Official Regulations and Unwritten Rules
for Place Name Spellings in 8th to 10th-century Japan
— A Conspectus of their Consequences and Side-effects —

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The paper first attempts to provide an overview over the requirements which place names for official usage had to fulfill in 8th to 10th-century Japan, i.e. both governmental regulations as attested in various historical records as well as unwritten rules, the latter of which have to be deduced from changes in actual usage. Proceeding by the framework defined by these regulations and rules, a variety of examples from extant literature and from wooden tablets, which have been excavated in the near past, are provided. The sample illustrates not only their effects on the official (as opposed to local) renderings of place names but also demonstrates how they contributed to the diversity of the contemporary writing system as a whole.

Place names occupy a prominent position among the earliest written attestations of the Japanese language and especially for the time of Old Japanese (OJ; 7th to 8th century), for which the corpus of extant literary monuments is rather limited. Their significance as sources for the use of writing cannot be underestimated. In fact onomastic data form an integral basis for any serious discussion of the Japanese writing system in its early stages and are indispensable for a comprehensive account of the system. Recent decades have provided scholars with a wealth of new first-hand materials for the study of writing and writing practices in ancient Japan, chiefly in the form of inscribed wooden tablets (*mokkan* 木簡) excavated at numerous places all over the country. A considerable number of these, often tags originally attached to tax goods, contain references to places, often in spellings different from those found in the national histories or other mainstream works.

It is also at this time that place names first became the subject of official regulations demanding them to comply with certain standards as to their length and their choice of graphs. Drawing upon historical records from the 8th to the 10th century, the official side will first be addressed, followed by an investigation into further criteria which, albeit never explicitly formulated in contemporary sources to the best of our knowledge, were commonly met. Faced with the necessity to change existing renderings of place names in such a way as to avoid violations of the newly introduced set of conventions, officials came up with a multitude of ways to do so. It is these efforts to keep the balance between a faithful and sensible representation of a given name and official standards that constitute the main focus of this paper.

1 Official regulations as reflected in early sources

Passages containing explicit statements as to place names and their requirements are scarce and far between in the extant body of early Japanese literature. In fact, no more than three such items can be quoted, all of which have already been brought

to scholars' attention by Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 in his pioneering study of phonographic usage in place names (1800: 1a–1b [1979: 148f.]). They are cited below in full, not to present anything novel, but rather to dispel widespread misconceptions about their actual content.

(I) *Izumo fudoki* 出雲風土記 (733)

The earliest reference to regulations concerning place name spellings is found in the *Izumo fudoki* (Topography of Izumo), one of the few extant gazetteers of the early 8th century. Near the beginning, the work provides an exhaustive list of districts in the province of Izumo. The list, in fact the first passage in this work that comprises place names other than that of the province itself, is followed by the comment

> 右件郷字者、依₌靈龜元年式₋、改レ里為レ郷。其郷名字者、被₌神龜三年民部省口宣₋、改之。[1]   (NKBT II: 96)
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> „As for the character 郷 in the passage to the right: It was changed from 里 to 郷 according to a regulation of the first year of Reiki [≈ 715]. As for the characters [used to render] the names of these villages: They were revised upon an oral order from the Ministry of Popular Affairs in the third year of Jinki [≈ 726]."

The former half testifies to the well-known administrative change from the earlier *kokugunri-sei* 国郡里制 (a system featuring the divisions *kuni* 国 'province' > *gun* [or *kōri*] 郡 'district' > *ri* [or *sato*] 里 'village') to the new *gōri-sei* 郷里制, in which the tripartite division was expanded by one layer: The designation 里 was replaced by *gō* [or *sato*] 郷, whereas *ri* [or *kozato*] 里 came to be used for units of approximately 50 households placed below the 郷.[2] The dating of the change from 里 to 郷 is confirmed by various wooden tablets dating from the early 8th century, as it is exactly in the year 715 that dated exemplars start to carry inscriptions in which 郷 is employed as the designation of villages.

Of greater interest to our present purposes is the latter half, despite its being notoriously unspecific. The ministry's order referred to is never mentioned in any other contemporary work, thus leaving us in the dark as to what exactly its content was. Fortunately, however, we are able to recover the gist of the order by examining the changes in place names in 726 as attested in and commented throughout the *Izumo fudoki*. Referring back to the initially mentioned order, there are numerous passages such as the following, which provide us with valuable insights:

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[1]   Punctuation marks have been added to both quotes from the *Izumo fudoki*, in part following NKBT's *kakikudashibun*. Notes in smaller print are given in normal size and in brackets 〔〕 instead.

[2]   The readings provided here merely reflect current practices and are not to be understood as actual names as they were used in 8th century Japan.

飯石郷　家正東一十二里。伊毗志都幣命天降坐處也。故云ᴗ伊鼻志ᴗ。〔神龜三年、改ᴗ字飯石ᴗ。〕 (NKBT II: 216)

"Village of Ibisi[3] 飯石. [Located] twelve miles due east of the district office. [It] is the place where Ibisitupye no mikoto descended from heaven. Therefore [it] was called Ibisi 伊鼻志. (In the third year of Jinki [≈ 726] the graphs were changed to 飯石.)"

While the oral order is not mentioned explicitly here, there can be little doubt that the revisions in the year 726 are directly related to it. A thorough analysis of the nature of these changes will shed some light on the contents of the ministry's order. Table 1 below summarises the two major changes:

Tab. 1: Characteristics of place names in Izumo before and after 715

	before	after
length	1 to 3 graphs	2 graphs
mixing of phonogram types	yes	no[4]

In effect, the corpus of post-reform place name spellings contains not one single example that mixed the two chief phonogram types in OJ usage or deviated from the standard length of exactly two graphs.[5] These radical and unexceptional changes can hardly be attributed to pure coincidence and it seems plausible to ascribe them

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3   See the discussion of example (35) below for the reasons of not adopting the commonly assumed reading of Ipisi, as well as Ipisitupye, with /p/ instead of /b/ (as in NKBT II: 217, Yoshino 2000: 226, and elsewhere).

4   For a detailed discussion of the alleged counterexample "Situnu 漆沼" as adduced by Okimori (2007: 30) see Osterkamp (2007: 67, 73–75). The spellings 志刀治 and 漆治 given in set (2) are emendations from original 志司沼 and 漆沼 (see NKBT II: 178, n. 1), the former also being rendered as 志{司~々~叒}沼 in the same *fudoki* (NBKT II: 180, n. 4). Suffice it for our present purposes to mention that 治 instead of 沼 is supported by the name's attestations in DNK (II/205, 206 [天平 11 ≈ 739]: 柒治) and WMS[K] (VIII/57a6: 漆治).
By and large, the absence of mixed spellings holds as well for the remaining four of the better preserved gazetteers. For the *Harima fudoki* 播磨風土記 (Topography of Harima), Okimori (2007: 33) notes two instances, but once the doubtful *Urumi 雲潤 is deleted from the list, we are left with the single case of Kaguyama 香山. Interestingly the graph 香 'fragrance' causes ambiguities as not only its MC reading *xjang* justifies sound values like /kagV/, but also some of its trans-lational equivalents such as OJ *ka* 'smell' and *kagupasi* 'fragrant' (also cf. the related word *kag.u* 'to smell', which however is not attested for the OJ period).

5   The two types referred to here are: *ongana* 音仮名 = phonograms with readings derived either directly or indirectly, i.e. via some variety of Sinoxenic, from Chinese, as opposed to *kungana* 訓仮名 = phonograms with sound values based on Japanese translational equivalents (provided in square brackets in this paper). For instances 伊 /°i/ (> *katakana* イ) as an *ongana* draws on the graph's Middle Chinese (MC; given in the notation of Baxter 1992, however replacing <ʔ, æ, ɛ> with <', ae, ea>) reading *'jij*, while 千 /ti/ (> *katakana* チ) as a *kungana* is based on OJ *ti* 'thousand', not on MC *tshen*.

to the ministry's order of 726. For purposes of standardization, one-graph spellings were supplanted as follows:

1   Payasi 林   > 拜志   (NKBT II: 98, 106)   意宇郡
     Yasiro 社   > 屋代   (NKBT II: 102)   意宇郡
     Kamo 鴨   > 賀茂   (NKBT II: 110)   意宇郡 (> 能義郡)
     Tane 種   > 多禰   (NKBT II: 214, 216)   飯石郡
     Pwi 樋   > 斐伊   (NKBT II: 236, 238)   大原郡

In each of the above cases, a single *kungana*, or possibly logogram,[6] is replaced by two phonograms to comply with what one might call the two-graphs rule – i.e. the requirement of place name spellings to be exactly two graphs in length.

On the other hand one can make out efforts to shorten overly long spellings, as exemplified by

2   Sitwozi 志刀治 > 漆治   (NKBT II: 178, 180)   出雲郡
     Midami 三太三 > 美談   (NKBT II: 178, 180)   出雲郡
     Mitwoya 三刀矢 > 三屋   (NKBT II: 214, 216)   飯石郡
     Ibisi 伊鼻志   > 飯石   (NKBT II: 214, 216)   飯石郡
     Kizima 支自眞   > 來嶋   (NKBT II: 214, 216)   飯石郡

It comes to no surprise that there is an increase in so-called *nigōgana* 二合仮名, i.e. disyllabic *ongana* like 拜 /paya/, 漆 /sitwo/ or 談 /dami/, in both sets of post-reform spellings. At the same time a more stringent attitude towards the mixing of the two categories of phonograms seems to have arisen, whereas the older spellings show no sign of reluctance towards mixture – as is obvious from three out of the five cases in set (2).[7] To these the following case can be added:

3   Wedomo 惠伴   > 惠曇   (NKBT II: 152)   秋鹿郡

Here, the *kungana* 伴 /domo/ [*tomo* 'companion'] is replaced by 曇, MC *dom*, to avoid a change in phonogram type after the *ongana* 惠 /we/ (< MC *hwejH*). In fact, MC *dom* was a less than perfect match for OJ /domV/, demonstrating the new spelling's nature of a makeshift solution (more on which below).

