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PHONETIC FUSIONS IN JAPANESE

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The study concentrates on the phonetic fusions in Japanese, which is a feature typical of flective languages. It also poses the question whether the inflective features are relics of more ancient phases of the language or rather of the recent: What is the tendency, from inflective to agglutinative or vice versa, and is fusion in Japanese declining or developing?

INTRODUCTION

That Japanese is an agglutinative language is a generally recognized statement and few would care to challenge it. Nevertheless, it avails itself of a phonological phenomenon which approximates it to the inflective type of languages – fusion.

The classification of languages into isolating, agglutinative, inflexional and incorporating was formed in the 19th century and was based originally on Indo-European languages and with them in view. As the research went on, it became clear that the character of a language is not fixed but can change with time. This was the reason for the the fundamental quadruple division to be further enriched by the category of "synthetic languages that later became more analytic", which corresponded to the development observed in various European post-classical languages that had, up to then, generally been counted into the inflexional group.

The term *inflection*, however, is in itself ambiguous, with two dictinct meanings or usages. First, it denotes the use of fusional techniques in the sphere of inlectional units, the process where, within one word, the root or stem phonetically merges with the ending. Second, it refers to affixes which, though without concrete meanings, express relations between the words in the sentence – like case and person (when, for example, Samuel E. Martin speaks of "inflection" in the Japanese verb, he no doubt does not mean to insinuate that Japanese would be an inflective language). In both these meanings, the word "inflection" is contrastive to "agglutination", which is probably also the reason why the two meanings have been coexisting within the scope of one traditional linguistic term.

In addition to analytic and synthetic types, further knowledge of different types of languages introduced the term polysynthetic. Its characteristics is accu-

mulation of various lexical and grammatical morphemes into conglomerates representing one word. Some North American native languages and the Ainu language of the Japanese island of Hokkaido rank among these. Yet even such Indo-European group as Celtic can be regarded as, at least, verging on this characteristic, with prominent features that could be labelled as polysynthetic. Indeed the basic question here is where lies the limit of the word. If lack of phonetic divisions between words suggests merging into one, then the Celtic initial mutations can be taken as an example thereof. True, liaison (as in French) or sandhi (as in Sanskrit) are also examples of such mergings, yet they occur on the phonetic level only, representing nothing else but a common phonetic appropriation, whereas the Celtic initial mutations tend to occur even if the actual word-to-word connection is lost. The past tense formation in Gaelic can serve as an example here: originally and basically it consists of the sentence-initial past particle "Do" followed by the past form itself. The vowel of "Do" produced an environment for the initial consonant of the verb to be taken as an internal intervocalic position, automatically provoking the so-called "aspirated mutation" (more correctly "spirantization") of the consonant: Do bí (= was) > Do bhí. In modern Gaelic, however, the initial particle is often omitted, yet the mutation remains ("Bhí"), even though the original cause (the intervocalic position) has been lost. This testifies to the strong attachment of the particle-verb unit, taken as one word, with the internal phonetical change ramaining there even if the first part is omitted. Also Old Gaelic (Goidelic) "in sind" (= in the) merged into "insan", hence the modern Gaelic "san" and "sa" with the same meaning (e.g. sa bhaile = at home, lit. "in the home"), though etymologically both forms "san" and "sa" actually correspond to the article part of the original unit "in sind" only. This shows how the whole unit was taken as a whole without distinguishing the separate semantic parts and dropping the juncture between them.

Examples of this kind can be seen in other Indo-European languages too, especially in prepositional syntagms (Slovak cezeň = across it) or articles (Swedish kyrkan = the church), as well as cases like the Old Occitan monosyllabic q'ie.m < "que ieu me" = French que je me. These, however, seldom involve an agglomerate of more than two words, and it is especially the great number of members within one unit that is particularly characteristic of the true polysynthetic languages.

The categories of typological classification are naturally not firm or impenetrable and a language can undergo a shift from one to another with time (diachronic scope) as well as possess features of several of them at the same period (synchronic scope). As Edward Sapir wrote: "A language may be ... even polysynthetic and isolating" (Sapir (1921) p 130). The classification is more justifiable when consideration is taken of the formal processes *most typically* developed in the language.

As far as fusion is concerned, Sapir distinguished two kinds of it, regular and irregular. The regular fusion (goodness) is closer to agglutination, whereas the irregular (depth) represents what he calls symbolic formation or internal change. This also poses the question of correlation between inflexion and fusion and this

study will show that even such a typically agglutinative language as Japanese can avail itself of fusion in a very free and abundant way, throughout centuries, without basically changing its own typological characteristics.

Sapir's typology of isolating, affixing (prefixing, suffixing, infixing) and what he calls symbolic (internal alternation) complements another division into analytic, synthetic, polysynthetic, and the terms inflective and agglutinative are explained as fusing and juxtaposing, respectively. This complex system is further enriched by aspects of expression of relations – mixed-relational, simple (nonderivational) and complex (derivational).

To sum up, it can be said that according to the expressional techniques, languages can be isolating, agglutinative, fusional and symbolic (internal changes), according to the techniques of relating words to each other: isolating (significant order), inflection, concord.

Sapir's theory was formed still before the concept of the morpheme was introduced, so he was confined to what he termed "concepts". For Greenberg, agglutination is the way of connecting morphs into units under phonetic circumstances where only automatic phonetic alternations occur, that is "by a set of rules of combination that holds in all similar instances throughout the language."

There are morphemes of three basic types: root, derivational (endocentric: duck – duckling, or exocentric: sing – singer), and inflectional. Languages differ in their degree of phonetic independence of the morphemes within a word or a lexical unit, that is the morphophonemic structure. The morphophonemic complexity of each of these classes is in direct proportion to its antiquity. The more morphophonemic alternation a set shows or entails in adjoining morphemes, the longer it is likely to have been in the language. (Cowgill (1966) 139)

In Japanese, fusions have been occurring ever since the first extant records of the language as an integral part of its character. There have been fusions and returns to the analytical structure again, not only in the course of centuries and according to dialects, but generational differences are of great significance as well. The young speak differently from the elders, yet this does not mean that the process of evolution goes this fast. "The famous Charmey experiment and its follow-up by Hermann <...> showed that what had been the younger generation did not persist in all of its initial innovations but, in growing older, moved into the subsociety of the middle-aged and in doing so also adopted the subsocietal dialect much as it had existed before." (Hoenigswald (1966) 33) This holds for young generation in modern Japan too. The modes of expression typical for the speech of teenagers gradually shifts onto the more adult way of speech, the teenage "dialect" being taken over by those who follow up the age after them.

