The _Waji shōran-shō_ of Keichū

and Its Position in

Historical Kana Usage Studies

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with examination and interpretation from
the orthographical viewpoint of the system of historical kana usage
(rekishiteki kana-zukai) proposed by the 17th century scholar-priest
Keichū, and its relationship to previous and subsequent kana usage and
kana usage theory.

In the introductory chapter, the meanings and scope of the term
kana-zukai are considered, as also the question of how kana-zukai
first arose.

Chapter Two consists of a description of kana usage before Keichū,
in order to put the historical kana usage of Keichū into perspective.

In Chapter Three a brief introduction to Keichū and his works is
given, together with a consideration of the significance of his kana
usage studies within his work as a whole.

Chapter Four sets out assumptions concerning the sound-system of
the language of Keichū as a preliminary to examination of his kana
usage writings.

Chapter Five looks at the beginnings and development of Keichū's
kana usage theory before Waji shōran-shō, his main work on kana usage.

Chapter Six consists of an introduction to, and translated excerpts
from, Waji shōran-shō.

In Chapter Seven, the kana usage and kana usage theory of Keichū
is considered from the viewpoint of the layout of Waji shōran-shō.

Chapter Eight sets out the principles of Keichū's kana usage theory.

Chapter Nine examines the actual kana spellings set out in Waji
shōran-shō.

Chapters Ten and Eleven consider two specialized aspects of Keichū's
kana usage theory.

Chapter Twelve looks briefly at kana usage and kana usage theory

after Waji shōran-shō down to the present day.

In the Conclusion, the findings of the study are set out.

The various appendices deal with relevant topics which it was not possible to fit conveniently into the main body of the thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CONTENTS

Abbreviations and Signs

AKZN	Asahi Keichū zenshū
GKSH	Gekan-shū
IKZN	Iwanami Keichū zenshū
JDBK	Jidai-betsu kokugo dai jiten
KJTN	Kokugogaku jiten
KMZK	Kana-moji zukai
MYSF	Man'yō daishō-ki, Final version (seisenbon)
MYSI	Man'yō daishō-ki, First version (shokōhon)
MYSO	Man'yō daishō-ki (refers to both versions)
SNMT	Shittan sanmitsu-shō
WJBO	Waji shōran tsubō-shō
WJKK	Waji kokon tsūrei zensho
WJSH	Waji shōran-shō
WJYR	Waji shōran yōryaku

CF	conjunctive form (of verb)		
NF	negative form	(")	
PF	perfect form	(")	
U.2	kami nidan (verb)		
L.2	shimo nidan (")		
M.J.	modern Japanese		
O.J.	Old Japanese		
~	alternation or alternative		

Transcriptions

In accordance with conventional usage, phonetic transcriptions are enclosed within square brackets[　], and phonemic transcriptions within slanted brackets /　/.

Transliterations

Modern Japanese in this thesis is romanised in accordance with the Hepburn system. An exception is made in the case of Japanese words which commonly appear in Western language works: such words are given in their most common form.

As regards the romanization used for historical kana spellings, the various present-day systems are unsuitable as they stand since they do not distinguish between all the discrete signs found in historical kana spellings. Consequently the following transliteration system has been adopted for historical kana spellings:

a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa
i	ki	shi	chi	ni	hi	mi		ri	wi
u	ku	su	tsu	nu	fu	mu	yu	ru	
e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me	(ye)[1]	re	we
o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	wo
n									

ga	za	da	ba
gi	ji	dji	bi
gu	zu	dzu	bu
ge	ze	de	be
go	zo	do	bo

In the transliteration of historical kana spellings, the present writer has adopted the principle of romanising each kana strictly in accordance with the above table (but vd. p.12 below). Thus for example 火鉢 にはび is romanised nihabi, and 小ちひさし chihisashi, etc. The same principle also applies to romanization of kana for yōon[2]

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1 This sign was used by Fujiwara Teika, but only in a very limited way. ヱ does not occur distinctively in the kana spellings of Keichū.
2 拗音 . Syllables of C^{j}V or C^{w}V construction, e.g. /kja/, /kwa/.

and vowel combinations (and the long vowels which developed from these). For example: 萱草 くわんさう <u>kuwansau</u>, 癧痘 へうそ <u>heuso</u>, 浮線綾 ふせんれう <u>fusenreu</u>, etc.

Chinese in this thesis is transliterated in accordance with the Wade system of romanization.

<div align="center">

Concerning The Historical Notation of <u>Seion</u>[1] and <u>Dakuon</u>,[1]
and The Transliteration Thereof.

</div>

No writing system represents the whole phonemic system of a language.[2] This is especially true with regard to features of pitch, intonation, etc. Sometimes however it is other features such as voice voicelessness that are not distinguished orthographically.[3] This is true of the greater part of pre-modern Japanese <u>hiragana</u> literature.

Although in the earliest <u>Man'yōgana</u> literature (8th century) the <u>seidaku</u> 清濁 distinction was sometimes represented in the ortho-

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1 In traditional Japanese language studies the term <u>seion</u> 清音 ("clear sound") is often to be found: this refers to syllables formed with the consonants k,s,t,ts,h,n,m,y,r as their initials, or to syllables consisting of a vowel only. <u>Seion</u> is used in a contrast-ing sense to the term <u>dakuon</u>濁音 ("turbid sound"), which refers to syllables with initial g,z,d,b, and <u>han-dakuon</u>半濁音 ("semi-turbid sound"), which refers to syllables with initial p. Vd. KJTN, <u>seion</u> entry.
2 Gleason 1969, p.423.
3 Failure to distinguish in writing between voiced and voiceless consonants may seem a shortcoming of no small consequence, but is to be found not only in pre-modern Japanese <u>kana</u> writings:

> "No (ancient) Mesopotamian (syllabic) system distinguishes between voiced, voiceless, and emphatic consonants in the case of signs ending in a consonant. Thus, the sign IG has the value ig, ik, and iq, just as the sign TAG can stand for tag, tak, and taq. In addition, some older systems, such as Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian, do not even distinguish the quality of the consonant in signs beginning with a consonant. Thus, in these systems the sign GA has the value of ga, ka, and qa."
>
> <div align="right">Gelb 1952, p.69.</div>

Compare also writing systems with signs in which the value of the vowel varies, such as ancient Mesopotamian WA, which had the value of wa, wi, we, and wu. (op.cit., p.71).

graphy[1], virtually no such orthographic distinction is to be found in kana writings of the Heian Period[2], nor did the practice of distinguishing between seion and dakuon in the orthography become general until about the Muromachi Period (1392-1573)[3]. The above fluctuations in the historical representation of seion and dakuon in written Japanese mean that the situation regarding representation of the same varies in the two different types of historical kana usage.

Dakuten were not yet in use at the time when Kana moji-zukai

假名文字遣　 (hereafter referred to as KMZK) -- the standard work on

1 The opinion of Japanese scholarship seems to vary considerably concerning the extent to which seidaku distinctions are represented in the earliest Man'yōgana writings. According to Yamauchi (Meiji shoin 1958, p.37), "Seion and dakuon are distinguished in writing in poems in the Kojiki and Nihon shoki, but in the Man'yōshū and other works the distinction is either not very strict, or not made at all." KJTN notes that in sections written in kana (and here the term means Man'yōgana) in the Kojiki, Nihon shoki, and Man'yōshū the seidaku distinction is represented "to a certain extent" (op.cit., Man'yōgana entry), while JDBK suggests that the distinction is usual in the ancient literature:

> "A great change outside of the phonemic changes which
> separated the ancient language and that of the Heian
> Period appeared in the method of notation of seion and
> dakuon. This was because from the early Heian Period
> onwards poetry began to be written in hiragana and
> katakana. In Man'yōgana writings of the ancient period,
> as a general principle seidaku distinctions had been
> expressed in writing, but in kana writings of the Heian
> Period these distinctions were not made. This does not
> apply only to hiragana and katakana writings: the same
> is true also of Heian Period Man'yōgana literature."
>
> op.cit., Jōdai-go
> gaisetsu p.21.

In view of the diversity of opinion over the extent to which seidaku distinctions are represented in the ancient Man'yōgana literature, the present writer tentatively takes the view that the distinctions are represented graphically to some extent.

2 Towards the end of the Heian Period (c.12th century), marks to indicate dakuon, known later as dakuten 濁点 , did develop from marks to indicate pitch (shōten 聲点). Dakuten were first used in kunten-bon 訓點本 (kanbun texts in which the reading method according to the Japanese order is shewn by reading marks), dictionaries, and works on poetry (Yamauchi, op.cit. p.50). It should be stressed that at this period usage of dakuten was very restricted.

3 Even when use of dakuten became general, they were not used to indicate every single dakuon in writing, but only those cases where confusion with the seion equivalent was particularly liable to occur (Yamauchi, op.cit. p.59).

the Teika kana usage.[1] In this type of kana usage therefore, the seion
kana are of dual value, being used to represent both seion and dakuon.

In the historical kana usage of Keichū on the other hand, dakuten
are used to a certain extent. Possibly Keichū used dakuten only in
cases where he wished to emphasize a particular seidaku distinction —
this was often the case in pre-modern kana writings...

The situation regarding variation of seidaku distinctions between
the two types of historical kana usage is further complicated by two
factors. Firstly, historical changes in seion and dakuon in individ-
ual words.[2] Secondly, the manuscript tradition of kana literature, in
which dakuten may have been added later by scholars when recopying a
text: consequently in the present day it is often difficult to deter-
mine to what extent if at all the dakuten in a historical kana text
were written in at the original time of composition. To transliterate
historical kana spellings taking present-day knowledge of seidaku
distinctions into account would be to misrepresent the spellings.
This is not to say of course that Teika and his contemporaries did
not distinguish between seion and dakuon when reading hiragana lit-
erature: the point to be made is that the seidaku distinction in the
Teika kana usage (and in all other kana writings not using dakuten)
is implicit, not explicit.

In view of this, the present writer has chosen to transliterate
seion kana and dakuon kana exactly as they stand in the text concerned.
This seems the most satisfactory way of dealing with the question of
seidaku transliteration in the case of historical kana texts. Thus
for example Waji shōran-shō maki 2:

木蓮子 いたい itahi[3] (cf. JDBK itabi).

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1 Vd. Chapter 2 below.
2 E.g. M.J. tsuzuku, cf. O.J. tsutsuku (JDBK).
3 IKZN X, p.140.

Where there is ambiguity regarding the seidaku distinction in a transliterated historical kana spelling, and this is of relevance, the form to be found in JDBK is given in parentheses beside my own transliteration, or a footnote added.

An important exception to the above principle of transliteration is made in the case of spellings where there is specific evidence which favours divergence from this principle. For example 奪 uhafu[1] "to seize": this I romanise as ubafu because of the note at the beginning of the section[2] Because of the manuscript tradition of kana literature, evidence of this type is a surer indication of the original compiler's opinion regarding the seidaku value of kana in the word or words concerned than use of dakuten.

1   IKZN X, p.254.
2   Ibid. p.253.

Chapter One

Introduction

In the year 1695 there appeared a dictionary of _kana_ spellings entitled _Waji shōran-shō_[1] 和字正監鈔 , "Corrections to Errors in Kana Signs"[2]. In this work, which represents the fruition of a life-time's study of such ancient Japanese works as _Nihon shoki_ and _Man'yōshū_, as well as the Chinese classics too[3], the compiler Keichū pointed out the shortcomings in the Teika _kana_ usage — the standard system in use among the literati of the time — and sought to replace it with a _kana_ usage based upon a methodologically firmer foundation of written records which dated back to almost a millenium before Keichū's own time.

Initially the proposals of Keichū met with considerable opposition, supposedly due to the prestige of the Teika _kana_ usage[4], which had hitherto been accepted unquestioningly by men of letters[5]. Undoubtedly the changing academic milieu was an important factor in enabling Keichū to write a work like WJSH and have it accepted by the literati in place of the Teika _kana_ usage as represented principally by KMZK[6].

In the Meiji Period the historical _kana_ usage of Keichū was adopted as the official _kana_ orthography, and was in use until the end of World War Two, when it was replaced by the modern _kana_ usage.

Although the _kana_ usage and _kana_ usage theory of Keichū is not

1 Hereafter abbreviated to WJSH.
2 Although the work was completed in manuscript form in 1693, it was not put into print until two years later.
3 Vd. Kanda 1973.
4 The initial opposition to Keichū's proposals relating to _kana_ usage may also be seen as a manifestation of the general principle that orthographies have a pronounced conservative tendency and are resistant to change.
5 Vd. Kieda 1933, p.36.
6 Vd. Nagayama 1966, p.166.

completely without its illogicalities and errors, it can be said that
Keichū did endeavour to approach the subject in a reasoned manner.
Works on the Teika kana usage on the other hand are far less explicit
in their approach, and the fact that they sometimes list alternative
kana spellings for the same word would seem contradictory to the very
aim of such works, viz. the establishment of a normative kana usage.

With regard to the last point, namely the listing of several kana
spellings for one word, from the modern viewpoint especially this
does seem strange, for generally speaking it may be said that modern
orthographies have become standardised, and there is little variation
outside of the norm[1]. The present writer feels that the full signif-
icance of historical works on kana usage will be understood better
not from the viewpoint of modern orthography alone, but from the
wider perspective of the history of orthography in general. Consider
for example the arbitrary nature of 16th century English spellings:

> "In fact, not infrequently Elizabethan compositors
> varied the forms of words in order to justify their
> lines of type, so that readers were accustomed to
> see the same word spelled in different ways on the
> same page, and consequently felt free to spell much
> as they pleased themselves."
>
> Encyclopaedia Britannica,
> English Language entry
> (1967 ed., vol.8, p.544).

English Orthography or Spelling, and Japanese
Kana-zukai: Definitions and Comparison.

Orthography: "Correct spelling; spelling according to
accepted usage; the way in which words are convention-
ally written. (By extension) Any mode or system of
spelling."
    Shorter Oxford Dictionary.

Spelling: " 1 The action, practice, or art of naming
the letters of words, of reading letter by letter, or

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1 Such variation is however still to be found. E.g. English show~
shew, acknowledgment~acknowledgement.

of expressing words by letters. 2 Orthography; a
particular instance of this."

<div align="right">ibid.</div>

On the basis of the above it may be said that the term 'spelling'
or 'orthography', when used with reference to English, relates to the
writing of any and every word in the English language, and not just
those words which are generally considered 'difficult to spell'. In
this respect English spelling and Japanese kana-zukai (the latter in
its traditional use) differ in scope.

Meaning and Scope of The Japanese Word Kana.

M.J. kana 假名 [1] is considered to derive from karina "borrowed
name": this was the term given by the Japanese to Chinese characters
used ("borrowed") to write Japanese phonetically. In contrast to
this, Chinese characters used in the orthodox way as logograms were
called mana 眞字·眞名 - literally, "true name" - or honji 本字
"original sign".

In older writings especially the term kana is often used in a
wide sense to include Man'yōgana, but nowadays kana is normally used
to refer to hiragana and katakana only.

Meaning and Scope of The Japanese Term Kana-zukai.

Traditionally the term kana-zukai has been used in a restricted
sense, as the following definition shews:

> "Fundamentally speaking, kana-zukai means 'usage of kana',
> but is in fact only used in cases where in writing Jap-
> anese in kana the question of which kana to use presents
> a problem (where there are two or more possible ways of
> writing the same sound, or when there are two or more

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1 In historical works often written 假字 (e.g. the Jion kana-zukai
字音假字用格 of Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長   , printed 1776). Also
known as waji 倭字·和字 or kokuji 國字 (use of the term kokuji in
the sense of "kana" should not be confounded with its use in the
sense of "Chinese characters devised in Japan"). Vd. KJTN, kokuji
entry.

possible pronunciations for the same <u>kana</u> sign) (not
used in the case of <u>hentaigana</u>變體假名 , which are
acknowledged as different forms of one <u>kana</u> sign even
though the shape is different). Since Meiji consid-
ered the same as 'orthography' in Western languages;
sometimes understood more widely as the way of writing
by means of <u>kana</u> signs."

<div align="right">Fujimura 1952, <u>kana-zukai</u> entry.</div>

The <u>kana-zukai</u> defined in the first sentence of the above is the
historical <u>kana</u> usage, which in the history of Japanese <u>kana</u> usage
is the principal type of <u>kana-zukai</u>. There are in fact two main types
of historical <u>kana</u> usage: the first is the Teika <u>kana</u> usage, the
second that proposed by Keichū. Strictly speaking the Teika <u>kana-
zukai</u> is not generally regarded as the orthodox historical <u>kana</u> usage,
but is nevertheless usually considered as "a type of historical <u>kana</u>
usage" in the Japanese linguistic literature. The main type of
historical <u>kana</u> usage is that set up by Keichū at the end of the 17th
century — when Japanese scholars talk without further qualification
about historical <u>kana</u> usage, usually they are referring to the system
devised by Keichū.

<u>Kana</u> usage can be divided into a number of types, but the most
fundamental distinction is that between historical <u>kana</u> usage and
phonetic <u>kana</u> usage. Most types of <u>kana</u> usage can be classified
under one of these two categories, although one particular type of
<u>kana</u> usage may well contain elements of both, as for example in the
case of the modern <u>kana</u> usage.[1]

Historical <u>kana</u> usage is defined in KJTN as follows:

" 'Historical' because its standards are determined
by literature of a certain period in the past. At
the same time, 'historical' in the sense of <u>kana</u>
usage that has been used traditionally. The present-
day concept of historical <u>kana</u> usage is at the point
where these two coincide. However, as the fact that

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[1] Though essentially phonetic, the modern <u>kana</u> usage (<u>gendai kana-
zukai</u>) retains a small number of elements carried over from the
historical <u>kana</u> usage, as for example in the use of the signs <u>ha</u>, <u>he</u>,
and <u>wo</u> for the particles <u>wa</u>, <u>e</u>, and <u>o</u> respectively.

it is also called 'restoration kana usage',[1] 'classical kana usage';[2] and 'etymological kana usage'[3] shews, its essential nature lies in taking as a standard the kana usage of a fixed period, namely that of the mid-Heian Period and before, when confusion of kana usage had not yet occurred. The scope of kana is of course usually limited to the forty-seven signs distinguished in the iroha伊呂波 poem, and does not include the 'special kana usage of the ancient period'[4] Nor are all words which present a problem from the point of view of kana usage written in kana in the ancient literature. These are the limits of historical kana usage. In this case usage was determined, as with Keichū, by indirect evidence, etymology, and where unavoidable by custom or pronunciation."

<div align="right">op.cit., rekishiteki
kana-zukai entry.</div>

In contrast to historical kana usage, the principle of which is to write words in accordance with their kana spelling in the ancient literature irrespective of the contemporary pronunciation, the principle of phonetic kana usage is to write words in kana so as to represent the pronunciation at the time of writing, and without regard to the historical kana spelling.

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1 Fukko kana-zukai 復古假名遣
2 Kotenteki kana-zukai 古典的假名遣
3 Gogenteki kana-zukai 語源的假名遣
4 Jōdai tokushu kana-zukai 上代特殊假名遣 . This refers to the writing system to be found in the 8th century Man'yōgana literature, in which the eight-vowel system of O.J. is represented. In the special kana usage of the ancient period, two phonemically distinct sets of syllables are to be found for those later written ki, gi, hi, bi, mi, ke, ge, he, be, me, ko, go, so, zo, to, do, no, mo, yo, ro. Although many of the kana spellings of Keichū and other scholars are based on literature written in this special kana usage, the kō-otsu 甲乙 distinctions which characterise the same are in fact irrelevant to historical kana usage as known to Teika, Keichū, and others. The explanation of this paradox is that after the merger of the kō-otsu distinctions in the late 8th and early 9th centuries, the fact of the former distinction was soon forgotten (the kō-otsu distinctions ceased to be made on the orthographic level too). The kō-otsu distinctions on the orthographic level were rediscovered by Motoori Norinaga in the section of his work Kojiki-den古事記傳 entitled Kana no koto假字事 ; this discovery was elaborated by Norinaga's pupil Ishizuka Tatsumaro石塚龍麿 in Kana-zukai oku no yamamichi 假字遣奥山路 (completed not later than 1798). This work is considered to represent an important milestone in the history of kana usage studies.

Consequently, at the time when Keichū was engaged on his study and exposition of historical kana usage, the kō-otsu distinctions in Man'yōgana were not yet known.

Other types of kana usage include Heian kana usage,[1] accent kana usage,[2] and modern kana usage.[3] The two former types may be classified as types of historical kana usage, while modern kana usage, as has been pointed out earlier, is based on the phonetic principle.

Heian kana-zukai is the term coined by Mabuchi K.[4] to describe the conventional kana usage in use before the Teika kana spellings were established. The main characteristics of Heian kana-zukai are as follows:

1 Use of the signs ha, hi, fu, he, ho to represent /-wa -wi -u -we -wo/ respectively. Exceptions to this rule are covered by the following: a) phonetic spelling b) consciousness of verb inflection c) spellings inferred from kana usage for Sino-Japanese words.

2 The particles wa, e, and o are consistently written as ha, he, and wo.

3 Confused use of o and wo (of the kana signs in the iroha poem, the phonological references of these two alone had fallen together by the time that Heian kana-zukai was in use, viz. the 11th and 12th centuries).

The other type of kana usage that remains to be defined here is accent kana usage. The principle of accent kana usage is to determine usage of homophonous kana by a difference of pitch-accent. A well-known example of this is usage of the signs o and wo in the Teika kana usage, where o is used to represent low level pitch /wo/, and wo to represent high level pitch /wo/.[5]

Although accent kana usage was employed in this way by Fujiwara

1 Heian kana-zukai 平安假名遣
2 Akusento kana-zukai. Known in the Meiji Period as goseiteki kana-zukai 語勢的假名遣
3 Vd. also Chapter 10 below.
4 Vd. the article Teika kana-zukai to Keichū kana-zukai by Mabuchi K. in Meiji shoin 1958, pp.110-145. Mabuchi elaborates on Heian kana-zukai in his article Heian kana-zukai ni tsuite, in Saeki 1961, pp. 425-426.
5 Vd. Ōno 1950.

Teika, it was not devised by him. Rather, it seems likely that he adopted this principle on seeing it in use in dictionaries of the time such as the Iroha jirui-shō[1] 色葉字類抄 [2] Accent kana usage was in fact invented by scholars of the mid-Heian Period.[3] It should be noted that accent kana usage differs from other types of kana usage described above in that it was used to distinguish in use only a very small number of signs, principally o and wo.

The above types of kana usage have been differentiated on the basis of the standards they employ to determine kana spellings. Kana spellings can also be categorised in terms of the type of words or morphemes to be written in kana: here there is a basic dichotomy of kana usage for pure Japanese words,[4] and kana usage for Sino-Japanese words.[5],[6] Kana usage for Sino-Japanese words was held to constitute a division within historical kana usage,[7] but is more theoretically based than the kana usage for pure Japanese words in historical kana usage.[8]

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1 Compiled in the mid-12th century by Tachibana Tadakane 橘忠兼
2 Vd. Tsukishima 1968, pp.89-90.
3 Vd. Mabuchi K., in Meiji shoin 1958, pp.114-115.
4 Kokugo kana-zukai 國語假名遣
5 Jion kana-zukai 字音假名遣
6 Sometimes however a third category is set up, namely kana usage for foreign words (gaikokugo kana-zukai 外國語假名遣).
7 In the modern written language, the distinction between the kana usage for pure Japanese words and that for Sino-Japanese words is no longer maintained.
8   "Since its basis is in the Inkyō 韻鏡 (Chi. Yünching
      -- a Chinese work consisting of a set of sound tables
      printed in 1161, which formed the basis of most Jap-
      anese scholarship on Chinese phonology), jion kana-
      zukai may be said to be the way of notation in kana
      of the Inkyō pronunciation. In this respect it is
      different from the kana usage for pure Japanese
      words, and it would be nearer the truth to call it
      theoretical kana usage rather than historical kana
      usage."
          KJTN, jion kana-zukai entry.

The concept of jion kana-zukai was originated by Monnō 文雄 (1700-1763) in Waji taikan-shō 和字大觀抄 (printed 1754), and developed by Motoori Norinaga in his work Jion kana-zukai (printed 1776).

Concerning Use of The Term Kana-zukai in
Jōdai tokushu kana-zukai and Rekishiteki kana-zukai.

As mentioned earlier, usage of signs in 8th century Man'yōgana

writings in which an eight-vowel system is distinguished is known as

jōdai tokushu kana-zukai "special kana usage of the ancient period".

And yet on the other hand Japanese scholars write of kana-zukai as

having its origins in literature of later than 1000 A.D. What of

the apparent contradiction here?

Firstly, kana-zukai has traditionally meant historical (i.e.

normative) kana usage: phonetic kana usage hardly figures at all in

kana usage works since the time of Teika; and although the special

kana usage of the ancient period was rediscovered several hundred

years ago, its importance was not realised until recently.[1]

Secondly, the concept and awareness underlying the special kana

usage of the ancient period and that underlying historical kana usage

are completely different: the former is phonetic - at that period,

awareness of kana usage as an entity in its own right, rather than

as a means of phonetic representation, had not yet developed;[2] while

the latter is normative.

Thirdly, kana-zukai normally refers to use of kana within the

range of the iroha-gana, and does not include the kō and otsu series

of Man'yōgana.

Modern Japanese scholars writing about the origins of kana-zukai

stress that they are talking about kana usage within the limits of the

forty-seven signs of the iroha, and rightly so, for clearly failure to

distinguish carefully here could easily lead to confusion.

1 Vd. Hashimoto 1931.
2 Proof of this is the fact that as the eight-vowel system changed
from the late 8th century into a five-vowel system, so this was
reflected directly in the orthography, which came to represent five
vowels only. Because the phonetic principle alone prevailed, the
question of confusion of Man'yōgana did not arise - what might have
become conventional spellings for certain words were ousted by phonetic
spellings which represented the new phonological shapes of those words.

The distinct nature of the special kana usage of the ancient period and its position away from the mainstream of kana usage studies should be carefully noted.

Factors Which Led to The Determining
of A Normative Kana Orthography.

In the case of phonetic writing systems, the initial fit of the writing system to the spoken language is describable in terms of a one-to-one relationship. Subsequent phonological changes in a language then tend to disrupt this relationship. This is because the permanent nature of the written word as opposed to the intangible, fleeting nature of the spoken word means that writing systems inevitably tend to be more conservative than the corresponding spoken languages.

Let us now turn to an example of early written Japanese which shows a one-to-one relationship between the written and the spoken language, viz. the Man'yōshū. The Man'yōshū was written in Man'yō-gana – Chinese characters used in various ways, often phonetically. In this use they did not differ greatly from the early hiragana, which were also very numerous due to the use of hentaigana: in fact the distinguishing line between Man'yōgana in their cursive form[1] and hiragana is somewhat blurred. As time passed, changes occurred in the ancient language: the eight-vowel system changed into a five-vowel one, and in accordance with this just five vowels came to be distinguished orthographically: the kō and otsu series of Man'yōgana came to be used interchangeably. Thus for example 古 and 據 , which had represented the formerly distinct syllables ko and kö respectively, came to be regarded simply as alternative ways of writing the coal-esced syllable ko. Thus no problem of usage of signs arose as yet –

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1 Known as sōgana 草假名 . Vd. KJTN, sōgana entry.

the phonetic principle still reigned supreme.

With the disappearance of the eight-vowel system of Old Japanese
there was a situation in which potentially a conventional or "histo-
rical usage of Man'yōgana might have developed – but for one factor
which was lacking at this period (late 8th and early 9th centuries),
viz. an awareness of the signs to be distinguished in use. This
awareness was developed from about the 10th century onwards by mnem-
onic verses such as the ametsuchi 天地 and iroha.[1] Although there
appears to be some controversy over the original aim of the compilers
of such verses, it seems to be an accepted fact that they came to be
regarded as lists of all the basic kana that should be distinguished
in use. The importance of the iroha in particular in the development
and history of normative (i.e. historical) kana usage cannot be over-
emphasized.[2]

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1 Vd. KJTN, ametsuchi and iroha entries.
2 Concerning the role of the iroha in developing awareness of the
kana to be distinguished in use, the well-known theory of Hashimoto
is often quoted:

> "The reason that the distinction between 为 and う and
> 宋 , and between ゑ and ゐ , etc. did not present a pro-
> blem, but that between い and ゐ , between え and ゑ , and
> between ほ and を did present a problem, is that whereas
> men of the time recognised 为 and う , and ゑ and ゐ , etc.
> as variant forms of the same kana, they considered い
> and ゐ , え and ゑ ,etc. as different kana. If い and ゐ ,
> え and ゑ , etc. were not considered as different kana,
> then then there was no reason why doubt should have
> arisen concerning their distinction in use. This
> being the case, with regard to the question of how
> these kana were regarded as different, we consider it
> was due to the fact that these kana appeared as separate
> signs in the iroha, which was in widespread use at the
> time. Since in this way signs which did not represent
> discrete speech sounds were regarded as different kana,
> there came to be two or more types of kana for the same
> sound, and here for the first time the question arose
> of which kana to use. This is the origin of the idea
> known as kana-zukai."
>
> Hashimoto 1949, pp.145-146.

Mabuchi disputes this theory of Hashimoto's, firstly on the grounds
that the iroha was not necessary to distinguish the signs i and wi,
and e and we, since these represented four phonemically distinct
syllables until about the beginning of the 13th century; and secondly,

The awareness of kana signs to be distinguished in use that was engendered firstly by the ametsuchi and then by the iroha meant that even after /o/ and /wo/ fell together in the direction of the latter in the late 10th century, the two signs o and wo continued to be regarded as separate signs.

The iroha in particular was important in developing awareness of the individual signs to be distinguished in use. Another factor which played an important part in the general movement that led to the development of a normative kana usage was the copying and recension from about the 11th century[1] of manuscripts of waka poetry and old tales, in the process of which textual variation in kana usage was noticed.[2] Textual activity of this kind was important in stimulating initially consideration of the kana spellings of individual words, and ultimately of the standards upon which those kana spellings should be based.

that kana-zukai was of earlier origin than the iroha (vd. Meiji shoin 1958, p.114).

The present writer's feeling is that Hashimoto's theory remains valid: the earliest known occurrence of the iroha is 11th century (viz. in the Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō ongi 金光明最勝王経音義 , 1079 or earlier - vd. KJTN, iroha-uta entry). According to KJTN, the iroha was at first used for practising calligraphy, but then it came to be used more as a list of kana signs. When it was first used in the 11th century, each of the forty-seven signs therein had a discrete phonological reference, except for o and wo. Would it not have been natural therefore for scholars of the time to have regarded the homophonous signs o and wo also as somehow being different signs that should be distinguished in use, rather than to consider them as variants of one sign, constituting a single exception within the iroha?

With regard to Mabuchi's second point, namely that Hashimoto's theory is inappropriate since kana-zukai (and for chronological reasons he must mean Heian kana-zukai here) originated prior to the iroha, the present writer considers that even though the earliest Heian kana-zukai antedates the iroha by possibly as much as two centuries, there seems no reason why, once the iroha came to be used widely, it should not have been adopted as a criterion for distinguishing the basic kana (with the proviso that i and wi, and e and we were initially distinguishable through their distinct nature in the spoken language rather than just through their appearance in the iroha as Hashimoto suggests).

1 Vd. Mabuchi, in Meiji shoin 1958, p.111.
2 Vd. Mabuchi, ibid.

To demonstrate the importance of such textual activity in developing deliberation over the actual standards that should form the basis of kana usage, let us imagine a situation in which a 12th century scholar is copying an early manuscript of the Kokin-shū, in which the word kawa "river" is written kaha in kana. The spelling kaha reflects the original form /kaFa/, which as a result of the phonological change known in Japanese as ha-gyō tenko-on[1] changed to /kawa/ round about the year 1000. When our scholar of the 12th century comes to the word for "river", which for him is /kawa/, he finds it written not with -wa, but with -ha. He is faced therefore with the choice either of preserving the old spelling kaha in the manuscript (the conventional or "historical" writing), or of spelling it in accordance with the spoken language of his own day (the phonetic spelling). Mabuchi K.'s examination of late Heian kana usage[2] suggests that conventional kana spellings (e.g. kaha) were fairly widely employed in literary writings. However, the fact that the conventional principle (as opposed to the phonetic principle) was not universally accepted as the sole standard of kana usage meant that there was a certain amount of variation between the conventional and the phonetic principle of kana spelling. It is this variation, or rather awareness of this variation, which in the first place constitutes "confusion" of kana usage.

Finally, another cause given in KJTN as contributing to the setting up of a normative kana orthography is the demand for the "correct" hiragana spellings of words that grew up with the increasing popularity of poetry competitions and the study of poetry.

The fundamental factors which led to the establishment of a norm-

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1 The phonological change in which /-F-/ changed to /-w-/ (except before /u/, where it was reduced to zero). Later, the phoneme /-w-/ from /-F-/ changed to zero (except before /a/), but this is regarded as a separate change.
2 Vd. p.18 above, note 4.

ative kana usage may be summed up as 1) phonological change, coupled with 2) developed orthographic awareness. 2) was due essentially to widespread acquaintance with the iroha poem (awareness of which kana to distinguish in use), and to the copying and recension of old hiragana texts (development of reflection on which standards to adopt in determining usage of the kana signs in the iroha).

Concerning The Kana and Sequences of Kana
Traditionally Dealt With As Problems of Kana Usage.

Now that the question of the origins of normative kana usage have been explained, we are in a position to go on to consider which signs and sequences of signs were dealt with in works on kana usage. Generally speaking, works on conventional or historical kana usage from Gekan-shū 下官集 [1] onwards (the section on kana usage in Gekan-shū marks the beginning of such works) were concerned with distinguishing in use only those kana and sequences of kana within the iroha which had a common phonological reference (i.e. which were of the same pronunciation). The number of kana signs dealt with in different historical works on kana usage is in fact not fixed, but shews considerable variation. This variation is not haphazard, but follows a pattern: on the whole, the later the work, the greater the number of signs dealt with.[2] Thus for example in Gekan-shū (early 13th century), Teika deals with only eight signs; in compiling KMZK (1363 or later), Gyōa 行阿 supplemented these with a further six signs; and in WJSH (1693), Keichū deals with most of the items in the list below (as well as some others which, incidentally, do not come within the

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1 Vd. p.28 below.
2 Vd. KJTN, kana-zukai entry. An exception to this principle are works which deal with just one particular aspect of kana usage, e.g. Kenshukuryōko-shū 蜆縮凉鼓集 (1695) and Utai kaigō kana-zukai 謡開合假名遣 (1697), which treat respectively of the so-called yottsugana ji, dji, zu, dzu, and notation of the long vowel /o:/.

scope of kana usage - vd. below, p.168).

Under the heading "Items Which Are Problematical from The View-
point of Kana Usage"[1], Hashimoto sets out fourteen groups of kana
spellings which for centuries had tended to be confused. The spell-
ings in Hashimoto's list are not exhaustive (for example, wau /o:/
is not given in group 10), but the phonological references of those
spellings (added to the right of the spellings by the present writer)
may be taken as a complete list of syllables the notation of which
was problematical when writing in accordance with the historical kana
usage[2]. The phonological references given in the following list re-
late primarily to the language of Keichū, since it is with the kana
usage and kana usage theory of Keichū that this thesis is principally
concerned.

kana sign/sequence of kana	common phonological reference
1 (a) i (b) wi (c) -hi	/i/
2 (a) e (b) we (c) -he	/e/
3 (a) o (b) wo (c) -ho	/o/
4 (a) -u (b) -fu	/u/
5 (a) -wa (b) -ha	/wa/
6 (a) u- (b) mu-	the [ũ] allophone of /u-/ occurring before /b/ and /m/[3]

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1 Kana-zukaijō mondai to naru jikō. Vd. Hashimoto 1949, p.254.
2 Here I use the term widely to include the Teika kana usage.
3 Kana usage problems relate almost entirely to phonemic change.
Group 6 here (u- and mu-) constitutes an important exception to this
principle in that historical u∼mu variation in individual words
appears to have arisen not through a phonemic but through a sub-
phonemic (i.e. phonetic) change from about 1000 A.D. onwards, namely
the development of a nasalised allophone of /u/, viz.[ũ], before /n/
and /b/. This nasalised allophone[ũ]was represented orthographically

7 (a) ji
  (b) dji   /zi/ ([ʒi])

8 (a) zu
  (b) dzu   /zu/

9 (a) ka   /ka/[1]
  (b) kuwa   /kwa/

10 (a) au , kau , sau , etc.
   (b) afu, kafu, safu, etc.
   (c) ou , kou , sou , etc.   /o: ko: so:/ etc.
   (d) ofu, kofu, sofu, etc.
   (e) wau, kuwau

11 (a) eu
   (b) efu
   (c) you   /jo:/
   (d) yofu

12 (a) kiyau , shiyau
   (b) kiyafu, shiyafu, etc.
   (c) kiyou , shiyou
   (d) kiyofu, shiyofu, etc.   /kjo: sjo:/ etc.
   (e) keu , seu , etc.
   (f) kefu , sefu , etc.

13 (a) iu
   (b) ifu
   (c) yuu   /ju:/
   (d) yufu

14 (a) kiu , shiu
   (b) kifu , shifu , etc.
   (c) kiyuu , shiyuu   /kju: sju:/ etc.
   (d) kiyufu, shiyufu, etc.

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not by u but by mu. Vd. Wenck 1954, vol.4, pp.167-177.
    For Keichū, who did not understand the principle of diachronic
change in language or the particular case of u- and mu- here, u∼mu
variation was no doubt as much a problem of kana usage as -ha∼-wa
variation, both being symptomatic of a "decline in knowledge" (such
was Keichū's view of language).
1 I assume that the phonological references of ka and kuwa were still
discrete in Keichū's language. Vd. Chapter 4 below.

Chapter Two

Kana Orthography Before Keichū.

A system of conventional kana spellings was in fact in use prior to the establishment of the Teika kana usage, as mentioned earlier. This was the Heian kana usage. This type of kana usage was somewhat different from that proposed by Teika or Keichū: for whereas the two latter systems were put forward by specific individuals in specific works and on the basis of definite views of kana usage, Heian kana usage developed as the collective usage of many and only on the basis of a vague awareness of the principle of conventional spelling as opposed to phonetic spelling. Nor is any contemporary exposition of this type of kana usage to be found. For these reasons, in terms of the underlying orthographic awareness, the present writer places Heian kana usage midway between Man'yōgana (in their phonetic use) and the Teika kana usage.

The first to give problems of kana usage systematic treatment appears to have been Fujiwara Teika. This was at the beginning of the 13th century. An entry in Teika's diary Meigetsu-ki 明月記 for the year 1200 reads: "I have recommended that the word shirotae 'white cloth' be written shirotahe."[1] Ono observes that to judge from such corrections to poems by Teika, it is clear that about that time he already had a keen awareness of kana usage problems.

Gekan-shū[2]: The First Writing On Kana Usage[3]

Firstly it should be pointed out that Gekan-shū is not devoted

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1 Vd. Ono 1950, p.13.
2 Sometimes known as Gekan-shō 下官抄
3 Formerly it was considered that the Etsumoku-shō 悦目抄 , compiled by Fujiwara Mototoshi 藤原基俊 (1055-1142), which contains a number of alternative kana spellings, may have been the first work containing a section dealing with kana usage. Now however the extant version of this work is considered to be a later, and possibly spurious, text. Vd. Kojima 1939, pp.42-44.

entirely to _kana_ usage. It is in fact a work relating to the comp-

osition of poetry: only Section Two treats of _kana_ spellings.

Gekan-shū[1] was a provisional title given to the work by a copyist

of the text, since the original title was no longer known, and the

text contains such phrases as "The _gekan_[2] uses this" and "The _gekan_

favours this theory". It is thought that _gekan_ was a term used by

Teika to refer to himself, and consequently it is widely held that

Teika was the compiler of this work.[3]

The two oldest texts of GKSH have colophons dated 1266 and 1284

respectively, and of these two it is the former, known as the Bun'ei

文永 text (since it dates from the year period of that name), that

is considered to be Teika's original. In the discussion below there-

fore it is the Bun'ei version which is taken as the standard GKSH

text.[4]

Section Two of GKSH is entitled _Utagawashiki monji no koto_[5] "Con-

cerning Dubious _Kana_ Spellings". The introductory remarks are as

follows:

> "No-one else follows this usage, nor has anyone else
> before me said anything on the subject. I have made
> distinctions in usage in accordance with my own ideas,
> and it is most biased. It would of course be most
> natural for there not to be one like-minded person
> among young or old, whether friend or stranger. It

---

1 Hereafter abbreviated to GKSH.
2 _Gekan_ 下官 is a term meaning "(an) official".
3 Ono considers that GKSH was written by Teika since _kana_ usage in
the section _Utagawashiki monji no koto_ is in agreement with that in
other manuscripts in Teika's own hand. Shigematsu also considers
that Teika was the compiler of GKSH on the basis of the style of the
notes between word examples (vd. Shigematsu 1929, p.287).
4 The text dated 1284, known as the Kōan 弘安 text, has three addit-
ional sections compared with the Bun'ei text, viz. _ho_, _fu_, and _hi-mi_,
_fu-mu_, etc. Entries under each section are extremely numerous, and
it is clearly a version supplemented at a later date — the two sect-
ions _fu_ and _hi-mi_, _fu-mu_, etc. are in fact recorded as later
additions. The _ho_ section on the other hand is not noted as a later
addition, and Japanese scholars take this as indicating that the
Kōan text was supplemented in two stages. Vd. Appendix II for a
list of variant versions of GKSH.
5 嫌文字事

is a matter of regret that errors are now made in the
signs which men of old have used."[1]

This passage is followed by a list of some sixty-odd words in _kana_

to which writers of the day could refer in order to ascertain the

usage recommended by Teika.   Entries are arranged under eight head-

ings, viz. _wo_, _o_, _e_, _he_, _we_, _hi_, _wi_, _i_.   These particular eight

signs were dealt with by Teika here because by the time of compil-

ation of GKSH they were confused in use -- i.e. phonological changes

had caused usage of these signs as in the old _kana_ spellings to be

unclear on the basis of the spoken language.[2]

Naturally a work of such restricted scope as GKSH was of very

limited practical value when it first appeared.   Its innovatory

value on the other hand can hardly be overestimated: firstly, it

provided a convenient source of reference to poets for checking the

old _kana_ spellings of words; and secondly, it provided a foundation

on which increasingly more comprehensive works on _kana_ usage could

be built up.   Successive supplementation, and a tendency to develop

into dictionary-like works are characteristic features of works on

1   In Fukui 1939, pp.3-4.
2   Vd. Tsukishima 1968, p.90.   Phonological changes relevant to the
eight signs in _Utagawashiki monji no koto_ are described by Hashimoto
as follows:

"(3) (changes (1) and (2) do not concern us here) In
other than word-initial position the syllables _ha_,
_hi_, _fu_, _he_, _ho_ became confused with _wa_, _wi_, _u_, _we_,
_wo_. -----, the beginnings of this tendency were to
be seen already in the Nara Period, and in early
Heian too examples are to be seen in which the _ha_
of _uruhashi_ 'beautiful' was almost always written
_wa_; it seems however that this became general after
mid-Heian.
(4) Continuing on from this, the syllables _wi_, _we_,
_wo_ (including those from _hi_, _he_, _ho_) fell together
with _i_, _e_, _o_.   This was somewhat later than sound-
change (3) above, and seems to have become general
around the Insei Period (1086-1192)."

Hashimoto 1950, pp.81-82.

Mabuchi K. however considers that the /e↔we/ opposition still
obtained at the time of compilation of GKSH.(vd. Meiji shoin 1958,
p.118).

kana usage.[1] An immediate example of this supplementation process is afforded by the Kōan GKSH.

One small but interesting problem of interpretation concerns the concluding remarks to the section Utagawashiki monji no koto. These remarks are as follows: "The above is not the theory of my teacher: it originates only from my own ideas." The identity of the teacher to whom Teika was referring here has given rise to speculation among Japanese scholars. Yamada[2] is of the opinion that no one teacher in particular is intended, and that it means rather that the contents of the section do not consist of instruction handed down from teacher to pupil.

The Standards Employed By Fujiwara Teika
In Setting Up A Normative Kana Orthography.

According to Ōno,[3] Teika used a kana orthography in which there was little confusion or disunity.[4] In the midst of the confused state of kana usage at the beginning of the 13th century, what were the standards Teika adopted in setting up this unified kana usage? Since Utagawashiki monji no koto ends with the sentence: "One should

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1 Vd. KJTN, kana-zukai entry.
2 Yamada 1929, p.26.
3 Ōno 1950, p.6.
4 There are however a few words which Teika spelt in more than one way, e.g. ohinureha ~ owinureha ~ oinureha, and yohi ~ yowi. In the first set the sign hi of the oldest spelling ohinureha reflects the original phoneme /F/ of the second syllable, which through phonological change went first to /w/ (hence the spelling owinureha) and then to zero by about 1200 A.D., resulting in the spelling oinureha. With regard to yohi ~ yowi "evening", the former spelling reflects an original initial /F/ in the second syllable; this /F/ changed to /w/ some time after 1000 A.D., resulting in the phonetic spelling yowi. These two sets of alternative spellings shew a lack of consistency in standard: Teika's use of the spellings ohinureha and owinureha is indicative of conformity to the conventional or "historical" principle, while oinureha suggests either the phonetic spelling, or use of a late source document. The same phonological changes affected yoi "evening" (which went from /yoFi/ to /yowi/ to /yoi/. In this case however Teika adopted the written form of the first and second stages only, i.e. yohi and yowi. In practice Teika varied between these two, but in GKSH yowi only is to be found.

consider this by examining the old documents"[1] it is held that Teika

sought a basis in old texts. By itself however this statement is

vague, and lends itself to various interpretations. Ōno defines

these "old documents" as Heian Period poetry anthologies and tales,

the manuscripts of which were late Heian (12th century) or after and

so contained considerable divergence from the consistent _kana_ usage

of before about 1000 A.D. (this formed the basis of the historical

kana usage of Keichū), though most Japanese scholars feel justified

in calling the Teika _kana_ usage "a type of historical _kana_ usage".

The Signs O and Wo In Teika's Usage.

Originally the sign _o_ had the reference /o/, and the sign _wo_ the

reference /wo/. When from about the mid-10th century /o/ and /wo/

began to fall together in the direction of the latter, usage of the

two signs _o_ and _wo_ became confused. Teika however, who lived in the

late 12th and early 13th centuries, distinguished these signs in use.[2]

The respective headings in _Utagawashiki monji no koto_ for _wo_ and _o_

are as follows:

> "The sound _wo_, as in 緒 : I should like to use this
> sign because it is used to write _wo_ in _chirinuru wo_.
>
> The sound _o_, as in 居 : I should like to use this
> sign because it is used to write the _o_ in _uwi no oku-
> yama_."[3]

For many hundreds of years scholars failed to understand the principle

underlying usage of these two signs in Teika's orthography. Modern

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1 That is to say, this sentence comes after the remarks, "The above
is not the theory of my teacher: it originates only from my own ideas."
(vd. preceding page).

2 Teika wrote the morpheme of accusative case meaning invariably with
_wo_ (this is to be noted because in _kana_ documents of the late Heian
Period there is some confusion, this morpheme frequently being written
_o_). Apart from this use of _wo_, there are 1052 examples of _wo_, and
2260 examples of _o_ in the documents in Teika's hand examined by Ōno
(vd. Ōno 1950, p.4). In all cases the choice of which _kana_ sign is
used depends upon the word, and instances of confused usage number
less than ten.

3 Both _chirinuru wo_ and _uwi no okuyama_ are from the iroha poem.

Japanese scholarship considers that these two signs were distinguished

in use by a difference of pitch-accent. The following excerpt is from

the account by Ōno, who first clarified this aspect of Teika's kana

usage:

> "At this point I attempted to find the basis of the
> distinction in use of wo and o in the accent system
> of the period. The results shewed a clear opposition
> between the two, viz. that Teika used the sign wo to
> represent in writing the syllable o that was high
> pitch at that time, and the sign o to represent in
> writing the syllable o that was low pitch at that
> time."
> op.cit., p.7.

To demonstrate this distinction in use, Ōno examines pitch-accent at

the time of Teika by means of various lexical sources such as the

Ruiju myōgi-shō 類聚名義抄 [2] and Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō ongi [3] The

results shew convincingly that Ōno's supposition is correct.

It is considered that Teika did not invent the accent principle

for o and wo himself, but took it over on seeing it in use in works

such as the Iroha jirui-shō [4]

The Sign 𛀁 (ye) In Teika's Usage.

As a result of his examination of manuscripts in Teika's own

hand, Ōno reaches the conclusion that Teika used 𛀁 consciously and

as a separate sign in the word kikoe (kikoye if one accepts Ōno's

theory). Ōno proposes that the reason Teika used 𛀁 as a separate

sign (making a total of forty-eight signs distinguished in use) is

that he may have been influenced by the ametsuchi poem, which dis-

tinguishes e 衣 and ye 江 , or by old syllabic charts (onzu), which

also distinguish a-column e and ya-column ye.

1 Here Ōno uses the kana sign o in both cases, but the phonological
reference of both syllables is in fact /wo/.
2 An early 12th century Chinese-Japanese dictionary.
3 The postscript is dated 1279, but the work itself may date back
considerably before this (vd. KJTN, Konkōmyō saishōō-kyō ongi entry).
4 Vd. KJTN, kana-zukai entry.

Regarding Teika's distinctive use of the sign 辺 in the one word kikoe (kikoye) only, Ōno suggests that wider use of 辺 by Teika would have been difficult because the phonological references of e and ye had fallen together by that time. Ōno goes on to point out that even this very limited use of ye was abandoned by Teika in his later years, and puts forward two possible explanatory factors: firstly, the difficulty of identifying and reading the sign 辺 in the one word kikoe (kikoye); and secondly, reflection by Teika on the insubstantial basis of the sign in such limited distribution.[1]

KMZK: The Chief Exposition of The Teika Kana Usage.

The second important work after GKSH in the history of kana usage studies is KMZK, which is often known as the Teika kana-zukai, or sometimes as the Gyōa kana-zukai.[2] KMZK was compiled in the latter part of the 14th century by Minamoto Tomoyuki 源知行 , who entered the Buddhist priesthood and took the name Gyōa 行阿 in 1363. The date of compilation of KMZK is known to be no earlier than this, since the preface is signed Gyōa.

Tomoyuki was the great-grandson of Minamoto Chikayuki 源親行 ,

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1 Ōno proposes that the sign 辺 among the headings e, he, and we in Utagawashiki monji no koto be taken as a heading equal in status to these three signs, and not merely as some type of insertion, as was formerly considered to be the case. Ishizaka on the other hand (Ishizaka 1961), while acknowledging that Teika did use the sign in the one word kikoe (kikoye), is of the opinion that it does not constitute a separate heading in Utagawashiki monji no koto, and does not consider it to be a separate sign.

The present writer's view is that although Teika's use of 辺 justifies it as being regarded as something more than a hentaigana, on the other hand such extremely limited distribution, viz. in the one word kikoe (kikoye), hardly warrants its being allocated the status of a separate kana sign on a par with he, we, etc. (in Teika's kana usage, that is).

2 The title Teika kana-zukai derives from Teika's connection with the work, while the name Gyōa kana-zukai derives from the compiler's name. The terms Teika kana-zukai and Gyōa kana-zukai can refer either to KMZK itself, or to the kana usage set out therein (and to a lesser extent that in GKSH also).— vd. KJTN, kana-zukai entry.

a contemporary of Fujiwara Teika. Chikayuki succeeded his father

Mitsuyuki to the post of governor of Kawachi 河内 . Mitsuyuki had

gained renown for his revised edition of <u>Genji monogatari</u>, which be-

came known as the <u>Kawachi-bon Genji monogatari</u>. Like his father,

Chikayuki was well versed in the old literature. It was the notes

on <u>kana</u> usage by his great-grandfather Chikayuki, which for some

reason had not been made public, that Gyōa supplemented and which

then appeared under the title of KMZK.

Ono suggests that since Chikayuki received considerable instruc-

tion from Teika in person, this may have included instruction in

Teika's style of <u>kana</u> usage. Be that as it may, KMZK has tradition-

ally been taken as the principal work which sets out the Teika <u>kana</u>

usage, even though Teika himself was not the compiler.

Concerning The Various Versions of KMZK.

In the above introductory remarks, the work on <u>kana</u> usage compiled

by Gyōa has been referred to simply as KMZK, but in fact there are a

number of different texts, all of which differ considerably in

content. The various texts of KMZK have been examined by Shigematsu[1]

and Yamada.[2] Shigematsu examines three versions of KMZK, viz. 1) the

manuscript formerly owned by Yamada (KMZK Yamada) 2) the manuscript

with a colophon of 1480 (KMZK 1480) 3) the old printed version based

on recension of a number of texts, made by the 16th century master of

linked verse Satomura Shōha 里村紹巴 (KMZK Shōha). The conclusion

Shigematsu reaches is that the discrepancies which exist between

KMZK Yamada and the other two texts are due to supplementation in

the latter. Yamada too is of the same opinion on this point. Both

Shigematsu and Yamada then are in agreement that KMZK Yamada is the

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1 Vd. <u>Kana moji-zukai no genshikei ni tsuite</u>, in Shigematsu 1929,
pp. 321-333.
2 Vd. Yamada 1929, p.37.

extant text of KMZK closest to the original form as compiled by Gyōa.

Yamada gives the following reasons in support of this view: later

texts contain too many additions to justify regarding them as having

been omitted in error during the copying of KMZK. Also, KMZK Yamada

itself contains additional entries in a handwriting different to that

of the main body of the text.

Although it seems certain that KMZK Yamada is the oldest version

of KMZK, the description of KMZK below is of necessity based on KMZK

1480, since KMZK Yamada is not available to the present writer.

Since however the general principles involved in KMZK Yamada and KMZK

1480 are similar, what is said concerning the latter text may be re-

garded as applying to the former also.

The Preface to KMZK.

The KMZK Preface is important not only because it records the

circumstances and aim of compilation of the work, but also because

it was often quoted or referred to by later scholars writing on _kana_

usage.[1]

The following is an annotated translation of the complete KMZK

preface.

> "Teika requested Chikayuki, former governor of Kawachi
> Province, to make a fair copy of the poetry anthology
> _Shūi gusō_[2] 拾遺愚草 , whereupon Chikayuki said that,
> since there were errors due to resemblance in the
> pronunciation of such signs as _wo_, _o_, _e_, _we_, _he_, _i_,
> _wi_, and _hi_, they were difficult to distinguish; and
> that the opportunity should be taken to lay down
> rules for the benefit of future scholarship. Teika
> replied that he himself had been of the same view
> for some time, and that Chikayuki should write out

1 For example, vd. the WJSH preface (IKZK 10, p.112); also the preface
to _Waji kokon tsūrei zensho_ 倭字古今通例全書 (WJKK) (in Hoshika
1942, p.49).
2 Poetry anthology compiled by Teika. Date of compilation is estimated
at 1211-1214, and scholars consider that Teika had the fair copy made
about the same time. Consequently Chikayuki's notes on _kana_ usage were
not set down before this.

what he thought and present it to him. When Chika-
yuki submitted his proposals to Teika to the above
effect, Teika approved them, since he deemed them
entirely logical.

The notes of Chikayuki were therefore innovatory[1]
in setting up a kana usage. Moreover, despite the
small number of signs making up the iroha poem,
there were nevertheless some signs with the same
pronunciation - i, wi, hi, wo, o, e, we, he - which
were the highly cursive forms of Chinese characters
done by an incarnate sage.[2] When I gave thought to
the matter, I realised that they should be disting-
uished in use. Since there are points about which
forerunners have omitted to write, I have not only
given further thought to such points,[3] but have also
added anew notes on such signs as ho, wa, ha, mu,
u, and fu.[4] The reason for this is that ho is read
as wo, wa overlaps with ha,[5] and mu is confused with
u.[6] Accordingly I distinguish them in writing, and
put them into separate categories. Although there
are words which have been omitted, the reader will
no doubt be able to base the spellings for these on
those of the words given. Accordingly, later schol-
ars should observe and respect my views."

KMZK and The Kana Usage of Fujiwara Teika.