It remains in question, however, whether the changes sketched above (or any other changes that can be observed) reflect the oral order directly. Thus, while it appears safe to attribute the two-graphs rule to official regulations as it formulated

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6   At least for onomastic materials, it is often impossible to draw a dividing line between logo-grams and phonograms of the *kungana* type. For ease of reference we may subsume both of them under a common label *kun* (as in *kungana* and *seikunji* 正訓字 'graphs used logographically [in compliance with Chinese usage]').

7   Namely Midami 三太三, Mitwoya 三刀矢 and. Kizima 支自真: 三 /mi/ ['three'], 矢 /ya/ ['arrow'] and 真 /ma/ ['true'] are *kungana*, but 太 /da/, 刀 /two/, 支 /ki/ and 自 /zi/ *ongana*.

unambiguously in the 10th century, at least the attitude towards mixed spellings might be more appropriately treated under the rubric of "unwritten rules".

(II) *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (797)

There is merely one more work from the 8th century that contains an explicit reference to official regulations, viz. the second of the six national histories, the *Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan, Continued). It covers the period from 697 to 791 CE, and thus we find the following entry for the day *jiǎzǐ* 甲子 of the 5th month of the sixth year of Wadō 和銅 (= 30 May 713) in book VI:

> 五月甲子、畿内七道諸国郡郷名、着_好字_。其郡内所ㄑ生、銀銅彩色草木禽獣魚虫等物、具録_色目_、及土地沃塉、山川原野名号所由、又古老相伝旧聞異事、載_于史籍_言上。 (SNKBT XII: 196, 198)

> "Fifth month, [day] *jiǎzǐ*. To the names of districts and villages[8] in the various provinces in the proximity of the capital and in the seven circuits auspicious characters shall be given. Whatever is produced in these districts, things like silver and copper, [minerals used for] painting, herbs and trees, birds and beasts, fishes and insects etc. [shall be] recorded in an inventory in their entirety. The fertility of soil; the origin of the names of mountains, rivers, plains and fields; furthermore unusual happenings of old as transmitted by the elders are to be put into historical records and be reported."

Significant as this passage may be as a record directly concerning the order issued by the government to compile gazetteers in all provinces, it is again little revealing due to its vagueness. The only aspect addressed at all in respect to place names is the choice of graphs to be employed. *Kōji* 好字 'positive graphs', that is, 'graphs (used for words) carrying positive or auspicious meaning'[9] were required to be used, much like today's convention to avoid graphs that are deemed inauspicious by virtue of their meaning – or to be more precise, the meaning of the morphemes they represent – for instance in naming children. It is worth noticing the scope of this order, as only the names of 郡郷 'districts and villages' are explicitly mentioned, but not those of other place names beyond the tripartite system or those of shrines and natural features. This resonates well with the fact that in the extant gazetteers, such as the one of Izumo, names of shrines etc. are not subject to any restrictions.

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8 As pointed out in SNKBT (XII: 197f., note 29), it was not before Reiki 霊亀 1 (≈ 715) that the official denomination for villages was changed from 里 to 郷 (cf. the preceding quote from the *Izumo fudoki*). The reason why the above quote for the year Wadō 6 (≈ 713) has 郡郷 instead of 郡里 for 'districts and villages' is probably simply that the entry was written retrospectively at some later date in the 8th century, when 郷 had long been established.

9 好字 has been rendered as "Namen guter Bedeutung" by von Petersdorff (1931: 4), the actual changes, however, support a literal reading referring to spellings only, not names as such.
The interpretation of 好 as 'positive' is not the only option, cf. Saruta Tomoyuki's 猿田知之 alternative reading as 'proper, suitable' for instance (quoted in Kondō 2004: 73f.). Also see the next footnote.

General and more specialised scholarly literature on the topic is interspersed with claims that the official order quoted above already stipulates the two-graphs rule.[10] This, however, is not the case. Not before the 10th century, when the *Engishiki* (Procedures of the Engi Era; ES) was compiled, do we finally see an explicit reference to it.

(III) *Engishiki* 延喜式 (927)

> 凡諸國部內郡里等名。並用‿二字‿。必取‿嘉名‿。   (ES: 567)
>
> "For all names of districts, villages etc. in the various provinces, two graphs are to be used and auspicious names must be chosen."

Evidently *kamei* 嘉名 'auspicious names' is the equivalent of the term *kōji* found in the *Shoku Nihongi*: Thus Motoori (1800: 1b [1979: 148]) most likely was right in stating that *kamei* also refers to the characters, i.e. the spellings, not necessarily to the place names as such.

With regard to the two-graphs rule finally being documented here in official wording, Motoori (*ibid.*) was likewise right in pointing out that the practise could hardly have been established as late as the 10th century (the time of the *Engishiki*), but rather must already have been in effect from Nara times onwards.[11] A closer scrutiny of the available materials, especially first-hand ones like the multitude of *mokkan*, reveals that the reorganisation and renaming of administrative divisions in 715 was accompanied by changes similar, if not identical, to those attested for 726 in the *Izumo fudoki*. In particular, there is a remarkable decrease in non-digraphic spellings. By and large the same can be said concerning mixed ones. It needs not to be pointed out that a gap of 200 years between the implementation of the two-graphs rule and its first mention casts serious doubts on the ability of the three passages to provide us with a gapless account of all official regulations pertaining to place names up to the early 10th century. On the contrary, the historical records are rather fragmentary in this respect.

In conclusion there exists little substantial first-hand information concerning the standards to which official place names had to comply. Apart from the (subjective and therefore elusive) requirement of using 'auspicious graphs' or 'auspicious names', only the two-graphs rule is ever mentioned, albeit unexpectedly late.

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[10] An exhaustive listing of such claims is beyond the scope of this paper, but see Okimori (2007: 26) for a recent example. Interestingly, however, Ikada (1957: 30) assumed that the notion of *kōji* (evidently interpreted as 'suitable spellings') in many cases already contained the requirement of digraphic length.

[11] With reference to provinces alone possibly even earlier: Ikada (1957: 30) proposed several dates, among which he considered the year 690 to be the likeliest one. Note however that not all *mokkan* data necessarily agree with this view.

2 Unwritten Tendencies

2.1 Avoidance of mixed spellings

As pointed out above, the tendency to avoid mixed spellings is best understood as an unwritten rule which was never explicitly mentioned in contemporary literature, but is an obvious characteristic of Japanese place names starting around the year 715. While it is certainly true that mixed spellings can still be found after that date, they are rare enough to be perceived as exceptional. An important study in this respect is Kudō (1979 [1999]) and it seems worthwhile to quote his statistics for mixed spellings: According to his count (1979 [1999: 153]), the two most important editions of the *Wamyō ruijushō* 和名類聚抄 dating to the 930s, the 1617 print and the late Heian Kōzanji 高山寺 manuscript (henceforth abbreviated as WMS and WMS[K], respectively) together record the names of approximately 3800 villages (or 3500, if identical names and doublets for the same place are subtracted). Among these, he states, there are all in all only about 100 that appear to mix the two phonogram types. Having scrutinised 75 of these, Kudō was not able to resolve a mere 14 cases. The rest he could identify as scribal or other errors, or explain in some other way.

In other words: Mixed spellings are exceedingly rare, even rare enough as to serve as a reliable indicator that an error of some sort is involved. These observations pertain to the situation in early Heian times, but as is well known, the greater part of the WMS place names coincides with those in most common use during the 8th century. It is thus little surprising to find the same tendency of avoiding mixed spellings at that time as well.

But what is behind this unwritten tendency? While this paper is confined to the field of onomastics, the attitude towards mixing of phonogram types needs to be considered in a broader context. It has long been pointed out that at least in the edited literature from OJ times, hardly any instances of phonogram types being mixed at random can be spotted. When mixing occurs at all, it follows certain conventions – for instance, while mixing within a meaningful unit was eschewed, this was not necessarily the case in between units – or contributed to the overall nature of a poem as a piece of art by skilfully adding an extra layer of meaning. Consider for instance the excellent example from poem I/45 of the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves) provided by Yagi (2006: 2), in which *tabi* 'journey' is written as 多日 'many days', rendering a single morpheme by both an *ongana*, 多 /ta/ (< MC *ta*), and a *kungana*, 日 /bi/ [*pi* 'day, sun'].

The situation is vastly different in surviving texts of an ordinary, non-official nature. *Mokkan* serve as invaluable sources on the use of writing since the 7th century as recent scholarship has demonstrated that in many of the everyday texts recorded on them show no real concern for the different types of phonograms (see e.g. Yagi 2004 and 2006 as well as the references therein). Further indications for a lack of efforts to keep *ongana* and *kungana* apart in ordinary usage come from the post-OJ *kana*, which generally do not distinguish between the two in any strict way.

One is tempted to assume that avoidance of mixing was not particular to place names, but rather a universal feature of the writing system as it was used in official contexts.

Since most of the known cases involving mixing from the WMS have already been analyzed by Kudō (1979 [1999]), we will confine ourselves to citing a number of other cases attested on early *mokkan*.

