which are in use today. In *kanbun-kundoku*, *ipayuru* and *arayuru* were used in rendition of phrases such as 所謂 NOUN and 所在 NOUN, respectively. In Chinese 所 (EMC *ṣiǎ') is both a noun 'place' and also, as in these examples, a subordinator used in some relative clauses, and in these two cases 所 was rendered by adnominal verb forms, which subsequently passed into general language as lexicalized forms. Interestingly, a more literal way of rendering Chinese 所 VERB 之 NOUN ('NOUN which VERBs'), instead of simply forming a normal Japanese relative clause, arose in *kanbun-kundoku* and was carried over into written language in the form VERB *tokoro-no* NOUN, where *tokoro-no* functions as a complementizer between the relative clause and the head noun, for example (16); see also 12.6.1.1.2. This usage is clearly motivated by the *kanbun-kundoku* rendition of 所 as *tokoro* 'place' and 之 as *no*, combined with the use of Chinese 所 in relative constructions. As with the quotative framing construction mentioned above, this construction is not ungrammatical in Japanese, but nor is it motivated internally within Japanese. In the Meiji period this usage was revived in *kanbun-kundoku*-like translations of relative pronouns in Dutch.

(16)   tatekome-taru tokoro-no to
        close-STAT.ADN   door
        'The door which had been closed' (*Taketori*)

9.2   Ondoku

Ondoku (音読 'pronunciation reading') is the reading and vocalization of Chinese text in Chinese, learned as a foreign language, without rendition or translation into Japanese. Over time a great many loanwords have entered Japanese based on this way of reading Chinese texts. Today somewhere between thirty-five and sixty per cent of words in running text, depending on genre, are SJ loanwords, and it is customary to speak of a distinct SJ vocabulary layer in the Japanese lexicon. The term 'Sino-Japanese' is ambiguous and that has given rise to several misunderstandings. There are three distinct, but interrelated issues, which are not usually distinguished explicitly: (a) Japano-Chinese: Chinese as a foreign reading language in Japan (9.2.1); (b) Sino-Japanese: nativized norms for pronouncing *kanji* (9.2.2); (c) Sino-Japanese loanwords: loanwords in Japanese deriving from J-Ch or SJ (9.2.3).

9.2.1   Chinese as a foreign (reading) language; Japano-Chinese

In the initial period of contact with Chinese text and language, the fifth and sixth centuries, this contact is thought to have been indirect and primarily to

have been mediated by immigrant or visiting scholars and later monks and
nuns from the Korean peninsula, probably especially from the kingdom of
Paekche, who taught and expounded Chinese texts: first Chinese classics, and
later, after the introduction sometime in the sixth century of Buddhism
into Japan, also Buddhist sutras and commentaries. This was done in
part through *kanbun-kundoku*, but also through and in Chinese. An
important element of studying texts in Chinese was the enunciation and vocal-
ization of text, particularly in the recitation of Buddhist sutras. For that reason
attention is often focused on the *pronunciation* of Chinese, hence the term
ondoku. For lack of a more elegant term, we will refer to Chinese used in the
study and reading of Chinese texts in Japan, that is to say, Chinese employed
in *ondoku*, as 'Japano-Chinese', emphasizing that it was a variety of Chinese
language.

It is often thought that the Chinese taught and learned in Japan in this early
period was based on southern Chinese varieties, but this is not really known.
It seems clear (a) that it does not reflect any single variety of Chinese, but is
a cumulative and multi-layered conglomerate of varieties of Chinese, most
likely transmitted by scholars and monks from the Korean peninsula in the
main in the fifth through early seventh centuries; and (b) that it is not a single
uniform norm, but exhibited variation between different schools and sects
within which conventions for reading and reciting texts, especially sutras,
became fixed, with orally transmitted pronunciation norms, which gradually
became increasingly removed from Chinese spoken in China.

However, through the seventh and eighth centuries there was extensive
direct contact with Tang China, with envoys and students dispatched to visit
and study in China. In the course of their studies they acquired contemporary
Chinese as spoken in the Tang capital Chang'an and brought this back with
them to Japan, introducing new, competing pronunciation norms and readings
of texts. This led to tension between the old and the new ways of pronouncing
Chinese. Between 792 and 806 (during the reign of emperor Kanmu (737–806,
r. 781–806)), several imperial decrees were issued that the proper Chinese
pronunciation (漢音 Japanese *kan-on* 'Han (= Chinese) pronunciation' or 正
音 *sei-on* 'correct pronunciation') be used, both in the study and reading of
Chinese classics, which by then had become all important for civil service
exams, and in official and public recitations of Buddhist sutras. The decrees
used phrases such as 皆令讀漢音; 勿用呉音 'make everybody read in Chinese
pronunciation; do not use Wu pronunciation' (cited from Yuzawa 1996: 47).
The older established norms of J-Ch have variously been referred to as 和音
(*wa-on* 'Japanese pronunciation'), 対馬音 (*tsushima-on* 'Tsushima pronuncia-
tion' reflecting an early putative route of transmission of Chinese), or 呉音
(*go-on* 'Wu-pronunciation'), which is often interpreted as showing that early
J-Ch was based on south-eastern Chinese from the region around present-day

Shanghai which was the seat of the ancient, barbarian Kingdom of Wu. We here adopt the most widely used terms, *go-on* for the older (composite) norm(s) and *kan-on* for the new norm.

The necessity of issuing decrees shows that the replacement of the older well-established pronunciation norms did not proceed without resistance, which was particularly strong from Buddhist sects to whom the familiar, well-established vocalization of sacred texts was understandably important. This may be compared to the widespread resistance against reformations of Bible translations (or even earlier against translating the Bible into vernacular languages) in Europe. Consequently, the older pronunciation norms were retained in many Buddhist sects and traditions and also used for some sutras introduced after the issue of the decrees. It is worth emphasizing that these decrees concerned J-Ch, that is to say, the norms for reading Chinese text(s); they did not concern the shape and pronunciation of SJ loanwords which at the time had already been taken into the language.

