative]</b>	<i>[kakitar-]</i>	<i>[aketar-]</i>
<b>Negative</b>	<i>kakan-</i>	<i>aken-</i>
Negative	<i>kakazu</i>	<i>akezu</i>
Tense/Mood		
Modal Past	<i>kakikyer-</i>	<i>akekyer-</i>
Simple Past	<i>kakiki</i>	<i>akeki</i>
<b>Conjectural</b>	<i>kakam-</i>	<i>akem-</i>
Subjunctive	<i>kakamasi</i>	<i>akemasi</i>

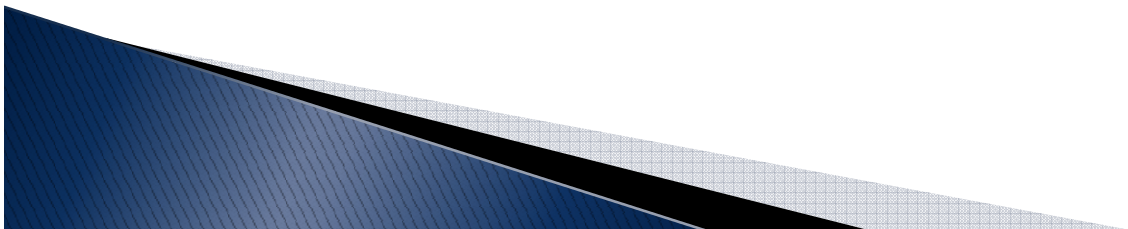
# Main changes to affect Japanese 2

## Contact-induced ('adaptive') change

***Sinification*** (pre-OJ through EMJ; contact with Chinese)  
loanwords (e.g. *kyō* 'sutra', *nettsu* 'fever', *nikki* 'diary');  
phonological and some grammatical influence

***Westernization*** (from mid-16<sup>th</sup>, but especially 20<sup>th</sup> century;  
contact with European languages)  
loanwords (e.g. *pan* 'bread', *hōku*, fork);  
phonological and some grammatical influence

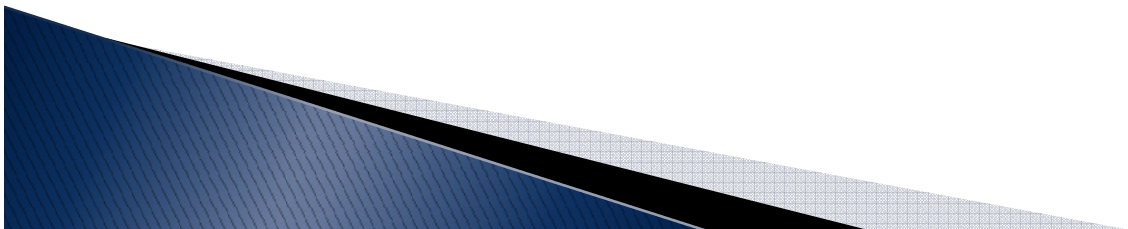
# The position of Modern Japanese within the overall history of the language