Even at such an early stage of the language as ancient Japanese, cases like "saredomo" and "sari tomo" can be observed, in which an originally (or basically) inflective form was later superseded by an analytical form: apparently, there have always been processes going both ways.

In an attempt to sum up the most prominent and best known cases of fusions in Japanese, it has been difficult to differentiate between phonetic and phono-

logical changes. As will be shown on the example of the forms of the copula below, there are many phonologically established contracted forms which, however, still possess phonetically analysable counterparts in other dialects or even in the very same variety too.

The cases of fusions will be treated both synchronically and diachronically and with a view of regional varieties too. First, the contemporary kyootsuugo or common standard will be presented, followed by some regional dialects. Then, some historical aspects of fusion will be taken into account. Each of these varieties – whether dialects or the historical classical Japanese – represent a system, a whole of set rules that show a certain tendency, and to track down the tendency is the main aim of this study.

In each of these sections, cases of fusion will follow the formal division into syntactical, morphological, lexical and complex (mixed), according to the character of the units between which the fusion occurs and the nature of their union. (The difference between grammatical and lexical particles is sometimes difficult to discern and from the point of view of this study it is only a formal division for the sake of classification.)

In the next issue, this study will be followed by another one, focusing on the language of Okinawa (Uchinaa) and the character of fusions in it, as compared to the mainland Japanese which is under study here.

I. CONTEMPORARY KYOOTSUUGO (COMMON STANDARD JAPANESE)

Many established forms contain phonological changes resulting from phonetic contractions in the past (kakoo from kakaN). The interesting point about this is that doublets have often come down to our times which have been coexisting for centuries, the one member representing the original analytical form, the other the contracted form (dewa – ja).

The cases are divided into two groups: Established phonological changes as results of previous phonetic processes, and optional phonetic changes that might possibly cause further phonological fusions in the future.

I.A. Established phonological changes as results of previous phonetic processes

I.A.1. SYNTACTICAL

I.A.1.a. Modification of TO IU

The TO IU construction went through several phonetic changes in the course of the written history of Japanese (see III.1.a below, also II.B.1.b). These fusions always presented an alternative to the full sound TO IU form. In Modern Japanese, this construction, apart from its original meaning of the post-quotational "thus say, say so-and-so", developed into the auxiliary descriptive particle con-

necting a subordinated word (mostly noun) to another noun, for example "Kyooto to iu toshi" = the town of Kyoto, "Hiroko to iu tomodachi" = my friend Hiroko.

In modern colloquial, this construction has several abridged forms, the most common being TTE: "Yooko-san tte ko" = the girl (called) Yoko. Martin quotes the form TEE (p. 237), and I have heard the mainly Osaka form TSUU in Tokyo speakers too. The original composition of the quotational TO particle and the verb IU (= say, call) is lost in this form (as indeed it was in its other historical and dialectal varieties), the result of which is a fused form that can be considered, from the synchronical point of view, as a one-word particle.

I.A.2. MORPHOLOGICAL

I.A.2.a. The fifth basis of verbs (tentative-hortative)

Originally, this form was not a separate member of the verbal bases. Its existence in modern Japanese is the result of a phonetic contraction of the original first basis (mizenkei) with the suffix –MU (later –N).

As far as th –N sound is concerned, it is a nasal syllabic, a nasal phoneme which patterns like a syllable and with free phonetic realizations dependent on the positional character of the following sound. It developed from the original –mu and –nu at the end of words and has been preserved in Japanese until this day, with certain exceptions like that of the tentative-hortative form; in this, a contraction took place: from yuka-mu > yukaN > *yukauN > yukau > yukoo, from mi-mu > miN > *miuN > *miyuN > miyoo (the epenthetic -Y- being probably supported by the existence of the verb miyu/miyuru).

These forms came to be percepted as another of the verbal bases (yukoo along with yuka, yuki, yuku, yuke; miyoo along with mi, mi, miru, mire) and became integrated into the general paradigm of verbal bases.

The reason to this fusion is the decline of conjugation of the –MU suffix after the classical period. If the other form (yuka-me) had continued to exist, this development would have been less probable (see III.2.a below).

I.A.2.b. -TE/-TA verb forms

This is the most typical case of inflection-like fusion in Japanese. The endings –TE (gerund) and –TA (past), (plus the "representative/alternative" –TARI connected with these) originally affixed to the second basis (ren'yookei) of all verbs, as can still be seen in S-, Z/J-, I- and E- verbs (hanaSu – hanashi-te, zonZuru/zonJiru – zonji-te, tabEru – tabe-te, mIru – mi-te). In all the remaining types of verbs, phonetic coalescing produced regular modifications in which the borderline between the stem and the ending became blurred:

kaKu – kaki-te > kaite
isoGu – isogi-te > isoide
taTSu – tachi-te > tatte

shiNu – shini-te > shinde
ka(Φ)u – kai-te > katte (see also II.B.2.a below)
toBu – tobi-te > tonde
yoMu – yomi-te > jonde
aRu – ari-te > atte.

I.A.2.c. Second basis (ren'yookei) of honorific R-verbs

The verbs irassharu (= go), gozaru (= be), nasaru (= do), used in the high honorific style, produce an irregular second basis. Instead of the the regular formation irasshari, gozari, nasari they drop the R: irassyai, gozai, nasai. Thus their polite finite forms are irasshai-masu, gozai-masu, nasai-masu.

This reduction is rooted in the Kyoto dialect from which these forms must have been adopted as an element of the elegant old capital speech that got permeated into the standard Edo (Tokyo) language.

