
The Englishiki Norito: a Rhetorical Study

Laurence Edward Murray Mann
Wolfson College, University of Oxford
DPhil in Oriental Studies

Acknowledgements

This project began while I was on a Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture and Science scholarship in Kyoto University in 2009-10, as an undergraduate. Having forged in my mind a plan to make a study of the *Omoro Sōshi*, a collection of ritual poetry from the Ryūkyū Kingdom, at the first opportunity I had, I boarded a domestic flight from Itami Airport in Osaka bound for Okinawa, an island in the far south of the Japanese chain known for its American GIs, rocking night-life and sun-kissed beach resorts. At the time, I remember encountering some difficulty in convincing my peers in Kyoto that I was going to a library.

For the duration of my spring vacation, I took up modest lodgings in central Naha and began a daily commute to the wonderful library of the University of the Ryukyus, where the librarians seemed quite ready to welcome an additional international student blown a few hundred miles off course. The days spent with Iha Fuyū's collections at Ryūdai, along with the dusty bus rides to and from the campus and sultry sub-tropical evenings spent in discourse with fellow inhabitants of the cheap boarding house where I slept, offered me inspiration, and time, to consider how to begin to approach texts that intersect ritual and literary domains, isolated from any mainstream literary tradition by problematic discourses of taste, genre and power. My first thanks, therefore, must go to the Japanese government, for funding my studies in Japan that year—and to teachers, mentors and peers at the University of Kyoto and the University of the Ryukyus who tolerated and supported the unusual project.

By the time I returned to Oxford over twelve months later, after a period of illness, I had resolved to alter the focus of my project from the *Omoro Sōshi* to the *Engishiki Norito*—a set of ritually-significant texts similarly entangled in webs of problematic discourse, but from the mainland Japanese tradition. The *Norito* became the subject of my BA dissertation, which was written with support from Dr Phillip Harries, my tutor at Queen's and dissertation supervisor, and Prof. Bjarke Frellesvig—who offered me the beginnings of a training in the Old Japanese language. Subsequently, both men have gone far beyond the call of duty to encourage and assist me in my studies. Both acted as supervisors for my doctoral work—which continued what I had begun during my BA.

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Abstract

This thesis aims to set the 延喜式祝詞 *Engishiki Norito* (hereafter Norito), a group of early Japanese liturgical texts, in the context of the broader Old Japanese textual tradition and, in the process, draw attention to their value as literary artefacts. This is achieved by valorizing the role in the texts of rhetoric—defined broadly as meaningful units of repetitive language—and demonstrating that rhetorical structures similar to those found in the Norito exist throughout the corpus of Old Japanese literature, as far as it is extant.

There have only been two substantial attempts to engage with the repetitive language in the Norito as a network of structures or systems recognizable as rhetoric (Inamura & Inamura, 1956; Kameyama, 1995). While still valuable, these studies embody the combined legacies of diverse traditional discourses, borrowed Western notions of veracity versus ornament and narratives of continuity poorly applied to early Japan that have affected Norito scholarship generally. In particular, they do not pay close attention to the syntax, morphology and phonology of Old Japanese encoded in the texts, as distinct from later forms of Japanese. Neither do they emphasize the extent of the close intertextual bonds the Norito share with other Old Japanese texts, or the associative potential of logography in a textual tradition as sophisticated as that within which the Norito were recorded in writing.