4	Kafana 河名	加波奈	(WMS VI/19b6)	駿河郡廬原郡
	ditto 河名	加波奈	(WMS[K] VI/17a5)	
	Kapana 河名（郷）		(*mokkan*; Heijōkyū, [715–]; HH 19: 21)	
	ditto 川名（郷）		(*mokkan*: Heijōkyō, 735; HH 22: 23)	
	ditto 川奈（五[十?]戸）		(*mokkan*: Asukakyō, [–680s]; MK 18: 39)	

The *ongana* 奈 /na/ was first replaced by the standard *kungana* for /na/, 名 ['name'], resulting in the pure spelling 川名 (for further attestations dated 735 and 736 see HH 31: 40 and 22: 23, respectively). During the course of the 8th century, 川 was then exchanged with the graph 河 (cf. section 2.3 below).

5	Kafuno 甲努	加布乃	(WMS VIII/16b3)	備中国小田郡
	ditto 甲努	加布乃	(WMS[K] VIII/65a2)	
	Kapunwo 甲野（五十戸）		(*mokkan*: Ishigami, [–680s]; AF 20: 31)	
6	Tuto 津門	都止	(WMS VI/9b3)	摂津国武庫郡
	ditto 津門	——	(WMS[K] VI/8b3)	
	Tutwo 津刀（里）		(*mokkan*: Fujiwarakyū, [694–710]; MK 2: 16)	
7	Wasitori 鷲取	和之止利	(WMS VI/15a4–5)	参河国碧海郡
	ditto 鷲取	和之止利	(WMS[K] VI/13b1)	
	ditto 委之取（五十戸）		(*mokkan*: Ishigami, [–680s]; AF 17: 12)	

In (5) the *kungana* 野 /nwo/ ['field'] is replaced, whereas in (6) and (7) it is the *ongana* which are replaced, by the *kungana* 門 /two/ ['gate'] and 鷲 /wasi/ ['eagle'], respectively. In all four cases, it is worth noting that half of the original spellings remain unchanged, i.e. no renderings are introduced that are entirely new.

In some cases it is hard to decide whether a given graph is to be seen as an *ongana,* or possibly as a *kungana* or a logogram. Commonly cited in this respect are the graphs 徳, 得 /toku, toko/ and 福 /puku/ (Classical Japanese [CJ] /fuku/), which seem to co-occur rather freely with both *ongana* and *kungana*, suggesting the existence of naturalized Sino-Japanese loanwords.[12]

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[12] See Kudō (1979 [1999: 149]), Ōno (1962: 454) and Wenck (1954: 231 [§598], 257 [§636– 640]) for examples and discussion.

To this we can add the intriguing case of 匹 (~疋), a graph whose reading *fiki* (modern *hiki*) is notorious for defying univocal classification as either Sino-Japanese (albeit as a so-called *kan'yōon* 慣用音 'customary reading' due to its divergence from MC *phjit* with final *-t*) or native. The latter view, argued for by Unger (1988: 629) and others, as well as a number of monoglot dictionaries, is certainly more convincing. Be this as it may, at least since early Heian times we find examples of an aberrant reading as Sino-Japanese (see Numoto 1986: 111). A similar confusion is evident in the two cases presented below. From its MC reading one would expect to find disyllabic usages for /pitV/ (CJ /fitV/), but no such instances are known.

8	Fikinuma 蟾沼	比木奴萬	(WMS VI/17a8)	遠江国長上郡
	ditto 蟾沼[13]	比支奴末	(WMS[K] VI/15a6)	
	Pikinuma [匹沼?]([五十戸?])		(*mokkan*: Asukakyō, [–680s]; MK 25: 48)	
9	Fikida 疋太	比木太	(WMS VII/11a9)	上野国邑楽郡
	ditto 疋太	比支多	(WMS[K] VII/38a2)	

The latter case is straightforward: The *ongana* 太 /da/ suggests that 疋 /fiki/ was perceived as belonging to the same phonogram type – at least 田 ['paddy'] would have been readily available as an appropriate *kungana*. On the contrary, the use of 沼 /numa/ ['swamp'] in the former cases speaks in favour of a *kungana* reading for 匹 /piki/ ['counter for animals etc.'].[14]

2.2 Avoidance of abbreviated characters

In everyday usage, complex characters that abound in official spellings were sometimes reduced in a short-hand fashion to one element of the original. At least graphically speaking, this took place parallel to the development of *katakana* and to the use of abbreviated *kugyŏl* 口訣 on the Korean peninsula, but seems to be limited to reductions leaving one element – chiefly the phonetic one – of the original character behind in its entirety.[15] Note the following cases, in which the characters with the highest stroke count, 壁 (MC *pek*) and 額 (*ngaek*), are replaced by their respective phonetics, i.e. 辟 (*pjek*, among other readings) and 各 (*kak*).

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[13] For 沼 WMS[K] has variant #3 listed in Yi 2000 (henceforth KTI): 513, #3015.

[14] Albeit irrelevant to the case in point that 疋 /fiki/ is used in an *ongana* context in (9), one might as well as argue that the 7th century 匹沼 represents a mixed spelling.
The later change to 蟾 /fiki/ ['toad'] may be motivated by the semantics of the following graph 沼 'swamp' or otherwise be attributed to the general tendency to use more complex or unusual graphs in official spellings.

[15] Cf. *katakana* ナ /na/ from 奈, MC *naH*, or *kugyŏl* ㆆ /m/ from 音, MC *'im*, for cases in which the result is neither a phonetic nor a full element of the original.

10	Nukata 額田	奴加太	(WMS V/13a2)		参河国
	ditto 各田（評）		(*mokkan*: Ishigami, [–701]; MK 26: 24)		

11	Ofokabe 大壁	於保加倍	(WMS VI/16a9)		参河国渥美郡
	*Opokabye 大辟（里）		(*mokkan*: Heijōkyū, [–714]; MK 16: 11)		
	*Opokabye-bye 大辟部（五十[戸?]）		(*mokkan*: Ishigami, [–714]; MK 26: 23)		

The shorthand spelling in (10) is probably better known from the inscription on an iron sword from the Okadayama 岡田山 tumulus #1.[16] Further attestations are found on *mokkan* from several sites for one or more of the various villages by the name Nukata 額田, usually in the form 各田部(里) (Nukuta-bye) (MK 7: 120 etc.), and in personal names in some of the earlier documents among the DNK (I/9, 22, 29 [大宝 2 ≈ 702] etc.).

2.3 Replacement of common characters by more elevated ones

Albeit not without exceptions and counter-examples, there is a strong tendency at work in place names to avoid all too simple and/or common graphs and to use more complex or elevated ones instead – sometimes even going so far as disregarding discrepancies between original sound values and intended ones.

Consider the syllable /ka/ together with its counterpart with voiced/nasalized initial /ga/, most commonly rendered as follows during the time under consideration: 加 (MC *kae*) and 可 (MC *khaX*) for /ka/, 我 (MC *ngaX*) for /ga/ and finally 賀 (MC *haH*) for both. The former two were already the standard means to render /ka/ in OJ times and remained so for a considerable period, as testified by the *kana* か and カ (both < 加), in use up to the present day, as well as ゕ (< 可), likely the most common *hentaigana* for /ka (~ga)/. What was lacking, however, is a more formal or elevated counterpart to these everyday phonograms for /ka/. Now 賀 is known as a phonogram the sound value of which is hard to decide. While its MC reading *haH* should give /ga/ as the only possible reading, the graph is commonly also used to render /ka/, with voiceless initial. This seems to be especially the case for proper nouns including place names.

To determine the approximate frequency of 加, 可 and 賀 in place names (excluding provinces here) books VI to IX of the WMS were examined, yielding the following results:[17]

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[16] The reason for its appearance on the sword is likely a different one though: Technical difficulties fostered the tendency seen in early inscriptions in metal to avoid overly complicated character forms if at all possible (cf. 为 for 爲 in the well-known Inariyama 稲荷山 inscription [471?]).

[17] As especially the reading of the phonogram 賀 in non-initial position is uncertain in some cases, only instances in initial position – for which voiced/nasalized obstruents were phonotactically unacceptable – were included.

Tab. 2: Place names in WMS beginning with 加, 可 and 賀

| number of instances | 13 | 5 | 61 |
| number of different spellings | 9 | 3 | 15 |

The preference of 賀 over either of the standard phonograms for /ka/ is best demonstrated by the common place names Kami 加美 ~ 賀美 and Kamo 加茂 ~ 賀茂: In the former case the ratio is 4 :: 21, in the latter even 2 :: 27. Making up for 61 out of 79 cases, 賀 was apparently deemed more apt for official usage, presumably owing to its relative complexity and auspicious meaning.

It seems worthwhile in this context to quote the following comment from the WMS concerning the name of a certain district in the province of Kii:

> 那賀〔賀音如鵝〕 (WMS V/24b7)
> „Naga (The reading of 賀 is like that of 鵝 [MC *nga* > OJ /ga/].)"

Whoever added this note, be it Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 himself or some later scribe, he evidently found it necessary – or at least not meaningless – to point out the correct reading of 賀. The comment would hardly make sense were it not for the aberrant sound value /ka/ with which this phonogram was often employed.

3 Consequences / Strategies

In the following, at least a partial answer shall be given to the question arising from the regulations and unwritten rules, namely: In what ways were pre-reform spellings changed or by what kind of rendering were they replaced to comply with these requirements? Since trisyllabic place names were extraordinarily common and quatrosyllabic ones not rare either,[18] it comes hardly as a surprise that scribes faced serious problems in their attempts at keeping the balance between sensible and decipherable spellings and compliance with contemporary official standards.

3.1 Expansion of monographic spellings

3.1.1 Full replacement

In numerous cases an earlier monographic spelling was not altered in any way but rather abandoned altogether. The changes typically concern disyllabic names, as in the following examples:

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[18] Okimori (2007) has prepared lists of the place names recorded in the *fudoki*. Sorted according to syllable count, these lists are useful to gain an impression of their overall distribution.