I.A.2.d. Conjugation of adjectives

i-adjectives

Most of the conjugation paradigm of the i-adjectives is the result of fusion of the adverbial (infinitive) KU-form + the conjugated form of the verb ARI (= be). Original analytical forms have still been preserved in some circumstances, especially when the two components are divided by the topic particle WA.

nagakereba < nagaku areba = if it be long
nagakatta < nagaku atta = was long
nagaku wa atta = "as far as length is concerned, it was long indeed"
nagaku wa nai = is not long

The present (or "non-past", to use Viktor Krupa's terminology) i-form (NAGAI = is long) could also be partly regarded as a result of fusion, as it comes from the classical NAGA-KI in which the intervocalic –K- got lost (this process is already attested in the Heian literature).

NA-adjectives and TARU-adjectives

NA-adjectives contain the copula in one of its forms, the more classical NA(RU) in the attribute position, the modern DA(RU) as the predicate. Both are fusions of the particle NI or DE with the verb ARI (of which see below).

Some adjectives also end in TARU, which is another version of the classical copula derived from TO + ARI.

I.A.2.e. Numeratives

The fusion of numerals with numeratives is a complex system outside the purpose of this study, let me just mention a couple of examples for an illustration:

ichi hon > ippon = one (of long thin objects)
san hon > sanbon = three
juu hon > juppon, jippon = ten

Although seemingly fusions, these forms, from the historical perspective, represent the ancient phases of the language. For example, JIPPON is the probable pre-Nara pronunciation of the compound, which is much closer to the original Chinese pronunciation than the modern forms the members assume when in a separate position – JUU, HON; these are the results of further phonetic changes.

I.A.3. LEXICAL

I.A.3.a. Compounds with voiced consonant of the non-initial element

Nominal compounds of various relations between the elements (reduplication, subordination) can cause the initial voiceless consonant of its non-initial (i.e. the second, third or farther) element to become voiced, for example:

hito (= person): hito-bito (= people – reduplication to express plural)
kata (= person – polite): kata-gata (= people – reduplication plural)
chawan (= bowl): matcha-jawan (= powdered-tea bowl)
sakana (= fish): nama-zakana (= raw fish)
toori (= street): oo-doori (= big street, avenue)

It is worth noticing that this change does not occur in verbal compounds (kaku = write: kaki-hajimeru = start writing). Neither is it regular in all nominal compounds, its presence or absence being given by convention. One word changes its initial consonant after one element but keeps it voiceless after another (kawa = river, stream: o-Gawa = rivulet, oo-Kawa = big river), and voiceless-voiced doublets occur as well. In general, voicing does not occur in cases where the consonant of the final syllable of the preceding element is voiced (Nagasaki). It can be added, too, that the irregularity in the voicing patterns of Sino-Japanese compounds rank among the most complicated features of Japanese phonetics.

The voicing of the initial consonant has been a general phonological feature of Japanese ever since the oldest extant monuments and this feature brings it closer to Korean, even Chinese, phonology. It can be regarded as a sort of "internal sandhi", term used in Sanskrit for phonological changes within compounds. Anyway, the voicing of internal consonants seems to have been a more regular feature in Ancient Japanese rather than in the present (see under III. below, especially III.2.g). In modern Japanese, it seems rather to *mark out* the compound juncture rather than blurring it.

I.A.3.b. –san, -chan

These are honorific particles used after personal names and other designations of persons or, exceptionally, other things or activities that need to be named in a refined, honorified or tabooed way. While –san can be added to a form shortened by one of its lexical morphemes (Satoko-san, Sato-san), its diminutive counterpart –chan allows of more radical changes:

Satoko: Satochan, Satchan
Kenji: Kenchan
Azusa: Acchan
Sanae: Sanchan

I.A.3.c. BOKU NO UCHI

The phrase boku no uchi = my house is often shortened to bokuNchi.

I.B. Optional phonetic changes (possibly causes of phonological fusions in future)

I.B.1. SYNTACTICAL

I.B.1.a. Ad hoc external sandhi

Between words in a phrase, occasional phonetic fusions of diverse character can occur:

vocalic fusion (synizesis)
"yonde ikanai" > [yondekanai]
consonantal (syllabic) fusion
"shizuka ni natta" > [śizukana>ta]
"soo desu ne" > [so:sne]

I.B.1.b. Fusion of the topic particle WA

The fate of the [w] sound is a story of gradual decline. As will be shown later (under III.), Heian Japanese must have abounded in [w] sounds with various origins, but a probable constant tendency toward delabialization led to its loss in all positions except before –a, thus [wa] being the only possible combination in Modern Japanese. Even in this position, however, it tends to get lost in spoken language, a phonetic feature most conspicuous in the case of its most frequent occurrence – the topic particle WA.

After the gerund – TE form and the – DE of the copula, its loss has been sort of systemized and led to a colloquial fusion parallel to the original agglutinated,

unfused forms. Thus TE WA, DE WA side by side with the predominantly colloquial CHA, JA, the probable developments of which were [tewa] > [tea] > [tya] > [ća], and [dewa] > [dea] > [dya] > [dża]. (Compare also II.A.1.a. for dialects.)

A similar process can be seen in other circumstances too: sore wa > sorya, boku ni wa > bokunya.

Furthermore, the negative form of i-adjectives can occur in a contracted version: omoshiroka nai = is not fun < omoshiroku wa nai, yoka nai = is not good < yoku wa nai. (However, these forms might well represent a contraction from *yokaranai, see II.A.2.b.)

I.B.1.c. Fusions of auxiliary verbs IRU, OKU, SHIMAU

The analytical verbal constructions using the TE gerund plus the auxiliary verbs IRU (= be), OKU (= put, store) and SHIMAU (= finish), producing various kinds of aspective categories, get contracted in colloquial speech on a broad basis. They are so frequent that they almost present the regular form for colloquial Japanese, even finding their way into the more informal kinds of written language.