In Western Japanological discourse, the repetitively structured language termed rhetoric in this study has been openly viewed as detrimental to the Norito's literary worth (Sansom 1931, Philippi 1959, 1990); most likely as a result of the problematic status of rhetoric and repetition in Western modernity. This—coupled with disciplinary divisions in Japan—has resulted in the Norito becoming divorced from the mainstream corpus of Old Japanese literature, despite their close relationship to that corpus and despite their high degree of rhetorical sophistication. After addressing some of the reasons for the Norito's alienation in discourse on Japanese literature, and exploring some theoretical dimensions of rhetoric itself, this study proceeds to set the liturgies in the context of Old Japanese oral and textual cultures and to begin to introduce features of their rhetoric—noting that the interrelatedness of rhetorical structures is a major key to understanding them. The last three chapters of the study are concerned with rhyme, a special feature that is both an analogue of, and interconnected with, other rhetorical structures. Together, the three chapters argue that rhyme is an understudied but pervasive feature of Japanese poetry and song and that—in the Old Japanese case—rhyming structures constitute a significant component of the rhetoric of the Norito and other texts. The development of a robust analytical approach to rhetorical features of Old Japanese texts has been hampered by the persistent reluctance to associate Japanese literature with 'rhyme', or 韻 *in*—two terms with problematic heritages. In attempting to implement such an approach in the case of the Norito, it is hoped that this study will, in small measure, contribute to a better understanding of rhetorical texts in general and, above all, to the repositioning of the Norito within the mainstream corpus of Old Japanese literature, where they belong.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations	ii
List of Figures	iii
Introduction	iv
CHAPTER 1	I
<i>Review of Literature on the Norito Part I: Japanese Perspectives</i>	
CHAPTER 2	18
<i>Review of Literature on the Norito Part II: English and European Languages</i>	
CHAPTER 3	47
<i>Two problematics</i>	
CHAPTER 4	61
<i>theory or Theory?</i>	
CHAPTER 5	80
<i>The Engishiki Norito and Orality</i>	
CHAPTER 6	103
<i>Rhetorical expressions in the Engishiki Norito</i>	
CHAPTER 7	139
<i>Rhyme in the Japanese tradition Part I: English and European Languages</i>	
CHAPTER 8	154
<i>Rhyme in the Japanese tradition Part II: Shifting Japanese discourses</i>	
CHAPTER 9	188
<i>Rhyme in the Engishiki Norito and other OJ texts</i>	
Conclusion	218
Bibliography	223
Appendix 1	239
<i>Critical text</i>	
Appendix 2	249
<i>Descriptive statistics tables for Chapter 9</i>	
Appendix 3	252
<i>Descriptive statistics tables for Chapter 9, contd.</i>	

List of Abbreviations

Languages

cNJ	contemporary Modern Japanese
OJ	Old Japanese

Grammatical Terms & Symbols

COP	Copula
NP	Noun phrase
VP	Verb phrase
C	Consonant
V	Vowel
/ /	Phonemic transcription
[]	Phonetic transcription

Texts

MYS	<i>Man'yōshū</i>
NSK	<i>Nihon Shoki Kayō</i> (songs from the <i>Nihon Shoki</i>)
KK	<i>Kojiki Kayō</i> (songs from the <i>Kojiki</i>)
KKHS	<i>Kakyōhyōshiki</i>
KJB	<i>King James Bible</i>
NKBT	<i>Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei</i>

Other abbreviations

OCOJ	Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese
BCCWJ	Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese
JSPS	Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

List of Figures

Fig.1.1	Extract from Mabuchi, <i>Norito-kō</i>
Fig.1.2	The Monbushō preface to 1932 Norito selection
Fig.3.1	Kanenaga Manuscript: /ne/
Fig.3.2	Kanenaga Manuscript: /sa/ (1)
Fig.3.3	Kanenaga Manuscript: /sa/ (2)
Fig.3.4	Kanenaga Manuscript: 王; 大君
Fig.3.5	Kanenaga Manuscript: /ki/
Fig.3.6	Kanenaga Manuscript: /u/
Fig.3.7	Kanenaga Manuscript: /yu/
Fig.3.8	Kanenaga Manuscript: /ma/
Fig.5.1	Phrase-structure tree: <i>sumyegamwitatino sikimasu...</i>
Fig.5.2	Phrase-structure tree: <i>takama no para ni...</i>
Fig.5.3	Phrase-structure tree: <i>sumyemima no mikoto no miyo ...</i>
Fig.6.1	Phrase-structure tree: <i>taniguku no sawataru kipami...</i>
Fig.9.1	Generalized OJ Vowel Distribution
Fig.9.2	OJ Vowel Distr.
Fig.9.3	Vowel Distribution in MYS1.29
Fig.9.4	Vowel Distribution in select. from MYS1.29
Fig.9.5	Line by line distrib. of vowels in select. from MYS1.29
Fig.9.6	Vowel Distribution in select. from <i>Toshigoi no Matsuri</i>
Fig.9.7	Vowel Distribution in select. from <i>Tatsuta...</i>
Fig.9.8	Phrase by phrase distrib. of vowels in select. from <i>Tatsuta...</i>

Introduction

This study aims to place the Engishiki Norito, a body of very early Japanese texts of a liturgical and ritual character, in the context of an Old Japanese literary and textual tradition. It sets about doing this through analysis of features of the texts' rhetoric alongside similar features found in other texts from the same Old Japanese (OJ) corpus. While, of course, it acknowledges the role of the Norito in state ritual, particularly where this impinges on their internal structure; it makes no substantial attempt to document their deployment within this ritual—or their broader ritual and religious significance.¹ It also does not treat the texts as repositories of historical information concerning early Japanese states and societies more generally. Finally, it does not present new critical texts, or engage in reconstructive work of that kind.

