

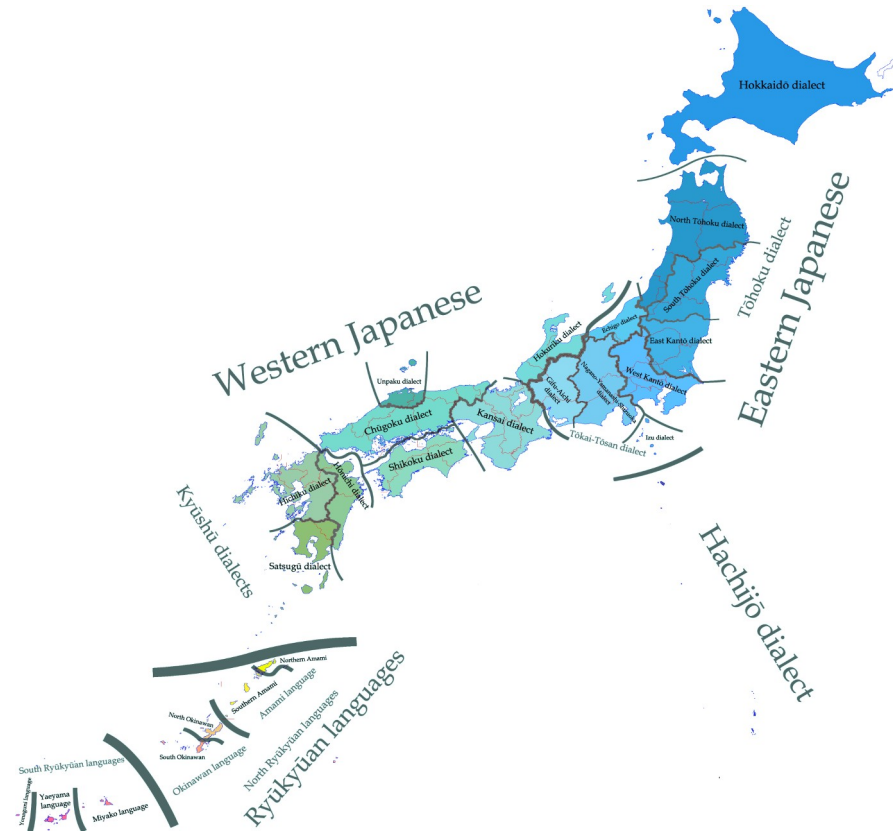
Did (some) Eastern Old Japanese survive to this day?

A few reflections on the morphology of some Eastern Japanese 'language islands'

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Introduction

Introduction (1) – Japonic languages



Map of the contemporary Japonic languages
(*Wikimedia*)

Introduction (2) – Attributive / final opposition

- Although they are morphologically identical in the contemporary standard, Japanese grammar distinguishes two forms of the verbs and adjectives :
 - 立つ時 *tatsu toki* 'when I stand' = 立つ *tatsu* 'I stand'
 - 高い山 *takai yama* 'a high mountain'
= 山が高い *yama=ga takai* 'the mountain is high'

Introduction (2) – Attributive / final opposition

- These forms are called *rentaikei* (連体形) & *shūshikei* (終止形), respectively.
- *Rentaikei* translates as “adnominal form” or “attributive form”:
 - 高い山 *takai_yama*
- *Shūshikei* translates as “conclusive form” or “final form”:
 - 山が高い *yama=ga takai*

Introduction (2) – Attributive / final opposition

- This distinction is inherited from classical Japanese, where the two forms are morphologically different:
 - 生くる人 *ikuru fito* 'a living person'
/ 人が生く *fito=ga iku* 'a person lives'
 - 高き山 *takaki yama* 'a tall mountain'
/ 山が高し *yama=ga takashi* 'the mountain is tall'
- In most contemporary dialects, this opposition disappeared.

