日本語表記体系における「表語」の種類

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Types of 'logography' in the Japanese writing system

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Introduction

About this presentation

Background

Place and nature of 'logography' in the current Japanese writing system (JWS)

- Traditionally seen as a key principle underlying JWS
- Increasingly superseded by the term 'morphography'
- Problem: Lack of terminological and conceptual clarity

Goal

A refined account of 'logography' in the JWS

- To distinguish two types of 'logography'
- To characterise 'morphography' as a subtype
- To call for a better terminology

\rightarrow Towards a better account of JWS

1. JWS and 'logography'

JWS: An overview

Language

- Multi-layered lexicon (Native, Sino-Japanese, Foreign)
- Rich morphology (affixation, compounding, reduplication, clipping)

Scripts & orthographies

- Scripts for different functions (kanji, hiragana, katakana, rōmaji & other)
- Orthographic conventions for different scripts (non-binding guidelines)

KA.	HI.	RŌ.	HI.	KAN.	HI.	PUNCT.
ロンドン	に	Marugame Udon	が	開店	した	0
rondon	ni	marugame+udon	ga	kai+ten	shi-ta	
London	LOC	PN	NOM	open+shop	do-past·aff	
'Marugame Udon (noodle restaurant) opened in London.'						

JWS: An overview

Grapholinguistic accounts

- Non-phonographic kanji + phonographic hiragana, katakana, rōmaji
- Lack of uniform term & conceptual clarity for non-phonography

Common designations & their problems

- 'Logography': Wide variety of definitions (Osterkamp & Schreiber 2021a)
- 'Morphography': Some underexplored issues (Honda 2019)

Discussion

- 'Logography' \rightarrow Part 2
- 'Morphography' \rightarrow Part 3

Honda, K. 2019. What do kanji graphs represent in the current Japanese writing system? Towards a unified model of kanji as written signs. In Haralambous, Y. (ed.), *Graphemics in the 21st Century: Brest, June 13-15, 2018*. 185-208. Brest: Fluxus Editions. Osterkamp, S. & Schreiber, G. 2021a. Challenging the dichotomy between phonography and morphography: Transitions and gray areas. In Haralambous, Y. (ed.), *Grapholinguistics in the 21st century 2020: Proceedings*. 47-82. Brest: Fluxus Editions.

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2. Two types of 'logography'

Definitions of 'logography'

Classical (e.g. Sampson 1985; cf. 2015)

- Graph representing word/morpheme
- Differentiation of homophones
- Morphological constancy

Alternative

- Graph representing morpheme (e.g. Taylor & Taylor 2014)
- Graphic encoding of non-phon. info. (Sproat 2000)
- Graphic repr. of words in any WS (Kono 1994)

Daniels, P. T. & W. Bright (eds.). 1996. The world's writing systems. New York: Oxford University Press.
Kōno, R. 1994. Moji no honshitsu. In Kōno, R., Mojiron. 1-24. Tokyo: Sanseidō.
Sampson, G. 1985. Writing systems. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Sampson, G. 2015. Writing systems. 2nd ed. Sheffield & Bristol: Equinox Publishing.
Sproat, R. 2000. A computational theory of writing systems. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Taylor, I. & Taylor, M. M. 2014. Writing and literacy in Chinese, Korean and Japanese. 2nd ed. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

8

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- Differentiation of homophones
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- Graph representing morpheme
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ENG <**£**> *pound*(+*s*)

- Kan. <愛> ai 'love' (Sino-Japanese) <恋> koi 'romance' (Native Japanese) <杯> saka+zuki 'drinking cup' (NJ) <掌> te=no hira 'palm' (NJ)
- Hi. $\langle \varepsilon \rangle o'$ ACCUSATIVE'
- Rō. <G>gokiburi 'cockroach' (?) <WC>toire 'toilet'

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ENG <rite> ≠ <right> ≠ <write> ...

- Kan. <愛> ai 'love' (Sino-Japanese) <藍> ai 'indigo' (Native Japanese)
 - <時計> *tokei* 'timepiece' (clock) <土圭> *tokei* 'timepiece' (sundial)
- Hi. <おう>ō'yea' <おお>ō'oh'
- Ka. <バレー> $bar\bar{e}$ 'volleyball' <バレエ> $bar\bar{e}$ 'ballet'

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ENG <telegraph(ø/-y/-ic)>

Kan.(?) <酒粕> sak<u>e</u>+kasu 'rice wine lees' <酒屋> sak<u>a</u>+ya 'liquour shop' <煮酒> ni+<u>z</u>ake 'cooking wine' <居酒屋> i+<u>z</u>ak<u>a</u>+ya 'tavern'