12	Suki	周吉	——	(WMS V/22a)	隠岐国
	ditto	周吉	——	(WMS[K] VIII/59a5)	
	ditto	周吉（郡）		(*mokkan*: Heijōkyō, 714; HH 27: 20)	
	ditto	次（評）		(*mokkan*: Fujiwarakyū, [–701]; MK 5: 84)	
13	Yasu	野洲	——	(WMS V/16a)	近江国
	ditto	野洲	——	(WMS[K] VII/31a2)	
	ditto	野洲（郡）		(*mokkan*: Heijōkyū [715–]; HH 19: 21)	
	ditto	安（評）		(*mokkan*: Ishigami [–680s]; MK 26: 24)	

In both instances we find the new spelling with monosyllabic *ongana* only from the 8th century onwards. Comparatively rare are cases such as the one cited below, in which a monosyllabic name is involved. Here, the newly introduced rendering is logographic in nature and quite distinct from the kind of renderings dealt with subsequently in section 3.1.2.

14	Yu	溫泉	湯	(WMS V/25b)	伊予国
	ditto	溫泉	——	(WMS[K] IX/75b5)	
	ditto	溫泉（郡）		(*mokkan*: Nagaokakyō, [784–794]; MK 9: 35)	
	ditto	湯（評）		(*mokkan*: Asukaike, [–680s]; AF 11: 13)	

3.1.2 Digraphic renderings (/CV°V/) of monosyllabic names

A considerable number of instances is known in which monosyllabic place names are given digraphic spellings of the form /CV°V/ or /°V°V/, with the second phonogram always standing for an initial-less, i.e. vocalic, syllable /°V/. Unlike the cases of syllable repetition dealt with immediately below, there is no need in these cases to regard the second phonogram as redundant or superfluous. On the contrary there is good reason to assume that these spellings are not solely motivated by the two-graphs rule, but rather reflect the phonetic reality of OJ. It appears that at least the standard language of the time shared a feature with some modern dialects, notably of the Kansai area, in that it had a minimal word requirement of two moras. In the case of monosyllabics – which by definition consisted of one open syllable only and thus were monomoraic – bimoraic word forms were obtained through vowel lengthening. Corroborative evidence suggests that these spellings are anything but phonetically unmotivated make-shift solutions: There are attestations predating the implementation of the two-graphs rule as well as some for names of shrines or natural features, which were unaffected by official regulations.[19]

As a comprehensive list of known cases and a discussion of the significance of such spellings for the phonetic reconstruction of OJ is forthcoming, we will con-

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[19] For further details and references see Osterkamp (forthcoming).

fine ourselves to one straightforward case here; another instance is given in example (44) on page 239 below.

15	Foo 寳飯 [!]	穂	(WMS V/13a3)	参河国
	ditto 寳飰	——	(WMS[K] VI/14a3)	

	P[w]oo 寳飯[20] (郡)	(DNK XXV/79 [天平勝宝 5 ≈ 753])
	P[w]o 穂 (郡)	(*mokkan*: Heijōkyū, [715–]; MK 24: 161)
	ditto 穂 (評)	(*mokkan*: Ishigami, [680s–701]; AF 18: 21)

Note that the original *kun* spelling 穂 ['ear'] is not retained, but a new one is created from scratch, probably to avoid mixing of phonogram types (not a single *kungana* for /°o/ is attested). The later spelling has 飫 /°o/ (< MC *'joH*) to indicate the prolongation of the preceding syllable rendered by 寳 /p[w]o/ (< MC *pawX*).

3.1.3 Repetition of syllables in non-monosyllabic names

Another means of stretching a monographic spelling, reminiscent of *okurigana* or Korean *hyangch'al* 郷札 to a certain extent, was to keep the original intact and simply repeat the last syllable(s) of the name with another – in a sense superfluous – phonogram. Consider the following obvious case:

16	Tuno 角野	都乃	(WMS VII/3b3)	近江国高島郡
	ditto 角野	——	(WMS[K] VII/32b1)	

	Tunwo 角 (里)	(*mokkan*: Ishigami, [–714]; AF 20: 29)

The oldest known attestation 角 allows no other reading but /tunwo/, and there are also mid-Heian period attestations for this spelling (see Ikebe 1966: 343). The reading gloss provided by the WMS does not contradict this, however the spelling next to it does. If taken at face-value, the CJ reading of 角野 would have to be /tunono/, i.e. with an additional syllable identical to the preceding one. In theory, an explanation along the lines of Tuno < Tunono (or Tunwo < Tunwonwo, depending on the dating), i.e. as a case of haplological shortening, would be possible. This option, however, is ruled out by the existence of the older rendering without an additional third syllable. It rather appears that the first spelling 角 was retained, but at the same time a superfluous 野 /no/ (or /nwo/ if in OJ times) was added as filler, copying the second half of the name.

Interestingly the name of a shrine in the same district is attested as Tuno 津野(神社) for the early 10th century (ES: 248). One is left to wonder why the non-mixed digraphic spelling 津野 was not adopted for the place name as well.

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[20] WMS[K] and DNK employ a variant of 飫 close to variant #3 in KTI 1198, #6899. The common confusion of these variants with 飯 (MC *bjonH*) is demonstrated by the WMS, which here uses exactly the same form as it does to render actual 飯 (cf. Ofofi 大飯 [VIII/16b9] etc.).

17   Woka 遠賀   ——   (WMS V/26b2, IX/11b1)   筑前国
     ditto 遠賀   ——   (WMS[K] IX/78a7)

     ditto 遠賀（郡）   (*mokkan*: Dazaifu, [702–]; MK 6: 96)
     ditto 岡賀（郡）   (*mokkan*: Dazaifu, [702–]; MK 6: 96 [3x])
     ditto 岡（郡）   (*mokkan*: Dazaifu, [702–]; MK 8: 99 [2x])

A variety of other renderings are known for the name (see Ikebe 1966: 621), and all of them clearly hint at a reading /woka/, not */wokag[~k]a/, as 岡賀 would. The monographic spelling 岡 /woka/ ['hill'] (possibly originally logographic) is first stretched by adding an additional 賀, which here is clearly intended to stand for the final /ka/ (not /ga/) of Woka. This first resulted in the mixed spelling 岡賀, which in turn was soon replaced by 遠賀, a pure *ongana* rendering in use up to the present day.[21] In this latter step conformity with common phonographic usage, in which no sequence of sounds is rendered more than once, was restored.

18   Kara 韓良   ——   (WMS IX/10b1)   筑前国志摩郡
     ditto 韓良   加良漢知 [sic]   (WMS[K] IX/77a6)

Though the latter half of the gloss in WMS[K] is rather puzzling and defies explanation, the first two graphs, 加良 /kara/, are undoubtedly intended as a reading gloss for 韓良. I follow Kudō's (1979 [1999: 146]) interpretation and regard 良 /ra/ as a phonogram copying the second syllable, which is already written with 韓 /kara/ ['(federation located in the south of the) Korean peninsula']. The original spelling for this place name appears to have simply been 韓, as is testified by the cases cited by Kudō (as well as by Ikebe 1966: 615).

Note that 韓良 constitutes a mixed spelling, which was virtually inevitable since no *kungana* for syllables of the form /rV/ existed. The only other option would have been to resort to a *kungana* for /°Vra/, possibly /°ara/ (i.e. 荒 ['rough']) – something that would hardly have resulted in an easy-to-decode rendering.

The last case to be considered in this section – and one of the few plausible ones that remains – is that of 登利 (another case belonging to the same type will be treated in a different context, see example (43) on page 238 below).[22]

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[21] I.e. Onga-*chō* 遠賀町, Onga-*gun* 遠賀郡 in Fukuoka prefecture. Note that the reading was changed to comply with the usual readings of 遠 and 賀 in standard Sino-Japanese at some point. This is similar to Gunma prefecture coming to be called by its present name, as its original name was Kuruma. It was only much after the spelling 群馬 (glossed in WMS V/17b1–2 as 久 留末) had been introduced that it was misread in standard Sino-Japanese.

[22] The various ambivalent cases of Pata > Fata 幡多 (WMS IX/3a3, glossed 波多, VIII/15a7 in Bizen, IX/10a3 in Tosa, etc.) are excluded here. While 幡 could stand for /fata/ ['flag'], the second syllable of which would then be copied by 多 /ta/, it seems more appropriate to regard both graphs as *ongana*. Despite their distinct readings, 幡 and 播 (MC *phjon* versus *paH*) were evidently considered exchangeable, and thus we also find the spelling 播多 for the WMS 幡多 on *mokkan* (HH 22: 37, 22: 40, MK 5: 11 and HH 22: 40 for the places in Bizen and Tosa

19 ? Torikari 登利 鳥[!]加利 (WMS IX/9b3) 土佐国長岡郡
    Agari 登利 安賀里 (WMS[K] IX/76b2)

If viewed in the same vein as the other examples in this section, 登 could be read /agari/ [*agar.u* 'to ascend']. 利 /ri/ would again be a mere filler repeating the name's last syllable. Whether correct or not, at the very least this seems to be the interpretation underlying the gloss in WMS[K].

Now the WMS provides the gloss 鳥加利, whose initial graph is problematic. Among countless reading glosses for place names in the WMS, 鳥 occurs not even once. A reading /torik[~g]ari/ is unlikely as it requires us to assume a reading gloss consisting of one disyllabic *kungana* and two monosyllabic *ongana* – something virtually without parallel in books V to IX of the WMS.[23] Furthermore, why would one have chosen to render only half of the name as 登利 /tori/ if one had much better options at hand, a *kun* spelling like 鳥狩 for instance?