These disclaimers are not meant to suggest that this study has taken an altogether different path—that has no bearing on any of the above. Rather, the choice to focus on rhetoric is related to a need to bring things together in a broad, integrative approach to textual scholarship that draws on data and expertise from a variety of fields. In the introduction to *Rebirth of Rhetoric* (1992), an edited volume juxtaposing text-oriented scholarship from across the humanities, Richard Andrews recounts his attraction to rhetoric in similar terms:

“Rhetoric embodied what I had been interested in all along: the way discourses are framed at the ‘text’ level, the way they are shaped by their context and the differences between them. When I realized that this was also a concern in history, mathematics—and for that matter in music architecture and other disciplines—it seemed worth exploring further”.
(*Rebirth of Rhetoric* 2)

¹A range of Japanese sources already do this; see discussion in Chapter 1 for details.

Texts such as the Norito, chronologically and epistemologically distant from the modern academic, encourage modes of analysis that, like the texts themselves, transect disciplinary boundaries forged in the empire-building arenas of Western modernity. As Andrews also notes, rhetoric is not a term to be adopted without due consideration of its history within that modernity. This is because, as noted in later chapters, modern discourse did not approve of rhetoric—seeing it, variously, as “deracinated, superfluous—perhaps inflated—and ultimately meaningless” (ibid). Charged with these crimes against language, rhetoric was banished to a hinterland which relatively few academics dared enter. In this respect, too, however, rhetoric resembles the Norito—because the modernist criticisms that so banished it are closely echoed in the (also modernist) criticisms levelled at the language of the Norito by the few Western commentators who have paid them any attention whatever—cf. “solemn pleonasm” (Sansom 61), “flowery”, “sonorous, in rather a heavy-handed sort of way” (Phillipi 2). Indeed, the similarities between the treatment of rhetoric, as a phenomenon within the Western tradition, and the treatment of Norito are so striking that it is not a great leap to suggest that the Norito *are* rhetorical and that their rhetoricality itself goes along way towards explaining why the texts remain, as yet, “inexhaustively studied” (Frellesvig 24). This hypothesis constitutes the starting point for this study.

This study does not contest the notion that the Norito texts contain sonorous or repetitive language. Rather, drawing inspiration from the work of a number of scholars, including Andrews, who share the common inclination to rescue rhetoric from a troubled past in the Western tradition,² it inclines to the view that such language in the texts is neither empty, nor flowery, but rather a complex, co-operative system of structured repetitions, incorporating sound—and replete with multiple layers of rhetorical significance.

In bringing together rhetoric and the Norito, then, this study aims, first and foremost, to bring to light salient features of the Norito (and other texts from the same OJ tradition) that

²For example: Brian Vickers [*In Defence of Rhetoric* (1988)], Walter Nash [*Rhetoric: The Wit of Persuasion* (1989)], Jonathan Culler [*On Puns: The Foundation of Letters* (1988)]. In Japanese Studies, Edwina Palmer is one author who has taken paronomastic language seriously—in her interesting study of a so-called ‘nonsense’ poem from the *Man’yōshū*, ‘A poem to carp about? Poem 16–3828 of the Man’yōshū collection’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 74:3 (2011), pp. 417–436.

have been overlooked because of the modernist bias against rhetorical language. A secondary, and perhaps less obvious, aim is to encourage the reader to reflect on how well the Norito texts make the case for studying rhetoric. If meaningful rhetorical features can be so tightly layered into the OJ texts, there is a good chance that they can, and have been, elsewhere. Until a robust rhetorical approach is seen as essential to the study of texts generally, therefore, scholars risk missing important literary features of some texts and, because of this, perhaps even overlooking the texts completely.

The texts

祝詞 Norito are chanted liturgies from the Shinto tradition. The norito that concern this study are preserved in the 延喜式 Engishiki, a fifty-volume collection of 式 *shiki*, detailed regulations concerning the practical implementation of 律 *ritsu* and 令 *ryō* (laws). The Engishiki was compiled between 905 and 927 CE and included ten volumes dedicated to procedural regulations dealing with 神祇 *jingi* ritual. The eighth volume of this section—which also corresponds to the eighth volume of the Engishiki as a whole—is a compendium of twenty-seven norito texts; presumably included in this section because of their close association with that body of ritual. In modern discourse, these are known as 延喜式祝詞 Engishiki Norito, to distinguish them from other “local” norito kept in the libraries and archives of shrines around Japan, which are, by and large, of later origin (Bentley 6).