As mentioned earlier, kana usage in KMZK and the kana usage of

Fujiwara Teika have been regarded as one and the same. In fact how-

ever there is a certain amount of divergence between the two due

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1 Ōno (op.cit., p.13) considers this claim of Gyōa's to be false,
and that it was made in order to enhance the standing of the Kawachi
Group of scholars, thus providing opposition to the Nijō School of
poetry established by Fujiwara Tameie 藤原為家 , son of Teika (the
Nijō School was about to overwhelm the Kawachi Group, which was on
the decline). Ōno's theory is based on the results of his examination
of a number of poems in Teika's hand, which shew exact concurrence
with the kana usage of Teika, thus demonstrating that Teika had
already set up his own system of kana usage before compiling Shūi gusō.
2 A reference to Kūkai 空海 , traditionally regarded as the inventor
of the kana syllabary.
3 This suggests that in addition to dealing with a further six signs,
Gyōa may well have amended Chikayuki's original treatment of the first
eight signs (wo, o, e, we, he, i, wi, hi). Since however the notes
of Chikayuki are no longer extant, we cannot ascertain to what extent
if at all Gyōa modified the notes of his great-grandfather.
4 Yamada considers that these six signs were not dealt with in the
notes of Chikayuki because usage of these same signs was not yet con-
fused at the time (early 13th century); and that when Gyōa compiled
KMZK in the late 14th century, the phonological changes had occurred
which necessitated treatment of these signs.
5 Vd. p.24, note 1.
6 Vd. p.26, note 3.

largely to historical changes in pitch-accent, which affected use of the kana o and wo. In his investigation, Ōno compares actual examples of Teika's kana usage with entries in KMZK 1480.[1]

Since in determining usage of o and wo both Teika and Gyōa followed the accent principle, one might expect their kana usage relating to these two signs to be identical. This assumption fails however to take into account historical changes in pitch-accent. It was precisely because both men followed the same principle of using o to represent low pitch /wo/, and wo to represent high pitch /wo/ that discrepancies arose. For example, 13th century oni "demon" (/ - - /) changed its pitch pattern to become 17th century woni (/ ‾ - /).

This principle of representing low pitch /wo/ with o, and high pitch /wo/ with wo, explains something that puzzled language scholars for hundreds of years, namely variation in one and the same kana usage work between o and wo in the same morpheme, e.g. oke "pail" (/ - ‾ /), but ko-woke "small pail" (/ ‾ ‾ ‾ /) (KMZK o section).

KMZK: The Table of Contents.

The arrangement of signs under which individual entries are set out is given in the Table of Contents, which comes after the KMZK Preface. Initially, fourteen signs are listed in the following order: wo, o, e, we, hi, i, wi, ho, wa, ha, mu, u, fu.[2] This is then followed by a list of nine signs, viz. (tan 端 [3]) ho, (chū 中) wo,

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1 The following summary is based on the account in Ōno 1950.
2 Regarding the difference in order of signs in GKSH (wo, o, e, we, he, hi, wi, i) and the corresponding (first) eight signs in KMZK (wo, o, e, we, he, hi, i, wi), Ishizaka takes this as shewing that the relationship between the two works is neither unitary nor separate, and suggests that the difference is due not to any difference in the purpose of arrangement of GKSH, but merely a lapse in the memory of Chikayuki regarding the order. Vd. Ishizaka 1944, pp.273-298.
3 The terms tan, chū, and oku (meaning "beginning", "middle", and "inner part" respectively) apparently refer not to the position of the kana signs in individual words, but to their relative position in the iroha poem — vd. Meiji shoin 1958, p.120.

(oku 奧) o, (tan) i, (chū) wi, (oku) hi, (tan) he, (chū) e, (oku) we.
At first glance this would appear to be a continuation from the four-
teen signs above. In fact however it is the table of contents for
the Teika-kyō kuden[1] 定家卿口傳 , which is an appendix to the KMZK
dated 1478 which has a postscript by Fujiwara Chikanaga 藤原親長 [2]
This is followed in the text of 1478 by a second appendix entitled
Hitomaru hishō 人丸秘抄 [3] Both these appendices are listed after
the above nine signs in the KMZK Table of Contents, but the append-
ices themselves are in fact only to be found in the edition of 1478
with the postscript by Chikanaga. It should be noted that the app-
endices are similar in both layout and scope to Teika's GKSH.[4]

KMZK: Classification of Entries.

Entries in KMZK are set out according to the sign in a particular
word which constitutes a problem from the viewpoint of kana usage.
Under wo section for example comes wominaheshi "valerian". This is
the standard format for dictionary-type works[5] on historical kana
usage, and the arrangement in KMZK is immediately clear from the
Table of Contents and from the main text itself.

Ishizaka goes beyond this fundamental layout to examine the
arrangement of KMZK entries under individual signs.[6] This he does by
comparison with classification of entries in the Iroha jirui-shō,
since this was a classificatory system widely used in dictionaries

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1 Alternatively known as the Teika-kyō kana-zukai shōshō 定家卿
假名遣少々
2 Vd. Kieda 1933, pp.15-16.
3 Vd. Kieda, ibid. p.17 ff.
4 The two appendices to the 1478 KMZK are treated by Kieda and
Mabuchi K. as variant texts of GKSH. Accordingly the present writer
also treats them as such. Vd. Appendix II below.
5 As opposed to works which set out general rules for kana usage,
e.g. Gofukōon'in mishō 後普光園院御抄 . Vd. p.43 below.
6 Vd. Ishizaka 1944, pp.273-298.

and poetry anthologies of the period.

Ishizaka sets out the classification of entries under individual signs in KMZK[1] as follows:

1 Natural and Topographical Features.

2 Flora.

3 Fauna; followed firstly by Miscellania, then by Comestibles.

4 The class known as jōji 疊字

5 Province Names come towards the end.

6 Offices, Family and Given Names, Book Names, etc., and Temples also come towards the end.

7 Morals, The Anatomy, Personal Affairs, the class known as jiji 辭字 , etc. come in or after the middle.

According to Ishizaka, this system of classification agrees with that in Iroha jirui-shō apart from Province Names, Given Names, and Book Names. The classification for KMZK is an approximate one only, and is not observed throughout. For example, although Flora is the second category in Iroha jirui-shō, the first entry in KMZK wo section is wominaheshi (the same in fact as the first entry in GKSH).

KMZK: Its Development from The Notes of Chikayuki.

A distinct development in the role of KMZK is to be seen when it is compared with the putative form of Chikayuki's notes, which seem to have been in the nature of something like a vocabulary list. It was probably during the supplementation process that this vocabulary list became more like a dictionary: Chinese characters under each entry were at first in a ratio of one character or group of characters to one entry, in order to distinguish each entry. With some entries a number of additional characters having the kun reading of the entry

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1 The arrangement of GKSH is not without logical sequence in places either. There is for example a natural flow in wokura-yama next to wotoha-yama (wo section); and in omofu, oshimu, otoroku, and then oki no ha, onoe no matsu, and hana wo oru (o section). Such sequences are only fragmentary however, and do not make up an overall arrangement.

concerned were added, whereby the work seems to have assumed the
additional aspect of being a type of character dictionary for finding
the character from the word. That is to say, KMZK developed into
something like the _Iroha jirui-shō_ or _Setsuyō-shū_[1] 竹月集 , diction-
aries with Chinese characters set out under _kana_ headings. Also,
some notes on meanings were added. Within its fundamental limits as
a _kana_ dictionary however, KMZK confined itself to a certain amount
of such additional information and no more.

The Teika _Kana_ Usage: Conclusion.

The principle adopted by Teika in setting up a system of _kana_
spellings which made up a consistent whole lacking in internal con-
fusion was to turn to the kana spellings in "old documents". Since
however the texts Teika referred to were ones which already containe[...]
a certain amount of confused usage, one does find cases of variation
in spelling,[2] e.g. _yohi_ ~ _yowi_ (GKSH).

Ōno considers that the _kana_ usage of Teika himself shews little
confusion or disunity. If this be accepted, then one might say by
extension that the same applies to _kana_ usage in KMZK, since Ōno
considers this work to have taken over the principles of Teika's
kana usage.[3] One must however allow for discrepancies between the
kana usage of Teika and that in KMZK due to historical changes in
pitch-accent.

The _kana_ usage proposed by Teika in GKSH did not derive entirely
from his own ideas: it is thought that he adopted the accent principle
for _o_ and _wo_ after seeing it in use in dictionaries of the time.

However, despite points such as the listing of alternative spell-

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1 The _Setsuyō-shū_ was compiled in the 15th century.
2 I.e. besides _o_ ~ _wo_ variation (vd. pp.32-33 above).
3 Ōno 1950, p.17.

ings for one entry, and discrepancies between GKSH and KMZK in the use of o and wo, the Teika kana usage[1] had a stabilising effect on kana usage for two main reasons. Firstly, the great prestige of Teika as a poet meant that virtually anything he wrote or was associated with was regarded almost as holy writ. Secondly, KMZK (and GKSH also) provided for the first time a collected set of kana spellings which were readily accessible in one work.[2]

Kana Usage and Kana Usage Works
After The Diffusion of GKSH and KMZK.

"He who dares to treat the kana spellings of Lord Teika
in an unseemly manner will incur the punishment of the
deities."
Shōtetsu monogatari.[3]

The above quotation from Shōtetsu monogatari is well-known, and is an indication of the reverence in which the kana usage of Teika (and of Gyōa) was held, and of the absolute authority with which it was regarded. Throughout the literary world the Teika kana usage became the recognised kana usage, and this rise in standing was accompanied by much activity in copying manuscripts of and revising the same. Also, new works on kana usage were compiled on the basis of the Teika kana usage. These can be broadly divided into two categories, viz. 1) dictionaries of kana usage, and 2) works setting out general rules for kana usage. The following are examples of such works.

1) Dictionaries of Kana Usage.

Gyōnō-kyō (kaden) kana-zukai 行能卿(家傳)假名遺

Possibly compiled by Gyōnō[4] of Sezonji 世尊寺 Temple.

1 Traditionally, represented principally by KMZK.
2 Cf. Mabuchi K.'s Heian kana usage, which was not formally expounded as a whole but rather existed only in diffuse form within the corpus of late Heian hiragana literature as a whole.
3 Written by Shōtetsu 正徹 , poet and priest of the 15th century.
4 1180-1250. The contents of the work however suggest that it may have been compiled after KMZK (vd. Kieda 1933, p.38).

Kana-zukai 可奈津可飛 . Compiled by Sanjōnishi no Sanetaka 三條西實隆 (1455-1537). The latter part of this work comes within the scope of category 2), since it consists of rules for kana usage.

Shinsen kana-moji zukai 新撰假名文字遣 . Compiled by Yoshida Motomasa 吉田元正 , possibly in 1566.

Ruiji kana-zukai 類字假名遣 (originally entitled Shinzō kana-zukai 新增假名遣). Compiled by Arakida Morisumi 荒木田盛徵 . Date of compilation 1660 or before?

Shoshin kana-zukai 初心假名遣 . Both compiler and date of compilation unknown. 1701 printed version.

Kenshukuryōko-shū. Compiled by Ōtō Sokufu 鴨東簌父 . Preface (and printed version) dated 1695.

2)   Works Consisting of General Rules For Kana Usage.[1]

Gofukōon'in mishō. Compiled by Fujiwara Yoshimoto 藤原良基 (1320-1388). Date of compilation 1382 (?).

Kana-zukai chikamichi 假名遣近道 . Compiled by Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一條兼良 (1402-1481).

Kana-zukai chikamichi かちつかひ近道 . Compiled by Botanka Shōhaku 牡丹花肖柏 (1443-1481).

Kana-zukai chikamichi-shō 假名遣近道抄 . Compiled by Sanjōnishi no Saneeda 三條西實條 (1572-1640). Date of compilation 1625 (?).

Ippo kana chigai. ge. 一步 假名違・下 . Both compiler and date unknown.

Even after Keichū proposed his system of kana spellings in WJSH, and after it had ousted the Teika kana usage from its position as the unchallenged kana usage among poets and scholars, still there continued

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1   The list of kana usage works of types 1) and 2) here is by no means exhaustive. A comprehensive list is to be found in Meiji shoin 1958, p.125 ff. Kieda 1936 (p.36 ff.) also gives a considerable number of such works, together with much fuller descriptions (and excerpts) than in Meiji shoin.

to appear many works on the Teika kana usage.[1]

Criticism of The Teika Kana Usage.

Despite the great authority which it possessed, it was not long before there emerged scholars who independently criticised the Teika kana usage.

The first such scholar was the priest Jōshun 成俊 of Miidera 三井寺 Temple. As a result of his study of the Man'yōshū, Jōshun noticed a number of discrepancies between Man'yōgana spellings therein and the kana spellings of Teika. This he notes in his 1353 postscript to the Jakuin-bon Man'yōshū 寂印成俊本萬葉集 , from which the following is an excerpt:

> "In vocabulary lists (ongi) of kana [usage] since the
> time of Teika, those who inquire into the way of waka
> – men of both high and low station – have sought his
> opinion on usage. Accordingly the whole realm gen-
> erally observes the Teika-style usage, and no man
> diverges therefrom. Those who concur with that usage
> are like men who rebel against the kana usage to be
> found in such works as the Man'yōshū and Kokin-shū.
> For many years I too have employed mainly the Teika
> style, and do not rebel against it even now. Here-
> after too I shall conform to that style.
>   Only in the Man'yōshū when it comes to adding
> kana to the side of Chinese characters have I to a
> certain extent evolved my own foolish and prejudiced
> proposals, adding furigana in accordance with Man'-
> yōshū vocabulary lists. Kana usage in these lists
> is not arbitrary or without explanation. My reason
> in so doing is that to use a vocabulary list of
> Teika kana spellings in adding furigana to the Man'-
> yōshū would be to go against rules and reasons in
> that anthology. In the Man'yōshū, the kana for the
> word meaning "distant", "far", are toho登保 , and
> the word used to describe the swaying motion of veg-
> etation is written towo登乎 . In the Teika kana
> usage, the word for "distant" is written towo. In
> writing this word in the ordinary way therefore, the
> spelling should be made different from that in the
> Man'yōshū. Also, the writing uwe宇恵 means "(to)
> plant", and uhe宇depth means "top", "above". There
> are other examples too, but as I fear they are too
> numerous I will note them separately, and omit them
> here."[3]

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1 For a description of these works vd. Kieda 1933, p.96 ff.
2 In fact however nothing is known of such a work by Jōshun.
3 In Saeki 1961, pp.640-641.

Regarding the Teika-style kana usage work from which Jōshun drew his examples, the word towo "distant" is not among the entries in the Bun'ei GKSH.[1] Although this word does appear in KMZK as towo, Shigematsu observes that for chronological reasons it is clear that Jōshun did not base his argument on the kana spelling of the word in KMZK, since this was completed not earlier than 1363. Shigematsu is of the view that there was a work intermediate between GKSH and KMZK in which the word for "distant" was spelt towo; and that Jōshun drew his example from this intermediate work, and Gyōa also referred to the same work.

It should be noted that Jōshun goes to the trouble of pointing out that in the normal way he too follows the Teika kana usage. And that he only diverges from the Teika kana usage in annotating the Man'yōshū. If scholars of the time had been more open to reasoned argument than to blind acceptance of the teachings of Teika, then the Teika kana usage might have been replaced or at least considerably modified long before the time of Keichū. As it was however, the time was not yet right for such change. This postscript of Jōshun's is significant in the history of kana usage studies, since it is considered that later it possibly provided the starting-point for Keichū's kana usage theory.

The other scholar to criticise the kana usage of Teika — at about the same time, incidentally — was Emperor Chōkei 長慶 . The following excerpts are from his postscript to Sengen-shō 仙源抄 , the first dictionary pertaining to the language of Genji monogatari.

1 Nor does towo occur in the variant versions of GKSH (vd. Appendix II).
2 Written c.1381.

"In the mediaeval period, those who received the
teachings of the Teika school seem to have continued
the same usage on the grounds that it had been fixed
by Teika himself. Generally speaking four accents
(shishō四聲   ) are distinguished in Chinese charac-
ters. Since the meaning of a character differs
according to the way it is pronounced, there is no
need to enter into details. With kana, a single
sign has no meaning: meaning is expressed by a group
of kana. And so from ancient times nothing has been
said about accent in Japanese. ──── .

Since such sounds as wo緒 and o尾 are fixed in
the writings of Teika too, it seems that something
should be said about the pronunciation of these.
The way such sounds are fixed however does not agree
with the accent system of Japanese. Furthermore,
since a single kana sign has no meaning, it cannot
be said that a particular sign should correspond to
a particular meaning. It is neither the sound nor
the meaning, and it is not clear on what basis it was
decided."[3]

Emperor Chōkei attempted to explain Teika's kana usage by means

of the shishō (four accents) theory, but failed to arrive at a

satisfactory conclusion for several reasons. Firstly, he did not –

or rather could not – distinguish clearly between the tonal system

of Chinese on the one hand and the pitch-accent of Japanese on the

1 With regard to what Chōkei considered to be Teika's kana usage,
Shigematsu postulates it as being "a somewhat supplemented version
of Gekan-shū", while Ōno's biographical sketch of Chōkei in relation
to Gyōa suggests that Ōno takes it as being KMZK.

2 The original has the same term shō聲 (translated here as "accent")
used with reference both to Chinese tones and Japanese pitch-accent.
It would seem then, as Mabuchi K. points out (Meiji shoin 1958, p.133),
that Chōkei did not have distinct concepts of the two systems.

Shō聲 (alternatively read sei) was the term used to indicate
pitch-accent in traditional Japanese language writings. At first it
had been used with reference to the tone system of Chinese, but as
time passed, knowledge of the Chinese tones declined:

"In the ancient period, knowledge of the four tones
(shishō) was transmitted to Japan together with the
pronunciation of Chinese characters. It seems that
until about the Heian Period efforts were made when
reading aloud from Chinese and Buddhist works to read
as far as possible in accordance with the correct
·tones. There was a tendency to give reminders by
affixing tone marks to the Chinese characters. As
time passed however standard knowledge of the tones
was lost, and at present tone reading only remains
in Buddhism for reciting the sutras."

KJTN, shishō entry.

3 Saeki 1961, pp.642-643.

other.   Secondly, he was not aware of historical change in pitch-
accent.   And thirdly, not realising that in Teika's <u>kana</u> usage the
only distinction by accent was in use of <u>o</u> and <u>wo</u>, Chōkei sought dis-
tinction by accent in the case of other <u>kana</u> signs also.

This early criticism by Jōshun and Chōkei did nothing to oust
the Teika <u>kana</u> usage from its eminent position.   More than three hun-
dred years were to pass before the great turning-point in the history
of <u>kana</u> usage studies.

Chapter Three

Keichū — An Introduction to The Man and His Work.

The main type of kana usage described in the preceding chapter
was the Teika kana usage. In use among men of letters from the 14th
to the 17th century and later, this system of kana spellings flourished
in a climate of unquestioned acceptance of the traditional teachings.
In the Edo Period however there occurred radical changes in the acad-
emic climate in Japan — changes which meant that the traditional
teachings were not to go unchallenged for long. One of the figures
actively involved in these changes was the scholar-priest Keichū.

Up until the Edo Period, scholarship had been comprised princip-
ally of Chinese studies: if some aspect of Japanese culture was
studied, it was merely as an adjunct to the overwhelmingly prestig-
ious Chinese studies.[1] Towards the end of the 17th century however a
movement arose in Japan in reaction to the influential position which
Chinese culture in general and Neo-Confucian philosophy in particular
held with the Japanese ruling class. This movement, known as kokugaku
国学 , had as its goal clarification of the Japanese culture of the
ancient period prior to the introduction of foreign influence such
as Confucianism and Buddhism. Since it was held that the key to the
past culture lay in the ancient literature, the movement manifested
itself in the form of great activity in the reading and interpretation
of such classics as the Man'yōshū and Kojiki.

One of the most important characteristics of the writings of
kokugaku scholars was their new attitude towards scholarship, namely
rejection of old conventional teachings which had no basis in fact,
and the adoption of a spirit of free inquiry. This new attitude,

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1 Itō 1928, p.23.

which marks the transition from mediaeval to modern scholarship in Japan, is first to be seen in the writings of Keichū.[1] In this sense Keichū is a very important figure not only in the history of kana usage studies, but also in the much wider context of the history of Japanese scholarship as a whole.[2]

Keichū — A Biographical Sketch.

Keichū was born in the year 1640 in Amagasaki 尼崎 , the third of eight children in a samurai family called Shimokawa 下川 , originally from the old province of Ōmi 近江 . The early Edo Period was one of social and economic change, in which the financial status of the samurai class was deteriorating and the townsmen were becoming increasingly prosperous. So it was that the family fortune in which Keichū grew up was not one of prosperity and good fortune.[3]

According to tradition Keichū was possessed of great powers of memory at an early age: it is reported that at the age of five he memorised the Hyakunin isshu (One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets) taught him by his mother, and that at the age of seven he committed

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1 Vd. KJTN, Keichū entry.
2 Despite his contribution to the beginnings of the kokugaku movement, Japanese scholars seem to have long been at odds as to whether Keichū himself should actually be regarded as a kokugakusha. For while on the one hand the revivalist spirit of kokugaku is prominent in Keichū's works in the form of veneration of Japanese antiquity, and his works are (as has already been mentioned) also marked by a spirit of free academic enquiry, on the other hand Keichū's approach is often characterised by a Buddhist viewpoint, and this is held to be incompatible with the standpoint of the kokugakusha proper, for whom the very clarification of Japanese antiquity was the ultimate aim. The present trend of scholastic opinion appears to favour classifying Keichū as a kokugakusha: vd. Taira 1972, p.564, and Sakamoto 1973.
    Whether Keichū is to be considered a kokugakusha or not seems to constitute little more than a problem of categorisation: the fact remains that he was a pioneer whose works taught a new attitude of research to such scholars as Andō Nariakira 安藤為章 , Noda Tadamasa 野田忠粛 , Kada Azumamaro 荷田春満 , and (through Azumamaro) Kamo Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 and Motoori Norinaga.
3 Keichū's father, elder brother, and uncle all spent their later years as obscure rōnin (AKZN IX, p.28). Hisamatsu suggests that the adverse family circumstances may have been one of the factors involved in Keichū's leaving the parental home at such an early age (vd. "Keichū no hito to gakumon," in Hisamatsu 1972, p.69).

to memory the contents of the elementary textbook entitled <u>Jitsugokyō</u>
實語教 [1] When he was seven, Keichū was stricken with a grave ill-
ness which the physician could not cure. It is said that Keichū
secretly wrote down the name Tenman tenjin 天滿天人 [2] and recited
the name one hundred times daily; and that on the thirty-seventh day
the spirit of Michizane manifested itself in a dream, annunciating
that Keichū would be cured of his illness, and that one day Keichū
should become a bonze.

It was four years later that Keichū persuaded his father to allow
him to leave home to study Buddhism at Myōhōji 妙法寺 Temple (a
Shingon sect temple), at Imari 今里 in Osaka. There his teacher
was the chief priest Kaijō 寿定 . It seems that it was because Kei-
chū shewed great aptitude in his studies that he was sent by Kaijō
at the age of thirteen to practice religious austerities on Mt. Kōya.

Little is known of the period Keichū spent on Mt. Kōya, save that
his teacher was the bonze Kaiken 快賢 . Kaiken's erudition was not
confined to Buddhism alone, but extended to Shinto and other fields
of the native Japanese culture. Hisamatsu considers that it was under
the influence of Kaiken that Keichū turned first to scholarship in
general and then to Japanese studies.[3]

After some ten years of study on Mt. Kōya,[4] Keichū left to take up
the post of chief bonze of Mandara-in 曼陀羅院 Temple at Ikutama
生玉 . Keichū was recommended for the post by his former teacher
Kaijō, but apparently did not welcome the appointment since at the
time he was immersed in the study of Buddhism. Feeling however that
he could hardly spurn the kindness of his teacher, Keichū reluctantly
accepted the appointment. During this time at Mandara-in Temple,

1 Traditionally attributed to Kūkai.
2 Name for the deified spirit of Sugawara Michizane 菅原道眞 。
3 AKZN IX, p.35.
4 At the age of twenty-three or twenty-four - it is not clear which.

two events of importance for Keichū occurred: the first was the death
of his father in 1664, a happening which Hisamatsu suggests may have
had some bearing on Keichū's subsequent decision to put ecclesiastical
duties aside; the second event was his meeting with Shimokōbe Chōryū

下河邊長流 , an erudite recluse whose main interest was the study
of Japanese antiquity with an attitude of free enquiry. The develop-
ment of their friendship, particularly after Keichū left Mandara-in
Temple, was no doubt due largely to the common cause shared by two
men who had both cast aside worldly matters and lived only for study
of the classics. By dint of his spirit of free academic enquiry Chō-
ryū may like Keichū be considered a forerunner of the kokugaku
movement.

The next stage in Keichū's life is what Hisamatsu terms his
"roving period" (hōrō jidai). Lodging with several families in turn
for some ten years, Keichū led a secluded life: tired of the actual-
ities of everyday existence, he applied himself to the study of
classical Japanese and Chinese literature, and to Shittan 悉曇 —
the traditional Japanese study of Sanskrit.[1]

In compliance with the last wish of Kaijō, Keichū returned to
Osaka in 1679 to take up the post of chief bonze of Myōhōji Temple.
The financial need to support his ageing mother now that his elder
brother had become a rōnin was no doubt an additional factor which
influenced Keichū's decision.[2] During this period, at the request of
Tokugawa Mitsukuni[3] 德川光圀 of Mito 水戸 , Keichū undertook the

1 At one time Keichū studied Sanskrit under Jōgon 淨嚴 (also known
as Kakugen 覺彥), the most outstanding Shittan scholar of the Edo
Period. Vd. Appendix I.
2 Although Keichū was the third child of the family, the second
child died young, and so the onus of supporting the mother now rested
with Keichū.
3 Mitsukuni (1628-1700), like Keichū, was one of the earliest reviv-
alist scholars, and is celebrated for his magnum opus Dai Nihon-shi
大日本史 , a work in two hundred and forty-three maki.

compilation of a commentary on the Man'yōshū, which he called Man'yō

daishō-ki 萬葉代匠記 [1] The commentary had in fact already been

begun by Keichū's friend Chōryū, but subsequently Chōryū had fallen

ill and eventually died, leaving the commentary in a most incomplete

state.[2]

When Keichū had finished the first version of Man'yō daishō-ki

(MYSI) he presented it to Mitsukuni. Mitsukuni was impressed by

the high level of scholarship of the work, and so had Keichū rewrite

the commentary, this time as the official Man'yōshū commentary of the

Mito branch of the Tokugawa family.

On the death of his mother in 1690, Keichū left his position as

chief bonze of Myōhōji Temple and went into seclusion at a nearby

retreat.[3] At this point Keichū was again approached by Mitsukuni,

this time with the proposal that he enter the service of the Tokugawa

family. In keeping with his independent and somewhat retiring nature

however, Keichū declined this overture and devoted himself to his

writing. Here Keichū was to remain until his death in 1701. The

period 1690-1701 was the most productive in terms of output, and saw

the continued fruition of a lifetime's study in the form of further

commentaries on Japanese classics and in particular the epoch-making

works on kana usage best represented by WJSH.[4] A distinctive feature

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1 Vd. Chapter 5 below.
2 An alternative theory put forward by Hisamatsu (AKZN 9, p.110)
but regarded by him as less likely -- and certainly less to Chōryū's
credit -- is that Chōryū failed to complete the commentary due to his
undisciplined nature as a scholar.
3 The retreat, called Enju-an 圓珠庵 , was constructed in 1685,
and was frequented by Keichū up to the time when he moved there to
live in 1690. The structure remains to this day.
4 Keichū's academic work in toto can be broadly divided into two
categories, viz. commentaries and language studies. Representative
of the former category are MYSO (together with Norinaga's Kojiki-den
古事記傳 one of the most outstanding works of the period); Kogan-
shō 厚顔抄 (compiled 1691) -- a commentary on the poems in Kojiki
and Nihon shoki; Kokin yozai-shō 古今餘材抄 (compiled and revised
1691) -- a commentary on the Kokin-shū; Hyakunin isshu kaikan-shō 百人
一首改觀抄 (completed 1692) -- a commentary on the Hyakunin isshu;
Seigo okudan 勢語臆斷 (completed 1692) -- a commentary on Ise

of Keichū's research is that it consists of scrupulous and detailed

examination of individual facts[1] rather than the broader speculation

to be found in the writings of scholars such as Norinaga and Kada

Azumamaro. This characteristic is to be seen both in Keichū's

classical commentaries and in his language works.

The Works of Keichū: Their Aim.

Scholars often point to the breadth of knowledge of Keichū,[2] for

he was well-versed not only in the Buddhist scriptures but also in

the classic literature of both China[3] and Japan.   Keichū's creative

activity however was devoted almost exclusively to the native lit-

erature, and this despite the overwhelming prestige of Chinese studies.

In fact it does not seem unreasonable to interpret Keichū's activity

as expressive of a kind of literary nationalism – indeed, the seeds

of nationalist thought are to be found in Keichū's writings, although

it did not take the form of a philosophy which rejected all foreign

modes of thought, as is the case with the later kokugakusha.[4]

This incipient nationalist thought of Keichū, stemming from his

Shinto beliefs, was one of the factors involved in his study of

Japanese antiquity. Another important factor was Keichū's view of

the ancient period, and that of later times: for Keichū the most

ancient period in Japan represented some sort of Golden Age, an age

in which the land was ruled by Shinto alone, and the people were

pure and simple.[5] In contrast to this, Keichū took a most disparaging

view of later times, which he regarded as degenerate.

monogatari; and Genchū shūi 源注拾遺   (compiled 1696) – a comment-
ary on Genji monogatari. The most important language writings are
his works on kana usage, viz. WJSH, WJR, and WJYR.

1 Vd. Yamamoto 1973, p.2.
2 E.g. Taira 1972, p.562.
3 Vd. Kanda 1973.
4 Hisamatsu gives Norinaga's Kanji san'on-kō 漢字三音考   as an
example.
5 AKZN I, p.192.

Were these factors the only ones involved in Keichū's study of
the Japanese classics, or should one perhaps look for a connection
between his classical commentaries and his Buddhist beliefs?

Various opinions are to be found among Japanese scholars concern-
ing the purpose behind Keichū's works on the early Japanese classics:
some take his commentaries at face-value, considering that Keichū's
ultimate aim was simply annotation of the classics,[1] while others
argue that these commentaries are related to his religious beliefs.[2]

The philosophy of Keichū is best described as eclectic, for
although first and foremost a Buddhist priest, Keichū was also a
follower of Dual Shinto and at the same time subscribed to the Con-
fucian teachings.[3]

It is the eclectic nature of Keichū's beliefs that is emphasized
by Shigematsu in his essay Keichu no kogo kenkyū no rinen. Shige-
matsu argues that it is this that inspired Keichū in his study of
the classics, but that there was an incompatibility between Keichū's
study of the classics and his Buddhist beliefs. A view that stands

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1 E.g. Nakata (KJTN, Keichū entry).
2 Shigematsu and Tsukishima. The views of both these scholars are
discussed in the text immediately following.
3 Vd. Shigematsu, Keichū no kogo kenkyū no rinen (Shigematsu 1929).
The eclectic nature of Keichū's beliefs is suggested inter alia by
the following passage quoted by Shigematsu from the Kōgan-shō preface:

> "Kōbō Daishi was versed in Shinto and encouraged Con-
> fucianism. Also he composed waka, and followed the
> Buddha. To compare Vairocana Buddha with Amaterasu-
> o-mikami, it is as when a cloth of brocade is turned
> over: the reverse side of the cloth is the same as
> the front - the only difference is in the run of the
> pattern. Developing this allegory, one can say that
> the teaching which embraces all kinds of teachings
> comprises the worldly and the supra-worldly teachings.
> The tradition is that Amaterasu ō-mikami is the in-
> carnation of Vairocana Buddha: this is not a matter
> for concealment or deceit. In studying the doctrine
> of the Great Teacher (Kōbō Daishi) I wish to be
> without prejudice."
> In Shigematsu 1929, pp.337-338.

in contrast to this is presented by Tsukishima in the explanatory
introduction to Volume X of the new Keichū zenshū[1]. Tsukishima con-
fines himself to the significance of Keichū's kana usage writings,
but in the present writer's view the principle Tsukishima lays down
can, on the basis of additional evidence (to be given subsequently),
equally well be applied to Keichū's works as a whole. Tsukishima's
argument is as follows:

"Keichū became a Buddhist at an early age, and spent
his life as a priest. It was natural therefore that
the study of Buddhist doctrine should be at the basis
of his scholarship. The academic achievements of
Keichū centre round detailed and careful annotations
and research into the ancient Japanese culture, in
particular works of literature. From of old, the high
appraisal of Keichū the scholar too has rested mainly
on this aspect, and this in itself was only natural.
It seems however that there is still scope for future
research into the question of what sort of significance
Keichū's many outstanding achievements of this kind
have in relation to his personality as a whole.
    The young Keichū bore his books of learning to
Mt. Kōya, where he also studied Shittan and copied
out many religious works. After taking up Buddhism,
Keichū's main activity should have been devotion to
the study of Buddhist doctrine, and it seems that his
study of the Japanese classics too was in some sense
related to that objective. Of course, it may be that
the way Keichū's study of the classics was related to
his Buddhist studies may not necessarily agree with
modern ideas of how such an interrelationship should be.
    In the General Introduction to Waji shōran-shō,
Keichū quotes the following passage from the Shaseki-
shū: 'Waka are the dharani of Japan'. He continues:
'To be precise, the forty-seven signs of the iroha
poem should without hesitation be called a dharani,
before being used in waka'. Here Keichū has decided
that the forty-seven signs of the iroha poem (or the
sounds represented by them – in the case of Keichū,
the distinction between kana and sounds is not
necessarily clear) are the same as a dharani. In
the esoteric sects, dharani are interpreted as a
manifestation of The Truth, and it is expounded that
they are composed by Tathāgata Buddha[2]. For a scholar
with a viewpoint in which kana and dharani are
regarded as one, therefore, research into kana was
probably nothing other than a search for The Truth."

1 IKZN X, p.791.
2 Jap. nyorai 如来 .

Central to Tsukishima's argument here is the fact that Keichū equated waka - and the kana signs with which waka are written - with dharani. It is on the basis of this that Tsukishima draws the conclusion that, for Keichū, research into kana was itself a search for Truth, thus reconciling Keichū's kana usage studies with his religious belief.

If we turn to the kanbun preface to WJSH, we find another parallel, and one which throws light on the significance for Keichū of his profound research in the classics: in the opening passage of the preface, Keichū equates the ancient Japanese language with Truth.[1] On the basis of this, and bearing in mind also Keichū's view of antiquity as an age of unsurpassable purity and excellence, the present writer would like to suggest that Tsukishima's view can be extended to encompass Keichū's works in toto, that is to say that Keichū's works on the ancient language and literature were all part of a search for Truth - the Truth that existed in antiquity and was for men of later times still to be found in the ancient literature. The merit of this hypothesis is that it reconciles Keichū's commentaries and language works as a whole with his standpoint as a Buddhist priest[2] - the search for Truth is surely something common to true ecclesiastics of all times. If the hypothesis be accepted, moreover, then it is clear that Keichū's language works (i.e. principally his kana usage works) are on an equal footing with the classical commentaries, and not subsidiary to the latter, as is the view of a number of Japanese scholars.[3]

1 Vd. p.105 below.
2 Nor is it in any way incompatible with his Dual Shinto beliefs.
3 Nakata (KJTN entry); Shigematsu 1929, p.334; Yamamoto 1973. It should be noted on the other hand that Tokieda at least seems to regard Keichū's commentaries and kana usage studies as being of equal status: his article entitled Keichū no bunkengaku no hatten to kana-zukai-setsu oyobi sono kōshō ni tsuite (in Sasaki 1932) is concerned with the close relationship between Keichū's study of the ancient Japanese culture through the literature and his kana usage theory.

This aspect of the works of Keichū has been dealt with here in only the briefest manner, but this suffices to define the position of the present writer, and provide certain assumptions as a basis for a broad consideration of WJSH at a later stage. As Tsukishima observes, there is scope for future study in this aspect of Keichū's works.

Mystic Elements in The Thought of Keichū.

Keichū is well noted for his academic method which at the time was innovatory, viz. objective criticism on the basis of evidence to be found in the ancient literature. This represented a great advance over the traditional method of instruction, which consisted of un-questioned acceptance of the old teachings. And yet despite this, Keichū's work does contain certain mystic elements incompatible with the fundamental objectivism of his method. This seems partly attrib-utable at least to the influence of the esoteric Shingon doctrine in which he was schooled - certainly this is true in the case of Keichū's view of language.[1]

The contradiction inherent in this mystic element in the thought of Keichū is referred to by Hisamatsu,[2] who sees it as deriving from the emotional elements which inevitably form part even of a return to the past on the academic level. The following quotation is one of the examples given by Hisamatsu of the non-objective element in Keichū:

> "Our land in particular is one inhabited by deities:
> even in the Age of Men, innumerable happenings of a
> wondrous nature are recorded in the national hist-
> ories. One should simply look up to such things
> and believe them."
>   MYSF, Miscellaneous Theories[3] (zassetsu 雜説).

In his essay Keichū no kogo kenkyū no rinen, Shigematsu points

1 Vd. p.56 above.
2 AKZN IX,p.
3 AKZN I, p.193.

out Keichū's mystical view of waka (much of Keichū's study of the
ancient language was devoted to waka, as in the Man'yōshū for ex-
ample). In the following passage, Keichū relates the waka to the
ancient Chinese precept of Yin 陰 (the female principle) and Yang[1] 陽
(the male principle):

> "The number of syllables[2] in a waka poem is thirty-one;
> this is a Yang number[3]. Within the two verses – the
> upper and the lower – are comprehended all the mean-
> ings of Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang, Lord and
> Vassal, Father and Child, Husband and Wife, and so
> on[4]. The upper verse, made up of three (a Yang num-
> ber) groups of five-seven-five, has a total of seven-
> teen syllables. Seventeen is also considered a Yang
> number. The three groups of syllables therein are
> also Yang. The lower verse is made up of two groups
> of seven-seven; seven is a Yang number. Together
> these make up fourteen syllables. Fourteen is con-
> sidered a Yin number. The number of groups in the
> lower verse, two, is also Yin. The five groups of
> syllables in the upper and lower verses also con-
> stitute Yang. The upper verse is long, the lower
> short: this too must be of some significance."
>
> MYSF Introduction[5]

Another mystical aspect of Keichū's view of waka has already
been mentioned, namely the parallel drawn by Keichū between waka
and dharani[6]. This concept is also clear from the following passage,
to be found in WJSH maki 1:

> "If those who utter dharani do so according to their
> own fancy, and without receiving instruction from a
> priest, then they make errors in the sounds and the
> words, and they make errors in the passage as a

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1 The dualistic principle of Yin-Yang (Jap. Onmyō) is inter alia
expounded in the Chinese classic "The Book of Changes" (Chi. I Ching
易經 ; Jap. Eki-kyō).
2 The original has ji 字 "sign". Since however not all waka are
written entirely in the unisyllabic kana signs, but sometimes include
duosyllabic or polysyllabic Chinese characters (kun readings only in
the latter case), ji has been rendered here as "syllable".
3 According to Yin-Yang, odd numbers were Yang, and even numbers Yin.
4 Opposites were considered as Yin and Yang: Yin-Yang sought to ex-
plain creation and destruction of all things by the interplay of these
two. The first verse of a waka poem is Yang, the second is Yin; and
as such, a waka poem comprehends all things (Taira 1972, p.310, note).
5 AKZN I, p.193.
6 In esoteric Buddhism a dharani (a mystic group of syllables) is
regarded as having supernatural efficacy; often, it is considered as
the quintessence of a sutra.

whole: the reading is not efficacious - on the con-
trary, something sinful is committed. Since this is
so, the Buddha admonishes men greatly for such things,
deeming them a Transgression of The Law (eppō). On
the basis of this, since waka are offered even unto
the Shinto deities and the Buddha, efforts should be
made to correct the kana therein and see that they do
not go against reason.[1] "[2]

The present writer does not wish to over-emphasize mystical
aspects of Keichū's thought, for his writings are remarkable primar-
ily for their objectivity. The aim of pointing out these aspects
here is merely to forewarn the reader and anticipate his bewilder-
ment in this regard.

Characteristics of Keichū's Language Theory.

One cannot read a great deal of Keichū's writings on kana usage[3]
without encountering his general language theory. Keichū's basic
concept of language, and his description of Japanese, heavily influ-
enced by what he learned during his training as a Buddhist priest,
are enigmatic to the modern Western reader (if not to the Japanese
also) unless prefaced by a word of explanation.[4] By way of introduc-
tion to the kana usage studies of Keichū therefore it will be
expedient to note one or two special characteristics of his writings
on language.

As might be expected in view of the imperfect understanding of
the nature of language at that time, Keichū's concept of the inter-
relationship between written and spoken language was by no means
entirely correct. Consequently the sequence of thought in this area

1 By "reason" (kotowari) here, Keichū means the ancient system of
kana usage in works such as the Man'yōshū.
2 IKZN X, p.122.
3 Including sections in MYSO.
4 Why for example should Keichū follow a section in WJSH on the the-
ory of speech articulation with an esoteric passage on the meaning
of the character for "breath"? And why should explanation of the
Sanskrit writing system figure so prominently in the Introduction to
WJSH, a work which is essentially a dictionary of kana usage?

of his kana usage theory often seems disconnected or illogical to
the modern reader.

An important characteristic of Keichū's description of language
in general and Japanese in particular is the prominence of Shittan
theory. In the Shingon sect of Buddhism, Sanskrit was taught since
it was the original language of the sutras, and also because it was
the language in which dharani were written. In using Shittan theory
in his description of Japanese, Keichū was continuing a tradition
which had its beginnings in the late 11th century with Myōgaku
明覺 [1].

Another point to be made here about Keichū's language works con-
cerns his concept of the nature of language. The following passage
- the section on written signs (moji-bon 文字品) in the Nehan-gyō
涅槃經 Sutra - is quoted several times in Keichū's writings,[2] and
may thus be taken as an integral part of his view of language:

> "The Buddha said to Kāśyapa,[3] 'All the various dis-
> courses, incantations, tongues, and letters - all
> these are the teachings of The Buddha: they are not
> the teachings of other creeds.' Kāśyapa said to The
> Buddha, 'O World-Honoured One, how do you expound the
> basis of language?' The Buddha said, 'First, you ex-
> pound letters, making them the basis. Written signs
> support the various discourses, incantations, writ-
> ings, constituent elements,[4] and The True Teaching.
> The ordinary people study this basis of the written
> signs, then they are able to know what is The Law of
> The Buddha and what is not.' Kāśyapa said, 'What is
> the meaning of the written signs of which The World-
> Honoured One speaks?' To this The Buddha said,
> 'The language you speak has fourteen sounds. Those

1 Born 1056. A renowned Shittan scholar, whose works include Han'on
sahō 反音作法 (1093) and Shittan yōketsu 悉曇要訣 (1101).
2 Viz. MYSI, Introduction (IKZN I, p.212); MYSF, Introduction (IKZN
I, p.182); WJSH Introduction (short excerpt only) (IKZN X, p.116).
3 Jap. Kashō 迦葉 . One of the ten chief disciples of The Buddha.
4 The texts in MYSI and MYSF (IKZN) differ here: the former has sho-
shin 諸信 , the latter shoon 諸陰 "factors", "constituent elements".
The meaning of shoshin is obscure, and so the latter version, i.e.
shoon, has been followed. Moreover, Takakusu 1924 (vol.12, p.413)
also has shoon.

sounds are given names, and the names are considered
the meanings. The written signs of which you speak
are eternal: they are not transient. If they are not
transient, then they are indestructible. That which
is indestructible is like the adamantine body of Tat-
hāgata. These fourteen sounds are considered the
basis of written signs."

The view of language represented here is that language and religion
are closely related, and that written language is something far more
than a mere representation of speech. That Keichū should on the one
hand have such an esoteric view of language in general, and on the
other hand carry out objective research in _kana_ usage does on the
face of it appear inexplicable and contradictory[1] but, just as Kei-
chū's philosophy is eclectic, so too are his ideas on language.
During his Buddhist training Keichū acquired a number of mystical
concepts concerning language, and then later developed an independent
academic approach, but the two were able to exist side by side because
they do not in fact invalidate each other to any great extent.

1 Hisamatsu finds a similar contradiction in Keichū's view of high
antiquity (AKZN IX p.241).

Chapter Four

Concerning The Sound-System of Keichū's Language.

Historical works on <u>kana</u> usage are of interest not only from the viewpoint of <u>kana</u> usage, but also as a very important source of information for the study of the sound-system of Japanese prior to the Meiji Period.[1] In this respect the <u>kana</u> usage writings of Keichū are no exception, for they contain a number of passages treating of pronunciation (the section in WJSH <u>maki</u> 5 provisionally entitled Miscellaneous Theories is a good example of this).

It is of course primarily with the <u>kana</u> usage and <u>kana</u> usage theory of Keichū rather than with the spoken language of the time that this thesis is concerned. In considering the former however we cannot afford to ignore the spoken language of Keichū's day, for although the historical <u>kana</u> spellings in WJSH and Keichū's other writings were based not on the spoken language but on the notation of words in ancient works such as the <u>Man'yōshū</u> and <u>Wamyō-shō</u> 倭名 抄,[2] the sound-system of the contemporary language did nevertheless exert an influence on his descriptions of <u>kana</u> spellings. If we are to understand <u>Keichū</u>'s writings on <u>kana</u> usage therefore, we need to have some knowledge of the sound-system of late 17th century Japanese.

The reader's attention is directed firstly to the chart in Mabuchi 1971,[3] where Mabuchi K. sets out a table of syllables in the sound-system of the Kansai dialects of the mid-Edo Period (early 18th

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1 Vd. KJTN, <u>on'in-shi</u> entry.
2 Abbreviated title of <u>Wamyō ruiju-shō</u> 倭名類聚抄 , an encyclopaedic Chinese-Japanese dictionary with pronunciations given in <u>Man'yōgana</u>. There are two versions of this work, viz. the ten-<u>maki</u> version compiled by Minamoto Shitagō 源順 between 931 and 938; and the twenty-<u>maki</u> version, compiled not later than the 12th century. It was the twenty-<u>maki</u> version that was used by Keichū (the ten-<u>maki</u> <u>Wamyō-shō</u> had not yet been discovered at that time).
3 Op.cit., pp.139-140. Vd. Appendix III.

century). Although it would be wrong to regard this table as it stands as an inventory of syllables in Keichū's language,[1] it may for the purpose of this thesis be regarded as a provisional inventory provided qualifying remarks are made concerning certain syllables which are firstly problematical in late 17th century Japanese and secondly relevant to our consideration of Keichū's kana usage. The problematical syllables are o and o:, and ka and k^{w}a (also the dakuon equivalents ga and g^{w}a): these are considered below in two subsections.

1. The Values of O and O: in The Language of Keichū.

According to Rodriguez' grammar Arte da Lingoa Iapam (printed 1604-1608), the vowel written o or wo in kana appears still to have been a diphthong /wo/ at the beginning of the 17th century. Concerning the approximate date at which this diphthong underwent monophthongization, it seems usual to quote the description of the pronunciation of o and wo in Ongyoku gyokuen-shū 音曲玉淵集 (printed 1727)[2] as proof of the change of /wo/ to /o/ by the early 18th century.[3] On the basis of this information alone however it is not clear whether towards the end of the 17th century - the period when Keichū was writing about kana usage - this vowel was a diphthong or a monophthong, or whether indeed it was in the midst of undergoing such a change.

In fact we do not have to look very hard at Keichū's writings before we find a description concerning pronunciation of this vowel - the following passage is from WJSH maki 1:

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1 It is expedient to set out an inventory of the syllables rather than the individual phonemes of Keichū's language here, as the phonological references of the kana are all syllabic.
2 A work in five maki by Miura Tsuguyasu 三浦庚矣 . The description in question is as follows: "It is bad to read the kana wo as a yōon uwo."
3 E.g. Nakata 1972, p.238; Mabuchi 1971, p.135.

"Since wo is produced from u, at first there is a
light u sound, then contact with the lips, and it is
pronounced uwo."[1]

According to this, it would appear that Keichū's language still
had the diphthong /wo/. Consider on the other hand the following
passage in the Miscellaneous Theories section of WJSH (maki 5):

"This opportunity might be taken to say that the pro-
nunciation of the signs 王 wau, 奥 wau, etc. does not
agree with the kana, since there is no labial contact.
The usual pronunciation is wou. Au, wou, and ou
should sound the same."[4]

Here Keichū is saying that the kana spellings wau, wou, au, and ou
are all pronounced the same, i.e. have a common phonological reference.
Since it already seems well-established that the two long vowels /ɔ:/
and /o:/ fell together in the direction of the latter in the first
half of the 17th century, the present writer would like to take
Keichū's description here as referring to the long vowel /o:/.[5] An

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1 IKZN X, p.117.
2 For Keichū, wo was an a-column sign in the onzu 音圖 (syllabic
chart), i.e. a monophthong, and not a diphthong [ɰo] as the translit-
eration wo would suggest. Vd. Chapters 10 and 11 below.
3 The two examples given (王 wau, 奥 wau) are both Sino-Japanese.
It should be noted though that Keichū also records the sequences au
and ou in pure Japanese as being homophonous in his language, e.g.
harafu, hirofu (both -ro:); vd. IKZN X, pp.274-275.
4 IKZN X, p.274.
5 It might be asked whether Keichū intended the spelling wou to
indicate not a long vowel but a vowel combination (viz. /ou/), on
the basis that if he had intended a long vowel Keichū would have
written it woo, rather than with u as the second constituent sign.
The phonetic notation wou here however appears to be an orthographic
device for rendering [o:] distinctively from [oo], rather than a
notation for a vowel combination. This is suggested by the following
excerpt from WJYR:

覆		ohofu	This ho is pronounced as if the first o were being repeated, i.e. as oofu.
大		ohoki nari	Written as 大く in Man'yōgana in the Man'yōshū. When oho stands for the word "large", the kana are the same, but it is pronounced as two syllables.
多		ohoshi	It is customary to pronounce this ho as if the first o in the word were being repeated, i.e. as oo.

IKZN X, p.681.

important part of this latter description is the phrase "since there is no labial contact" (<u>kuchibiru ni atarazareba</u>), for this strongly suggests not /wo:/ but a delabialized long vowel /o:/. If this be accepted, then one would expect the short vowel written o or <u>wo</u> also to be similarly delabialized in Keichū's language.

There is however a difficulty with this interpretation, since there is an apparent contradiction with Keichū's earlier statement in WJSH <u>maki</u> 1 (vd. above) concerning pronunciation of the sign <u>wo</u> as a diphthong (<u>uwo</u>). It is possible, on the other hand, as Mabuchi K. points out,[1] that Keichū's description of <u>wo</u> here was based not on the contemporary pronunciation but on the description of this vowel by his teacher Jōgon in <u>Shittan sanmitsu-shō</u> 悉曇三密鈔 (printed 1682).[2] Mabuchi's suggested interpretation seems all the more likely in view of the fact that the description of <u>wo</u> occurs in a section of WJSH <u>maki</u> 1 that appears to be a <u>Shittan</u>-orientated description of the <u>kana</u> and their pronunciation. Accordingly the present writer takes the view that the diphthong /wo/ had already changed to a

Here Keichū is saying that in these three words the <u>kana</u> <u>oho</u> are to be pronounced as two syllables, i.e. as a vowel sequence [oo], which he writes phonetically as <u>oo</u>. Since for Keichū <u>oo</u> was the phonetic representation for [oo] (and here we are considering Keichū's concept of <u>oo</u> as a phonetic representation only, not his concept of <u>oo</u> in the context of historical <u>kana</u> spellings), he had to use a different spelling if he was to give a distinctive phonetic representation of of [o:] (as opposed to [oo]). In view of this, the <u>kana</u> <u>wou</u> were probably the simplest notation for the long vowel [o:].

What of the veracity of Keichū's statement in the above excerpt concerning the pronunciation of <u>oho</u> as two syllables -- i.e. a vowel sequence [oo] - in these three entries only? That is to say, was it an actual difference of pronunciation made in cultured speech, or was it perhaps some kind of pedantic pronunciation? The second possibility cannot be ruled out, but the irregular notation in the early Portuguese works on the Japanese language of words with original (-)<u>oho</u> (vd. Nakata 1972, p.215) suggests the possibility of similar irregularities in such words in Keichū's language also.

1 Mabuchi 1971, p.136.
2 Jōgon's description of the Sanskrit sign for <u>wo</u> (this sign is in the <u>a</u>-column of Jōgon's syllabic chart) is as follows: 'Wo is always produced from <u>u</u>. When pronounced therefore there is at first a light <u>u</u> sound.'

monophthong /o/ in Keichū's language, and that similarly the former
labialized long vowel /wo:/ (from /wɔ:/ and /wo:/) had also changed
to /o:/.

2. Ka-K^{W}a and Ga-G^{W}a in Keichū's Language.

Whether Keichū's language in fact had the oppositions ka-k^{W}a and
ga-g^{W}a is not immediately clear. Both Nakata[1] and Mabuchi K.[2] note
the confused usage of ka and kuwa (and voiced equivalents) in Yasu-
hara Teishitsu's 安原貞室 Katakoto 片言 (printed Kyoto 1650),
that is to say some decades before Keichū wrote WJSH. On the other
hand Nakata (ibid.) suggests that Katakoto may not be representative
in this respect, and Mabuchi (ibid.) notes that on the whole the ka-
k^{W}a distinction was observed throughout the Edo Period[3].

What of Keichū's writings on kana usage -- do they not perhaps
contain some passage which might afford a clue as to the pronunciation
of ka and kuwa? In WJSH there is no section devoted to words in which
ka and kuwa might be confused: although this is a negative point, the
present writer considers the absence of any such section as signif-
icant. In maki 5, entries are classified largely in terms of diff-
erences between the kana spellings of words and the contemporary
pronunciation, e.g. Section (22) - Words in which The Sign He Sounds
Like me, Section (25) - Fu which Sounds Like Wo; also, space is
devoted to kana spellings which have become problematical due to
various sound-changes subsequent to compilation of KMZK by Gyōa
(1363 or after), e.g. the four sections on yottsugana (ji, dji, zu,

1 Nakata 1972, pp.252-253.
2 Mabuchi 1971, p.138.
3 Katakoto appears to be concerned primarily with the colloquial
language, in which the ka-k^{W}a distinctions (only to be found in Sino-
Japanese morphemes) would tend to become blurred more easily than in
the more cultured speech which in view of his erudition Keichū prob-
ably took as a standard, and so despite the situation regarding ka
and kuwa as reflected in Katakoto, Keichū's speech may well still have
had the ka-k^{W}a distinction.

dzu). Other points are dealt with in the Miscellaneous Theories section, e.g. the homophonous nature of au, wou, ou, etc. That is to say, it would seem that Keichū dealt with all discrepancies between historical kana spellings and the contemporary pronunciation (cf. the aspect of historical works on kana usage as catalogues of sound-change -- vd. KJTN, on'in-shi entry). A section on ka and kuwa however is conspicuous only by its absence, and the present writer interprets this as meaning that Keichū did not deal with these kana as problem-atical because in Keichū's speech ka and kuwa still had discrete phonological references, viz. /ka/ and /kwa/ respectively (so too with the voiced equivalents /ga/ and /gwa/).[1]

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[1] Although Keichū does not set up a separate section for ka and kuwa, entries with kuwa (representing k^wa) are not entirely absent from his kana usage works. This however does not seem to indicate the loss of the ka-k^wa distinction, but simply to shew the reader that the second kana sign for words with k^wa should be wa and not ha. This assumption is based on the note to kuwansau "day lily" in WJSH:

萱草	kuwansau	Genji monogatari has kuwazau-iro: there it was also used to describe the colour of silk.

Wamyō-shō has: 'The on reading of 萱 is the same as 喧 (furigana: kemu). Kango-shō 漢語抄 says, 'Wasuregusa 和須礼久佐 : colloquially pronounced like 環藻 (furigana: kuwamuzau).' '

This word should be pro-nounced kenzau, but it has become the tradition to pronounce it kuwanzau.

Generally speaking, the kana for 界 (furigana: kuwa), 観 (furigana: kuwamu), 会 (furi-gana: kuwai), 罰 (furigana: kuwaku), etc. should all be written with the sign wa, as in kuwanzau. One should not use the sign ha here.

IKZN X, p.220.

Chapter Five

Keichū's _Kana_ Usage Theory: The Beginnings.

The achievements of Keichū can as mentioned earlier be broadly
divided into two categories, viz. _kana_ usage works, and commentaries
on the Japanese classics. The major works in the former category
are WJSH, WJBO,[1] and WJYR.[2] For the beginnings of Keichū's _kana_ usage
theory however we must turn not to one of these works, but to one of
his classical commentaries, namely MYSO. This fact is in itself
highly significant, for it shews that in its inception Keichū's _kana_
usage theory evolved not as a separate study as a result of his
commentaries, but rather as an integral part thereof.[3] That is to say,
for Keichū the study of _kana_ usage was a valuable aid to interpretation
of the language of the Japanese classics.

Although Keichū spent much time from an early age studying the
ancient literature of Japan, it was not until he actually came to
compile a commentary on the Man'yōshū that he began to perceive the
order and unity of the ancient _kana_ usage.[4] As Tokieda has already
pointed out,[5] although compilation by Keichū of a _Man'yōshū_ commentary
meant that he came into close contact with the written language
therein, this did not ipso facto lead to perception of the order and
unity of the ancient _kana_ usage; this is clear from the fact that
Man'yōshū commentaries had been compiled in the past[6] without this

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1 Waji shōran tsūbō-shō 和字正濫通防抄 , completed 1697. A
defence by Keichū of his theories in WJSH in answer to strong crit-
icism by Tachibana Narikazu 橘成員 in WJKK (vd. p.234 below).
2 Waji shōran yōryaku 和字正濫要略 , completed 1698. A supp-
lement to WJSH.
3 Vd. Tokieda 1932.
4 Concerning the possible influence of Jōshun in the development of
Keichū's view of _kana_ usage, vd. p.69 below.
5 Op.cit., p.695.
6 E.g. Man'yōshū chūshaku, compiled by Sengaku 仙覚 . In this
commentary, _kun_ readings were given in the traditional (i.e. Teika)
kana usage.

order and unity being discovered. Keichū's discovery was due to his

independent academic approach based on objectivism, characteristic

of the new intellectual spirit of the late 17th century in Japan.