The fusion in the case of the verbs iru, oku represents the loss of one of the adjoining vowels (te iru > TERU, te oku > TOKU) and te shimau fuses into CHAU. These changes are also preserved when the final verb is conjugated, for example the past forms: te ita > TETA, te oita > TOITA, te shimatta > CHATTA.

In verbs the gerund of which is voiced (DE), these forms are also voiced too: DERU, DOKU, JAU.

The phonetic value of the result of the contraction of TE in this paragraph differs from that of the preceding one (tewa > tea > [ća] X te oku > [toku] – not [ćoku]). This fact may be accounted for by the difference of periods or of dialectal bases of these respective phonetic changes.

I.B.2. MORPHOLOGICAL

I.B.2.a. Fusions of groups R – vowel – N – vowel

Words like tsumaranai, kaerinasai can be pronounced [tsumannai], [kaenasai]. Thus the original morphematic division (verbal stem kaeri + verbal suffix nasai) becomes blurred into one inseparable unit.

Phonetic fusions of this kind may occur in other environments too, in an ad hoc manner. Lack of field work, however, does not enable me to state more examples. (Morris gives a lot of examples, like wakannai for wakaranai, ittenno for itte iru no, even nannee for naranai, Morris 1986 p. 372)

I.B.2.b. MIZU-WO > MIZO

Cases like this remind one of the truly inflectional endings known in Slavic languages, Sanskrit or Latin. In Japanese, however, their occurrence is highly

exceptional, caused by extralingual causes like fast speech. If this should indeed become a trend, Japanese could be heading toward an inflectional metamorphosis.

I.B.2.c. NO > N

The particle NO is often abridged into N, not only in its nominalizing, but also genitive function: suru no da = does(, really.) > suruNda, soko no tokoro "the place there" > sokoNtokoro.

I.B.3. LEXICAL

I.B.3.a. Iotacized diphthongs ([kio] > [k'o:])

As an example of a purely phonetic feature, the contemporary pronunciation of syllables with iotacized diphthongs can be given, as the "kyoo" in "Kyooto". Judging from the character of the older Latinization of the 19th century as "kio", in coherence with that of "chuu" as "chiu" the hypothesis can be drawn of a tendency in Japanese of contraction of these syllables in which the rising diphthong changes into a long vowel. The old-fashioned transcriptions "CHIU", "KIO" (still preserved, say, in the Slovak spelling of "Tokio") may not be a pure transliteration based on the kana spelling but could also be a reflexion of the fact that the iotic element was heard much stronger than now. Nowadays, it is completely lost after S, Z, T (palatalized to SH, J, CH) and is often almost inaudible after K, N, H which are pronounced with strong palatalization.

This tendency was much stronger in the language of Okinawa (as will be shown in the following article) and on broader dialectal basis led to some cases of morphological fusions as well, as the Osaka pronunciation /chuu/ for "to iu".

II. CONTEMPORARY DIALECTS

II.A. Miscellaneous dialectal features

II.A.1.SYNTACTICAL

II.A.1.a. The copula

The concrete regional forms of the copula illustrate the diversification of Japanese dialects. As Samuel E. Martin showed in his detailed account of the copula forms (Martin (1975) p.1033-1035), most of them are results of complex processes of phonetic contractions in which several original forms could (or might – hypothetically) have merged into one.

Basically, the Japanese copula has always consisted of two elements, the verb meaning "to be, exist, be present" preceded by one of the locative suffixes attached to the noun. Thus the old Japanese "miyako ni ari" could mean either

"it is the capital" (the copula meaning) or "(something) is in the capital" (the locative meaning), while without the locative suffix the verb has the existential meaning: "miyako ari" = "there is the capital". The ambiguity of this construction could have been the reason why another suffix NITE, indeed an extended version of NI, started to be used in the copula construction from the mid-Heian period onward (11th century), yielding the phonetic merger into DE soon, which subsequently coalesced with the following vowel of the verb ARI (this is really a historical account, belonging rather to the following section of this study, yet it has seemed appropriate to mention it here to make my point). Thus from DE ARI, several outcomes developed, including the present-day standard DA, the Western JA or YA – the latter being typical of the Kansai (Osaka-Kyoto) area, which testifies to the diversity of phonetic change of the group [de + a-].

In the negative form, the topic WA is supposed to have been inserted between the two elements, as is still to be seen in the analytical alternative: DE WA NAI. In the standard, the fused form is "ja nai", the JA of which could be either the result of a contraction of [de + wa + a-] different from the contraction of [de + a-] (> DA), or a borrowing from the Western dialects. Nonetheless, in Osaka, the whole negative construction has been replaced by a suppletive CHAU, a shortened version of the verb chigau = it differs (which is, after all, just a logical extension of its use as a negative participle "no" as also used in the standard speech).

(In Okinawan, the copula is yaN. The negative does not differ from the negative form of the verb aN = be, so "araN" can mean either "there is not" or "it is not". From this perspective, it is questionable if such a distinction really exists in positive, since "yaN" can be taken both as its similar Osaka counterpart and as a mere coalescence of the topic participle ya and the verb aN.)

II.A.2. MORPHOLOGICAL

II.A.2.a. Forms of negatives in adjectives

The NA- of the negative suffixal adjective NAI is often reduced and leading to further changes:

-ANAKATTA(RA) > -ANKATTA(RA) / -ANANDA(RA)
(in Kinki, Shikoku)

In some dialects there are reduced forms originated from the classical negative –ZU + AR(I):

-(A)ZU ATTA > -(A)ZATTA (western Shikoku et al.) > -(A)DATTA / -(A)RATTA (Yamaguchi) > -(A)AATTA (Kagawa) (Morris 1986, p. 372)

II.A.2.b. Kyushu adjectives

The i-adjectives end in -KA in the non-past form: yoka = yoi, is good, naka = nai, is not (Morris 1986, p. 373)

These forms are most probably the result of the loss of the –RU of the originally analytical forms like YOKU + ARU > YOKARU > YOKA, much in the way familiar also in standard forms like the past tense HANASHITA < HANASHITARU, the copula DA < *DARU < DE ARU, the suffix of the NA-adjectives -NA < -NARU < -NI ARU.