Though they form part of a longer work, the Engishiki Norito have long been seen as a text corpus in their own right; medieval manuscript copyists with a specific interest often copied Volume 8 as a standalone document. The texts gained additional significance during the Edo period when they were perceived, by scholars of the emerging 国学 *kokugaku* tradition, as repositories of ancient Japanese language.³ Perhaps for this reason, early English-language scholarship of the

³The rest of the Engishiki, like other laws and regulations, is written in a literary Chinese-style 漢文 *kanbun* script associated with officialdom and was not considered by the *kokugaku* scholars to encode the Japanese language at all.

texts sometimes referred to them synecdochically as the ‘Yengishiki’⁴, as noted in Chapter 2. ‘Engishiki Norito’ is frequently abbreviated to ‘Norito’ in Japanese and English scholarship; and this study does the same, marking the distinction with other norito by the capitalization of the initial letter.

Within this corpus, a distinction is to be made between a group of texts most closely associated with 神祇 *jingi* ritual and a second group, written down somewhat later, that belong to the Ise Shrine tradition. There are also one or two outlying texts that do not belong to either.⁵ The first group, with which this study is principally concerned, probably came into being in its earliest written form during the late Asuka period (late seventh / turn of the eighth century). The grounds for this periodization are linguistic, as discussed further in Chapter 3.⁶ There is a spread of opinion concerning when the consolidation of Shinto as a religion took place but “most widespread” at present, as Mark Teeuwen notes, “...is the theory that Shinto originated in the seventh century, when many shrines were incorporated in a co-ordinated court cult, regulated by *ritsuryō*...law” (‘Comparative Perspectives on the Emergence of Jindō and Shinto’ 376). This means, therefore, that the recording in writing of the earliest Norito more or less coincides chronologically with the incorporation of the *jingi* cult into the official life of the emerging central bureaucracy—and the birth of Shinto as a meaningfully consolidated entity.

If the above periodization is correct, it also means that early subcorpus belongs to a textual tradition—the development of which coincided with the growth of various functional literacies⁷ that depended on some degree of familiarity with texts in literary Chinese, sometimes transmitted to Japan from the Korean Peninsula. The same textual tradition also emerged from a society in which oral performance was a regular feature of daily official life. It is known from

⁴The phonetic onglide that resulted in /e/ being transcribed as *ye* was not lost until the Meiji Period; see Frellesvig (2010), p.387.

⁵Including a text that appears to be written in literary Chinese. This has been excluded from consideration in this study.

⁶Specifically, the degree to which etymological spellings of all *kō* and *otsu* vowel (except for an even earlier merger of /po/ and /pwo/) are preserved in the earliest subcorpus. See Bentley, 36—and further discussion in Chapter 3 of this study.

⁷The literary implications of this broad historical development have been comprehensively surveyed in Lurie’s seminal *Realms of Literacy* (2011).

details in the *Engishiki* and other texts that the Norito recorded in Volume 8 were themselves used at various officially-designated points in the calendar.

The etymology of the term Norito is uncertain but a scholarly consensus considers the *nori*-element as cognate with the OJ verb *nor*-, ‘to say’, attested, in various inflections, forty-eight times in the OJ poetic texts, thirteen times in phonographic form. In some contexts, the verb is used to refer to the speech of a higher-ranking individual, perhaps relative to a lower ranking recipient or perhaps outside any relativistic discourse structure. In this context, it is contrasted with *marwos*.⁸ It is therefore clear, both from their name, and from their deployment in oral-performative contexts that, as well as being written documents, the texts have a robust oral dimension. This study will argue that it is through the symbiosis of literate and oral cultures embodied in their language that the texts demonstrate their instrumentality qua texts.

Within the texts comprising the early subcorpus, major themes include the placation of deities, expungement of transgressions, expulsion of angry or vengeful deities, vouchsafement of crops⁹, exchange of ritual goods and uttering of 稱辭 *tatapegoto* (cNJ *tataegoto*) ‘words of praise’. The last of these is, in the rhetoric of many of the Norito texts, one of the principle means by which the aims of the ritual are achieved. This rhetorical affirmation—approaching

⁸This contrast is present within some discourse in the MYS, as in the exchange between Shii no Omina and Empress Jitō discussed in Chapter 9 (MYS.3.237). The two verbs are also both deployed within the Norito—though the socio-linguistic relationship between speakers and addressees is far from clear in the texts. In many cases, *nor*-seems to act mostly as a reportative, delivering the sense that the speaker has official leave to speak in a particular way, rather than relating directly any relative relationship between this person and recipients.