Kan-on was at first used both for study and reading of text and for practical communication. It was maintained both by instruction by native speakers, through regular intercourse with China (also after the official envoys to China ceased towards the end of the ninth century), and by study of Chinese rhyme tables and pronunciation guides. Efforts were made to maintain correct standards of pronunciation, and, as in China, the correct, normative 'reading' of individual characters became an independent object of study. As a result, *kan-on* in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries became a fossilized norm and over time as removed from Chinese spoken in China as the older *go-on* had been. Later, competing ways of pronouncing Chinese, representing different varieties of Chinese with different phonetics and phonological categories, came to Japan, especially in the context of Japanese Zen Buddhism from the late twelfth century onwards, said to be based on southern Chinese varieties, leading to the establishment of J-Ch pronunciation norms within some Zen sects which were different from the *kan-on*, referred to as *sō-on* ('Song pronunciation', 宋音, after the Song dynasty, 960–1279) or more commonly as *tō-on* ('Tang pronunciation', 唐音), which we use here. Note that *tō* 唐 was used in the sense of '(real) Chinese', like *kan* 漢 had been centuries earlier when the *kan-on* pronunciation was being promulgated as the real Chinese pronunciation, and that it does not refer to the Tang dynasty (618–907).

Thus, three different main varieties of J-Ch can be distinguished, defined in relation to *kan-on*: (a) pre-*kan-on* comprises the varieties collectively referred to as *go-on* and sometimes *wa-on*; (b) *kan-on* is the mainstream norm which arose out of J-Ch based on the Chinese of Chang'an in the late Tang period; finally, (c) post-*kan-on* are the subsequent *tō-on* pronunciation norms. Although we speak of three main varieties, there must have been considerable variation within them, depending on the traditions of individual schools and Buddhist sects.

9.2.1.1 The phonetics and phonology of Japano-Chinese

The several varieties of J-Ch have played important parts in the history of Japanese: each has contributed loanwords to Japanese, and *go-on* and *kan-on* formed part of the basis for determining the choice and sound values of *ongana* (1.1.2.5). In essence, however, J-Ch varieties are varieties of Chinese – even if they were functionally restricted – and the study of phonetics and phonology of J-Ch is best thought of as a branch of Chinese historical phonology, of less concrete importance for the study of Japanese.

Apart from reflexes in Japanese loanwords or in the sound values of *man'yōgana*, we know little about the phonetics of J-Ch. It is inevitable that some amount of phonological approximation to Japanese took place in the course of acquisition and over time as contact with the source language(s) was lost, and perhaps also as a result of wider popular participation in sutra recitation. It is, however, also clear that J-Ch sound systems were foreign, deriving and maintaining their prestige in part from being identifiably foreign in sound texture. An illustrative analogy might be the pronunciation of French taught in English schools (until recently, at least) which is elaborate, incorporates stereotypical and often exaggerated features of French phonetics, but also is characterized by a great amount of phonetic approximation to English; which in short sounds neither English nor French.

The most important material we have to study the phonetics and phonology of J-Ch are pronunciation glosses and glossaries for individual texts and dictionaries (see 6.2.3), which give instructions for the pronunciation of characters or words. However, much of this material is unpublished or not easily accessible, and in any case it is difficult to interpret, for (in addition to *fǎnqiè* glosses, see 6.1.4) it employs *man'yōgana* or *kana*. Generally the material is interpreted and presented in terms of the orthographic categories of the *kana* syllabary, which was used to record Japanese and whose orthographic categories reflect Japanese phonology. This makes it very difficult to acquire knowledge about differences between Japanese and J-Ch. A basic question is: Did the phonograms used in pronunciation glosses for J-Ch have the same reference (sound values) as when used in writing Japanese? This issue is further confounded by the fact that glosses in texts or dictionaries are often cited today as if they give information about the pronunciation of SJ loanwords or of individual characters used in SJ loanwords, rather than as pronunciation guides to J-Ch. In addition to glosses, living traditions of sutra recitation potentially hold important clues to the phonetics and phonology of earlier J-Ch, although they are said not to constitute unbroken traditions, but over time to have been subject to normative correction in terms of SJ *kanji* readings.

9.2.1.2 Early Middle Chinese, Japano-Chinese and ongana

By 'Early Middle Chinese' (EMC) we refer to the Chinese language reflected in the *Qièyùn* (切韻), a dictionary which by means of *fǎnqiè* glosses (cf. 6.1.4)

records the correct pronunciation of Chinese characters. It was compiled in the late sixth century by a group of scholars from different parts of China and published in 601 by Lu Fayan; although there are no extant copies, it is thought to be faithfully reflected in the eleventh-century dictionary *Guǎngyùn* (広韻). The pronunciations recorded in the *Qièyùn* seem to be an overdifferentiating compromise between the scholars involved, who were also not quite sober when they tried to agree on the pronunciation of individual characters. The phonology of the *Qièyùn* thus does not represent any one variety of early Chinese, although it is often taken to reflect the language of Chang'an. However, EMC is well reconstructed, and it therefore constitutes a convenient reference point for most of Chinese historical phonology, and also for studies of the sound values of *man'yōgana*. Even so, it is important to keep in mind that none of the varieties of J-Ch directly reflects EMC, as *kan-on* postdates EMC and *go-on* both predates EMC and may be based on a somewhat different variety of Chinese.

Ongana were written representations of OJ sounds. The *ongana* were to a large extent chosen to represent OJ sounds on the basis of a perceived *similarity* between the OJ sound and the J-Ch pronunciation associated with a *kanji*, although we saw above that use of some *ongana* must have been based on other criteria than their sound values in J-Ch, for example the use of 売 to represent OJ /mye/ (cf. 1.1.2.5). All of this shows that the relation between the reconstructed EMC sound values and and the sound values of the *ongana* was very indirect.

9.2.2   Sino-Japanese

As mentioned, the distinction between J-Ch and SJ is not a common one and SJ is usually equated with J-Ch, as if they were one and the same thing. However, they are fundamentally different: SJ is a nativization of J-Ch, removing it from the realm of a foreign language and providing a nativized pronunciation norm of *kanji*, which derives from J-Ch, but which in contrast to J-Ch is in full conformity with Japanese phonology and can be used within Japanese.