II.A.2.c. Forms of gerund

There are some more irregularities in the formation of gerund in dialects. Even S-verbs are irregular in Nagoya, Ishikawa and Hyogo: kasite > kaite, hanasite > hanaite, okosite > okoite > okeete.

Gerunds of B- and M-verbs (-NDE in standard) lack the prenasalization in Koochi, Kyuushuu, Ishikawa. So both yomu and yobu have yoode, differing only in the pitch accent.

For the forms of the original φ-verbs (like kau) in Kansai dialect, see II.B.2.a below.

II.B. OSAKA (KANSAI) DIALECT

The Osaka dialect is a representative of Western Japanese dialects. Traditionally, the prestigious representative of this group was the speech of the ancient imperial capital of Kyoto, esteemed as the immediate offspring of the classical Heian literary language. This, however, has gradually receded as obsolete in the past decades, limited to traditional surroundings and occasions, and a somewhat refined variety of the Osaka dialect has been establishing itself as the general vernacular for the most of the present-day Kyoto population as well. Kansai dialect is another name for this Osaka speech in the broader sense.

II.B.1. SYNTACTICAL

II.B.1.a. Verbs with sentence-final particles

KA and NA

The polite forms of the copula and verbs fuse with the particles KA and NA into DAKKA/DEKKA (= standard "desu-ka"), MAKKA ("masu-ka"), DANNA/DENNA ("desu-ne"), MANNA ("masu-ne").

NEN and NO

The emphasizing-explanatory particles NEN (corresponding approximately to the standard "-no yo") and NO fuse with the final syllable RU of the preceding verb: ANNEN < aru-nen "aru-no yo", YUKAHANNEN < yuki-haru-nen (the suffix haru expresses familiar politeness, see II.B.2.d below), YUUTENNO < yuuteru no = "itte iru no"

II.B.1.b. Fusions in verbal constructions

AKAN

The auxilliary verb AKAN (negative imperative"don't", similar to DAME) might also be the result of a fusion, coming from ikan = ikanai, under the influence of the –a of the verb that often preceded it. Martin (1975, p. 385) is also of this opinion, giving, however, other explanations like a truncation of rachi (ga) akanu "makes no headway", supported also by the Nagoya version datyakan which could immediately come from rati-akan with the change D into R (seen also in the case of the Osaka "shindoi" from the presumed shinRoi).

TO IU > CHUU

The noun-connecting construction TO IU has a fused version [ću:] as compared to the standard contracted version [>te] (already mentioned above).

II.B.2. MORPHOLOGICAL

*II.B.2.a. –TE/-TA forms of the original *φ-verbs*

The gerund (TE) and past tense (TA) forms of the KAU-type verbs differ from the standard: KAU (= buy, even "KOO") – KOOTE (= standard "katte"), MORAU (= receive, even "MOROO") – MOROOTE (= "moratte"), YUU (= standard "iu" – say) – YUUTE (= "itte"), even AU (= meet, even "OO") – OOTE ("atte"). The long vowel developed from the original diphthong that can be traced back as early as the Heian literature, testifying to the antiquity of this kind of fusion (iφu: iφi-te > iwite > iwte = iute > yuute).

This also affected the forms of the construction TE SHIMAU, the past tense of which tends not to fuse into CHA- but retain the original form TE SHIMOO-TA.

II.B.2.b. Adjectival adverbs ("infinitive") in –KU

A similar change, resulting from the monophthongization of diphthongs, is seen in the formation of adverbs from adjectives: TAKAI (= expensive) – TAK-OO (= standard "takaku"). This is a regular formation arising due to the loss of the intervocalic K, preserved in the standard, a process already documented in the Heian texts, in which it actually goes hand in hand with the loss of K in the positive form too: takaki > takai, takaku > takau (> [tako:], see in III.3.d below). These monophthongized forms of the infinitive have been incorporated into the standard speech in the honorific construction with the verb gozaru: arigatai – ARIGATOO gozaimasu, hayai – o-HAYOO gozaimasu.

Both the above cases (morOOte, takOO) really represent the regular process of monophthongization of diphthongs, spreading ever since the Kamakura period. The exceptionality of these particular cases is that the monophthongization went on here disrespectful of the morpheme borderlines.

II.B.2.c. The adjective EE/YOO

The standard YOI / II – YOKU (good – well) have their counterparts EE – YOO in the Osaka dialect. At the first glance, they might look like mere contractions of the standard forms (yoi > yee > ee, yoku > you > [yo:]). Yet they might well be direct continuations of the forms of the old Japanese adjective YESI (a phonetic version of YOSI) with a contraction process of their own: yeki > yei > yee > ee, yeku > yeu > [yo:].

II.B.2.d. The verbal suffix -HARU and negative -HEN

The auxilliary suffixal verb –haru expresses an informal politeness, an interdegree between the two levels established in the kyootsuugo standard – between the neutral (e.g. iku) and honorific forms (e.g. ikareru, oideninaru, irassharu) in the more delicate Kansai Japanese scale of honorifics. It has two variants, viz. YUKAHARU and YUKIHARU. It is supposed to have developed from the verb nasaru, logically suffixed to the 2nd (ren'yookei) basis (*yuki-nasaru), in which the -n- got lost in the intervocalic position (*yuki-asaru) and the S changed into H, a change pretty common in Kansai (*yuki-aharu), with the result of the fusing of the stem vowel with the – A to the direction of either of them (yuki-'haru or yuk'-aharu).

The same kind of double variant of the stem vowel can be seen in the typical Osaka negative suffix –hen: YOMAHEN/YOMEHEN for the standard yomanai, YUWAHEN/YUWEHEN for iwanai. This form is regarded a contraction from ren'yookei + WA SENU: yuwahen/yuwehen < yu(w)i a hen < iui wa sen (Morris gives a local distinction to the two forms, the A version connected with Kyoto and the E version with Osaka. Morris 1986 p. 376).