Assigning to 鳥 the sound value /to/ is problematic as well, as such a *kungana* does also not occur in the WMS glosses and is rare in general. The reading /tokari/ as found in NRCT (XL: 39), for instance, is thus hard to accept.

Ikebe (1966: 610) gives no other attestations and the name does not seem to have survived on any *mokkan* excavated so far either. While hard to decide, the reading indicated in the WMS[K] is certainly preferable, assuming that 鳥 in the WMS gloss is due to a scribal error.

3.1.4 Repetition of monographic rendering
An exceedingly rare way of expanding a given spelling was to repeat the single graph of the original spelling, without however inducing any changes to the reading as a whole. Consider the following case (regrettably, attestations prior to the early 10th century are lacking):

20   Asobu 遊遊 阿曾布 (WMS VII/7a5) 飛騨国荒城郡
    ditto 遊口[24] 阿曽布 (WMS[K] VII/35b3)

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respectively). Furthermore, unambiguous instances of 幡 /fa/ are provided by several places called Fara 幡羅 (WMS V/14b7, glossed as 原, VIII/19b2, IX/4b3, 5a6, all glossed as 波良, etc.) among others. The remaining candidate is an isolated 幡田 in WMS (VI/33a6), which however lacks further attestations (cf. Ikebe 1966: 319) or other early indicators as to its reading.

[23] The only almost analogous case would be Tatibana 立花, glossed in obvious allusion to the official spelling as 多知花 (WMS IX/7b6). In the remaining relevant books, disyllabic *kungana* (or presumably logograms in part) are always used in isolation (WMS V/12a9, 13a6, 14b7, 14b8 etc.). The same is true for trisyllabic *kungana*, i.e. the one in V/25a6–7.

[24] 遊 is a variant form of 遊 (cf. KTI: 1084, #6245, variant #2). 口 appears to be a misinterpretation of 々 or some other repetition mark. While the usage of such a symbol is conceivable in cases like the one under consideration here, it remains doubtful as to whether official spellings up to the time of the WMS ever contained repetition marks at all. All cases from the WMS with

A single 遊 /asobu/ ['to amuse oneself'] was sufficient to render the name in its entirety, the second instance of the character was therefore degraded to a mere filler.

3.1.5 Addition of a non-identical unread graph

In a fashion similar to the previous case, some spellings were expanded by adding an unread character, albeit this time not one identical to the original graph. The following names of provinces are prominent cases of this kind:

21	Idumi 和泉	以都三	(WMS V/8b2–3)
	Tu 攝津	———	(WMS V/8b3)

泉 /°idumi/ ['spring'] and 津 /tu/ ['harbor, ferry'] (originally most likely logograms) were sufficient to render the names and where used as such at first. To comply with the two-graphs rule, however, unread characters were prefixed in allusion to the government offices Settsushiki 摂津職 and Izumigen 和泉監 (for a thorough treatment of both names see Ōno 1962: 808–810 and 810–812, respectively). Possible additions to these apparently do not exist.[25]

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apparent 々 are problematic: 幡々 (VI/25b3), 美々 (VI/27b6), 伴々 (VII/13b4) correspond to monographic 幡, 美 and 伴, respectively, in WMS[K] (VI/22a2, 23b5, VII/40b7) and lack other attestations to help determine which variant is correct (Ikebe 1966: 283, 292, 390). 礒々 (VI/30b9) is likewise given as 礒 in WMS[K] (VI/26b4), but as Ikebe (1966: 691, n. 61) has pointed out, some of the Edo period woodblock prints have 礒田 instead (cf. for instance VI/26a13 in the Jōkyō 貞享 5 [≈ 1688] print). Finally, 々 in 蔓々 (VIII/12a8) for Fafuda is beyond doubt an error for 田 as becomes clear from the rendering 蕚田 in the WMS[K] (VIII/61a3) and all other evidence available (see Osterkamp 2007: 41, 45, for details).

For rather unusual repetition marks functionally equivalent to 々 from the OJ period compare 再 'again' in *Man'yōshū* X/2228 or 又 'further(more)' (rendered in Japanese as *mata*, which also carries the meaning of 'again') as found in the name Tatari 田又利 in the *Harima fudoki* (NKBT II: 277).

[25] Yu 湯泉 (WMS VIII/9a8, glossed 由) with its seemingly mute 泉 appears to be an exception at first glance. It is however reminiscent of the various Yu 溫泉 in WMS (VIII/4b9: 由, also IX/8a6, 18a5), and combined with Ikebe's (1966: 500) mention of an attestation dating from the very end of the Heian period (which has 溫泉 instead), 湯 is probably best regarded as a mere error for 溫.

The WMS (VII/20a5) gloss 平加 /woka/ for 岡本 implies a mute 本, whereas 平加毛止 /wokamoto/ as the corresponding gloss in the WMS[K] (VII/46a1) demonstrates beyond doubt that little more than the erroneous omission of the latter half of the gloss is involved here.

Ike 池郷 (WMS VII/8a2: 以介) cannot count as an example here either, as 郷 corresponds to nothing in the reading gloss simply because it is not an actual part of the name, but rather the administrative unit that was added here to avoid a monographic spelling in the WMS. Cf. 林郷 (VIII/17a3) and 奈郷 (IX/2a9) for possible parallels.

3.2 Compression

The most common means to squeeze a given name into the rather tight corset defined by the two-graphs rule was to use phonograms with non-monosyllabic sound values or to omit one or more syllables altogether in writing – or, as in some cases, to do both at the same time. These will be dealt with immediately below. (Additionally cases featuring full replacement of a spelling will be found in examples (31) and (32).)

3.2.1 Di- and sesquisyllabic phonograms

The need to render as much of a name as possible with a single phonogram in the case of longer names led to a steep increase in the use of polysyllabic phonograms. Cases involving *kungana* commonly resemble the one given below:

22   Ifofara 廬原   伊保波良   (WMS V/13b5)   駿河国

      Ipopara 廬原（郡）   (*mokkan*: Heijōkyō, 735; HH 31: 40)
      ditto 五百原（郡）   (*mokkan*: Heijōkyō, [702–]; HH 22: 23)

Here 廬 /°ipo/ ['hermitage'] serves as a substitute for the two graphs 五 /°i/ ['five'] and 百 /po/ ['hundred'] in the original. The result is a pure *kun* spelling. The rendering of the name as a whole suffers no loss.

Of greater interest, however, are the legions of disyllabic *ongana* fostered by the reforms. While *nigōgana* were not absent altogether from OJ phonography prior to that time, much is owed to exactly these reforms when it comes to the diversity attested here. A number of examples have already been given, i.e. above in reference to the *Izumo fudoki*, and more will follow in the remainder of this paper. A brief overview of the attested correspondences between MC coda consonants (including semi-vowels) and sound values in OJ will suffice here.[26]

Tab. 3: Types of disyllabic *ongana* by MC coda consonants

MC	OJ	graph / MC reading	example (OJ)
-p	*-pV*	甲 *kaep*	Ayukapa 愛甲
-t	*-tV*	乙 *'it*	Otokuni 乙訓
-k	*-kV*	作 *tsak*	Sakura 作良
-m	*-mV*	南 *nom*	Namyesa 南佐
-n	*-nV*	信 *sinH*	Sinanwo 信濃
	-dV	丹 *tan*	Tadipi 丹比
	-rV	群 *gjun*	Pyeguri 平群

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[26] For attestations, references and discussion of all of the examples cited in Tab. 3 as well as many more see Osterkamp (2007).

-ng	*-gV*	相 *sjang*	Sagaraka 相楽
-w	*-wV*	早 *tsawX*	Sawara 早良
-j	*-yV*	拜 *peajH*	Payasi 拜師

Finally there is at least one indisputable case for sesquisyllabic *ongana* rendering either one full syllable plus the initial of another one (/CVC-/) or the opposite, i.e. the final vowel of one syllable followed by a full syllable (/-VCV/). See the discussion of Sayopu 最邑 on page 235 below for details.

3.2.2 Omissions of phonograms / syllables

For some straightforward cases which evidently underwent compression through omission, consider the following two place names:

23   Tiburi 知夫   ——   (WMS V/22a9)   隠岐国
     ditto 知夫（郡）——   (WMS VIII/10a4)

     ditto 知夫（郡）   (*mokkan*: Heijōkyū, 723 or 735; HH 3: 5)
     ditto 知夫利（郡）   (*mokkan*: Fujiwarakyū, [702–]; MK 5: 85)
     ditto 知夫利（評）   (*mokkan*: Fujiwarakyū, [–701]; MK 5: 85)

The full name, which is still seen in today's name of Chiburijima 知夫里島, was originally rendered as 知夫利 using standard phonograms for /tiburi/. Presumably around 715, 知夫利 was shortened to 知夫 to give the new official spelling (often alternatively written 智夫). There is no way to read 夫 (MC *bju*) as /buri/. The omission of a phonogram for /ri/ is thus self-evident.

24   Fatukasi 羽束   波豆賀之   (WMS VI/1b6)   山城国乙訓郡
     ditto 羽束   波津加之本用羽束志三字 (WMS[K] VI/2a1–2)
                     "Fatukasi. Originally [one] used the three graphs 羽束志 /fatukasi/."

Here, 羽 and 束 cannot but act as *kungana* for /fa/ ['feather'] and /tuka/ ['bundle'], respectively, which leaves the fourth syllable of the WMS reading gloss 波豆賀之 /fatukasi/ unrepresented. Fortunately in this case the WMS[K] comment confirms the likely assumption that a graph to render /si/ (志) was omitted. The full spelling is also attested in the last instalment of the six national histories, the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 of 901 (Veritable Records of Three Reigns of Japan; see III [貞観 1/IX/8]).[27]

At times the omission of syllables at the level of official spellings spreads to the level of pronunciation, thus resulting in reading pronunciations that lack the syllable(s) without phonographic representation. Above we have seen the case of Fatukasi 羽束 in Yamashiro, and there can be no doubt that Fatukasi 羽束 in Settsu is to be explained along the same lines.