SJ is not a language, less so than J-Ch, but essentially a norm for pronouncing *kanji*. It may in many respects be likened to latinate English. SJ made available for easy vocalization in Japanese the full range of words from Chinese. SJ was used primarily in *ondoku*, that is reading out Chinese text without rendering it into Japanese, but it is not the case that SJ has replaced J-Ch. For example, whereas *ondoku* of most Chinese texts today is no longer done in J-Ch but in SJ, some schools of sutra recitation even today maintain the use of J-Ch, and that was much more so through the pre-modern period. As SJ derives from J-Ch, different layers of SJ resulted, reflecting the three main varieties of J-Ch, and we here use the same names for them, speaking of SJ *go-on*, SJ *kan-on* and SJ *tō-on*.

As the distinction between J-Ch and SJ is not usually made explicitly, it is not possible to say much in detail about the history and development of SJ. The common term for what we today call *ondoku* seems earlier to have been *kowe* (> late EMJ *koe*) 'voice', whereas *kundoku* was mostly referred to by *yomi* 'reading', although *kuni* or *kun* (訓) were also used. There are several references in both EMJ and LMJ texts to reading out of Chinese text or words, using the term *kowe* 'voice' > *koe*, but it is not clear whether they refer to J-Ch or to SJ. From early LMJ we find references to different types of *on* (音), variously named but reflecting the three layers of J-Ch and SJ.

It seems likely that nativizations of J-Ch to give SJ became established towards the very end of the EMJ period when we see an increase in the use of SJ vocabulary written in *kanji*, in the *kanji-kana majiribun* texts. The greater variability in sound shapes and even morphology of SJ loanwords until the second half of EMJ (see 9.2.3.2) indicates that loans from the first half of EMJ were taken in from J-Ch, but mostly from SJ thereafter, and this lends further support to this dating of the establishment of SJ. The existence of SJ was also a prerequisite for the occasional emergence of SJ words by using the SJ readings of *kanji* which were used logographically to write native words (see 9.2.4) and this is something we find from LMJ. For example, in early LMJ the written form 御前, which was used to write EMJ *omae* (< OJ *opomapye*), gave rise to *gozen* by using the SJ reading; and that would not have been possible without a SJ reading norm. At the end of LMJ, Rodrigues in *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* (see 10.2.2.2) makes reference to what are clearly three layers of SJ, 'coye', i.e. *koe*. He exemplifies different readings of *kanji*, citing 'govon' (*go-on*), 'canvon' (*kan-on*), and 'tŏin' (*tō-on*), of for example 行 (*guiŏ* /gyɔɔ/, *cŏ* /kɔɔ/, *an*) which since then have been used as the stock example in most exemplifications of the three different types of readings. His examples and explanations make clear that the notion of 'coye' first of all pertains to *ondoku*. He thus gives by way of illustration five different versions of the name of the Lotus Sutra (Sanskrit *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtram* 'true-law-lotus-sutra, i.e. sutra of the lotus of the true law/teaching', which in Chinese is rendered 妙法蓮華経) (*Arte*, p. 666, following Doi's emendations): in (17a) 'bongo' (Sanskrit; an adapted pronunciation which is not very far from the original Sanskrit)), (b) 'govon', (c) 'canvon', (d) 'tŏin', and (e) 'vago' (Japanese, i.e. a *kanbun-kundoku* rendition of the Chinese, here glossed in (18)). Thus, at the very end of LMJ there were three well-established layers of SJ, known by the same names we use today and used in different traditions of *ondoku*. Note, however, also that they were thought of as different languages, on a par with Sanskrit and Japanese; and finally that the SJ version of the name of the Lotus Sutra in use today (*Myōhōrenge-kyō*) is the one identified as *go-on*. It is interesting that *ikada* 'raft (/small boat)' is used to render Chinese 経, which translates Sanskrit *sūtra* 'thread, string, rule'.

(17) a. Satarama fundariquia sotaran.
     b. Meô fô rengue qiuŏ (/myoo foo renge kyɔɔ/)
     c. Beô fŏ renga quei. (/byoo fɔɔ renga kei/)
     d. Beô fa renga quin. (/byoo fa renga kin/)
     e. Taye naruya norino fachisuno fana icada.

(18)   tae   naru ya   nori no   fatisu no   fana   ikada
        wonderful is   EMPH   law GEN   lotus GEN   flower raft

9.2.2.1 Present-day Sino-Japanese

Present-day dictionaries of *kanji* as used in Japan and in Japanese, so-called
kan-wa (漢和) dictionaries, give for almost all characters listed in them one
or in most cases several SJ readings, '*on*-readings', often described as 'Chinese
readings', or readings which derive from Chinese. SJ readings are usually
classified into four overall classes, which are defined in reference to the three
main varieties of J-Ch: *go-on*, *kan-on*, *tō-on*, and *kan'yō-on* ('idiomatic read-
ings' 慣用音, readings in common use, which do not conform to regular
assignment to the other classes).

The SJ readings listed in present-day dictionaries are an intriguing conglom-
erate of prescriptive readings and of actual recorded usage, observed in SJ
loanwords and in SJ reading traditions. The prescriptive SJ readings in present-
day dictionaries were to a large extent established deductively by philologists
(such as Moto'ori Norinaga) in the Edo period through study of the Chinese
rhyme tables, in particular by application of the phonological categories of the
Yùnjìng (韻鏡, Japanese *inkyō*). The *Yùnjìng* is thought to reflect the pronun-
ciation of the second half of the Tang period (618–907), i.e. largely the Chinese
on which *kan-on* J-Ch was based, and itself to date from the late ninth century
or the first half of the tenth century. The *Yùnjìng* came to Japan in the thirteenth
century and since then came to form an important basis for the study of *kanji*
readings, first in J-Ch, but later also for the study and codification of SJ *kanji*
readings. The effort in the Edo period aimed at establishing correct SJ reading
and pronunciation norms, as well as norms for correct etymological spellings
of the readings. Almost all characters are assigned a *kan-on* and most also a
go-on reading which is constructed as a 'correct' pronunciation in correspon-
dence with the categories in the *Yùnjìng*. These readings thus need never have
been used in SJ or in a SJ loanword, but nor were they ever intended to provide
a record of current readings.