# Modern Japanese (NJ)

## 1600 -

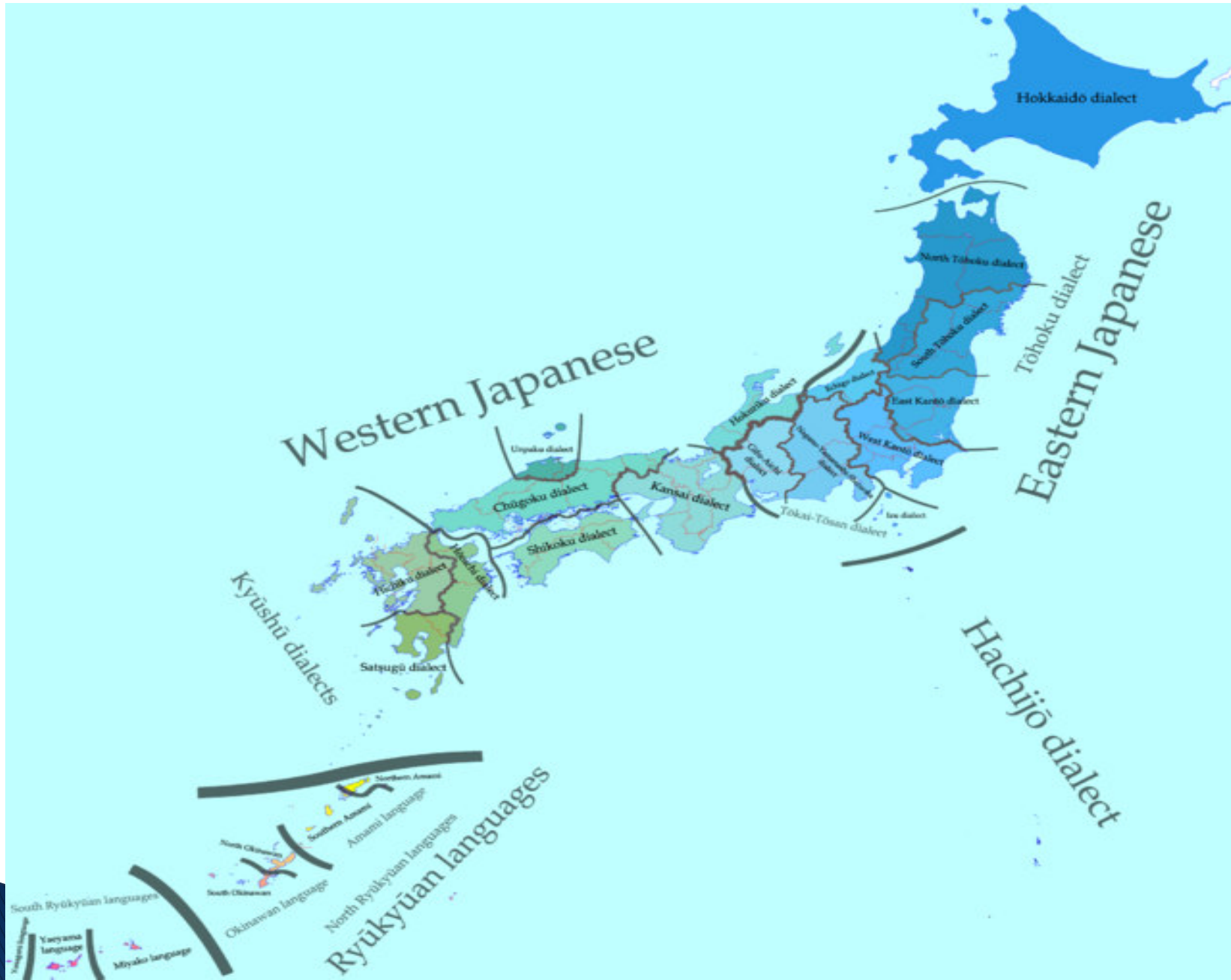
- ▶ The capital moves to Edo, present-day Tokyo, at the beginning of the period;
- ▶ a variety of sources, but to a large extent only indirect reflection of the contemporary spoken language well into the period.





# Modern Japanese

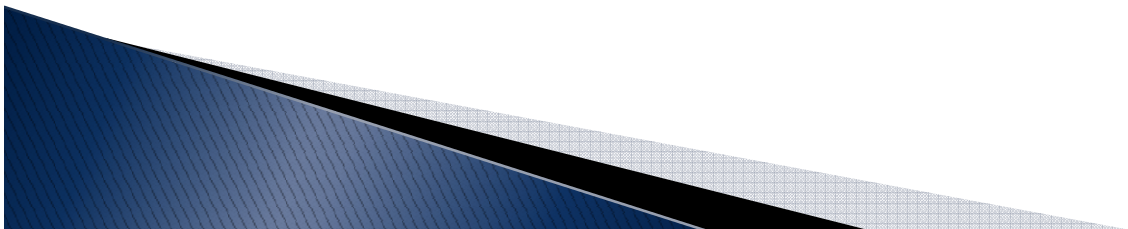
Sweeping language reforms at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century combined **vernacularization** (言文一致) of the written language with efforts to define a national **Standard Japanese** (標準語) and resulted in the establishment of a (written) norm which was based on the language of the educated classes of Tokyo.