Just for a completion let me state here that the negative potential, signalled by the E stem in standard "yomEnai, iEnai", is expressed by means of negative passive in Osaka, thus levelling the vowel and consonant verbs: yomarehen = I can't read, yuwarehen = I can't say, just like mirarehen = I can't see.

(There is another way of forming a negative potential, as Morris points out: by YOO (yoku, = well, easily) + negative: yoo kakahen for Kyoto, yoo kakehen for Osaka (Morris 1986, 376).)

II.B.2.e. The provisional -YA

The provisional ending -eba has another counterpart in Osaka dialect in the form of -ya: NAKYA = nakereba, KURYA = kureba. This may well be another case of fusion of the topic particle –wa with the preceding stem of the verb, probably dating back from more ancient times in which the particle –wa (-φa) expressed both condition AND topic (in fact –ba is just a voiced version of the Old Japanese -φa). When the intervocalic [w] was lost, the remaining hiatus was contracted into [ya]. The –neba has counterparts in –NYA, even –NA (sena akan = shinakute wa dame, you must not do, see also Morris 1986, p. 372).

These forms could be explained also by means of what Morris gives as his "etymological speculation" with regard to what he deems the probable doublet form for WA – the topic particle YA, preserved predominantly in Okinawan (Morris 1986, p. 87-88).

II.B.3.a. LEXICAL AND COMPLEX

Various phonetic changes occur between two words in such units where the latter represents a kind of a suffix (lexical, grammatical, subordinated verb form). The final vowel of the former word may be dropped and the two consonants coalesce, regressively in general, into one geminated consonant:

imooto-san [imo:>saŋ], Sakamoto-san [sakamo>saŋ]
asoko kara [aso>kara], doko ka [do>ka]

An interesting case is the expression HONNARA (also honara, hondara = So,..., In that case...) which is an example of fusion par excellence, mixing the original "soo nara, soo shitara" into one conglomerate (with the change S > H, already mentioned above).

II.C. TOKYO

II.C.a. The non-past of adjectives

The Tokyo dialect is basically the hyoojungo or standard language, so its peculiarities are generally taken as features of the kyootsuugo (common communication language) and, as such, mentioned in that section. As examples of fusion said to be most typical of the Tokyo speech is the monophthongization of the diphthong in adjectives, the second element of which is the adjectival –i suffix of the non-past: sugoi > [suge:], nai > [ne:].

III. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

III.1. SYNTACTICAL

III.1.a. TO IFU

The construction TO IFU underwent a fusion into TEFU (thus preserved in spelling) with the resulting pronunciation [ćo:] in the Middle Ages. A similar, if quite independent, development has been shown in the Osaka dialect above.

III.1.b. Vowel loss before ARI

The loss of the vowel before the verb ARI in several constructions gave rise to new fused forms:

-TE ARI > -TARI (continuation of a state, also perfect)
-TO ARI > -TARI (copula)
-NI ARI > -NARI (copula)
*-NE ARI > -NARI (I can hear, they say)
*-MI ARI > -MERI (apparently)
-KI ARI > -KERI (reminiscence past)

III.2. MORPHOLOGICAL

III.2.a. The rise of the "fifth" basis

The hypothetical future was expressed by the suffix "-MU" attached to the first (mizenkei) basis (yuka-mu = I will go, mi-mu = I will see). This suffix was a deponent auxiliary verb with only one more form –ME (izenkei) which was mostly restricted to the "dependent ending" (kakarimusubi) with the word KOSO (see III.2.f). The virtual lack of other forms might have led to the loss of awareness of –mu as a particular auxiliary verb, thus helping its gradual fusion, most probably in this way: yukamu > yukaN > *yukauN > yukau > yukoo/ikoo. The resulting form, in Modern Japanese, is taken as nothing else but another member in the system of verbal bases (ikoo along with ika, iki, iku, ike). Here, the fusion provided for a completely new form in the language, and a new grammatical category (tentative-hortative), for that matter.

III.2.b. Gerund forms

The gerund suffix –TE must have started its fusion with the final syllable of the preceding verbal stem very early on, as can be judged from such spellings as MOTE for MOTI-TE in the very beginnings of written Japanese. The spelling probably ignored the gemmination which was generally not recorded elsewhere either, and the real pronunciation could have been [mo>te].

F-verbs also fused, which was reflected in the spelling IUTE for the original IFI-TE (iφi-te > iwite > iwte = iute). The Western Japanese dialect preserves the direct offspring of this fusion in the form yuute, which is a phonetic continuation of the Heian "iute" (see II.B.2.a above).

III.2.c. NI and NITE

From mid-Heian period, literature testifies to the ever increasing use of the suffix NITE, originally just an augmented form of NI (either through a process similar to the formation of the gerund in adjectives where TE is simply suffixed to the infinitive form: YOKU + TE, or possibly also the result of a fusion of NI with the gerund form of some of the auxiliary verbs like *ni wite > niite > nite).

Its later phonetic fusion inte [de] gave rise to a new suffix in the Japanese grammar (instrumental) and a gradual division of functions between NI and DE took place in the course of the centuries till the present-day distinction was finally reached.

III.2.d. Fusions in syllables in R-

MERI

The auxiliary –MERI (=apparently), attached to the –u basis (rentaikei in R-verbs, shuushikei in the rest), fused with the R of the R-verbs into MM: ARU-MERI > ANMERI (also spelled AMERI, with the gemination left unrecorded).

(The result of a similar process has been shown in the Osaka dialect in II.B.1.a above).

The loss of final –RU

In connection with the preceding section, the occurrence of DE next to NI influenced the situation of the copula too. Interestingly enough, the classical copula form NARI, which came from –NI ARI, was replaced by the construction containing DE: -DE ARI > DARI.

With the general establishement of rentaikei as the sentence-final form in the Middle Ages (MIYURU instead of miyu, ARU instead of ari, YOKI instead of yoshi), forms originally containing the verb ARI also assumed the forms ending in –U: the copula NARU, DARU, the perfect TARU. The final –RU started to be lost before the modern era, thus yielding to the present forms NA (nominal adjectives), DA (copula), TA (past tense).