On the other hand, the SJ readings listed in dictionaries also do include
observed usage. While it would be easy enough to construct 'correct' *tō-on*
readings for all *kanji*, *tō-on* readings included in dictionaries are generally
those attested in SJ loanwords. And the *kan'yō-on* listed in dictionaries are by

Table 9.1. Kanji *readings*

	EMC	*Go-on*	*Kan-on*	*Tō-on*	*Kan'yō-on*
尺	tɕʰiajk	*syaku (shaku)*	*seki*		
行	*ɣaijŋ⁽ʰ⁾ /ɣɛːjŋ⁽ʰ⁾	*gyaŭ (gyō)*	*kaŭ (kō)*	*an*	
杏	*ɣəijŋ' /ɣɛːjŋ'	*gyaŭ (gyō)*	*kaŭ (kō)*	*an*	*kyaŭ (kyō)*
灯	*təŋ	*toŭ (tō)*	*toŭ (tō)*	*ton*	
		tyaŭ (chō)	*teĭ (tei)*	*tin (chin)*	
密	*mit	*miti (michi)*	*bitu (bitsu)*		
		mitu (mitsu)			
子	*tsɨ'/tsi'	*si (shi)*	*si (shi)*	*su*	
双	*ʂaɨwŋ/ ʂœɨwŋ	*soŭ (sō)*	*saŭ (sō)*		
請	*dziajŋ	*syaŭ (shō)*	*seĭ (sei)*	*sin (shin)*	
		zyaŭ (jō)			
熱	*ɲiat	*netu (netsu)*	*zetu (zetsu)*		
		neti (nechi)			
輸	*ɕuɔ̆	*su*	*syu (shu)*		*yu*
石	*dʑiajk	*zyaku (jaku)*	*seki*		*koku*
					syaku (shaku)
肉	*ɲuwk	*niku*	*ziku (jiku)*		
辱	*ɲuawk	*niku*	*zyoku (joku)*		
		noku			
描	*miaw	*meu (myō)*	*beu (byō)*		
明	*miajŋ	*myaŭ (myō)*	*meĭ (mei)*	*min*	
立	*lip	*ripu (ryû)*	*ripu (ryû)*		*ritu (ritsu)*
篦	*pɛj	*pai (hai)*	*pei (hei)*		*pi (hi)*
争	*tʂəɨjŋ/ tʂɛːjŋ	*syaŭ (shō)*	*saŭ (sō)*		
搜	*ʂuw	*syu (shu)*	*sou (sō)*		
挿	*tʂʰəip/ tʂʰɛːp	*sepu (shō)*	*sapu (sō)*		
経	*kɛjŋ	*kyaŭ (kyō)*	*keĭ (kei)*	*kin*	
京	*kiajŋ	*kyaŭ (kyō)*	*keĭ (kei)*	*kin*	
匹	*pʰjit	*piti (hichi)*	*pitu (hitsu)*		*piki (hiki)*
打	*tajŋ'	*tyaŭ (chō)*	*teĭ (tei)*	*da*	
徳	*tək	*toku*	*toku*		
常	*dʑiaŋ	*zyaŭ (jō)*	*syaŭ (shō)*		
実	*ʑit	*ziti (jichi)*	*situ (shitsu)*		*zitu (jitsu)*
英	*ʔiajŋ	*yaŭ (yō)*	*eĭ (ei)*		
竹	*truwk	*tiku (chiku)*	*tiku (chiku)*	*situ* = /siQ-/	
				(shitsu)	

definition (part of) the sound shapes of SJ words which do not conform to the normative *go-on* or *kan-on*, and are not *tō-on*. It should finally be noted that not all SJ loanword shapes are captured by the SJ readings in dictionaries. That applies especially to SJ loanwords from the Heian period (see 9.2.3.2).

Table 9.1 gives some examples of SJ *kanji* readings classified in this way, giving for reference also the reconstructed EMC readings, and in 9.2.2.2–3 we

Table 9.2 *EMC syllable initial consonants*

EMC	*Go-on*	*Kan-on*
*m	m	b
*m(Vŋ)	m	m
*n	n	d
*n(Vŋ)	n	n
*b	b	p
*p	p	p
*d	d	t
*t	t	t
*g	g	k
*k	k	k
*z	z	s
*s	s	s

give a brief overview of some of the commonly observed correspondences between *go-on*, *kan-on* and EMC. As mentioned above, it must be emphasized that none of the layers of J-Ch or of the SJ character readings directly derives from EMC, but with this caveat in mind, we will say that SJ readings 'reflect' EMC. Although the phonological adaptation of SJ loanwords in the EMJ and LMJ periods was not as regular as these correspondences suggest, they do to a large extent also hold for SJ loanwords, and for that reason we give the SJ readings in the sound shape we reconstruct for EMJ on the basis of their historical spelling and the EMC sound value. This is strictly speaking anachronistic, as many readings date from NJ, but this will give an impression of the sound changes undergone by SJ loanwords.

9.2.2.2 Syllable initial consonants

EMC seems to have had thirty-eight different syllable initials (reconstructed by Pulleyblank as /p, pʰ, b, m, w; tʂ, tʂʰ, dʐ, ʂ, ʐ; ts, tsʰ, dz, s, z; tr, trʰ, dr, nr; t, tʰ, d, n, l; tɕ, tɕʰ, dʑ, ɲ, ɕ, ʑ, j; k, kʰ, g, ŋ, x, ɣ; ʔ/) which is a somewhat more complex system than Japanese. Only some are given here as representative. *Go-on* nasals correspond to *kan-on* mediae, except usually when followed by -Vũ or -Vĩ which are the reflexes of EMC *-Vŋ, and *go-on* mediae correspond to *kan-on* tenues. Regular sound changes have changed /p-/ > NJ /h-/ (7.3.1, 11.3, 14.3) and /d-/ to /z-/ before /i, u/ (14.1).