In considering the beginnings of Keichū's kana usage theory, Jap-

anese scholars usually refer to the postscript added by Jōshun to the

Jakuin Jōshun-bon Man'yōshū (1353).[1] In this postscript, Jōshun

pointed out discrepancies between the Teika kana usage and kana

usage in the Man'yōshū, noting that the latter was consistent even

in distinguishing words (of the same pronunciation) such as toho

"distant" and towo "ten".[2] That is to say, the order and unity of

kana usage in the Man'yōshū had already been noted by Jōshun in the

14th century, and it is considered that this may have provided Keichū

with the inspiration for his own kana usage theory. However, since

Keichū does not appear to refer to Jōshun or his Man'yōshū postscript,[3]

it remains a matter for speculation whether Keichū in fact saw the

postscript or not. If we assume that Keichū did not see this post-

script,[4] then we can only conclude that he made the discovery of the

order of the ancient kana usage independently. If on the other hand

it be assumed that Keichū did see Jōshun's postscript prior to com-

piling MYSO, the significance of his work is scarcely diminished, for

Keichū was still the first to apply the principles in Jōshun's post-

script widely to his interpretation of the classics in general, and

to advocate that kana spellings be based on kana usage in such works

as the Man'yōshū and Wamyō-shō. Whereas Jōshun merely noted the

unity of kana usage in the Man'yōshū, and based kun readings directly

1 E.g. Yamada 1929, p.67; KJTN, WJSH entry; Nakata 1972, p.55.
2 Vd. p.44 above.
3 I use the word "appear" advisedly here because in KJTN (WJSH entry)
it is noted that Keichū refers to Jōshun in MYSI. However, I have
been unable to locate the relevant passage. Also, according to Yama-
uchi (Saeki 1961, p.146), Keichū used the version of Man'yōshū having
Jōshun's postscript, but this is something the present writer has not
been able to establish independently.
4 I.e. prior to compiling MYSI.

on phonetic Man'yōgana writings instead of on the Teika kana usage,

Keichū adopted a more positive and thorough-going approach to his

discovery both in his annotation of the classics and in the advocation

of a drastic revision of kana spellings. It seems almost certain that

Jōshun and Keichū were influenced in their approaches by very different

intellectual climates: in 14th century Japan, scholarship was still

based on the traditional teachings, which were on the whole accepted

without question irrespective of merits or demerits. Also at that

time, Teika was held in the very highest regard, mainly on account

of his outstanding reputation as a poet. In view of these circumstan-

ces, it seems unlikely that Jōshun had in mind change as radical as

that advocated by Keichū some three centuries later.[1] Even as it was,

Jōshun was still an Athanasius contra mundum, for his postscript had

little if any influence on kana usage theory of the time, and the

Teika kana usage continued to be used among the literati until into

the 18th century. In Keichū's day on the other hand the academic

climate was undergoing drastic change, and the new intellectual free-

dom meant that not only was Keichū able to formulate and openly

expound a new and radical theory, but that its value was recognised

and accepted by other scholars as the new norm. This then was a

difference in the approach to academic study and learning: another

big difference was in the object of study, which changed from things

Chinese to the native Japanese culture. In this sense, Keichū's

writings on kana, or "Japanese signs" (waji) as they were also called,

are highly representative of the new intellectual currents of the age.

The most well-known of Keichū's kana usage works is of course

WJSH. In this work Keichū sets out the kana spellings for some two

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1 This supposition is supported by the fact that at the same time as
pointing out differences between kana usage in Man'yōshū and the Teika
kana usage, Jōshun expressly states that in the normal way (i.e. other
than when adding glosses to the Man'yōshū) he too follows only the
Teika kana usage.

thousand words, most of which occur in works written before about
1000 A.D. In some cases Keichū discusses the _kana_ spelling for a
particular word at considerable length. From the viewpoint of exam-
ination and analysis of the principles of Keichū's _kana_ usage theory
however WJSH by itself is unsatisfactory in that it is non-explicit
concerning several aspects of _kana_ usage theory. Passages in Keichū's
earlier work MYSO are valuable in this respect, since they supplement
information in WJSH, and at the same time enable us to see the devel-
opment of Keichū's _kana_ usage theory. For these reasons examination
of _kana_ usage theory in WJSH itself is prefaced by a chapter on _kana_
usage theory in MYSO. Selected excerpts from the two versions are
set out below, and are in both cases followed by a criticism.

1. MYSI:[1] Translated Excerpts.[2]

206. "Attention should be paid to kana-gaeshi 假名反 [3]
      For example, the phrase written _Yoshino ni aru_ 吉野本在
      is read _Yoshino naru_ because the _hansetsu_ of _nia_ is _na_.
      雪消 (_yuki-kie_) is read _yuki-ke_ because the _hansetsu_
      of _kie_ is _ke_. The word _kunuchi_ in _kunuchi kotokoto_
      misemashi mono wo is _kuni-uchi_: this is because the
      hansetsu of _niu_ is _nu_. Generally speaking this sort
      of thing happens in poems, and only when a sign for
      one of the vowels _a_, _i_, _u_, _we_, _wo_ occurs in lower pos-
      ition in a word. Even if _kana-gaeshi_ does occur apart
      from this, instances of it must be infrequent. Read-
      ing 天降付 (_ame furitsuku_) as _amoritsuku_ is a case of

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1   The title Man'yō daishō-ki means "Account of The Man'yōshū (Written)
In Place of The Master". Hisamatsu (IKZN I, p.636) interprets "The
Master" of the title as referring to Shimokōbe Chōryū in MYSI, but to
Tokugawa Mitsukuni (otherwise known as Giko 義公) in MYSF. In MYSI
Keichū quotes many of Chōryū's theories, but in MYSF the name of
Chōryū is not to be found. In compiling MYSF, Keichū made use of the
Yonten-pon variorum text of the Man'yōshū compiled by Mitsukuni.
2   The numerals to the extreme left of the translation indicate the
page number in IKZN I.
3   Term used by Keichū to explain a _kana_ syllable in a particular
word by derivation from two others, e.g. _na_ from _ni_ and _a_ in the case
of (Yoshino) _naru_ (from Yoshino ni aru). Named kana-gaeshi by Keichū
because the principle involved was similar to that of the _hansetsu_
反切 (Chi. fan ch'ieh) method, in which the pronunciation of a
character was shewn by means of two others (vd. p.225 below, note 2).

the hansetsu[1] of the characters 禾 and 布 (mo), and is
an exception.[1]

The priest Myōgi 明魏 [2] said that signs of the type
wo and o, e and we, and i and wi should all be used
interchangeably.[3] This amounts to considering their
interchangeable aspect (tsū 通)[4] without being aware of
the distinction (betsu 別) between them. The inter-
relationship of tsū and betsu is for example like that
of the woof and warp that make up a piece of cloth.

207.   The individual characteristic of each sign is like
the difference between wo and o. Since the interchange-
ability of which Myōgi spoke is as mentioned above, he
tended to write with the sign o the case particle which
is written wo in the Man'yōshū. This he probably wrote
on considering the meaning of tsū ("interchangeability").

I have yet to think out properly the distinction
between e and we. I and wi are well distinguished.
Apart from this there is a great deal of confusion over
the spellings of the ends of words:

ro and ra:	utsurofu	("to move")
	marauto	("visitor")
ha and wa:	ihafu	("to congratulate")
	urawa	("bay")
i and hi:	koi	(?)
	kohi	("love")
ho and wo:	shiho	("salt")
	uwo	("fish")
he and we:	ihe	("house")
	kowe	("voice")

1 That is to say, according to the kana-gaeshi principle one would
expect mu here instead of mo.
2 Buddhist name of Fujiwara Nagachika 藤原長親 (also known as
Kōun Sannin 耕雲散人). Kokugakusha and poet; died 1429. Comp-
iler of Shin'yō waka-shū 新葉和歌集 . Myōgi wrote a kana usage
work entitled Yamato katakana hansetsu gige 倭片假名反切義解   :
this is said to have had a considerable influence on kana usage
studies (vd. KJTN, Yamato katakana hansetsu gige entry). In the pre-
face to this work, Myōgi expresses the belief that forty-five katakana
were devised from Chinese characters by Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備   ,
and that with these an onzu was made.
3 It is not clear on what basis Keichū made this statement, for this
idea is not expressed in Yamato katakana hansetsu gige (to be found
in Fukui 1938, pp.27-32).
4 This refers to the concept of sōtsu 相通 , an important principle
in traditional Japanese language studies used to explain different
but related word-forms (e.g. ame ~ ama "rain") in terms of "interchange"
of signs within the same column or row of the onzu. In ame ~ ama (the
latter in amado "rain-shutters" for example) the interchange is
between two ma-column signs. Keichū's criticism here is that Myōgi
misunderstood the principle of sōtsu.

to and ta:	matofu	("to attach around")
	kotafu	("to reply")
chi and shi:[1]	hitsuchi	("resprouting of rice plant after reaping")
	hitsushi	("sheep")
ka and ko:	utakafu	("to doubt")
	kakofu	("to encircle")
yo and we:	mayofu	("to err")
	man'efu	("a myriad leaves")
so and sa:	sasofu	("to invite")
	tatsusafu	("to participate")
tsu and su:[2]	kutsu	("rubbish")
	kusu	("arrowroot vine")
na and no:	kanafu	("to agree")
	totonofu	("to be arranged")
mu and u:	nume[3], ume	("(flowering) plum")
	muma, uma	("horse")
ma and mo:	tamafu	("to bestow")
	omofu	("to love", "to think")
a, wo, and o:	afu	("to encounter")
	ofu	("to bear (on the back)")
	wofu[4]	("to pursue")

1 Keichū was clearly thinking of the dakuon equivalents of these signs here, viz. dji and ji. According to his own account at the end of WJSH maki 5 (IKZN X, p.274), in the speech of the capital both these signs had the same pronunciation, namely i.
2 Here again, the dakuon equivalents of these two signs are intended, viz. dzu and zu (both zu in Keichū's language – vd. IKZN X, p.274).
3 The items under the heading "mu and u" constitute a class of their own in this list. In all the other groups Keichū sets out words which contain sequences identical in pronunciation but different in kana spelling (e.g. hitsuchi – hitsushi) – the examples under each heading are in mutual contrast. The examples under "mu and u" however are not in contrast; nor are the problematical kana in question at the end of each word (as the remarks immediately before the list would lead the reader to expect), but at the beginning: two words are given, each with two different kana spellings. In all other cases there is just one kana spelling for each item (which is intended as normative), but here Keichū gives no indication which of the two spellings for ume "(flowering) plum" and for uma "horse" is to be taken as the correct one. In fact, that Keichū should give both u- and mu- form spellings in a list of spellings which is intended to be normative in itself suggests that he regarded both forms of these words as acceptable.
4 Keichū's spelling for this word is erroneous, since the evidence indicates initial o-. E.g. 生 ほ ohi (CF), Man'yōshū 804; 追 ゆ ofu Man'yōshū 4011. Since the form ofu is to be found in Man'yōgana in the Man'yōshū itself, we must attribute Keichū's spelling wofu to inadvertency.

[Other kana spellings] can be known on the analogy
of the above. Kana in this anthology and in Nihongi,[1]
Shoku Nihongi, Engi shiki 延喜式 , Wamyō-shū 和名集[2]
and the like are in mutual agreement. Since present-
day kana usage differs considerably from that in
these works, one should follow the ancient writings,
in which kana usage is on the whole in mutual agree-
ment.

Since there are distinctions [between kana signs]
there is also the (name→) concept of interchange.
[The concept of] interchange should not be used con-
jointly with that of distinction until one is first
well acquainted with the [concept of] distinction [of
kana signs]. The fact is that, as the interchange of
which Myōgi wrote is used in violation of [the prin-
ciple of] distinction, he did not understand even [the
principle of] interchange [of signs]. ——.

208.　　　Question: Where is it to be found that the number
of kana was limited to forty-seven signs, and that
the present-day iroha was composed by Kōbō Daishi?

Answer: Generally speaking there are fifty sounds
to express every sound there is: this will be spoken
of later. With regard to the forty-seven signs, in
the preface to the Senzai waka-shū[3] 千載和歌集
it is written:

> 'Study of the art of waka poetry does not in-
> volve study of the extensive literature of
> China and Japan; nor does it lie in becoming
> enlightened in the profound teachings of The
> Buddha in Deer Park or on Vulture Peak. The
> composition of waka is a practice whereby
> one's feelings are put into words within the
> confines of just forty-seven kana signs. For
> this very reason therefore, those who simply
> compose poems made up of thirty-one signs are
> considered to have achieved signal success in
> the art of waka poetry.'

Since present-day scholars are neither talented nor
learned, they have yet to see beyond these forty-seven
signs . It is difficult to say whether these forty-
seven signs were distinguished from of old, or whether
they were determined from when Kōbō Daishi composed
the iroha poem. ——.

In the iroha poem Kōbō Daishi distinguished i and
wi, wo and o, and e and we. Lord Toshinari[4] too spoke
of forty-seven signs. The priest Myōgi, however, on
chancing to see a case where two signs interchanged,
tried to confound the distinction between them. This
was a great error.

1　I.e. the Man'yōshū.
2　Although there are two separate works entitled Wamyō-shū (one a
work on medicine, the other on language), in fact Feichū is referring
to the Wamyō-shō. Vd. p.62 above, note 2.
3　An anthology compiled on Imperial command by Fujiwara Toshinari
藤原俊成　(1113-1204) and presented in 1187.
4　I.e. Fujiwara Toshinari. Vd. preceding note.

If such free interchange were correct, then what
of Emperor Ninken 仁賢 and Emperor Kenzō 顕宗 , who
were brothers? Ninken was first called Oke no ohokimi,
and Kenzō was called Woke no ohokimi - o being the o
in oku, wo being the sign used in kuchi no wo. I
do not know which of the three types of accent should
be said here or how, but if it was inquired of one
who knew the origin of these, then there should be an
audible distinction between them. If it seemed that
men who spoke with a strong dialect could not disting-
uish in pronunciation hashi "bridge", hashi "edge",
and hashi "chopsticks", then would the Imperial broth-
ers have been given such confusing names? Myōgi was
probably unable to distinguish wo, o, etc. in speech
or writing.

All speech sounds are confined to fifty sounds.
"Fifty sounds" refers to the existence of ten types of
five sounds from a, i, u, we, wo to wa, wi, u, e, o.
In the section on written signs (moji-bon) in the
Nehan-gyō Sutra it is written: ————

In this sutra fifty signs are expounded, not fifty
sounds. With regard to taking that which is common to
these fifty signs to make fourteen sounds, teachers of
China and Japan are of divers and varied opinions in
the explanation of this. Of the various theories, I
will quote the interpretation of the priest Shinpan
信範 , since it is of importance here: regarding the
Fourteen Sounds, a, i, u, we, wo make up a series of
five, and ka, sa, ta, na, ha, ma, ya, ra, wa make up a
series of nine — this gives a total of fourteen sounds.
When the nine signs are made the consonants of other
syllables, and the five signs the vowels, thirty-six
sounds are produced. And so the nine signs ka, etc.

1   The meaning of this expression is obscure.
2   In the Kyoto dialect of Keichū's day (as in the present day too)
these words all had different pitch patterns. Vd. KJTN, pp.994-995.
3   Conceptually wu - vd. p.124 below.
4   For the translation of this quotation, vd. p.60 above.
5   Various and conflicting theories evolved in both China and Japan
concerning the identity of the fourteen sounds (Mabuchi K. considers
them to be the fourteen vowels of Sanskrit) referred to in the Nehan-
gyō Sutra. Vd. Mabuchi 1962, pp.1-10.
6   Born 1223. The works of Shinpan on Shittan include Shittan shishō
悉曇私鈔 (1260), Zenshin-oshō shidai-ki bunshaku 全員和尚次第
記文釋 (1284), Kyūrō jūchū-zu shishaku 九牢十級圖私釋 (1285),
and Shittan hiden-ki 悉曇秘傳記 (1296).
7   Keichū misrepresents the theory of Shinpan slightly here, for Shin-
pan considered the first five sounds to be a, i, u, e, wo (Mabuchi
1962, p. 578). Since Keichū was confused about e and we at this stage,
it seems likely that his we for Shinpan's e was simply a mistake rather
than a positive attempt at "correction".
8   In traditional Sanskrit theory, the vowel a was considered to be
inherent within each consonant: this is why Keichū refers to the nine
signs (ka, sa, ta, etc.) here as though they were consonants.

are like the father, and the five signs a, etc. are
like the mother. The thirty-six signs ki, ku, ke, ko,
etc. are like the children. Since the fifty signs
expounded in the Nehan-gyō Sutra and the forty-seven
signs in Shittan jiki 悉曇字記 all have the Four-
teen Sounds as their basis, they are both expositions
upon the Fourteen Sounds. Of the forty-seven signs
(gen 言) devised by Brahmadeva, twelve are called mata
(vowel) signs. Mata is Sanskrit: in China it has
been translated both as "dots and lines" (點畫) and
as "vowel" (韻). There are twelve signs if they are
all differentiated, but if one takes the common elem-
ents of these there are just the five signs a, i, u,
we, wo. The other thirty-five signs are called taimon
體文 (consonants): they form the body (tai) of the
signs. If one takes the common elements of these signs
too, they are included in the nine signs ka, sa, etc.
The way in which the Fourteen Sounds produce the other
thirty-six sounds will now be shewn collectively in a
chart provisionally by means of Chinese characters,
on the analogy of the rules for signs in Sanskrit.

(The manuscript has a blank space here. A note
added by Jikan reads: 'This chart is in Waji
shōran-shō. It is not here now.')

213.   If one discusses [the onzu] in terms of Sanskrit,
then there are no doubt an infinite number of meanings.
Recently the priest Jōgon of Enmeiji 延命寺 Temple in
Kawachi Province compiled Shittan sanmitsu-shō, a work
in eight maki including the preface, thus making Sans-
krit easy even for children. The reader should refer
to pages nineteen to forty of the first volume: as
Jōgon says in the syllabic chart made up of Sanskrit
signs, the shapes of the signs are separate, so the
three i, the two u, the three we, and the two wo
sound the same, but they are not confounded. There
must be a reason for the present-day iroha to have two
i, two we, and two wo; but to be lacking three sounds,

1 Chi. Hsit'an tzuchi. A work by the Chinese priest Chih-kuang
知廣 (Jap. Chikō). According to KJTN (Shittan entry), Shittan
jiki became a standard work after being appraised highly by the
Shittan scholar Annen 安然 . Vd. Van Gulik 1957, pp. 22-24.
2 Jap. Bonnō 梵王 .
3 Skt. mātṛ "vowel".
4 The discussion has now changed from the forty-seven basic signs
of Sanskrit to the fifty theoretical syllables of the syllabic chart.
5 Imai Jikan 今井似閑 , a follower of Keichū.
6 Vd. p.51 above, note 1.
7 The section Keichū refers the reader to here treats of the shapes
of signs, and speech sounds; it also includes a syllabic chart. The
section appears to correspond to the section of Shittan sanmitsu-shō
entitled "Initial Introduction, Part Six" (sho-sōron, roku). Vd.
Takakusu 1924, Volume 84.
8 Viz. a- and ya-column i.
9 Viz. a- and wa-column u.
10 Viz. a-, ya-, and wa-column we (position of we erroneous in KYSI).
11 Viz. a- and wa-column wo (o and wo erroneously positioned through-
out Keichū).

namely the i which is produced from ya, and the u and
we produced from wa. One should inquire of scholars
of Shittan concerning this. [These signs] should not be
mixed up at random.

MYSI: Criticism.

If kana usage theory in MYSI[1] seems rough and ready compared with

that in MYSF and WJSH, it should be remembered that this was Keichū's

first attempt at setting out his ideas on the subject. When one

considers the complex interrelationship between the various elements

of historical kana usage theory - the syllabic chart, the iroha, the

three pairs of kana i-wi, e-we, o-wo, use of source documents, etc.,

is it not understandable that in its early stages Keichū's theory

should be deficient or erroneous in some respect?

Although erroneous in points of detail, the basic principle of

Keichū's kana usage theory, i.e. that all forty-seven kana of the

iroha should be distinguished in accordance with kana spellings in

such works as the Man'yōshū and Wamyō-shō, is already to be found in

MYSI:

> 'Since present-day kana usage differs considerably
> from that in these works,[2] one should follow the anc-
> ient writings, in which kana usage is on the whole
> in mutual agreement.'[3]

Three distinct points are reflected here. Firstly, awareness of the

consistent nature of the ancient kana usage.[4] Secondly, recognition

of discrepancies between the ancient kana usage and the Teika kana

usage. And thirdly, recommendation that the ancient kana usage be

followed in preference to the contemporary system of kana spellings

(the Teika spellings). Unlike Jōshun, Keichū does not specify the

limits within which the ancient kana usage is to be used.

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1   Compiled c.1683-1687.
2   Vd. p.74 above.
3   IKZN I, p.207.
4   Here, as elsewhere in this thesis, "ancient kana usage" with ref-
erence to Keichū means usage of kana (mainly Man'yōgana) in works such
as the Man'yōshū within the limits of the forty-seven signs of the iroha,
and does not extend to the kō and otsu distinctions in Man'yōgana, of
which Keichū was not aware.

In the above excerpts Keichū is clearly at pains to refute what
he believed to be the argument of Myōgi relating to i-wi, e-we, and
o-wo,[1] maintaining that these signs also should be distinguished in
use. The argument Keichū puts forward concerning why these signs
should be distinguished in use is sound, and displays a clear logic
which derives from the objective attitude that Keichū normally (but
not always) adopted in his researches. On the basis of the fact
that Emperor Ninken and Emperor Kenzō, who were brothers, were called
Oke no ohokimi and Woke no ohokimi respectively, and that the only
distinguishing feature between the two names is the difference of
o-wo, Keichū reasons that a difference in pronunciation must exist
(or have existed) between these two signs.[2]

Although Keichū was convinced that wo and o (also i and wi, and
e and we) should be distinguished in use, and that some difference in
pronunciation existed between these signs, at the time of compiling
MYSI he had not yet arrived at a correct understanding of the precise
nature of that difference. For in the passage relating to Oke no
ohokimi and Woke no ohokimi, Keichū looks for the difference in pro-
nunciation in wo and o in accent, while at the same time considering
wo as belonging to the a-column of the syllabic chart, and o as
belonging to the wa-column: one can only conclude that at this stage
Keichū's understanding of the pair o-wo (and also e-we) was confused.[3]

With regard to other signs which constituted a problem of kana
usage, Keichū set these out in the form of a contrastive list of

1 Concerning Keichū's understanding of these three pairs of kana,
vd. Chapter 10 below.
2 It is interesting to note that the principle underlying Keichū's
argument here is virtually the same as that of minimal pairs in mod-
ern linguistic theory.
3 In MYSI, Keichū seems to have understood only the pair i-wi.

kana signs or combinations of kana signs which are of the same pro-
nunciation in Keichū's own language but which are spelt differently
in the ancient kana usage. The signs which Keichū contrasts are as
follows:

1 ro and ra.

2 ha and wa.

3 i and hi.

4 ho and wo.

5 he and we.

6 to and ta.

7 chi and shi.[1]

8 ka and ko.

9 yo and we.

10 so and sa.

11 tsu and su.[2]

12 ra and no.

13 mu and u.

14 ma and mo.

15 a, o, and wo.[3]

Keichū's categorisation in groups 1, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14 here is

unconventional, and is not to be found in his later kana usage

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1 The dakuon equivalents dji and ji are intended here.
2 The dakuon equivalents dzu and gu are intended here.
3 The words Keichū gives within each group in the list as examples
of spellings which might easily be confused are as follows: 1 utsu-
rofu, marauto; 2 ihafu, urawa; 3 koi, kohi; 4 shiho, uwo; 5 ihe,
kowe; 6 matofu, kotafu; 7 hitsuchi, hitsushi; 8 utakafu, kakofu;
9 mayofu, man'efu; 10 sasofu, tatsusafu; 11 kutsu, kusu; 12 ka-
nafu, totonofu; 13 mume, ume; muma, uma; 14 tamafu, omofu; 15 afu,
ofu, wofu.
  Analysed in terms of the phonological changes that resulted in
the twice-underscored kana transliterations coming to represent
identical phonemes or sequences of phonemes, the above list can be
broken down as follows:

long vowel merger (ɔ: and o: merge as o:)	: groups 1, 6, 8-10, 12, 14, 15	(total: 8)
ha-gyō tenko-on (vd. p.24 above)	: " 2-5	(total: 4)
yottsugana	: " 7, 11	(total: 2)

As noted earlier (p.73), group 13 is anomalous here. Concerning the
situation underlying u ~ mu variation, vd. pp.26-27.

writings. If we look at the examples of words in these six groups, then we see that in each case the signs of the headings occur as the first of two signs to represent what in Keichū's language was the long vowel [o:]. Thus for example under the heading "ro and ra" are given the two words utsurofu and marauto, phonetically [utsuro:] and [maro:do] respectively: that is to say, the same sequence [ro:] is represented by the different spellings rofu and rau in these two words.

Keichū's treatment of spellings in these six groups of words, in which each word is classified according to the first constituent sign of two which together make up the notation of a long vowel ([o:]) in Keichū's language, can be criticised as being unnecessarily complicated: an equally valid — and more efficient — classification would be to arrange these words in terms not of the first constituent sign in the long vowel notation, but on the second constituent sign. Under this classification utsurofu would appear in a section on words with -fu, and marauto in a section on words with -u. The advantage in simplicity of layout is clear, since under such a schema the eight contrastive groups (1, 6, 8-10, 12, 14, 15) would be reduced to two (viz. -fu and -u). It would appear that between the time of compiling MYSI and rewriting it in the form of MYSF Keichū himself perceived the advantage of such an arrangement in terms of the second constituent sign of long vowels, since this is in fact the type of classification he adopts from MYSF onwards.

An irregular feature of MYSI is that although there is a space in the manuscript for an onzu, there is in fact no such onzu in the text. A note[1] added by Keichū's follower Imai Jikan to the manuscript just above the space for the onzu suggests that there may have been an onzu in the text at an earlier stage,[2] but that Keichū later

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1 Viz., "This chart is in Waji shōran-shō. It is not here now."
2 Toda is of this opinion — vd. Toda 1944, p.304.

omitted it for some reason. Keichū's view of the forty-seven kana with regard to the positioning of each sign (especially those in the a-, ya-, and wa-columns) was still in a formative stage at this time, and he may consequently have decided against setting out a formal onzu after all. Despite this, Keichū's concept of the positioning of signs in the onzu was inevitably reflected in his statements relating to changes in word-forms through interchange (sōtsū), in his view of the Fourteen Sounds, and so on.

As Toda observes (loc.cit.), the above note by Jikan would lead one to believe that the onzu that had been in MYSI was identical to that in WJSH, but in fact this is not so, as will be shewn below. Although there is no onzu as such in MYSI, we are nevertheless able to reconstruct Keichū's concept of the onzu at this stage by means of information in the text. In the above excerpts[1] from MYSI there is the statement: " "Fifty sounds" refers to the existence of ten types of five sounds from a, i, u, we, wo to wa, wi, u, e, o. " That Keichū considered the fifty sounds of human language to be contained within the fifty syllables of the onzu is clear from his explanation of the structure of the onzu in terms of the vowels and consonants that go to make up the individual signs.[2] The two groups of five sounds referred to here clearly constitute the a- and wa-columns of an onzu. Apart from these two columns, there is one more column which Keichū may have had a mistaken understanding of, and which cannot be inferred directly from the above excerpts, viz. the ya-column. In the main part of MYSI however changes in word-forms are explained in terms of interchange of the following signs: i-ya (AKZN I, p.579), we-ya (ibid., p.750), yo-we (ibid., p.815), ya-yo (AKZN II, p.33), i-yu (ibid.,

1 Vd. p.75 above.
2 Vd. p.75 above.

p.35), ya-yu (ibid., p.297). Since the interchange principle in-volved two signs both of which were either in the same column or the same row of the onzu, and in the case of these five interchanges the signs are not of the same row of the onzu, we may conclude that they are all cases of interchange within the ya-column, which may accord-ingly be reconstructed as ya, i, yu, we, yo.[1]

Keichū's concept of the onzu at the time of MYSI can therefore be tentatively set out as follows:[2]

a-column	ya-column	wa-column
a	ya	wa
i	i	wi
u	yu	u
we	we	e
wo	yo	o

Although such misplacing of kana in the onzu constitutes a weak point in Keichū's general kana usage theory, it should be pointed out that this in itself in no way invalidates his rendering of Man'yōgana spellings into iroha-gana, for this was a completely separate process. That is to say, the fact that Keichū regarded for example wo as belonging to the a-column (and o to wa-column) does not mean that be-cause of this his kana spellings for words containing o and wo are incorrect: for example, Keichū found the Man'yōgana writing 乎乎利 (Man'yōshū 1012), and rendered this in iroha-gana as wowori. The pro-cess involved here is solely that of identifying which iroha-gana each phonetic Man'yōgana represents: the extent to which Keichū's rendering of Man'yōgana into iroha-gana was accurate depended there-fore exclusively on the correct identification of Man'yōgana, and had nothing to do with changes or errors in his concept of the position-ing of the forty-seven kana in the onzu.

1 For this reconstruction of Keichū's ya-column in MYSI I have relied entirely on information in Toda's article -- vd. p.80 , note 2.
2 Only the a-, ya-, and wa-columns are given here, all other columns being the same as in the modern onzu.

Although the layout of problems of _kana_ usage, and certain aspects of _kana_ usage theory were amended in his subsequent _kana_ usage writings, the foundations of Keichū's general _kana_ usage theory were already laid in MYSI. Two important characteristics of Keichū's language works noted above – the esoteric view of language (especially with regard to the meanings of individual signs) and the heavy influence of _Shittan_ theory – are to be seen clearly here in MYSI, as also in later works.[1]

2. MYSF.

Passages relating to _kana_ usage and _kana_ usage theory in the General Introduction (_sōshaku_) to MYSF are gathered together under the heading _Shūchū kana no koto_ "Concerning _Kana_ in This Anthology (_Man'yōshū_)". _Kana_ usage theory in MYSF shows progress over that in MYSI:[2] the unconventional groupings of _kana_ easily confused with each other (vd. p.79 above) are abandoned in favour of a more efficient classification; the position of _e_ and _we_ in the _onzu_ is corrected; Keichū arrives at a view of the relationship of the forty-seven signs of the iroha to the fifty sounds of the _onzu_ that facilitates his explanation of changes in word-forms through interchange (_sōtsū_); and, most importantly, detailed descriptions are given of the phonetic differences in the three pairs of kana _i-wi_, _e-we_, and _wo-o_.[3]

The _kana_ usage theory of Keichū is first to be found in MYSI (compiled c.1683–1687), then in MYSF (compiled c.1687–1690), and subsequently in WJSH (compiled c.1686 (?)[4]–1693). Since MYSI and MYSF

1 Except WJYR – possibly because of its brevity.
2 This was only natural, since Keichū's understanding of and familiarity with Man'yōgana deepened in the compilation of MYSF.
3 For some reason Japanese scholars have failed to realise the significance of these phonetic descriptions in terms of Keichū's _kana_ usage theory. Vd. Chapter 10 below.
4 Concerning the date at which Keichū started to compile WJSH, vd. p.101 below.

are different versions of the same work, in which the amount of space

devoted to kana usage in terms of the work as a whole is small,

whereas WJSH purports to be a work devoted exclusively to kana usage,

it might readily be assumed that kana usage theory in the two versions

of MYSO is at more or less a similar stage, this being developed con-

siderably in WJSH. Comparative examination of the three works however

reveals that in fact Keichū's general kana usage theory advanced

little after MYSF, and that the major advance in kana usage theory

in these three works is not between MYSF and WJSH, but between MYSI

and MYSF. Also, MYSF is explicit upon several points of kana usage

which Keichū does not touch on in WJSH. Herein lies the value of

MYSF from the viewpoint of the present thesis.

MYSF, Shūchū kana no koto: Translated Excerpts.

182. ————.[1] Continuing on from this,[2] fifty signs are expounded

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1 The first part of Shūchū kana no koto is essentially an exposition
upon language in general. The main points can be summarised as foll-
ows:

1) an excerpt from Nihongi sanso 日本紀纂疏 (a commentary by
Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一條兼良 on the earliest part of Nihon shoki)
relating to the readings and meanings of the character 倭 wa.
2) the following quotation from the Kusha-ron 倶舎論 (a comment-
ary of Hinayana Buddhism): "All the deities produce holy sounds;
it is said that their language is identical to that of Central
India."
3) the following excerpt from the Daitō seiiki-ki 大唐西域記
(Chi. Ta-t'ang hsiyü-chi. An account by the T'ang priest Hsüan-
chuang 玄奘 of his travels in India and Central Asia; compiled
646 A.D.):

"As to their (i.e. the Indian) writing, it was created by the
god Brahma and this script has, from the beginning (till now)
remained the fixed model. It consists of 47 syllables, which
can be combined so as to form words for all objects, and mod-
ified so as to answer all requirements. From this script
there developed several others which spread far and wide,
showing slight modifications according to the place where
it was used and the people who employed it; but its main
features remained the same. The Sanskrit used in Central
India is the most explicit and correct. The manner of
speech is harmonious and elegant, its sounds are the same
as those of the gods; its enunciation is clear and bright,
it serves as the model for all (other parts of India)."
Van Gulik 1957, p.15.

- not fifty sounds. Teachers of China and Japan are of divers opinions concerning the Fourteen Sounds which these fifty signs have in common. The interpretation of the priest Shinpan regarding these Fourteen Sounds is that a, i, u, e, wo make up a series of five, and ka, sa, ta, na, ha, ma, ya, ra, wa make up a series of nine, giving a total of fourteen. The interpretation of Shinpan was that The Buddha expounded upon fourteen sounds, since no signs go beyond the confines of these.

183.   Firstly, at the beginning of the various sounds there is a.[2] The beginning of the various signs is also the sign a. This is the meaning in the sutras where it is expounded that 'the sign a is the origin of the various Laws of The Buddha; it was not created, but existed from time immemorial'. The sound a first becomes i by contact with the tongue. It becomes u by contact with the lips. E is the "end-vowel"[3] from i: this is because when e is pronounced, at first there is a light u sound, and it is like saying uo rapidly. A is the original form of the various sounds: since it produces the four vowels i, u, e, wo, and the nine signs ka, sa, ta, na, ha, ma, ya, ra, wa - of which it forms the vowels - it is considered to be a sign which is at once a vowel and a consonant. -----[4]

I now set out a table of the fifty sounds using Japanese signs[5] on the analogy of the rules of Sanskrit writing.

184.   (Explanatory note over onzu): Vertically in the onzu a is like the father; horizontally it is like the mother. Vertically a is like the warp of a piece of cloth; horizontally it is like the woof. Vertically there is interchange of the vowel; horizontally there is interchange of the consonant.

A translation of this passage into Japanese is to be found in Mizutani, Daitō seiiki-ki, p.62 (Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei vol.22; pub.1971).

4) concerning the decadent state of the Korean and Chinese tongues.

5) concerning the articulation of speech (a similar passage is to be found in WJSH maki 1 - vd. p.118 below).

6) a quotation from the chapter on signs (moji-bon) of the Nehan-gyō Sutra (the same quotation appears in MYSI - vd. p.60-61 above).

2 Viz., the Nehan-gyō moji-bon quotation.

1 Here, Keichū correctly identifies e as an a-column sign. Cf. MYSI, p.75 above.

2 The graph a in Sanskrit was considered as the source of all other graphs, in which it was inherent. Vd. Daitō shuppansha 1965, a entry.

3 Matsuin 末韻 .

4 The description of a is followed by descriptions in turn of i, u, e, wo, and of the principle of vowels and consonants.

5 I.e. kana.

The preceding signs are the Five Groups (goju 五十)[1] in Skt. writing.

The following signs are man-kosei[2] in Skt. writing.

	a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa
Guttural. Both consonant and vowel. Origin that produces the various syllables.	a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa[3]
Lingual. Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from a.	i	ka i / ki	sa i / shi	ta i / chi	na i / ni	ha i / hi	ma i / mi	ya i / i	ra i / ri	wa i / wi
Labial. Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from a.	u	ka u / ku	sa u / su	ta u / tsu	na u / nu	ha u / fu	ma u / mu	ya u / yu	ra u / ru	u
Tip-lingual (sue shita 舌下). Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from i.	e	ka e / ke	sa e / se	ta e / te	na e / ne	ha e / he	ma e / me	ya e / e	ra e / re	wa e / wo
Tip-labial (sue kuchibiru 唇屑). Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from u.	wo	ka wo / ko	sa wo / so	ta wo / to	na wo / no	ha wo / ho	ma wo / mo	ya wo / yo	ra wo / ro	wa wo / u
	Guttural; produced from a.	Guttural; produced from a.	Lingual; produced from i.	Lingual; produced from i.	Lingual; produced from i.	Labial; produced from u.	Labial; produced from u.	Guttural and lingual; produced from a and i.	Lingual; produced from i.	Guttural and labial; produced from a and u.

184.   With regard to Sanskrit signs: if one speaks in
terms of ka, ki, ku, ke, ko, then when the sign ka is
made the consonant of a sign and i the vowel, it be-
comes ki; when u is made the vowel it becomes ku; when
e is made the vowel it becomes ke; when wo is made the
vowel it becomes ko. The shape of the sign in Sans-
krit does not change.[1] Since this is not the case with
Chinese characters, just now Sanskrit signs were taken
as the model, making the consonant the left-hand part
of the sign and the vowel the right-hand part.

      Of the fifty sounds, the language of our country
has forty-seven: three sounds are missing. These
three sounds are: the i produced from combination of
ya and i; the e produced from combination of ya and e;
and the u produced from combination of wa and u. The
fact is that these are included in the main vowels u,
e, and wo.[2] The reason for this is that when the

185. character is read koyasu, koyu, and koe, there is
an interchange of ya, i, yu, e, yo. The character
is read uwe, but in Book Fifteen of this anthology
there is the form uu resulting from interchange; and
in the chronicle Sujin-ki 崇神紀 in Nihon shoki,
急尾 is read tsukiu.[3] This type involves interchange
of wa, wi, u, we, o: it is not a case of the main
vowels a, i, u, e, wo here.[4] Since however they[5] are
included in the main vowels, there has been an inter-
change with these. Interchange of main vowels is the
type in which uwo "fish" is also pronounced iwo.
But if there were a mutual inclusion of signs, then

(Notes to onzu).
1 Re goku, vd. Shittan sanmitsu-shō, in Takakusu 1924, vol.84, p.735.
2 Mankōsei (alternatively henkōsei 返口聲) is a classificatory
division of sounds in Shittan (vd. KJTN, Shittan entry). Above this
note to the onzu there is another note, also to the ya-column, which
reads: "There is interchange of main vowels and end-vowels in this
column. The signs are those for main vowels." The meaning of this
note is that the theoretical syllables yi and ye are written i and e,
viz. with the signs of a-column i and e respectively. Keichū regard-
ed the theoretical syllables yi and ye as being included within the
main vowels i and e (this he explains in the text subsequent to the
onzu).
3 Above the wa-column there is the note: "Again in this column there
is interchange of main vowel and end-vowel. The sign is that for a
main vowel." In this case, the note refers to the one sign u only.

1 That is to say, in Sanskrit the sign for example for ka is क ; ki,
ku, ke, and ko are written कि ,कु ,के ,को respectively by modifying
the ka sign, which itself remains unchanged. Vd. Macdonell 1911, pp.
3-4.
2 Keichū appears to have become slightly confused here, for to follow
on logically the three syllables should be u, e, and i (not wo).
3 A U.2 verb, the CF of which is tsukiwi.
4 That is to say, theoretically at least, on the basis of other in-
flected forms of koeru and tsukiu, Keichū regarded the e in koeru
and the final u in tsukiu as ya- and wa-column respectively, viz. ye
and wu.
5 I.e. ye and wu.

the wi, we, and o produced from wa should also be in-
cluded -- but half of them are included, and half are
not. [1] I do not know the reason for this: certainly it
must be a profound one.

The widespread iroha was composed by Kōbō Daishi.
The forty-seven sounds therein were made into a piece
in eight verses on the basis of the forty-seven signs
of Sanskrit. [2] The iroha is also a poem. [3] When however
one considers works such as Nihon shoki and Man'yōshū,
up as far as the later Shinsen Man'yōshū, Wamyō-shū,
and so on with regard to the forty-seven sounds, one
finds that these are all identical. The iroha there-
fore is merely an arrangement of these into words,
and the forty-seven signs did not emerge at that
point for the first time.

Of these forty-seven signs, i and wi, wo and o,
and e and we still sound the same. Whenever these
kana appear in a word therefore there is confusion. [4]

Also, there is confusion of the three signs u,
nu, and mu through onbin. [5]

Also, when ha, hi, fu, he, ho come in the latter
parts of words there is confusion with i, u, e, wo,
and with wa, wi, u, we, o.

Also, there is the type in which though 葵 "holly-
hock" is written afuhi in kana, 障泥 "saddle-flap" [6]
is written afuri, 仰 "to look up" is written afugu,
and 倒 "to fall over" is written tafuru, when these
are read, the middle fu sounds like wo.

Also, there is the type in which when the sign
fu comes in the latter part of a word there is con-
fusion through onbin with i and yu, [7] and with ha and
ho.

Also, when chi and shi are in the latter part of
words and voiced, there is confusion. So too with
su and dzu. [8]

Also, there is the type in which the (fu→) bu
in keburi "smoke", kauburi "(Court) cap", and so on
is confused with mu.

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1 The exact meaning of this passage is difficult, but it seems that
Keichū is expressing his lack of understanding of why ya-column i and
e should be "included" in a-column i and e, and why wa-column u should
be "included" in a-column u, while on the other hand wa-column i (wi)
and e (we) are written as separate signs.

2 In Sanskrit studies in China and Japan, the script was tradition-
ally considered to consist of forty-seven letters, although there was
some variation in the exact number (vd. KJTN, Shittan entry), as
appears to be the case with Western Sanskrit studies also.

3 I.e. in addition to being a list of the basic kana signs.

4 As opposed to signs such as ha, hi, fu, he, ho, which are confused
in word-oblique position only.

5 Keichū uses the term onbin to cover a wide range of sound-changes,
not in the modern delimited sense of the term (vd. KJTN, onbin entry).

6 A plant-name.

7 E.g. in homophonous pairs such as ifu "to say" and yufu "to dress
(the hair)".

8 I.e. zu.

With regard to confusion at the beginning of words,
it is difficult to ascertain the correct usage unless
one peruses the ancient writings and follows that
which men of old wrote.

And with regard to confusion in the latter part
of words too, kana usage for words which are nouns only
and do not function as verbs is also difficult to know
if one does not follow the writings of the ancients[1]
Kana usage for words which function both as noun and as
verb, or words which are verbs only is easily known[2]
Now I set out as I recall them those words in this an-
thology of which the kana usage differs from that used
by men of the present day. I do not go into details
concerning words which do not appear in this anthology.

When on this occasion I considered kana in such
works as Wamyō-shū, Nihon shoki, and Shinsen Man'yōshū,
I found that usage was uniform and concurred with that
in this anthology. And, since when one examines kana
usage up to the time of Lord Yukinari[3] it is found to be
no different from kana in this anthology, it seems that
mistakes were gradually made thereafter. Although in
the chronicle Jinmu-ki 神武紀 in Nihon shoki the
character 椎 "pasania" has a note to the effect that it
should be read shihi 辭㕝; and is noted in Wamyō-shū
as shihi 之㕝 ; and although in Book Fourteen of this
anthology it is written shihi 四㕝 , from mediaeval
times it has been written shiwi 之為 , and one hears of
many such cases as shiwi 四位 "Fourth Rank (at Court)"
being associated with this. This is because fundamen-
tals have been forgotten and attention has been paid to
side issues.

In the preface to the Senzai waka-shū it is written:[4]
————.

186.   It appears in Teika's Shūi gusō[5] that on his command
one night in a short space of time forty-seven poems
were composed, each with one of the signs of the iroha
at their head. Therefore the forty-seven signs of
which Lord Toshinari[6] spoke were also those of the iro-
ha. Since it is significant, therefore, one should
inquire into that which is ancient and at least follow
it, even if one does not understand the meaning.

1 Keichū's argument here is that the kana spelling for a non-inflec-
tional word is more difficult to remember than that for an inflected
one, since the latter type occurs in a number of forms – for example,
omofu occurs in the forms omofu, omohi (CF), omohe (PF), omoha (NF) –
and if just one of these forms be remembered then the other forms
can also be analogised (i.e. as omofu is a ha-column verb, the third
syllable of all other forms of this verb is written with a ha-column
kana sign).
2 Since the kana usage for all inflected forms of such words can be
analogised on the basis of one form, as opposed to nouns only, which
must be learnt one by one.
3 Fujiwara Yukinari 藤原行成 (971-1027), noted as a calligrapher.
4 The same passage from Senzai waka-shū occurs in HYSI: vd. p.74
above.
5 Vd. p.36 above, note 2.
6 Vd. p.74 above, note 3.

A certain person said that kana signs should be used quite indiscriminately. The fact is that although there is interchangeability of signs, there are distinctions even within this interchangeability. What interchangeability would there be if there were no distinctions? For example, with regard to the word hito "person": this extends from the Emperor down to a beggar. But should one say on the basis of this interchange that there is no distinction between men of high and low station? He who knows interchange and distinction, interchanging and distinguishing signs on the right occasions, is an intelligent man. If men of high birth were fond of distinctions, and lowly men liked interchange, then the noble and the lowly would not come into contact, nor would they have use for each other. Interchange in the on readings of characters is also like this.

Unless it be a man who knows how to make distinctions in kana, "interchange will be nothing but an empty name, and will result in confusion. Emperor Ninken was called Oke no ohokimi, and Emperor Kenzō was named Woke no ohokimi. 億 (o) is the same as (o), and 弘 (wo) is the same as 遠 (wo). If 遠 (wo) and 於 (o) were confused, how would the two brothers have been distinguished? When you get to here, surely you will close your mouth and shew the flag of defeat!

1 I: the on readings of 伊 , 伊 , etc., and the kun reading of 斧 , etc. are the same as this. This i is "light". The reason for this is that a, ya, and wa are all equally laryngeal sounds, and of these, a is a pure laryngeal sound: therefore it is light. Ya is a laryngeal lingual: therefore it ranks next to a in terms of lightness. Wa is a laryngeal labial: therefore it is "heavy".[2]

With regard to the sounds produced, there are light and heavy, depending on the sounds which produce them. This i is light because it is produced from a, and is the main vowel of the nine signs ki, shi, etc. Most people know the words in which i occurs at the beginning, and are well accustomed to using it there. Here I give words in which i occurs in the lower position in words and is easily confounded. It being a main vowel, there is interchange with the other main vowels. It should be known that there is also the interchange ya, i, yu, e, yo, since i also includes the i produced from ya.

kai 加伊 "oar": Book Two, page twenty-four, etc.

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1 Myōgi, to whom Keichū refers by name in MYSI – vd. p.72 above.
2 "Light" and "heavy" are my rendering of the terms used in historical Japanese language studies (Sino-Jap. kyōjū 軽重) to refer to syllables consisting respectively of vowel only and initial labial glide + vowel. In particular the term was used with reference to the two syllables [o] and [wo] . Vd. KJTN, kyōjū entry.

oi 意伊 : this is (from) oyu "to grow old". The chronicle Kōtoku-ki 孝德紀 in Nihon shoki has 開人 連老 ; a note to this says, "老 is read oyu." This is a case of interchange of the five syllables ya, i, yu, e, yo.

——————1.

2 Wi: the on readings of 韋 , 委 , etc., and the kun readings of 井 ,猪 , etc. are all the same as wi. This wi is the sign for the end-vowel produced by combining wa and i: therefore there is labial contact, and it is heavy. There is interchange of wi with wa, u, we, o, and with i, ki, shi, etc.

winaka 居中 "country": Book Three, page twenty-six.

澤寫 (namawi) "water plantain": Wamyō-shū has 奈万井 namawi.

——————2.

187. 4³ Wo: the on readings of 遠 (won) and 越 (wochi), and the kun reading of 尾 , etc. are all the same as wo. This wo is light. The explanation is as noted under i. It should be known that there is interchange with a, i, u, e, and with ko, so, to, etc.

wo 尾 Tail of fowls and beasts.

woheru "to finish".

——————4.

5 O: 意 , 飫, etc. are the same as o. This o is produced from a combination of wa and wo: therefore it is heavy. Also, this sign occurs only at the beginnings of words in Japanese, never in lower position.

oite "in": it is the word okite pronounced oite through interchange of ki with i -- therefore it should be written oite 於以氐 .

oroka 於呂可 "foolish": Book Eighteen, page nine.

——————5.

1 Vd. IKZN I, p.186 for the remaining examples.
2 As for note 1.
3 The numbering here is exactly as in the original text, and is some-
what irregular.
4 Vd. IKZN I, p.187 for the remaining examples.
5 As for note 4.

7 E: the on of 飯, 栗, etc., and the kun of 尺, 得, etc. are the same as e. This e is light.

enatsu 得名津₁ (place name): Book Three, page twenty-one. 朴津.

e no mi 槻實 "fruit of the nettle tree"? Book Sixteen, page twenty-seven. Wamyō-shū has, "槻 is (read) 衣 e."

————₃

8 We: the on of 衛 and 慧, and the kun of 畫 (wegaku) etc. are the same as we. This we is the end-vowel from e, produced by combination of wa and e: therefore it is heavy. It should be known that there is interchange with wa, wi, u, o, and with e, ke, se, etc.

werawera 惠良惠良 "in a much joyful manner": this is (from) 嚶樂 weraku "to be greatly joyful" – Book Nineteen, page forty-three.

wegu 惠具 Eleocharis kuroguwai Ohwi: Book Ten, page seven.

————₄

3 Hi: I set out a few words in which this sign occurs in the latter part of words and is confused with i and wi.

ihi "steamed rice": Wamyō-shū has 伊比 .

ichihi "yew tree": Book Sixteen, page thirty-six of this anthology has 以智比 .

————₅

6 Ho: I set out a few words in which ho occurs in the latter part of words and is confused with wo and o.

ihochi 五百千 "five hundred", "many". On page twenty-three of Book Eighteen it says: ahabi-tama ihochi mo gamo 安波妣多麻伊保知毛我母 "Would that I had a myriad pearls." The spelling of ihoheyama "many-folded mountain", yahoka "many days", etc. should be modelled on this. It is said that wochikaheri in later poems means "return a myriad times". If this is so, then it

1 For some reason Keichū has deleted the following from this entry: "Wamyō-shū has 衣奈都 ".
2 Celti sinensis Pers.
3 Vd. IKZN I, p.187 for the remaining examples.
4 As for note 3.
5 As for note 3.

is a case of the sign ho in lower position sounding
like wo, and a mistake was made in thinking that it
should be written wo. In Book One, kariiho "temporary
dwelling" is written 借玉旨 ; in Book Seven, ihori
"temporary dwelling" also is written 玉旨入 .

————1.

9 He: I set out a few examples in which he occurs in
lower position in words and is confused with e and we.

ihe "house".

hahe "fly".

————2.

10 Wa: words of the type in which wa occurs in low-
er position in words and is confused with ha.

wawaraha 和和良葉 "torn leaf": Book Eight, page
fifty.

wawake 和和氣 "become torn": Book Five, page thirty.

———3

11 Ha: I set out a few examples of the type in which
ha occurs in lower position in words and is confused
with wa.

hahaka "(type of) flowering cherry"[4] Wamyō-shū says
波波加 .

niha 爾波 "fine weather at sea": Book Three, page
forty.

————5.

14 Fu: words of the type in which fu occurs in ob-
lique position and is confused with u.

kefuri "smoke": Wamyō-shū has 介布利 .

kefutashi "smoky": ( )[6]Book Ten, page fifty-three.

1 Vd. IKZN I, p.188 for the remaining examples.
2 As for note 1.
3 As for note 1.
4 Prunus grayana Maxim.
5 As for note 1.
6 The editor's note to an illegible character here reads, "Possibly
和 wa". If this were so, then one would expect it to be an abbrev-
iation for Wamyō-shū (Wamyō-shō), but this is not the case, for
Book Ten of Wamyō-shō (20 maki version) has only nineteen pages.

Wamyō-shū says, "燭燈: colloquially, kefutashi 介布 太之 ."

———.[1]

189. 15 Ho: words of the type in which ho occurs in lower position in words and is confused with u.

hohokashiha 保寶級之婆   Magnolia obovata Thunb:
Book Nineteen, page twenty-four.

hono "cheek": Wamyō-shū has 保保 .

———.[2]

17 Words which in the colloquial language are particularly different from the signs with which they are written?[3]

蝙蝠 "bat": Wamyō-shū has 加波保里 . The customary pronunciation is kaumuri.

·16 Interchange of the three signs u, nu, and mu.

U is produced within the throat. Nu is produced within the tongue. Mu is produced within the lips. In Sanskrit writing there is information relating to kū-ten 空點 .[4] Kūten are the round marks above signs in Sanskrit.
    In this anthology there is the word nubatama 奴婆 玉 (pillow-word for "black", "night"); in later poems this is to be found both as ubatama 宇婆玉 and muba-tama 武婆玉 . This is a case of interchange of these three signs. In Nihon shoki both 大人 and 卿 are read ushi "husband", noble"; doubtless this is the same as the word read nushi in this anthology.[5] In Book Eight, ina-mushiro "straw mat" is written ina-ushiro;[6] and in Book Seventeen, uruhashimi "beauty" is written muru-hashimi[7] 牟流波之美   : these are cases of interchange of u and mu. Samuki 讚岐 (province name) and, in Book Eleven, Chinumi 珎海 (place name) are uses of

1 Vd. IKZN I, p.188 for the remaining examples.
2 Vd. IKZN I, p.189 for the remaining examples.
3 An editor's note posits 宇 u in place of 字 "sign", in which case the heading needs to be translated differently as "Words the pronunciation of which differs especially from the u sign with which they are written."
4 Skt. anusvāra - a dot marking a nasal.
5 JDBK (nushi entry, note) notes that ushi "noble" and nushi may possibly be of the same derivation.
6 Man'yōshū poem 1520 has ina-ushiro as a pillow-word, but it is not certain whether in this use it derived from ina-mushiro "rice-straw mat" or not (vd. JDBK, ina-mushiro entry, note).
7 Poem 3969. Omodaka's Man'yōshū text (Omodaka 1957) has uruhashimi 宇流波之美   (in accordance with the Genryaku-bon Man'yōshū et al.), but notes that the Hosoi-bon text and printed editions have muruhashimi 牟流波之美 .

the on readings of Chinese characters, but here there
has been an interchange of mu and nu. In this anthol-
ogy 馬 is written uma, and 梅 is written ume. When one
considers that in the Mono no na section[1] of Kokin-shū,
on the theme of ume a play was made on ume "(flowering)
plum" and u-me "sad eye", it seems that this inter-
change rule did not exist even up to the time of that
anthology. The present-day spellings muma and mume
involve interchange of u and mu. In this anthology
the character 諛 is written ube 宇 介 , but now we write
mube: this too is the same. The present-day spellings
mumore-gi for umore-gi "petrified bole", and mumaru
for umaruru "to be born" are erroneous. The reason
for this is that utsumu[2] "to bury" is not pronounced
mutsumu, nor is umu "to bear", "to bring forth" pro-
nounced mumu. If these three signs were interchanged
at random, then ushi "cow" would become nushi "noble",
and nushi would become mushi "insect".

13a Fu: when this sign occurs in the lower position
in words, its sound is confused with u. Since however
there are very few words in which i[3] occurs in lower
position, there will be little confusion if one becomes
acquainted with the type such as kakerofu "Mayfly" and
kakerofu "shimmering", yufu "paper mulberry fibre" and
yufu "evening", etc. Also there is confusion through
onbin of the initial sign in words such as ifu "to say"
and yufu "to dress (the hair)"; tofu "to ask" and tafu
"to endure"; kafu "to purchase", kafu "to exchange",
kafu "to keep (animals)", and kofu "to request"; sofu
"to add" and safu "to impede"; ofu "to bear (on the
back)" and afu "to meet". These words are distinguish-
ed when fu is changed to hi, etc. Ifu becomes ihi,
yufu becomes yuhi. So too with the type harafu "to
sweep away" and torafu "to capture". And with the type
irofu "to make beautiful by colouring", kagerofu "to
grow shady", yorofu "to become complete", sorofu "to
become equal", utsurofu "to move", norofu "to curse",
matsurofu "to obey", hirofu "to pick up", etc., the
last two signs are confused with -rafu. One knows
however that they are utsurofu, kagerofu, etc. on in-
flecting them utsurohi, kagerohi, etc.