# Modern Japanese

## Question

Was there a *significant break in tradition* between the language reflected in the pre-modern, Kansai-based sources and the current common/standard language?





# Kyoto versus Kanto ('Quantô') features mentioned by Rodrigues 1

	<i>Kyoto</i>	<i>Kanto</i>
/se/ =>	[ʃe]	[se]
Allative particle	<i>e</i>	<i>sa</i>
Negative auxiliary	<i>-nu</i> <i>kawanu</i>	<i>-nai</i> <i>kawanai</i>

# Kyoto versus Kanto features mentioned by Rodrigues 2; *onbin* forms

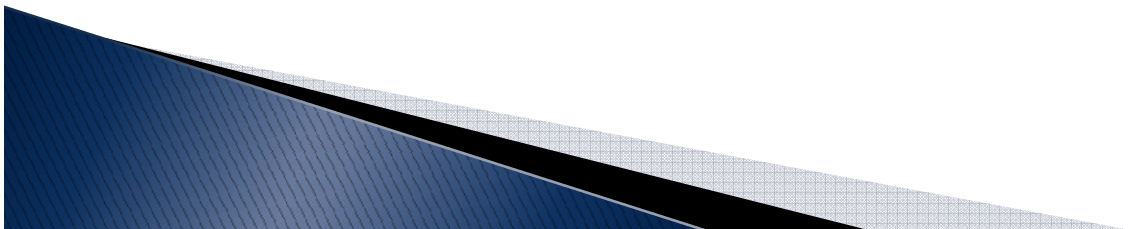
	<i>Kyoto</i>	<i>Kanto</i>
Intentional	- <i>ɔɔzuru</i> <i>kaɔɔzuru</i> [ka <sup>w</sup> ɔ:zuru]	- <i>anzuru</i> <i>kawanzuru</i>
<i>Onbin</i> of - <i>w</i> base verbs	- <i>u</i> <i>kɔɔta</i> (NJ <i>koota</i> )	- <i>Q</i> <i>katta</i>
Adjectival infinitive	- <i>u</i> <i>takɔɔ</i> (NJ <i>takoo</i> )	- <i>ku</i> <i>takaku</i>

Example of a (very) Late Middle  
Japanese text:  
one of the stories from  
*Esopo no Fabulas*  
1593

The Japanese language in the

*Esopo no Fabulas*

was the language of Kyoto



# ESOPONO

F A B V L A S.

Latinuo vaxite Nippon no  
cuchito nasu mono nari.



I E V S N O C O M P A N H I A N O

Collegio Amacusani voite Superiores no gomen-  
qiotoxite coreuo fanni qizamu mono nari .

Goxuxxe yori M . D . L . X X X X I I I .

Vôcameto, couo motta vonnano coto.

Vôcame yppiqi arufi yemonoga nõte vyeni voyô  
de, cococaxicouo caqemeguri, aru yamazatono  
xizzuga iuorino noqibani yorisôte qiqeba, chijfai co-  
no naquuo fucasu tote, fono faua camayete nacaba, vô  
cameni yarõzuto yũniyotte, vôcameua coreuo qi-  
qi, macotocato vomôte, appare coreua yoi xiaua-  
xecanato machicaqete yreba, fimo yõyõ cureyuita.  
Saredomo couoba cureide, amaffaye fauano yũyõua:

Vôcameto, couo motta vonnano coto.  
Vôcame yppiқи arufi yemonoga nõte vyeni voyô  
de, cococaxicouo caqemeguri, aru yamazatono  
xizzuga iuorino noqibani yorisôte qiqeba, chijfai co-  
no naquuo fucasu tote, fono faua camayete nacaba, vô  
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qi, macotocato vomôte, appare coreua yoi xiaua-  
xecanato machicaqete yreba, fimo yõyõ cureyuita.