9.2.2.3 Syllable final consonants

EMC had six main syllable final consonants (/p, t, k, m, n, ŋ/) with fairly straightforward correspondences. *Go-on* and *kan-on* largely agree in their

Table 9.3 *EMC syllable final consonants*

EMC	*Go-on*	*Kan-on*
*-p	pu	pu
*-t	ti	tu (t)
*-k	ku / {e, a, o, u} __	ku / {i, a, o, u} __
	ki / {i} __	ki / {e} __
*-m	N	N
*-n	N	N
*-ŋ	ũ / {i, a, o, u} __	ũ / {i, a, o, u} __
	ĩ / e __	ĩ / e __

reflexes of syllable final consonants, except with EMC *-t, *-k. Regular sound change has changed /-pu/ > /-u/ (7.3.1.1) and /Ũ, Ĩ/ > /u, i/ (11.1.2). As shown in (Table 9.3), EMC *-t is usually said to be reflected in *go-on* *-ti* and *kan-on* *-tu*, but in fact, at the end of the LMJ period most *kan-on* and some *go-on* reflexes of EMC *-t were simply /-t/, which mostly became /tu/ (sometimes /ti/) in the NJ period. Syllable final /-t/ and the reflexes in SJ vocabulary of EMC *-t will be discussed further in 11.4; see also 7.2.

EMC *-ŋ was reflected differently, as /ũ/ or /ĩ/ depending on the preceding vowel. Combined with a difference between *go-on* and *kan-on* in the reflex of the vowels and glides in EMC *(C)iaj(ŋ) as *go-on* /ya/ and *kan-on* /e/ (realized with a phonetic onglide or strong palatalization of the preceding consonant: [ʲe] or [Cⱼe], cf. 2.3, 7.3.2.4), this has resulted in a frequent correspondence between *go-on* and *kan-on*: *go-on* EMJ *(C)yaũ* > LMJ *(C)yɔɔ* > NJ *(C)yoo* > cNJ *(C)yō* :: *kan-on* EMJ *(C)eĩ* > NJ *(C)ei*. For example: 英 *yō* :: *ei*, 生 *shō* :: *sei*, 京 *kyō* :: *kei*.

Many readings reflecting EMC *-p, *-t, *-k have variants in final /Q/, which are not usually listed as separate readings. They result from assimilatory processes in combinations with a following consonant: *-pu(-C-)* > *-Q(-C-)*; *-ti(-C-)/-t(-C-)* > *-Q(-C-)*; *-ki(-k-)/-ku(-k-)* > *-Q(-k-)*. Finally, there is a small group of *kanji* with readings where EMC *-p is reflected as *-tu* > cNJ *-tsu*, e.g. 立 *ritsu* (as in cNJ 独立 *dokuritsu* 'independence', cf. EMC *lip) or 雑 *zatsu* (複雑 *fukuzatsu* 'complicated', cf. EMC *dzəp/dzap).[3] These readings are thought to have arisen as back formations from assimilated forms such as those above, with the final *-Q* analogically interpreted as deriving from *-tu*. Like the *kan-on* reflexes of EMC *-t, these forms had final *-t* at the end of

[3] The relevant *kanji* are (giving in brackets the *kan'yō-on* and the EMC sound values): 立 (*kan'yō-on*: *ritsu*; EMC *lip), 雑 (*zatsu*; *dzəp/dzap*), 接 (*setsu*; *tsiap*), 摂 (*setsu*; *ɕiap*), 執 (*shitsu*; *tɕip*), 湿 (*shitsu*; *ɕip*), 蟄 (*chitsu*; *drip*), 颯 (*satu*; *səp/sap*); see Komatsu (1956).

LMJ (11.4), suggesting that the back formation was from *-Q* to *-t* which later became *-tu*, that is: *-pu-(C-)* > *-Q-(C-)* > *-t* > *-tu*.

9.2.3   Sino-Japanese loanwords

A number of identifiable Chinese loanwords were used already in OJ (4.2.2). Some of them are undoubtedly very old, predating the study of Chinese text, and it is likely that some entered Japanese through the Korean peninsula. However, that early trickling of loanwords from Chinese is insignificant in comparison with the great number of loanwords which entered the language through the medium of J-Ch or SJ, by being used outside the context of reading Chinese text and eventually carried over into everyday language. It is such words we refer to as 'SJ loanwords'.

As mentioned above, the distinction between J-Ch and SJ is not usually made explicitly and it is therefore difficult to determine for many loanwords whether their proximate source is J-Ch or SJ. However, it is noteworthy that among SJ loanwords until the second half of EMJ, we see greater variability in and adaptation of sound shapes than later, and we also have small but noticeable numbers of examples of morphological adaptation where SJ loanwords become verbs or adjectives (9.2.3.2), whereas that is much rarer later. All of this indicates that loans from the first half of EMJ were taken in from J-Ch, whereas most loans from the end of EMJ onwards were taken in from the nativized SJ.

Through time many SJ loanwords must have entered the language through writing, but it is clear that the majority of SJ loanwords, especially in the first half of the EMJ period, had gained currency in everyday spoken language. However, it is equally clear that there was some consciousness about their provenance, for example because they were successfully avoided in poetry; that would not have been possible if they had been fully assimilated. As with loanwords from European languages centuries later, SJ loanwords had, and today to a large extent still have, a socio-linguistic status well captured by German *fremdwort* ('alien word'; cf. also 17.1.1). The intake of SJ loanwords was significant enough to affect phonology, especially phonotactics (7.2), and to some extent grammar, especially word classes (8.1.3).

9.2.3.1   Sino-Japanese loanwords in Old Japanese

OJ is thought not to have had many SJ loanwords. Very few are found in the OJ poetic texts: in the *Man'yōshū* a small number of SJ loanwords is thought to be found in a series of poems in volume 16 (3827–58), see (19). Many of them are logographically written, so it is not always clear that they in fact are SJ loanwords and not rather logographically written native words. It is on the other hand also possible that some of them are not SJ loanwords, but (Japano-)

Chinese words used for stylistic effect. In any case, the phonological shape of the logographically written words is guesswork. In the first poem in that series (*MYS* 16.3827) the *kanji* 一二三四五六 appear, but there is no agreement about whether they were intended to represent SJ or native Japanese numerals; 五 and 六 appear elsewhere in these poems, clearly representing SJ numerals and traditionally read as *go* and *roku*.

(19)   波羅門 **baramoni** 'Brahman' (EMC *pa la mən, Skt. *Brāhmaṇa*). This is the traditional reading of the 門 in the single occurrence of this word in the *Man'yōshū*; in EMJ a more regular SJ version came to be used: *baramon*, which is the form the word has today.