13b[4] Addition: the type in which fu occurs in lower
position and is confused with wo.

afuri "saddle-flap": Wanyō-shū has 阿 不 利 .

afuhi "hollyhock": Book Sixteen, page nineteen. Wa-
myō-shū has 阿 布 比 .

190.

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1 A section containing poems in which there is a play on words.
2 Tsu for dzu here, viz. udzumu.
3 I.e. the kana sign i.
4 According to an editor's note here, section 13b was originally
beneath the wo section.

_____1.

In the colloquial language, all the instances of the sign fu here sound like wo.

12 There is a type where u in lower position is confused with fu. Since the u of wa, wi, u, we, o is included in the u of a, i, u, e, wo, it is this included u^2 that occurs in lower position. The u produced from a does not occur in lower position except in the case of on readings. I do however omit cases where there is a change of word-form, such as where kamihe "head" is pronounced kaube, tsuraku "cruelly" as tsurau, karaku "with difficulty" as karau, etc.

uu 宇宇   to plant. Book Fifteen, page thirty-three.

uu 宇宇   to be hungry. In the chronicle Suiko-ki 推古紀 in Nihon shoki, a poem by Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 has ihi ni wete 伊比尓ヱ慧 岳 "hungry for rice". This is properly ihi ni uwete, so the change to we is because it is u. In this respect it is the same as uu above.

_____3.

19 In writing about kana in this anthology above, I have also added a few kana spellings from other works.
_____.

MYSF: Criticism.

Compared with MYSI, MYSF shews progress in Keichū's understanding of the forty-seven kana signs: an important feature of Shūchū kana no koto is Keichū's unequivocal definition of the phonetic values of the three pairs of kana i-wi, e-we, and wo-o. This represents a very definite advance, for in MYSI Keichū had sought for the difference between these pairs in accent. Also, Keichū corrects the position of e and we in the onzu.

The onzu in MYSF is the first actual onzu in Keichū's kana usage writings, though as mentioned earlier there is a space for an onzu

1 Vd. IKZN I, p.190 for the remaining examples.
2 I.e. wa-column u.
3 Vd. IKZN I, p.190.
4 As for note 3.

in MYSI, and we can reconstruct Keichū's concept of the onzu at this stage. The a-column of the MYSF onzu (a, i, u, e, wo) has a single katakana sign in each square, as also the a-row (ka, sa, ta, etc.). Keichū considered these fourteen signs or sounds to combine to "produce" the other thirty-six syllables of the onzu. Thus the resultant kana sign is in each case given beneath the two signs which combine to produce it, e.g. ハイ ヤ . In this onzu, only the position of o and wo remains erroneous.

Classification of Kana Spellings in MYSF.

The classification of material in MYSF is clearly very different from that in MYSI. If the arrangement of kana spellings in MYSF is compared with that in WJSH,[1] the following correlation emerges:

	MYSF		WJSH
1	i	(maki 2)	i
2	wi		wi
			-hi
4	wo	(maki 3)	wo
5	o		o
			-ho
7	e	(maki 4)	e
8	we		we
3	-hi		
6	-ho		
9	-he		-he
10	-wa		-wa
11	-ha		-ha
			-u
14	-fu	(maki 5)	-fu
13a	-fu[2]		

1 The classification of kana spellings in MYSI is so different from that in MYSF and WJSH that no correlation of the order of signs is possible.
2 Entries in this section appear in WJSH mostly in the Miscellaneous Theories section (maki 5; IKZN X, pp.274-275), rather than in the WJSH -fu section.

13b -fu[1]

12   -u

The present writer considers the above correlation to demonstrate clearly a close link between MYSF and WJSH, the order of signs as numbered in MYSF providing directly the arrangement for entries in WJSH maki 2-4 inclusive and the beginning of maki 5.

In MYSI Keichū had expounded the unity of kana usage in such ancient works as the Man'yōshū, treating the subject more elaborately in MYSF (Shūchū kana no koto). These passages on kana usage in the two versions of MYSO however seem to have had very little if any influence on scholars of the time. Reasons for this no doubt include the limited circulation of MYSO, and the nature and scale of the passages on kana usage. MYSI does appear to have circulated fairly widely in manuscript form, but very little space is devoted to kana usage theory. In the case of MYSF, the reverse situation obtained: kana usage (or rather, kana usage theory) is expounded in some depth, but on the other hand circulation of this version was extremely limited.

Even if MYSF had circulated widely, it seems most unlikely that this by itself would have led to a revolutionisation of kana spellings such as was occasioned by WJSH, since the section Shūchū kana no koto in MYSF is essentially theoretical in nature rather than practical: in terms of kana usage theory, in fact, Shūchū kana no koto is more detailed and explicit than WJSH, surprising though this may seem. And yet though this is so, the number of actual examples of historical kana spellings in MYSF is very small — far too small for scholars to have contemplated using it as a basis for writing in accordance with the kana usage advocated by Keichū as opposed to that of Fujiwara Teika.

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1 All four entries here appear in WJSH maki 5, Fu which sounds like wo (IKZN X, p.261); three of the four also appear in maki 5. Medial and final fu (ibid., pp.245-253).

In short therefore one can say that the form of Shūchū kana no koto was not conducive to the actual adoption of Keichū's system of kana spellings.

Kana Usage in The Text of MYSO As A Whole.

So far in this chapter, the kana usage and kana usage theory of Keichū in MYSO has been examined with specific reference to passages relating to kana usage in the two versions of MYSO. Kana usage in the text of MYSO as a whole on the other hand has not yet been examined. It may well be imagined that since in MYSI Keichū advocates kana spellings based on the notation of words in such ancient works as Man'yōshū and Nihon shoki, he is in fact already writing in accordance with those spellings: this however is not necessarily the case, as is pointed out in a short but informative article by Nagayama entitled Keichū no kana-zukai-setsu to kana-zukai.[1]

Nagayama's article is concerned primarily with Keichū's actual kana usage prior to the setting up of his kana usage theory, and centres on kana usage in a collection of Keichū's poems entitled Keichū waka enpō-shū (completed 1681), although consideration is also given to kana usage in MYSO. Nagayama shews that MYSI contains a considerable number of kana spellings which differ from the historical kana usage.[2] The proportion of such spellings decreases as the work progresses, that is to say as Keichū became increasingly familiar with his own system of historical kana spellings. Consequently, by the time of writing MYSF, Keichū was using the historical kana spellings almost exclusively.

That in the early stages of setting up his system of historical

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1 Nagayama 1966.
2 E.g. yuhe (historical kana spelling: yuwe), tsuwi ni (tsuhi ni), yokuri-tatematsuri (okuri-tatematsuri), osame-tatematsuru (wosame-tatematsuru), oshimu (woshimu), etc., etc. Vd. Nagayama 1966, p.170.

kana spellings Keichū should make some errors when writing in kana
is no doubt to be attributed to his unfamiliarity with what was after
all a very large number of new spellings. What is less readily acc-
ounted for however is the point made by Nagayama that in MYSI there
are a number of cases where there is a discrepancy between the Man'-
yōgana notation in Man'yōshū and the kana spelling of the same word
in Keichū's commentary.[1] Nagayama suggests that such discrepancies
may be attributable in part to an extended process of addition and
correction to the original manuscript of MYSI, but considers the
following factors as more important: firstly, even after the fundamen-
tals of his kana usage theory were established, the kana usage for
many words was still not clear; secondly, the influence of the trad-
itional kana spellings of words while Keichū was not yet familiar
with his new system of kana spellings; and thirdly, that in the case
of MYSO Keichū may not have considered it essential to write the
whole work in historical kana usage.[2]

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1 As examples Nagayama gives the following (op.cit., p.170):

Man'yōshū notation		spelling in Keichū's commentary (MYSI)
美宜弖	miete	mihete
須惠弖	suwete	suhete
麻都我延	matsukae	matsukahe
久江弖	kuete	kuhete
保里江	horie	horihe
乎美奈	womina	omina

2 Nagayama's grounds for this last supposition are connected with
Keichū's remarks in WJYR that "although kana usage extends to the
masses also, properly it is the concern of those who compose waka
poetry." Nagayama does not however go on to expand upon the conn-
ection here, and so his third point remains unconvincing.

Chapter Six

WJSH: Introduction and Translated Excerpts.

It was in 1695 that WJSH, the first work of Keichū's devoted exclusively to kana usage, first appeared in print. The importance of this work (which contained some two thousand kana spellings based on new principles[1]) in the history of the Japanese writing system can be judged from the fact that it revolutionised kana spellings among the literati and determined their course for some two hundred and fifty years thereafter.

Despite the importance of WJSH, the amount of research that has been carried out by Japanese scholars into the kana usage and kana usage theory therein is as yet very small[2].

It appears that the manuscript of WJSH that formed the basis of the printed edition of 1695 was initially completed in 1693[3] but in fact it seems that Keichū had in mind compilation of a work such as WJSH from shortly after the time when he began compiling MYSI in 1683. This is apparent from the following passage in WJBO (completed 1697):

> "Since long ago in the mediaeval period kana have been
> confused, and consequently errors have been made in
> meanings too. This has long been on my mind, and for
> the past ten years and more I have for another reason
> familiarised myself with Japanese works. Whenever

1   In GKSH it is written that kana spellings should be based on those in "old documents" (kyū-zōshi), and so it would appear that kana spellings therein are based on the same historical principle as those in WJSH. In fact however many of the spellings in GKSH are incorrect from the historical viewpoint (vd. Chapter 2 above). The present writer also considers himself justified in regarding the kana usage system advocated by Keichū as being based on new principles since it is characterised by a rationalism which is on the whole absent from the Teika kana usage.

2   The publication of a new Keichū zenshū (IKZN) appears to have created renewed interest in the work of Keichū, and so a certain amount of new research seems likely in the near future.

3   Keichū continued to revise the manuscript for some time after this — vd. p.111 below.

therefore I found examples which might be taken as
evidence of kana usage, I copied and collected them
without serious intent, thinking it might be of
benefit to posterity. Noting down my ideas here
and there, I named the work Waji shōran-shō."[1]

In considering the origins of WJSH, Hisamatsu points to the
following factors: firstly, the results of Keichū's Man'yōshū studies
(i.e. his discovery of the consistent nature of the kana usage in
the Man'yōshū); secondly, the correction of errors in the Teika kana
usage; and thirdly, Keichū's connection with Jōgon. It is the gen-
erally accepted view that Keichū's kana usage theory originated in
close connection with his study of the classics. And from both the
text and the title of WJSH,[2] it is clear that Keichū had in mind
correction of errors in the Teika kana usage. Hisamatsu's third
point here appears to refer to the stimulus Keichū received from
Jōgon to complete the manuscript of WJSH.[3]

More recently, Nagayama has put forward the view that the follow-
ing three factors enabled Keichū to set up his kana usage theory:
firstly, the new spirit of free inquiry of the age; secondly, the
hints in Jōshun's Man'yōshū postscript; thirdly, Keichū's process of
collection and classification of Man'yōgana. Points one and three
are valid here, but whether Keichū in fact saw Jōshun's Man'yōshū

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1 IKZN X, p.320.
2 Concerning the title of WJSH, vd. p.13 above.
3 The part Jōgon played in the period near completion of the WJSH
manuscript is evident from the following passage from WJBO:

"The other year a priest was here who was a disciple of
the chief priest Kakugen of Reiunji Temple in Yushima,
in the province of Musashi. Copying my manuscript, which
was still at the rough stage, he took the copy with him
and shewed it to the chief priest. On seeing it, the
latter said that after a fair copy had been made it seemed
that it would need a small amount of supplementation be-
fore being put into print. He had word to this effect
sent to the bookshops, and when some-one came who was
willing to undertake the task, the chief priest gave him
the manuscript and had him print it."

IKZN X, p.320.

4 Nagayama 1966.
5 Vd. pp.69-70 above.

postscript or not is not certain.

In the present writer's opinion, both these views fail to take into account a very important factor - a factor which helps explain the link between Keichū's discovery of the consistent nature of kana usage in the most ancient literature and his advocation of a system of kana usage based on that in works such as the Man'yōshū and Wamyō-shō. That factor is Keichū's view of antiquity as the most superior age[1] - Keichū's view of language is also subservient to this: adoption of a system of kana usage based on the writing system in use in ancient times was for Keichū a return to language in its most pure state, a return to Truth. Since Keichū's view of antiquity was of this nature, it was understandable that he should advocate a system of kana usage based on notations in the most ancient literature.

The Form of WJSH.

As mentioned earlier, historical works on kana usage can usually be divided into two categories, i.e. dictionaries of kana usage, and works setting out general rules for kana usage.

That WJSH belongs to the first of these two types is evident from even the most cursory examination, for the main body of the text consists of almost two thousand entries. WJSH is however more than a dictionary of kana usage, and necessarily so: since it is made up of a revolutionary system of kana spellings - a system in opposition to the well-established Teika kana usage - it was imperative that Keichū should preface the dictionary proper with an explanation or justification of his system of kana usage if he hoped to have serious attention paid to it. This then is the raison d'etre of maki 1, which constitutes an introduction to the work as a whole. Maki 1 of

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[1] Note for example how in the Preface to WJSH Keichū criticises later times as degenerate (vd. p.115 below).

WJSH is in fact more notable as a justification of the historical principle for kana usage (i.e. that kana spellings should be based on those in the ancient literature) than as an actual exposition of the principles of historical kana usage, for passages relating to the latter are few indeed.[1]

WJSH is then primarily a dictionary of kana usage. Such a definition however does not do the work full justice, for WJSH (particularly the version in the new Keichū zenshū) is replete with references to and quotations from such ancient Japanese works as the Man'yōshū, Wamyō-shō, and Nihon shoki, as well as to the Chinese classics and the occasional reference to Buddhist works — so much so that one might almost describe WJSH as an encyclopaedic dictionary of kana usage.

Introduction to The Translation.

On first reading the introductory maki of WJSH, the present-day reader may well get the impression that it is made up largely of irrelevancies and obscurities having little if anything to do with kana usage. Indeed, there are whole sections such as that devoted to interpretation of the iroha which seem irrelevant to kana usage. To understand WJSH fully however it is important to try and see it against the background of the cultural milieu that produced it. That is to say, in reading maki 1 of WJSH one should bear in mind for example the tradition of esoteric language theory of the Shingon sect, as also the indigenous belief in the magical power of language (kotodama 言靈).

1· The brevity of passages on kana usage theory in WJSH maki 1 is pointed out by Nakata (KJTN, Waji shōran-shō entry).

The Kanbun Preface to WJSH.

The significance of the kanbun preface is something that appears so far to have been overlooked, for none of the work to date by Japanese scholars on WJSH deals with the preface in anything more than a fragmentary manner. This is a shortcoming which in the present writer's view needs to be made good, for the preface is not an arcane curiosity put in as a matter of convention, but a carefully written argument in favour of a system of kana usage based on the most ancient literature.

The first part of the preface[1] is a general argument concerning the importance of "correct" language (because of Keichū's view of antiquity, for him ancient language was the embodiment of such "correct" language). Then in the latter part of the preface Keichū turns from this general discussion on language (both written and spoken) to a summary of the history of writing in Japan, bringing the reader's attention finally to the unsatisfactory and confused state of kana spellings that has obtained since mediaeval times. In conclusion, Keichū states his aim in compiling the present work, namely correction of the contemporary kana usage (Teika kana usage).

In addition to these general remarks on the preface, a number of individual points merit attention. For instance, in the opening passage of the preface,[2] Keichū suggests that the ancient Japanese language (prefix ma- + koto "language") is synonymous with Truth (ma-koto): this is something that has not been taken up by Japanese scholars, but which in the present writer's view is of great significance. For, if we accept that this was in fact Keichū's view of the ancient language, then his research of the ancient Japanese language

1 I.e. up to the long textual note (wari-chū) on 伎 wa (IKZN X, p.110).
2 Vd. translation, p.111 below.

and literature as a whole can be interpreted as a striving towards the Truth of ancient times. This then may have been the aim of WJSH on a more profound level.

Considerable space in the preface and in the subsequent text of maki 1 is devoted to a general exposition of written and spoken language. This was probably because although of course Keichū did not understand the true nature of spoken and written language and their interrelationship,[1] he was nevertheless aware of a close connection between the two, as the following quotation shews: "If sound and word are clear, then meanings become manifest."[2]

As a scholar of the native culture, Keichū was one of the precursors of the kokugaku movement. In the preface to WJSH we find passages reminiscent of the nationalism of the later kokugakusha. For example:

> "Japan is the secret realm where the spirit of The Sun reigns, the superior region where the heavenly descendants let down their carriages. Though Japan is situated to the East,[3] the speech sounds are the most distinct and clear, the most detailed and elegant. Japanese has many sounds in common with Chinese and Sanskrit."[4]

As Hisamatsu points out however,[5] Keichū's was not a xenophobic nationalism such as that of Mabuchi or Norinaga.

WJSH Maki 1 Subsequent to The Kanbun Preface.

According to Tsukishima,[6] in all probability it was not until after the rest of maki 1 had been written that Keichū wrote the kanbun preface. Accepting this to be so, if we look at that part of

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1 That is, as they are understood in modern linguistic theory.
2 IKZN X. p.110.
3 I.e. in relation to India and China.
4 IKZN X, p.812.
5 AKZN IX, p.242.
6 IKZN X, p.812.

maki 1 which Keichū compiled first, we find that the first thing he deals with is the very important question of his position vis-a-vis the traditional system of kana spellings, namely the Teika kana usage: quoting the preface to KMZK in its entirety, Keichū follows this with a criticism of that work. After thus clarifying his attitude towards the current system of kana usage, Keichū goes on to set out very briefly the basis of the kana spellings he is advocating in WJSH. This is followed by sections on written and spoken language, as a sort of background knowledge to the subject of kana usage:

> "Since there are no doubt things that will come to be understood naturally if one begins by finding out about the origin of sound and word, firstly a few notes have been made on the origins of these. Then a table of the fifty sounds has been given, followed by notes on the iroha: i, wi, etc. have been put after this."[1]

Considerable space in maki 1 is devoted to the shapes of the hiragana and katakana signs, together with the Chinese characters from which they are derived in each case. No doubt Keichū included this here as part of the general background to kana usage studies.

A seemingly inordinate amount of space is devoted to interpretation of the meaning of the iroha (iroha ryakuchū). The iroha was of course important on the practical level as an inventory of kana to be distinguished in use. Moreover, it was all the more important to Keichū in that traditionally it was considered to have been composed by Kūkai, founder of the Shingon sect to which Keichū belonged.

The existence of mystical aspects to the thought of Keichū has already been noted.[2] The iroha is one of the areas in which a mystical element is to be found, for Keichū considered the forty-seven signs which made up the iroha as being invested with some special

1 IKZN X, p.113.
2 Vd. Chapter 3 above.

power: "To be precise, the forty-seven signs of the iroha should without hesitation be called a dharani, ——."[1]

The above outline of WJSH maki 1 is by no means exhaustive. nor is it intended to be; the aim is rather to provide a guideline towards understanding the main lines of thought therein.

The contents of the dictionary proper[2] will be dealt with in the following chapters. At the end of maki 5 there are a number of passages on speech sounds, kana-gaeshi, accent in Japanese, and so on. These passages are miscellaneous in nature, and are perhaps best regarded as a sort of appendix to the dictionary proper. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

Manuscripts and Printed Editions of WJSH.[3]

A number of manuscripts[4] and printed editions of WJSH have been handed down. All the manuscripts differ from the printed editions. The printed editions can be divided into several types, depending on differences in the colophon, etc. It is thought however that the same printing blocks were used for later editions, which were reprints of the original.

Modern editions of WJSH are to be found in Akabori 1901, AKZN (vol.VII), Fukui 1939, and IKZN (vol.X). Of these, the first three editions are very much alike. The IKZN edition on the other hand stands very much in contrast, for it contains much additional material of great bearing on Keichū's kana usage theory. Since the IKZN text of WJSH supersedes other editions and embodies the results of the latest textual research, it is the IKZN edition that is taken here

1 IKZN X, p.114.
2 I.e. WJSH maki 2-5.
3 Concerning this aspect of WJSH I rely almost entirely on the detailed treatment by Tsukishima in the explanatory introduction to WJSH in IKZN (ibid. vol.X, pp.803-814).
4 Two of these written by Keichū himself.

as the authoritative edition of WJSH.[1]

The IKZN edition of WJSH is based on the Mite Bunko printed edition of 1695, collated with a printed version of 1739 in the possession of the Japanese language seminar of Tokyo University. Of the different printed editions of 1695, the Mite Bunko version contains a large number of handwritten insertions.[2] Tsukishima (together with Hisamatsu) is of the opinion that these were written in by Keichū himself. Since these additional notes are not accompanied by any remarks concerning their authorship, there is no direct evidence that they were in fact added by Keichū himself, but Tsukishima's view is based on the following points: firstly, the insertions are in a hand that may be considered identical to that of other manuscripts written by Keichū himself; secondly, from the point of view of content there are few errors in the insertions, and even these can be attributed to inadvertency on the part of Keichū; finally, there are many points which seem to be abridgements from WJYR.[3]

Handwritten insertions are to be found added to the greater part of the entries in the Mite Bunko printed edition of WJSH. Most of these consist of Man'yōgana writings for the entries concerned; the Man'yōgana writings are taken largely from the Man'yōshū and Wamyō-shō. This principle of giving Man'yōgana writings as evidence for kana spellings is to be seen in WJBO and WJYR, both of which were compiled slightly later than WJSH itself. Tsukishima sees the handwritten insertions as an extension of this principle to the already-completed WJSH, and as an indication of Keichū's increased eye for detail.

1 So too for WJBO and WJYR.
2 Most of these are in vermilion ink.
3 In the postscript to the Mite Bunko manuscript of WJYR Imai Jikan writes that the contents of WJYR were added by Keichū to the printed edition of WJSH. Vd. IKZN X, p.736.

In Tsukishima's view, Keichū saw the Mite Bunko edition of WJSH, approved it as the standard version, and thereupon added parallel notes to entries, these notes consisting mainly of Man'yōgana writings and excerpts from his theories in WJYR, the aim of this being to endorse the theory in WJSH.

On the basis of the various extant manuscripts and printed editions of WJSH, Tsukishima postulates the following process as leading up to the stage of the Mite Bunko printed edition with the handwritten insertions:

1 compilation of Manuscript A[1] (manuscript in Keichū's own hand, at present in the possession of Tsukishima).

2 compilation of Manuscript B (manuscript in Keichū's own hand, at present in the possession of Takahashi A.).

3 publication of printed edition with colophon of 1695.

4 addition of handwritten notes to Mite Bunko printed edition.

The kanbun preface to Manuscript B is dated "twenty-first day of the sixth month, sixth year of Genroku (1693)". Manuscript A, which consists of the introductory maki only, is wanting the kanbun preface; Tsukishima interprets this as meaning that the kanbun preface was not added until after completion of the rest of maki 1. Keichū continued to revise and supplement Manuscript B after its initial completion, and the dating to this manuscript no doubt shews a date when part of the revision work was complete.[2] There is a gap of over a year between completion of the kanbun preface to Manuscript B and this dating. In view of the fact that Keichū afterwards deleted this dating, it can be inferred that the handwritten insertions were added

1 Consists of maki 1 only. Tsukishima suggests that this manuscript may have consisted ab initio of the one maki only (vd. IKZN X, p.811). Manuscript A, and selections from Manuscript B, are given in IKZN X subsequent to the Mite Bunko version.
2 The dating (later deleted) reads: "Corrections finished on the sixth day of the fourth month, seventh year of Genroku (1694)."

later. How long the revision process continued is not clear, but since the printed edition of WJSH is dated 1695, it may be considered that Keichū went on making additions until about the early summer of that year. It would appear then that Keichū devoted more than two years to improving the initially completed manuscript of WJSH.[1]

In the printed editions of WJSH, the author's name is nowhere to be found. And yet in a postscript (later deleted) to the kanbun preface of Manuscript B it is clearly stated that Keichū was the author. Also, according to Hashimoto, Keichū's name was to be found in the Tonomura manuscript of WJSH too.[2] It appears then that Keichū deleted his name from WJSH by the time of printing in 1695. What was his reason in so doing? Tsukishima points out that there are indications that Keichū was cautious about having his own works published openly, and refers to Hisamatsu's theory that it was out of deference to the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family, to whom he was indebted.

<div align="center">WJSH: Translated Excerpts.</div>

<div align="center">The Kanbun Preface.</div>

109[3]   Signs such as 言 and 語 are read in Nihon shoki in the kun as makoto (未 も 賣). The ma- of makoto means "true": it is a word which extols koto. The word makoto is akin to the type in which ki "tree" is called ma-ki, and tama "jewel" is called ma-tama. The kun reading and the meaning of the koto of makoto interchange with those of the word koto meaning "matters", "affairs". Generally speaking, things are complete when Ultimate Reason is accompanied by matters (koto). When there are matters (koto), then necessarily there

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1 WJSH was the only work completed by Keichū in 1693, and the following year he did not complete anything new. Tsukishima sees this as corroborating his hypothesis that Keichū spent the two years 1693-1694 working further on WJSH, and had no time to compile other works. Tsukishima also observes that though Manuscript B and the 1695 printed edition of WJSH are similar, there are differences which suggest that Manuscript B underwent further additions by Keichū before being printed.
2 This manuscript is no longer extant.
3 Page number in IKZN X.

is language (koto).[1] Conversely, when there is lang-
uage, then necessarily there are matters. Accordingly,
the two koto are often used interchangeably in the
Kojiki. Lack of deception in a man's heart is called
magokoro "true heart"; lack of deception in a man's
words is called makoto "true words", "sincerity".
Makoto (信) is a constituent of all the Five Virtues.[2]
Makoto can also be written with the sign誠. The
signs for "man" and for "language" were made into the
sign信, and on the same basis the sign誠 consists of
the signs for "language" and "completion". The one
who gave this latter sign its kun reading did not call
it magokoro - he called it makoto. This is because
the sincerity in mens' hearts lies entirely in lang-
uage, which is the outward expression of sincerity.
Moreover, the old way of writing信 is誠. In con-
sidering the attitude of the one who devised this
sign, it can be said that for him language was equal
to the heart.

The traditions of the past were transmitted by
many mouths. Therefore, though a man be a sage, how
can he learn about things if he gives no heed to the
words of others ? And how much more this is so in
the case of the common people! Hereupon The Buddha
closed his mouth, shutting the gateway that can cause
calamity;[3] nor did He open that gateway again for a
long time. Vimalakīrti[4] bound his tongue and assumed
an unmoving posture of meditation in a secluded room.
These standards are to be obeyed: The Buddha's action
is the orthodox teaching. In addition, there is the
truth which the various Buddhas realise within them-
selves: the chapter on letters[5] in the Daibirushana-kyō
大毘盧遮那經 Sutra and the chapter on signs[6] in
the Yuga kongōchō-kyō 瑜伽金剛頂經 Sutra are the
culmination of this. Who would believe that the
occult and wondrous exist within sound and word?
Shew me proof as clear as the blazing sun to melt my
icy doubts!

In the Nehan-gyō Sutra it is written: "The signs
which are spoken of are called eternal: they are ever-
lasting, therefore they are not transient."

In the Shugo-kyō 守護經 Sutra it is written:
"Sakyamuni said, 'I attained Perfect Knowledge by
contemplating the sign唵-om.' "[7] It is a fallacious

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1 Etymologically, koto (言) and koto (事) are probably of the same
origin. Vd. JDBK, koto 言 entry.
2 Viz. benevolence, justice, propriety, wisdom, sincerity.
3 I.e. because language is so efficacious - this idea is put forward
in the following part of the preface.
4 Jap. Jōmyō 淨名. One of the disciples of The Buddha.
5 Jirin 字輪.
6 Jimo or jibo 字母.
7 The original meaning of om in Sanskrit is "conversion". In the
teachings of the esoteric Buddhist sects it is considered that in-
finite merit can be won by reciting this mystic syllable.

argument that the various Buddhas of the Three Eras[1] in the worlds in the Ten Quarters[2] could have attained Nirvana without contemplating the sign om.

In the Dai chido-ron[3] 大智度論 it is written: "The dharma-kaya[4] unceasingly emits light, and unceasingly teaches The Law." Ah! If one draws a circle with a compass, then at the end one always returns to the beginning. Reality[5] flows and spreads out into the world. By means of this the Nine-character Spell[6] can ward off such things as the Five Types of weapon[7], and

110. accomplish various matters; and the signs for boke[8] and the word itself can cure cramps in the leg[9]. Unsubstantiated writings and lies are the fault of ignorance. For example, it is like when there is no moderation in eating and drinking, and it actually causes illness. If sound and word are clear, then meanings become manifest. One should therefore not be inattentive about sound and word.

Japan is the secret realm where the spirit of The Sun reigns, the superior region where the heavenly descendants let down their carriages. Though Japan is situated to the east, the speech-sounds are the most distinct and clear, the most detailed and elegant. Japanese has many sounds in common with Chinese and Sanskrit. Accordingly, a wondrous effect lodges within language: prayers and spells have the desired effect. On the day Emperor Jinmu 神武 subjugated the villains of Uchitsukuni, he changed the names of things such as firewood and water in honour of the deities[10]. In so doing he acquired majestic power, and was able to accomplish great tasks. Examples of such wondrous power recorded in the national histories are too numerous to enumerate, both in the age of the deities and in the age of men. In the Man'yōshū it is written: "the land in which the wondrous power of language prospers"[11] Also: "the land that is aided by the wondrous power of language"[12]. This is said of what I have mentioned above.

The two deities into which the heavenly spirit

1 Past, Present, and Future.
2 North, South, East, West; North-east, South-east, South-west, North-west; Upper, Lower.
3 Commentary on the Daibon hannya-kyō 大品般若經 Sutra.
4 Jap. hosshin-butsu.
5 Jissō 實相 . In Shingon doctrine, reality is linked inextricably with sound and word (shōji 聲字). Vd. Hakeda 1972, pp.234-246.
6 A protective spell consisting of the nine characters 臨 兵 鬥 者
皆 陳 列 在 前 . Used originally in ancient China by followers of the teachings of Lao-tzu 老子 and Chuang-tzu 莊子 , but later by exponents of Yin-Yang and priests of the esoteric sects.
7 In fact these are five different types of halberd.
8 Chaenomeles speciosa (Sweet) Nakai. A type of quince.
9 The examples here may seem unusual, but they are intended simply to shew the great efficacy of language. Anciently, boke was used for its medicinal properties.
10 Vd. Aston 1896, p.122.
11 Kototama no sakihefu kuni.
12 Kototama no tasukuru kuni.

turned were called <u>ame no mihashira kuni no mihashira
no mikoto</u> " the deity which is the pillar of Heaven,
and the deity which is the pillar of Earth". For the
body to have breath is like a house to have pillars.
Therefore the two deities were given these names.
Chuang-tzu says, "The name for the vital spirit of the
universe is <u>fêng</u> 風 ." The sutras, in expounding upon
breath, consider it to be the basis, life infrangible.
It is not without significance that breath is consid-
ered the pillar of the universe.

And again, with regard to the sign <u>wa</u> in Sanskrit,[1]
in the sutras this is given the meaning "speech";[2] and
is considered the most supreme sound. Vajrapāṇi Bodhi-
sattva[3] is located in the eastern region, and has the
letter <u>wa</u> as his germ-letter.[4] There is a distant
connection here with the name for our country. Truly
there is a reason to respect language.[5]

Although this is so, in ancient times things were
simple and there was no writing. Possibly men relied
on China in this respect. In the reign of Emperor
Ōjin 應神 , the kingdom of Paekche presented a proclam-
ation to Japan, and sent the learned Wani 王仁 .[6]
Through this, the Japanese gradually grew familiar
with writing: borrowing Chinese characters, Japanese
words were written down. Later, as men became well
versed in things Chinese, so knowledge of China was
advanced. The study of Japanese signs however was
quiet: nothing is to be heard of it at this period.
The Japanese of that time who studied writing as the
first step did no more than to copy out the Naniha-tsu
no uta[7] and learn the Asaka-yama no uta.[8] The <u>iroha</u>
poem was composed on the basis of there being forty-
seven signs in the Indian script, whereupon men
throughout the land studied the iroha and have down
to the present taken it as a precedent. With a

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1 A textual note (<u>wari-chū</u>) here reads, " <u>Wa</u> is the <u>on</u> reading of
the old translation of the sutras into Chinese ; the on of the new
translation is 嚩 (<u>ba</u>)."
2 <u>Gonsetsu</u> 言説 。
3 Jap. Kongōshu bosatsu.
4 <u>Shūji</u> or <u>shuji</u> 種子 。 In esoteric Buddhism, the Sanskrit letter
which represents a particular Buddha or bodhisattva.
5 There follows a lengthy textual note concerning how Japan came to
be called <u>Wa</u> (倭) by the Chinese, and readings for the character 倭 .
The note is omitted here, since it constitutes a digression.
6 Wani is said to have brought to Japan copies of The Analects of
Confucius (Chi. <u>Lun Yü</u> 論語 ; Jap. <u>Rongo</u>) and the Thousand Character
Classic (Chi. <u>Ch'ien Tzŭ Wên</u> 千字文 ; Jap. <u>Senji-mon</u>).
7 <u>Naniha-tsu ni saku ya kono hana, fuyu-gomori ima wo harube to saku
ya kono hana.</u> Said to have been composed by Wani to celebrate the
accession of Emperor Nintoku; anciently this poem was used for elem-
entary practice in calligraphy.
8 <u>Asaka-yama kage sahe miyuru yama no wi no asaki kokoro wo waga
omohanaku ni.</u>

limited number of signs, an unlimited range of mean-
ings can be expressed. Thanks to these signs one can
talk of the wonders of ancient times and trust lasting
111. a hundred generations. Truly [kana] are the written
signs of our country! If Sanskrit signs are taken and
arranged for the Japanese language, fourteen sounds
are necessary: it is said that a, i, u, e, wo are con-
sidered the vowels, and ka, sa, ta, na, ha, ma, ya,
ra, wa are considered the consonants. Though a is a
vowel, it is also a consonant, and is the origin of
[all] the various sounds. These nine consonants and
four vowels conjoin to produce thirty-six sounds. All
the speech-sounds of the land are encompassed within
fifty sounds. When a work such as the Man'yōshū is
considered, [it is clear that] from of old the three
sounds i, u, and e have been omitted. That is to say,
in the various works and the iroha there are just
differences of arrangement.

There are moreover sounds which resemble each
other and are easily confounded. From the mediaeval
period there has been a decline in both scholarship
and knowledge, and the meanings of words have not
been understood. Not only have signs such as i and
wi, and wo and o been confused: a situation has
arisen in which shiwi "Fourth Rank (at Court)" is ass-
ociated with shihi "pasania"; ahi "meet (and ——)"
is associated with awi "indigo"; and kowi "hawk
perching on tree" is associated with kohi "love".
Even though corrections have been made, the authority
for these is not clear, and errors are still numerous.
This has long been in my mind. Accordingly, on read-
ing in works of the past that which might constitute
evidence of kana usage, I have more or less classified
my thoughts on the subject, and hereby make them known
to the common people. As regards that for which I
have not yet found clear evidence, I have left it in-
complete for the time being, and have not attempted
to make a forced explanation. I have kept the work
down to five maki, and named it Waji shōran-shō.

> Preface written twenty-first
> day of the second month, sixth
> year of Genroku (1693).

1 Viz. ya-column i and e, and wa-column u.
2 The meaning of this sentence appears to be that the "various works"
spoken of are written within the confines of the iroha - i.e. the
forty-seven kana signs.
3 A reference to the Teika kana usage, mentioned by name slightly
later in maki 1.

112.   There is a well-known work by one Gyōa entitled
Kana moji-zukai. The preface to that work says:[1]

> "Teika requested Chikayuki, former governor
> of Kawachi Province, to make a fair copy of
> the poetry anthology Shūi gusō, whereupon
> Chikayuki said that, since there were errors
> due to resemblance in the pronunciation of
> such signs as wo, o, e, we, he, i, wi, and
> hi, they were difficult to distinguish; and
> that the opportunity should be taken to lay
> down rules for the benefit of future schol-
> arship. Teika replied that he himself had
> been of the same view for some time, and
> that Chikayuki should write out what he
> thought and present it to him. When Chika-
> yuki submitted his proposals to Teika to
> the above effect, Teika approved them, since
> he deemed them entirely logical.
>   The notes of Chikayuki were therefore
> innovatory in setting up a kana usage.
> Moreover, despite the small number of signs
> making up the iroha poem, there were never-
> theless some signs with the same pronun-
> ciation — i, wi, hi, wo, o, e, we, he —
> which were the highly cursive forms of Chi-
> nese characters done by an incarnate sage.
> When I gave thought to the matter, I real-
> ised that they should be distinguished in
> use. Since there are points about which
> forerunners have omitted to write, I have
> not only given further thought to such
> points, but have also added anew notes on
> such signs as ho, wa, ha, mu, u, and fu.
> The reason for this is that ho is read as
> wo, wa overlaps with ha, and mu is confused
> with u. Accordingly I distinguish them in
> writing, and put them into separate categ-
> ories. Although there are words which have
> been omitted, the reader will no doubt be
> able to base the spellings for these on
> those of the words given. Accordingly,
> later scholars should observe and respect
> my views."

According to this preface, it appears that Gyōa perused
the notes of Chikayuki. Possibly these notes were lost
thereafter: nothing is heard of them. Certainly all
Chikayuki wrote about should be in Gyōa's work. How-
ever, these writings still shew considerable confusion
of kana usage, possibly because Chikayuki followed
contemporary usage, and because there were errors in
that which Gyōa added. Furthermore, there is also con-
fusion in the signs such as ho, wu, and ha added by
113. Gyōa. Some of the material in Kana moji-zukai is of

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1 An annotated translation of the KMZK preface is to be found on pp.
36-37 above.

no use.

Accordingly, in the present work the following
have been selected: works on Japanese history from
the Nihon shoki to Sandai jitsuroku 三代實錄   ;
Kujiki 舊事紀   , Kojiki, Man'yōshū, Shinsen Man'yōshū,
Kogo shūi 古語拾遺   , Engi shiki, Wamyō-shū, etc.;
Kokin-shū, etc., and various private poetry anthol-
ogies. Wherever something was found in these works
which might be taken as proof of kana usage, it has
been quoted as evidence.

The order is that of the iroha,[1] commencing with
i. Entries are arranged so that subsequent kana in
a word also conform to the iroha order:

i   "liver"

iro   "colour"

iha   "rock"

This is because words arranged in this order are easy
to look up. I in lower position in words — as in
haitaka "sparrow hawk" or hoshiimama "wilful" — is
noted down next separately, entries being arranged
with the signs in a word before the i in iroha order.
Next comes wi, set out as i above. Then there have
been added words with hi,[2] where it occurs in lower
position and is confused through onbin with i and wi.
Next are wo, o, and ho, set out as above. Chikayuki's
failure to deal with the sign ho is unsatisfactory
when one considers a sign such as he. Next come e,
we, and he, arranged the same as above. These are
followed by wa and ha. When these signs are at the
beginning of words there is no confusion. But when
in lower position, the sign ha is heard as wa through
onbin, and the two signs are confused: therefore I
have put wa first, and then ha. Then come u and fu:
these also are given because in lower position the
sign fu sometimes sounds like u.

In addition, since this is an innovatory study
there are some points which though trifling have been
given some thought: these are given at the end. Since
there are things that will come to be understood nat-
urally if one begins by finding out about the origin
of sound and word, firstly a few notes have been made
on these. Then a table of the fifty sounds has been
given, followed by notes on the iroha: i, wi, etc.
have been put after this.

If one wishes to find out about kana, then firstly
one must learn about the initial stage, when sounds
are produced.

1 That is to say, the order of entries under each sign: the sections
on the respective signs are not arranged in iroha order.
2 Although this reads as if Keichū is adding a section on hi for the
first time, i.e. that Gyōa's writings on kana usage do not include a
hi section, this is not so, for KMZK has a hi section, and so too
(according to the KMZK preface) did the putative notes of Chikayuki.

Concerning the study of the speech-sounds of China I know nothing, and as regards the Sanskrit of India I have but learnt to write Sanskrit signs, and have not learnt anything of importance. And though this country is far from India, contrary to what might be expected we have many sounds in common. In China they say "see a flower", "see the moon", putting the verb first and the noun after; here in Japan we express this the other way round, starting with the noun. Since we resemble India also in that we write things this way, I shall for this reason at least be talking about something which I understand to some small extent.

114.

Generally speaking, when men are about to say something, there is a wind in their throat. In India the name for this wind is udana.[1] Outside air is drawn down into the abdomen; when it hits the gastric juices and starts the voice up, the udana comes into contact with seven places, namely gums, teeth, lips, roof of the mouth, tongue, throat, and chest. The various sounds are produced by movement of the throat, tongue, and lips; but they do not exceed fifty in number. Nor are they confined to humans: all the way from the lofty Buddhas and Shinto deities, down to demons and domesticated animals — all produce these sounds. And again, not only sentient beings: even the sounds made by insentient things, such as the soughing of the wind in the trees or water running over pebbles, do not go beyond these limits.

The character 自 ji which forms the upper part of the character 息 iki "breath" means "nose" (鼻). The nose is the place through which the breath passes, and belongs to the lungs.[2] The lungs are related to metal.[3] Since metal is the essence of wind,[4] when there is a conflux of like elements, and as the lungs receive it first, the emergence of clear tears also is a sign of this.[5] With regard to use of the element "heart" in the sign for "breath", the breath moves quickly or slowly according to whether the mind is

1 Skt. udana.
2 The argument here and in the text immediately following is based on the correspondences in ancient Chinese philosophy between the Five Elements (Chi. wu hsing 五行 ; Jap. gogyō), the Five Internal Organs (Chi. wu tsang 五臟 ; Jap. gozō), the Five Perceptory Organs (Chi. wu kuan 五官 ; Jap. gokan), and the Five Universals (Chi. wu da 五大 ; Jap. godai). Here, the correspondence is between the nose (one of the Perceptory Organs) and the lungs (one of the Internal Organs). There are in fact two versions of the correspondences: one version is that Subhakarasimha (Chi. Shan Wu Wei 善無畏), the other by Amoghavajra (Chi. Fu k'ung 不空). Vd. Nasu 1936, p. 104 et seq.
3 Metal, one of the Five Elements, corresponds to the lungs, one of the internal organs.
4 Wind is the Universal that corresponds to metal.
5 According to the theory of mutual generation of the Five Elements (Chi. wu hsing hsiang shêng 五行相生 ; Jap. gogyō sōsei), metal generates water, and here Keichū appears to be taking the emergence of clear tears (i.e. water) from the lungs — i.e. metal — as demonstrating this principle.

troubled or at ease. This must be because states of
anger and joy are fully reflected in the breath. In
the esoteric sects it is taught that this breath is
nothing other than the heart: one breath appears to be
something very small, and yet longevity depends upon it.
Breath (息) is a word that arises through the bringing
together of the heart and longevity. If one is well
acquainted with this idea, then even the laws of the
everlasting orations of The Immortal Buddha are con-
fined by this one breath.

In the Shaseki-shū it is written that waka poems
are the dharani of Japan. In this work (Shaseki-shū)
dharani is translated as sōji 揔持 "all-possessing".
This is because a dharani commands and possesses ex-
quisite qualities. The translation sōji was used to
describe the fact that a short waka contains profound
significance, on the basis of the concept that just
one of the signs used in writing a waka contains many
meanings. To speak in precise terms, the forty-seven
signs of the iroha should without hesitation be called
a dharani, before using them to write waka.

Since to call Kongōgo bosatsu 金剛語菩薩 Mugon
dai-bosatsu 無言大菩薩 attains to the reality of
language, then language is non-language? In clarifying
the five types of language theory in the Shakumakaen-
ron 釋摩訶衍論 , this is called the nyogi 如義 theory.
For example, it is like when a mirror is empty: it is
round in shape and silver in colour, but there is no-
thing to prevent it reflecting ten thousand images.

Next, one should know about written signs. Sanskrit
signs were devised at the beginning of the world by
Brahmadeva when he descended to India: accordingly they
were given the name bonji 梵字 . This however was said
on the basis of legend. In fact, sound and word existed
inherently from the beginning. Therefore in the Dai-
nichi-kyō 大日經 Sutra and Kongōchō-kyō Sutra there are
chapters on letters and signs; and The Buddha himself
occasionally expounds upon letters in such sutras as the
Kegon-kyō 華嚴經 , Nehan-gyō, Hannya-kyō 般若經 ,
and Monjumon-kyō 文殊問經 . In the Dainichi-kyō Sutra
it says that the sign a existed ab initio -- it was not
produced; and therefore the sign a manifested its form.
It was devised neither by Tathāgata Buddha nor by any
man. From the logic that the Teachings were not pro-
duced, but existed ab initio, it follows that the signs
which are within Nature manifested themselves of their
own accord.

1 I.e. the character for breath is made up of two parts, one representing
the heart (心), the other representing longevity (自).
2 The two terms are synonymous, and refer to (Skt.) Vajrabhasa Bodhi-
sattva.
3 The paradoxical style of this passage reflects the strong Buddhist
influence that characterises much of Keichū's writings.
4 Jap. Bon-tennō.

Invariably a meaning underlies sound and word.
This is called reality.[1] To use a metaphor, signs are
like men: sound is speech, meaning is the heart.
These are called shape, sound, and meaning; these
three things are always linked to the various signs.

Generally speaking it is held that thusness[2] was
The Origin, and that all the various Laws were pro-
duced from this. The various sects do not go beyond
this, but in sutras such as the Engaku-kyō 圓覺經 ,
Shugo-kyō, and Rishushaku-kyō 理趣釋經 it is ex-
pounded that thusness is produced from dharani.
Dharani are nothing other than signs: their effect
is as mentioned in the preface by quoting from the
sutras.

In a barbarian country to the north, a hermit
named Kharasthi[3] came forth and devised written signs.
And in China written signs were devised by Ts'ang
Chieh 蒼頡 [4]on seeing the tracks made by a bird. If
a parallel be made with Sanskrit signs, [it can be said
that] the signs innate [in Nature] manifested themselves
here and there by the force of effect. For example,
Fire has always existed within Stone and Wood,[5] but it
is as if it appeared through the agency of Man. In
the preface to the Bunkyō hifu-ron 文鏡秘府論 [6]it
is written, "In the sky and on the ground, the innate
signs manifested themselves. On the backs of turtles
and strange beasts the writing of Nature appeared."
The meaning of this is that since naturally-occurring
signs were already the writing of Nature, signs
should be devised by imitating even the tracks of a
bird. The fact that in this country neither gods nor
men invented signs must be so because we imitated the
writing of China.

The study of Sanskrit signs is called Shittan.[7]
116. Shittan is Sanskrit, and is translated as "completion".
This is because, by means of this, everything in the
secular and ecclesiastical worlds is complete. In
Shittan there are forty-seven signs. Firstly there
are twelve signs which are called mata. Mata is
translated as "mother". The signs are said also to
be called "dots and lines" (點畫) and "vowels" (韻).
Of these it is the five signs a, i, u, e, wo that are

1 Vd. p. 113 above, note 5.
2 Skt. bhūtatathatā; Jap. shinnyo 眞如 . A Buddhist term meaning the
true state of all things in the universe. Vd. Takakusu 1947, p.39.
3 Jap. Kyaro. Also written variously as 佉盧 or 佉路 . Little is
known of this hermit save the tradition here mentioned.
4 A minister to the Yellow Emperor.
5 According to the theory of mutual generation of the Five Elements,
Fire is generated from Wood. It is not clear however why Keichū should
write of Fire as being in both Stone and Wood.
6 A work by Kūkai in six maki, treating inter alia of the art of
poetry, grammar, and speech-sounds.
7 From Skt. siddham.

of importance from the viewpoint of the Japanese lang-
uage. Next, there are thirty-five signs called taimon
"consonants". Of these, firstly there are twenty-five
signs for five types of sounds. Then there are ten
signs called either henkōsei or mankōsei.[1] Omitting
voiced equivalents of the same sound, the important
elements for Japanese are the nine signs ka, sa, ta,
na, ha, ma, ya, ra, wa. If these are put together with
the previous five signs, there are fourteen sounds. In
the section on signs in the Nehan-gyō Sutra, The Buddha
expounds,[2] "The language you speak has fourteen sounds.
These have names, and those names are considered the
meanings." Teachers in Japan and China have given this
passage various interpretations: that of Shinpan is
that the Fourteen Sounds mentioned here are those above.
And that no doubt is how it should be.

The first five signs consist of guttural sounds.
Of these, a is the first sound when the mouth is opened
and is generally speaking always there faintly within
the throat. Even though it may not be said purposely,
it is attendant upon the incoming and outgoing of the
breath: it is primarily for this reason therefore that
in the sutras it is expounded that the sign a is the
first manifestation of Life in the case of both sent-
ient and non-sentient entities. While being a vowel,
it is also a consonant. Vertically, a produces i, u,
e, wo; horizontally it produces ka, sa, ta, na, ha, ma,
ya, ra, wa. Suppose there be a town facing south, with
main roads to the south and west: the sign a is like a
house on the south-west corner of the town doing trade
to the west and the south. Generally speaking, a is
the beginning of all sounds, being like the distant
ancestor of a family. Since the first stroke of the
brush when writing the various signs of Sanskrit is
always a, it is the seed of the various written signs
and sounds. The word seed has the two meanings of
"support" and "life-inducing". It is the "support"
element within a that gathers the various sounds to-
gether within a and does not allow them to disperse.
It is the "life-inducing" element by means of which
the various sounds are generated from a. The same
applies to the meanings of the signs.

The sign a in Sanskrit has the meaning of "primord-
ial, not produced". This means that all the various
Laws were innate, and not produced now for the first
time. Since from this meaning all meanings were pro-
duced, it is also the beginning of meaning. In Japan
and China there are only sounds (koe).[3] I is a sound
produced from a, but is different from a through
contact with the tongue. In Sanskrit writing the sign
i has the meaning "basis": the reason for this is that,

1 Vd. p.87 above, note 2.
2 The Buddha is addressing Kāśyapa.
3 The exact signification of 聲 (sei, or koe) here is not clear. In
MYSO, and in the WJSH onzu, the character 聲 is used in the sense of
"consonant" (cf. 韻 in or hibiki "vowel").

117. just as it is not until after the seed of a plant or tree has been sown that a root is produced, i is the first changed sound produced from a. As regards u, the change is made by contact with the lips. E is produced from i: when e is pronounced, there is contact with the tongue, a light i sound is added at the beginning, and it is pronounced ie. Since wo is produced from u, at first there is a light u sound, then contact with the lips, and₁it is pronounced uwo. If the merit of these two signs be laid down at the outset, it is that they are produced from a.

As regards signs for the nine sounds: ka is a sound in which the change from a is made by articulation of the sound a just outside the throat. Though a guttural sound, it is also called a molar sound, since there is contact with the molars. In Sanskrit writing, ka is said to be a sign meaning "work": this is because it is the first [sign/sound] in which a consonant moves and emerges.

Although sa, ta, and na are all linguals, since with sa there is contact with the base of the tongue and also with the teeth, it is also called a dental. In the case of ta, there is contact with the middle of the tongue, and the jaw is snapped open. Na is a consonant in which the jaw is snapped open with the tip of the tongue. Also, since with na there is an entry of air into the nose, it is sometimes noted in dharani as a nasal. The five sounds na, ni, nu, ne, no cannot be pronounced at all if the nose is blocked strongly.

Although ha and ma are both labials, for ha there is light contact within the lips, [while] for ma there is strong contact on the outer side of the lips.

These seven sounds from a onwards are in the order of gutturals, linguals, and labials. And within these three there is an order: the three sounds ya, ra, and wa are the henkōsei mentioned above: they are sounds said by filling the whole mouth. Of these, ya is a guttural, but it is pronounced with simultaneous movement of the tongue. Ra is the most extreme lingual, being pronounced by rolling the tongue and snapping the jaw open with more force than for ta and na. Other linguals are pronounced by contact of the tongue on the lower teeth; however, these are not pronounced in Japanese. The sign ra in Sanskrit is the germ-letter for Fire. The tongue belongs to the heart.[4] If it be considered that it is of the nature of fire to rise, then it is naturally suited.[5] Though wa is a guttural, it is also a labial, and is pronounced within the lips more

1 Presumably i and u.
2 Concerning whether Keichū's description of ha as a labial was based on the language of his own day, or whether he may have been influenced by the traditional phonetic theory of Mt.Kōya, vd. Mabuchi 1971, p.137.
3 Sanmai 三内 is a term from Shittan used to refer to the three articulatory types of gutturals, linguals, and labials.
4 Vd. p.118 above, note 2.
5 The meaning here is obscure.

softly than the sign for ha. The above three sounds
are in the order of gutturals, linguals, and labials.

In the rules of Sanskrit writing, the signs for
vowels are abbreviated and added to the signs for
consonants. The way in which the signs are abbrev-
iated is akin to that of writing 水 "water" as 氵 in Chi-
nese characters. When i is added to ka it becomes ki;
when u is added, it becomes ku; when e is added, it
becomes ke; and when wo is added, it becomes ko.

118. The [kana-] gaeshi [1] of kai is ki; that of kau is ku;
that of kae is ke; and that of kawo is ko. If the ka
is taken from ki, it becomes i; if ka is taken from
ku, it becomes u; if ka is taken from ke, it becomes
e; and if ka is taken from ko, it becomes wo. Since
vowels are all mata sounds, the dots and lines in
Sanskrit signs are vowels. [The principle for] adding
them to sa, ta, na, etc. is the same as above. Acc-
ordingly the four [vowels] and nine [consonants] produce
thirty-six sounds, giving a total of fifty sounds.
Since the thirty-six sounds are sounds produced by
combination of the consonants and vowels, and in Sans-
krit the signs are also produced by combination, there
were no ab initio signs for ki, ku, ke, ko, shi, su,
se, so, etc. Since the rules for Chinese characters
are different, so too the signs for the sounds pro-
duced are divers. Accordingly, the iroha poem was
composed by combining the sounds which produce and
those which are produced. The nine consonants are
the fathers, the four vowels are the mothers, and the
thirty-six sounds are the children[.][2] ------[3]

Table of Fifty Sounds.

Within each vertical column there is interchange
of the five vowels; within each horizontal column
there is interchange with the same vowel.

1 Vd. p.71 above, note 3.
2 This gives a total of forty-nine. A is counted as a sign which is
both a vowel and a consonant.
3 Keichū continues at length his discussion of the principle of con-
sonants and vowels, and touches on the concept of gender in Sanskrit
grammar.

	abbreviation	ka	sa	ta	na
a	a	ka	sa	ta	na
i	i	ki — kana-gaeshi:[2] ka and i	shi — kana-gaeshi: sa and i	chi — kana-gaeshi: ta and i	ni — kana-gaeshi: na and i
u	u	ku — kana-gaeshi: ka and u	su — kana-gaeshi: sa and u	tsu — kana-gaeshi: ta and u	nu — kana-gaeshi: na and u
e	e	ke — kana-gaeshi: ka and e	se — kana-gaeshi: sa and e	te — kana-gaeshi: ta and e	ne — kana-gaeshi: na and e
wo	wo	ko — kana-gaeshi: ka and wo	so — kana-gaeshi: sa and wo	to — kana-gaeshi: ta and wo	no — kana-gaeshi: na and wo

Guttural. Both consonant and vowel. Origin that produces the various syllables.

Lingual. Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from a.

Labial. Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from a.

Tip-lingual. Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from i.

Tip-labial. Vowel only – not consonant. Produced from u.

Notes to first column.[1]

Guttural, inner.

Guttural, outer; also molar. Produced from a.

Lingual, base (moto ※); also dental. Produced from i.

Lingual, mid. Produced from i.

Lingual, tip; also nasal. Produced from i.

120.   The above table was made on the basis of Sanskrit
writing. ——.

Summary of Maki 1 Subsequent to The Onzu.

Different traditions for Shittan in Japan.

Degeneracy of the Chinese language from late Sung 宋 onwards.

Importance of reading dharani correctly. Likewise, the importance
of writing waka ("the dharani of Japan") with the correct kana.

Shapes of Signs in the Iroha: each kana is given, with the Chinese
character from which (in Keichū's opinion) it is derived, and the
hansetsu of that character.

Shapes of The Katakana Signs: each katakana is given, with the
Chinese character from which it is derived.

Short Notes on the Iroha: a commentary on the meaning of the
iroha, preceded by a discussion on the composer of that poem. The
discussion is followed by an explanation of ligature signs in Sans-
krit.

WJSH Maki 2-5: Translated Excerpts.[1]

135.   Waji shōran-shō Maki 2.

(Notes to onzu).
1 I.e. the vertical column above these same remarks.
2 The original here has setsu 切 , i.e. the second character of the
compound hansetsu 反切 . The present writer has however chosen to
translate this as [kana-] gaeshi rather than as hansetsu, since it is
clearly the former principle that is involved here. Vd. p.71, note 3.

