Japanese Diacritic Materials for the Study of Chinese Character Readings

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I. An Analysis of Materials with Go'on-Type Readings: Go'on and Chinese Character Readings of the Six Dynasties

1. Buddhist Diacritic Materials from the Early Heian Period
   To date, about 100 manuscripts have been identified as diacritic (kunten 諭点) materials dating from the early Heian 平安 period, and they are all associated with the so-called Nara 奈良 sects of Buddhism. The character readings found in these manuscripts appear as readings of Sino-Japanese compounds included in the kundoku 読訳 reading of the text, and they are all essentially go' on 戲音 readings. One point that should be noted is that none of these diacritic materials from the early Heian period use marks to indicate the four tones (ssu-sheng 四声).

2. Chokudoku Materials
   The Yang-chüeh-mo-lo ching (Jp. Ōkutsunara-kyō 央掘摩羅経) is an important text for determining the actual readings used when reciting Buddhist scriptures at an early stage. A study was first published by Kasuga (1956), followed by a reexamination with partial emendations by Tsukishima (1985), on the basis of which Numoto (1986) published a simplified table of readings. In the case of the Ta-pan-jo ching (Jp. Daihannya-kyō 大般若経), there have survived many manuscripts that preserve straight non-kundoku (chokudoku 直読) readings, starting with the Jikōji 慈光寺 manuscript with marks added in the latter part of the Heian period (after 1050). A table of readings of the Jikōji manuscript was published by Matsuo (1949), while the tone marks and kana 仮名 used in a manuscript held by Yasuda Hachimangū 安田八幡宮 in Kōchi 高知, with marks added in the early Kamakura 鎌倉 period, were extracted by Higashitsuji (1970), and a table of readings from the same
manuscript was made public by Kim (2003). Likewise, there exist many manuscripts of the Fa-hua ching (Jp. Hokke-kyō) 法華経 with chokudoku readings, starting with the Saikyōji 西教寺 manuscript with marks added in the latter part of the Heian period (ca. 1050–1100). In the case of the Hua-yen ching (Jp. Kegon-kyō) 華厳経, there are a small number of chokudoku materials, including a manuscript held by Kōzanji 高山寺. Other texts providing chokudoku material include several manuscripts of the Ch'eng-wei-shih lun (Jp. Jōyuishiki-ron) 成唯識論, Chung-lun (Jp. Chüron) 中論 (verses), Chin-kang pan-jo ching (Jp. Kongō-hannya-kyō) 金刚般若経, Liu-tzu shen-chou-wang ching (Jp. Rokui-jinju-o-kya) 六字神呪王経, A-mi-t'o ching (Jp. Amida-kyō) 阿弥陀経, Wu-liang-shou ching (Jp. Muryōju-kyō) 無量寿経, and Ta-yün-lun ch'ing-yü ching (Jp. Dainunrin-shōu-kyō) 大雲輪請雨経.

The above manuscripts have all been marked with go'on-type readings. These readings have their origins in the readings used by the Nara sects during the Nara and early Heian periods, and they basically coincide with the readings used in early Heian diacritic materials. One major difference, however, is that from the latter part of the Heian period onwards marks indicating the four tones began to be used in these chokudoku materials.

3. Dictionary Materials

The Wamyō ruiju shō 和名類聚抄 is a Chinese-Japanese dictionary compiled by Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911–983), and it provides material on contemporary standard readings (corresponding to kan'on 漢音) and everyday readings of Sino-Japanese compounds. An analysis of this work as a source of material on kan'on readings has been published by Kashiwadani (1967–68). In the case of pronunciation guides (ongi 音義) for the Daihannya-kyō 大般若経, there exist the Ishiyamadera 石山寺 manuscript of the Daihannya-kyō jishō 大般若経字抄, the Mukyūkai 無窮会 manuscript of the Daihannya ongi 大般若音義, etc. (Tsukishima 1960). Indexes to the Ishiyamadera manuscript of the Daihannya-kyō jishō and six ongi belonging to the Mukyūkai line of
manuscripts have been published by Numoto (1978) and Tsukishima (1983). With regard to the Fa-hua ching, there exist many ongi, including the Kujō 九条 manuscript of the Hokke-kyō on 法華経音 and the Hōen 保延 manuscript of the Hokke-kyō tanji 法華経単字 (Tsukishima 1966). A kana index of the Hokke-kyō tanji has been published by Yoshida (1957), while a composite table of readings found in the various ongi of the Fa-hua ching has been published by Ogura (1995).

In the case of the Ruiju myōgi shō 類聚名義抄, there exist the Zushoryō 図書寮 manuscript belonging to the original line of texts and the Kanchi’in 観智院, Közanji and other manuscripts belonging to the enlarged line of texts. The character readings given in this dictionary as wa‘on 和音 (“Japanese reading”) and go‘on have furnished many topics of discussion regarding go‘on readings, such as whether or not wa‘on and go‘on are different and, if so, how they differ, but Numoto (1982) has pointed out that both derive from the pronunciation used when reciting the Ta-pan-jo ching during the mid-Heian period, and the minor differences between the two may be regarded as differences between the readings used by Fujiwara no Kintō 藤原公任 (and his school) and those used by Shingō 真興 (and his school). A table of these wa‘on and go‘on readings has been published by Numoto (1997).

4. Go‘on-Type Readings in Chokudoku Materials and in Dictionary and Ongi Materials

An examination of the chokudoku materials mentioned above reveals that the reading marks used in the Saikyōji and Raigōji 来迎寺 manuscripts of the Fa-hua ching include kan‘on forms, such as 懐妊 (クイニン) and 野牛 (ヤギウ). In the case of the Ta-pan-jo ching too, kan‘on forms such as 叔穆 (シクボク) and 懽黗 (インギン) appear in the Yasuda Hachimangū manuscript. This means that while these chokudoku materials were recited chiefly in go‘on, some kan‘on readings were also used.
5. Characteristics of Go’on-Type Readings

A. Comparison with Middle Chinese: Deducing the Nuclear Sound of the Central Stratum of Go’on

There is no systematic correspondence between go’on and the phonological scheme found in rhyme dictionaries based on the Ch‘ieh-yüan 切韻. Why is this so?

The degree to which go’on readings deviate from the phonological scheme of the Ch‘ieh-yüan can be ascertained by referring to the table of wa’on readings used in the Ruiju myōgi shō (Numoto 1997). Here I wish to consider the factors behind the discrepancies by examining some of them in detail.

Assuming that the phonetic value of the hou 侯 rhyme in the Ch‘ieh-yüan was /-su/, then in Japan this ought to have been rendered in kana as オウ, but in actual fact there is considerable variation in the kana forms of wa’on of characters rhyming with hou.

ウ: 部(ブ), 某(ム), 賀(ム), etc.
オ: 母(ボ), 拝(ポ), 斗(ト), etc.
オウ: 剖(ホウ), 闘(トウ), 迴(トウ), etc.
アウ: 厚(カウ)
イウ: 僵(チウ), 鎖(チウ)

Thus, the kana forms of Japanese go’on for characters belonging to the hou rhyme assume a quite complex aspect, centered on the three forms ウ, オ and オウ with the two peripheral forms イウ and アウ. The irregularities of the hou rhyme in Japanese go’on have been remarked on in part by Mitsuda (1964), Tōdō (1959) and Okumura (1956), but a more complex state of affairs comes to light through inductive reasoning based on the wa’on of the Ruiju myōgi shō.

This state of affairs regarding the Japanese go’on readings of characters belonging to the hou rhyme tallies closely with the characteristics of the various pronunciation guides quoted in the Ching-tien shih-ween 経典釈文, compiled by Lu Te-ming 陸德明 of the Six Dynasties period in China (Sakai 1975). The characters subsumed under the hou rhyme in
the Ch‘ieh-yün were in Old Chinese divided among the chih 之, hou and yu 幽 rhymes. It can be inferred that the pronunciation of dialects of the Six Dynasties period during the transition from Old Chinese to the readings found in the Ch‘ieh-yün is preserved in Japanese go‘on and that the ウ, オ, オウ, アウ and イウ found in Japanese go‘on readings of characters rhyming with hou preserve the phonetic characteristics of Six Dynasties dialects. It is therefore possible to infer that the basic part of Japanese go‘on is founded on the phonological scheme of Six Dynasties dialects.

B. The Tonal Scheme of Go‘on
Another important characteristic of go‘on is the peculiarity of its tonal scheme. Distinctive features of tones in go‘on-type readings include the fact that the “rising tone” (shang-sheng 上声) is missing and rarely appears and that there is no correspondence with the four tones of Middle Chinese. When these facts are considered together, it becomes evident that the tonal scheme of go‘on originally had three tones, that the examples of shang-sheng appeared as a result of tonal changes in the pronunciation used in recitation in Japan, and that there is a possibility that the prototypal sounds of go‘on were not the standard pronunciation of Northern China (Numoto 1982).

C. The Transmission Route of Go‘on-Type Readings
According to Kōno (1979), the tonal scheme of Sino-Korean character readings also exhibits a peculiar correspondence with Middle Chinese. There would seem to be a possibility that this overlaps with the tonal scheme of Japanese go‘on, which lacks the shang-sheng. This means that Japanese go‘on — that is, the pronunciation used when reciting Buddhist scriptures — should be considered to have been the product of an indirect transposition via the Korean peninsula and to have been partially based on Sino-Korean.
II. An Analysis of Materials with Kan'on-Type Readings: Kan'on and Chinese Character Readings of the T'ang Dynasty

1. Diacritic Materials

First, mention may be made of diacritic materials in the form of Confucian texts transmitted by families of hereditary Confucian scholars (hakase 博士), such as the Shūyaku shō 周易抄, Ku-wen shang-shu (Jp. Kobun shōsho) 古文尚書 (with mid-Heian marks), Mao-shih (Jp. Mōshi) 毛詩 (with Heian marks), Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih chuan (Jp. Shunjū Sashiden) 春秋左氏伝 (with mid-Heian marks), Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh (Jp. Shunjū kyōden shikkaï) 春秋經伝集解 (with marks from the Hōen 保延 era), and Lun-yü (Jp. Rongo) 論語 (Kōzanji manuscript). The Ching-tien shih-wen compiled by Lu Te-ming was used in the kundoku of these texts (Niimi 1957). Tone marks appear in these manuscripts, but several different tonal schemes are employed, with six tones in the Shūyaku shō, five tones in the Ku-wen shang-shu, and four tones in the Mao-shih (Numoto 1982).

Next, there are diacritic materials in the form of Chinese historical works and so on transmitted by hereditary hakase families, such as the "Yang Hsiung chuan" (Jp. “Yōyūden”) 楊雄伝 of the Han-shu (Jp. Kanjo) 漢書 (with marks from the Tenryaku 天暦 era), the Shih-chi (Jp. Shiki) 史記 (with marks from the Enkyū 延久 era), and the Kujō 九条 manuscript of the Wen-hsüan (Jp. Monzen) 文選. The character of the Tenryaku marks in the "Yang Hsiung chuan" of the Han-shu has been touched on by Numoto (1986). Worthy of particular note in the kundoku of this Han-shu is the fact that the kana renderings include a considerable number of forms that are not recorded in rhyme dictionaries based on the Ch'ien-yūn, such as 欲 (ユ) [Kuang-yūn 広韻; 余 誠; Yen Shih-ku 顏師古; mortgage], 両 (セイ) and 倭 (クウイ), and this is because reference was made to the notes by Yen Shih-ku included in the main text and to the phonetic glosses in the Han-shu chi-chu 漢書集注, Han-shu yin-i 漢書音義, etc. (Numoto 1982). This method appears to have been traditional in the study of Chinese historical works in Japan, and a
similar method — and therefore similar readings — is also preserved in the Uesugi 上杉 and Matsumoto 松本 Library manuscripts of the Han-shu dating from the Muromachi 室町 period.

Next, there are kunten materials in the form of monks’ biographies transmitted by the Nara sects, such as the Kōfukuji 興福寺 manuscript of the Ta-tz’u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih chuan (Jp. Daijionji Sanzō hōshi den) 大慈恩寺三蔵法師伝 and the Ishiyamadera manuscripts of the Ta T’ang hsi-yü-chi (Jp. Daitō saiikiki) 大唐西域記, Kao-seng chuan (Jp. Kōsōden) 高僧伝 and Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan (Jp. Nankai kiki naihō den) 南海寄帰内法伝. That these texts were read in kan’on may have been due to the form of Chinese transmitted by monks of the Nara sects who visited China around the time of the Nara period, such as Dōshō 道昭, Dōji 道慈 (returned 718), Fushō 普照 (returned 733) and Genbō 玄昉 (returned 735), and by the T’ang monk Chien-chen 鑑真 (arrived 753). A table of readings from the Kōfukuji manuscript of the Ta-tz’u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih chuan has been published by Tsukishima (1967).

Lastly, works by Kūkai 空海, the founder of the Shingon 真言 sect, were also read in kan’on, and these included the Bunkyo hifu ron 文鏡秘府論, Seireishū (Shōryōshū) 性靈集 and Hizō hōyaku 秘藏宝鑑. This was probably rooted in the form of Chinese mastered by Kūkai, which became the source of the subsequent tradition. A table of readings from the Zushoryō manuscript of the Bunkyo hifu ron has been published by Kashiwadani (1965).

2. Chokudoku Materials
Chokudoku materials include the K’ung-ch’üeh ching (Jp. Kujaku-kyō) 孔雀經, Meng-ch’iu (Jp. Mōgyū) 蒙求 and Li-ch’ü ching (Jp. Rishu-kyō) 理趣經. There have been published two tables of readings from a manuscript of the K’ung-ch’üeh ching with marks from Köhei 康平 6 (1063) held by the Department of Japanese Language at the University of Tokyo (Hara 1998, Yi 1999). In addition, a table of readings from the Shōsōin’s 正倉院 Shōgozō 聖語藏 manuscript of the Meng-ch’iu has
been published by Arisaka (1957), while an index to a manuscript from the Chōshō 長承 era has been published by Tsukishima (1990) and a table of readings from the same manuscript has been published by Numoto (1997). Introductory comments on the Közanji manuscript of the Li-ch'iü ching have also been published by Numoto (1983).

3. Characteristics of Kan'on-Type Readings

A. Comparison with Middle Chinese and “Ch'in Pronunciation”

Research on the “Ch'in pronunciation” (ch'in-yin 秦音) of the mid-
T'ang inductively determined on the basis of the phonetic glosses
employed in the I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i 一切経音義 compiled by Hui-lin 慧
琳 (737–820) of the T'ang includes studies by Kōno (1979), Hirayama
(1967b), Mineya (1992) and Ueda (1987). When this ch'in-yin is com-
pared with Japanese kan'on, it is found that there are quite close
 correspondences between the two. Numoto (1997) provides a table that
 makes it possible to compare the ch'in-yin scheme reconstructed by
Kōno (1979) with the readings in the Chōshō manuscript of the Meng-
ch'iü (Tsukishima 1990), and on this basis the main points of agreement
between the two may be listed as follows:

(a) Characters with an initial m- belonging to the hou 侯 rhyme merged
with the mo 模 rhyme. In Japanese kan'on too these characters take
the form of the mo rhyme, being read モ.
(b) Labials of the yu 尤 rhyme merged with the yü 虞 rhyme. In
Japanese kan'on too these characters take the form of the yü rhyme,
being read ユ or ユ.
(c) Some characters belonging to the chia 佳 rhyme merged with the
ma 麻 rhyme. In Japanese kan'on too some of these characters
merged with the ma rhyme and are read ア rather than アイ.
(d) Labials of the yüan 元, yang 陽 and fan 凡 rhymes were partially
delabialized and lost their medial glides, becoming plain syllables.
In Japanese kan'on too these take the form of the plain syllablesアン, アウ and アム respectively.
(e) Characters with an initial m- belonging to the yu 尤 rhyme merged
with the hou 候 rhyme. In Japanese kan' on too these characters are read ボウ, like characters of the hou rhyme.

(f) Partial delabialization was accompanied by the loss of medial glides (Arisaka 1955, Hirayama 1967a). This is clearly reflected in Japanese kan' on too, and there are no examples of characters with a partially delabialized initial being rendered in a form that preserves the medial glide.

(g) Voiced initials were devoiced. This is quite clearly reflected in Japanese kan' on too, where these appear as voiceless initials.

(h) Nasal initials were denasalized. This is reflected in Japanese kan' on too, where they appear in syllables beginning with b-, d-, (g-) and z-. Some have, however, survived in syllables beginning with m- and n-, but these are all syllables with a nasal final (-ŋ, -n, -m), and nasalization is thought to have been delayed on account of reverse assimilation. By “delayed” I mean that in new kan' on they appear for a time in a denasalized form (see Section III below).

Among the above, (f) loss of the medial glide, (g) and (h) are all related to changes in phonetic value, and (f) is only partially reflected in the fan-ch'ieh 反切 of Hui-lin's I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i, while (g) and (h) are not reflected at all. These are thus instances in which the phonetic actualities of ch'in-yin are revealed through a comparison with Japanese kan' on.

B. The Multistratified Nature of Kan' on as Reflected in Its Tonal Scheme

In Chinese, there occurred a phonological change whereby the tone of shang-sheng characters with a voiced initial changed to ch'iū-sheng 去声 ("departing tone"). This change progressed gradually from the early T'ang onwards and was completed by the end of the T'ang. Japanese kan' on can be broadly divided into three groups, depending on the proportion of characters with a voiced initial in which this shift from shang-sheng to ch'iū-sheng has taken place.

(a) Materials in which almost all such characters preserve their original shang-sheng tone: dictionaries and pronunciation guides such as
the Zushoryō manuscript of the Ruiju myōgi shō and Shingon manuscripts of the K'ung-ch'üeh ching.

(b) Materials which contain in roughly equal proportion characters that preserve their original shang-sheng tone and characters that have changed to the ch'ü-sheng tone: manuscripts of the Meng-ch'iu with early marks, diacritic materials of the Hossō 法相 sect such as the Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih chuan with early marks, and diacritic materials in the form of Confucian texts transmitted by hereditary hakase families such as the Shang-shu and Ch'ʻun-chʻiʻu ching-chuan chi-chieh.

(c) Materials with an extremely high proportion of characters that have changed to the chʻiʻu-sheng tone: the Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan with early marks of the Tendai 天台 sect, Shingon manuscripts of the Bunkyo hifu ron with early marks, and diacritic materials in the form of Chinese historical works and so on transmitted by hereditary hakase families such as the Han-shu, Shih-chi and Wen-hsüan.

Thus, by referring to the tonal scheme of kan'on, it can be seen that the current of character readings known as kan'on can be divided into several stages, ranging from the early to the more recent.

III. An Analysis of Materials with New Kan'on-Type Readings: New Kan'on and Chinese Character Readings of the Late T'ang

Character readings that are more recent than kan'on but older than tōin 唐音 are known as “new kan'on” (shin kan'on 新漢音) (Iida 1955). The main materials for these readings are Tendai texts used in liturgical chanting, such as the Hokke senpō 法華懺法, Reiji sahō 例時作法, Fan-wang ching “Hsin-ti-chieh p'ing” (Jp. Bonmō-kyō “Shinjikai-hon”) 梵網経 心地戒品, Tendai daishi gasan 天台大師画讚, Kuhōben 九方便, Goge 五悔, Jen-wang pan-jo ching (Jp. Ninnō-hannya-kyō) 仁王般若経, A-mi-t'o ching and Pa-ming p'u-mi t'o-lo-ni ching (Jp. Hachimyō-fumitsu-daaram-kyō) 八名普密陀羅尼経. Character readings of this type have the follow-
ing characteristics:
(a) Nassal initials were denasalized: 門 (ボン), 孟 (パウ), 明 (ペイ), 寧 (デイ), etc.
(b) Velars of Grade III belonging to the chung 鍾 rhyme have become plain syllables: 恭 (ク), 供 (ク).
(c) Laryngeal finals in the ju-sheng 入声 tone have weakened: 白 (ハイ), 积 (セイ), 釈 (セ).
(d) Laryngeal nasal finals have weakened: 行 (ケイ), 證 (シ), 乘 (シ), 勝 (シ), 称 (シ), 応 (イ).
(e) Characters belonging to the chih 戰 rhyme have become plain syllables: 極 (キク), 識 (シキ), 識 (シク), 憶 (イク), 聰 (イク).

These phenomena may be regarded as a reflection of early changes in the evolution of the northern dialects of the T‘ang into Old Mandarin. These new kan’on are mainly readings that preserve the pronunciation transmitted by the Tendai monk Ennin 円仁, and they are considered to mirror the pronunciation of Chinese at the time of his visit to China (838–847) in the late T‘ang.

Contact between the Japanese and Chinese languages continued with visits to and from China by Zen 禅 monks, starting from around the end of the Insei 院政 period, and this led to the introduction of Old Mandarin, which in turn led to the formation of a stratum of Japanese character readings known as “Sung pronunciation” (sō’on 宋音) and “T‘ang pronunciation” (tō’in). Later, during the Edo 江戸 period, Middle Mandarin was also introduced. Materials preserving these character readings also constitute an important source of material for the study of the historical phonology of Chinese (Hizume 2005), but there is no space to go into further details here.

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