Introduction (2) – Attributive / final opposition

- However, an attributive / final opposition is reported in two Eastern varieties (MASE, 1980: 37-38):

(1) *tatsu* 'I stand' → *tato-dotgi* 'when I stand'

takæ: 'high' → *takake jama* 'a high mountain'

(2) *tatsu* 'I stand' → *tato-toki* 'when I stand'

takakja 'high' → *takake jama* 'a high mountain'

Introduction (3) – Akiyamagō and Hachijō

- Those two varieties are **isolated**, and **distant from each other** by more than 400 km:



Introduction (4) – Eastern Old Japanese

- Moreover, the adnominal forms of these modern varieties are **frequently compared with Eastern Old Japanese**:
 - (Hachijō) *tato-toki* ‘when I stand’
(EOJ) 多刀都久 *tato-tuku* ‘rising moon’ (MYS 14.3476)
 - (Hachijō) *takake jama* ‘a high mountain’
(EOJ) 可奈之家児 *kanasike ko* ‘dear girl’ (14.3564)

Introduction (3) – This presentation

- If proved true, these dialects would be **conservative in two ways**:
 - **morphologically** (as other dialects lost this distinction)
 - **phonetically** (as Western Old Japanese has attributive **-u** and **-ki** instead of **-o** and **-ke**)

Introduction (3) – This presentation

- However, can we actually say that those two modern varieties actually perpetuate the EOJ system?
- We need to assess to what extent Akiyamagō and Hachijō are conservative in their attributive / final system, and to what extent they are innovative.

Introduction (3) – This presentation

- In order to do so, we will first describe the EOJ attributive / final system and describe its origin.
- Then, we will describe the systems of Hachijō and Akiyamagō, and assess what really remains from EOJ to this day.

(1) Eastern Old Japanese

(1) – The EOJ adnominal / final system

- A simplified version of the EOJ A/F system looks like this:
 - 由古作枳尔 *yuk-o saki* "where I'm going" (MYS 20.4385)
/ 和波由久 *wa pa yuk-u* "I will go" (14.3366)
 - 奈賀氣己乃用乎 *na^oga-kë kənə yo* "this long night"
(20.4394)
/ 髮 ... 長跡 [*kami*]... *na^oga-si* "your hair is long" (2.124)

(1) – The EOJ adnominal / final system

- As it is, the pattern seems a bit different from modern varieties.
- More importantly, there are many problems with this description:
 - these **-o** / **-ke** forms also have variants **-ö** / **-kë**
 - there are many attributive suffixes other than **-o** / **-ke**
 - the **-o** / **-ke** attributive forms are a minority
 - the EOJ A/F system was possibly more complex
 - the data is very scarce to make a complete pattern

(1a) – *-o* / *-ö* and *-ke* / *-kë* variants

- In at least 8 occurrences, verbal adnominal *-o* has a variant *-ö*.
- This occurs seemingly only after *-m-* and can therefore be considered purely graphic (VOVIN, 2021: 30):

14.3405b	<i>apanamö</i>
14.3418	<i>semö</i>
14.3526	<i>yukunamö</i>
14.3476	<i>-arunamö</i>
14.3552	<i>omoposu-namö</i>
20.4367	<i>wasuremö</i>
20.4418	<i>otimö</i>
FK 7	<i>mapamö</i>

(1a) – *-o / -ö* and *-ke / -kë* variants

- Adjectival attributive *-kë* is usually considered a variant as well.
- As a matter of fact, an apparent loss of opposition between /e/ and /ë/ after velar in is well attested in several EOJ dialects (Kupchik, 2011:106, 197-198, 278, 334, 379, 458, 469), and might possibly characterise EOJ as a whole (FRELLESVIG, 2010:152; VOVIN, 2021:56).

(1a) – -o / -ö and -ke / -kë variants

14.3412	<i>kanasike</i>	20.4376	<i>kuyasikë</i>
14.3500	<i>-ŋgasike</i>	20.4382	<i>asikë</i>
14.3517	<i>kanasike</i>	20.4394	<i>naŋgakë</i>
14.3533	<i>kanasike</i>	20.4414	<i>utukusikë</i>
14.3548	<i>kanasike</i>	20.4419	<i>yokë</i>
14.3551	<i>kanasike</i>	20.4419	<i>kopusikë</i>
14.3564	<i>kanasike</i>		
14.3576	<i>kanasike</i>		
20.4369	<i>kanasike</i>		
20.4369	<i>kanasike</i>		
14.3557	<i>nayamasike</i>		
14.3483	<i>yasuke</i>		

(1b) – Allomorphs

- EOJ also had many allomorphs in the marking of final / attributive opposition in the non past, depending on the verbal class:

Class	Attributive 1	Attributive 2	Final
Consonant	<i>tat-o</i>	<i>tat-u</i>	<i>tat-u</i>
Vowel	/	<i>wasur-uru</i>	<i>wasur-u</i>
Strong vowel	/	<i>mi-ru</i>	* <i>mi</i>
Vowel irreg.	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku-ru</i>	<i>ku</i>
R- irreg.	<i>ar-o</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	<i>ar-i</i>

(1b) – Allomorphs

- Based on this, we can count at least:
 - 5 allomorphs of attributive: **-o**, **-ru**, **-uru**, **-u**, **-Ø**
 - 3 allomorphs of final: **-u**, **-Ø**, **-i**
- Furthermore, there might be a few **-a** attributives (8 occur.) according to VOVIN (2021: 214-215).
- There is 1 possible occurrence of **-oro** (*omopiⁿd-oro* "I think", MYS 14:3419), but the text is problematic (KUPCHIK, 2011: 689).