1 The following excerpts consist of a total of one hundred entries,
twenty-five consecutive entries having been taken from each of the
four maki of the dictionary proper, together with the notes to entries
as found in the IKZN text of WJSH. The aim of these selections is to
give a representative cross-section of entries.
    Numerals enclosed within single parentheses (used instead of a
circle in IKZN WJSH, e.g. (1) instead of 1) indicate handwritten in-
sertions made by Keichū to the Mite Bunko printed version of WJSH.
    Single letters within single parentheses — e.g. (a) — indicate
editor's notes (used in place of single un-bracketed letters in IKZN
WJSH).
    Numerals within double parentheses — e.g. ((1)) — indicate notes
added by the present writer.
    "Additional entry" refers to entries designated honyū 補入 in
IKZN WJSH. According to Tsukishima, honyū consist not of notes to
already-existing entries in WJSH, but of completely new entries.

I: this is used for the _on_ of 以 ，伊 ，異 ，已 ; and for the
kun of 五十 , etc.

膽 (1)	i "liver"	Ikoma(2)膽駒 (mt. name), _ibuki_(3) 膽吹 (mt. name), _kuma no i_ 熊膽 "bear's gall", etc. conform to this.(4)
(a)射 < _iru_ (U.2) "to shoot"	i	The _i_ in _ite_射手 "archer", _iba_射場 "archery ground", etc. is the same as this. Also read _ikufu_ in _Nihongi_.
寢	i "sleep"	_Asa-i_ 朝寢 (5)"morning sleep", etc.
色	_iro_(b) "colour"	_Nani-iro_ "what colour", etc. Note: _irotoru_ "to colour".
母 (6)	_iroha_(c)	Old word for "mother".
弟 Intimate term for younger brother or sister	_iroto_(d)	Possibly the form with _o_ omitted of _iro-oto_ in _Nihongi_. _Iro_ is an

(1) (Top margin, in black ink) Daughter of Emperor Suinin;
Nh: Ikatarashi-hime no mikoto 膽香足姬命 ; Kj has Igatarashi-
hiko no mikoto 伊賀帶日子令 . Wm III: Japanese name for 膽
is _i_伊; Isaha-gun 膽澤郡 : 伊佐波。
(2) Nh Jinmu-ki. A mountain (Mt. Ikoma 膽駒).
(3) Nh Keikō-ki.
(4) Chūkō-shi 中黃子 has 膽: _hansetsu_,都敢(_tan_); Japanese
name: _i_伊. Internal organ of the central spirit.
(5) _Yasu-i mo nezute_ 夜須伊毛称爰弓 My XV (_Man'yōshū maki_ 15).
(6) 伊呂波 _iroha_.
(a) 射 has a mark for _jōshō_上聲 .
(b) The _kana_ sign _ro_ has a mark for _hyōshō_平聲 .
(c) The _kana_ sign _ha_ has a mark for _hyōshō_。
(d) The _kana_ sign _to_ has a mark for _hyōshō_。

abbreviation of _iroha_ above, possibly meaning "younger brother of same mother".

ロ(7)   _irone_(8) (e)

Intimate term for elder brother or sister

Nihongi. _Iro_ is as under the last entry. Since _ne_ and _se_ have the same vowel, possibly it is _irose_, meaning "elder brother of the same mother". Other terms for _irone_ are _konokami_, _ani_, and _se_.

鱗(9)   _irokutsu_

"fish's scales"

Iroko. Also _urokutsu_, and _urokoto_.

嗉息   _iroke_((1))

Nihongi. Also _ihake_.

雲脂   _iroko_(10) (11)

"dandruff"

Wamyō-shū has _kashira no aka_ "dirt on the head". Probably the same meaning as _iroko_ "scales".

岩   _iha_(12)(13)

"rock"

(7) 伊呂祢 _irone_.

(8) 古乃加美 _konokami_.

(9) 以呂久都 _irokutsu_. Colloquially 伊呂古 _iroko_.

(10) 伊呂古 _iroko_.

(11) Also _kashira no aka_ ((original has _kashira no aka to shi_; the editor's note suggests that this is in error for _kashira no aka to mo_; the present translation follows the latter)).

(12) 磐 :以波 _iha_.

(13) (Additional entry) The Chinese character has yet to be considered. _Iha_: refers to that which is attached as a weight to a net. In _Rokujō III_, on the theme of _ami_ "net" there is the poem: _Afu koto no katayose ni suru ami no me ni ihakenaki mate koikakarinuru_. In the first part of the Miscellaneous section in _Senzai-shū_ there is the following poem by the Ken-chūnagon Toshitada 俊忠 : _Iha orosu kata koso nakere Iso no umi no shihose ni kakaru ama no tsuribune_.

巌　　　　ihaho [14]　　The meaning of ihaho is to be found
in the writing 石穗 (iha "stone" +
ho "ear (of rice, etc.)") in Man'yōshū.
An ear of rice (ho) is something which
is clearly to be seen, and so there is
the phrase ho ni izu "to appear clear-
ly". Ihaho is the name given to that
which within a rock is a surprise to
the eyes (?). The ho in inaho "rice
ear", etc., fune no ho "ship's sail",
honoho "flame", kakiho "end of fence",
etc. [1] is the same meaning in all cases.

羊躑躅　ihatsutsushi [2]　Wamyō-shū also has mochitsutsushi. [3]
"azalea"

石綱　　ihatsuna　　　Man'yōshū. Clings to stone. Ivy.
(pillow-word)

磐梨　　ihanasu [4]　　Wamyō-shū . Name of district (gun)
in Bizen Province.

石韋　　ihanokaha [5] [6]　　Also ihakumi. Wamyō-shū .
Pyrrosia lingua ([1])
(Thunb.) Farwell

(Notes cont. from previous page).

(e)　The kana sign ne has a mark for hyōshō.

((1))　Iroke seems to be in error for iwake. Keichū probably
saw a kana gloss iroke which arose through copyist's error for
iwake due to the similarity in shape between katakana wa ヲ and
ro ロ . For this explanation I am indebted to Tsukishima.

(14)　以八保 ihaho.

(1)　(Additional entry) Namiho 波穗.

(2)　以波豆々之　ihatsutsushi.

(3)　毛知豆々之　mochitsutsushi.

(4)　伊波奈須 ihanasu.

(5)　以波乃加波　ihanokaha.

(6)　以波久美 ihakumi.

((1))　A variety of fern.

卷柏　　　(7) (8)　Also _ihakoke_.　_Wamyo-shū_.
　　　　　ihakumi
Selaginella tamariscina
　(Beauv.) Spring

石蘚　　(9)　_ihakusuri_　Also (10)_sukunahiko no_ (a)((1))_Wamyō-shū_.
　　　　　　　"dendrobium"　　　　　_ihine._

窟　　(11)　_ihaya_(12)
　　　　　"cavern"

屯　　(13)　_ihamu_　　Nihongi.　Both 満 and 盈 are the same.
　　　"to become full"

況　　　_ihamuya_　烱 is the same.
　"how much more so"

驚駭　　_ihake_　　Nihongi.
<_iwaku_ (L.2) "become perturbed"

kanji yet to　_ihakenashi_
be considered　　　"young"

祝　　　_ihafu_
"to pray (for felicitous
　course of events)"

(7) 伊波久美 _ihakumi_.
(8) 伊波古介 _ihakoke_.
(9) 以波久須利 _ihakusuri_.
(10) 須久奈比古乃久須祢　_sukunahiko no kusune_.
(11) 骨 (note on the _on_ reading.　_Wamyō-shō_ has "the _hansetsu_
of 骨 " (?));
(12) 伊波夜 _ihaya_.
(13) 屯聚居 .　This is pronounced _ihami-wi_ 怕波弥基 — Nh
Jinmu-ki.
(a)　The _kana_ sign _i_ has a mark for _jōshō_; _ihi_ has been deleted
in vermilion.
((1))　There is an inconsistency here between Keichū's _sukuna-_
hiko no ihine, and _Wamyō-shō_ _sukunahiko no kusune_ (10).

鎮齋　　　　*ihafu*　　　　This means "to worship the deities".

171.　　　　　　　　　<u>Waji shōran-shō Maki</u> 3.[(1)]

<u>Wo</u>: the <u>on</u> of 遠 , 袁 , 手 , 弘 ; ((1)) the <u>kun</u> of 雄 , 尾 , etc.

岑[(2)]My　　　<u>wo</u>　　　　Peak of mountain. 峯 is the same.[(3)]

呼於[(4)]　　　<u>wo</u>　　　　Wamyō-shū.　Name of sub-district in Hine-gun, Yamato Province. <u>Nihongi Jimmu-ki</u> has "the sluice at Wo (雄)". <u>Engi shiki</u>: "the shrine at Wo (男)". <u>Tosa nikki</u> has Wotsu <u>no hama</u> "the beach at Wotsu". Possibly these are all references to this place.

雄　　　<u>wo</u>　　　　男 is the same. <u>Satsuwo</u> "hunter",
　　　"male"　　　<u>masurawo</u> "valorous man", etc.

苧　　　<u>wo</u>　　　　麻 is the same. <u>Wofu</u> "ground in which
　　　"flax plant"　　flax grows, <u>wotanaki</u> "spool (for linen, etc.)", etc.

緒　　　<u>wo</u>　　　　<u>Toshi no wo</u> "the endless year", <u>tama no wo</u> "bejewelled cord", "life"; etc.

(1) Oke no oho 億計王 , Woke no oho 弘計王 (Nh); Oke no oho 意祁王 , Woke no oho 袁祁王 (Kj).

(2) <u>Hana chirafu kono mukatsu wo</u> (岑) <u>no</u>, My XIV; <u>mukatsu wo</u> (岑) <u>no he</u>, My XX.

(3) (Additional entry) 丘 (<u>woka</u>).

(4) 手 <u>wo</u>.

((1)) In the case of 遠 and 弘 , <u>wo</u> is not the <u>on</u> reading, but the <u>Man'yōgana</u> reading.

尾 (5)(6)(8) wo (7)(9)
(10)
"tail"

Man'yōshū, Wamyō-shū, etc. Should not be written o. Always used in Man'yōshū for the grammatical particle wo.

小 wo
"small"

There is an interchange of ko and wo here, both these having the same vowel. Wono "fields", koshiho "neap tide", etc.

蛇 (11) worochi (12)

Nihongi. Wamyō-shū also has hemi and kuchinaha. And in Wamyō-shū under the heading hami "viper", Kenmeien 兼名苑 is quoted as having, "one of the names for viper is 反鼻 ". In the note on pronunciation, Wamyō-shū has, "the Japanese name for viper is hami 波美 ; in the colloquial some call a serpent 反鼻 : the pronunciation of this is hebi (片尾)."

In Kawachi Province there is a village the name of which is written

(5) 手 wo, Wm.
(6) 邑久郡 : 於保久 Ohoku; 尾沼 : 手奴 Wonu; 尾張 : 手八利 Wohari. Nh Yūryaku-ki, a poem by Kibi no Oshiro 吉備尾代 , in which he praises his own valour, has the following: michi ni afu ya Oshiro no ko, michi ni kanafu ya Oshiro no ko.
(7) Ashihiki no yatsuwo (手) no tsuhaki, My XX. (The following is written to the right of wo 峙 above) Yamatori no woro (手呂) no hatsuwo ni kakami kake.
(8) Wono minato 小野湊,尾野湊 .
(9) Wm: 鵐尾琴 tobi no wo koto 止比乃手古止 ;三尾 : 美手 Miwo. 高嶋 Takashima.
(10) (Top margin, in black ink)尾津 :手都 Wotsu, Kuhana-gun, Ise Province.
(11) Nh Shiki. 手呂知 worochi, Wm.
(12) 遠呂智 worochi, Kj.

蚖草 but read Hakusa; this appears also in the <u>Shōtoku Taishi-den</u> in the possession of the Taira clan. Possibly this is an abbreviation of <u>hamikusa</u>. Giving consideration now to the pronunciation of the word for "serpent" - <u>hebi</u> - it was probably not [originally] hebi反鼻 [as in <u>Kenmei-en</u>], but a corruption of <u>hemi</u>. The reason for this is that all serpents are called <u>hebi</u>. The word for "kite" is <u>tobi</u>, but it is also called <u>tomi</u>: the parallel should be taken from this. Or alternatively, <u>hemi</u> too was pronounced <u>hebi</u>, and the separate names <u>hebi</u> and <u>hemi</u> were used as one general term. In <u>Wamyō-shū</u> <u>hemi</u> is noted as the original Japanese name for serpent.

姨　　　<u>woha</u>(13)　　　Probably an abbreviation of <u>wohaha</u> (<u>wo</u> "little" + <u>haha</u> "mother").

(14)(15)(17)　<u>wohari</u>(16)　"end"
絲

(13)　Haha-kata no woha (乎波) "maternal aunt".
(14)　(Additional entry) 萱花 <u>wohana</u> "pampas grass". Wm, My.
In the <u>Mono no na</u> section of <u>Kokin-shū</u> there is the following play on words: <u>utsusemi no yo wo hanashi</u> (<u>wohana shi</u>) <u>to ya</u>.
In <u>Ruiju Kokushi</u> XXXI it is written that when His Imperial Highness journeyed to the Shinsen'en Garden, He commanded the courtier Heguri no Kazemaro 平群賀是麻呂 of the Junior 5th Rank (lower grade) to compose a poem. Whereupon Kazemaro composed the poem: <u>Ika ni fuku kaze ni areha ka ohoshima no wohana</u> (乎波牢　) <u>no suwe wo fukimusuhitaru</u>.

(The following is written on the reverse side of page 1 of <u>maki</u> 3): Wohana (乎花　) <u>ga shita no omohigusa hatsu-wohana</u> (乎花　) <u>kariho ni fukite</u>. My XV. Wohana (麻花　) <u>oshinabe okutsuyu ni</u>.

172. (a)尾張 (1) Wohari (2)
　　　　　　(place-name)　　Wamyō-shū. Should not be written Ohari. In the <u>Mono no na</u> section of <u>Shūi-shū</u> there is a play on words with <u>wohari</u> (-gome): <u>ike wo harikome-taru midu no ohokereba</u>.

遠敷 (3)(4) Wonifu　　　Wamyō-shū. Name of district (<u>gun</u>) in Wakasa Province.

尾柮 (5) <u>wobone</u>　　　Horse's tail-bone.

前年 (6)(7) <u>wototoshi</u>　　Man'yōshū. Since there is interchange
　"year before last"　　of <u>to</u> and <u>chi</u>, it is properly <u>wochi-toshi</u> "distant year"(8).

(Notes cont. from previous page).

<u>Wohana</u> (乎花) <u>kuzuhana</u>. My VIII. <u>Wohana</u> (乎花) <u>no suwe wo aki to ha ihan</u>. My X. <u>Wobana</u> (乎婆奈) <u>fukikosu akikaze ni hatsu-wobana</u> (乎婆奈). My XX.

(15) (Top margin, in black ink) My VIII, p. 4; XII; XVI, p. 5. 草花 <u>wohana</u>.

(16) (R.h. margin)許登乎波里 <u>koto wohari</u>, My XVIII; 事之乎波 良波 <u>koto shi woharaha</u>, My XX.

(17) (Top margin, in black ink) 和我与波乎閇牟 <u>waga yo ha wohemu</u>; also 己乃与波乎閇牟 <u>kono yo ha wohemu</u>.

(1) 烏波利 Wohari, Nh; 袁波理 Wohari, Kj.

(2) 乎波里 Wohari.

(3) 尾張 :乎波利倍 Woharihe, Mizuno-gun, Shinano Province. (Note to Wohari尾張 entry?).

(4) 乎尓不 Wonifu.

(5) 乎保祢 <u>wohone</u>.

(6) My IV: <u>wototoshi no sakitsu toshi yori kotoshi made kofure-do nazo mo imo ni ahigataki</u>. Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 .

(7) My VI, p. 34, left: <u>wototsuhi no kinofu no kefu no mitsure domo asu sahe mimaku hoshiki kimi ka mo</u>. Written by Tachibana Sukune橘宿祢 .

(8) (Additional entry)伯母 :乎波 <u>woha</u>. Kun reading of 叔母 the same (should be before <u>wohari</u>峰 entry).

(a)尾 has a mark for <u>kyoshō</u>去聲 .

前日 (9)　wototohi
"day before yesterday"

Man'yōshū. In a poem by Ki no Tsura-yuki 紀貫之 there is the phrase _kinofu yori wochi woha shirazu_ "not knowing anything further back in time than yesterday". Since the word for "further back than yesterday" is _wochi_, the first _to_ in _wototohi_ has interchanged with _chi_. The second _to_ has interchanged with _tsu_, and men said _wochitsuhi_. _Tsu_ is a particle. Man'yōshū Book Seventeen has _wototsuhi_.(10) There are those who pronounce this word thus in the colloquial.

(b) 媒鳥 (11) wotori
"decoy(-bird)"

Wamyō-shū. In Nihongi the sign 誘 is read _wokotsuru_. Since this means "to entice by deception", was a decoy-bird called _wotori_ in the sense of _wokotsuri-tori_?

雄 (12)　wodori
"cock bird"

踊 (13)(14) wodoru
"to dance"

Man'yōshū. Also, the poem in the Mono no na section of Shūi-shū with a word-play(c) on _wotori_ in the phrase _kahagishi no wodori orubeki tokoro araba_ "if there is somewhere on the river-banks with pheasants dancing/where there are decoy pheasants" shews that the _kana_

(9) (Top margin, in black ink) My XVII, p.13: _wototsuhi_ (乎登都日) _mo kinofu mo kefu mo_; ibid. p.46: _wototsuhi_ (乎等都日) _mo kinofu mo aritsu_.

(10) 登 _to_.

(11) 乎度利 _wotori_, Wm.

(12) 乎太里 _wotori_.

(14) 古乎 騰流 鴇 _ko wodoru kiji_ (古 is possibly in error for 左 _sa_).

(14) 古乎 騰流 鴇　_ko wodoru kiji_ (古 is possibly in error for 左 _sa_).

(b) 媒 has a mark for _kyoshō_.

(c) Single stroke for _dakuten_ by _kana ki_.

for wodoru "to dance" is the same as that for wotori "decoy bird".

(15)(16) 柴茸 wotowotoshi   Wamyō-shū.
Gastrodia elata Bl. ((1))

(17)(18)(d) 少男 wotoko   In Nihongi Jindai-ki there is a note
"man", "male"   in the text to 少男 and 少女 , saying:
"少男 :(e) this should be read wotoko
(烏箏弧); 少女 : this should be read
wotome (乎箏哶). In both cases to
has interchanged with tsu, the two
words being wotsuko (f) ("small (male)
child") and wotsume ("small female").
Wo here is the kun for the word 少 .
With regard to the spelling of wotoko ,
Shoku Nihongi, Man'yōshū, Wamyō-shū,
etc. are all the same as Nihongi. It
should not be written otoko. It is
unfounded conjecture to say that wonoko
should be written with wo, but that
otoko should be written with o; this
principle should not be followed.
Wonoko means "male child", and contrasts
with calling a woman menoko "female
child". The meaning of wonoko is

(15) 乎止乎止之   wotowotoshi.
(16) 加美乃夜加良   kami no yakara (one name ((for wotowotoshi))
in Wamyō-shō).
(17) 伊舟酉乎騰許 isase wotoko.
(18) The kun for 壯夫 is 袁箏古 wotoko, Kj. My V: masurawo no
wotoko (遠乃古) sabisu to; tsukihito wotoko (乎登許), My XV.
(d) The kana sign wo has a mark for kyoshō.
(e) ((Note to interlinear gloss woha)) Part of the kana sign
wo is missing; so too in the Genbun text.
(f) The kana sign ko (ゝ) looks like yu (ユ). So too in the
Genbun text.
((1)) A variety of orchid.

different from that of <u>wotoko</u>. Wotoko
is a word that was originally used for
"young boy" in contrast to <u>wotome</u>, but
later it came to be used with reference
to both young and old alike.[19]

少女 (g) <u>wotome</u>[20]
    "virgin"

Writings for <u>wotome</u> in <u>Man'yōshū</u> such
as 未通女 and 處女 are semantic (<u>gikun</u>).
The popular writing 乙女 is erroneous:
the <u>Go-on</u> of 乙 is <u>otsu</u>. In <u>Wamyō-shū</u>,
the <u>kana</u> for Otokuni 乙訓 district in
Yamashiro Province are 於止久邇 . That
the writing 乙女 is wrong should be known
from this. Even if <u>kō</u> 甲 and <u>otsu</u> 乙 be
taken in the sense of "brothers and sis-
ters ", the <u>woto</u> of <u>wotome</u> is not the
<u>on</u> of 乙 . Nor can the error be escaped
by saying that it is the <u>kun</u> reading of
弟 , since the <u>kana</u> for this (<u>oto</u>) also
have <u>o</u>.

伯父 <u>wodji</u>[21]
    "uncle"

<u>Wamyō-shū</u>. Abbreviation of <u>wochichi</u>
(<u>wo</u> "little" + <u>chichi</u> "father"). In
<u>Nihongi</u> Kinmei-ki there is a man called
Shin no ohotsuchi 秦大津父 . Here
父 (<u>chichi</u>) is read just as <u>chi</u>. Woba
above is <u>wohaha</u> "little mother": this
should be considered in conjunction
with <u>wodji</u>.

(19) 夫： 乎宇止 <u>wouto</u>, 乎止古 <u>wotoko</u>. 前夫：之太乎 <u>shitawo</u>; 毛止
乃乎止古 <u>moto no wotoko</u>; 知郷乎登古 <u>chi no wotoko</u>, My XIX.
乎等古乎美奈能波奈 <u>wotoko wonina no hana</u>, My XX. 寀豆麻
乎等故 <u>adzuma wotoko</u>. Kj I: 阿米那流夜淤登多那婆多
<u>ame naru ya oto tanabata</u>.
(20) 乎止女 <u>wotome</u>, Wm. (The following is written to the left):
莬等賣草 <u>wotonegusa</u>, Engi shiki XLI (XLI — possibly in error
for XL).
(21) 乎知 <u>wochi</u>.
(g) The <u>kana</u> sign <u>wo</u> has a mark for <u>kyoshō</u>.

老翁　　　wodji[22]　　　Nihongi, Man'yōshū. The meaning is the same as 伯父 (wodji). Term of respect and affection towards an elderly man.

芸薹　　　wochi[23]　　　Wamyō-shū.
plant of the Mustard
Family[[1]]

傝　　wochiwochi　　　Nihongi.
　　"item"

Waji shōran-shō Maki 4.

205.　　　E in Lower Position.

(29)(30)
嘶　ihae　　　Wamyō-shū has 以波由 ihayu. There is interchange of yu and e. One should not write ihahe or ihafu, as this does not accord with the interchange principle. There is also the word inanaku "to whinny". A horse whinnies with an i sound, and so in Man'yōshū also the signs 馬聲 are read semantically as i. Possibly ihae refers to the whinnying

(22) Nh Jindai, ge: ----- This is read wodji 烏賦 . Nh Kōkyoku-ki, a children's song: kamashishi no wodji (烏賦). My XVII: Sayamata no wodji (乎治) - the official called Yamada Kimimaro 山田君麿 .

(23) 乎知 wochi.

(29) 以波由 ihayu.

(30) 以奈奈久 inanaku.

((1)) Mod. abura-na. Oi 1965 lists the Mustard Family collect-ively, but does not identify abura-na more specifically, although Makino 1949 defines this plant as Brassica campestris L., subsp. Napus Hook. fil. et Anders., var. nippo-oleifera Makino.

and glossiness of a horse. Or, since ha and ho interchange, possibly the meaning is "bark/cry i". Perhaps inanaku is i no naku. Reading the characters 渡邊 either Watanohe or Watanahe is also a case of interchange, in this case of ne and no.

206.   香菜(1)   inue   Wamyō-shū. Generally speaking, in

plant of the Mint Family((1))   Japanese grammar something similar to something else is called inu———. Inue is so called because it is similar to the e-goma plant (e),((2)) and yet different from this.

愈   ie   Conjugated iyasu, iyu. It should be

< iyu (L.2) "to heal"   known that the lower sign is e.

花宴   hane no emu   The hansetsu of 宴 is 於見 (en).

"flower-viewing banquet"

大角(2)   hara no fue   Wamyō-shū.

"military flute (in the shape of a beast's horn)"

鮠(3)   hae   Wamyō-shū. Since a dace is swift (haya),

"dace"   possibly the ya was interchanged with e.((3))

(1) 以沼衣 inue.

(2) 波良乃布江   hara no fue.

(3) 波江 hae.

((1)) Labiatae. The exact identity of this plant does not seem certain.

((2)) Perilla Ocimoides.

((3)) I.e. ya-column e.

萌 (4)　　　hae　　　　Nihongi. Refers to vegetation growing.
< hayu (L.2) "to grow"

煮　　　　　nie　　　　Yet to be considered. Colloquially,
< niyu (L.2) "to boil"　　　men say niyuru, niyasu — accordingly
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　it is like this. (5)

吠 (6)　　　hoe　　　　Refers to a dog barking. The sign for
hoyu (L.2) "to bark"　　the lowing of a cow is 吽 (7), and that
　　　　　　　　　　　　　for the howling of a wolf is 嗥 . In
　　　　　　　　　　　　　all cases the kun reading is hoyu 保由 .

千枝　　　　chie　　　　Appears in Rokujō in a poem with the
　　　　　　　　　　　　　phrase Nobuta no mori no kusu ni "in
　　　　　　　　　　　　　a camphor-tree in the wood at Nobuta".

鵼 (8)(9)　　nue　　　　Kojiki, Man'yōshū, Wamyō-shū.
"fabulous night bird"

kanji yet to　(10)
be considered　nuekusa　　Kojiki.
　　　　　　　"flowing grass"

蓖麻 (11)(12)
　　　(13) karae　　　Wamyō-shū. Probably means "foreign
"castor-oil plant"　(kara) e-goma plant (e)".

(4)　Nh Kenzō-ki.

(5)　Yanagi koso kireha iesure (possibly 伊 i is in error for 伴 ha)
kahamo mo so karureha hayuru.

(6)　保由 hoyu, Wm.

(7)　(Additional entry) 虎 (tora).

(8)　奴延 nue, Kj.

(9)　沼江 nue.

(10)　怒延久佐 nuekusa.

(11)　草

(12)　加良衣 karae.

(13)　加良可之波 karakashiha.

鴨居 (14)(15) kamoe   Wamyō-shū. Colloquial kamoi is err-
         "lintel"   oneous.

簨 sobie   There is interchange to the effect
< sobiyu (L.2) "to tower   sobiyu, sobiyakasu.
              up"

費 tsuie   Tsuiyu, tsuiyasu.
< tsuhiyu (L.2) "to become
         used up"

潰 tsue   Tsuyu, tsuyasu. Since 費 above is also
< tsuyu (L.2) "to be   of the same meaning as 潰 here, possibly
   crushed"   the form tsuie is due to onbin.

埴 nee   Yet to be considered. E however is
< neyu (L.2) "to be   used because it is conjugated neyasu.
   sticky"

轅 (16) nagae   Wamyō-shū. Nagae is "long (naga)
         "thill"   handle (e)".

荊 (17) namae no ki   Wamyō-shū.
Vitex cannalifolia
   Sieb. et Zucc.

萎 nae   Man'yōshū. Nayu, nayasu.
< nayu (L.2) "to wither"

痿臥 uefuseri   Nihongi. Also woe———.
(woefusu) "to lie down
   weary"

(14) Kōteishiki 功程式 ((1))
(15) 賀毛江 kamoe (Wamyō-shō).
(16) 奈加江 nakae.
(17) 奈末江乃木 namae no ki.
((1)) Quoted in Wamyō-shō (kamoe 鴨栭 entry), this appears to
be a work of some kind, but no details are known.

蘇   norae   Norae is "e-goma plant (e) of the fields (nora)". No "field" is pronounced nora here .

207. 咉 (a) nomutofue[20]   Wamyō-shū. Possibly "throat (nomuto)[(1)] pipe (fue)". Nomuto no doubt means drinking (nomu) gate (to)". There are various levels in the throat, and swallowing and the issuing of sound are its principal functions. In this respect it is like a flute (fue), which produces various sounds according to the positioning of the fingers over the holes. Possibly it was so called on this basis.

"windpipe"

[21] [22] [23]
小角 kuda no fue   Wamyō-shū.
"ancient war flute"

Waji shōran-shō Maki 5.

253. 衛府督 wefu no kami   The sign fu in wefu no kami sounds like u. This should be compared with kofu 國府 "provincial guards".

"Head of The Imperial Guard"

(18) norae.
(19) One name for norae is nukae.
(20) nomutofue.
(21) 大 (角): hara no fue.
(22) kuda no fue.
(23) 長笛: naka-fue. 籥: seu no fue.
笙: (zau) no fue.
(a) The right-hand side of 咉 (夬) has been corrected to 兂 in vermilion.
((1)) Mod. nodo.

思 (9)　　mofu　　In Man'yōshū, omofu is often abbrev-
"to think", "to feel"　iated to mofu.　Also in Nihongi.

The above has been considered on the basis of the old kana
usage.　What follows is added now.

Words in which Mu and U Are Confused.

Generally speaking, when the signs u and mu are in initial
position and followed by voiced na or voiced he, or by ma, me,
or mo, then initial mu and u both become like the nasalised mu
sign said with the mouth closed.　Apart from that there is no
confusion.

郁子 (10)(muhe →) mube　Wamyō-shū.
Stauntonia hexaphylla,
(Thunb.) Decne ((1))

諸 (11)　(muhe →) mube　In Shinsen Man'yōshū this word is
written with the signs for mube 郁子
above.　Accordingly I was able to
know that 諸 was spelt muhe.　Nihongi
has ume, Man'yōshū has ube. (12)

圉人 (13)　mumakahi　Wamyō-shū.
"(horse) groom"

厩 (14)　　mumaya　Wamyō-shū.　Mumaya is "horse (muma)

(9)　(Additional entry) 松子 : 毛乃之太乃太下佐岐　mo no
shita no tafusagi.　One name is 水子 : these are small under-drawers.
(10) 牟開　muhe.
(11) 諸 : this is read ume_nari (宇毎奈利　); 宇倍　uhe, 36((mean-
ing of figure unclear)), Kadobe no ohokimi; 宇倍　uhe, Kj III.
(12) 于陰儺 々々々 uhenada uhenada.
(13) 無万加比　mumakahi.
(14) 無万夜　mumaya.
((1))　A type of woody climber.

"stable"   building (ya)".

孫 (15) mumako   Wamyō-shū. (16)

"grandchildren"

離孫 (17)(18) mumagowohi   Wamyō-shū. Refers to a child who is

brother's or sister's   a nephew. A female however is called

male descendants   mumakomehi.

牧 (19)(c) mumaki   Wamyō-shū. Is the meaning "fortified

place (ki) with horses (muma)"? In

Tōtōmi Province there is the district

of Kikafu 城飼. Was it perhaps so

named on account of the grazing lands

(maki) there? Usually the beginning

of mumaki is abbreviated, and it is

pronounced maki.

祖母 (20)(uh(d)) uba

"grandmother", "old woman"

優婆利   Ubari

one of the ten chief disciples of The Buddha

(15) 無万古   mumako.
(16) One name for mumako is hiko 比古 .
(17) 無万古手比   mumakowohi.
(18) 無万古女比   mumakomehi.
(19) 無万伎   mumaki.
(20) 於波 oha.

(c) To the top right-hand side of 牧 there is the sign 甲 (on the
reverse of the same page, to the top right-hand side of the char-
acter 馬 in 馬蜩 , there is the sign 乙 : this means that the entry
mumasemi should follow maki).

(d) To the top left of the kana sign u there is the mark °: is
this a deletion mark?

優婆塞 (ubasoku→) Note: 優婆夷 ubai "lay Buddhist
　　ubasoku (female)".
"lay Buddhist (male)"

荊 (21)(22)(25) (uhara→) Wamyō-shū. Also muhara. (23)(24)
　　　　ubara
　　　"briar"

254.　奪 (1) (uhafu→)
　　　　ubafu
　　　　"to rob"

馬 (2)(3)(8)(a) uma In Nihongi (4) and Man'yōshū this word is
　　　　"horse" always spelt uma. In Man'yōshū Book
　　　　　　　Twenty (5) there is the spelling muma

(21) 蒺藜銜 ：宇波良具都和 uhara-kutsuwa. 蕾實 ：無波良
乃美 muhara no mi.
(22) 藜蘆 ：夜末宇波良 yama-uhara.
(23) 蕧菱 ：於保宇波良 oho-uhara.
(24) 蕾實 ：無波良乃美 muhara no mi. 藜蘆 ：夜末宇波良
yama-uhara. 蕧菱 ：於保宇波良 oho-uhara.
(25) (Top margin, in black ink) My XX: michi no he no umara no
ure ni haho mame no.
(1) Kumo no iro wo ubahite (有婆比�) sakeru ume no hana.
(2) 無万 muma.
(3) 宇广奈羅摩 uma narama, Nh Suiko.
(4) Nh Yūryaku, 13th year:
(5) My XX: 宇麻夜奈流 umaya naru.
(8) (Top margin, in black ink) Kazusa Province, Umaguta/Muma-
guta (馬来田)：宇麻具多 Umaguta. 几 (is this 冈, meaning Azuma-
uta - as above?) 波由馬宇馬夜 hayuma-umaya. Hikyōhashi (poss-
ibly 几kyō is in error for 呂ro) wo uma (宇馬) koshikanete.
(a) There is a sign for "one" to the top right of the character
馬 ; subsequent entries are marked "2", "3", "4", "5", "6"
(mentioned below): these notes correct the order to this.

[6] but this is because that particular poem is an azuma-uta (eastern dialect poem). This can be ascertained by comparing the spelling of mishikaki "short" as michikaki in azuma-uta. In Wamyō-shū the spelling muma is frequent, but uma is also to be found. Uma-, -uma: the word uma/muma (馬) should be considered in the light of this.[7]

馬蜩 [b][9] mumasemi   Wamyō-shū.
Cryptotympana japonensis [(1)]
            Kato

蓄息 [c]   umaharu   Nihongi.
    "to increase"

生 [10][12] [d] umaru   Though it sounds like mumaru,[11] this

(6) 牟麻能都禾 muma no tsume.

(7) My XVIII: 宇万尓布都麻尓 uma ni futsuma ni. 宇麻尓
    古那許婆 uma ni kohi koba.

(9) 無末世美 mumasemi.
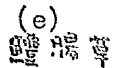
(10) Twelfth month, fourteenth day: the Empress gave birth to the Emperor Ōjin; accordingly men of the time called the place where he was born Umi (宇濔).

(11) In Kj, the characters 為生成國土 are followed by the note, "The kun of 生 is umu (宇牟); so too below."

(12) (Top margin, in black ink) Kj: ((there follows a passage from Kj II; since the ways of reading this in Japanese are various, I give here not the romanized Japanese but the English translation as found in Philippi 1968, p.264).

    1 Before the completion of this mission, the child which she was carrying was about to be born.

    2 In order to delay the birth, she took stones and attached them to her skirt around the waist.

    3 After she had crossed over to the land of TUKUSI, the child was born.

    4 The name of the place where the child was born is UMI.

"to be born" word should be written umaru. When one says umi, umu, one does not write these words as mumi, mumu, since they do not sound like that.

(e)
體腸尊 (13) umakitashi   Wamyō-shū. Umakitashi was so named in the sense of "causing a horse to come" (uma kitashi). The meaning is the same in the case of 狼牙 "anil",((1)) which is read in the kun as komatsunaki "tie up (tsunagi) a horse (koma)"((2)) There is something in the fruit which attracts animals. The Japanese and Chinese varieties of this plant are similar.

美 (f)(15) (14) umashi   Nihongi. Not restricted to taste, but refers to that which is good [in general].(16)

(Notes cont. from previous page).

(b) To the top right of the character 馬 there is the sign 乙 : this note means that it should come after the maki 牧 entry on reverse of same page.

(c) There is a "2" sign to the top right of 舊 .

(d) There is a "3" sign to the top right of 生 .

((1)) A type of cicada.

(13) 宇末木太之   umakitashi.

(14) 可 (美): this is pronounced umashi (于麼詩   ), Nh Jinmu-ki.

(15) (Top margin, in black ink) One note in Nh has, "―――― this is pronounced umashi (于麻時   )".

(16) 可怜 : this is pronounced umashi (于麻師   ), Nh Jindai, ge. 可美葦牙彦舅尊 umashi ashikabi-hikodji no kami; Nh maki 1, Jindai-ki has a note: "可美 : this is pronounced umashi (于麻時   )". Kj has, " 宇麻志阿斯訶備比古遅 umashi ashikabi-hikodji: the name for this deity should be read in the on". Wm, quoting Erh Ya 尔雅 , has, "Mother's brother is wodji"; and in the note on pronunciation, hahakata no wochi (烟方乃乎知   ) "maternal uncle". And so in Nh hikodji (比古遅) is written 彦舅 (hikowodji): according to this, it is an abbreviation of hikowodji. Here it was used in a laudatory sense as wochi, without specific reference

(g) 君子   umahito   Nihongi. Umahito means "good (uma-) "nobles"   person (hito)". Both 搢紳 and 良家 appear with the same furigana.

梅(17)   ume   Man'yōshū and Wamyō-shū all have the "(flowering) plum"   same. On the theme of ume there is in the Mono no na section of Kokin-shū a poem with the words: Ana ume ni tsune narubeku mo mienu ka na "How sad! Soon the plum will bid my eyes farewell." Also, since in the anthology of Minamoto Shitagō there is a poem which, the poet having been bidden to start with the letter u, begins umetsukaha———, anciently men wrote only ume. Nowadays however men are accustomed to write only mume, and no-one writes ume. Was ume so named in the sense of "loving ((愛, with furigana u)) eye (me)"?

埋木 umore-ki   Should not be written mumore-ki, since it is an abbreviation of utsumore-ki. This is because when one says utsumi, utsumu, one does not write mutsumi, mutsumu.(18)(19)

(Notes cont. from previous page).

(e) There is a "4" sign to the top right of 鱠.

(f) There is a "5" sign to the top right of 羮.

((1)) A plant of the Indigofera Family.

((2)) The koma of komatsunagi "anil" is usually written not with 狼 but with 駒.

(17) (Top margin, in black ink) Wm: 宇女 ume.

(18) (Additional entry) Kogo shui: "埋濟. In the old language: 美曾宇美 miso-umi.

(19) (Additional entry) 績 : 宇麻受登毛 umazu tomo. My XIV: 宇禾 ume.

(g) There is a "6" to the top right of 君.

Words of The Type in which U and Ku Interchange.

Those words which appear above, I omit. Nor do I give words with onbin forms of the type wonna wouna.

255.　　　抱　　utaku　　　Nihongi also has mutaku. Usually itaku.
　　　　　"to embrace"

　　鰻 魚(20)　munaki　　Man'yōshū, Wamyō-shū. Usually pronounced
　　　　(21)　"eel"　　　unaki. Wamyō-shū, quoting Moji shūryaku
　　　　　　　　　　　　文字集略 , has: "It has its mouth
　　　　　　　　　　　　below the head", so possibly it was so
　　　　　　　　　　　　named in the sense of "breast (muna)
　　　　　　　　　　　　and gills (agi)". And regarding the
　　　　　　　　　　　　sea bass (suzuki) too, possibly this is
　　　　　　　　　　　　"bell (suzu) gills (gi)", since in Wamyō-
　　　　　　　　　　　　shū it has that the gills of the sea
　　　　　　　　　　　　bass open wide. Munaki and suzuki
　　　　　　　　　　　　should be considered together.

274.　　　　　　　　Miscellaneous Theories.[(1)]

Regarding the four signs above from chi onwards[(2)] in the normal pronunciation of people of the capital, the dakuon of chi has become ji, and that of tsu has become zu. In the pronunciation of country people ji has become dji, and zu has become dzu. Dji and dzu cannot be pronounced unless there is contact with the palate and they are nasalised. When people of the capital put their minds to it, they can distinguish the two well in pronunciation. But as for country people, most of them are unable to correct their pronunciation of these even when they know of the difference. The fact is however that if one tries to pronounce

(20)　鰻奈木　munaki.
(21)　武奈伎　munagi, My.
((1))　This is a provisional title for the section that follows.
((2))　Viz. the dakuon equivalents of chi, shi, tsu, and su.

the dakuon of chi and tsu as dji and dzu, then it is unsmooth
and sounds poor: this should be understood.

This opportunity might be taken to say that [pronunciation
of] the signs 王 wau, 任 wau, etc. does not agree with the kana,
since there is no labial contact. The usual pronunciation is
wou. Au, wou, and ou should sound the same.

Words of The Type that End in -rofu.

煷	My	kakerofu "shimmering".
蜻蛉		kakerofu "Mayfly".
鳬		fukurofu "owl". Wamyō-shū.

The above is to distinguish the confusion whereby although one
says otorofu "to decline", hirofu "to pick up", on the other
hand one says harafu "to sweep away", torafu "to capture". The
distinction can be known by the fact that when these verbs are

275. inflected - otorohe, hirohi, harahi, torahe, etc. - one does not
say otorahe, harohi, and so on. Since the words I have just
given are nouns and so are not inflected, they should be learnt
first. Generally speaking, when the sign fu comes at the end
of a word, in most cases there is confusion due to onbin with the
preceding part of the word. These words are: ifu "to say" and
yufu "to bind"; hafu "to crawl" and hofu (?);((1)) tofu "to ask"
and tafu "to endure"; kafu "to purchase" and kofu "to request";
yofu "to become intoxicated" and yafu (?); sofu "to accompany"
and safu "to prevent"; nafu "to twist" and nofu (?); ofu "to carry
(on the back)" and afu "to meet"; mafu "to dance" and mofu "to
feel". The kana for all these can be known by inflection.

A and o: neither of these occurs at the end of words. Ra,
ri, ru, re, ro: none of these five occurs at the beginning of
pure Japanese words.

The following twenty signs have dakuon equivalents: ka, ki,
ku, ke, ko; sa, shi, su, se, so; ta, chi, tsu, te, to; ha, hi, fu,
he, ho. Japanese words never begin with a dakuon. There are a

((1)) From the end of this passage it appears that hofu here,
and yafu and nofu below, are intended as verbs, but their meanings
are obscure.

few words of the type buchigoma "piebald" and zeni "coins", but these are no doubt of later occurrence.

Ha, hi, fu, he, ho: for these five signs there are sounds that are intermediate between seion and dakuon. They are of the type: tenpan "middle of the sky", kappaku "family names written with two characters", genpin 元賓 (personal name?), happeki "special case (in law, for persons of special rank), hinpu "poverty and riches", hippu "(unenlightened) man", Rinpen 輪扁 (personal name[(1)]), seppen "snow flake", ganpon "forged book", shippō "The Seven Treasures".[(2)] [The signs ha, hi, fu, he, ho] are all like this when continuing on from the nisshō kana sign tsu in 雪 setsu, etc., or the nasal sign in 天 ten, etc. To judge from the pronunciation of Chinese,[(3)] it seems that these sounds existed from the outset, and before the phenomenon of onbin; it is something which is uncertain. In pure Japanese these sounds did not exist originally even as onbin forms.

愛宕 Atako/Otaki (place name): one should inquire of others concerning the interchange of a and o here. Tawawa "bending" is pronounced towoyo, and wananaku "to tremble with fear" is pronounced wononoku. The same applies to the interchange of wa and wo:
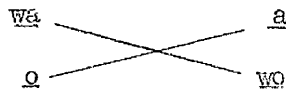
In this way there has been a change crosswise. Inu ~ wenu "dog"; iki ~ oki "breath"; woru ~ wiru "to be": regarding these also one should inquire of others.

In poems, kesu "to extinguish" is written ketsu, and fusaku

((1)) An expert carriage-wheel maker in ancient China (Spring and Autumn Annals Period).

((2)) According to the Muryōju-kyō 無量壽經 Sutra, the Treasures are: gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, giant clam, coral, and agate. According to the Hokke-kyō 法華經 Sutra, the Seven Treasures are: gold, silver, agate, lapis lazuli, giant clam, pearl, and a precious stone reddish in colour (Chi. mei kuei 玫瑰).

((3)) Tōon.

"to prevent" is written <u>futaku</u>. And in poems too one always says <u>hashiru</u> "to run", but in other works it is customarily written <u>washiru</u>. <u>Ha</u> and <u>wa</u> interchange since they have the same vowel.

For "year" one says <u>toshi</u>, but in the case of "one year", "two years", up to "ten thousand years", the word for "year" is in each case pronounced <u>tose</u>. The pronunciation of 矢橋 (place-name) as either Yahashi or Yahase is no doubt also modelled on this.

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There is no reason why the character 日 <u>hi</u> in 子日 <u>ne no hi</u>/<u>ne no bi</u> ((1)) should be pronounced <u>bi</u>, but it is an ancient custom so to do. It is however also common to pronounce it as <u>ne no hi</u>. Probably the pronunciation <u>ne no bi</u> is because the sound of <u>ne no hi</u> is poor.(1)

Reading 木董 as <u>mukuke</u> "violet" is like reading 木繁子 ((3)) as <u>mukureniji</u> ((4)) <u>no ki</u> "Otherodendron japonicum", and 水工頭 as <u>muku no kami</u> "Head of the (ancient) Imperial Construction Bureau".

In poetry, writing <u>Yoshino naru</u> and <u>Naniha naru</u> means <u>Yoshino ni aru</u> and <u>Naniha ni aru</u>. Since the <u>kana-gaeshi</u> of <u>nia</u> is <u>na</u>, these are contracted pronunciations. In the <u>Man'yōshū</u> there are the writings 吉野在 ((5)) and 奈日尓有 ((6)) <u>Mi mo are misu mo are</u> is pronounced <u>mi mare mizu mare</u>, and <u>to mo are kaku mo are</u> is pronounced <u>to mare kaku mare</u> – this type is because the <u>kana-gaeshi</u> of <u>moa</u> is <u>ma</u>. Writing <u>mono ni so arikeru</u> as <u>mono ni zarikeru</u> is because the <u>kana-gaeshi</u> of <u>soa</u> is <u>sa</u>. Pronouncing

(1) (Additional entry) 天河 (Ama no gaha).((2))

((1)) Abbreviation of <u>ne no bi no asobi</u>, an annual event which formerly took place on the first Day of the Rat (<u>ne no hi</u>) of the New Year.

((2)) Probably included by Keichū as an additional example of <u>seidaku</u> variation (gaha where one would expect kaha).

((3)) Interlinear gloss: <u>mokuraushi</u>.

((4)) Modern reference works have not <u>mukureniji</u> but <u>mukurenishi</u>.

((5)) Interlinear gloss to 在 : <u>naru</u>.

((6)) Interlinear gloss to 尓有 : <u>naru</u>.

omofu to ifu as omofu tefu, and mate to ihaha as mate tehaha
are examples of chi, the kana-gaeshi of toi, having interchanged
with te. Kuni-uchi is written kunuchi in Man'yōshū: this is
because the kana-gaeshi of kie is ke. Yuki-kie is written yuki-
ke: this is because the kana-gaeshi of kie is ke. Kana-gaeshi
occurs in this way where there is continuation with a sign for
one of the five vowels a, etc. in lower position in a word.

In Sanskrit the word for kongō-chō 金剛頂 is bazara (kongō)
ushunisha (chō) — this is how it should be pronounced. When
however the mark for wo is added to the signs sara (a ligature)[1]
they become zoro, and so the word is read bazoroshunisha, the sign
for the u of ushunisha being assimilated into the signs zoro.
Kanjizai (a name for the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) is barokita
(kan) ijimubara (jizai) in Sanskrit — this is how it should be
pronounced, but when the mark for ei is added to the sign for
ta, the word is pronounced barokitei jimubara, since the hansetsu
of ta and ei is tei, the sign for i being assimilated into tei.
Words of this type are numerous, and the changes which they
undergo are the same as above.

With regard to confusion when writing the on of Chinese char-
acters in kana, i, wi, and so on are as in the rules for kana.[2]
When the sign for u occurs in the lower part of an on reading,
as in iu or yuu, it is easy to make an error since it sounds the
same due to onbin. In addition, since even the sign fu for nisshō
[3] in 甚 efu, 摂 sefu, etc. also sounds like u, it is difficult
to know how to write the on readings of these characters. These
should be understood by looking at the signs for the hansetsu of
characters in rhyming dictionaries.

Seu, shiyou, shiyau, sefu: though these spellings are four
in number, they all sound the same. The 法 of 法師 "priest" is

[1] Nigō = 合 . That is to say, sara should be read sra, zoro
as zro, etc.
[2] I.e. in the main body of the dictionary.
[3] Nisshō 入聲 is not a type of pitch-accent, but refers to
characters having an original final -p, -t, or -k in Chinese.
Keichū's own description of this class of words follows shortly.

nisshō: the Kan'on is hafu, the Go-on is hofu, so logically
the word should be written hofushi in kana, but the customary
way of writing it is houshi. Also, since Wamyō-shū has houshi-
marahito no tsukasa for 玄蕃寮 "Office of Ecclesiastical and
Foreign Affairs";[(1)] it is difficult to write hofushi and not
houshi simply on the basis that 法 is nisshō. The character
is written kafu in kana, but since Wamyō-shū has tsume no kofu
for 爪甲 "top of (finger-)nail, etc.", here again it is hard
to go against popular tradition. Since the hansetsu of 水 is
given in Gyokuhen[(2)] 玉篇 as 尸癸 , the on should be shi, and
so there must be a reason for reading it sui. Since the hansetsu
of 寶 is given in Gyokuhen as 補道 , the Kan'on is hau; but, poss-
ibly because the Go-on is hou, in Man'yōshū it is used for ho.
The hansetsu of 方 is 甫亡 , and possibly because both the Go-on
and Kan'on are hau, it is used for ha in Man'yōshū. Since there
is no dictionary treating of the Go-on, it is difficult to find
out about these in detail. As regards investigation through
consideration of the ancient literature, the example for other
things too should be taken from the sign 寶 .

jō . . kyo

寶

hyō (a)   nyū

The shishō are indicated in this way.
To give examples: 公 kou[(b)] (hyō),・弘[(c)]
kou (jō), 貢[(d)] kou (kyo), 谷.[(e)] koku (nyū).
This is how the shishō are shewn.

(a) To the bottom left-hand corner of the enclosed [宝] sign
there is no circular mark. Possibly omitted in error. So too
in the Genbun text.

(b) 公 has a mark for hyōshō.

(c) 弘   "   "   jōshō.

(d) 貢   "   "   kyoshō.

(e) 谷   "   "   nisshō.

((1)) A section of the Ministry of Civil Affairs (Jibu-shō).

((2)) Chi. Yü-pien. Compiled by Ku Yeh Wang 顧野王 of Liang 梁
in 543 A.D. This work has existed in Japan only in fragmented
form.

For <u>hyōshō</u> 平聲 [(1)] the voice does not rise or fall at the
beginning or the end, and continues the same throughout the sign.
<u>Jōshō</u> 上聲 is short, and rises immediately. For <u>kyoshō</u> 去聲 ,
the voice is turned so as to become dull. <u>Nisshō</u> 入聲 has one
of the sounds <u>fu</u>, <u>tsu</u>, <u>ku</u>, <u>chi</u>, or <u>ki</u> at the end, and is cut
off after the consonant. 蝶 <u>tefu</u>, 鐵 <u>tetsu</u>, 宅 <u>taku</u>, 七 <u>shichi</u>, 敵
<u>teki</u>: these are of the <u>nisshō</u> type.

When in ancient times Emperor Wu 武 of Liang inquired of a
minister named Chu Ch'i 朱弃 concerning the <u>shishō</u>, Chu Ch'i
straightway made reply that they were as in 天 [(f)] <u>t'ien</u>, 子 [(g)]
<u>tzu</u>, 萬 [(h)] <u>wan</u>, and 福 [(i)] <u>fu</u>. This was something without pre-
cedent.

<u>Hyōshō</u> and <u>nisshō</u> both have the subdivision <u>kei</u> 輕 . <u>Hyōshō</u>
<u>no kei</u> is falling pitch (<u>atarite suuru nari</u>) [(2)] The <u>ten</u> in <u>tenka</u>

(f) 天   has a mark for <u>hyōshō</u>.
(g) 子   "   "   <u>jōshō</u>.
(h) 萬   " double mark for <u>kyoshō</u>.
(i) 福   "   "   <u>nisshō</u>.

((1)) In an article entitled "Keichu no kana-zukai sho shosai
no kokugo akusento"(Kindaichi 1943), Kindaichi examines the
values for terms for pitch-accent in Keichū. Kindaichi posits
the following values for <u>hyōshō</u>, <u>jōshō</u>, etc. in the simple des-
cription of the same by Keichū here at the end of <u>maki</u> 5 (<u>nisshō</u>
is omitted as it does not refer to a type of pitch-accent):
<u>hyōshō</u>: low level pitch; <u>jōshō</u>: high level pitch; <u>kyoshō</u>: rising
pitch; <u>hyōshō no kei</u>: falling pitch. Kindaichi goes on to shew
however that in those words for which the pitch-accent is indic-
ated by what he terms the First Notation Method (<u>dai-isshu
hyōkihō</u>) (i.e. words in WJSH – a second notation method is used
in WJBO), <u>hyōshō</u> in fact designates not a low level, but a
falling pitch, i.e. that Keichū used <u>hyōshō</u> as an abbreviation
for <u>hyōshō no kei</u>. Consequently the actual values for the terms
used in the First Notation Method are postulated by Kindaichi
as follows: <u>hyōshō</u>: all meaning <u>hyōshō no kei</u>, therefore fall-
ing pitch; <u>hyōshō no kei</u>: falling pitch; <u>jōshō</u>: high level pitch;
<u>kyoshō</u>: rising pitch (but in duo-syllabic words <u>kyoshō</u> may have

"realm", etc. is <u>hyōshō no kei</u>. The <u>kyaku</u> in <u>kyakusō</u> "itiner-
ant priest", etc. is <u>nisshō no kei</u>. For <u>hyōshō no kei</u>, the
pitch is indicated to the mid-left of the character, and for
<u>nisshō no kei</u> to the mid-right. If one speaks in terms of the
colloquial language of this country, then basically 天 <u>ten</u> is

278. <u>hyōshō</u>, and one normally says <u>ten</u>.[j] Here there is agreement with
the principle that <u>ten</u> is <u>hyōshō</u>. So too when one says <u>tenchi</u>,
<u>tenka</u>, <u>tenshi</u>, <u>tenki</u>, etc. But when one says <u>tenmondō</u>[a][b][c]
"(type of) asparagus", or <u>tenmon no hakase</u>[d][e] "Doctor of
astronomy (in the Bureau of Yin-Yang)", then <u>ten</u> is <u>jōshō</u> due
to <u>onbin</u>. When one says <u>tennō</u>[f] "Emperor", <u>tennyo</u>[g] "celestial
nymph", <u>tenjin</u>[h] "Nature and Man", tendai[i] "the Tendai sect",
<u>tengu</u>[j] "long-nosed goblin", <u>ten</u> is <u>kyoshō</u>. To read <u>ten</u> as
<u>jōshō</u> or <u>kyoshō</u> does not agree with the Chinese: it is a prac-
tice of this country alone. <u>Hyōshō</u>, <u>jōshō</u>, and <u>kyoshō</u> can all
be known on the basis of this. Japanese too has <u>hyōshō</u>, <u>jōshō</u>.
and <u>kyoshō</u>. The following examples consist of one <u>kana</u> sign:
<u>hi</u>[k] "day", "sun"; <u>hi</u>[l] "water-pipe", <u>hi</u>[m] "fire"; <u>ke</u>[n] "hair",

(Notes cont. from previous page).
expressed a rising pitch which fell away towards the end of the
second syllable).
((2)) Here I have translated <u>atarite suuru nari</u> by Kindaichi's
postulated value of "falling pitch", since the sense of the orig-
inal Japanese is difficult to express literally.
(j) 天   has a mark for <u>hyōshō</u>.
(a) 天   "   "   <u>jōshō</u>.
(b) 門   "   "   <u>jōshō</u>.
(c) 冬   " double mark for <u>hyōshō</u>.
(d) 天   has a mark for <u>jōshō</u>.
(e) 文   " .   "   <u>jōshō</u>.
(f) 天   "   "   <u>kyoshō</u>.
(g) 天   "   "   <u>kyoshō</u>.
(h) 天   "   "   <u>kyoshō</u>.
(i) 天   "   "   <u>kyoshō</u>.
(j) 天   " .   "   <u>kyoshō</u>.
(k) 日   "   "   <u>hyōshō</u>.
(l) 樋   "   "   <u>jōshō</u>.
(m) 火   "   "   <u>kyoshō</u>.
(n) 毛   "   "   <u>hyōshō</u>.

ke^(o)"kick", ke^(p)"food". Examples consisting of two kana signs: hashi^(q)"bridge", hashi^(r)"edge", hashi^(s)"chopsticks"; tsuru^(t)"chord", tsuru^(u)"to fish", tsuru^(v)"crane". The three shō should be understood by means of these types. Yufu "mulberry thread", tatsu "dragon", oku "interior", ichi "market", yuki "snow": should words such as these be set up by analogy as nisshō? Kamo^(w)"duck": this is hyōshō no kei, but in Kamokaha^(x)"the Kamo River" kamo is jōshō. The kamo in Kamo no yashiro "the Kamo Shrine" is kyoshō.^(y) The fact is that the shō 聲 changes in this way even in the same word, depending on what follows.