The loss of –RA-

In the diction of the noh drama, the negative form GOZARANAI is often pronounced [gozanai]. The results of this change can be heard in modern speech too, as mentioned above in cases like [tsumannai] (I.B.2.a).

III.2.e. Forms of the verb SOOROO

This verb replaced, in the Middle Ages, the older Heian FABERI, both being, in their auxiliary function, roughly equivalent to the modern –masu. So it is often heard in the performances of the classical theatre forms like noh, kyogen and kabuki. It comes from the classical verb SABURAFU = serve (from which also "samurai" derives) and undergoing various phonetical changes it was the form SAURAU that stood behind the later version SOOROO. It is interesting that the monophthongization of AU into [o:] took place even in the final position where the –U was a significant marker of the grammatical meaning (the "third" "basis" or non-past). This problem is general for all the –F- verbs like KAU (= buys < KAFU) and some Western dialects have this contraction (KOO – KOOTA for the standard KAU, KATTA as mentioned in II.B.2.a above) yet in some, again, the necessity of clear grammatical expression prevailed over the phonetic tendency, with the diphthong preserved in the non-past (KAU – KOOTA).

In the imperative form, an epenthetic sound developed. As the result of the development line SABURAFE > SAMBURAWE > SAURAE we have the pronunciation [so:raye], with the inserted [y] which does not have any etymological ground, the reason for it being purely phonetic as a result of a probable

widespread pronunciation of the E syllable in the late Middle Ages as [ye] regardless of its origin. (This might have been a relic of the ancient language in which most of the independent E were actually [ye], this pronunciation later spreading to the rest of the independent E syllables).

III.2.f. Fused forms of adjectives

Since the most ancient records there has been evidence of the existence of analytical system of adjectival conjugation by means of the verb ARI (=is) added to the infinitive form in –KU. These analytical forms could be freely fused into one unit or disassembled again at the moment's purpose, like YOKU ARAMU (= will be good) > YOKARAMU, but YOKU FA ARAMU (with the topic), YOKU NAMU ARAMU (with the emphasizing namu), YOKU KOSO ARAME. (with koso that was originally the premarker of the meaning of "but" in the following clause, similar to Greek "μέν", Latin "quidem" or Slovak "síce", later also a pure emphasis, yet requiring the izenkei of the final verb).

The original agglutinative forms of adjectives were only three: YO-SHI – predicative (shuushikei), YO-KI – attributive (rentaikei) and YO-KU – infinitive (ren'yookei). Even these forms had their analytical alternants: YOKU ARI (> YOKARI) for YOSHI, YOKU ARU (> YOKARU) for YOKI and YOKU ARI(TE) (> YOKARITE) for YOKU.

(This parallelism of analytical and fused forms has come down to our own days, cf. the Modern Japanese forms YOKATTA but YOKU WA ATTA, as mentioned in I.A.2.d above.)

III.2.g. Intervocalic voicing

The issue of intervocalic voicing is a dubious one as regards fusion. The tendency of Japanese, especially in its more ancient phases, towards it resulted in many further phonetic changes, as will be shown in the lexical section. Voicing certainly is a phenomenon connected with fusion, yet the question is whether it is an accompanying one or a contradicting one. As a matter of fact consonants in intervocalic positions did not get voiced in general (unlike Korean or Ainu). The voicing rather seems to have been a marker of connecting two parts into one, so, as a result, the voiceless consonants marked the interior of a lexical unit while the voicing was characteristic of the juncture, marking out the place where two units met rather than fusing them into one. So in some cases voicing seems to me rather a signal of *non-fusion*. However, this problem would require a further study, so let me draw some attention to the voicing anyway.

Voicing is supposed to be accompanied by prenasalization in some periods, especially in the mid-Heian period, leading to further changes onward.

The voicing of suffixes was not general: some cases remained unchanged (TO, KARA), others underwent the process of voicing (the verbal suffix TOMO > DOMO). It is interesting to note that voicing did not occur at one time but was carried out at various periods for different suffixes, and even at various periods for

various uses of the same suffix. For example, the topic particle, the most ancient form detactable being probably *PA, was not voiced in proto-Japanese (by which I mean the period before the first extant records) except after the suffix WO: WO-BA (and in verbs as the provisional suffix –BA). This state continued into the literary period as well. When PA changed into *[φa] in accordance with the general process supposed for the development of the P phoneme in the early Nara period, BA remained unchanged, so the proto-Japanese logical doublet PA – BA changed into the FA – BA with an already less apparent connection. The F phoneme underwent a general voicing in the intervocalic position in Heian times, so the dichotomy got more diversified yet: WA – BA. Thus, the same suffix underwent two processes of voicing, on different time levels (proto-Japanese pa > ba, Heian φa > wa), thus resulting in two phonetically different forms, BA and WA.

III.2.h. Fusion of –NO

The genitive particle –NO is often pronounced as the vocalic N syllable in the diction of noh drama.

III.3. LEXICAL

III.3.a. Phonological synizesis

Synizesis, or fusing of two neighbouring vowels (of a hiatus) into one, was both a phonetic and a phonological feature in ancient Japanese. The former can be exemplified by the classical poetry, the syllabic rhythm of which was based upon lines (or units, as Morris regards the concept of "lines" a rather Eurocentric one – Morris 1986, p. 593) of five or seven syllables. This rythm was, however, sometimes seemingly breached by one exceeding syllable. In most cases there is a hiatus allowing a synizetic reading that restores the regular syllabism.

Synizesis became a phonological feature in proto-Japanese when two vowels formed a junction in a lexical compound and produced a single vowel, often different in quality from the original two. For example, the classical word UTUSHEMI (people, this world) derives from UTUSHI (the reality, the world) and ÖMI (person, fellow, companion) with the fusion of I-Ö into E. The TOFO-TAFUMI, the ancient name of the Hamanako lake in the Shizuoka prefecture, comes from TOFO-TU (distant) and AFUMI (lake), in contrast with the "regular", the closer AFUMI – lake Biwa. The word AFUMI is itself a synizesed compound of AFA- (faint, fresh – as of water) and UMI (sea). There are scores of words in Japanese that can be etymologically accounted for as original compounds subjected to phonological synizesis.