Ookame to, ko o motta onna no koto.

Ookame ippiki aru fi emono ga nõte u'e ni oyoo  
de, koko-kasiko o kake-meguri, aru yamazato no  
sidu ga i'ori no nokiba ni yori-soote kikeba, tiisai ko  
no naku o sukasu tote, sono fawa "kama'ete nakaba, oo  
kame ni yarõzû" to yuu ni yotte, ookame kore o ki  
ki, makoto ka to omoote, "appare kore wa yoi siawa  
se ka na" to mati-kakete ireba, fi mo yõyõ kure-yuita.

## **Vôcameto, couo motta vonnano coto. Ookame to, ko o motta onna no koto**

Ookame ippiki aru fi emono ga nôte u'e ni oyoode, koko-kasiko o kake-meguri, aru yamazato no sidu ga i'ori no nokiba ni yori-soote kikeba, tiisai ko no naku o sukasu tote, sono fawa "kama'ete nakaba, ookame ni yarôzu" to yuu ni yotte, ookame kore o kiki, makoto ka to omoote, "appare kore wa yoi siawase ka na" to mati-kakete ireba, fi mo yôyô kure-yuita.

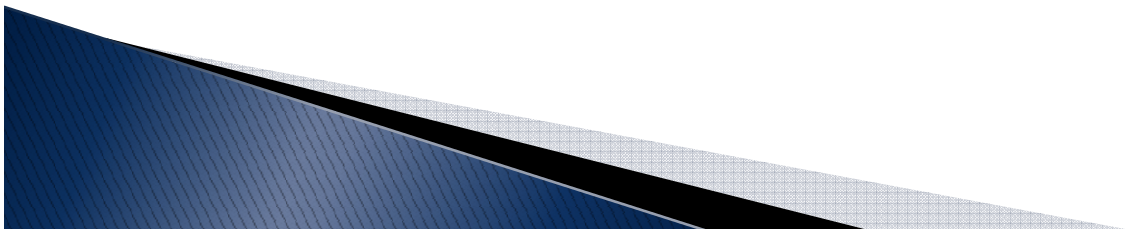
Saredomo, ko oba kureide, amassa'e fawa no yuu yô wa: "ara itoosi no mono ya! ki-dukai suru na: tatoi ookame ga kitari tomo, soitume oba uti-koroite kawa o faide nokyoo zo" to yuu ni yotte, ookame omoo yô wa: 'saritotewa ikkoo-ryôzet-na mono zya: fazime wa kuryoo to yuuta ga, ima wa mata fiki-ka'ete mi o korosô wa yare, kawa o fagô wa nado to yuu ka' to yuute, sugosugo-to tati-satta.

### **Sita-gokoro**

Fito wa tabun kokoro to, kotoba wa ninu mono de, yayamosureba, yakusoku o fenzi, omowanu koto o mo yuu mono zya.



# Influences from eastern Japanese on the Standard Language



# Influences from eastern Japanese on the Standard Language

## a. Differences in (fairly) recent innovations

- ▶ *onbin* forms
- ▶ negative auxiliary
- ▶ copula

## b. Differences of long standing

- ▶ prosody/”accent”
- ▶ imperative

# *Onbin* forms

Basic stem

*Onbin-stem*  
Western Eastern

*Gerund*  
Western Eastern

a.

*kaw-* ‘buy’

*koV-*      *kaQ-*

*kōte*      *katte*

*yob-* ‘call’

*yoV-*      *yoN-*

*yōde*      *yonde*

*yom-* ‘read’

*yoV-*      *yoN-*

*yōde*      *yonde*

*das-* ‘put out’

*daI-*      *dashi-*

*daite*      *dashite*

b.