Waji shōran-shō maki 5: the end.

279.   Osaka, Shibukawa Yoichi 澁川與市 , Genbun 4 (1799). Second edition.⁽⁽¹⁾⁾

(o) 蹴   has a mark for jōshō.
(p) 食   "   "   kyoshō.
(q) 橋   "   "   hyōshō.
(r) 端   "   "   jōshō.
(s) 箸   "   "   kyoshō.
(t) 弦   "   "   hyōshō.
(u) 釣   "   "   jōshō.
(v) 鶴   "   "   kyoshō.
(w) 鴨   "   "   hyōshō.
(x) 鴨   "   "   jōshō.
(y) 鴨   "   "   kyoshō.

((1)) Based on the printed edition of Genroku 8 (1695). Vd. WJSH Introductory Notes, IKZN X, p.105.

Chapter Seven

WJSH (The Dictionary Proper[1]) - Interpretation and Analysis (1).

1. WJSH Entries.

WJSH _maki_ 2-5 consist of some two thousand entries arranged in various sections[2]. Individual entries display great differences in length and content, but the basic format for each entry is: 1) Chinese character(s) for the entry concerned, 2) _hiragana_ spelling, 3) note relating to source document, etymology, etc. The following is a typical entry having all three elements:

磐梨   Ihanasu[3]   Wamyō-shū. Name of district in
        (place-name)   Bizen Province.[4]

Not all WJSH entries however conform to this pattern: all have the _kana_ spelling given[5], but a considerable number of entries are without a note of any kind, while other entries do not have the Chinese character(s) given[6].

Notes to Entries.

Keichū's normal method of substantiating _kana_ spellings in WJSH was to quote an ancient source document or documents containing the spelling in question. In many cases the note relating to the source

1 I.e. _maki_ 2-5 inclusive.
2 The arrangement of sections in WJSH is dealt with in the second part of this chapter.
3 The Iwanami edition has a note here added by Keichū, consisting of the _Man'yōgana_ writing 伊波奈須 Ihanasu.
4 IKZN X, p.136.
5 With one exception, namely _miwa_ "sake offered to the deities", resulting in the bizarre situation whereby an entry is given in a dictionary of _kana_ usage without the actual _kana_ spelling for the word concerned. AKZN WJSH gives just the Chinese characters for _miwa_ and two source documents; this is remedied in the Iwanami edition (IKZN X, p.222), where in three inserted notes Keichū gives the _hiragana_ spelling _miwa_, and two _Man'yōgana_ writings.
6 It is interesting to note that the Chinese characters occur not as the second but as the first element of the entries in WJSH, although in a _kana_ dictionary one might well expect the _kana_ spelling to come first (as is the case in KMZK, for example).

document is ambiguous, and can only be clarified by referring to the source document itself. The note to _inu_ "dog"[1] for example has, "Also _wenu_ in _Wamyō-shū_". From this it is not clear whether _Wamyō-shō_ (Keichū's '_Wamyō-shū_') is to be taken as evidence for the two forms _inu_ and _wenu_, or for _wenu_ only. Investigation reveals that _Wamyō-shō_ (the twenty-_maki_ version) has an entry _wenu_, but this does not note the form _inu_, _inu_ does occur however in the same version, in the entry _inu no tamahi_ "dog vomit".

Occasionally the note to an entry is misleading. For example, in the note to _yorokahi_,[2] Keichū quotes _Kagerō nikki_ as the source document: investigation shews however that _yorokahi_ does not occur in that work. Possibly Keichū's error here should be attributed to use of a corrupt manuscript.

Another note which presents a difficulty is that to _otsu_ "to fall"[3] here Keichū quotes _Man'yōshū_ Book Five as having _wotsu_ (with _Man'yōgana_ 乎 _wo_). This form does not however occur in _Man'yōshū_. Despite the _Man'yōgana_ writing with _wo-_ given by Keichū, he evidently regarded this spelling as exceptional: this is clear from the latter part of the note to this entry, and the _kana_ spelling of the entry heading (_otsu_). Erroneous notes of this kind are relatively few in number.

By no means all the notes to entries are concerned exclusively with _kana_ usage: many relate more widely to the source documents used. This is indicative of the close relationship between Keichū's _kana_

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1 IKZN X, p.138.
2 Ibid. p.158. According to Keichū's note, the meaning of this word is "servant", but it is not to be found in the standard reference works.
3 The complete note to _otsu_ (IKZN X, p.186) is as follows:

> "In _Man'yōshū_ Book Five, the sign 乎 _wo_ is used. Is this a case of interchange of signs having the same vowel? The reason for this is not clear. The more frequent form should be followed."

usage studies and his study of the ancient literature.[1] An example of

such an entry is that for inaohosetori[2] (a type of bird):

| 稻負鳥 | inaohosetori | In Wamyō-shū, the Man'yōshū is quoted, but there is no poem therein which has inaohosetori. ———. Possibly this was due to a failure in memory. |

In an article entitled"Keichū no kangaku",Kanda points out that

Keichū had a most detailed knowledge not only of Japanese literature

but of the Chinese classics also, and that this sometimes led him to

write notes of a digressive nature to entries in WJSH.

Other notes to entries relate to the Chinese characters for the

word concerned, e.g. ihamuya.[3]

Finally, another point that might be made with regard to WJSH

entries concerns the notation of seion and dakuon. It was observed

earlier[4] that Keichū's use of dakuten was apparently not consistent.

This however most certainly does not mean that Keichū ignored the

question of seidaku distinctions[5]— this is clear from the fact that

occasionally one finds a note to an entry in WJSH which deals with a

particular seidaku distinction. For example:

| 揖宿 | Ifusuki | Wamyō-shū. Name of district in Satsuma Province. The writing 以夫須止 no doubt means that the sign fu should be pronounced bu. According to the character 揖 , it should be pronounced fu, but the fact is one should follow the pronunciation of the men of that province. |
| | | IKZN X, p.143. |

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1 Vd. Chapter 3 above.
2 IKZN X, p.193.
3 Ibid., p.193.
4 Vd. pp.11 —12 above.
5 Indeed, Tsukishima (Nakata 1972, p.384) appears to take the view that Keichū was one of the first scholars to perceive seidaku distinctions in Man'yōgana. His list of Man'yōgana entitled Waji shōin 和字正韻 (1691) distinguishes seion and dakuon kana (vd. IKZN X, pp. 21-33).

蝸　　　　kusafu　　　　Wamyō-shū. I have yet to decide
whether the sign[1] fu is to be pro-
nounced fu or bu.

The question of the seidaku distinction was in any event only of
secondary importance to Keichū, for his primary aim was to distinguish
in use the forty-seven iroha-gana. It should be borne in mind also
that use of dakuten has not always been considered essential in kana
documents even in modern times.

WJSH Entries Without a Source Document.

Keichū does not quote a source document for every entry in WJSH.
In some cases he was no doubt unable to find a source document for
the word concerned, while in others the word was of late origin and
therefore not to be found in the early literature. Not all undocumented
entries in WJSH however necessarily fall into either of these two cat-
egories: among WJSH entries with no source document quoted are a
number of common words which are to be found repeatedly in Keichū's
main source documents[2] for example, ima "now", ifu "to say"[3] Why did
Keichū not give a source document for entries such as these? In view
of the fact that they were such common words (both occur repeatedly
in Man'yōshū), it is hard to imagine that Keichū was not aware that
these words occurred in works such as Man'yōshū. In the present
writer's view, one possible explanation for the lack of source doc-
uments for these entries is that Keichū considered the kana spellings
for these words to be so self-evident as to require no substantiation.
Admittedly this explanation is diametrically opposed to Keichū's basic
principle of documentation, and can in this sense be called contradictory;

1 IKZN X, p.249.
2 This type of entry is noted by Endō in his article "Seigo okudan to
Waji shōran-shō", but Endō does not go on to offer an explanation for
such entries.
3 (Both examples) Op.cit., p.143.

on the other hand however the number of words commonly found in the ancient literature but for which Keichū does not give a source document is relatively small, and so in any case constitutes only a minor exception.

2.   The Various Sections in WJSH.

The question of the arrangement of sections in WJSH maki 2-5 may at first appear to be a superficial one, but in fact this is not the case, as an understanding of the arrangement and raison d'etre of the various sections will contribute significantly towards understanding WJSH as a whole.

To facilitate consideration of this aspect of WJSH, the present writer has made an inventory of the various sections in WJSH. This is as follows.

Maki 1:   Kanbun Preface.
          General Introduction.

Maki 2: (1)   Initial i.
        (1a)[1] Medial & final i.
        (2)   Initial wi.
        (2a) Medial & final wi.
        (3)   Medial & final hi.

Maki 3: (4)   Initial wo.
        (4a) Medial and final wo.
        (5)   Initial o.

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1   In the case of words which are treated in two sections, the first section giving words in which the sign concerned occurs in word-initial position and the second section listing words in which the same sign occurs in word-oblique position, the present writer has taken the arbitrary measure of regarding the second section in each case not as an independent section but as a sub-section of the first section. Reasons for so doing are firstly that this simplifies comparison between WJSH and KRZK (in the latter, words are not arranged distinctively according to the position of a problematical sign within a word); and secondly, that it is the actual signs dealt with that are of primary importance: sub-classification of words containing a particular problematical kana sign according to the position of that sign within a word being a sophistication of classificatory technique.

(5a)   Medial & final o.

(6)   Medial & final ho.

Maki 4: (7)   Initial e.

(7a)   Medial & final e.

(8)   Initial we.

(8a)   Medial & final we.

(9)   Medial & final he.

(10)   Medial & final wa.

(11)   Medial & final ha.

(12)   Medial & final u.

Maki 5: (13)   Medial & final fu.

(14)   Words in which mu and u are confused.

(15)   Words of the type in which u and mu interchange.

(16)   "   "   u and nu   "   .

(17)   "   "   mu and nu   "   .

(18)   "   "   mu and mo   "   .

(19)   "   "   mu and fu   "   .

(20)   "   "   fu and no   "   .

(21)   "   "   he and me   "   .

(22)   Words in which the sign he sounds like me.

(23)   Fu which is confused with mu.

(24)   Hi which is confused with mi.

(25)   Fu which sounds like wo.

(26)   Notes on words of the type in which mi is pronounced u.

(27)   Notes on words of the type in which mi is pronounced mu.

(28)   Words of the type which are pronounced differently from their kana spelling.

(29)   Chi voiced in medial or final position.

(30)   Shi   "   "   "   .

(31)   Tsu   "   "   "   .

(32)   Su   "   "   "   .

Miscellaneous Theories.

A characteristic of historical works on kana usage is that generally speaking the later the work the greater the number of signs dealt with. And indeed the thirty-two sections of WJSH as compared for example with the fourteen sections of KJZK would appear to be indicative of

this tendency (a tendency which arises from the cumulative effect of phonological change on what was originally a phonetic writing system). However, not all the additional sections in WJSH (sections 16-32) are to be justified in terms of phonological change. Rather, the majority of these sections were set up by Keichū as a result of his treating doublets such as yamume ~ yamome on a parallel with words which presented a problem from the viewpoint of kana usage, e.g. kaha ~ kawa.[1] For Keichū, pairs such as yamume ~ yamome and kaha ~ kawa were both to be explained in terms of the traditional concept of interchange (sōtsū).

Since the principles involved in WJSH sections 14-32 inclusive shew considerable inconsistency and contradiction, these sections will be examined later. Firstly sections 1-13 of WJSH (these make up approximately three-quarters of the dictionary proper) will be considered.

These sections are clearly marked off from subsequent sections by the following remarks[2] at the end of section 13: "The above was considered on the basis of the old kana usage. The following is now added."[3] The exact significance of this passage will be considered below. For the time being it will be taken simply as marking a division between sections 1-13 and subsequent sections. What of the order of WJSH sections 1-13 - does it follow some particular precedent, or is it merely an arbitrary arrangement? Concerning the arrangement of WJSH, Keichū writes in the General Introduction that "The order is that of the iroha, ——"[4] This refers however not to the arrangement of sections, but to that of individual entries within each section. The traditional system of kana spellings in use until shortly after pub-

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1 Concerning the items which fall within the scope of kana usage, vd. pp.26-27 above.
2 For ease of reference, hereafter these remarks will be referred to as Passage A (WJSH).
3 IKZN X, p.253.
4 Ibid., p.114.

lication of WJSH was the Teika kana usage. Since KMZK, the standard

work setting out the Teika kana spellings, is referred to by Keichū

in the General Introduction to WJSH, is it not likely that the order

of sections in WJSH was based partly at least on those in KMZK (or

possibly GKSH even)? Clearly Keichū had access to a copy of KMZK, for

he quotes the entire preface to that work verbatim. The order of

sections in KMZK is as follows: wo, o, e, we, he, i, wi, ho, wa, ha,

mu, u, fu. The order of the first thirteen sections in WJSH is some-

what different to this, viz. i, wi, hi, wo, o, ho, e, we, he, wa, ha,

u, fu.[1] Nor is the order of sections in WJSH to be related to that

in the section Utagawashiki monji no koto in GKSH (viz. wo, o, e, he,

we, hi, wi, i).

If on the other hand we turn to the KMZK preface quoted by Keichū

in WJSH maki 1, then we find the clue to the arrangement of the first

thirteen sections in WJSH: in referring to the original notes on kana

usage of Chikayuki, Gyōa talks of the signs i, wi, hi, wo, o, e, we,

he, to which he has added a further six signs, namely ho, wa, ha, mu,

u, fu (all given in that order in the KMZK preface). If then we now

compare the order of the first thirteen signs dealt with by Keichū in

WJSH with that in GKSH, KMZK (main text), and KMZK (preface) respect-

ively, then the basis of Keichū's arrangement becomes clear:

GKSH	wo, o, e, he, we, hi, wi, i.
KMZK (main text)	wo, o, e, we, he, i, wi, ho, wa, ha, mu, u, fu.
KMZK (preface)	i, wi, hi, wo, o, e, we, he, ho, wa, ha, mu, u, fu.
WJSH	i, wi, hi, wo, o, ho, e, we, he, wa, ha, u, fu.

From this it is evident that there is a close correlation between the

order of signs in the KMZK Preface and in WJSH. The two non-corresp-

ondences ho and mu here can be accounted for as follows: in KMZK ho

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1   Mu is dealt with subsequently by Keichū in two sections.

does not form a uniform series with i, wi, hi, and e, we, he, because
it was one of the six signs appended by Gyōa. No doubt the reposition-
ing of this sign by Keichū in WJSH was in order to present three
uniform groupings of kana.[1]

As regards the absence of a mu section from WJSH before Passage A
in maki 5, this appears to be because Keichū's classification of mu
entries was such as to favour its being grouped together with other
sections subsequent to Passage A.[2]

The True Signification of Passage A (WJSH).

In the above it was noted that a division between the various
sections in WJSH was marked by the following passage (Passage A):
"The above was considered on the basis of the old kana usage. The
following is now added." In fact this passage indicates a major
division within the dictionary proper, and thus is of considerable
importance. The meaning of Passage A is however not immediately
clear: since the basic principle of Keichū's kana usage was to take
the notation of words in works such as Man'yōshū and Wamyō-shō as the
true kana spelling, it might easily be assumed that Keichū is saying
here that the kana spellings that follow are not based on the ancient
kana spellings of words. This assumption is however to be discounted
on even a cursory glance at the notes to entries subsequent to Passage
A, for many of these too have source documents such as Man'yōshū and
Wamyō-shō quoted as evidence. We are forced therefore to look for an
alternative interpretation of Passage A. It has just been shewn that
Keichū based the order of the first thirteen signs dealt with in WJSH

1 Viz. i, wi, hi, wo, o, ho, e, we, he (for Keichū, wo and o were
a- and wa-column respectively).
2 The similarity in classification between sections 14, 15, and sub-
sequent sections will be apparent from the table of contents (pp.161-
162 above).

on the order of signs in KMZK. On the other hand, no precedent is to be found for sections 14-32 in WJSH.[1] One can say therefore that Passage A refers firstly to Keichū's innovatory classification of entries in WJSH sections 14-32, and in some cases[2] also to new problems of *kana* usage not dealt with in KMZK. With regard to the former point, i.e. Keichū's classification of entries subsequent to Passage A, it can be said that some section headings are set up on the basis of discrepancies between contemporary pronunciation and *kana* spellings, e.g. section 22 – Words in which the sign *he* sounds like *ne*; section 25 – *Fu* which sounds like *wo*. This type of classification is not to be found in KMZK, which Keichū appears to have regarded as the main forerunner to WJSH.

WJSH: The Text Subsequent to Passage A.

It has just been noted that Passage A (WJSH) marks an important division within the dictionary proper, and the raison d'etre and arrangement of the first thirteen sections have now been clarified. What though of sections 14-32: are they all in fact completely new and without precedent? Section 14 and sections 29-32 will be considered first, as these can be dealt with in a relatively brief manner, and then the remaining sections.

Section 14: Words in which *Mu* and *U* Are Confused.

In KMZK a number of words are to be found which historically shew *u-* ~ *mu-* variation, and in that work these words all appear in the *mu-* form.[3] Keichū also dealt with *u-* ~ *mu-* variants, but since the forms

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1 With the exception that *u ~ mu* variants are dealt with to some extent by Gyōa (all given in the *mu* form).
2 Viz. WJSH sections 29-32.
3 KMZK *mu* section. Several entries also have the alternative form with *u-* given in a note.

he found in the old literature were not exclusively mu- forms, it proved necessary for him to treat such entries differently from Gyōa in KMZK. It would of course have been possible for Keichū to class- ify u-～mu- variants under two sections u and mu, i.e. to supplement the mu- section, for which there was already a precedent in KMZK, with an u- section. In fact however Keichū chose to set these entries out not in two sections but in one. Hence the section heading, "Words in which mu and u are confused".

Keichū himself does not appear to have been aware of the situation underlying u-～mu- variants.[1] His purpose in including section 14 in WJSH was apparently to give what he considered to be the historically correct notation (u or mu) for u-～mu- variants, the initial u or mu sign in such words representing a syllable u in Keichū's language.

WJSH Sections 29-32: Dji, Ji, Dzu, Zu.

In the 17th century a phonological change occurred which resulted in confusion of the four kana signs ji, dji, zu, and dzu (hereafter often referred to as yottsugana). The underlying phonological change involved the merger of /zi/ with /dzi/, and /zu/ with /dzu/. The situation regarding the direction of this change appears to have been somewhat complicated in nature: this can be seen from Keichū's own description of the change at the end of the four sections on yottsu- gana words in WJSH (maki 5):

> "--- in the normal speech of people in the capital, the dakuon of chi has become ji, and that of tsu has become zu. In the pronunciation of country people ji has become dji, and zu has become dzu."[2]

That by the end of the 17th century usage of yottsugana had become thoroughly confused is also clear from the appearance of a work

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1 Vd. p.26 above, note 3.
2 Vd. WJSH translation, p.148 above.

entitled Kenshukuryōko-shū[1] (printed 1695), which dealt exclusively
with words containing one of the yottsugana.

WJSH Sections 15-28.

Of the eighteen sections in WJSH subsequent to Passage A, it has
been shewn that four sections (viz. sections 29-32) were included as
a result of phonological changes after compilation of KNZK in the
late 14th century. The situation relating to section 14 has also
been considered. What though of the remaining thirteen sections
(sections 15-28)? What for example of section 18, "Words of the type
in which mu and mo interchange" - does this in fact come within the
scope of kana usage? To help answer this question, let us turn to
the definition of kana-zukai in Nihon bungaku dai jiten?[2]

> "Fundamentally speaking, kana-zukai means 'usage of
> kana', but is in fact only used in cases where in
> writing Japanese in kana the question of which kana
> to use presents a problem (where there are two or
> more possible ways of writing the same sound, or when
> there are two or more pronunciations for the same
> kana sign)."
>   op. cit., kana-zukai entry.

In other words, historical kana usage was concerned only with those
kana and sequences of kana within the iroha having a phonological
reference identical to that of another kana or sequence of kana with-
in the iroha. On the basis of this, ha and wa for example constitute
a problem of historical kana usage, because after the shift of medial
/F/ to /w/ both these signs in word-oblique position had a common
reference /wa/. In the case of mu and mo (section 18) on the other
hand there is no common phonological reference, and so variant forms

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1 Compiled by Ōtō Sokufu 鴨東簌父 (all that is known of the author
is that he lived in Kyoto). The full title of this work is Kana-moji
zukai kenshukuryokō-shū; the title Kenshukuryōko derives from the kun
readings of these four characters (viz.蜆 shijimi,縮 chidjiri,凉 su-
zumi,鼓 tsudzumi), which were taken as representative examples of
yottsugana words (Fukui 1939, p.140).
2 Fujimura 1932.

such as hamu ~ hamo are therefore beyond the scope of historical kana usage. This applies not only to section 15, but to sections 15-28 inclusive. No doubt they were included by Keichū in WJSH on the basis of the parallel of forms such as hamu ~ hamo to kaha ~ kawa, both sets of variants being explainable for Keichū in terms of the interchange principle (sōtsū).

Although entries in sections 15-28 lie beyond the scope of historical kana usage, it is proposed to look briefly at these sections, since they too contain information relating to Keichū's kana usage and kana usage theory.

Concerning The Special Nature of Sections 15-21.

It has already been noted that sections 15-28 are different from other sections in WJSH because the points dealt with therein do not come within the scope of historical kana usage. Sections 15-21 are also different in an additional respect, namely that for entries in these sections Keichū advocates not exclusive use of one particular kana sign in each case, but use of either of two alternative signs.

Consider for example the first entry of section 15, "Words of the type in which u and mu interchange":

| 抱 utaku | Also mutaku in Nihongi. Usually |
| "to hold", "to embrace" | itaku.[1] |

Taken in conjunction with the section heading, clearly here Keichū is advocating both utaku and mutaku.

The basic principle of Keichū's kana usage theory was to give a source document (or documents) for each spelling. Consequently in sections 15-21 one might expect to find two source documents to each entry - one for either form. In fact, of the thirty-one entries in

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[1] In fact, as can be seen this particular entry lists not two but three forms.

these six sections, a source document for both entries is given only

in the case of two entries.[1] With regard to the other twenty-nine

entries, one of the following observations applies:

1 A source document is given for only one of the two forms.[2]

2 The alternative form occurs not in the old literature, but
   only in Keichū's language.[3]

3 No source document is given for either form.[4]

4 The alternation is incorrect, one of the forms being
   associated through false etymology.[5]

5 The proposed alternation is based on a form not generally
   attested.[6]

These points are all detrimental, since they constitute shortcomings

in Keichū's methodology.

Section 19 and Sections 21-24:[7] Ma ~ Ha (→ Ba)[8] Column Variants.[9]

Ma ~ ha variants are dealt with by Keichū in five sections: mu ~ fu

(two sections), me ~ he (two sections), mi ~ hi (one section). Each of

the first two pairs (mu ~ fu and me ~ he) is dealt with in two sections,

the first section listing entries in which either the ma- or the ha-

column sign may be used, the second section listing entries in which

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1 Viz. mimuma (IKZN X, p.256), and uma nahete (ibid., p.258).
2 E.g. Chinu no umi (ibid., p.256).
3 E.g. mushi (ibid., p.255).
4 E.g. kantachime (ibid., p.258).
5 E.g. urushi (ibid., p.255).
6 Mushiro (ibid., p.255): according to Keichū the alternative form
ushiro is to be found in Man'yōshū. In fact however this form is to
be found neither in Man'yōshū indices nor in the standard reference
works. It would seem therefore that Keichū's ushiro here was probably
based on a gloss in a variant manuscript of Man'yōshū (this brings
us to the question of the validity of the source documents used by Kei-
chū, but this topic will be dealt with later. Vd. Chapter 8 below).
7 The section headings are set out on p.162 above.
8 The alternation is in fact between /m/ and /b/ - Keichū freely used
seion kana to represent dakuon syllables. Vd. p.11 above.
9 Wenck (1954, vol.4, sect.1006a) posits a change /m → b/ around 1000
A.D. in doublets with historical /m ~ b/ fluctuation, but notes that
this fluctuation still appears to have been occurring in the early
Edo Period.

signs of one column only (<u>ha</u>-column) are to be used. It appears then
that Keichū was making a distinction between a) those words in which
the relevant sign of either <u>ma</u>- or <u>ha</u>-column may be used (sections
19 and 21), and b) those words in which such variation in notation
is not prescribed (sections 22, 23, 24).

In the case of <u>hi</u>~<u>mi</u> the situation is different in that there
are not two sections (as is the case with <u>mu</u>~<u>fu</u> and <u>me</u>~<u>he</u>) but only
one, and to judge from the section heading this section is concerned
with words in which hi only is to be used when writing in <u>kana</u>: there
is no separate section for entries in which <u>hi</u> and <u>mi</u> are to be used
interchangeably. What does this signify? Does it mean perhaps that
in the case of the entries in section 24 Keichū found only forms with
<u>hi</u> in the old literature? That this interpretation is inappropriate
is clear from the remarks at the end of section 24:

> "Inamino 印南野 (place-name) is also called Inabino.
> 稲日野 . <u>Tobi</u> "kite" is also called <u>tomi</u>. In Wamyō-
> shū the pronunciation of 疵 "pimple" is <u>nikimi</u>, but
> usually it is called <u>nikibi</u>. In Man'yōshū the word
> <u>kanashimi</u> "sadness"/"is sad (and ------)" is written
> both as <u>kanashibi</u> 可奈之備 and as <u>kanashimi</u> 金染 。
> Taking this as evidence therefore, all these should
> be written interchangeably -- <u>tanoshihi</u> as <u>tanoshimi</u>,
> and so on. Nor should the argument stop there: <u>hi</u>
> and <u>mi</u> are close together in the <u>onzu</u>, both having
> the same vowel, and often interchange."

Here then Keichū is clearly advocating free alternation of <u>hi</u> and <u>mi</u>
in words in this section, and indeed in certain other words too. In
the present writer's view, that Keichū should set up a section en-
titled "<u>Hi</u> which is confused with <u>mi</u>", and then at the end of that
same section recommend that <u>hi</u> and <u>mi</u> be used interchangeably in the
entries given indicates an ambiguity or uncertainty in Keichū's
attitude towards <u>mi</u>~<u>hi</u> variants, if not to <u>m</u>-~<u>h</u>- variants as a whole.[2]

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1 IKZN X, p.260.
2 Depending on whether one considers that the argument re <u>mi</u>~<u>hi</u>
applies strictly to <u>mi</u>~<u>hi</u> only, or that by analogy it should be con-
sidered to apply to <u>mu</u>~<u>fu</u> and <u>me</u>~<u>he</u> also.

Possibly this uncertainty of attitude was due to the fact that words

which displayed ma~ba variation were irreconcilable with Keichū's

basic principle that a difference of kana spelling indicated a diff-

erence in meaning, i.e. a different word. Since despite the heading

to section 24 it is in fact a section relating to variation between

kana signs, it should be considered not as being parallel with sections

22 and 23, but together with sections 15-21.

WJSH Sections 25-28.

The situation regarding these sections can be summed up briefly

as follows. Section 25 contains words in which the kana sign fu was

pronounced wo (i.e. [o]) in Keichū's language. Kindaichi attributes

the change in phonemic shape in these words to partial assimilation.[1]

Section 26 consists of u-onbin forms.

Section 27 is made up of words which have mu or n where on the

basis of the usual kun reading of the Chinese character in each case

one would expect mi. This section is complicated by the fact that

although the section heading is "Notes on words of the type in which

mi is pronounced mu", five of the eight entries in this section have

not mu but n. Concerning use of n here, Keichū makes no comment, and

so it is not immediately clear how he regarded this sign.[2] Possibly

Keichū regarded the sign n as identical with mu, but in the absence

1 Vd. Kindaichi 1932, p.138.
2 Discrete signs for the syllabic nasal /N/ do not appear to have
become established before about 1200 A.D. (vd. Heiji shoin 1958, p.
193). Strictly speaking, therefore, Keichū should not have used the
sign n, as it does not occur in documents written prior to the con-
fusion of the iroha-gana. As is made clear in the following chapter
however, Keichū sometimes made use of late source documents (either
with regard to the date of compilation of the work itself, or in
some cases the date at which kana glosses were added, or the date of
recopying of the manuscript concerned or the manuscript on which the
printed version of a particular work was based).

of tangible information this remains as conjecture.

. Section 28 consists of two entries[1] which Keichū was unable to classify definitively in terms of the changes in kana signs involved in each case.

Miscellaneous Theories.

The passages at the end of maki 5 are so diverse in nature that they are generally referred to by Japanese scholars as "miscellaneous theories" (zassetsu), and the present writer has also retained this provisional title.

Basically these passages can be classified into two types: passages which relate to kana usage, and passages consisting of general observations on language (principally Japanese, but also Sanskrit and Chinese) -- no doubt these were intended as background information for readers. Topics dealt with in passages on kana usage are: 1) yottsugana, 2) the identical pronunciation of au, ou, wau, wou; and the distinction between verbs having original -ofu and those with original -afu, 3) kana which can represent seion or dakuon; pa-column syllables, 4) the irregular interchange (in terms of Keichū's onzu) of a and wo, and of wa and o in certain words, 5) kana usage for the on readings of Chinese characters. Topics 1) and 3) will not be discussed here, as they have already been dealt with above.[2] Topic 2) also has been considered;[3] the spellings au, afu, ou, ofu, etc. are dealt with by Keichū in the main body of the dictionary almost entirely in sections treating of the second constituent sign of the kana sequence in

1 Viz. kahahori, kantachi.
2 Re yottsugana, vd. p.167; seidaku notation, pp.11-12 above.
3 Vd. Chapter 4 above.

question.[1] Such an arrangement is sporadic, that is to say entries in which notation of the long vowel /o:/ is problematic are not dealt with collectively.[2] Here in the Miscellaneous Theories Keichū makes good this sporadic treatment by considering such spellings as a whole.

Concerning The Irregular Interchange A~Wo (Wo~A).

Of all the passages in the Miscellaneous Theories, this is undoubtedly the most well-known.[3] Keichū's continued mispositioning of o and wo in the onzu (o in wa-column and wo in a-column) gave rise to difficulties in the application of the interchange theory, the traditional concept used to explain changes in word-forms. For example, the doublets sumeragi ~ sumerogi "emperor" are accounted for in terms of interchange of the ra-column syllables ra and ro, and the variation in kesu ~ ketsu "to extinguish" is accounted for by interchange of the u-row syllables su and tsu: that is to say, the concept of interchange operated within the same column or row of the onzu. When therefore Keichū came to try and explain doublets such as tawawa ~ towowo "bending" and wananaku ~ wononoku "to tremble with fear" in terms of the interchange principle, he came up against a difficulty, since his mispositioning of o and wo meant that he was unable to set up a regular interchange between signs of the same column (wa and wo) and was forced to resort to the explanation of a "crosswise interchange".

1 For example, kaushi (/ko:si/) "lattice" is classified under section 12, "Medial and final u", and Ofumi (/o:mi/) (place-name) appears in section 13, "Medial and final fu". By no means all such entries however are classified in terms of notation of the long vowel /o:/. Many entries in WJSH contain more than one problem from the viewpoint of historical kana usage: in the case of isakafu (/isako:/) "to argue" for example, both the notation of /i/ and of /ko:/ is problematical; this entry is in fact to be found not in section 13 ("Medial and final fu"), but in section 1, viz. "Initial i".
2 In 1697 a work entitled Utai kaigō kana-zukai 謡 開合假名遣 , compiled by Ikegami Yūsetsu 池上幽雪 , was printed in Osaka. This work dealt only with words in which notation of the long vowel /o:/ presented a difficulty.
3 The passage is quoted by Yamada (1929, p.69), Hisamatsu (1926, vol. 9, pp.316-317), and Kieda (1933, p.160).

Kana Spellings in WJSH for Sino-Japanese Words.

In the dictionary proper, Sino-Japanese morphemes and compounds are to be found side by side with pure Japanese words (Yamato kotoba), but it is the latter that constitute by far the majority of entries. Here in the Miscellaneous Theories, Keichū notes the difficulty of determining kana spellings for words of this type, faced in some cases with a choice between the hansetsu notation of a Chinese character or compound, the notation of the same in an ancient Japanese work, and the popular kana spelling. For a consideration of the validity of hansetsu as a method for determining the kana spellings of Sino-Japanese, see Chapter 8 below.

Pitch Accent and The Historical Kana Usage of Keichū.

The passages among the Miscellaneous Theories relating to language in general require no comment here except for the passage which deals with the shishō.[1] It has been explained how in the Teika kana usage use of o and wo was determined by a difference in pitch-accent:[2] did not then the accent system of Japanese perhaps play some role in Keichū's system of kana spellings also? Merely to dismiss this possibility as fanciful would be to leave a gap in our examination and analysis of Keichū's kana usage and kana usage theory, and so the relationship (or lack of relationship) between Keichū's kana usage and the pitch-accent of Japanese will be clarified here briefly.

If we turn to MYSI - compiled at a time when Keichū's kana usage theory was in its early stages - we find that here Keichū did in fact look for a possible distinction between the kana wo and o in pitch accent.[3] This hypothesis is however later rejected in MYSF, when

1 Vd. p.46 above, note 2.
2 Vd. pp.32-33 above.
3 Vd. MYSI translation, p.75 above. As Mabuchi K. observes (Meiji shoin 1958, p.141), from WJBO it appears that Keichū knew of Gyoa's principle of distinguishing o and wo in use by a difference of pitch;

Keichū correctly identified the difference between these two signs
as the absence or presence of initial w (although he continued to
think mistakenly of wo as o and o as [ŋo]).

In his later works on kana usage, Keichū makes it clear that he
considers pitch-accent to have nothing to do with kana usage. In
WJBO for example Keichū criticises the view of Tachibana Narikazu as
set out in Waji kokon tsūrei zensho that kana usage should change in
accordance with differences in pitch:

> "If kana signs too were changed in accordance with a
> change in accent, then each of the three types of
> accent should be distinguished in the forty-seven
> signs, and there should be one hundred and forty-one
> signs. If the three types of accent were disting-
> uished, there should be eighteen signs for i, wi, e,
> we, wo, and o, even setting aside signs of which the
> pronunciation is not confused."

The main point about pitch-accent and Keichū's kana usage is that
there is no relationship whatsoever between the two.

(Notes cont. from previous page).
this is clear from the following short excerpt: "It seems that Gyōa
considered that yo and o should be distinguished in use according to
the 'light' or 'heavy' nature of the syllable" (IKZN X, p.332).
Even if Keichū knew that Gyōa distinguished o and wo by using o for
/o/ (low level pitch) and wo for /o/ (high level pitch), he would
still have regarded Gyōa's usage of these signs as confused, because
of variation due to historical changes in the pitch system of Japan-
ese, of which Keichū was not aware.

1   IKZN X, p.332.

Chapter Eight

WJSH — Interpretation and Analysis (2).

Principles of Kana Usage Theory in WJSH.

In this and the following chapter it is proposed to go on to
examine the most fundamental aspect of WJSH, namely the kana spell-
ings and the principles on which they are based. Firstly let us
consider the principles underlying Keichū's kana spellings.[1]

1. Source Documents.

The fundamental principle of Keichū's kana usage theory was to
base the spellings of words upon their notation in the ancient lit-
erature. His aim in so doing was largely to establish a consistent
and integrated system of kana spellings to replace the Teika spellings.[2]
There are however a number of problems relating to Keichū's use of
source documents. Firstly, not all the works Keichū took as evidence
of the ancient kana spellings date back prior to the incipient con-
fusion of the iroha-gana;[3] this is one source of errors in kana
spellings in WJSH. Secondly, there is a problem concerning some of
the types of notation which Keichū took as evidence. For example, two
of the source documents most quoted by Keichū as evidence in WJSH are
the Man'yōshū and Nihon shoki. Since both these works were compiled

1 The principles of Keichū's kana usage theory in MYSO have already
been examined in Chapter 5 above, where the emphasis was on the
developmental aspect of kana usage theory between the two versions
of MYSO. In the present chapter this developmental aspect is not
overlooked, but the object of study is primarily the kana usage in
WJSH itself.
2 But vd. Chapter 2 above for other motivating factors.
3 This began with the falling together of the phonological references
of o and wo from c.1000 A.D. (vd. Nakata 1972, p.60; also Mabuchi 1971,
p.54). To set up a system of kana spellings free from confusion and
true to his own principle of taking the original spelling of a word
as the "correct" one therefore, Keichū should only have used source
documents of earlier than c.1000 A.D. In fact many of the sources he
quotes as evidence are later than this.

well before confusion of the iroha-gana arose, the language of these

texts could legitimately be taken by Keichū as evidence of the ancient

kana usage. The difficulty is however that on occasion Keichū appears

to have taken not only the original texts of these works but also kana

glosses added at a much later date as evidence.[1] Thirdly, Keichū was

unable to find all the words he set out in WJSH in the ancient lit-

erature.[2] There were two reasons for this: either such words occurred

in the ancient literature but Keichū was unable to find them owing to

the limitations of the materials he used;[3] or the words were of late

origin.[4] In the case of such words, Keichū sometimes used auxiliary

methods to determine kana spellings. These auxiliary methods will be

examined later: firstly let us deal with each of the three problematical

points mentioned above relating to Keichū's use of source documents.

The Dates of Source Documents Used By Keichū.

It appears that Keichū first perceived the lack of confusion of

the ancient kana usage while compiling a commentary on the Man'yōshū

(MYSO). In determining kana spellings in WJSH however Keichū took as

evidence the notations of words not just in the Man'yōshū but in a

---

1 E.g. the spelling itowoshigaru "to feel sorry for" (IKZN X, p.137)
(cf. Senmyo 27, 伊覩保自 itohoshi); Keichū quotes Nihongi here, and
this would appear to be based on a late kana gloss, for itowoshigaru/
itohoshigaru does not occur in Man'yōgana in Nihongi. Similarly,
koimarohi, for which Keichū quotes Man'yōshū, was probably based on a
kana gloss, as it does not occur in Man'yōgana in the Man'yōshū.
2 This tells us something of the process of compilation of WJSH, viz.,
that Keichū did not start with a collection of words to be found only
in Wamyō-shō, Man'yōshū, etc., but included some words even though at
the time he was unable to find a source document to substantiate
those words.
3 For example, Keichū did not know of Shinsen jikyō 新撰字鏡 (a
Chinese-Japanese dictionary compiled c.900 A.D.; this work later fell
into obscurity and was not rediscovered until the Edo Period by Murata
Harumi (1746-1811)). This work would have furnished Man'yōgana wri-
tings for entries such as ibiki (IKZN X, p.145), odoro (ibid., p.185),
etc. Nor did Keichū use such early kunten materials as Jizō jūrin-kyō
地蔵十輪経 (kana glosses added 883) and Kanjo yōyū-den 漢書楊雄傳
(glosses added 948): these would have provided evidence for example
for uruhofu (IKZN X, p.198) and tofurafu (ibid., p.246) respectively.
Keichū did see Nihon ryōiki 日本靈異記 , but not until after completion
of WJSH, WJBO, and WJYR (vd. IKZN XIV, pp.490 & 493).
4 E.g. Safurafu (IKZN X, p.257).

wide range of works of various dates. What were Keichū's criteria

in selecting works as material to provide evidence for kana spellings?

It seems that initially Keichū compared kana usage in certain other

ancient works with that in Man'yōshū, and decided to take these as

evidence for kana spellings on finding that kana usage in these works

agreed with that in Man'yōshū:

> "Kana in this anthology (Man'yōshū) and in Nihongi,
> Shoku Nihongi, Engi shiki, Wamyō-shū, and so on are in
> mutual agreement. Since present-day kana usage diff-
> ers considerably from that in these works, one should
> follow the ancient writings, in which kana usage is
> on the whole in mutual agreement."
> MYSI.[1]

Keichū's methodology here would appear to be sound: that is to

say, if the kana usage in a particular source document agreed with

that in Man'yōshū, then Keichū considered it valid as evidence of

the ancient kana usage. No doubt it was utilisation of this principle

of comparative examination of manuscripts that enabled Keichū to

arrive at an accurate date for the incipient confusion of the iroha-

gana - this date is made clear by the following passage from MYSF:

> "Since when one examines kana usage up to the time of
> Lord Yukinari it is found to be no different from kana
> in this anthology, it seems that errors were gradually
> made thereafter."[2]

From this we can say that Keichū considered kana usage to have

become confused in the early 11th century -- a view which concurs

almost exactly with that of modern scholarship[3]

However, examination of source documents quoted in WJSH reveals

a number of works which were written well after the confusion of wo,

o, etc.[4] Examples of this are the Kin'yō waka-shū 金葉和歌集 and

---

1 IKZH I, p.207.
2 Ibid., p.185.
3 Vd. p.177 above, note 3.
4 The situation regarding Keichū's use of source documents in WJSH
is complicated by the fact that where Keichū gives a source document
for an entry it does not in every case mean that the source document
contains the word in question in a form that can be taken as evidence
of the kana spelling (i.e. Man'yōgana, katakana, or hiragana). E.g.

Fūga waka-shū[1] 風雅和歌集 . How is Keichū's use of such late works[2] to be reconciled with the above statement of his in MYSF? In the present writer's view, this statement of Keichū's in MYSF concerning the date of incipient confusion of iroha-gana is best regarded as a basic principle, but not as an absolute one that could be applied without exception to all entries in WJSH. The most characteristic feature of Keichū's academic method was to base his argument on actual evidence -- this applied equally to both his commentaries and language works. Some of the entries in WJSH were not to be found in the most ancient works such as Man'yōshū and Nihon shoki, but did occur in later works. And so although in such cases for Keichū to quote late works as evidence of kana usage was to compromise his principle of using early source documents such as Wamyō-shō and Man'yōshū, it did still enable him to offer documentary evidence for the kana spellings in question.

It has tentatively been suggested earlier in the chapter that Keichū was correct in taking Man'yōshū, Wamyō-shō, and so on as evidence of the ancient kana usage. The three main source documents quoted by Keichū in WJSH are Wamyō-shū (Wamyō-shō), Man'yōshū, and Nihon shoki: in fact there are problems relating to Keichū's use of all three works. In the case of Man'yōshū and Nihon shoki, Keichū

(Notes cont. from previous page).
for utsuhamono "receptacle" (IKZN X, p.229) Keichū quotes Wamyō-shū, but although there are sections on various types of container in Wamyō-shō maki 14, the work contains no actual Man'yōgana writing for the word utsuhamono. Sometimes moreover the source document given in the note refers not to the kana spelling but to the Chinese character(s) for the entry concerned. E.g.

制   isamu   Nihongi has 制; Man'yōshū has 縶 。
"to warn", "to prohibit"   (IKZN X, p.144).

1 Kin'yō waka-shū was compiled in 1127, Fūga waka-shū in 1346.
2 Admittedly Keichū takes these works as affording evidence no more than two or three times throughout WJSH.

took as evidence not only the original texts but also textual glosses
added at a later date.[1] As regards Wamyō-shō (quoted by Keichū in
WJSH more frequently than any other work), the text used by Keichū
was not the 10-maki version compiled in the early 10th century, but
the somewhat later 20-maki version.[2]

Although such shortcomings are to be found in Keichū's method-
ology, they are not serious shortcomings, for examination of the kana
spellings for entries in WJSH by means of early source documents of
a reliable nature[3] shews the majority of those spellings to be correct
in terms of Keichū's own principles.

Types of Notation Taken by Keichū as Evidence of Kana Usage.

Examination of WJSH shews that as source documents for kana spell-
ings Keichū used a wide range of works, and a correspondingly wide
range of types of notation: Man'yōgana, hiragana, kana glosses to
Nihon shoki and Man'yōshū, and a limited amount of kunten materials
such as Yūsenkutsu 遊仙窟 , Monzen, and Shiki ryokō hongi 史記呂后
本紀 (the glosses to these three works are all late, i.e. well after
1000 A.D.). In WJSH[4] very few Man'yōgana writings are given, while
in WJBO and WJYR on the other hand there is a high proportion of
such writings. Also, the following passage is to be found in WJBO
maki 1:

> "The popular kana usage in Nihongi should not be used:
> it is all incorrect. Anyone who employs the kana usage
> therein will be like the priest Myōgi.[5] Also, it is
> hard to take as proof of usage the popular kana in
> works such as Genji mongatari, for there are no doubt
> errors due to recopying, in addition to errors in the
> original, as also there must be things which were

1 Vd. p.178 above, note 1.
2 Vd. p.62 above, note 2.
3 Vd. Chapter 9 below, p.191.
4 I.e. not the Mite Bunko text, but the version as it went to print
in 1695.
5 Vd. MYSI translation, p.72.

rewritten in accordance with the foolish ideas of the copyists."[1]

Here Keichū is unequivocably pointing to the unreliability of hira-gana literature and kana glosses in popular editions (if not all editions) of Nihongi as evidence of kana usage.[2] Was it then not until after compiling WJSH, his magnum opus on kana usage, that Keichū perceived the greater reliability of Man'yōgana writings as evidence of kana spellings? If this were the case, the credibility of kana spellings in WJSH would be considerably diminished, as the manuscript tradition for virtually all the ancient hiragana literature is corrupt.[3] Despite the very small number of Man'yōgana writings in WJSH however, Keichū's use of source documents suggests that at the time of compilation of WJSH he already regarded Man'yōgana writings as preferable to hiragana and katakana writings as evidence of kana usage. That is to say, the source document most frequently quoted by Keichū in WJSH is Wamyō-shō, a dictionary of the ancient language in which the pronunciation of entries is given in Man'yōgana. So although there are few actual Man'yōgana writings in WJSH, it can be said that a large number of spellings therein are based on Man'yōgana

1 IKZN X, p.384.
2 In the above quotation, Keichū is criticising Tachibana Narikazu (much of WJBO consists of criticism of Narikazu and his work Waji kokon tsūrei zensho) for using kana glosses in Nihongi as evidence. This may seem strange, as Keichū himself had recourse to this very type of notation in WJSH. That Keichū was only too ready to criticise the kana usage of other scholars despite errors in his own (partic-ularly in its earlier stages) is pointed out by Nagayama (1966). Possibly this slight excess may be attributed to Keichū's feeling of confidence and pride in his important discovery of the unity of the ancient kana usage.
3 That is to say, when manuscripts were recopied subsequent to the confusion of iroha-gana, kana of the same phonological reference were often used interchangeably (this was not the case with Man'yōgana, which were regarded as discrete signs even if their phonological ref-erences had fallen together). Thus wiru "to be" for example might be recopied as iru, ihe "house" as iwe or ie, etc., etc. Therefore hiragana documents written after c.1000 A.D. do not constitute evid-ence of the historical kana usage. The amount of hiragana material written before 1000 A.D. and preserved in its original form to this day is very limited.

writings. Accordingly, the numerous Man'yōgana writings in WJBO and WJYR represent not the emergence of a new principle of taking Man'yōgana writings as evidence of kana usage wherever possible, but simply the extension of an already-existing principle.

In the above the present writer has tentatively explained Keichū's use of source documents in WJSH, WJBO, and WJYR. The view put forward does however give rise to an apparent illogicality, namely, if in compiling WJSH Keichū considered Man'yōgana writings to constitute the most reliable form of evidence, why did he sometimes quote Nihongi glosses, and hiragana writings, as evidence? The answer to this is no doubt related to Keichū's principle of looking for actual evidence, referred to earlier in this chapter. That is to say, unable to find a Man'yōgana writing for an entry, Keichū chose to quote a hiragana writing or gloss (even though he may have felt it to be less satisfactory) because it enabled him to maintain his principle of quoting a source document for individual entries.

2. Auxiliary Methods Used by Keichū to Determine Kana Spellings.

In addition to this principal method of basing the kana spellings of words on their notation in the ancient literature, Keichū also employed a number of auxiliary methods to determine the kana spellings of words for which he was unable to find evidence in the ancient literature. Often he also used these methods to endorse spellings already substantiated by documentary evidence. These methods were: a) etymology, b) the interchange principle (sōtsū), c) onbin, d) hansetsu, e) kana-gaeshi. Keichū's usage of these terms or concepts does not in all cases conform exactly to the modern usage of the same: Keichū sometimes dealt with onbin forms in terms of sōtsū, and often used the term onbin in the general sense of "sound-change". Also,

a number of spellings in WJSH are noted as following the conventional writing, but the present writer has chosen not to classify conventional spelling as an auxiliary method, since this was only a last resort and is by very definition merely a continuation of the traditional spelling. The five auxiliary methods will now be examined briefly one by one.

a) <u>Kana</u> Spellings Determined By Etymology.

Of the five hundred and seventy-one entries in WJSH <u>maki</u> 2 (this figure does not include entries among the handwritten insertions to the Mite Bunko version of WJSH), the <u>kana</u> spellings of twelve entries are determined by etymology alone.[1] As it happens, the etymologies Keichū proposes for these twelve words are with the exception of that for <u>inochi</u> "life" all correct from the viewpoint of modern scholarship. There are however many etymologies in WJSH not used as the sole determinants of <u>kana</u> spelling that are incorrect, some being bizarre if not amusing. Regarding the origin of the word <u>ume</u> "flowering plum" for example Keichū writes: "Was <u>ume</u> so named in the sense of 'loving (愛, with furigana <u>u</u>) eye (<u>me</u>)'?"[2] Keichū's note to <u>kutsukaheru</u> "to overturn", "to capsize" is as follows:

> "Possibly it is called <u>kutsukaheru</u> because when people fall over, their shoes (<u>kutsu</u>) which were under them go up in the air (i.e. change position (<u>kaheru</u>))."[3]

---

1 That is to say, etymologies are given for some other entries also (e.g. <u>ibiki</u> "snore", IKZN X, p.145), but in addition to a source document. The twelve entries in question are: <u>iroto</u> (intimate term for younger brother or sister), ibid. p.135; <u>iresumi</u> "tattooing", ibid. p.140; <u>itsumi</u> "spring", ibid. p.141; <u>inochi</u> "life", ibid. p.142; <u>imina</u> "(posthumous) name", ibid. p.145; <u>tonowi</u> "staying at a noble's residence (for duties)", ibid. p.153; <u>kanatsunawi</u> "well with iron rope (for bucket)", ibid. p.153; <u>kurawi</u> "seat", "rank", ibid. p.154; <u>kowi</u> "bird perching in tree", ibid. p.154; <u>motowi</u> "base", ibid. p.154; <u>tarahi</u> "bowl (for washing)", ibid. p.158.
2 IKZN X, p.254.
3 Ibid. p.216.

Some of Keichū's etymological notes moreover run to considerable

length, as for example that to wimori "newt":

> "The kana for wimori have yet to be considered -- it is
> always written this way. In Wamyō-shū, in the entry
> for "lizard" (tokage) it says:
>
>> 'Honzō Wamyō-shū[1] says, 龍子 ryūshi - one name is
>> shukyū 守宮 "palace guardian"; Japanese name,
>> tokage 止加介 . A note by So Kei 蘇敬 says: it
>> is always to be found on the walls of houses,
>> therefore it is called shukyū.'
>
> However, the Japanese name wimori does not appear
> in Wamyō-shū. There is a great difference between
> the theory in Hakubutsu-shi 博物誌 [2] and that of So
> Kei, which are always quoted in notes concerned with
> evidence for wimori. A lizard is long, but a newt
> is broad. Possibly a lizard turns into a newt when
> it is old. One also hears that when it is old, a
> tree-frog turns into a newt. And truly such cases
> have been seen. As regards the reason for naming it
> wimori, was it in the sense of "stay and guard" (wi-
> mori), since it does not move away from the walls of
> a house? Or was it so named in the sense of "guard-
> ian of wells (wi-mori), as it inhabits wells also?
> It is the popular theory that those which inhabit
> wells (wi) are called wimori, while those which in-
> habit dwellings (ya) are called yamori. This theory
> is an ill-substantiated one."[3]

Etymology is clearly an important element in WJSH, and the length of

the etymological note to wimori and certain other entries is indicative

of the exhaustive nature of Keichū's academic method. Etymology is

valid as a method of determining kana spellings to the extent that the

etymologies proposed are correct. This is however by no means always

the case with Keichū's etymologies.

b) Kana Spellings Determined by The Interchange Principle.[4]

Interchange was a traditional concept used by scholars to explain

---

1 Properly, Honzō Wamyō-shō; a work in twenty maki compiled by Fukae
Sukehito 深江輔仁 (one text has 深根 Fukane) in 918. The oldest
Japanese work on plants used for medicinal purposes.
2 An ancient Chinese encyclopaedic work (Chi. Powu chih) compiled by
Chang Hua 張華 of Chin晋 .
3 IKZN X, p.152.
4 Sōtsū.

changes in word-forms in terms of change between two signs in the

onzu having a vowel or consonant in common.[1]

The kana spellings of four entries in WJSH maki 2 are determined

by this principle alone.[2] Keichū's note to tsuitate "single-leaf

screen" for example reads, "There has been interchange of the ki in

tsukitate with i".[3]

Interchange was a concept formerly used by scholars in traditional

Japanese language studies to explain a wide variety of changes in

word forms. In some cases this happened to coincide with what in

modern terminology would be called sporadic phonemic change, as for

example u > o in mugura > mogura "mole". It will be seen that of the

four words in WJSH maki 2 the kana spellings of which are determined

by interchange alone, three are in fact onbin forms.[4]

Not all the interchange forms Keichū sets up have a sound basis

in fact. Consider for example the entry urushi "lacquer",[5] for which

Keichū mistakenly tries to set up the interchange u-nu through a false

etymology:

---

1 Vd. Chapter 11 below.
2 Viz. Inari (name of the harvest deity) (IKZN X, p.141); tsuitate
"single-leaf screen" (ibid. p.148); saitori "bird-catching (with
baited stick)" (ibid. p.150); suikaki "openwork fence" (ibid. p.151).
3 IKZN X, p.148.
4 The interchange for the fourth word, Inari, is based on a false
etymology. The Inari entry is as follows:

稲荷   Inari   This should be Inani (稻荷), but
                          there has been interchange in this
                          way through signs having the same
                          vowel.

Keichū's argument here is based on the Chinese characters used to
write this word, i.e. 稻 ina + 荷 ni. Keichū then used the interchange
principle to justify the third syllable ri where on the basis of the
characters one would expect ni. Regarding the kana spelling ine (ina)
for the word "rice" (as opposed to the other possibility, viz. wine),
in the original printed edition Keichū argues the spelling on the
basis of the interchange i-shi (noting the alternative form shine);
in the Mite Bunko text of WJSH this is supplemented with the Man'yō-
gana writing 以称 ine (IKZN X, p.141, ine entry, additional note 18).
5 IKZN X, p.255.

"In Hakushi monjū 白氏文集 (?)[1] the characters 漆部 are read nurihe. If one considers the word according to this, it should be pronounced nurushi, being the abbreviation of nuru shiru "liquid for applying". It is however probably called urushi through interchange of signs having the same vowel."

The concept of interchange occurs frequently in WJSH.

Closely connected with the principle of interchange is that of inflection – indeed, determining kana usage by inflection appears to be an application of the interchange principle.[2] Notes on the kana spelling of inflected forms are to be found here and there in WJSH, e.g.,

堪   tahe   Inflected as tafu. ——[3]
    "to endure" (CF)

Once the kana spelling for one of the forms of an inflectional word was established, then the spellings for other inflected forms of the same word could be known by analogy.[4] For example, once the spelling for modern omou "to think" was established as omofu, then the forms omohi, omohe, and omoha could be analogized simply by thinking of omou (omofu) as a ha-column verb. The principle of kana usage by inflection is to be found in early kana usage works such as KNZK and other Teika-style kana usage works.[5] Whether the forms analogized in WJSH on the basis of this principle are correct in terms of the historical principle of kana usage depends of course on the validity of the form itself which Keichū took as the base form of the inflectional word concerned.

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1 The text here has only the single character 氏 shi, which I tentatively take as an abbreviation for Hakushi monjū (Chi. Pai-shih Wenchi), a work quoted as a source document by Keichū elsewhere in WJSH (IKZN X, p.270, natsusa-natsusa entry).
2 Vd. Hisamatsu 1926, vol.9, p.331.
3 IKZN X, p.215.
4 There are exceptions, however. The form uwe (CF uu "to plant") for example could not be analogized from the form uu.
5 Vd. Nagayama 1963, pp.518-541.

c) Kana Spellings Determined by Onbin.

Nowadays the term onbin is used with specific reference to four

types of linguistic change, namely i-onbin, u-onbin, hatsu-onbin, and

soku-onbin.[1] Keichū however used the term in a much wider sense.

This is clear from entries such as the following:

檜皮 hihata Onbin. The same as kihata.[2]

Here one might have expected Keichū to explain the difference between

hihata and kihata in terms not of onbin but of interchange (hi ki).