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[27]   For more variant spellings and their attestations, some with explicit /si/, see Ikebe (1966: 121f.).

25	Fatukasi 羽束	波都加之	(WMS VI/9b5)	摂津国有馬郡
	ditto 羽束	波都加之	(WMS[K] VI/8b4)	

Of greater interest, however, is the fact that this imperfect spelling later gave rise to the reading pronunciation Fatuka, which is attested in the Heian period *Izumi Shikibu-shū* 和泉式部集 (Izumi Shikibu Collection), for instance (see the quote in Ikebe 1966: 198).

An even more striking case is the one of Adatara > Adati:

26	Adati 安達	安多知	(WMS V/18a6)	陸奥国
	? Adatara ~ Adati 安達		(*mokkan*: Ichikawabashi, [~800?]; MK 18: 128)	

While the inscription of the *mokkan* consists of nothing more than the two graphs 安達, there is little room for doubt that it refers to the place in question,[28] as the site Ichikawabashi 市川橋 is exactly where the provincial office of Mutsu 陸奥 was located in the 8th century. As all dated *mokkan* from this site are from around the year 800, the spelling 安達 may be assumed to have existed at least from early Heian times onwards.

The central question, however, is how 安達 was read – or was intended to be read – at the time it came into use. At least for the 10th century the answer would be rather simple: the WMS has straightforward 安多知 /°adati/ and this reading is confirmed by contemporary works such as *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Japanese Poetry Old and New; ca. 913; see poem XX/1078 therein). Doubts as to the antiquity of this form of the name arise, however, when we take a closer look at earlier sources, such as the *Man'yōshū*, which refers to the same place as Adatara instead (e.g. in VII/1329 and XIV/3437), for instance.[29]

達 (MC *dat*) could equally well render /data/ or /dati/, just as any other sequence of syllables of the structure /datV/. There is next to no way, however, to render a quatrosyllabic name like Adatara in two phonograms only.[30] One solution would suggest itself: The original name was Adatara, which became rendered as 安達 around the year 800 at the latest. Within the following one hundred years, knowledge as to the intended reading must have been lost, thus giving room for the re-interpretation of 安達 as standing for Adati, the form attested from the early 10th

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[28] Even though the status as a district was not reached any earlier than 906, as it seems (see Ikebe 1966: 391), this does not mean that the name as such was not already in use.

[29] Apart from the fact that "both" places are given as being part of Mutsu, hints as to their identity can also be found in the frequent references to famous bows made from spindle trees. Earlier instances have Adatara as their place of origin; those from Heian times onwards have Adati instead.

[30] Another, admittedly rather far-fetched, way of interpreting 安達 would be as follows: 安 (MC *'an*) is a makeshift solution for /°ada/, whereas 達 is responsible not for the middle two syllables of Adatara but rather the last two. Cf. the isolated case of Utari 宇達, attested only once in the *Harima fudoki* (NKBT II: 284) and discussed in Osterkamp (2007: 194f.).

century onwards. Adati was not unheard of as a place name at the time (cf. the district of that name in Musashi province, albeit spelled differently: 足立).

Eventually there are cases in which one finds both: Disyllabic phonograms as well as syllables omitted in writing. Needless to say, such a combination is prone to occur with unusually long names, as for instance that of Adipatima > Adifatima:

27   Adifatima 安八 ——   (WMS V/16b3)   美濃国

    Adipatima 安八(郡)   (*mokkan*: Heijōkyō, [715–]; MK 20: 40)
    ditto 安八麻(評)   (*mokkan*: Asukakyō, [–701]; MK 25: 48)
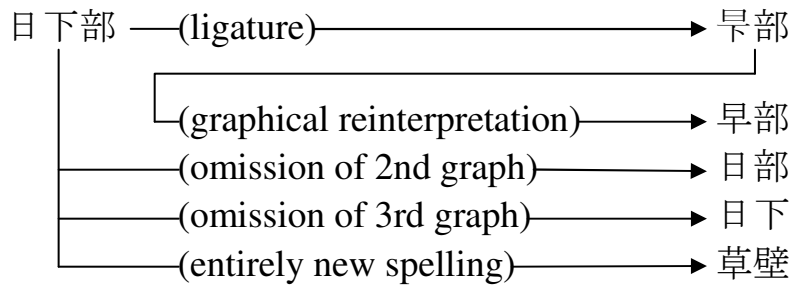   *ditto* 味蜂間(郡)   (*mokkan*: Fuziwarakyū, [702–]; MK 11: 32)

The WMS spelling 安八 (MC ’*an* and *peat* respectively) implies a reading of the form /°a(n[~r~d]V)patV/, but from the other attestations cited above it is obvious that this is an abbreviated form of earlier 安八麻, with 麻 as an *ongana* for /ma/ being omitted. Definite indicators as to the actual reading of 安八麻, and thus the full form of this place name are provided by a variant spelling unrelated to 安八(麻) and similar ones: 味蜂間, consisting of *kungana* for /°adi/ [‘flavour’], /pati/ [‘bee’] and /ma/ [‘interval, space’] (see DNK I/1 [大宝 2 ≈ 702] and VII/1 [和銅 2 ≈ 709] for further attestations). The sound values of 安 and 八 can therefore be restored as /°adi/ and /pati/, the former showing the somewhat rare but nevertheless attested correspondence between MC *-n* and OJ *-dV*.[31]

In effect 安八 thus consists of two disyllabic *ongana*, while at the same time the final phonogram to render the last syllable /ma/ has been omitted. No matter how hard officials may have tried, it was simply impossible to render a name as lengthy as Adipatima in full using two phonograms only. This would require a trisyllabic *kungana* for either /°adipa/ or /patima/, but no word of either shape ever existed.

3.2.3 Ligatures

Merely one isolated case is known in which an original trigraphic spelling is shortened by combining the first two graphs into one, much like the ligature 麿 /maro/, used to render the common element *(-)maro* in OJ male names, was formed from the standard phonograms 麻 /ma/ and 呂 /ro/. The name in question in its full form is Kusakabye (> CJ Kusakabe) 日下部 and is well attested from OJ times onwards for a variety of places throughout Japan. It is probably only by virtue of its commonness that we find no less than four different ways of how this spelling was altered to comply with the two-graphs rule:

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[31] While little more than a makeshift solution in a sense – MC lacked voiced obstruent codas like *-d* –, the fact that MC *-n* is used for OJ *-d* in several instances but MC *-t* never, is easily understood in the context of prenasalization of voiced obstruents at that time. Since /t/ and /d/ were presumably *[t] and *[ⁿd] phonetically, it is conceivable that /n/ *[n] was deemed a better match for /d/.

日下部 ——(ligature)——————————————▶ 旱部

　　　┌——————————————————————┐

　　　└(graphical reinterpretation)——————▶ 早部

　　(omission of 2nd graph)——————————▶ 日部

　　(omission of 3rd graph)——————————▶ 日下

　　(entirely new spelling)——————————▶ 草壁

The most interesting case among the above, the one of compression by means of introducing a ligature, is mentioned *en passant* by Kudō (1979 [1999: 144]). Unfortunately he did not specify which place exactly he had in mind, so one can only assume it was the following:

28　Kusabe[32] 日部　久佐倍　　　　　(WMS VI/7b5)　　　　　和泉国大鳥郡
　　ditto 旱部　　　久散倍　　　　　(WMS[K] VI/7a3)

While the WMS gives 日部, i.e. the spelling with the second graph omitted, which is also attested otherwise,[33] WMS[K] has 旱部 with 旱 as an evident ligature of 日 on top of 下. Owing to its close resemblance to the common character 早, at least some scribes seem to have reinterpreted 旱部 as 早部:

29　*Kusakabe 日下部 ——　　　　　(WMS VI/33a4)　　　　　常陸国那珂郡
　　ditto 早部　　　　　——　　　　(WMS[K] VI/29a2)

　　*Kusakabye 日部（郷）　　　　　(*mokkan*: Heijōkyū, 760; MK 7: 121)

Interestingly, the WMS gives the untouched trigraphic spelling here, whereas a 9th century *mokkan* has yet another spelling. It appears characteristic of all these places deriving from Kusakabye 日下部 that their names surface in various forms and spellings.

Compression by omission of the third graph is illustrated by the following case, the only one of its kind to be glossed in the WMS or WMS[K]:[34]

30　Kusakabe 日下　苦左加部　　　　(WMS VIII/6a9-b1)　　　伯耆国河林郡
　　ditto 日下　　　——　　　　　(WMS[K] VIII/55b6)

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[32]　The reading gloss provided in both works is rather unexpected. It is beyond doubt, however, that /ka/ had originally been part of the name, as numerous variant renderings of the name with overt phonograms for /ka/ such as 加, 迦 or 香 exist (see Ikebe 1966: 181).

[33]　There are four more places spelled thus in both the WMS (VI/14b7, 30a1, VIII/5b3, 5b7) and WMS[K] (VI/13a2, 25b4, VIII/55a3, 55a5), all of which are unglossed however. See Ikebe (1966: 232) for further attestations and spellings of the first one.

[34]　Two more unglossed cases are found in WMS (VIII/7a3, 15a8) and WMS[K] (VIII/56a5, 63b5), the latter of which is also attested written as 草壁 in later times (see Ikebe 1966: 535).