(4) – Other possible markings

- Finally, EOJ probably had an attributive / final opposition in the **past tense** of verbs (KUPCHIK, 2011: 754), like WOJ:
 - 伊志遠多礼美吉 *isi tare mi-**ki***
"who has seen the stone?" (MYS 5.869)
 - 和賀美斯古良 *wa=ⁿga mi-**si** ko-ra*
"the girl I saw" (KK 42)
- Sadly, we are **lacking data**.

(1b) – Allomorphs

- As for adjectives, the system is more simple, but also has allomorphs:

Class	Attributive 1	Attributive 2	Final
Regular	yo- <i>ke</i>	yo- <i>ki</i>	ye- <i>si</i>
-si Adjectives	kanasi- <i>ke</i>	kanasi- <i>ki</i>	kanasi

- 2 attributive forms: *-ke*, *-ki*
- 2 final forms: *-si*, *-∅*

(1b) – Allomorphs

- While final forms depend on the morphological class, what I called 'Attributive 1' and 'Attributive 2' appear to be in free variation:
 - 多刀都久 *tat-o tuku* "rising moon" (MYS 14.3476)
 - 多都久毛 *tat-u kumo* "rising cloud" (MYS 14.3515)
 - 可奈師家兒 *kanasi-ke ko* "dear girl" (MYS 14.3412)
 - 加奈思吉兒 *kanasi-ki ko* "dear girl" (MYS 14.3351)

(1c) – Relative frequency

- All forms occur in the same dialects and in the same poems.
- Remarkably, *-o* and *-ke* are much less common than *-u*, *-ki*.
- This rareness concerns all dialects of EOJ, but is more pronounced in some of them (KUPCHIK, 2011: 624 & 697).
- It is also possible that some of the manuscripts we have were 'westernised' in some ways.

(1d) – Relative chronology

- Therefore, we can wonder if those "Attributive 1" forms are more archaic or, on the contrary, more innovative.
- Since they seem **unproductive**, they might be **archaic**.
- Based on the comparison with Ryukyuan and internal reconstruction of Old Japanese, there is a consensus to say that phonetically, **EOJ -e and -o are perpetuating Proto-Japonic** (SERAFIM, 1999; MIYAKE, 2003; FRELLESVIG & WHITMAN, 2004; PELLARD, 2008).

(1d) – Relative chronology

- Cognate attributive forms are attested in Ryūkyū, for instance in Kunigami (PELLARD, 2008: 142-143):

– *waː=ga hakʔ-u=maɰiː*

I=TOP write-**ADN**=CONJ

"until I write" (-*u* < *-*o*)

waː=ga hatʃʔ-un

I=TOP write-**CCL**

"I write"

- They are also attested in *Omoro sōshi* (VOVIN, 2020: 633-634), and can therefore safely be reconstructed for Proto-Ryukyuan.
- Furthermore, unlike EOJ, Ryūkyū has an allomorph -**ro** for vowel stems (JAROSZ, 2019: 409).

(1d) – Relative chronology

- More recently, epigraphy confirmed that **early Western Old Japanese also had -o attributives** (OSTERKAMP, 2018: 47):
 - 佐児 ... 波奈 *sak-o pana* “blooming flower”
- Sadly, no such direct evidence exists to prove that adjective attributive **-ke** is also archaic.

(1e) – Problem of data

- Finally, it is difficult to discuss EOJ, as the **data is very scarce**:
 - 261 poems from the *Man'yōshū* (KUPCHIK, 2011: 20)
 - 6 poems from the *Hitachi Fudoki* (VOVIN, 2021: 1)
 - 2 poems from the *Azuma asobi uta* (VOVIN, 2021: 422)
 - 1 poem from the *Kokin waka-shū* (VOVIN, 2021: 17)
- Furthermore, those texts are only given by **few manuscripts**.

(1e) – Problem of data

- In total, **there are less than 60 *-o* and less than 20 *-ke* attributive forms.**
- It is therefore extremely difficult to grasp the whole picture of the paradigm.