Despite this loose usage of the term, Keichū still seems to have had

an idea of onbin as being distinct from the concept of interchange in

some cases at least. The note to kaukai "hair-scraper"[3] for example

suggests that Keichū was aware of the mi~u alternation (i.e. u-onbin)

in certain words: "Wamyō-shū has kamikaki. It is a hair-scraper

(kami-kaki). The kau of kaukai is through onbin." Kamikaki is the

one entry in WJSH maki 2 the kana spelling of which is determined by

onbin alone, but in terms of WJSH as a whole onbin (in the sense used

by Keichū, that is) is a common concept. As evidence of oblique i

and u, i- and u-onbin forms are valid (since in both cases the phen-

omenon of onbin involved the disappearance of the consonant before i

or u).

d) Kana Spellings Determined by Hansetsu.[4]

Generally speaking, kana usage for this class of words was no

doubt more difficult for Keichū to determine than for Yamato kotoba,

since Sino-Japanese words occur only sporadically in the ancient lit-

erature in a form which provides evidence of the kana spelling.

Accordingly, Keichū made use of the hansetsu principle. None of

1 Vd. KJTN, onbin entry.
2 IKZN X, p.232.
3 Ibid. p.147.
4 Vd. p.225 below, note 2.

the kana spellings for entries in WJSH maki 2 is determined by han-
setsu, but this method is used by Keichū elsewhere in WJSH: in
section 8 (initial we) for example, seven of the twenty-five spellings
are based on hansetsu.[1] These appear to be based on the Sino-Japanese
readings of the Chinese characters:[2] the hansetsu of 詠 for example is
烏命 (w + ei).

As Wenck observes however,[3] the basis of Keichū's hansetsu notations
is uncertain. That is to say, it is not clear whether they were taken
from a work giving the readings of characters by the hansetsu method,
or whether they were based by Keichū on the contemporary pronunciation.

Setting aside the question of the validity of the kana spellings
for Sino-Japanese words in WJSH (these make up only a small proportion
of the entries), the historical significance of Keichū's spellings for
this class of words was in any case limited, for they were superseded
by those laid down by Norinaga in Jion kana-zukai.[4]

e) Kana Spellings Determined by Kana-gaeshi.

Kana-gaeshi was a traditional method employed by scholars to ex-
plain contracted word-forms in the ancient Japanese language, and
was an application of the hansetsu principle. Kana-gaeshi is probably
best explained by quoting a WJSH entry in which Keichū uses this
principle:

| 隼人 | haito | Also pronounced hayahito. Possibly so called because the kana-gaeshi of ya and hi is i.[5,6] |

1 Viz. 會 we, IKZN X, p.209; 繪 we, ibid.; 詠 wei, ibid.; 縈華 weikuwa,
ibid.; 壜下库 wenka no sa, ibid. p.210; 圓库 wensa, ibid.; 衛十 weshi,
ibid.
2 As opposed to hansetsu notations in ancient Chinese rhyming dict-
ionaries.
3 Wenck 1954, p.234. Wenck suggests that in determining kana spellings
for Sino-Japanese words, Keichū may have used Inkyō (vd. p.19 above,
note 8).
4 Vd. p.19 above, note 8.
5 Conceptually yi. Vd. WJSH onzu (p.124 above).
6 IKZN X, p.146.

Kana-gaeshi is used by Keichū to furnish evidence of kana usage only
very occasionally (the entry quoted above is the only one in maki 2
in which the spelling is based on this principle), and is definitely
no more than a minor method of determining kana usage in WJSH.

In the above an account has been given of Keichū's methodology
in determining kana spellings in WJSH. From the viewpoint of modern
scholarship, Keichū's methodology is by no means without its short-
comings. In assessing the importance of Keichū's kana usage research
however, should we not rather take the more positive approach of
trying to see the progress made by Keichū in WJSH and his other writings
on kana usage over earlier kana usage theory? The ultimate criterion
concerning the kana spellings in WJSH and ultimately of the principles
on which they were based is no doubt the degree to which they are
correct in terms of the historical principle of kana usage which
Keichū himself sought to apply. This question will be dealt with in
the following chapter.

Chapter Nine

WJSH -- Interpretation and Analysis (3).

Kana Spellings in WJSH.

1. Validity of The Spellings in Terms of The Historical Principle.

Now that an outline has been given of the principles of kana

usage theory in WJSH, we can proceed to an examination of the actual

kana spellings in that work. It will be noted that none of the

methods described above for determining kana usage as used by Keichū

is completely without its shortcomings, and since kana spellings in

WJSH represent the realisation of Keichū's kana usage theory, it foll-

ows that these shortcomings should inevitably be reflected in the

kana spellings. In view of this, the question arises concerning the

extent to which the kana spellings advocated in WJSH are valid in

terms of Keichū's own basic principle of historical kana spelling, a

principle which as we have seen above Keichu was not always able to

adhere to strictly. In order to answer this question, the present

writer examined the kana spelling of each and every entry in WJSH

maki 2-5 inclusive in the light of source documents dating back prior

to the incipient confusion of the iroha-gana. Since this survey of

WJSH spellings is extremely lengthy[1], it is given below in excerpt

form only. The survey excerpts are preceded by a brief account of the

present writer's methodology, and followed by observations and conc-

lusions from the survey.

---

1 There are over two thousand entries in WJSH, including duplicate
entries.

Methodology of The Survey of WJSH Kana Spellings.

The following types of material were used to provide evidence of
historical kana spellings: firstly, pre-950 Man'yōgana writings;[1]
secondly, kunten materials[3] (the glosses of which were added before c.
950).[4] An exception to the lower date of 950 was made in the case of
entries in which the only problematical point is the yottsugana
notation: here, later material is also acceptable as evidence.[5]

---

1 As confusion of the iroha-gana began c.1000 A.D., the date 950
was taken arbitrarily as the latest limit for source documents so as
to give a small "safety margin" (sporadic examples of confusion of
iroha-gana are to be found before the year 1000).
    Pre-950 Man'yōgana writings constitute reliable evidence of hist-
orical kana usage because when manuscripts were recopied even after
confusion of the iroha-gana, Man'yōgana were on the whole recopied
exactly as they were and without substitution of homophonous signs
(such substitution took place in recopying of hiragana documents --
vd. p.182 above, note 3). The reason for this appears to be that
each Man'yōgana was regarded as an individual entity and was thus
recopied without change.
    Man'yōgana can be divided into two main types: on-gana and kun-
gana. Ongana are Chinese characters used for the phonetic value of
their Sino-Japanese reading. e.g.也麻 yama "mountain", while kun-
gana were used for the phonetic value of their kun reading, e.g.金鶴
kanetsuru (in wasure-kanetsuru "(was) unable to forget". Vd. KJTN
Man'yōgana entry.
2 I.e. either works by native Chinese, or by Japanese in imitation
of classical Chinese.
3 The reliability of kunten materials is due to the fact that in
many cases the original manuscripts have been handed down unchanged
to the present day, and even in the case of recopied manuscripts, on
the whole they preserve the original closely. In this respect, kunten
materials contrast with most hiragana documents such as Genji mono-
gatari, which underwent an intermediate stage of recopying in which
discrete but homophonous iroha-gana (such as e and we) were used inter-
changeably.
4 The principal works referred to for evidence in Man'yōgana writings
and kunten materials were JDBK and Shinchō kokugo jiten (Hisamatsu
1973).
5 Since confusion of yottsugana did not become general until c.17th
century, source documents later than 950 can be taken as evidence
of the original usage. Accordingly the following source documents
were taken as evidence of yottsugana usage in addition to the pre-950
material already described: Wamyō ruiju-shō (20-maki version); Ruiju
myōgi-shō· Nihon shoki toshoryō-bon kun (glosses added 1142); Nihon
shoki shiki; Daijionji sanzō hōshi-den 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳   (glosses
1099); Daitō seiiki-ki (Ishiyamadera-bon) (1163-1165); Daitō seiiki-ki
(glosses 1213-1219); Fujumonkō 諷誦文稿 ; Hakushi monjū (glosses 1113).
Hiragana materials were not taken as evidence due to the difficulty
of the manuscript tradition.

In addition, in cases where direct orthographic evidence of the above types was wanting, morphemic analysis[1] and onbin forms (i- and u-onbin)[2] were also used to infer historical kana spellings where applicable.

Layout of The Survey.

Each WJSH entry as dealt with in the survey is made up essentially of two main parts or "layers": firstly, certain items of information abstracted from WJSH itself; and secondly, orthographic evidence and /or related notes regarding the word concerned, added by the present writer[3] The first part of each entry in the survey consists of the Chinese character(s) for the entry concerned, the kana spelling (in transliteration), source document(s) (where given), and/or Man'yōgana writing. For example:

圓座　　warafuta　　Wamyō-shū : 和良布太

In this particular case, the Man'yōgana writing 和良布太 warafuta is given by Keichū in the original note to this entry. More usually

---

1　Morphemic analysis can only be used to determine kana usage in the case of compound words of which firstly the meaning is such as to permit analysis into constituent morphemes; and secondly, where orthographic evidence is to be found in the above materials for the constituent morpheme of which the historical kana usage is in question. For example,

風招　kazawoki　　Nihongi.
"spell to invoke the wind"
　　　kaza (morphophonemic alternant < kaze "wind") +
　　　woki (deverbal from woku "to invite", "to attract";
　　　cf. 手岐 (CF), Man'yōshū poem 814).

節折　yowori
(ancient court ceremony held on the last day of the sixth and twelfth months, during which bamboos were broken and used to measure the height of the Emperor, Empress, and Crown Prince).
　　　yo "joint (in bamboo, etc.)" + woru "to break" (de-
　　　verbal); cf. 乎利 (CF), Man'yōshū poem 3973.
2　Vd. Chapter 8 above, end of section c) (p.188).
3　In the case of some entries (about five hundred of the total of some two thousand entries in WJSH), no evidence is to be found.

however, Man'yōgana writings to substantiate entries are to be found only in the handwritten inserted notes (Mite Bunko WJSH); these inserted Man'yōgana writings (and related notes by Keichū on source documents) have been distinguished in the survey excerpts below by insertion within parentheses. Thus, the entry Wohari (place-name) appears as follows in the survey:

尾張　Wohari.　　Wm, Shūi waka (烏波和 Nh; 袁波理 Kj; 乎波里).

The source documents Wamyō-shū and Shūi waka-shū are given in Keichū's original note, while the parentheses indicate that information therein is to be found in Keichū's subsequent inserted notes to the Mite Bunko text of WJSH.

In the second line of each entry in the survey excerpts below, the present writer has noted a Man'yōgana writing (discovered by himself) for the word concerned, taken from the types of material described above.[1] Even in the case of entries for which Keichū gives a Man'yōgana writing, the present writer still chose to search for and set out orthographic evidence independently of this in order to check the validity of the spelling concerned.[2] Thus, the entry warafuta ("circular mat") appears in the survey as follows:

圓座　warafuta　　Wm: 和良布太

和良布太 Wm 10

The abbreviation Wm 10 refers to the 10-maki version of Wamyō-shō, which was used in the survey in order to distinguish it from the somewhat later 20-maki version used by Keichū (this latter version being referred to in the survey simply as Wm).

Notations taken by the present writer as evidence and enclosed

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1 P.192.
2 Concerning shortcomings in Keichū's use of source documents, etc., vd. Chapter 8 above.

in angular brackets < > indicate a textual note on pronunciation,
this note appearing in the original work in small characters beneath
the word concerned. This usage of angular brackets follows that in
JDBK.

Where there is a seidaku discrepancy between a WJSH entry and
JDBK (i.e. where Keichū uses a dakuon-gana to represent a seion)[1]
the JDBK notation is given in the second line immediately beneath
the entry heading. For example,

雄　　　wodori　　　　（手土里 ）
　　　　　"cock bird"
wodori　　　手止利　Kinkafu,　手止利 Wm 10

Finally, where a kunten gloss has been taken as evidence, the date
at which the gloss was added is given in parentheses.

WJSH Survey: Excerpts.

Maki 2.

135.　　　膽　i　　　　（伊 Wm）

　　　< 伊 > Nh Saimei 5, 以 Wm 10

　　　鳥　i　　　　————

< iru "to shoot"　以留 Wm 10[2]　伊美豆河波 My 4006[3]

　　　膿　i　　　　（伊 My）

　　　伊　Kj Jinmu, My 4400

　　　色　iro　　　　————

　　　・伊呂 My 850 & 4424

1　No special note is given where Keichū uses a seion-gana to represent
a dakuon syllable, as this was a common convention of pre-modern
written Japanese (vd. pp.9-11).
2　In 由美以留 yumi-iru.
3　Also written 鳥水河 (My 4106).

母   <u>iroha</u>   （伊呂波）

以路波 Wm 10. Iro- is a prefix meaning "of the same mother". (Cf. <u>iroto</u> below).

弟   <u>iroto</u>   Nh

伊呂杼 Kj Annei, 伊呂弟 Kj Richū

兄   <u>irone</u>   Nh （伊呂祢 ）

伊呂泥 Kj Annei

鱗   <u>irokutsu</u>   （以呂久都 ）

伊路久都 Wm 10

喘息   <u>iroke</u>   Nh

Appears to be scribal error for <u>iwake</u>.[1]

雲脂   <u>iroko</u>   Wm （伊呂古 ）

以路古 Wm 10

岩   <u>iha</u>   （以彼 ）

伊波 My 3362, ＜伊波＞Kj Jinmu

巖   <u>ihaho</u>   My （以八保 ）

伊波保 My 4454, Jikyo

136. 羊躑躅 <u>ihatsutsushi</u>   Wm （以彼豆々之 ）

以彼都々之 <u>Honzō</u>, 伊波豆々志 <u>Jikyō</u>

石綱   <u>ihatsuna</u>   My

磐梨   <u>Ihanasu</u>   Wm （伊波奈須 ）

_____

1   Vd. p.127 above, note ((1)).

石韋　　　ihanokaha　　　Wm （以波乃加波 ）

以波乃加波 <u>Honzō</u>, Wm 10

卷柏　　　ihakumi　　　Wm （伊波久美 ）

伊波久美 <u>Honzō</u>, 以波久美 Wm 10

石蕗　　　ihakusuri　　　Wm （以波久須利 ）

以波久須利 <u>Honzō</u>, 伊波久須利 Wm 10

窟　　　ihaya　　　（伊波夜 ）

以波夜 Wm 10, <u>Saishōō-kyō</u> gloss (early Heian)

屯　　　ihamu　　　Nh （怡波溿 ）

怡波溿 (CF), Nh Jinmu zenki

況　　　ihamuya　　　————

<u>Jūrin-kyō</u> 4 gloss (883)

驚駭　　　ihake　　　Nh

————　　　ihakenashi　　　————

祝　　　ihafu　　　————

伊波比 (CF) My 813, 伊波布　My 4402

鎭齋　　　ihafu[1]　　　————

伊波俾 (NF) My

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1 Different <u>Man'yōgana</u> writings are given here in the survey for <u>ihafu</u> (祝) and <u>ihafu</u> (鎭齋) because the present writer has treated these two entries not as one identical but as two separate words or morphemes, viz. 1) "to wish for happiness (of another)", and 2) "to revere the deities". Keichū's note to <u>ihafu</u> (鎭齋 : "this means 'to revere the deities' ") suggests that he regarded the two entries as different words.

Maki 3.

171.　嶽　<u>wo</u>　　　　My（乎）

　　　　　袁 Kj Yūryaku, 乎 My 4305

　　　　呼塢　Wo　　　　Wm（乎）; Nh Jindai 雄; Engi:男;
　　　　　　　　　　　　Tosa n.

　　　　　雄 Nh

　　　　雄　<u>wo</u>

　　　　　遠 Kj Jindai,〈烏〉Nh Jindai jō

　　　　苧　<u>wo</u>　　　　————

　　　　　乎 Wm 10,鹿〈?〉<u>Ryōiki</u> <u>ge</u> 1

　　　　緒　<u>wo</u>　　　　————

　　　　　乎 My 4281,遠 Kj Jindai

　　　　尾　<u>wo</u>　　　　My, Wm（乎 , Wm）

　　　　　袁 Kj Yūryaku, 乎 Wm 10

　　　　小　<u>wo</u>　　　　————

　　　　　乎 My 3527,袁 Kj Jinmu

　　　　蛇　<u>worochi</u>　　Nh, Wm（乎呂知　, Wm）

　　　　　遠呂智 Kj Jindai, 乎路知　Wm 10

　　　　姨　<u>woha</u>　　（母乃月乎波　）

　　　　　姑〈乎婆〉<u>Ryō no shūge. sōsō</u>（窀葬),
　　　　　.<u>Ryōiki</u> <u>chū</u> 32

　　　　終　<u>wohari</u>　　（許登乎波里　(My) XVIII;
　　　　　　　　　　　　裏之乎波良波 (Hy) XX;乎闘乎　）

　　　< <u>woharu</u>　　乎波里 (CF) My 4116,乎波良 (NF) My 4331

172.　尾張　Wohari　　Wm, <u>Shūi</u> <u>waka</u>（烏儺利　Nh;
　　　　袁波理　　Kj;乎波里　）

　　　小針　Kj

遠敷　　Wonifu　　　　Wm（を尓不　　）

———

尾株　　wobone　　　　（をほ祢　　）

　　　　　　　　　Wm 10

愆年　　wototoshi　　　My

———

龗日　　wototohi　　　My XVII：をつ都日　　（（My）XVII（page）
　　　　　　　　　13：をつ都日　　；ibid.（page）46：をつ
　　　　　　　　　都日　）

　　　（をつ都日　　My 4011）

媒鳥　　wotori　　　　Wm（をつ利　Wm）

　　　をつ利　Wm 10

雄　　　wodori　　　　（をと里　　）

wotori　　をと利　Kinkafu，をつ利　Wm 10

踊　　　wodoru　　　　My, Shūi（立をとり利　　My V）

　　　をとろ流 My 4148，をとり利　（CF）My 904

赤箭　　wotowotoshi　　Wm（をとゝと之　　　）

　　　をとをと之 Honzō, Wm 10

少男　　wotoko　　　　Nh Jindai：鳥箇孤　；Shoku Nh, My, Wm
　　　　　　　　　（伊射西をとゞ許　　；売箇古　Kj；遠刀さ
　　　　　　　　　　My V，月人をとこ枯　　My XV；毛止
　　　　　　　　　をとこ；知哭をとこ古　　（My）XIX；をとこ古
　　　　　　　　　（My）XX；突豆麻をと故　Kj jō）

　　〈鳥箇孤〉　Nh Jindai jō，をこ古　My 4317

少女　　wotome　　　　My（をとめ　Wm）[1]

　　　をとめ　My 3610，袁登売 Kj Keikō

———

1　Keichū also gives a Man'yōgana writing for wotome (viz.をこ咩　)
in the note to the preceding entry (wotoko).

伯父　　wodji　　　　Wm（手知　）

手遲　Ryō no shūge.sōsō, 手知　Jikyō

173.　　老爺　wodji　　　　Nh，My（鳥賦　Nh Jindai ge；鳥賦 Nh
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Kōkyoku；佐夜鹿太乃手治　　My XVII）

鳥賦　Nh Kōkyoku 2, 手治　My 4014

芸薹　wochi　　　　Wm（手知　）

手知　Honzō, Wm 10

條　wochiwochi　　　Nh

———

Maki 4.

205.　　嘶　ihae　　　　Wm：以波由　．

　＜ibayu　　　　　　以波由　Wm 10

206.　　香菜　inue　　　　Wm（以沼衣　）

以叙江　Wm 10

愈　ie　　　　———

　＜iyu　　　　　＜伊由留＞　Ryōiki jō 16（Kōfukuji-bon）

芲寀 hana no emu　　———

———

大角 haranofue　　　Wm（波良乃布江　　）

波良乃布江 Wm 10

鮧　hae　　　　Wm（波江　）

波江 Wm 10

薁　hae　　　　Nh（波曳 Kenzō-ki）

　＜hayu　　　　　侔粟（CF）My 3491，波由波 My 196

贄   <u>nie</u>   ——————

< <u>niyu</u>   ——————

吠   <u>hoe</u>   (保由)

< <u>hoyu</u>   保由 <u>Jikyō</u>, Wm 10

千枝   <u>chie</u>   <u>Rokujō</u>

<u>chi</u> "thousand", "many" + <u>e</u> "branch" (延 Kj Yūryaku,
Nh Keikō 17)

鵺   <u>nue</u>   Kj, My, Wm (奴延 Kj; 沼江)

奴延 Kj Jindai, 奴江 <u>Jikyō</u>

——————   <u>nuekusa</u>   Kj (怒延久佐)

怒延久佐 Kj Jindai

范麻   <u>karae</u>   Wm (加良衣)

加良衣 Wm 10

鴨柄   <u>kamoe</u>   Wm (賀毛江 Wm)

賀毛江 Wm 10

饕   <u>sobie</u>   ——————

< <u>sobiyu</u>   ——————

賛   <u>tsuie</u>   ——————

< <u>tsuhiyu</u>   豆比由 <u>Jikyō</u>

潰   <u>tsue</u>   ——————

堰   <u>nee</u>   ——————

轅　　　　pagae　　　　Wm（奈加江　）

奈加江　Wm 10

荆　　　namae no ki　　Wm（奈末江多木　）

奈万衣多岐　Wm 10

蓁　　　　　nae　　　　My

Kongōhannya-kyō sanjutsu gloss (885-889)

瘦歐　uefuseri　　　Nh

Appears to be orthographically corrupt form of
woefuseri（<woyu (CF) + fusu）

蘇　　　　norae　　　Wm（多良衣　）

多良江　Wm 10

207.　吭　　nomutofue　　　Wm（多能止布江　）

能天度布江　Wm 10

小角　kudanofue　　　Wm（久太能布江　）

久太多布江　Wm 10

Maki 5.

245.　遊絲　itoyufu　　　────

言屋社　Ifuya no yashiro　Nh（伊浮瑯　）

　　　・　Nh Saimei 5（the writing 言 constitutes evid-
ence of oblique -fu here; cf. 伊布　My 3536, 伊欵　My 4011）

埴生　hanifu　　　────

埴布　Hy 69

匜　　hanisafu　　Wm（波迩佐布　）

波迩佐布　Wm 10

濱木綿　hamayufu　　My

波麻由布　Niu no Hafuri-shi

檐風　hafu　　Wm

祝部　hafuri　　————

波不利　Wm 10

瀹　hafuru　　Nh

波布利　（CF）My 3515

246.　枳園　Hafusono　　Wm（波布曾乃　）

法美　Hafumi　　Wm（波不美　）

新川　Nifukaha　　Wm

新田　Nifuta　　Wm（尓布田　）

尾　hofuru　　Wm（保布流　）

保夫留　Jikyō，保布流　Wm 10

遠江　Tohota-afumi　　Wm（止保太阿不三　）

誂	<u>tofurafu</u>	-----

弔	<u>tofurafu</u>	-----

<u>Kanjo yōyū-den</u> gloss (948)

近江 Chikatsu-afumi   Wm (知加津阿不三   )

乳癰 <u>chifu</u>   Wm (知布)

知布 Wm 10

圓座 <u>warafuta</u>   Wm: 和良布太

和良布太 Wm 10

247.   <u>kakafu</u>   My (可々布)

可可布 My 892，加加布 <u>Jikyō</u>[1]

蝸牛 <u>katatsufuri</u>   Wm (加太豆不利   )

加太豆布利   Wm 10

射干 <u>karasu-afuki</u>   Wm (加良須安布木   )

加良須安若岐 Wm 10

上升 <u>Kantsunifu</u>   Wm (加無都尓布   )

隆障 <u>kakusafu</u>   My

加久佐彼 (NP) My 4465

蜻蛉 <u>kakerofu</u>   Wm (加介呂布   )

加介呂布   Wm 10

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1 In <u>yabure-kakafu</u>.

Erroneous Kana Spellings in WJSH.

Paradoxical though it may seem, there are a considerable number
of entries in WJSH of which the historical kana spellings cannot be
determined by means of reliable orthographic evidence (since not all
the words which are entries in WJSH occur in the ancient literature)
or inferred by morphemic analysis or the onbin principle. Since the
kana spellings of such entries can be neither proved nor disproved
in terms of the principle of historical kana usage, these will be left
out of consideration.

On the other hand it became clear in the course of the survey
that there were a small number of entries in WJSH of which the kana
spellings were erroneous in terms of Keichū's principle of historical
kana usage. These are set out below, together with the historically
correct spelling in each case.

IKZN X page no.	WJSH spelling	orthographic evidence (pre-950 source document)
137	itowoshigaru (Nh)	Senmyō 27: 伊賀保 a
148	tsuie	Jikyō (Kyōwa-bon): 豆 ec 曲 [1]
163	aruhiha	Jūrin-kyō gloss (883): aruiha
174	woyoku	Jikyō: 於 与 支
"	woyobi	Soshitsujikara-kyō gloss (901-923): oyobi
"	wouto (乎宇止)	Wm 10: 乎布度
175	wogori	Jikyō: 於 己 留
178	kutsuworu	My 904: 久智保利 (CF)

1 Saishoō-kyō ongi, of which the date is not clear (postscript dated
1079, but it is thought that the work itself may date back considerably
before this), has tsuwiyu (ツ 盒 曲), but I have followed the Shinsen
jikyō notation tsuhiyu (豆 ec 曲), as the date of compilation of this
work is known to be 898-901.

183	oho-oba (Wm:於保於波)	Wm 10: 於保手波
199	misaho	Jikyō: 彌左手
208	shietaku	Ryōiki chū 4:<師傅太計>(CF)
230	aha (My)	Ryōiki ge 18: <阿和>
273	uzu	My 3638: 宇頭

Of these thirteen erroneous spellings, Keichū quotes a source document for three words (itowoshigaru, oho-oba, aha), and gives Man'yōgana writings for two (oho-oba, wouto). Let us deal with these spellings one by one. To judge from Keichū's note to itowoshigaru, his spelling for this word was based on an interlinear katakana gloss: since such katakana glosses to Nihongi are of late or uncertain date, they do not constitute valid evidence of historical kana spellings. In fact, the related word itohoshi is to be found in Man'yōgana in one of Keichū's lesser-quoted source documents, namely Shoku Nihongi,[1] but it seems that Keichū overlooked this occurrence.

The entry oho-oba "great aunt" is of interest in that it shews a conflict between two principles in WJSH, namely the documentary principle and the etymological principle: Keichū notes the Man'yōgana writing 於保於波 in Wamyō-shō, but at the same time argues that the spelling should be oho-woba -- in so doing Keichū no doubt had in mind the spelling woba for "aunt" that he had laid down earlier in the same maki of WJSH (op.cit. p.171) on the basis of the Man'yōgana writing 手波 (also from Wamyō-shō). In the final analysis, it is the Man'yōgana notation oho-oba that Keichū follows: this is not surprising, as it is the documentary principle that is dominant in WJSH, the etymological principle figuring to a considerable but lesser degree. As can be seen from the above list, the earlier 10-maki Wamyō-shō has

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1 Senmyō 27: 伊箟保自

oho-woba 於侶手波。

Another entry for which Keichū relied on Wamyō-shō was wouto "husband". Wamyō-shō (10-maki version) has wofuto[1]

For the last of these four words, aha "foam", Keichū quotes Man'yōshū Book Two. This word does occur in Man'yōshū, but only in the written form 泡. Keichū's spelling here therefore seems to be based on a katakana gloss.

For the remaining nine words in the above list of erroneous spellings, Keichū gives neither source documents nor Man'yōgana writings. Most of these words occur in source documents not used by Keichū (Shinsen jikyō, Nihon ryōiki, early kunten materials), although two words (kutsuhoru and udzu) occur in Man'yōgana in Man'yōshū, one of Keichū's main source documents: failure to note Man'yōshū as source document for these two words was no doubt due to inadvertency on Keichū's part.

A Statistical Look at WJSH.

The following table was compiled on the basis of the survey described in outline above. The figures below are useful in that they give a concrete indication of the validity of Keichū's kana usage theory in practice.

WJSH maki	total entries	duplicate entries[2]	different entries	entries with Keichū's Man'yōgana	entries proven by survey
2	571	12	559	344	419

1 As also Shinsen jikyō.
2 The number of duplicate entries is noted here, the total number of such entries then being subtracted from the total number of entries in WJSH to give the total number of different WJSH entries. It is this latter number that is used in calculating both the proportion of WJSH entries for which Keichū gave a Man'yōgana writing, and the proportion of entries the spelling of which could be proved by the present survey.

With regard to Keichū's treatment of duplicate entries, the evidence suggests strongly that he chose to give a Man'yōgana writing for

3	471	30	441	298	355
4	568	33	535	330	388
5	434	46	388	217	315

Totals (maki 2-5 inc.):

	2044	121	1923	1189	1477

On the basis of these figures the criticism might be made that
Keichū failed to give Man'yōgana writings for almost forty per cent
of entries in WJSH (Mite Bunko WJSH); and that even when early source
documents not known to Keichū – such as Shinsen jikyō – are used,
the kana spellings of almost twenty-five per cent of the total entries
still cannot be proven. This however is a negative approach: if we
take a positive viewpoint, then we can say that the spelling of
seventy-five per cent, i.e. three out of every four entries in WJSH
can be proved to be historically correct; and that the number of entries
the spelling of which can be demonstrated to be erroneous does not
even make up one per cent of the total number of different entries.
Accordingly, the present writer considers that the above statistics
bear witness to the fundamental excellence of Keichū's objective
method in determining kana spellings in WJSH.

2. Concerning Elements in Keichū's Kana Usage Spelt in more than One Way.

If one studies entries in WJSH carefully, it becomes clear that
certain characters appear with more than one spelling, e.g. 大 : oho
(in Ohoita 大分 , IKZN X, p.148), cf. owo (in Owouchi 大内 , op.cit.,
p.178). From Keichū's earliest writings on kana usage (MYSO) it is

(Note cont. from previous page).
such entries in their first occurrence only: this observation is based
on the fact that the following entries in WJSH maki 2, initial i section
with Man'yōgana writings occur twice in WJSH, and in all cases the
Man'yōgana writing is omitted in the second occurrence (there are no
duplicates in this section with a Man'yōgana writing for the second but
not the first occurrence: irokutsu鮴 (IKZN X, pp.135 & 268); ihori廬 ,
蕃,菅 (136 & 268); ihomushiri螠 蚫 (137 & 265); itachihajikami 萓板
(140 & 265); idzu 威徒 (141 & 268); ishibashi 石,石走 (145).

apparent that Keichū regarded a difference in kana spelling as
indicating a difference in word-meaning. Why then are such double-
spellings to be found in WJSH and after? Did such irregularities pass
unnoticed by Keichū during the process of compilation of these works?
That this was not the case is shewn by the fact that almost all of
these double and triple spellings (which are very few in number) are
accompanied by some kind of note commenting on the spelling discrepancy.
The entries in question are as follows:

Ohoita 大方	IKZN X,	p.148	
Owouchi 大内		p.178	(大 : oho owo)
towo 十		p.177	
Touka[1] 十日		p.233	(十 : towo tou tofu)
Tofuchi[2] 十未		p.246	
kahoru 薫		p.197	
kaworu 薫		p.178	(薫 : kahoru kaworu)
Kafuka 甲賀		p.247	
kofukura 甲倉		p.251	(甲 : kafu kofu)
hafurei 法令		p.426	
Hofuriushi 法隆寺		p.423	(法 : hafu hofu hou)
Houshimarahito no tsukasa 玄舊療		p.233	

Let us leave for the moment the two Sino-Japanese words (甲 kō and
法 hō) and deal firstly with the items from pure Japanese, namely 大
ō, 十 tō, and 薫 kaoru. As regards the first pair (oho ~ owo), it is the
spelling owo in the place-name Owouchi that is exceptional, as Keichū's
note to this entry points out: "The spelling should be Ohouchi, but
the kana for 大 in this word have always been different".

The character 十 appears in WJSH spelt in not two but three ways.
Keichū's note to Touka (place-name) shews that he regarded tou as the

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1 Supplementary note (honyū 補入) number twenty-six.
2 Additional note seven.

changed form from original towo:

> "A renga poem in Nihongi Keikō-ki has 苔 埼 伽 (furigana:
> towoka); in Kojiki this is written 登 袁 加 (towoka).
> This is the normal spelling. Towo is however also pro-
> nounced tou through interchange of the vowels wo and u.
> ————."

Concerning the spelling tofu (Tofuchi 十 市) however Keichū makes
no comment.

The double-spelling in WJSH for kaoru would appear to be a case
of Keichū being influenced by the conventional kana spelling rather
than the historical one:[1]

薫	kaworu	Usually this is kahoru. This word is given here too[2] because Man'yōshū Book Two has 香乎礼慣 kaworeru. The usual spelling should be followed.

Although Keichū did on occasion follow the conventional spellings of
words,[3] this was only when other methods such as Man'yōgana writings,
onbin, interchange, etc. could not be applied. That is to say, the
conventional spelling was followed only as a last resort. Here, the
situation is different, for Keichū gives the Man'yōgana writing for
kaworu. It seems unlikely that Keichū should reject this Man'yōgana
writing purely on account of the conventional spelling kahoru, i.e.
go directly against his own most fundamental principle of kana usage
theory. A possible explanation for Keichū's treatment of kaoru in
WJSH is that he may also have seen the form kahoru in the ancient
literature: Kagura. yudate for example has the Man'yōgana writing
加保利 kahori (CF),[4] and thus included both spellings separately in
WJSH.

1   That Keichū did occasionally follow the conventional spellings of
words was noted briefly in Chapter 8 above — vd. p.184 above.
2   I.e. as well as later on in maki 3 under "Medial and final ho".
3   E.g. mochivi用 , IKZN X, p.154.
4   Though the original form does appear to be kaworu — vd. JDBK
kaworu entry, note.

With regard to the <u>kana</u> spellings for the two Sino-Japanese
words 法 <u>hō</u> and 甲 <u>kō</u>, these are referred to by Keichū in the Miscell-
aneous Theories section of WJSH.[1] Keichū's explanation for the dual
spelling <u>hafu</u> <u>hofu</u> is that the former is the <u>Kan'on</u>, the latter the
<u>Go-on</u>; he remains puzzled however by the spelling <u>hou</u> for 法 in Houshi-
marahito no tsukasa. And in the case of the spellings <u>kafu</u> and <u>kofu</u>
for the character 甲 , Keichū seems undecided between the conventional
spelling <u>kafu</u> and the spelling that appears in <u>Wamyō-shō</u>, viz. kofu.

Although Keichū was for the most part unable to find satisfactory
explanations for these plural spellings, as has been shewn above he
did at least give some consideration to such spellings, and did not
simply ignore them.

1 Vd. translation, pp.152-153 above.

Chapter Ten

Concerning Keichū's Concept of
The Three Pairs of Kana I-Wi, E-We, Wo-O.

Now that the broad principles of Keichū's kana usage theory have been examined and clarified, it will be expedient to go on in this and the following chapter to consider several more specialised aspects which need to be elucidated if we are to have a thorough understanding of Keichū's concept of kana usage theory. In this chapter it is proposed to examine Keichū's understanding of the three pairs of signs which were of the same pronunciation in his language, viz. i-wi, e-we, and wo-o. The treatment of this aspect of Keichū's kana usage theory by Japanese scholars will also be considered.

In compiling a commentary on the Man'yōshū,[1] Keichū discovered that kana usage therein shewed an order and unity in which oven the kana spellings of homophonous words were consistent. After making this discovery, Keichū came to advocate that kana usage of his own day too should follow that of the ancient period rather than the Teika kana spellings. Keichū had perceived that in ancient works the word shii "pasania" for example was always spelt shihi, while the word shii meaning "4th Rank (at Court)" was consistently spelt shiwi. This principle that a difference in kana spelling meant a difference in word-meaning was at the centre of Keichū's view of kana usage, and was used by him as a new method to interpret the meaning of ancient texts.[2] Although Keichū emphasized the importance of distinguishing i-wi, e-we, and wo-o in use, concerning the actual nature of the differences between these pairs he is less explicit.[3]

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1 MYSO.
2 That Keichū considered kana usage essentially as an indicator of word-meaning (gogi no hyōshiki to shite no kana-zukai-kan) has already been pointed out by Tokieda (1932).
3 In WJSH, our only clue to Keichū's understanding of these three

No doubt because of Keichū's emphasis on the importance, from the viewpoint of meaning, of distinguishing the kana i-wi, e-we, and wo-o,[1] and his lack of emphasis on the differences in pronunciation between the same, the accepted view of Japanese scholars on the subject has been (and to the present writer's knowledge still is) that although Keichū advocated that i-wi, e-we, and wo-o should be distinguished in use, he did not have a correct understanding of the nature of the distinction between these signs.[2] The present writer would like to suggest that this is not so, and that in fact there is evidence in Keichū's writings which shews that he was in fact aware of the differences in pronunciation underlying these three pairs of signs in the ancient language. Firstly however the view of Japanese scholars will be put forward.

Treatments of the historical kana usage of Keichū which go into any depth are very few in number, but the most forthcoming from the viewpoint of this study is the article by Tokieda.[3] Since this is the most comprehensive treatment by a native scholar of Keichū's concept of i-wi, etc., and since the view of later scholarship[4] concurs with

(Notes cont. from previous page).
pairs of signs lies in the onzu in maki 1. Keichū's most revealing statement on the subject is in the section entitled Shūchū kana no koto, in WYSF.

1 Although Keichū wrote of certain other kana as having the same pronunciation as other kana in the middle of words (e.g. ha, hi, fu, he, ho), such kana were different from i-wi, e-we, and wo-o in that they still had a distinct phonetic identity. That is to say, although ha in word-oblique position had the phonological reference /wa/, which was the same as the reference of わ , Keichū knew that the principal reference of ha was /ha/. The three pairs i-wi, etc. alone presented a problem of identity in Keichū's time -- and had indeed from c.1200, when the phonological references of each pair had fallen together. Nor could Keichū easily resolve the problem by reference to old onzu, since these too had been confused since about 1200.
2 The idea that Keichū did not state explicitly that i-wi, etc. were distinguished by differences of pronunciation is to be found as far back as Fujitani Nariakira in Kitanobe zuihitsu 北邊随筆 (vd. Tokieda, op.cit. p.710 for excerpt).
3 Vd. p.212, note 3.
4 E.g. KJTN Waji shōran-shō entry; Nakata 1972, p.56; Tsukishima 1968, p.93; Hashimoto 1950, p.125.

that of Tokieda, the present writer proposes to take the view of

Tokieda as the representative Japanese view.

The following is Tokieda's argument concerning Keichū's concept

of i-wi, e-we, and wo-o:

> "In this way[1] we cannot find a positive answer of Keichū's
> concerning the basis of the distinctions in the ancient
> kana usage. It can however be positively asserted that
> Keichū did not hold the view of kana usage which came
> into being from the mid-Edo Period onwards — that dis-
> tinctions in kana usage were based on distinctions in
> speech sounds, and that the confusion in kana usage of
> later times was based on changes in speech sounds. The
> fact is that there is no trace of the concept of histo-
> rical changes in the Japanese language underlying
> Keichū's view of kana usage. It is clear from the foll-
> owing evidence that Keichū considered the three sets of
> signs wo-o, etc. respectively as different signs of the
> same pronunciation:
>
>> 'As Jōgon says in the syllabic table of fifty sounds
>> made up of Sanskrit signs, the shapes of the signs
>> are all different; so although the three i, the

---

1 Prior to this, Tokieda gives two quotes in support of his argument
that Keichū regarded i-wi, etc. as homophonous. The first quote is
from MYST:

> "Since it is meaningful therefore, one should inquire into
> that which is ancient and at least follow it, even if one
> does not understand the significance."

Here Keichū is referring to the number of signs in the iroha, but
this could well be an indication of his perplexity not over the phon-
etic values of i-wi, etc., but as to why only forty-seven signs are
distinguished in the iroha when the onzu allows for fifty syllables.
The basis for this interpretation is to be found in the following
passage from MYSI:

> "There must be a reason for the present-day iroha to have
> two i, two we, and two wo; but to be lacking three sounds,
> viz. the i which is produced from ya, and the u and we
> produced from wa."

The second quote given by Tokieda is from the dictionary proper of
WJSH:

> "There must be a reason for the kana for the word 大 "big"
> only to have been written oho, but who nowadays would
> know of that reason?"

The present writer again differs in his interpretation of this pass-
age. Keichū sought wherever possible to find logic behind the kana
spellings of words, as is shewn by his use of etymology to determine
the kana usage for certain words not to be found in the ancient lit-
erature. Consequently the present writer considers that this
statement can be taken as meaning that Keichū did not understand why
the word oho should have this particular orthographic shape (as
opposed to owo, etc.). An alternative interpretation is that Keichū
is not asking why oho should be written in this way, but rather is

two u,[1] the three we,[2] and the two wo sound the same,
they are not confused.'

Asahi Keichū zenshū I, p.23.

'Of these forty-seven signs, i and wi, wo and o, and
e and we still sound the same.[4] Therefore when these
kana appear in a word there is confusion.'

Zenshū I, p.217.

'Since both the shape and the sound of e [x] and we [x]
resemble each other, most people confuse these and do
not distinguish them.'

Zenshū VII, p.74.

'Though i and wi, e and we, and wo and o sounded the
same from the beginning, possibly because the ancients
distinguished them spontaneously and did not make mis-
takes in their use, there is no note recorded on them.'

Also, Keichū applied the term onbin to cases where ha, hi,
fu, he, and ho occurred in medial or final position in words and
gave rise to confusion. This too he understood as being due not
to changes in speech sounds through time, but as the pronunciation
that resulted ab initio through onbin:

'There are separate sounds for the signs hi, he, and ho
respectively. Only when they are in the middle or at
the end of words is there confusion through onbin.
Therefore to distinguish these is truly a matter for
infants. That there should now be errors made in dis-
tinguishing these by people other than infants is
because the times have declined.'

Zenshū VII, p.218.

And if for Keichū confusion of kana usage for these signs
did not depend on sound changes, on what was such confusion
based? According to Keichū it meant a decline in scholarship
and knowledge, or erroneous usage, in which different signs of
the same pronunciation were not distinguished:

'There are still sounds which resemble each other and
which are easily confused. Since mediaeval times there
has been a decline in both scholarship and knowledge,
and meanings have not been understood. Consequently
not only has there been confusion of i-wi, wo-o, etc.,

(Notes cont. from previous page).
criticising scholars of his own day for their shallow knowledge; such
criticism is frequently to be found in Keichū's writings.
2 Vd. p.76 above, note 8.

1 Vd. p.75 above, note 9.
2 Vd p.76 above, note 10.
3 Vd. p.76 above, note 11.
4 I do not interpret this as meaning that Keichū considered these
three pairs as having been homophonous ab initio, but rather that they
had originally been distinguished and after that had somehow come to
be confused, as they were at the time of Keichū's writing ("still").

Waji shōran-shō preface; Zenshū VII, p.65.

'The fact that in the present day people other than children even make mistakes in kana usage is a sign that the world has declined.'

Zenshū VII, p.281.

'Since when one examines kana usage up to the time of Lord Yukinari it is found to be no different from the kana in this anthology (Man'yōshū), it seems that mistakes were gradually made thereafter.'

Zenshū I, p.217.

'Since both the shape and the sound of e ɪ and we ɪ resemble each other, most people confuse these and do not distinguish them.'

Zenshū VII, p.74.

Judged on the basis of the excerpts Tokieda quotes here from Keichū, his argument would appear to be a reasonable interpretation. Tokieda's argument is however open to the criticism that it completely ignores a passage towards the end of MYSF Shūchū kana no koto[2] – a passage which is moreover of paramount importance since it includes phonetic descriptions by Keichū of the three pairs of kana i-wi, e-we, wo-o.

The passage in question is to be found in the translated excerpts from MYSF in Chapter 5 above, but in view of its importance it is given again here:[3]

1 I: the on readings of 亡 , 伊 , etc., and the kun reading of 膝 , etc. are the same as this. This i is "light".[4] The reason for this is that a, ya, and wa are all equally laryngeal sounds, and of these, a is a pure laryngeal sound: therefore it is light. Ya is a laryngeal lingual: therefore it ranks next to a in terms of lightness. Wa is a laryngeal labial: therefore it is "heavy".[5]

   With regard to the sounds produced, there are light and heavy, depending on the sounds which produce them. This i is light because it is produced from a, and is

1 Fujiwara Yukinari, 971–1027.
2 IKZN I, pp.186–187.
3 The phonetic description of each sign is followed by a number of examples containing the sign concerned. Since it is the phonetic descriptions themselves which are of importance here, the examples have been omitted (vd. pp.90–92 above).
4 Vd. p.90 above, note 2.
5 As for note 4.

the main vowel of the nine signs <u>ki</u>, <u>shi</u>, etc. Most
people know the words in which <u>i</u> occurs at the begin-
ning, and are well accustomed to using it there.
Here I give words in which <u>i</u> occurs in the lower pos-
ition in words and is easily confounded. It being a
main vowel, there is interchange with the other main
vowels. It should be known that there is also the
interchange <u>ya</u>, <u>i</u>, <u>yu</u>, <u>e</u>, <u>yo</u>, since <u>i</u> also includes
the <u>i</u> produced from <u>ya</u>.

————.

2 <u>Wi</u>:   the <u>on</u> readings of 葦 , 委 , etc., and the <u>kun</u>
readings of 井 , 猪 , etc. are all the same as <u>wi</u>.   This
<u>wi</u> is the sign for the end-vowel produced by combining
<u>wa</u> and <u>i</u>: therefore there is labial contact, and it is
heavy.   There is interchange of <u>wi</u> with <u>wa</u>, <u>u</u>, <u>we</u>, <u>o</u>,
and with <u>i</u>, <u>ki</u>, <u>shi</u>, etc.

————.

187. ·4 <u>Wo</u>:   the <u>on</u> readings of 遠 (<u>won</u>) and 越 (<u>wo</u>chi), and
the <u>kun</u> reading of 尾 , etc. are all the same as <u>wo</u>.
This <u>wo</u> is light.   The explanation is as noted under <u>i</u>.
It should be known that there is interchange with <u>a</u>, <u>i</u>,
<u>u</u>, <u>e</u>, and with <u>ko</u>, <u>go</u>, <u>to</u>, etc.

————.

5 <u>O</u>:   意 ,飫 , etc. are the same as <u>o</u>.   This <u>o</u> is
produced from a combination of <u>wa</u> and <u>wo</u>: therefore it
is heavy.   Also, this sign occurs only at the beginning
of words in Japanese, never in lower position.

————.

7 <u>E</u>:   the <u>on</u> of 叡,要 , etc., and the <u>kun</u> of 兄 ,得 ,
etc. are the same as <u>e</u>.   This <u>e</u> is light.

————.

8 <u>We</u>:   the <u>on</u> of 衛 and 慧 , and the <u>kun</u> of 畫 (<u>we</u>gaku)
etc. are the same as <u>we</u>.   This <u>we</u> is the end-vowel from
<u>e</u>, produced by combination of <u>wa</u> and <u>e</u>: therefore it is
heavy.   It should be known that there is interchange
with <u>wa</u>, <u>wi</u>, <u>u</u>, <u>o</u>, and with <u>e</u>, <u>ke</u>, <u>se</u>, etc.

————.

If this passage[1] is considered in isolation, then one would be justified in concluding without reservation that Keichū had a correct understanding of the nature of the differences underlying the three pairs of kana i-wi, e-we, and wo-o.[2] If however the various statements in the works of Keichū relating to these kana are collated, they appear to be contradictory. Clearly therefore in considering Passage A, these other statements of Keichū's must also be taken into account, in order to gain as comprehensive and balanced an understanding as possible of Keichū's view of these signs.

If the various statements in Keichū relating to the pairs i-wi, e-we, and wo-o are contradictory, should it be inferred that Keichū's understanding of these signs was confused? The present writer considers that such a view would be erroneous, and that in fact Keichū did have an essentially consistent view of these signs. Below is given a tentative exposition of that view: though by no means entirely satisfactory in every respect, it does have the merit of taking all the relevant evidence into account.

Let us begin by considering Passage A itself, since this contains the most detailed and comprehensive account by Keichū relating to i-wi, e-we, and wo-o. In this passage, Keichū follows the phonetic description of each kana or syllable[3] with examples taken from ancient works[4] of words containing the kana sign in question. Thus, among the examples for wi are winaka "country" and namawi "water plantain". Going closely with the phonetic descriptions as they do, it is clear

1   For ease of reference, this passage will be referred to hereafter as Passage A.
2   With the proviso that Keichū misidentified the values of o and wo.
3   Keichū did not always distinguish clearly between spoken and written language.   Vd. p.59 above.
4   Principally Man'yōshū and Wamyō-shō, but also Nihongi, Shoku Nihongi, and Kojiki.

that Keichū considered the "correct" pronunciation of these words to
be [ɦinaka] and [ɦamaɥi] respectively. This clearly refutes the argument
of Tokieda.

Turning next to statements in Keichū other than Passage A relating
to i-wi, e-we, and wo-o -- that is to say, the passages on pp. 214-216
above: these appear to be in direct contradiction with Passage A.
How then can they be reconciled with Passage A (if indeed they should
be) ? In considering this question one should bear in mind that
Keichū lived several centuries prior to the advent of modern linguistic
science, and that his view of language was considerably different
from ours today. Not only is Keichū's view of language based on con-
cepts of three centuries ago -- it was also influenced by the esoteric
teachings of the Shingon sect, in which language was invested with a
mystical power.[1]

With regard to change in language with time, for example: Keichū
did not regard such change as a natural and universal phenomenon, but
rather as an indication of decadence.[2] That is to say, Keichū consid-
ered the language of the ancient period as more "correct" than that
of later times. And therefore although he knew that Old Japanese had
the syllables i-wi, e-we, wo-o, and that in the spoken language of his
own day these three oppositions were wanting, Keichū did not think in
terms of a change such as:

	Old Japanese	Genroku Period Japanese
	i̇ ————————	i̇
	wi	

but rather as:

	i̇ ————————	i̇
	wi	(wi) ,

_____

1 Vd. Chapter 3 above.
2 Vd. AKZN IX, pp. 318-320.

where the bracketed item represents a syllable no longer distinguished in Keichū's language due not to sound change, but to a decline in knowledge among men of later times. This hypothesis is endorsed by the following passage from the preface to WJSH:

> "Since mediaeval times there has been a decline in both scholarship and knowledge, and the meanings of words have not been understood. Consequently, not only has there been confusion of i-wi, wo-o, etc., but ———."
>
> IKZN X, p.111.

If now in the light of this reconstruction of Keichū's understanding of usage of the pairs i-wi, e-we, and wo-o we reconsider the passage in MYSF Shūchū kana no koto that appears almost immediately before Passage A,[1] then the apparent contradiction is obviated. For when in Passage B Keichū writes of the pairs i-wi, e-we, and wo-o sounding the same, he means not that there is no difference in pronunciation between each sign in the three pairs, but merely that men of later times have ceased to distinguish them "correctly".

The above interpretation reconciles not only Passages A and B, but virtually all the statements in Keichū relating to the pairs i-wi, e-we, and wo-o.[2] There does however remain one passage which still constitutes a problem, namely the following excerpt from WJBO maki 1:

> "Though i and wi, e and we, and wo and o sounded the same from the beginning, possibly because the ancients distinguished them spontaneously and did not make mistakes in their use, there is no note recorded on them."
>
> IKZN X, p.340.

It must be admitted that this passage stands in contradiction to Passage A in MYSF. However, the present writer does not consider that this passage invalidates the hypothesis set out above. The fact

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1 I.e. the passage quoted near the foot of this page. Hereafter for ease of reference this will be called Passage B.
2 I.e. the passages quoted on p.214 and the top half of p.215.

is that a contradictory element is to be found in the thought of
Keichū - this has already been pointed out by a well-known Japanese
scholar.[1] Furthermore, Keichū regarded the ancient period as some
sort of golden age, when men were somehow far superior to those of
later times, which Keichū regarded as degenerate.[2] The passage from
WJBO[3] is at once an example of the contradictory element in Keichū
and of his adulation of the ancient period. Regarding why this part-
icular opinion of Keichū's concerning i-wi, e-we, and wo-o should
manifest itself in WJBO alone, the present writer would like to point
to the special circumstances of compilation of that work: in writing
WJBO in defence of his theories in WJSH, Keichū was involved not only
on an intellectual but also on an emotional level. In WJBO, incensed
at the unjustified and poorly substantiated accusations made by Tachi-
bana Narikazu in Waji kokon tsūrei zensho, Keichū does not confine
himself to refuting the academic theories of Narikazu, but goes on
to make a strong personal attack on the author. In the present
writer's opinion, this emotional involvement impaired Keichū's object-
ivity and led him to write that the ancients distinguished i-wi, e-we,
and wo-o 'spontaneously' (onozukara), in spite of his earlier and
detailed statement in which he had distinguished these signs phonet-
ically (Passage A).

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1   Vd. Hisamatsu, in AKZN IX, pp.240-241.
2   For example:

>   "Since we are in later and more degenerate times, and
>   talent and intelligence too have taken a turn for the
>   worse, men know only the more familiar kana: ————."
>
>   NYSI maki 1.

>   "Would that I were like the men of old — even the Buddha
>   of today is not worthy of respect!"
>
>   Mangin-shū ruidai maki 11.

Etc., etc.

3   I.e. the passage quoted towards the foot of p.220 above.

In this way the various statements in Keichū relating to the three pairs of kana i-wi, e-we, and wo-o have been examined, and the contradictions, real or apparent, have been accounted for, albeit in a tentative manner.

One important question that arises here is that if Keichū did understand the nature of the differences between these three pairs of kana - and it is clear from the above that he did - why did he completely omit the phonetic descriptions of these signs from WJSH, which was after all the magnum opus of his writings on kana usage? In looking for the answer to this question, here again we must bear in mind the differences in linguistic background between ourselves and Keichū. If we in the present day were to explain the basis of the distinctions in use of i-wi, etc., then a description of the discrete phonological references of these signs in the ancient language would form an essential and integral part of that explanation. This is because we have a clear idea of the discrete though closely related nature of spoken and written language. In Keichū's day however the nature of that relationship was not clearly understood[1] Consequently, although Keichū knew of the differences in pronunciation between i-wi, e-we, and wo-o, he was unable to realize the full significance of the fact, and tended to place far greater emphasis on the function of these and other kana as signs marking differences of word-meaning. It is this latter principle, i.e. the principle of kana usage as a marker of word-meaning, that is expounded in all his writings on kana usage rather than the principle of phonetic differences between what in Keichū's language were homophonous pairs of signs.

With regard to why Keichū tended towards a view of kana usage as

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1 Vd. de Saussure 1966, p.24.

a marker of word-meaning, it was as mentioned above partly due to

the lack of understanding of linguistic principles which were not to

be clarified for several centuries to come; but also due largely to

his other main area of activity, which was study and annotation of the

Japanese classics: here the principle of kana usage as a marker of

word-meaning was of immense practical value as a method for the

objective determining of the meanings of words which through various

phonological changes had become homophonous by the time of Keichū.[1]

The present writer submits therefore that Keichū omitted phonetic

descriptions of i-wi, e-we, and wo-o from WJSH because he was pre-

occupied primarily with the practical importance of the principle of

different (but in Keichū's language homophonous) kana signs as

markers of differences in word-meaning.

Conclusion.

The historical significance of Keichū's phonetic descriptions of

the differences between the kana i-wi, e-we, and wo-o (Passage A),

i.e. its influence on later scholars, is minimal: this is demonstrated

by the fact that from the time of Fujitani Nariakira[2] 富士谷成章

down to the present it has been the accepted view of Japanese schol-

arship that Keichū did not understand the differences in pronunciation

of i-wi, e-we, and wo-o. This misconception was due partially no

doubt to the fact that until recent times MYSF (which contains the

---

1 Vd. Tokieda, loc.cit.
2 Nariakira's view is expressed in the following passage:

> "Since kana usage was determined by Fujiwara Teika there
> have been various writings on the subject, but they have
> not been clear. In recent times the matter was settled
> for the first time when Keichū distinguished kana well.
> But, possibly because Keichū only understood kana signs
> as having been determined by reason since ancient times,
> he has said nothing of their being distinguished by pro-
> nunciation. This was his one failure."
>
>   Kitanobe zuihitsu maki 5,
>   Oto no sonbō.

This excerpt from Kitanobe zuihitsu is to be found in Tokieda, loc.cit.

all-important Passage A) existed only in manuscript form and enjoyed only very limited circulation,[1] while WJSH, which contains no explicit statements on the phonetic differences between i-wi, e-we, and wo-o, was well-known among scholars and was taken as the principal exposition of Keichū's kana usage theory.[2]

Although Keichū did not lay emphasis on the differences in pronunciation between the pairs i-wi, e-we, and wo-o, it remains an unequivocal fact that he was aware of the differences in the pronunciation of those pairs of kana.

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1 Vd. AKZN IX, pp.122-123.
2 The present writer would agree that WJSH is Keichū's major work on kana usage. However, information in other works of Keichū must also be taken into consideration, the more so as the introductory maki of WJSH fails to be explicit with regard to Keichū's own kana usage theory. Herein lies the value of MYSF Passage A in particular.

Chapter Eleven

The Onzu in Keichū.

The importance of the onzu in traditional Japanese language studies can hardly be overestimated: it was used to explain inter alia different but related word-forms (the sōtsū principle[1]), etymologies, kana usage, verb conjugation, and hansetsu.[2]

In Keichū's kana usage writings, onzu appear in MYSF, WJSH, and WJBO. In addition to this, Keichū's kana usage theory is replete with concepts based on or related to the onzu. Clearly then the onzu occupies an important place in Keichū's kana usage theory, and to fully understand that theory we must have some idea of the function of the onzu in Keichū. Consideration of the onzu in Keichū and in particular its role is the aim of this chapter, but the opportunity will be taken here to preface this with a criticism of the work of Japanese scholars on the onzu in Keichū.