III.3.b. Compound-initial form of words

Many words occur in a different form when standing as independent members of the sentence and when the non-final member of a compound, that is

when followed by another member of the compound. Examples: SAKE (wine) but SAKA-ZUKI (wine cup), KAMI (up, high above) but KAMU-DATI-ME (the members of the highest court aristocracy, lit. "the group standing high above"), KAMI (god) but KAMU-DUKASA (the ministry of religious affairs).

These changes can be explained in several ways.

1. The phonetic change of the pre-classical ablauted vowels into unablauted ones
2. The existence of a hypothetical suffix –I in the independent position and its absence in compounds, for example the independent *KAMU-I (from which > KAMI in classical Japanese) but KAMU- in compounds, *SAKA-I (> SAKE) but SAKA-.
3. The fusion of this hypothetical suffix –I with the initial consonant of the following member of the compound.
4. In cases like KAMU-DATI-ME, the spelling MU might be nothing more than an attempt to put down the syllabic pronunciation [n] of the abbreviation from the original syllable MI (KAMI-DATI-ME > KAM'DATIME > [kandat'ime]).
5. Vocalic harmony (KI NO = of trees > KO NO: konofa = leaves of trees, FI NO = of fire > FO NO, also FO for "fire" in ancient names of gods).

Point 3 would be a classical example of fusion, yet points 2 and 5 seem the most probable alternatives to me.

III.3.c. Treating intervocalic [φ]

The voicing of the intervocalic [φ] into > [w] was the most prominent phonetic change in early Heian Japanese (if not even earlier) and also one that brought about radical changes in the appearance of many words and resulted in phonetic fusions that blurred the original etymology. Examples:

MAFE-TU KIMI (= minister, lit. the lord in front [of the emperor])
> MAUTIGIMI

FITO (= person): OTO-FITO > OTOUTO (= younger brother, > the modern OTOOTO)

KURA-FITO (= head archivist) > KURAUDO > KUROUDO

FI (= day): *KO-FI (= today, lit. this day) > KEFU (> modern KYOO)

WOTI-TU FI (= the day before yesterday, lit. the day before) > WOTOTUFI (from which the modern Western dialectical OTOTSUI directly derives, with a slight dissimilation in the standard form OTOTOI).

III.3.d. Other changes in compounds

A syllable with an initial nasal fused with the following consonant that becomes voiced (and originally probably prenasalized as well)

*FI-MUKASI (= east, lit. facing the Sun) > FI(N)GASHI
(> the modern HIGASHI)

*NANI TO > NA(N)DO = etc., something like, something in the way...

Coalescence of identical consonants in neighbouring syllables.

*TUKI-KOMORI (= the end of the lunar month, lit. hiding of the moon)
> TUGOMORI

Loss of the intervocalic K
*TUKI-TATI (= the start of the lunar month, the first day thereof, lit. start of the moon) >
TUITATI (> the modern TSUITACHI in the latter meaning)

This was a rather widespread change, influencing also grammatical forms like:
ITAKU > ITAU (probably also ITO belongs here) = very, exceedingly
KAKU, KAKITE > KAU, KAITE = writes, a-writing (the latter is the present-day standard)
TAKAKI, TAKAKU > TAKAI, TAKAU = is tall, high(ly) (the former is the present-day standard, the latter seen in dialects, see above)

Vowel changes in the syllables neighbouring to the juncture of the compound.

Probably a relic of vocalic harmony, as seen in the previous examples already:
MAFE-TU KIMI > MAUTIGIMI
WOTI-TU FI > WOTOTUFI
KO-FI > KEFI > KEFU (or maybe pronounced [kewu] already, to which KEFU was just the conventional spelling)

V. CONCLUSION

A detailed survey of the most typical and best known cases of phonetical fusions in Japanese has shown that it belongs to the basic characteristics of the setup of this language. Its most abundant field of activity is morphology, followed in frequency by syntax. As far as the lexical sphere is concerned, it seems to have had a much larger influence in the Japanese of previous periods than at present. This study, however, does not include statistic data, which would be clear and straightforward in showing concretely which kind of fusion prevailed in which epoch. Nevertheless, even a glimpse at the above results make it clear that phonetic fusions have always been an integral part of the mechanism in Japanese and that there seems to have been a tendency to its reduction in the modern Japanese kyootsuugo.

Fusion caused the *rise of new grammatical categories*:
- the fifth basis form (tentative-hortative)
- the functional distinction between the old particle NI and the newly arisen DE.

There is detactable even a typically *inflective* feature, in that two grammatical categories are expressed by one fused ending:
- CHA or JA is gerund and topic

- the classical Japanese NARI if it means the locative expression "is in" (< NI ARI)
- all the variants of the fusion of the construction TO + IU.

To these could be added cases in which the originally separate analytical construction becomes phonetically blurred:
- the TE/TA forms of most verbs
- forms like NAGAKEREBA
- gerund of the copula DE for de atte
- CHAU for te shimau
- the Kansai forms like EE, YOO, TAKOO
- the Kansai and classical forms like MOROO for morau and SOOROO for *SOORAU
- the Kansai forms like YUKAHEN/YUKEHEN, YUKAHARU/YUKIHARU, KURYA, NAKYA, -NA (in "sena akan")
- the classical forms like AMMERI
- compounds like KYOO, OTOTOI, UTSUSEMI, OTOOTO, TSUGOMORI
- contracted lexical derrivation like ATCHAN
- contracted lexical formation like BOKUNCHI (boku no uchi)

On the other hand, there also seem to be anti-fusion elements marking out the juncture rather than blurring it, for example the voicing in compounds and the epenthetic Y in cases like sooraye in the imperative (meireikei) basis as opposed to the fusion in the sentence-final (shuushikei) form sooroo < soorau.

Being, in most cases, just an alternative to a parallel analytical form, fusion could never have developed into an independent means in the Japanese language that would change its basically agglutinative character.

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