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CHN <+>shí 'ten'

- Kan. <愛> ai 'love' (Sino-Japanese)
 <恋> koi 'romance' (Native Japanese)
 <杯> saka+zuki 'drinking cup' (NJ)
 <学> te=no hira 'palm' (NJ)
- Hi. $\langle \varepsilon \rangle o'$ ACCUSATIVE'
- Rō. <G>gokiburi 'cockroach' (?) <WC>toire 'toilet'

Classical

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- CHN <檳榔>bīnláng 'betel'
 <賓>bīn + no meaning
 <郎>láng + no meaning
 <木> no sound + 'betel'
- Kan. <檳榔> binrō 'betel' <賓> bin + no meaning <郎> rō + no meaning <木> no sound + 'betel'

'Radical harmony' (Cornelia Schindelin, p.c.)

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Classification of 'logography' in JWS

Classical

- Graph representing word/morpheme <u>Lexica</u>
- Differentiation of homophones
- Morphological constancy,

Alternative

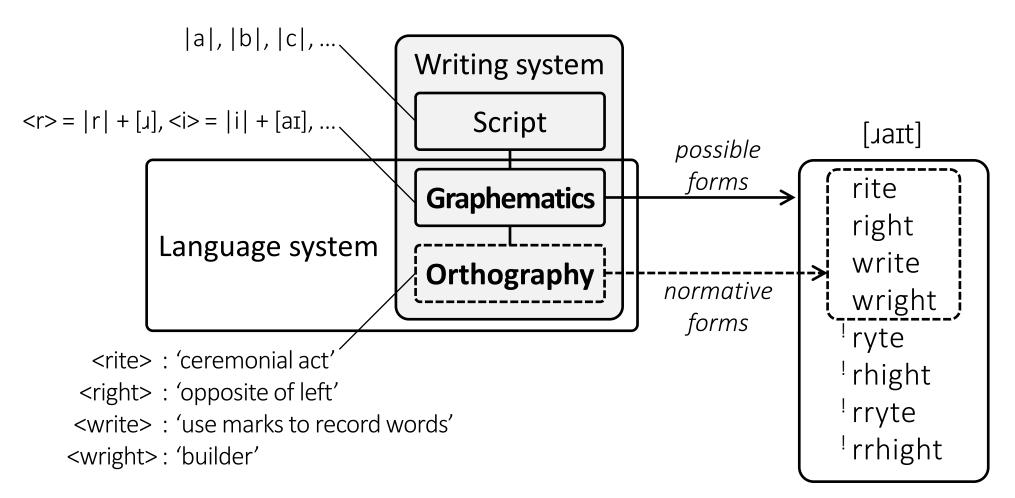
- Graph representing morpheme ²
- Graphic encoding of non-phon. info.
- Graphic repr. of words in any WS⁻

- Lexically conditioned
 Interpretation of signs
- Lexically conditioned
 representation of words

Framework to capture the similarity and difference?

Classification of 'logography' in JWS

Multimodular model of WSs (Neef 2015; Meletis 2020)



Neef, M. 2015. Writing systems as modular objects: Proposals for theory design in grapholinguistics. *Open Linguistics* 1(1). 708-721. **Meletis**, D. 2020. *The nature of writing: A theory of grapholinguistics*. Brest: Fluxus Editions.

Classification of 'logography' in JWS

'Graphematic logography'

- Morpheme-based:<愛>, <檳榔>, <を>, <G>, <WC>, ...
- Word-based: <杯>, <釉>uwa+gusuri 'glaze', <廳>matsuri+goto+dono 'govt. office', ...
- Phrase-based: <掌> (and possibly others)

'Orthographic logography'

- Conditioned: <バレエ>, <時計>, <土圭>, ...
- Unconditioned: <パレー>, ...

Cf. Phonography

- Phoneme-based: < a >, < b >, <ch>, ...
- Mora-based: <あ>, <き>, <ん>, ...

3. Morphography as a subtype of 'logography'

Definition of morphography

Morphograph (Joyce 2011)

- Graph representing a morpheme
 - Morpheme: Minimal meaningful form in a language
 - Word: Monomorphemic / polymorphemic
- Graphs arranged according to word's morphological structure

Morphographic WS

- WS is based on morphology if not based on phonology (Hill 1967; Joyce 2011)
- 'Logography' is a misnomer (Joyce 2011)
 - Morpho-: Graphs represent morphemes
 - Logo-: Graphs represent morphemes / polymorphemic words
- All WSs have different amounts of morphography (Rogers 2005; cf. Joyce 2011)

Hill, A. A. 1967. The typology of writing systems. In Austin, W. M. (ed.), *Papers in linguistics in honor of Leon Dostert*. 92-99. The Hague & Paris: Mouton. Joyce, T. 2011. The significance of the morphographic principle for the classification of writing systems. *Written Language and Literacy* 14(1). 58-81. Rogers, H. 2005. *Writing systems: A linguistic approach*. Malden, Oxford & Victoria: Blackwell Publishing. Sproat, R. 2000. *A computational theory of writing systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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Morphography as a subtype of 'graphematic logography'

'Graphematic logography'

✓ Morpheme-based: <愛>, <檳榔>, <を>, <G>, <WC>, ...