*mot-* ‘hold’

*moQ-*

*motte*

*tor-* ‘take’

*toQ-*

*totte*

*kak-* ‘write’

*kaI-*

*kaite*

*kog-* ‘row’

*koI-*

*koide*

*shin-* ‘die’

*shiN-*

*shinde*

▶ **Negative auxiliary**

Kyoto

-(a)n [*yoman*]

-(a)hen [*yomahen*]

Kanto/cNJ

-(a)nai [*yomanai*]

both Kansai *-(a)hen* and Kanto *-(a)nai* seem to be fairly recent innovations  
[*yomahen* < *yomi wa sen*]                      [*yomanai* ?? < \**yomi wa nai*]

▶ **Copula**

Kyoto

*zya*

cNJ

*da*

both are fairly recent reductions from *de aru* (further < *ni-te ari*)

# The Imperative for vowel base verbs

OJ

Kyoto cNJ

EOJ

Standard cNJ

*ake-* ‘open’

*ake(yo)*

*ake:*

*akero*

*akero*

*oki-* ‘arise’

*okwi(yo)*

*oki:*

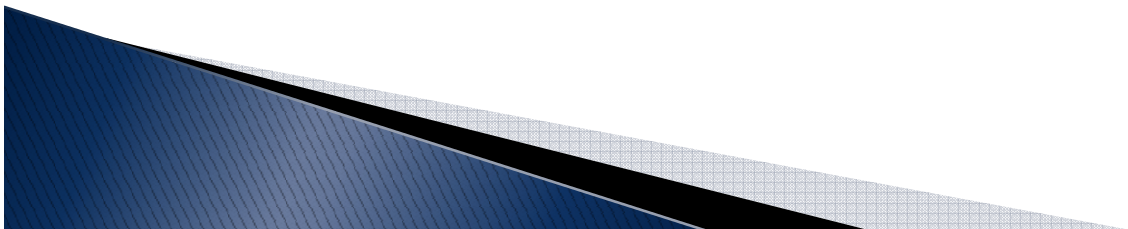
*okiro*

*okiro*

# Modern Japanese

## Question

Was there a *significant break in tradition* between the language reflected in the pre-modern, Kansai-based sources and the current common/standard language?



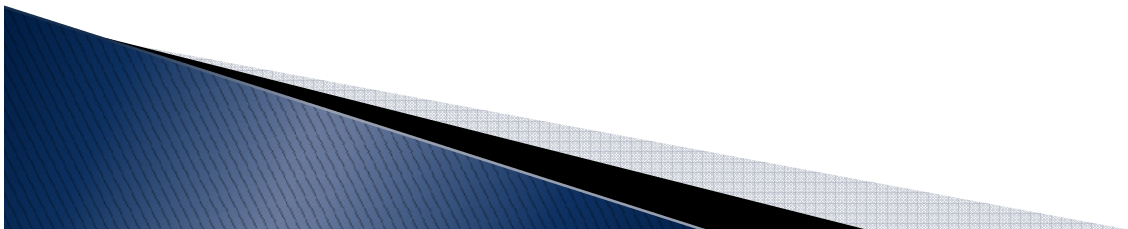
# Modern Japanese

## Question

Was there a *significant break in tradition* between the language reflected in the pre-modern, Kansai-based sources and the current common/standard language?

## Answer

No



# Modern Standard Japanese

- ▶ The influence of particular, long-standing features of ‘Eastern Japanese’ on the current common/standard language was small, although such features surely influenced the lower register ‘Edo language’ to a somewhat higher extent.
- ▶ We see *no significant break in tradition* between the language reflected in pre-modern sources and the current common/standard language. The educated classes of Tokyo appear to have spoken a language which was the continuation of the educated common language used by the upper classes in Kyoto.