檀越 **daniwoti/danawoti** 'benefactor' (EMC *dan wuat, Skt. *dānapati* 'benefactor; giver; giving-lord'). The two versions are the traditional readings of the single occurrence in the *Man'yōshū*; in EMJ a more regular SJ, *dan.wotu*, came to be used, but the nativized version survived in a reduced form, *danna* 'benefactor', eventually giving NJ *danna* 'husband, master'.

五位 **gowi** 'fifth rank'.

香 **kaü** 'fragrance' (in some reading traditions read *kori* 'fragrance' which is a native word or a naturalized loan).

功 **kuü** 'accomplishment, merit'.

無何有(-乃-郷) **mugau(-no-satwo)** 'Mugō village; not-even-anything village, village of nothingness' (legendary place of natural emptiness, void of human artifacts; (both this and the following are from *Chuang-Tzu*, a Chinese Taoist classic (fourth or third century BC) which exerted great influence on later Chinese Buddhism);

藐姑射(-能-山) **pakwoya(-no-yama)** 'Mt. Hakoya' (legendary dwelling of sage hermits).

法師 and 僧 **popusi** '(Buddhist) monk, priest' (in the *Nihon shoki* 法師 is glossed as *popusi*).

力士(舞) **rikizi(-mapi)** 'strong-man(-dance)' Buddhist ritual dance.

旨菜 **saukepu** 'Saikachi' (name of a tree; some reading traditions have *pudi-no-kwi*, *kapara-pudi*).

生死 **syaüzi** 'living and dying' (in some traditons read *ikizini/ikisini* which is a loan translation of 生死, cf. 9.1.6).

塔 **tapu** 'stupa' (the Chinese is a loan from Skt. *stūpa*).

Outside that series of poems, only 過所 *kwaso* (15.3754 'travel pass') and 朝
参 *teusan* (18.4121 'coming to court' (other readings include *mawiri, mikadwo-
mawiri, miyade*)) are found in the *Man'yōshū*.

By contrast, the *Senmyō* had a significant number of loanwords from
Chinese: Vovin 2005: 60–2 lists sixty-six SJ loanwords found in the
Senmyō; they are all written logographically and we do not know their
sound shape. Many of these words are fairly specialized terms (護法
'protect the Buddhist law', 菩薩 'bodhisattva', 職事 'office manager', 順孫
'obedient grandchild') and it is quite possible that some of these were
J-Ch words used within Japanese, but others are more common words
which probably were established loanwords (楽 'music', 謀反 'rebellion,
treason', 経 'sutra', 斬 'beheading'). Taken together with the fact that SJ
loanwords were normatively excluded from poetry in EMJ, this leads to a
questioning of the usual assumption of absence to any significant extent of
SJ loanwords in OJ: It is quite likely that their scarcity in the written sources
from OJ reflects that this norm for poetry was already active in OJ, but that
at least learned or official language had far more SJ loanwords than is usually
thought.

9.2.3.2 Sino-Japanese loanwords in Early Middle Japanese

Also in the Japanese poetry from the EMJ (and LMJ) periods we find almost
no SJ loanwords. As mentioned earlier, this absence from poetry confirms
their sociolinguistic status as identifiable *fremdwörter*. In prose writing,
however, the use of SJ loanwords can be seen to increase steadily through the
period. The following word counts show the proportion of SJ loanwords in
some well known sources (extracted from Tsukishima 1969: 588–9, 1987:
277–8).

(20)   Text frequency of SJ loanwords (% of words in running text)

Ise monogatari	6.2%
Tosa nikki	4.0%
Kokin wakashū (*kana* preface)	11.3%
Genji monogatari	12.6%
Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari	14.3%
Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den	43.0%

(21)   Lexical frequency of SJ loanwords (% of different words)

Genji monogatari	4.8%
Konjaku monogatari	14.0%
Sangōshiiki-chū	>50.0%
Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den	85.8%

In the prose written mainly in *hiragana*, the proportion of SJ loans out of distinct words remains well under ten per cent through the period, but it is somewhat higher in *kanji-kana majiribun*, as for example in the *Konjaku monogatari*. This is related both to orthography and subject matter: First, as such texts include a high proportion of logographic writing it was easy to use SJ words or phrases written in *kanji*. Second, *kanji-kana majiribun* was often *setsuwa* literature about or inspired by Buddhism, and it included much Buddhist terminology and many Indian or Chinese proper names. Thus in the *Konjaku monogatari* the stories taking place in India and China which have a strong Buddhist element have a much higher proportion of SJ loanwords, whereas in the stories which take place in Japan, the proportion of SJ loanwords is more or less as in the *Genji monogatari*. It is not surprising that some *kanbun-kundoku* texts, such as the *Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den* annotations, contain a large proportion of words which were left untranslated as either SJ loanwords or J-Ch words.

There is, to be sure, much vocabulary relating to Buddhism and politics and philosophy among the SJ loanwords, in addition to words relating to the life, positions and ranks at the sinified court, conforming to the picture of the use of SJ or Chinese words in OJ. However, the variety and number of everyday vocabulary, including emotional and expressive vocabulary, is striking, showing that a significant number of SJ loanwords had become well integrated into everyday language, at least of the court nobility and educated classes. Another remarkable feature is that in terms of SJ loanwords the vocabulary composition of EMJ does not differ much from that of NJ, apart from frequencies of usage. Morphologically, SJ loanwords were invariably taken in as nouns, but in addition to general nouns (22), we already at the beginning of EMJ have a well populated class of verbal nouns used with the light verb *se-* 'do' (23), and a sizeable class of adjectival nouns/adverbs used with forms of the copula (*ni* infinitive, *no* adnominal, *to* infinitive, or extended *ni ar-* or, more rarely, *to ar-*), see (24).