Finally, the last of the strategies listed above, incidentally the only one besides the ligature that preserves all four syllables of the original name in writing, is to abandon the spelling 日下部 altogether and render the name by means of two disyllabic *kungana* instead, namely 草 /kusa/ ['grass'] and 壁 /kabe/[35] ['wall']:

31   Kusakabe 草壁 久佐加倍   (WMS VIII/16b2)   備中国小田郡
      ditto 草壁   久佐加へ   (WMS[K] VIII/65a1)

      Kusakabye 日下部（郷）   (*mokkan*: Heijōkyū, [715–]; HH 19: 24)
      ditto 日下部（里）   (*mokkan*: Fujiwarakyū, [702–714]; MK 27: 25)

Both attestations that still have the full original spelling 日下部 date from the early 8th century, leaving the approximately two centuries between them and the WMS in obscurity. Regardless of exactly when the change took place, the data at hand at least help to establish a connection between 日下部 and its derivates on the one hand and 草壁 on the other. For the latter we also find a small number of other instances, albeit without attested variants of the 日下部-type:

32 a Kusakabe 草壁 久左加倍   (WMS IX/11b8)   筑前国嘉麻郡
      ditto 草壁   ——   (WMS[K] IX/78b4)

   b Kusakabe 草壁 ——   (WMS IX/14a1)   筑後国山門郡
      ditto 草壁   ——   (WMS[K] IX/80a7)

3.3 Makeshift solutions

Makeshift solutions considered in this section are confined to cases in which efforts are observable to render as much as possible of a given name, not however without allowing for certain deviations from common phonographical practice. Specifically, cases involving the opposition of (1) A/B type vowels (/-i, -ye, -wo/ as opposed to /-wi, -e, -o/) or different vowels in general as well as (2) voiceless versus nasalized/voiced obstruents are scrutinised.

3.3.1 Discrepancies in regard to vocalism

33   Sofu no kami 添上 曾不乃加美   (WMS V/10b5)   大和国
      Sofu no simo 添下 曾不乃之毛   (WMS V/10b5)

      Sopu no kami 曽布上（郡）   (*mokkan*: Fujiwarakyū, [702–714]; MK 3: 18)
      Sopu 所布（評）   (*mokkan*: Fujiwarakyū, [–701]; MK 5: 81)

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[35] Sound value given as contemporary to the original WMS. The OJ predecessor of CJ *kabe* 'wall' is not attested phonographically, but was most likely of the shape **kabye*.

Both 所布 and 曽布 unmistakably write /sopu/, while 添 implies /swopu/ ['to accompany, be next to'] instead in its many attestations from the 8th century (cf. MK 14: 11, HH 28: 3 etc. for 添上 or MK 9: 117, 17: 162 etc. for 添下).[36] What has happened here is this: Sometime around the turn of the century the district Sopu was divided into two new ones, an upper one and a lower one. To keep the two districts apart in writing, 上 and 下 cannot be dispensed with, as with numerous other place names, including those of a number of provinces. In other words: Under the two-graphs rule there is only a single slot left to render the full name before the split. As no word *sopu was available in OJ to make possible a *kungana* for /sopu/, the next-best match, /swopu/ was chosen instead.

It is important to note that different vowels are not mixed up randomly here, but rather consciously as a last resort. Nothing here pertains to vagueness in phonographic usage in the strict sense.

The following case of Sayopu receives a cogent explanation in the same way:

34	Sayopu 狹結	——	(WMS VIII/8b1)	出雲国神門郡
	ditto 狹結	——	(WMS[K] VIII/57b2)	
	ditto 狹結		(NKBT II: 204)	
	ditto 最邑		(NKBT II: 200, 204)	

According to the *Izumo fudoki* the place in question was named after a person by the name Sayopu 佐與布 (NKBT II: 204). As there is no other reading possible here, this name provides a solid foundation for further considerations. 最邑 appears to have been the first spelling used for the place name, up to the year 726. Neither 最 /say(V)/ (< MC *tswajH*) nor 邑 /°op(V)/ (< MC *'ip*) can render two full syllables of the name, but by joining the coda of the first with the vocalic nucleus of the second, a spelling is created that leaves no syllable unaccounted for, each phonogram corresponding to one and a half syllables: /say-/ plus /-opu/. Admittedly, such a spelling was rather unusual for OJ standards. It is therefore unsurprising that it was replaced in 726.

The new spelling, consisting of 狹 /sa/ ['narrow'] plus 結 /yupu (~ywopu)/ ['to tie up'], appears to write *Sayupu or *Saywopu at best, but not *Sayopu. Instead of assuming an unmotivated change in name (not spelling) or bring forth the hypothesis that a third reading /yopu/ is possible for 結 here (see Ōno 1962: 983f. for both), it is far more appropriate to point out that /yopV/ is impossible to render using one phonogram only, regardless of its type. With its apparent reading /sayupu/ the rendering 狹結 is as close as one could get with a not too unusual digraphic

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spelling. The name itself was certainly not affected by all this, at least not at first and as long as the original form behind the spelling was generally known.[37]

For another example involving entirely different vowels, namely intended /-[w]o/ versus apparent /-u/, see example (47) on page 239 below.

3.3.2 Discrepancies in regard to voicing

Less common are makeshift solutions involving the voicing (or rather nasalization) opposition. Consider the following *kun* case:

35	Ibisi 飯石	——	(WMS VIII/8b4)	出雲国飯石郡
	ditto 飯石		(NKBT II: 214, 216)	
	ditto 伊鼻志		(NKBT II: 214, 216)	

At first sight 飯石 appears to stand for /°ipisi/ < 飯 /°ipi/ ['steamed rice'] plus 石 /°isi/ ['stone']. However, as already quoted on page 215, the place is said to be named after Ibisitupye no mikoto 伊毗志都幣命. Both 毗 (MC *bjij*) and 鼻 (MC *bjijH*) speak in favour of a reading with /bi/, all pre-reform evidence thus hints at a name of the form /°ibisi/, not /°ipisi/.

The solution to this contradiction is rather simple: It is impossible to render the sequence /°ibisi/ in two phonograms only, as no appropriate means are available, be it *kungana* or *ongana*. Therefore, it was apparently decided to use a spelling that implies a sound-value as close to the intended one as possible.

Thus, while at first glance one might be inclined to take 飯石 at face-value and assume that it stands for /°ipisi/ – which of course leaves us with an unexplained change in name –, all other pieces of evidence clearly show that 飯石 is nothing more than a makeshift solution to render the unchanged form /°ibisi/. There was merely no better alternative at hand as long as one had to stay within the limits defined by the two-graphs rule.

4 Official versus local spellings

It is hardly surprising that place name spellings that predate the regulations' taking effect are commonly not in agreement with them. There are in fact also various examples from a much later date which still disregard the known official requirements, just as they ignore the remaining unwritten rules. An especially interesting corpus of examples is found in local spellings, designated as such in Heian period sources like the WMS. Consider the following data:

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[37] For a thorough treatment of this case, including a critical assessment of several of the interpretations brought forth so far, see Osterkamp (2007: 264–276).

36   Sima 志摩   國用島字   (WMS IX/21a6)   大隅国囎唹郡
                        國用嶋字   (WMS[K] IX/86b5)
                        "In the province [one] uses [the single] graph 島[~嶋] /sima/."

Comprising exactly two graphs and employing one type of phonograms only (here: *ongana*), 志摩 is a perfectly normal spelling. The case is different, however, for 島 (~嶋), which violates the two-graphs rule and was thus unacceptable for official usage. And yet, on a local level however things were apparently less stringent, which is why 島 (~嶋) was chosen (or retained?) as a sub-official but certainly more intuitive and common way to render a name like Sima.

Presumably the local spellings in most cases are older than their official counterparts as given in the WMS, whereas the latter are likely to be more recent, i.e. created in reaction to and therefore no earlier than the early 8th century reforms.[38] Corroborative evidence for regarding local spellings as retentions rather than innovations can be found in the form of identical pre-reform renderings. Thus for Sima we find:

37   Sima 志摩   ——   (WMS VI/13b9)   尾張国海部郡

      ditto 志摩（郷）   (DNK XXV/142 [天平勝宝 5 ≈ 753])
      ditto 嶋（里）   (*mokkan*: Heijōkyū, [702–714]; MK 24: 159)
      ditto 嶋（里）   (*mokkan*: Heijōkyō, [702–714]; MK 9: 16)

38   Sima 志摩   ——   (WMS V/26b1)   筑前国

      ditto 嶋（郡）   (DNK I/97 [大宝 2 ≈ 702])

It seems safe to assume a similar line of development also in this case, i.e. an original spelling 島 (~嶋), which was replaced by 志摩 around the year 715. While the latter became the official rendering, the former monographic one became restricted to local use.

At times the coexistence of official and local spellings appears to have led to considerable confusion, as strikingly demonstrated by the case of Misu. Whereas WMS[K] gives 美箐 as the official spelling and adds that locally 三須 was used instead, WMS obviously misinterprets the two renderings to represent *separate* villages and thus sets up a superfluous second entry for the very same name.

39 a Misu 美箐[39]   ——   (WMS VIII/15b4)   備中国窪屋郡
      ditto 美箐   國用三須 [sic] (WMS[K] VIII/64a2)
                        „In the province [one] uses [the spelling] 三須 /misu/."

   b Misu 三須   ——   (WMS VIII/15b4)

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[38] But see the case of Misu immediately below, which suggests that sometimes both the official and local spelling are in fact younger than another, third variant.

[39] Both have 箐, usually a variant of 箐, here however used for (or confused with) 簀.