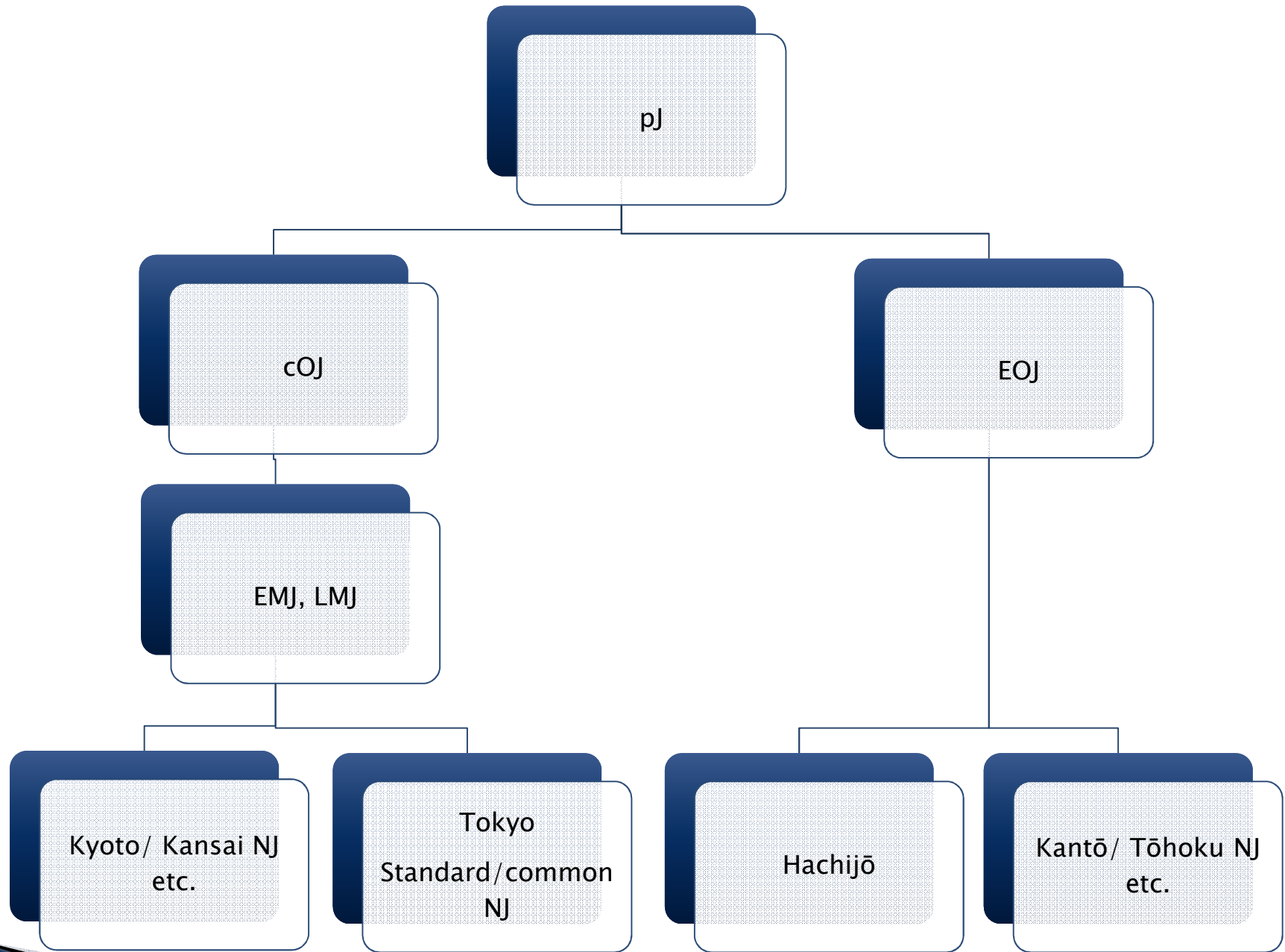


# Modern Standard Japanese

## Conclusion

Current common/standard Japanese is **not** an eastern or Kanto-based variety of Japanese with some *superstratum* influence from Kyoto/Kansai.

On the contrary, current common/standard Japanese is a Kyoto-based variety of Japanese, with some *substratum* influence from Kanto, through Edo Japanese.



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University of Oxford

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ご清聴ありがとうございました