(22)　Nouns

　　　sauyaku (草薬) 'a herbal medicine'; *daitoko* (大徳) 'monk of great virtue'; *inmyaūzi* (陰陽師) 'fortuneteller', *nikki* (日記) 'diary', *sipu* (集) 'anthology', *neti* (熱) 'fever'

(23)　Verbal nouns

　　　gu-se- (具) 'furnish, be furnished (with)'; *si-se-* (死) 'die'; *wen-ze-* (怨) 'resent'; *ron-ze-* (論) 'discuss'; *rongi-se-* (論議) 'debate'; *penge-se-* (変化) 'transform'; *kuyaū-ze-* (供養) 'make offerings and prayers'; *buku-se-* (服) 'drink'; *kei-se-* (啓) 'speak HUM'

(24)   Adjectival nouns/adverbs
gokuneti-no 'very hot' (極熱); *pizaũ-nari* 'extreme' (非常)
maũ-ni/no 'strong, fierce' (猛)
toni-ni 'swiftly, suddenly' (頓); *ziti-ni* 'really' (実); *beti-ni/no*
    'particular(ly)' (別); *gen-ni* 'really' (現); *seti-ni* 'definitely' (切);
    zinen-ni (自然) 'spontaneously'; *sizen-ni* (自然) 'of, by itself'
rinrin-to 'very cold' (凛凛)

We also find compounds of SJ and native words, see (25), in some cases with
some phonological integration, as well as native grammatical material used
with SJ words, see (26). Borrowed SJ prefixes, such as *ko-* 'late, deceased'
(故), *sai-* 'most' (最), combined with native lexical material. Also, derivational
morphology was borrowed from SJ, e.g. *-yaũ* '-like' (様) which derives
an adjectival noun from a noun (cf. 8.6). Finally, we see a few examples of
SJ loanwords used as inflected adjectives, (27), or even verbs, (28); these are
few in number and may to some extent be the result of literary playfulness
and inventiveness, but they do conform to well-established native morphologi-
cal patterns, such as reduplication to form *shiku* adjectives. All of this shows
that SJ loanwords formed a well established and integrated part of the EMJ
lexicon, even if still recognizable as *fremdwörter*. The examples of SJ loan-
words listed in (25)–(27) are all from the first half of the EMJ period. Many
are written in *hiragana* in the texts, but here we also give the source *kanji* for
reference.

(25)   Lexical compounds:
nama-zuryaũ 'governor with no real power' (*nama-* 'unripe,
    immature' + 受領 'governor'); *aigyaũ-duk-* 'be charming' (愛敬
    'charm' + 'attach (v.intr.)'); *nana-moji* 'seven letters, characters'
    (*nana-* 'seven' + 文字 'letter, character'); *saũzi(n)-mono*
    'vegetarian food' (精進 'devotion to Buddhism; abstention' +
    mono 'thing, stuff'); *bakuti* 'gambling; gambler' (< *baku-uti*; 博
    'gamble' + *uti* 'striking'); *setimi* 'day/period for abstention (from
    eating meat) and devotion' (< *seti+imi*; 節 'time' + *imi*
    'abstention')

(26)   Early examples of native prefix or suffix with SJ lexical word:
mi-kesiki 'appearance' (*mi-* 'beautification' + 景色); *daiji-domo*
    'great things' (大事 + *-domo* 'plural'); *taisyaũ-tati* 'generals'
    (大将 + *-tati* 'plural'); *sau-gati-* 'have much (grass style) cursive
    writing' (草 + *-gati* 'be frequent, likely to be/have' which derives
    an adjectival noun); *raũ-gawasi-* 'noisy, disorderly, ill-mannered'
    (乱 + *-gawasi* (< *-gapasi*) '-like' which derives an adjective)

Table 9.4 *Native Japanese and SJ numerals*

	Native	SJ
1	*pito*	*iti*
2	*puta*	*ni*
3	*mi*	*san*
4	*yo*	*si*
5	*i*	*go*
6	*mu*	*roku*
7	*nana*	*siti*
8	*ya*	*pati* (> NJ *hati*)
9	*kokono*	*kiu* (> NJ *kyuu*)
10	*towo, to, -so*	*zipu* (> NJ *zyuu*)
20	*pata*	
30	*miso*	
40	*yoso*	
50	*i*	
100	*momo, -po*	*pyaku* (> NJ *hyaku*)
1000	*ti*	*sen*
10,000	*yorodu*	*man*

(27) Adjectives

sipune- 'persistent, stubborn' (執念); *kotigoti-si-* 'unrefined' (骨骨); *raûraû-zi-* 'refined, talented' (労労); *taidai-si-* 'inconvenient' (怠怠; sometimes a different etymology is suggested for this word, namely the OJ adjective *tagitagi-si-*); *zaezae-si-* 'of learned appearance' (才才)

(28) Verbs

saûzok- 'dress up' < *sauzoku* 'dress' (装束); *saisik-* 'colour, paint' < *saisiki* 'colouring' (彩色); *saudok-* 'make a fuss' < *saudo(u)* 'disturbance' (騒動), adding *-k-* to the SJ noun to create a verb stem; *sarugaw-* 'joke, jest' < *sarugau* < *saru-gaku* 'Sarugaku farce (the precursor of *kyōgen*)' (猿楽)

9.2.3.2.1 Numerals

The native system of numerals is simple and partly based on vowel alternations to show doubling: *pito* '1' ~ *puta* '2'; *mi* '3' ~ *mu* '6'; *yo* '4' ~ *ya* '8'. However, the system does not provide easily for formation of higher numbers. We saw above that some SJ numbers were used in OJ (9.2.3.1), but the intake of SJ numerals is usually thought not to have taken place until EMJ.

9.2.3.3 Sino-Japanese loanwords in Late Middle Japanese

During the LMJ period the use of SJ loanwords in the texts increased. This is probably in part related to the genres represented in the sources, including more *kanji-kana majiribun*, but the establishment of SJ was a major factor, making use of originally Chinese words more freely available in Japanese and thereby facilitating both intake and use of SJ loanwords. In *Esopo* from the end of the period (see 10.2.2), we find a sizeable proportion of SJ vocabulary, and also *Vocabulario* lists a large amount of SJ words. This shows that SJ words had become a well-integrated part of general vocabulary and language use by then.