★ Word-based: <杯>, <釉>uwa+gusuri 'glaze', <廳>matsuri+goto+dono 'govt. office', ...
★ Phrase-based: <掌> (and possibly others)

'Orthographic logography'

- ?Conditioned: <バレエ>, <時計>, <土圭>, ...
- ? Unconditioned: <パレー>, ...

'Exceptional' kanji usage (Joyce 2011; Honda 2019)

? Rebus, polygraphs, semantically opaque compounds, proper nouns, etc.? Type vs token

Honda, K. 2019. What do kanji graphs represent in the current Japanese writing system? Towards a unified model of kanji as written signs. In Haralambous, Y. (ed.), *Graphemics in the 21st Century: Brest, June 13-15, 2018*. 185-208. Brest: Fluxus Editions. Joyce, T. 2011. The significance of the morphographic principle for the classification of writing systems. *Written Language and Literacy* 14(1). 58-81.

Need for an elaborate discussion

Transitions (Handel 2019; Osterkamp & Schreiber 2021a)

- CHN [Logographic \rightarrow Morphographic] \rightarrow JPN [Morphographic?]
- Graph [Morphographic

 → Phonographic]

Mapping types (Honda 2019; Osterkamp & Schreiber 2021b)

- Monographic [1:1]: <愛> ai 'love'
- Polygraphic [2:1]: <檳榔> binrō 'betel'

Universals and idiosyncrasies

- Comparative (e.g. Chinese)
- Contrastive (e.g. Akkadian)
- Typological (e.g. Non-phonography vs phonography)

Handel, Z. 2019. Sinography: The borrowing and adaptation of the Chinese script. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Honda, K. 2019. What do kanji graphs represent in the current Japanese writing system? Towards a unified model of kanji as written signs. In Haralambous, Y. (ed.), *Graphemics in the 21st Century: Brest, June 13-15, 2018*. 185-208. Brest: Fluxus Editions.

Osterkamp, S. & Schreiber, G. 2021a. Challenging the dichotomy between phonography and morphography: Transitions and gray areas. In Haralambous, Y. (ed.), Grapholinguistics in the 21st century 2020: Proceedings. 47-82. Brest: Fluxus Editions.

Osterkamp, S. & Schreiber, G. 2021b. <Th>>e ubi<qu>ity of polygra<ph>y and its significan<ce> for >e typology of <wr>iti<ng> systems. Written Language & Literacy 24(2). 171-197.

Need for a better terminology

Possible approaches

- Redefinition: e.g. 'Logography' as non-phonography
- Redesignation: e.g. 'Morphography' (with further refinement) 'Pleremic' vs 'cenemic' (Haas 1983; Bekeš 2013)

Insights from a broader perspective

- Comparative (e.g. Chinese)
- Contrastive (e.g. Akkadian)
- Typological (e.g. Non-phonography vs phonography)

Bekeš, A. 2013. We have it too: A strategy which helps to grasp the Japanese writing system for students from outside of the Chinese character cultural zone. *Acta Linguistica Asiatica* 3(1). 75-84. **Haas**, W. 1983. Determining the level of a script. In Coulmas, F. & Ehlich, K. (eds.), *Writing in focus*. 15-29. Berlin: Mouton.

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4. Conclusion

Summary

Proposals for a refined account of 'logography' in JWS

- To distinguish two types, tentatively 'graphematic' and 'orthographic'
- To characterise 'morphography' as a subtype of 'graphematic logography'
- To call for a better terminology (redefinition / redesignation)

\rightarrow Towards a better account of JWS

References

Bekeš, Andrej. 2013. We have it too: A strategy which helps to grasp the Japanese writing system for students from outside of the Chinese character cultural zone. *Acta Linguistica Asiatica* 3(1). 75-84.

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Haas, William. 1983. Determining the level of a script. In Coulmas, Florian & Ehlich, Konrad (eds.), *Writing in focus*. 15-29. Berlin: Mouton. Handel, Zev. 2019. *Sinography: The borrowing and adaptation of the Chinese script*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

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Thank you for your attention. ご清聴ありがとうございました。