Conclusion of part 1

- The EOJ attributive / final distinction is complex and reaches further than a simple *-o* / *-u*, *-ke* / *-si* opposition.
- Our data is scarce, but it shows what appears to be a **conservative system undergoing influence from Western Old Japanese.**

(2) Akiyamagō

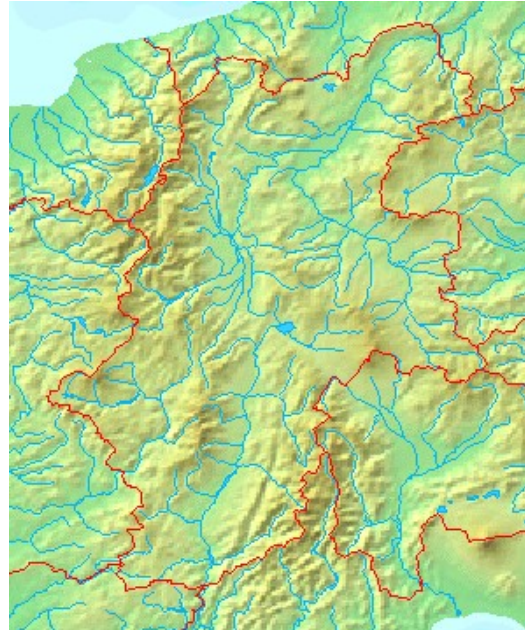
(2a) – What is Akiyamagō?

- Akiyamagō dialect is traditionally spoken at the border between Nagano and Niigata prefectures:



(2a) – What is Akiyamagō?

- It originates from the Nakatsugawa valley, located in a mountainous area near Mt Naeba:



Relief map of the
Nagano prefecture
(*Wikimedia*)

(2a) – What is Akiyamagō?

- This region used to be hard to access, and was completely inaccessible in winters:



Akiyamagō village
(© *Tsunan Kankō kyōkai*,
tsunan.info)

(2b) – The A/F opposition in Akiyamagō

- The attributive/final opposition is reportedly vivid in the **non-past forms** of Akiyamagō verbs (MASE 1992: 201):
 - (1) *kotta tɕijonoɸudʒi=ga kats-**w**-rɔ:*
next.time.TOP [Name]=NOM win-**FIN**-CONJ
“Next time Chiyonofuji (a wrestler) will probably win”
 - (2) *kat-**o** dotɕa: sokkɛ=no mon da*
win-**ATTR** time.TOP like.this=GEN thing COP
“It’s like that when you win.”

(2b) – The A/F opposition in Akiyamagō

- The historical phonology seems to indicate that attributive -*o* is inherited (PELLARD, 2008: 141).
- However, in recent times, the final form tends to replace the attributive everywhere, especially before conjunctions borrowed from SJ (MASE, 2002: 17):
 - *tato-dotci* > *tatsu-toki* “when I stand”
 - *tato=an da* > *tatsu=no da* “because I stand”

(2b) – The A/F opposition in Akiyamagō

- This opposition is also reported to be vivid in the non-past forms of adjectives (MASE, 2002: 18-20):

- *atama-kke=ga ōire*

head.hair=TOP white.**CCL**

“[His] hair is white.”

- *aka-kke tsurō ōit-er-o na*

red-**ADN** face.ACC do-DUR-ADN EXCL

“[His] face is red.”

(2c) – Conclusion

- The A/F opposition in Akiyamagō is **simple** but preserves some remarkable **archaic features**.
- However, this opposition seems to be disappearing: MASE (2002: 17), explains that when his data was collected in 1972, not all speakers maintained the distinction, and only for a minority of verbs.
- As for adjectives, **no occurrence** is found in his 2002 data.