In addition to the increased intake and use of loanwords taken in from *kan-on* and *go-on* SJ, a new layer of J-Ch came to Japan during the first half of the period, used especially in some Zen Buddhist sects. This is the *tō-on* variety of J-Ch (9.2.1), which also gave rise to loanwords, and also eventually to a *tō-on* SJ. Examples of such loanwords are *anzu* 'apricot' 杏 or 杏子; *andon* 'lantern' 行灯; *isu* 'chair' 椅子; *fusin* 'construction' 普請 (note that EMJ *p* > LMJ *f*, see 11.3). We did not above comment on correspondences between *kan-on/go-on* and the third, minor layer of SJ, *tō-on*, but a look at Table 9.1 shows a stereotypical feature of *tō-on*, the reflection of EMC *- ŋ as /N/, giving correspondences such as *kan-on/go-on* /ĩ, ũ/ (> /i, u/) :: *tō-on* /N/, as in 京 *keĩ/ kyaũ* > *kei/kyau* > NJ *kei/kyoo* :: *kin*. As mentioned above, J-Ch *tō-on* is said to be based on southern Chinese varieties, but the loanwords taken in during the LMJ period also include words deriving from contact between Japanese fishers and traders with their continental colleagues. In that sense, some of the words characterized as *tō-on* are direct loans from Chinese, rather than SJ loanwords (which are based on J-Ch or SJ).

9.2.3.4 Sino-Japanese loanwords, Japano-Chinese and Sino-Japanese

It is clear from the examples of EMJ SJ loanwords given above that the shapes of some SJ loanwords are not captured in the SJ *kanji* readings, e.g. *daitoko* (大德), *pizaũ* (非常) whose regular SJ readings are *daitoku* and *hizyoo* (< *pizyaũ*). This reflects first of all on the non-descriptive, rationalizing nature of the established SJ readings (9.2.2.1). However it also illustrates another point, viz. that OJ and EMJ SJ loans must be thought to have been taken into Japanese from J-Ch, not from SJ. In that connection, it should also be noted that most SJ loanwords from the EMJ period which were in everyday use derive from the pre-*kan-on* (that is, *go-on*) norm of J-Ch (and therefore often correspond to the SJ *go-on* readings), showing the persistence of the J-Ch *go-on* also after the decrees promoting the use of

kan-on. Also a number of everyday SJ loanwords still in common use today, such as *niku* (肉) 'meat', *netsu* (熱) 'fever', or *konnichi* (今日) 'today' are based on *go-on*, as are the SJ numerals, except *kiu* (> NJ *kyuu*) '9' which is *kan-on*, but *go-on ku* is also used for example in counting out the numbers.

Most SJ loanwords taken in during the LMJ period, on the other hand, are reading loans mainly based on SJ *go-on* and *kan-on*. The establishment of SJ made vocalization of originally Chinese words far more freely available in Japanese. This did not mean that any Chinese word could be used in Japanese, but it did mean that unfamiliar or unknown words did not sound alien and therefore they would more easily gain acceptance and currency. This also forms the background to the modernization of the Japanese lexicon during the Meiji period (17.3.2) which would not have been as smooth without the ready availability of SJ.

As we saw above (9.2.3.3) a number of SJ loanwords were taken in from the new *tō-on* variety of J-Ch which arose in the early LMJ period, and others were direct loans from Chinese. Nonetheless, since LMJ and into NJ, the major donor of SJ loanwords has not been Chinese or J-Ch, but SJ. Furthermore, many of the words originally taken in through J-Ch have since been reformed to conform to SJ pronunciation norms. Thus, *daitoko* and *hizoo* (< *pizaü*) are no longer in use but have been replaced by *daitoku* and *hizyoo*. However, the so-called *kan'yō-on* to some extent reflect J-Ch, in the sense that they are current SJ readings which derive from J-Ch, but which do not conform to the normative SJ readings in dictionaries. For example, 動 has the following SJ readings listed in modern *kanji* dictionaries: *tō* (*kan-on*); *zū* (*go-on*); *dō* (*kan'yō-on*). Of these the only one used in the many SJ words whose writing includes this character is *dō*, that is, the *kan'yō-on*. In this case the *kan'yō-on* was also the reading used when new vocabulary was coined in the Meiji period (e.g. cNJ *jidōsha* 'automobile').

9.2.4 Sino-Japanese words arising through on-reading of a kun-writing

Some SJ words originate not in borrowing from J-Ch or SJ, or from coinage of elements borrowed from J-Ch or SJ, but rather from applying SJ readings ('*on*-readings') to character combinations which were originally used as a logographic representation ('*kun*-writing') of native words. Thus for example, NJ *kazi* (< *kwazi*) 'fire', originates in the *on*-reading of 火事, which was originally a *kun*-writing (i.e. a logographic representation), of *pi-no-koto* 'fire; fire-GEN-thing'. A few examples are given in (29).

(29)	Earlier word	*kun*-writing	*on*-reading; SJ word
	early EMJ *pi-no-koto* 'fire; fire-GEN-thing'	火事	*kazi* (late LMJ; < *kwazi*)
	early EMJ *mono-no-na(-no uta)* 'acrostic poem; thing-GEN-name(GEN-poem)'	物名(歌)	*butumei(ka)* (late LMJ)
	(OJ *opo-mapye* 'great-front' >) early EMJ *omape* (> *omawe* > late EMJ *omae*) used as a term of address and reinterpreted as 'RESPECT-front'	御前	*gozen* (early LMJ) term of address
	LMJ *toki-fakari* (*toqifacari* in *Vocabulario*) 'clock; time-measuring'	時計	*tokei* (NJ) (but cf. also *tokei* 土圭 'sun-dial')
	early EMJ *owas-* and *owasimas-* 'exist.RESP'	御座	*goza* (early LMJ), used in *goza-ar-* > NJ *gozar-* 'be. POL'

9.3   The case of 者

A single example illustrates some of the complexities involved in *kanbun-kundoku* and *ondoku* and their influence on Japanese. Chinese 者 (EMC *tɕiaˀ) is traditionally said to be used as a pronominal head of a relative clause, 'he who ..., the fact that' (often specifically 'the sort of person who ...'), but 者 has also been shown to be used to mark topics and conditionals (Harbsmeier 1981: 210–28).

Reflecting these uses in Chinese, 者 is in *kanbun-kundoku* rendered as:

(30) a. a noun particle *pa* 'topic';
   b. the inflectional verb endings -*(a)ba* 'conditional' and -*(e)ba* 'provisional';
   c. a noun *mono* 'person'.

Conversely, in writing Japanese, 者 was used logographically to write: