

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* 訓点) 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* 訓読 reading of the text, and they are all essentially *go'on* 呉音 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. *Ōkutsumara-kyō*) 央掘摩羅經 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*) 大般若經, there have survived many manuscripts that preserve straight non-*kundoku* (*chokudoku* 直讀) 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*) 法華經 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-gyō*) 華嚴經, 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. *Chūron*) 中論 (verses), *Chin-kang pan-jo ching* (Jp. *Kongō-hannya-gyō*) 金剛般若經, *Liu-tzu shen-chou-wang ching* (Jp. *Rokuji-jinju-ō-kyō*) 六字神呪王經, *A-mi-t'ō ching* (Jp. *Amida-kyō*) 阿彌陀經, *Wu-liang-shou ching* (Jp. *Muryōju-kyō*) 無量壽經 and *Ta-yün-lun ch'ing-yü ching* (Jp. *Daiunrin-shōu-kyō*) 大雲輪請雨經.

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* 大般若經, there exist the Ishiyamadera 石山寺 manuscript of the *Daihannya-kyō jishō* 大般若經字抄, 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* 法華經音 and the Hōen 保延 manuscript of the *Hokke-kyō tanji* 法華經單字 (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, Kōzanji 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 懷妊 (クワイニン) 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 慙慙 (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-yün* 切韻. Why is this so?

The degree to which *go'on* readings deviate from the phonological scheme of the *Ch'ieh-yün* 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* 候 rhyme in the *Ch'ieh-yün* was /-ǎu/, 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 rhyiming with *hou*.

ウ: 部(ブ), 某(ム), 質(ム), etc.

オ: 母(ボ), 拇(ボ), 斗(ト), etc.

オウ: 剖(ホウ), 鬪(トウ), 逗(トウ), etc.

アウ: 厚(カウ)

イウ: 倫(チウ), 籛(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-wen* 經典積文, 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 shikkai*) 春秋経伝集解 (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 天曆 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'ieh-yün*, such as 欲 (ユ) [*Kuang-yün* 広韻: 余蜀切; Yen Shih-ku 顏師古: 弋樹反], 遲 (セイ) and 巍 (クワイ), 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*) 大慈恩寺三藏法師伝 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 *Bunkyō hifu ron* 文鏡秘府論, *Seireishū* (*Shōryōshū*) 性靈集 and *Hizō hōyaku* 秘藏宝鑰. 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 *Bunkyō 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 Kōhei 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 Kōzanji manuscript of the *Li-ch'ü 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* 一切經音義 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 compared 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'iu* (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* 候 rhyme merged with the *mo* 模 rhyme. In Japanese *kan'on* too these characters take the form of the *mo* rhyme, being read ボ.
- (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 フ or ブ.
- (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 マ 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* 侯 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'ü-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'ü-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'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh*.
- (c) Materials with an extremely high proportion of characters that have changed to the *ch'ü-sheng* tone: the *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan* with early marks of the Tendai 天台 sect, Shingon manuscripts of the *Bunkyō 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") 梵網經心地戒品, *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*) 仁王般若經, *A-mi-t'ō ching* and *Pa-ming p'u-mi t'o-lo-ni ching* (Jp. *Hachimyō-fumitsu-darani-kyō*) 八名普密陀羅尼經. Character readings of this type have the follow-

ing characteristics:

- (a) Nasal initials were denasalized: 門 (ボン), 孟 (パウ), 明 (ペイ), 寧 (テイ), 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), 積 (セイ), 穧 (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* 職 rhyme have become plain syllables: 極 (キク), 識 (シキ), 識 (シク), 憶 (イク), 臆 (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” (*tōin*). 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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