(3) Hachijō

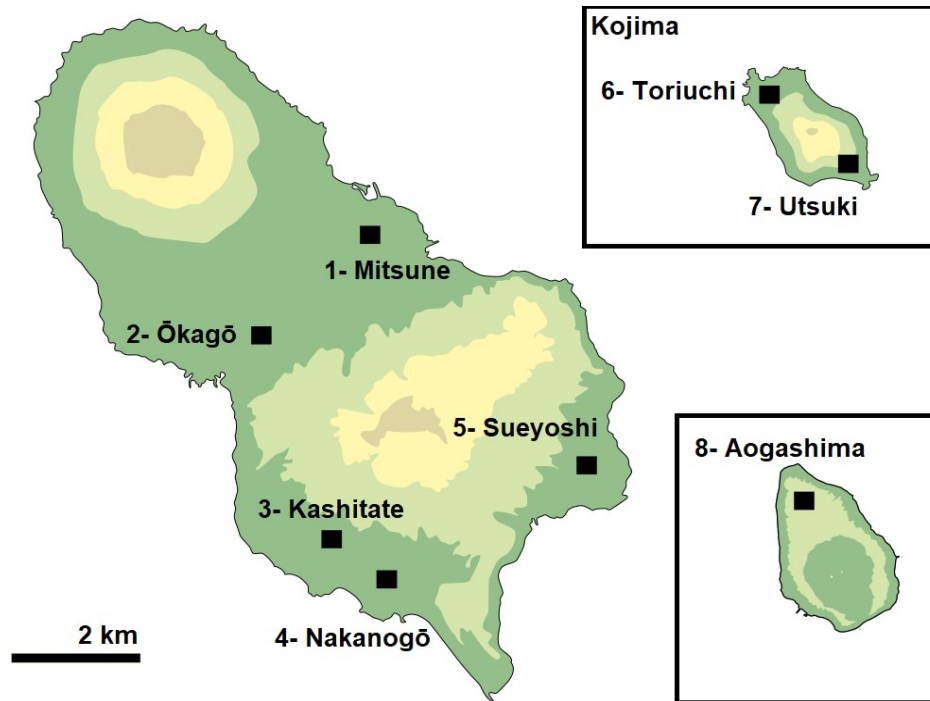
(2a) – What is Hachijō?

- The Hachijō language is a now-endangered minority language of Japan, spoken on volcanic islands in the south east of Tōkyō.



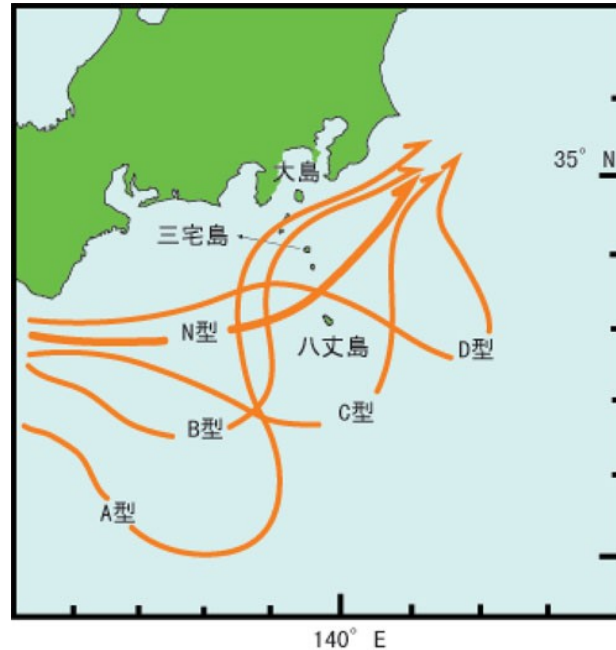
(2a) – What is Hachijō?

- There are **eight recorded varieties** of Hachijō:



(2a) – What is Hachijō?

- Hachijō and the neighbouring islands are isolated by the Kuroshio current:



the Kuroshio current

(東京都島しょ農林水産総合センター)

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- The attributive/final opposition in Hachijō verbs seems clear (ASANUMA, 1999: 107 & 194):
 - (1) *seki=ga der-u*
sneeze.SUBJ go.out-**FIN**
“[I am] sneezing.”
 - (2) *e: der-o toki=wa...*
house.ACC go.out-**ATTR** time=TOP...
“When I leave home...”

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- Phonetically, this pattern seems to be inherited.
- In practice, the **attributive form is triggered by many particles** (KANEDA, 2001: 322-338 & 399-402), including final particles, ex:
 - *akobi=ga der-o=wa*
yawn=SUBJ go.out-ATTR=FIN
“[I am] yawning.” (ASANUMA, 1999: 19)
- Thus, **the adnominal form is much more common than the conclusive form** in Hachijō, and the final form is only used in specific contexts.

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- The pattern also seems more regular than EOJ:
 - *miru* → *miro* (EOJ *mi* → *miru*)
 - *kuru* → *kuro* (EOJ *ku* → *kuru*)
 - *aru* → *aro* (EOJ *ari* → *aru*)
- -*u* is the only final marker, and -*o* the only adnominal marker.
- Only one verb is slightly irregular: *su* → *sho*.