Interestingly, both spellings quoted above show an unexpected mixture of *on-* and *kungana*: 美 /mi/ (< MC *mijX*) plus 簀 (= 簣) /su/ ['bamboo mat'] and likewise 三 /mi/ ['three'] plus 須 /su/ (< MC *sju*). It is suggestive that the oldest known attestation for this name, and as it seems the only one dating from the 8th century, has 御簀(郷)[40] (DNK II/250 [大宝 11 ≈ 711]) with 御 /mi/ ['honorative prefix'] plus 簀 /su/ instead. Whether the two mixed spellings are both of younger age and therefore from times with less stringent views on the mixing of phonogram types cannot be answered at present. What is clear, however, is the fact that they were in use for one and the same place, not two different ones.

4.1 Local spellings violating the two-graphs rule

Most of the designated local spellings resemble the case of Sima quoted above in that they do not fulfil the requirement of digraphic length, but rather consist of only one graph or as much as three.

4.1.1 Monographic spellings
Further examples for the former type of one graph only comprise:

40	Kami 賀美	——	(WMS VIII/12a7)	播磨国多可郡
	ditto 賀美	國用上字	(WMS[K] VIII/61a2)	

"In the province [one] uses [the single] graph 上 /kami/."

41	Naka 那珂	——	(WMS VIII/12a7)	播磨国多可郡
	ditto 那珂	國用中字	(WMS[K] VIII/61a2)	

"In the province [one] uses [the single] graph 中 /naka/."

Several *mokkan* from Heijōkyō write 中(郷) (MK 12: 13, HH 22: 37, 24: 38), again hinting at the local spelling being a retention rather than innovation. Another one (dated 737) from the same site already has 那珂(郷) (HH 31: 30).

42	Simo 資母	——	(WMS VIII/12a7)	播磨国多可郡
	ditto 資母	國用下 [sic]	(WMS[K] VIII/61a2)	

"In the province [one] uses [the single graph] 下 /simo/."

43	Kusiro 釧代	久之呂	(WMS VIII/16a4)	備中国下道郡
	ditto 訓[!]代	久之呂國釧字[41]	(WMS[K] VIII/64b3)	

"Kusiro. In the province [one uses] the graph 釧 /kusiro/."

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[40] Ikebe (1966: 526) gives it as 御箐郷. The choice between 箐 (~箐) and 簀 is irrelevant for our present purposes however.

[41] I follow Ikebe (1966: 540) in assuming the omission of the character 用 after 國.

釧代, made up from 釧 /kusiro/ ['a kind of bracelet'] plus 代 /siro/ ['substitute'], is one of the rare cases in which a monographic spelling was expanded by means of rendering a syllable or sequence of syllables twice (cf. section 3.1.3). No penta-syllabic reading like */kusiros[~z]iro/ is implied here.

訓代 appears to be a mixed spelling, but even if a sound value /ku/ for 訓 (expected: /kun[~r~d]V/, cf. MC *xjunH*) cannot be ruled out entirely, 訓 is probably best regarded as an error for 釧, as attested in the WMS.

44	Te 弟翳	勢[!] /se/	(WMS VIII/16a5)	備中国下道郡
	ditto 弟翳	弓 國用手字	(WMS[K] VIII/64b4)	

"Te. In the province [one] uses [the graph] 手 /te/."

The WMS reading, based on the interpretation of 弟 as /se/ ['husband, brother, dear etc. (term of address used by women)'], appears to be conjectural.

45	Futi 敷智	國用淵字	(WMS VII/2a2)	近江国野洲郡
	ditto 敷智	國用渕字	(WMS[K] VII/31a2)	

"In the province [one] uses [the single] graph 淵[~渕] /futi/."

Compare the analogous case below, a clear retention involving the same two renderings, as the shorter one is demonstrably from pre-reform times (the significance of the WMS giving 淵 as a reading gloss for 敷智 is unclear, but may well have to do with the name's local spelling).

46	Futi 敷智	淵	(WMS V/13a6)	遠江国敷智郡
	ditto 敷知(郡)	——	(WMS[K] VI/14b7)	
	Puti 淵(評)		(*mokkan*: Iba, 699; MK 1: 33)	

4.1.2 Trigraphic spellings

For the following two place names the WMS and WMS[K] indicate that a local spelling of three graphs in length was in use:

47	Makino 眞衣	萬木乃國用真木野字 (WMS VI/21a8)	甲斐国巨麻郡

"Makino. In the province [one] uses the graphs 真木野 /makino/."

ditto 真衣 末支乃 國用真木野三字 (WMS[K] VI/18b6–7)

"Makino. In the province [one] uses the three graphs 真木野 /makino/."

This is also another case for a makeshift solution concerning vocalism. Taken at face-value, 真衣 could only render /mak[~g]inu/, but the WMS and WMS[K] univocally read /makino/ instead. The correctness of the reading glosses is confirmed by the trigraphic local spelling 真木野 /makino/ (/makinwo/ in case it dates back to OJ times). The intended reading for 真衣 is thus /makino/. The mo-

tivation for this compromise in vocalism finds its explanation in the absence of a word like *kin[w]o* that might provide the basis for a *kungana* for /kin[w]o/.

48   Urifuno 瓜生   宇利布乃國加用野字 (WMS IX/20b6)   日向国諸縣郡
                      "Urifuno. In the province, [one] additonally uses the graph 野 /no/."

      ditto 瓜生[42]   國内加野字云宇利布乃 (WMS[K] IX/86a4)
                      "In the province, [one] adds the graph 野 /no/ and calls [the place]
                      宇利布乃 /urifuno/."

Corroborating evidence comes from Ikebe (1966: 668), who cites two attestations for the full spelling 瓜生野.
   The remaining case is rather self-explanatory:

49   Nakatukafa 仲川 國用中津川三字[43] (WMS IX/21a4)   大隅国桑原郡
      ditto 仲川   國用仲津川三字   (WMS[K] IX/86b3–4)
                      "In the province [one] uses the three graphs 中[~仲]津川 /nakatukafa/."

4.2 Mixed spellings

The spelling 三須 given above for Misu has already demonstrated the existence of mixed spellings, even within the rather small corpus of local spellings in the WMS and WMS[K]. To this at least one more case can be added:

50   Saduti 佐突   ——   (WMS VIII/11a1)   播磨国印南郡
      ditto 佐突[44]   左都知 國用佐圡 (WMS[K] VIII/59b5)
                      "Saduti. In the province [one] uses [the graphs] 佐圡 /saduti/."

The official spelling, which is also attested elsewhere, e.g. in *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 (Later Chronicles of Japan, Continued; see VIII [承和 6/II/戊寅]), is consistently written in *ongana*: 佐 /sa/ (< MC *tsaH*) plus 突 /dutV/ (< MC *dwot*). In the local spelling, the second graph is replaced by the simpler and more common 圡 (= 土), here acting as a *kungana* for /tuti/ ['soil'].[45]
   While the general paucity of examples for local spellings designated as such makes predictions rather difficult, it seems rather plausible to assume a less strin-

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[42] WMS[K] has a variant form for 瓜.

[43] Ikebe (1966: 669) implies 仲津川 as the local spelling given in *both* WMS and WMS[K]; in fact, however, the former clearly has 中津川.

[44] The actual form of 突 in the WMS[K] is identical to variant #3 in KTI: 725, #4231.

[45] Through sequential voicing *kungana* could be used for sound values with corresponding nasalized-voiced initial in the first syllable, i.e. /tu(ti)/ for /du(ti)/ etc. In fact simple Satuti would be another possible reading for this name, as 突 has a second MC reading *thwot*.

gent attitude towards the mixing of phonogram types in local as opposed to official place name spellings.

5 Conclusions

Apart from their content and scope it has become obvious from the above that the necessity to squeeze place names for official usage into the rather tight corset of official regulations and unwritten rules had tremendous effects on the way such names were written, and by extension, the way they can be read. Even in recent studies it occurs all too often that spellings from the field of onomastics are taken at face-value and are read accordingly, thereby disregarding the evident complexities involved in choosing an appropriate rendering without transgressing the conventions outlined above. In effect the limitations of the writing system within a given context must be given ample room in our considerations, as it is not the possibilities alone that define the framework in which it can be employed.

At the same time, however, these circumstances also contributed to the enormous typological diversity of phonographic usage in the period under consideration: If it was not for place names and the restrictions imposed upon them, sesquisyllabic *ongana* would likely be unheard of, and the degree of variety observed in respect to disyllabic ones considerably lower. It is the latter corpus of *nigōgana* in particular which, being an invaluable witness of MC that in fact predates Sino-Japanese proper, deserves by far more attention than it ordinarily receives.

Lastly, we should mention that similar reforms were being carried out on the Korean peninsula as well, namely in 757 under Silla king Kyŏngdŏk 景德.[46] These were different in that they also involved actual translation – or at the very least the transposition of (partially) phonographical spellings into logographical ones – but they also show parallels, for instance in the strong tendency towards digraphic spellings. Not only should we be prepared to encounter types and usages of phonograms parallel to those found in the Japanese case.[47] Seen from what is known and relatively well attested from the Japanese archipelago, the possible consequences of official regulations likewise have to be borne in mind. On the Korean peninsula as well, there may be instances of enforced omission, spellings resorting to mere makeshift solutions or other imaginable complications.

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[46] Sporadically also prior to this date, as pointed out by Toh (2005: 20).

[47] One random brief example will suffice here: Beckwith (2004: 135, 136) reconstructs "Old Koguryo" *puk 'to be deep', phonographically written as 伏 (MC *bjuwk*), and relates it to OJ *puka.si* 'ditto' or similarly *tan 'valley', rendered variously as 旦 (*tanH*), 頓 (*twonH*) or 呑 (*thon*), which is said to be cognate to OJ *tani* 'ditto'. All four phonograms had MC readings with consonantal codas, therefore they could equally well render disyllabic *pukV and *tanV. The proposed OJ cognates alone are certainly not sufficient to settle these cases one and for all. At least, however, they are suggestive.

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