1. Concerning Japanese Views of The Onzu in Keichū.

The view has been expressed by Hisamatsu[3] and later by Yamada[4] that on the whole Keichū's onzu in WJSH followed that of Jōgon in Shittan sanmitsu-shō.[5] The present writer considers that this is not so, and that the evidence points rather to the contrary, namely that

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1 Vd. p.72 above, note 4. The sōtsū principle is a very important one in traditional Japanese language studies, and is to be found as far back as Nihon shoki shiki, as well as in early works on poetics (e.g. Fujiwara Norikane's 藤原範兼 Waka dōmō-shō 和歌童蒙抄) and Shittan. Formerly it was considered that the sōtsū principle developed subsequent to the invention of the onzu. More recently however Mabuchi K. has suggested that the concept of sōtsū in fact antedated the onzu (vd. Mabuchi 1962 vol.2, pp.915-923).
2 A method devised in ancient China to indicate the pronunciation of one character by means of two others. The first of the two characters indicated the initial consonant, while the second character indicated the rhyme, and final consonant if any. Vd. KJTN, hansetsu entry.
3 AKZN IX, p.316.
4 Yamada 1938, p.165.
5 Both with regard to the compound kanji analogized on the principle of Sanskrit signs, and with regard to the positioning of those signs within the onzu. Shittan sanmitsu-shō is hereafter abbreviated to SNMT.

with regard to the positioning of signs in the onzu Keichū chose not

to follow the SNMT onzu.

Keichū was taught Shittan by the bonze Jōgon, one of the leading

Shittan scholars of the Edo Period. Jōgon's work SNMT (printed 1682)

was familiar to Keichū by the time of writing MYSI (1683-1688). As

Hisamatsu points out, several aspects of Keichū's language theory

appear to be taken more or less directly from SNMT - e.g. Keichū's

theory concerning the articulation of speech and the origin of the

fifty sounds.[1] Hisamatsu also points to the similarity between the

onzu in WJSH and that in SNMT. This is so, since the only difference

between the two is that WJSH has we in wa-column e-row where SNMT

has e.[2] Nevertheless, this observation of Hisamatsu's is a misleading

one - this is clear if we take into account Keichū's concept of the

onzu at the time of MYSI. As was shewn in the previous chapter,

Keichū's view of the a-, ya-, and wa-columns of the onzu at the time

of MYSI can be reconstructed as:

a	ya	wa
i	i	wi
u	yu	u
we	we	e
wo	yo	o

Now let us collate the a-, ya-, and wa-columns of the onzu in SNMT,

and in the two versions of MYSO:

---

1 That is to say, the belief that the five a-column vowels and the
nine ka-row consonants produced the other thirty-six signs or sounds
of the onzu. Concerning the actual identity of the five vowels, Keichū's
view changes in accordance with his view of the position of signs in
the onzu, and does not follow the view of Jōgon. Vd. MYSI - IKZN I,
p.212; MYSF - ibid. p.182; WJSH - IKZN X, p.116; cf. SNMT maki jō -
Takakusu 1924 vol.84, p.728.
2 Vd. Appendix VI.

	SNMT			MYSI			MYSF (& WJSH)	
a	ya	wa	a	ya	wa	a	ya	wa
i	i	wi	i	i	wi	i	i	wi
u	yu	u	u	yu	u	u	yu	u
e	e	e	we	we	e	e	e	we
wo	yo	o	wo	yo	o	wo	yo	o

It is clear from this that Keichū's view of the e-row here did

not develop from e, e, e → e, e, we (as Hisamatsu suggests), but

underwent an altogether different line of development.[1]

With regard to Keichū's erroneous positioning of wo and o, Hisa-

matsu considers that Keichū did no more than carry over this error from

Jōgon's SNMT onzu.[2] It has just been pointed out that concerning e and

we it seems beyond doubt that Keichū did not follow the SNMT onzu.

The present writer considers that in the case of wo and o it was not

the SNMT onzu that Keichū followed, but rather the long tradition of

onzu since the 13th century, the great majority of which had the

position of o and wo reversed, or alternatively had just one of these

signs in the o-row of both a- and wa-column. Moreover, since the

whole tenor of Keichū's research is indicative of an attitude of inde-

pendent inquiry,[3] it seems probable that he may well have given some

consideration to the positioning of wo and o in the onzu, but left

1 Regarding the possible source of Keichū's later positioning of signs
in the onzu, in the article Keichū to gojū-onzu (1944) Toda notes that
the signs in the a- and wa-columns of the onzu in Shittan rinryakuzu-
shō 悉曇輪略圖抄 (said to be based on the oral tradition of Shinpan)
are a, i, u, e, wo, and wa, wi, u, we, o. Since Keichū quotes Shinpan
concerning the fourteen sounds of language, it seems he was familiar
with some of Shinpan's writings at least. The validity of Toda's
observation here however seems questionable, since the positioning of
signs in Shinpan's a- and wa-columns varies (vd. Mabuchi 1962 vol.1,
pp.583 & 610).
2 AKZN IX, p.369. Earlier on p.316, after stating the opinion that
Keichū's onzu in MYSF, WJSH, and WJBO all follow that in SNMT, Hisamatsu
goes on to say that the compound kanji in the WJSH onzu are analogized
from the Sanskrit signs in the SNMT onzu. Here again the present
writer differs in his view, and considers that not only did Keichū not
follow the SNMT onzu for the positioning of signs, but that in the case
of the compound kanji in the WJSH onzu he followed not the principle of
Sanskrit signs in SNMT in particular, but the general principle of such
signs.
3 Not only his kana usage studies: KJTN (kokugaku entry) notes that
although Keichū was sometimes influenced by his Buddhist beliefs, in
the case of the onzu too he held an objective attitude.

these signs in the _a_- and _wa_-columns respectively after failing to
reach any positive conclusions concerning their re-positioning.

The argument of Hisamatsu concerning the _onzu_ in Keichū is based
on inadequate examination of the relevant material, and is confined
within too narrow a perspective.

In a more detailed examination of the _onzu_ in Keichū, Toda also
concentrates mainly on the positioning of signs within the _onzu_.
The argument (untenable to the present writer) Toda puts forward
regarding the absence of an actual _onzu_ in HYSI is as follows:

> "With regard to how to interpret this note, at the time
> Jikan saw the first version of _Daishō-ki_ it no longer con-
> tained an _onzu_, or, even if there were an _onzu_, it seems
> that it had probably been deleted; for, continuing on from
> the blank, we find:
>
>> 'Recently the priest Jōgon of Enmeiji Temple
>> compiled _Shittan sanmitsu-shō_, a work in eight
>> _maki_ including a preface, thus making Sanskrit
>> easy even for children. The reader should refer
>> to this work, from page nine (sic)[2] to page forty
>> of the first volume.'
>
> What does this mean? _Shittan sanmitsu-shō_ was printed
> just when the General Introduction (_sōshaku_) to the first
> version of _Man'yō daishō-ki_ was being written: it seems
> that Keichū was stimulated by happening to see this _onzu_ in
> _Shittan sanmitsu-shō_, and was led to write this. When the
> Sanskrit signs in _Sanmitsu-shō_ are put into _kana_, then as
> mentioned above, the _a_-column is _a_, _i_, _u_, _e_, _wo_, and the _wa_-
> column is _wa_, _wi_, _u_, _e_, _o_ (other columns are the same as in
> the present-day _onzu_); in the onzu in the General Introduction
> to the first version (_Jikan-bon_), the _a_-column is _a_, _i_, _u_, _we_,
> _wo_, and the _wa_-column is _wa_, _wi_, _u_, _e_, _o_ (also, the _ya_-column
> is probably _ya_, _i_, _yu_, _we_, _yo_). There is a difference here
> in the _a_-column (also in the _ya_-column): probably Keichū,
> on learning that the _onzu_ he himself believed in was diff-
> erent from that in _Sanmitsu-shō_, had deleted his _onzu_."

Toda's explanation here is based on his interpretation of the
meaning of Keichū's remark referring the reader to SNMT. That inter-
pretation is that Keichū intended the reader to refer to the _onzu_ in

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1 The note by Jikan after the blank for an _onzu_ in HYSI.
2 Toda misquotes Keichū here: Keichū's original (both Asahi and
Iwanami editions) has "page nineteen" (not "page nine").

SNMT in order to find out the correct positioning therein of the forty-seven syllabic signs of Japanese. The present writer is unable to agree with this interpretation of Toda's for two reasons: firstly, SNMT is a work not on Japanese but on Shittan: the section in SNMT Keichū refers to consists of descriptions of the shapes of signs and speech sounds in Sanskrit. The meaning of Keichū's remark here therefore is that the reader should refer to SNMT in order to learn about Sanskrit. Secondly, if Keichū were indeed referring the reader to the SNMT onzu re the positioning of the forty-seven kana signs, then the differences between the e-row in SNMT and MYSI would lead to numerous incongruities in the latter, e.g. in the passage:

- " 'Fifty sounds' refers to the existence of ten types of
     five sounds from a, i, u, we, wo to wa, wi, u, e, o."[1],

and in all explanations of word-forms or kana usage by sōtsū involving a- or ya-column signs in cases where one of the signs involved was of the e-row. Toda's tentative explanation gives rise to glaring inconsistencies of this kind in Keichū's theory — inconsistencies of which Toda makes no mention. Nor are such incongruities to be explained by the fact that Keichū was not certain at this period of the positioning in the onzu of e and we, for it seems most improbable that with his perceptive mind and objective attitude Keichū would have overlooked, or been satisfied with, such incongruity in an area as fundamental to his kana usage theory as the onzu, since this widely affected his explanations by the principle of sōtsū.

All the evidence is in fact weighted against Toda's explanation of the blank where there should be an onzu in MYSI: for if we reject Toda's hypothesis, and consider Keichū's remark as referring the

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1 IKZN I, p.211.

reader to SNMT with regard to Shittan alone, then the numerous incon-
sistencies are obviated.[1] That is to say, even though Keichū was not
sure about e and we at the time of MYSI, he gave them a tentative
position in the onzu (i.e. a-column we, ya-column we, and wa-column e)
and so maintained a generally consistent view of these two signs which
led to a generally consistent treatment in MYSI.

Apart from this one major error of interpretation, Toda's article
does provide some thought-provoking material on an aspect of Keichū
little studied by other scholars. Toda's most important contribution
is probably his reconstruction of Keichū's ya-column at the time of
MYSI.

2. The Role of The Onzu in Keichū's Kana Usage Writings.

As can be seen from the above, the writings of Japanese scholars
on the onzu in Keichū deal mainly with the positioning of kana within
the onzu. Little, if any, consideration is given to the question of
the actual role of the onzu in Keichū. The present writer is of the
opinion that it is this question that must be answered in order to
understand Keichū's kana usage theory fully, since the onzu is funda-
mental to both Keichū's view of language and kana usage.

It was the belief of Keichū that the sounds of language (and
indeed all conceivable sounds) did not exceed fifty in number:

> "All speech sounds are confined to fifty sounds. 'Fifty
> sounds' refers to the existence of ten types of five
> sounds from a, i, u, we, wo, to wa, wi, u, e, o."
> MYSI.[2]

> "The various sounds are produced by movements of throat,
> tongue, and lips; but they do not exceed fifty in number."
> WJSH maki 1[3].

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1 The present writer is aware that there are in fact a number of
inconsistencies in Keichū's kana rendering of Man'yōgana 惠 we, etc.
in MYSI. This does not however invalidate the central argument that
Keichū adopted a generally consistent view of e and we, and their
position in the onzu.
2 AKZN I, p.22.
3 IKZN X, p.114.

For Keichū, the fifty sounds of the onzu were the fifty sounds of language, and therefore it can be said that one of the roles of the onzu in Keichū was as a general inventory of the sounds of language. This is the most important and basic function of the onzu in Keichū's general language theory. The role of the onzu in Keichū to be discussed next on the other hand is the one most important in terms of Keichū's kana usage theory itself.

The basic principle of the historical kana usage of Keichū, as is well-known, is that the kana spellings of words should be based on their notation in the ancient writings. Not all the words however for which Keichū decided to set down the kana spelling were to be found in the ancient writings. Consequently, to determine the kana spellings of such words, Keichū adopted a number of auxiliary methods. Of these, the most important was the principle of interchange. In WJSH for example the kana spelling for many entries is argued on the basis of the interchange principle:

衝立	tsuitate	The form, through interchange with sign of the same vowel, from tsuki-tate. WJSH maki 2[1]
當賀	munakai	Wamyō-shū has munakaki. Munaki is the colloquial form with a sign of the same vowel. Ibid.
老	oi	In a note to a person's name in Nihongi it says, '老: this is read oyu (於喩)'. Motosuke-shū also has oyuru. One should not (say→) write ofu. There is interchange of ya, i, yu, e, yo. Ibid.

Etc., etc.

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1 IKZN X, p.148.

The second important role of the <u>onzu</u> in Keichū then is as a frame-work for the interchange principle.

The other main use of the <u>onzu</u> in Keichū is as a framework for <u>kana-gaeshi</u>. This was the name given by Keichū to the concept[1] used in traditional Japanese language studies for the explanation of shortened word-forms.[2] The name <u>kana-gaeshi</u> (假名反) was given because the principle involved was similar to that of <u>hansetsu</u>反切 , the traditional method employed to shew the readings of Chinese characters.[3]

3.   The WJSH <u>Onzu</u>.[4]

In old works on the Japanese language, terminology and concepts were sometimes borrowed from <u>Shittangaku</u>, the traditional Japanese study of Sanskrit. Keichū's language works are in fact typical of this tendency,[5] and the <u>onzu</u> in WJSH especially is a good example of the influence of <u>Shittan</u> language theory, for the majority of the fifty signs consist of compound signs made up by Keichū on the analogy of Sanskrit signs.[6]

Prior to setting out the <u>onzu</u> itself in WJSH, Keichū gives phon-etic descriptions of various syllables in the <u>onzu</u>, together with the supposed meanings of some of the syllables in Sanskrit.[7]

1   Otherwise known variously as <u>tsuzume-goto</u>, <u>yakuon</u>約音 , <u>shukugen</u>縮言 , <u>hango</u>反語 , <u>han'on</u>反音 . Vd. KJTN <u>enyaku-tsūryaku</u> entry.
2   Vd. p.189 above.
3   The <u>hansetsu</u> method that developed in Japan involved use of the <u>onzu</u> (vd. KJTN <u>hansetsu</u> entry), and so this too may be considered as a minor role of the <u>onzu</u> in Keichū (although it remains a minor role since Keichū was concerned predominantly with pure Japanese rather than with Sino-Japanese).
4   The <u>onzu</u> in MYSF, and Keichū's concept of the <u>onzu</u> at the time of compiling MYSI, have already been considered in Chapter 5 above, and in the first part of this chapter.
5   Vd. KJTN <u>Shittangaku</u> entry.
6   That is to say, the thirty-six signs for the syllables 'produced' by the <u>a</u>-column (<u>a</u>, <u>i</u>, <u>u</u>, <u>e</u>, <u>wo</u>) and the <u>a</u>-row (<u>a</u>, <u>ka</u>, <u>sa</u>, etc.) con-sist of one element representing the consonant, and one element representing the vowel, e.g. <u>ki</u>幾 , where 如 represents <u>k(a)</u> and 人 represents <u>i</u>. Cf. Skt. <u>ki</u>कि , which consists of the sign क <u>ka</u> mod-ified by ि (<u>i</u>).
7   Vd. pp.121-123 above.

The WJSH onzu is headed 五十音圖 (now read gojū-onzu, but in Keichū's day probably read itsura no koe no zu). This in itself might appear to be of little if any significance, but according to Yamada[1] this was the first time that the syllabic table appeared with this name.

In discussing the onzu in WJSH, Japanese scholars invariably point out Keichū's continued mispositioning of o and wo. It should be borne in mind on the other hand that the position of e and we (erroneous in for example the SNMT onzu, which has e in a-, ya-, and wa-columns) is correct.

It should be noted that the WJSH onzu sets out not forty-seven but fifty graphically distinct signs, the three extra signs being those for yi, ye, and wu. The discrete nature of these signs is not apparent from the romanizations in the translation of the onzu[2] because these are transliterations of the hiragana glosses to the side of each compound sign.

Immediately following the onzu there is the sentence: "The above table was made on the analogy of Sanskrit writing." Yamada interprets this as meaning that Keichū based his onzu here on that in SNMT (the SNMT onzu has the fifty syllables in Sanskrit letters), but this seems an excessively narrow interpretation and is not justified when one considers the development in Keichū's positioning of signs in the onzu.[3] The present writer prefers a more general interpretation, viz. that Keichū's meaning is simply that his compound signs are based on the principle of Sanskrit letters.

1 Yamada 1938, p.207. Yamada is also of the opinion that Keichū thought up this title for the syllabic table on seeing a passage in SNMT where Jōgon talks of fifty signs and reflecting that ji "sign" was being used there actually in the sense of "sound".
2 Vd. p.124 above.
3 Vd. pp.226-227 above.

4. The WJBO Onzu.

As mentioned earlier, the aim of Keichū in writing WJBO was to defend his own theories and criticise those of Tachibana Narikazu as set out in Waji kokon tsūrei zensho,[1] a work in which Narikazu attacked the principles set out by Keichū in WJSH.

In WJBO Keichū dealt with erroneous points in Narikazu's argument in the order they were set out in WJKK. The onzu in WJBO therefore is intended as the correct version of the WJKK onzu.[2]

Keichū's WJBO onzu differs from the ordinary onzu in that each kana sign is accompanied by its two yōon equivalents (i.e. labial and palatal).[3] Such onzu were however not uncommon in historical language works.[4]

The following is a translation of Keichū's explanatory text above the onzu, in which he defines chokuon and yōon.

> "Those signs which are read directly as they sound –
> a, i, u, e, wo; ka, sa, ta, na, etc. – are chokuon
> 'straight sounds'. Signs in which a is not pronounced
> as a, but where one says ia or ua; in which i is not
> pronounced as i but where one says ii or ui; where u
> is pronounced as iu or uu; where e is pronounced as ie
> or ue; where wo is pronounced as io or uo: these are
> yōon 'twisted sounds'.
>   Yū 拗 means 'bend'; also it means 'return' – to
> pronounce with a sideways bending that which should be
> pronounced directly. In Chinese poetry there is the
> yōtai 拗體 'Twisted Style';[5] yōon should be under-
> stood in conjunction with this."[6],[7]

The following is a transliteration of the WJBO onzu:

1 Hereafter abbreviated to WJKK.
2 The WJKK onzu (which according to Yamada is identical to that in Narikazu's earlier work Kana-ji rei 假名字例) is to be found reproduced in Yamada 1938, p.149. Vd. Appendix VI.
3 Vd. p.8 above, note 2.
4 Cf. for example the onzu at the beginning of Shittan rinryakuzu-shō (Yamada, op.cit. pp.141-142).
5 A particular style of Chinese poetry, irregular in form.
6 Apart from the common element yō 拗 , there appears to be no connection between yōon and yōtai.
7 IKZN X, p.324.

	a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa
a	a / iya uwa	ka / kiya kuwa	sa / shiya suwa	ta / chiya tsuwa	na / niya nuwa	ha / hiya fuwa	ma / miya muwa	ya / iya yuwa	ra / riya ruwa	wa / wiya uwa
i	i / ii uwi	ki / kii kuwi	shi / shii suwi	chi / chii tsuwi	ni / nii nuwi	hi / hii fuwi	mi / mii muwi	i / ii yuwi	ri / rii ruwi	wi / wii uwi
u	u / iya uu	ku / kiya kuu	su / shiya suu	tsu / chiya tsuu	nu / niya nuu	fu / hiya fuu	mu / miya muu	yu / iya yuu	ru / riya ruu	u / wiya uu
e	e / ie uwe	ke / kie kuwe	se / shie suwe	to / chie tsuwe	ne / nie nuwe	he / hie fuwe	me / mie muwe	e / ie uwe	re / rie ruwe	we / wie uwe
o	wo / iyo uo	ko / kiyo kuo	so / shiyo suo	to / chiyo tsuo	no / niyo nuo	ho / hiyo fuwo	mo / miyo muo	yo / iyo yuo	ro / riyo ruo	o / wiyo uo

Immediately beneath the onzu, there is the following passage:

"Since yōon and chokuon are names originally
connected with Shittan, there is no mention of yōon
in works such as Inkyō, which shew the hansetsu
principle. When signs of the ya- and wa-columns are
affixed beneath the second and third signs of the
relevant column in accordance with the position of
the sign,[2] then this results in yōon. If the hansetsu
principle is applied to these sounds, they are choku-
on. The hansetsu of iya becomes a; likewise, that of
uwa also becomes a. It is the same with all the fifty
signs.
A certain person,[3] not knowing this, called signs
having the same vowel in common yōon, and signs in
which there was interchange of the five vowels choku-
on. This is one of the reasons why I have given his
work the title Sensai-shō 千歳笑 , 'Laughs for A
Thousand Years'."[4]

On the whole, Keichū's criticism of Narikazu's theories in WJKK

is well-justified. In this particular case however it is ill-founded,

being based on misunderstanding of Narikazu's onzu. Keichū considered

that Narikazu misunderstood yōon and chokuon, but it is clear from

the (yōon) notations beneath each sign in Narikazu's onzu[5] that the

latter in fact had a correct understanding of these terms.

How is it then that Keichū concluded that Narikazu's understanding

of yōon and chokuon was mistaken? At the top right-hand corner of

Narikazu's onzu (next to the kana sign a) there is the word chokuon:

this refers to the fifty kana signs (including duplicate signs) of

the onzu written in large letters; in the bottom right-hand corner

(beneath the o-row) there is the word yōon. It would appear that

Keichū gave Narikazu's onzu no more than a cursory glance, mistakenly

assuming that the word chokuon was being used by Narikazu with ref-

erence to each column in the onzu, and yōon with reference to each row.

1 I.e. the i and u directly beneath a, i, u, e, wo; the ki and ku
beneath ka-column ka, ki, ku, ke, ko; etc.
2 I.e. ya and wa in a-row, i and wi in i-row, etc.
3 A reference to Narikazu.
4 IKZN X, p.324.
5 Vd. Appendix VI.

4.   The Fifty Sounds of Language, and

"The Forty-Seven Sounds of Japanese".

In MYSF, Keichū writes of the "three sounds missing" from Japanese.
From the modern viewpoint, such an expression seems strange, and con-
sideration of why these three sounds are "missing" seems misconceived.
This mode of expression derives from Keichū's view of language, viz.
that all the sounds of language were encompassed within fifty sounds
- i.e. the fifty sounds of the onzu[1] - and that the forty-seven
iroha-gana represented all the sounds of Japanese.   An examination
of Keichū's understanding of the relationship between the fifty sounds
of language and the forty-seven sounds of Japanese is therefore none
other than an examination of his view of the interrelationship
between the forty-seven kana and the fifty syllables of the onzu, that
is to say the three syllables in the onzu which are written with non-
distinctive kana[2].   This is an area of Keichū's kana usage theory
which has been virtually neglected by Japanese scholars, and yet one
which needs to be clarified before Keichū's kana usage theory can be
fully understood.

Apart from the passage relating to the three "missing" sounds in
MYSF referred to above, there is also the following passage in MYSI:

> "There must be a reason for the present-day iroha to
> have two i, two we, and two wo; but to be lacking three
> sounds, namely the i which is produced from ya, and the
> u and we produced from wa.   One should inquire of
> scholars of Shittan concerning this."[3]

Here Keichū identifies the three signs or sounds "missing" from the
iroha (and from Japanese) as yi, wu, and we. However, to maintain

1   The theoretical framework of the onzu, in which all fifty syllables
are distinguished, is pointed to by Mabuchi (Mabuchi 1962, vol.2, p.921).
2   That is to say, in the case of onzu written in katakana or hiragana;
but not in the case of onzu written in Man'yōgana, or Sanskrit letters,
or composite signs such as in Keichū's WJSH onzu.
3   IKZN I, p.213.

the parallel whereby non-distinctive kana represent sounds "missing"

from Japanese or the iroha, one would expect Keichū to have yi, wu,

and ye, since there it is ya-column e-row that is written with a non-

distinctive kana (i.e. we, which Keichū already has in a-column e-row

- or rather would have if there were an actual onzu in MYSI). It

can only be concluded therefore that Keichū's understanding of e and

we at the time of MYSI was still imperfect.

By the time of MYSF however, Keichū correctly repositioned e and

we in the onzu, and in addition to this modified his view of the three

"missing" kana or sounds:

> "The language of our country has forty-seven sounds;
> three sounds are missing. These three sounds are:
> the i produced from combination of ya and i; the e
> produced from combination of ya and e; and the u pro-
> duced from combination of wa and u."[1]

In MYSF, apart from modifying his view of the three "missing"

sounds in this way, Keichū also ingeniously reconciles the "forty-

seven sounds of Japanese" with the fifty sounds of the onzu by

considering yi, ye, and wu as being "included in the main vowels i,

e, and u (i.e. a-column i, e, and u). Keichū then continues on from

the above passage as follows:

> . "The fact is that these are included in the main vowels
> u, e, and wo. The reason for this is that when the
> character 反 is read koyasu, koyu, and koe, there is an
> interchange of ya, i, yu, e, yo."

The great majority of onzu from the 13th century onwards were

erroneous in some respect, and this tendency developed further as

time passed.[2] However, as the academic climate changed in the early

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1 IKZN 7. p.184.
2 Initially the position of o and wo was reversed; subsequently
(Muromachi Period) errors were made in the case of i and wi, and e
and we. Vd. KJTN gojū-onzu entry.

Edo Period into one which placed importance on independent inquiry rather than passive acceptance of the old teachings, so gradually the correct positioning of signs within the _onzu_ came to be understood once again. The scholars considered responsible for this advance are Jōgon (i and wi), Keichū (e and we), and Motoori Norinaga or Fujitani Nariakira[1] (o and wo).

By no means all aspects of Keichū's writings on language are valid from the viewpoint of modern scholarship: a considerable number of his etymologies for example are incorrect, a few of them even risible. In the case of the _onzu_ however, notwithstanding initial difficulties Keichū was able to make a significant contribution to this area of traditional Japanese language studies too.

1 It is not clear which.

Chapter Twelve

Kana Usage and _Kana_ Usage Theory After WJSH.

1.   Keichū's _Kana_ Usage Writings After WJSH.

Keichū's WJSH appeared at a time when the traditional concept of
unquestioned acceptance of the old teachings was beginning to be
replaced by a more critical attitude of objective enquiry – indeed,
WJSH itself may be regarded as having contributed to this change.
Another respect in which WJSH was very much a product of the period[1]
is that it dealt with an aspect of the native Japanese culture rather
than the prestigious culture imported from China, and thus was at the
very forefront of the trend which developed into the _kokugaku_ move-
ment.   Since however these changes in the academic climate were not
yet complete, it was inevitable that the ideas put forward by Keichū
in WJSH – revolutionary in terms of _kana_ usage – should be opposed
by more conservative thinkers.

The most notable criticism of WJSH is to be found in Tachibana
Narikazu's WJKK.[2]   WJKK was printed in 1696, the year after WJSH was
put into print.   On the whole, Narikazu employs the Teika _kana_ spell-
ings in WJKK, and maintains that _kana_ usage should be determined in
accordance with the _shisho_,[3] but in fact he seems to rely to a consid-
erable extent on 'oral tradition' (_kuden_), and much of the work is
inconsistent and careless, shewing a low level of scholarship.   In
WJKK Narikazu does not refer to Keichū or WJSH at all by name, but
the following passage is to be found towards the end of the WJKK preface:

> "In recent years many works on _kana_ usage have appeared.
> Some of them are confused, others set up ancient works

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1   I.e. the late 17th century.
2   Vd. p.234 above.
3   Vd. p.46 above, note 2.

as evidence, and make that which is foolish and un-
clear seem certain. Though it seems that the writers
of such works consider the ancient works to constitute
evidence, the reason for this is that they know nothing
about kana usage."[1]

It appears that Keichū took this passage as referring to WJSH.
This was not an unreasonable assumption to make, in view of the fact
that when WJKK first came out, WJSH was the only kana usage work
based on such ancient works as Wamyō-shō and Man'yōshū.

Highly incensed by Narikazu's ill-founded attack on WJSH, Keichū
wasted no time in defending his own theories: in the eighth month of
the very next year (1697) WJBO appeared in print. In this work,
Keichū dealt with Narikazu's errors in WJKK one by one. Keichū's
criticism of Narikazu is not confined to the latter's academic views,
but goes on to include excessive verbal attacks on Narikazu (referred.
to by Keichū in WJBO as 'Back-to-front Sensei'[2] On the cover of each
maki of WJBO for example are written scathing comments about Narikazu,
some of them in verse form. Consider for example the following
remarks on the cover of WJBO maki 4:

"Without ever having looked at the national histories
such as Nihongi, or at the Man'yōshū and Kokin-shū,
Back-to-front Sensei says that kana usage in all these
works is confused. If this were so, and kana usage
were confused both at the outset and later on, then
who would now know the correct kana usage ? He says
that he alone knows – this is unparalleled arrogance
of a type as yet unknown!"[3]

Japanese scholars usually take WJBO as shewing that Keichū had
an excitable side to his nature, seldom seen though this was.

Despite this vituperative aspect cf WJBO, it does still contain

1 Kieda 1933, p.164.
2 Haimen sensei. Keichu refers disparagingly to WJKK as either Sen-
sai-shō 千歳笑 , "Laughs for A Thousand Years", or Nika-shū 貳過集 ,
"Collection of Errors Twice Made".
3 IKZN X, p.509.

a considerable amount of information concerning Keichū's kana usage
theory not to be found in WJSH (or WJYR), and is therefore important
as a supplementary source-work for the study of that kana usage
theory.   It appears that only one manuscript of WJBO — written by
Keichū himself — ever existed[1] (possibly Keichū later decided he did
not want the work circulated), and so WJBO had very little if any
influence historically.

Very much in contrast to WJBO in terms of length, content, and
circulation is Keichū's third work on kana usage, namely WJYR.
Completed in 1698, WJYR sets out corrections and additions to entries
primarily in WJSH, though a small number of entries are from WJBO.
In view of this, it is strange (as Tsukishima points out[2]) that the
work should be sub-headed "Additions and Amendments to Waji shōran
tsūbō-shō"[3]; rather, one would expect this sub-heading to read "Add-
itions and Amendments to Waji shōran-shō", particularly in view of
the fact that virtually no-one else knew even of the existence of
WJBO[4]. Manuscript copies of WJYR are numerous: Keichū does not seem
to have had any reason to want circulation of this work restricted as
in the case of WJBO.   The feature WJYR does have in common with WJBO
is that it too provides supplementary information on Keichū's kana
usage theory.

In this thesis both WJBO and WJYR have been used to provide
supplementary information not to be found in WJSH itself, although no
separate study as such of these two works has been included.

1   Vd. Tsukishima's explanatory introduction to WJBO — IKZN X, p.815.
2   IKZN X, p.825.
3   Waji shōran tsūbō-shō hokai.
4   The postscript to WJYR by Keichū's follower Imai Jikan (IKZN X, p.
736) shews that even he did not know of WJBO.

2. Historical Kana Usage After Keichū.

a) The Edo Period.

Despite adverse criticism such as that of Narikazu's, the kana usage proposed by Keichū gradually won acceptance among scholars, and the kokugakusha adopted Keichū's system of kana spellings not only as a means of writing in kana (in place of the Teika kana usage), but also as an important method for interpreting the meaning of anc- ient texts.[1]

As time went by, WJSH underwent the process of supplementation characteristic of kana usage works. The most notable work to supp- lement WJSH was Kogentei 古言梯 , compiled by Katori Nahiko 楫取魚彦 and printed in 1765. Kogentei is important from the viewpoint of historical kana usage because it notes source documents for many words which in WJSH appear without a source document.[2] Nahiko was able to attain this high ratio of documented entries partly because he made use of the ancient 9th century dictionary Shinsen jikyō, a work unknown to Keichū and which had long fallen into oblivion, but had been brought to light by Murata Harumi 村田春海 . Subsequent to this there appeared a number of works which in turn supplemented Kogentei. Among these are the following:[3]

> Kana taii-shō 假字大意抄 . Compiled and completed by
> Murata Harumi in 1800.
>
> Gagen kana-zukai 雅言假字格 . Compiled by Ichioka Takehiko
> 市岡猛彦 (printed 1807).
>
> Zōho Kogentei hyōchū 増補古言梯標注 . Compiled by Yamada
> Tsunenori 山田常典 (printed 1839).

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1 Vd. p.68 above.
2 According to Kieda (1933, pp.178-180).
3 For a fuller list, and description of individual works, vd. Kieda op.cit., pp.181-191.

As mentioned earlier, the historical kana usage advocated by Keichū in WJSH came to be used as an important aid in the interpretation of old texts, and WJSH provided the direct inspiration for later works on historical kana usage. The influence of WJSH did not however stop here: by making clear through his detailed objective research the consistent usage of the forty-seven irohagana in the ancient literature, it may be considered that Keichū laid the foundation for later research into historical speech-sounds and the special kana usage of the ancient period.[1]

b) Meiji and After (1868-).

After the appearance of WJSH in 1695, scholars soon came to recognise the consistent nature of the kana usage proposed by Keichū. The subsequent widespread adoption of that kana usage at about the time of the Meiji Restoration (the late 1860's) however was partially due to another factor, namely a yearning for Japanese antiquity. The situation is described by Andō as follows:

> "This (wider use of the historical kana usage of Keichū) was a reflection of the nostalgia for antiquity that prevailed at about the time of the Meiji Restoration. Just as with the attempt to recreate the ancient period when religion and The State were one – the ideal of the kokugakusha – and to restore the Land of The Gods through enforcement of an anti-Buddhist policy – the wish of the Shintoists – so too with kana usage, where adoption of the classical kana usage was an attempt to translate the classical age into reality."
>
> Kokugo kyōiku, April 1932.[2]

From about the 1860's, Keichū's historical kana usage was employed generally in school textbooks and in law codes. It seems however that it was not used in all newspapers and magazines.[3]

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1 This latter was rediscovered by Ishizuka Tatsumaro (a follower of Norinaga's), and expounded in Kana-zukai oku no yamamichi (completed 1798 or before). The significance of this work however was not fully recognised until modern times.
2 Quoted in Kieda 1933, p.254.
3 Vd. Hashimoto 1949, p.259.

In 1908, by proclamation of the Monbushō (Ministry of Education),
the historical kana usage of Keichū was made the official system
of kana usage, and remained so until after the Second World War.
It was in 1946, at the same time as the Tōyō kanji (characters for
general use) were laid down, that the historical kana usage was
abolished in favour of the more practical modern kana usage (gendai
kana-zukai).[1]

Nowadays the modern kana usage is employed almost exclusively,
but one does still find the occasional modern publication written in
historical kana usage.[2] And as regards the handwritten Japanese of
individuals, there remains a small minority (mainly of the older
generation) who still employ the historical kana usage, while a few
others use an admixture of both historical and modern kana usage.

3. Other Types of Kana Usage and Kana Usage Theory (c.1700-1946).

During the Edo Period the Teika kana usage was ousted from its
position of dominance by the kana usage proposed by Keichū in WJSH.
It would however be an oversimplification to say that the kana usage
of Keichū was the only type of kana-zukai in use among the literati
of the Edo Period. There still remained for example scholars who
continued to favour the Teika kana usage, while others spelt words
in kana more or less as they pleased:

> "The historical kana usage started by Keichū came to be
> used more and more widely at the end of the Edo Period,
> but poets of the old school and the nobles still em-
> ployed the Teika kana usage. Also, Chinese scholars,
> writers of light fiction, and the general populace
> employed a more or less arbitrary kana usage."[3]

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1 In fact, many proposals for kana usage reform had been put forward
prior to this.
2 E.g. Maruya (Saiichi), Nihongo no tame ni (Tokyo 1974).
3 Hashimoto 1949, p.259.

In addition to continued use in this way, the Teika kana usage
was also sustained by the appearance of Teika-style kana usage works
well after the appearance of Keichū's WJSH. The following are examples
of these:[1]

> Man'yō kana-zukai 萬葉假名遣 . Compiled by Aoki Sagimizu
> 青木鷺水 (printed 1698).

> Kana-zukai mondō-shō 假名遣問答抄 . Compiled by Hattori
> Ginshō 服部閒笑 (printed 1741).

> Waji-kai 和字解 . Compiled by Kaibara Atsunobu 貝原篤信
> (printed 1748).

> Onkun kana-zukai 音訓國字格 . Compiled by Takai Ranzan
> 高井蘭山 (printed 1828).

Thus the Teika kana usage did survive even after it had been
abandoned by the majority of scholars in favour of the historical
kana usage of Keichū, but as the latter grew increasingly popular
from about the middle of the 19th century, so the Teika kana usage
finally fell into disuse.

After the appearance of WJSH, Keichū's system of kana usage
gradually won acceptance, and as this happened so the traditional
Teika kana usage declined in popularity among the literati. Clearly
then there was a period when both these systems of kana usage, which
loosely speaking can both be termed types of historical kana usage,
were in use. In addition to these two systems of kana usage, one or
two isolated examples are to be found of Edo Period works which
advocate kana usage which is different again from either of these
two main types. In a chapter entitled "Variant Kana Usage" (Iryū
kana-zukai) Kieda notes three main works in this category. The first
of these is Reigotsū 靈語通 , compiled by the novelist Ueda Akinari

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1 Such works are dealt with in more detail in Meiji shoin 1958 pp.
128-130, and in Kieda 1933 pp.96-149.

上田秋成 and with a preface dated 1795.[1] Reigotsū appears to contain a number of contradictions, but Ueda's argument is basically in favour of an arbitrary kana usage. In the preface, Ueda refers to "a certain theory" (aru go-setsu), and the identity of this theory, on which his own kana usage theory is based, appears to have been a matter of some controversy among Japanese scholars. On the basis of the similarity of the theory quoted by Ueda to a section on kana usage in the work Gyokkan sōsetsu 玉 函 叢 説 by Tayasu Munetake 田安 宗武 , Hashimoto[2] considers that Ueda's theory is based on that of Munetake.

The second work proposing a variant-type kana usage to come out in the Edo Period was Kana teigen 國字定原 , a work compiled by Takahashi Zanmu 高橋殘夢 (completed 1843). Zanmu was an advocate of the mystic view of language known as kotodama 言靈 , and his kana usage theory was developed on the theory that the "pronunciation" or the onzu has its own special meaning.[3]

Kana hongi-kō 假名本義考 , compiled by Hori Hidenari 堀秀成 and completed in 1860, is based on a mystic view of language similar to that in Kana teigen.

The above three works are notable in that they put forward unconventional kana usage theories, but none of them had any great influence on subsequent kana usage studies.

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1 The full title of this work is Reigotsū kana-hen 靈語通假字篇 . According to the preface, this work originally consisted of six sections, but it appears that for some reason Ueda only allowed the section on kana usage to be printed; the other five sections are no longer extant (Kieda 1933, p.208).
2 Vd. Ueda Akinari no Reigotsū to Tokugawa Munetake no kana-zukai-setsu, in Hashimoto 1949, pp.99-110.
3 Ongi-setsu 音義說 .

Conclusion.

In this thesis it has been pointed out and discussed at considerable length how Keichū's system of kana spellings is more consistent and logically sound compared with the Teika kana spellings. From the viewpoint of modern linguistic theory, however, both these systems of kana usage were equally valid, since both were more or less adequate to their task of representing the literary style of written Japanese. The value of this statement however is questionable, for historically Keichū's kana usage was seen in the light of completely different criteria. That is to say, the historical kana usage of Keichū was considered 'superior' on account of the underlying theory, which was basically consistent and non-arbitrary; also it was favoured because of its archaistic nature.

Clearly the merits and demerits of Keichū's kana usage system vary enormously according to the criteria that are adopted. In view of this, the present writer proposes to set aside fixed criteria of this kind, and assess the achievements of Keichū in the field of kana usage studies by considering his contribution to such studies. Keichū's achievements can be summarised as follows.

Firstly, Keichū's revolutionary objective method transformed kana usage studies from a traditional to a scientific discipline.

Secondly, Keichū's kana spellings and underlying theory developed awareness of the consistent nature of the ancient written language, inspiring new textual research (commentaries on the classics from Keichū onwards are known as "new commentaries" (shinchū)).

Thirdly, Keichū arrived at a correct understanding of certain individual iroha-gana (i-wi, e-we, wo-o), although for some reason this seems to have passed unnoticed.

Fourthly, Keichū's kana usage writings inspired other scholars to carry out further research into kana.

The present writer would like to emphasize that the third point mentioned here -- viz. Keichū's understanding of the pairs of kana i-wi, e-we, and wo-o -- is something that has yet to be recognised by Japanese scholars. Although the evidence relating to i-wi, etc. is to be found not in WJSH but in MYSO (MISF), it has nevertheless been given some prominence here because it is of direct relevance to our understanding of Keichū's view of these kana at the time of compiling WJSH.

In this thesis, the kana usage and kana usage theory of Keichū have been examined with particular reference to WJSH, although Keichū's other kana usage writings from MYSI to WJYR have also been taken into consideration to a greater or lesser degree. Further study of Keichū's other kana usage works, viz. WJEO and WJYR, might well contribute further to our understanding of his kana usage theory and its development, as might also a comparative study of the different manuscript versions of WJSH itself.

Appendix I.

Shittan [1] 悉曇 [2]

1. Meaning of The Term Shittan.

At the beginning of his work Nihon ingakushi no kenkyū (which centres on Shittan studies in Japan), Mabuchi K. investigates the precise meaning of Shittan, and comes to the conclusion that it was used as a collective term for Sanskrit letters in the context of a systematic table of speech-sounds.[3]

In the work entitled "Siddham", Van Gulik emphasizes that Shittan studies in China and Japan[5] were concentrated on the script (especially the calligraphic aspect) in which Sanskrit was written rather than on the Sanskrit language itself.[6] This is an important point, for it makes it clear that Shittan studies were somewhat different from Sanskrit studies in Europe. Regarding Shittan studies in Japan, Van Gulik writes:

> "It is hoped that the examples given hereabove will suff-
> ice to prove one interesting point regarding Sanskrit
> studies in Japan of that time (early Heian Period).
> That is that neither Kōbō-Daishi or his great contemp-
> orary Sai-chō, nor the Shin-gon and Ten-dai monks that
> continued their tradition were conversant with Sanskrit
> grammar although they were no mean calligraphers in the
> Siddham script."
>   op.cit., p.119.

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1 Shittan is the Sino-Japanese reading of 悉曇 , Chi. hsi-t'an, which in turn was the rendering of Siddham. According to Van Gulik (op.cit. pp.53-55), siddham is a term deriving not from literary Sanskrit but from the colloquial language of about the beginning of the Christian era.
2 Also (but less usually) written variously 悉旦 ,悉談 ,悉檀 ,七曇 , 七旦 ,肆曇 ,悉馱 .
3 As opposed to the term bonji 梵字 , which referred to individual signs.
4 Pub. Nagpur 1956.
5 Shittan studies were introduced to Japan via China.
6 This is not to say there was a complete lack of Japanese scholars who had a good command of Sanskrit grammar; such scholars were how-ever the exception rather than the rule.

2.   Shittan Studies and Japanese Language Studies.

Little is known of Shittan studies in Japan of the Nara Period,
but it is known that they flourished in the Heian Period with the
transmission to Japan of the teachings of the two esoteric Buddhist
sects, Tendai and Shingon.   This was because Sanskrit letters fig-
ured prominently in esoteric Buddhist teaching and ritual, usually
in mantra and dharani.   Subsequently Shittan studies underwent a
decline from the late 13th to late 16th centuries, but enjoyed a
revival from the beginning of the Edo Period due to political and
economic change.

The great Shittan masters of the Edo Period were[1] Chōzen 澄禅 and
Jōgon.   It was the latter who taught Shittan to Keichū.   Since Jōgon
had a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, it seems likely that Keichū's
knowledge of the same went beyond familiarity with the script.

The influence of Shittan theory on traditional Japanese language
studies is summed up in KJTN as follows:

> "The various principles of Shittan studies were adopted
> just as they were as the basic theory for study of the
> Japanese language: in this regard Sengaku is the rep-
> resentative scholar of the Kamakura Period, and Keichū
> the representative scholar of the Edo Period.   In this
> way Shittan studies were intimately tied up with the
> study of the Japanese language in former times.[2]"
>   op.cit., Shittan entry.

The influence of Shittan language theory on Keichū is apparent
from even a cursory examination of any of his writings on kana usage
(with the exception that is of WJYR).   Clearly a detailed examination
of the correlation between Shittan theory and Keichū's theory of
language and kana usage is beyond the scope of the present thesis.
It is hoped however that the above outline will at least help the
reader to understand the place of Shittan theory in Keichū's writings.

1   According to Van Gulik, op.cit. pp.124-125.
2   Shittan studies were set aside with the introduction in the late
19th century of the European study of Sanskrit.

Appendix II.

Variant Texts of Gekan-shū.

1 Bun'ei-bon Gekan-shū: vd. p.29 above.

2 Kōan-bon Gekan-shū: vd. p.29 above, note 4.

3 Sanmyakuin kanpakurin Teika-kyō-sho 三藐院關白臨 定家卿書 . A copy of Teika's original manuscript by Konoe Nobu-tada 近衛信尹 . Printed in the Kansei year period (1789-1801), it contains minor differences from the Bun'ei Gekan-shū. Sanmyakuin was the posthumous Buddhist name of Konoe Nobutada.

4 Teika-kyō kana-zukai shōshō 定家卿假名遣少々 . An appendix to the version of KMZK with a postscript of 1478 by Fujiwara Chikanaga. Although of the same type as Gekan-shū, there are considerable differences compared with the Kōan-bon text in respect of examples and number of entries, as well as different types of headings and arrangement.

5 Hitomaru hishō 人丸秘抄 . Like 4 above, an appendix to the version of KMZK with a 1478 postscript by Fujiwara Chikanaga. Printed versions of KMZK[1] give Teika-kyō kuden and Hito-maru hishō in the table of contents, but omit the actual appendices themselves. It is thought that such versions allowed the table of contents to be misread in such a way that the name of the work was thought to be Futarimaru hishō,[2] the name used for KMZK in error in Ruiji kana-zukai and Gunsho ichiran.[3]

6 Yorakuin-hitsu moji-zukai 豫樂院筆文字仕   . Almost ident-ical to 5 above.[4] A copy of the text written by Shōtetsu, with a postscript by Konoe Iehiro 近衛家凞 , whose style was

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1 Versions printed in the Jōkyō, Genroku, and Kansei year periods, as well as other versions which are undated.
2 「一 定家卿口傳二人丸秘抄」.   It can be seen how in versions without the two appendices this entry might be taken as "Futarimaru hishō: The Oral Tradition of Lord Teika".
3 A bibliography of Japanese works, in six volumes. Printed 1803.
4 According to Yoshizawa 1935, p.19.

Yorakuin. Dated 1396. There are the same five section head-
ings as in Gekan-shū, and beneath the headings "On Commencing
to Write A (Kana) Document" and "On Writing Poems" there is
the phrase: "These are the words of Lord Teika".

Meiji shoin 1958 (p.119) lists two additional texts of Gekan-shū,
namely the text in the possession of the Mito Shōkōkan 水戸彰考館   ,
and that owned by the Japanese Language Seminar of Tokyo University.[1]

Also, slightly variant versions of Gekan-shū are to be found in
Gonjin-shū 言塵集 (compiled 1406) under the heading Waji moji-zukai
no koto; and also in Kirin-shō 麒麟抄 under the heading Kana wo mono
ni yorite tsukaubeki koto.

1   The text of Gekan-shū in Fukui 1939 is based on this latter.

Appendix III.

Table of Syllables in The Kansai Dialects of The Mid-Edo Period.[1]

[a]	[i]	[u]	[i̯e]	[o]	[i̯a]	[i̯u]	[i̯o]
[ka]	[ki]	[ku]	[ke]	[ko]	[ki̯a]	[ki̯u]	[ki̯o]
[ga]	[gi]	[gu]	[ge]	[go]	[gi̯a]	[gi̯u]	[gi̯o]
[sa]	[ʃi]	[su]	[se]	[so]	[ʃa]	[ʃu]	[ʃo]
[za]			[ʒe]	[zo]			
[ta]	[tʃi]	[tsu]	[te]	[to]	[tʃa]	[tʃu]	[tʃo]
[da]	[dʒi]	[dzu]	[de]	[do]	[dʒa]	[dʒu]	[dʒo]
[na]	[ni]	[nu]	[ne]	[no]	[ni̯a]	[ni̯u]	[ni̯o]
[ha]	[hi] or [çi]	[ɸu]	[he]	[ho]	[hi̯a] or [çi̯a]	[hi̯u] or [çi̯u]	[hi̯o] or [çi̯o]
[ba]	[bi]	[bu]	[bi̯e]	[bo]	[bi̯a]	[bi̯u]	[bi̯o]
[pa]	[pi]	[pu]	[pe]	[po]	[pi̯a]	[pi̯u]	[pi̯o]
[ma]	[mi]	[mu]	[me]	[mo]	[mi̯a]	[mi̯u]	[mi̯o]
[ra]	[ri]	[ru]	[re]	[ro]	[ri̯a]	[ri̯u]	[ri̯o]
[ŋa]							
		[u:]		[o:]			
[ku̯a]							
[gu̯a]							
[N]							
[T]							

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1 Adapted from Mabuchi 1971, pp.139–140. In this table Mabuchi does not include the occurrent syllables of CV: structure, e.g. [ko:], [so:].

Appendix IV.

Table of Changes in The Japanese Language
and Kana Usage (adapted from Nakata 1972, pp.60-61)

date	number of syllables	number of vowels	number of long vowels	onbin, yōon	consonants	kana usage	script
700 (capital moves to Nara)	88 (61 seion) (Kj)	vowels: 8; vocalic syllables: 5.					assimilation of writing / period when Chinese characters only were used (classical Chinese was the usual form of writing; Japanese written in Chinese characters used phonetically)
800 (capital moves to Kyoto)	87 (60 seion); 69 (49 seion) (ko, kö); 68 (48 seion) (ame-tsuchi no kotoba)			occurrence of i- and u-onbin	ɸ and ɸ' are [tɕi] and [dʑi] respectively; ɸ and ɸ' are [bu] and [bu] respectively / ha-column syllables have initial P; ha-column syllables have initial φ		development of katakana as aid to reading classical Chinese as Japanese
900	67 (47 seion) (iroha uta)	disappearance of e↔je distinction (c.950)		occurrence of soku- and hatsu-onbin			development of sōgana 草仮名 &c. (cursive Man'yōgana) spread of hiragana (onna-de)
1000	66 (46 seion)	disappearance of o↔wo distinction (c.1000).		occurrence of palatalised consonants	occurrence of ha-gyō tenko-on		establishment of iroha-uta
1100	64 (44 seion)	disappearance of i↔wi and e↔we distinctions (c.1200))	eu (efu) and ou (ofu) merge into one long vowel o:	generalization of onbin; disappearance of distinction between ki↔kʷi, ke↔kʷe (also gi↔gʷi, ge↔gʷe)	occurrence of geminate P (P sokuon)		development of signs for geminate consonants (sokuon)
1200				ɸ and ɸ' are [tɕi] and [dʑi] respectively; ʒ and ʒ' are [tsu] and [dzu] respectively		Fujiwara Teika lays down kana usage (GKSH)	development of signs for syllabic nasal
1300			the vowel sequence iu changes to palatalised long vowel iu:				dakuten begin to be used with kana
1400					t and t' are [tɕe] and [dʑe] respectively ([ɕe] and [ʑe] in Eastern Japan)	augmentation and spread of Teika kana usage (KMZK)	
1500					assimilation of P from Western language loanwords	doubts expressed concerning Teika kana usage (Jōshun's Man'yōshū postscript)	
1600			disappearance of distinction between a: (from au (afu)) and o:	disappearance of kwa↔k'a distinction; confusion of yotsu-gana (z↔ and z', z↔ and z↔ merge as [dʑi] and [dzu])	final ɸ of Sino-Jap. morphemes changes to tsu	historical kana usage proposed (WJSH)	
1700					initial consonant of ha-column syllables changes to h (but φ before u); t and t' change to [ɕe] and [ʑe]	ga-column syllables in word-oblique position have [ŋ] ([g] as word-initial only)	
1800 (capital moves to Tokyo)			ei becomes long vowel e:			adoption of Keichū's historical kana usage for official documents and state education; dissemination throughout the country	
1900						establishment of modern kana usage (1946)	

Appendix V.

Source Documents Used by Keichū in WJSH
as Evidence for _Kana_ Spellings.

source document	date of compilation
Akazome'emon-shū	11th cent.
Bussokuseki no uta	753 or later
Denjutsu isshin kaimon	printed 1664
Engi shiki	927
Fūga waka-shū	1346
Genji monogatari	mid-Heian
Gōke shidai	c.1111
Gosen waka-shū	951
Goshūi waka-shū	1086
Hakushi monjū	(Ten'ei-ten, 1113)
Izumo fudoki	733
Kagerō nikki	c.974
Kaifūsō	(preface dated 751)
Kin'yō waka-shū	1127
Kisen waka-shū	late Heian or earlier
Kogo shūi	807
Kojiki	712
Kokin waka-shū	905
Kokin waka rokujō	c. mid-Heian
Kuji hongi (otherwise known as Kujiki)	early Heian
Man'yōshū	mid-Nara
Minamoto Shitagō-shū	10th cent.
Montoku jitsuroku	early Heian
Monzen	
Motosuke-shū	10th cent.
Motozane-shū	10th cent.
Myōe-shonin-den	
Nakatsukasa-shū	late Heian
Nihon kōki	840
Nihon shoki	720
Ruiju kokushi	892
Ryō no gige	823

Saibara	mid-Heian or earlier
Sandai jitsuroku	901
Saneakira-shū	10th cent.
Shiki	(glosses added 1073)
Shinsen Man'yōshū	maki 1: 893
	maki 2: 913
Shoku Nihongi	797
Sone Yoshitada kashū	mid-Heian
Shunjū sashi-den	
Taketori monogatari	early Heian
Tosa nikki	934
Tsurayuki kashū	10th cent.
Uji shūi monogatari	early Kamakura
Utsubo monogatari	mid to late Heian
Wamyō ruiju-shō (nijikkan-bon)	late Heian
Yamato monogatari	c. mid-Heian
Yūsenkutsu	(Kōei-ten, 1344)

In the case of kunten materials, often kana glosses were added at several different dates. In the above list the date of the earliest glosses in each case have been given in parentheses, but Keichū may well have taken later glosses to these texts as evidence also (although in WJBO Keichū concludes that the popular kana glosses to Nihon shoki should not be taken as evidence of kana usage, no such statement is to be found concerning works such as Yūsenkutsu).

Appendix VI.

The SNMT <u>Onzu</u> (Takakusu 1924, vol.84, p.728)

The position of <u>o</u> and <u>wo</u> is reversed (a very common mistake in old <u>onzu</u>), and the <u>kana</u> sign we is absent (Jōgon put <u>e</u> for the <u>e</u>-row of <u>a</u>-, <u>ya</u>-, and <u>wa</u>-columns).

The WJKK <u>Onzu</u> (Yamada 1938, p.149)
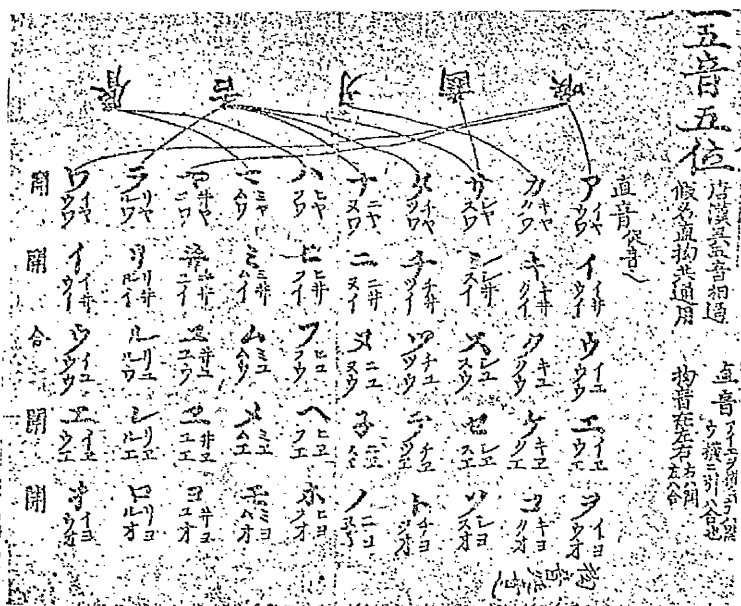
Here again, the position of <u>o</u> and <u>wo</u> is reversed. Ya-column erroneously has <u>wi</u> and <u>we</u>, while <u>wa</u>-column has <u>i</u> and <u>e</u>.

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1 Unless otherwise stated, all works are published in Tokyo.

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