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- In adjectives, the opposition is also vivid (ASANUMA 1999: 129 & 223):
 - (1) *ɕima=no muɰgi-zo:ɕi:=wa unma-kja*
island=GEN porridge=TOP tasty-**FIN**
“The island porridge is tasty!”
 - (2) *unma-ke muɰgi-zo:ɕi:=ga ni-te aro=wa*
tasty-**ATTR** porridge=SUBJ boil.CUNJ COP-ATTR=FIN
“Some tasty porridge is boiling.”

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- Phonetically, the attributive *-ke* seems to be inherited.
- However, the final form of the adjective *-kya* does not originate from the old final form, instead it comes from the attributive *-ke* + *wa* :
 - **taka-ke=wa* > *takakya* (KANEDA, 2012: 132)
- Thus, there is a remarkable parallel between verbs and adjectives in the formation of a **new final form based on attributive form + *wa***.

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- We could also note that:
 - secondary gemination (similar to Akiyamagō *akakke*) is also attested in some varieties and in some words (ex: *yokke* / *yokkya* "good").
 - vowel-merging final forms (similar to Akiyamagō *aire:*) are also attested, especially in old sources (Edo and Meiji times). However, they are **rare in the contemporary texts**.

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- Finally, unlike in Akiyamagō, the A/F opposition was **extended** in Hachijō.
- Thus, the past tense also has two distinct forms (ASANUMA, 1999: 104 & 19):

- *so:tcw:jo nom-**ara***

shōchū.ACC drink-PAST.**FIN**

"I drank *shōchū*."

- *shima-zake: nom-**a**.* da:=dzan*

island-(REND.)alcohol.ACC drink-PAST.**ATTR** cop.ATTR=EXCL

"That's because I drank *shima-zake* !"

(3b) – The A/F opposition in Hachijō

- This opposition also exists for the past tense of adjectives, the copula and the 2 negative copulas:
 - *-kara:* or *-karo:* vs. *-karara*
 - *d-a:* or *d-o:* vs. *d-ara*
 - *n-a:* or *n-o:* vs. *n-aka* (verbs) / *na-kke* vs. *na-kkya* (adjectives)
- Those are all secondary forms. In all **final forms**, we can see again the vocalic trace of a former **particle** **wa*.

(3c) – Conclusion

- Unlike Akiyamagō, Hachijō kept the A/F opposition very vivid.
- In the non-past of verbs, it can be considered quite conservative.
- However, its system has several innovations compared with EOJ:
 - **the system was regularised** and the allomorphs eliminated
 - most of final forms were reshaped as **attributive + *wa***

(3c) – Conclusion

- In this perspective, Hachijō shows a striking similarity with Toshima dialect:



Toshima

(© Toshima village
toshimamura.org)

(3c) – Conclusion

- Toshima only features **-o** endings, except when preceding some conjunctions (ŌSHIMA, 1962:45-47; HIRAYAMA, 1965:53-56):
 - *ar-o* 'there is' → *koko=ni cha-wan=ga ar-u=bei*
here=LOC tea-bowl=TOP exist-**CCL**=CONJ
"There is probably a tea bowl here"
- Thus, we can assume that the attributive/final opposition also existed in Toshima in earlier times and that **the attributive form replaced the final form** (MASE, 1980:36-37).

Conclusion

Conclusion

- Akiyamagō and Hachijō do to some extent preserve **archaic features** in the marking of the A/F opposition.
- However, they are also **strongly innovative**:
 - Akiyamagō simplified the system and gradually **eliminated** the opposition
 - Hachijō simplified the archaic pattern and **extended** it through a **recharacterisation using the particle *wa***

Conclusion

- **Further research is needed:**
 - on the Akiyamagō system, in order to see if there are traces of oppositions in other tenses
 - on Hachijō, on the original function of *wa*, on secondary geminations, and on other possible traces of archaisms in the verbal morphology

(*) – Possible traces of old EOJ finals

- In Hachijō, the final form is triggered by particles such as *to*, *yo*, *zo*, *shi*, *nō*, and by suffixes like *-ne:* (progressive), *-te:* (evidential), *-na* (negative imperative), etc. (KANEDA, 2001)
 - *nom_o=wa* ≠ *nom_u=zo*
- Interestingly, vocalic and irregular verbs can have a form without *-ru* when followed by some of these suffixes:
 - *miro_o=wa* → *mi-nē*
 - *kuro_o=wa* → *ku-nē*
- However, **these forms are now disappearing in the language.**

おかげさまで！

/ Thank you very much!

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