⁹Breen and Teeuwen argue that, by the historical period, the focus of the *kinensai*, referred to in this study as *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, ritual had shifted away from the specific agrarian circumstances of rizoculture, to the exchange of goods and the proceeds of taxation in an official ritual context (33-36). In any case, at risk of stating the obvious, it is clear that the grain featured in this and other norito was not white rice destined to provide nutrition to the general population. Polished white rice was not consumed at all until the 元禄 Genroku to 享保 Kyōhō periods (late seventeenth to early eighteenth century) (Ohnuki-Tierney, 15) and the コシヒカリ *koshihikari*, ササニシキ *sasanishiki* and アキタコマチ *akita-komachi* short-grain varieties found around the country and in Japanese restaurants around the world are even later, Meiji-period, creations (ibid). The texts themselves reference the 五穀 *gokoku* (OJ, as attested in reading tradition, *itu-kusa no tana tu mono*), five crops believed to have been grown in Japan during this period—and a textual reference to five crops cited in continental East Asian sources. It is possible, therefore, that where references to crops in the texts have been couched in language appropriate to rizoculture, this was subject to a stylized ritual interpretation that included the success of other crops and, of course, the smooth flowing of taxation and officially-sanctioned ritual exchanges of goods, essential to the maintenance of central elites. It should be remembered, though that rice was used extensively in brewing and the brews produced were used in ritual. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the 瓶 *mika*, or ‘brewing jar’, figures prominently within recurring rhetorical expressions found in the Norito texts.

self-referentiality—of the power of words underscores the illocutionary dimensions of the performance texts themselves.

Many words and rhetorical expressions used in the Norito are also found in other OJ texts. Aside from their similarity in age, this constitutes the primary justification for the sort of close comparative analysis of the Norito alongside these other works undertaken in this study. Another salient feature the texts share with other components of the OJ corpus is the use of rhetorical expressions and rhyme—which, as noted above, will form the central focus of this study. Most of the comparative data used in this study was gathered from the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)¹⁰; a tool which greatly facilitates comparative OJ text scholarship.

Writing System

The Engshiki Norito are written in one of a number of writing systems used to transcribe the Old Japanese language. It is a mixed script that combines Chinese characters used logographically with others used purely for their sound value. This script is known conventionally as 宣命書き *senmyōgaki*, because the same script was used to write the 宣命 *senmyō*, imperial ordinances, in the 続日本紀 *Shoku Nihongi*. However, other elements of the OJ corpus (notably some 木簡 *mokkan* ‘wooden strip records’ and parts of the 万葉集 *Man’yōshū*) use either the same script or a very similar one that records linguistic data in essentially the same way, with the exception that the distinction between phonographs and logographs is not emphasized by varying the size of the characters, as it is in so-called *senmyōgaki*.

These scripts contain far fewer phonographically recorded words than some elements of the OJ corpus, the songs from the 古事記 *Kojiki* (古事記歌謡 *Kojiki-kayō*), being a good example. Phonographs in the Norito are confined mostly to the transcription of grammatical morphology. This means that reconstructions of the sound shape of the Norito are often approxima-

¹⁰The OCOJ is a “long-term research project which aims to develop a comprehensive annotated digital corpus of all extant texts in Japanese from the Old Japanese (OJ) period” which includes XML tags encoding “...information about orthography, lexical items and syntactic constituency” for all of these texts (Horn and Russell 1-2). The digital corpus, in its current form is available online at <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/>.

tions based on data from elsewhere, either from words attested phonographically in other OJ texts, or from the interlinear glosses in the transmitted texts. This clearly imposes certain limitations on any understanding of rhetoric in the texts. However, as argued again in Chapter 3, a dynamic tradition of interlinear glosses and the logographic writing (when elucidated by the broader OJ textual tradition) together provide ample information to carry out rhetorical analyses of the texts.

Critical editions

While “inexhaustively” studied in general, the Norito have been subject to quite rigorous textual scholarship, since the Edo Period (1603-1868), as will become evident from discussion in Chapter 1. It was therefore decided that this study would not reinvent the wheel in this respect—and, instead consult a range of existing critical texts in the formation of its analyses. The critical text that is used in quotations from the Norito and that is reproduced (in Appendix 1) with permission from the compiler is the work of linguist John Bentley. It formed the base text for the his own PhD thesis in 1999 and subsequent book, *A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose* (2001). The whole text comprises the first fifteen Norito recorded in Volume 8 of the *Engishiki*¹¹ Aside from Bentley’s text, a number of other critical editions, most notably the NKBT *Kojiki; Norito* (1959) volume, have been consulted, where the need has arisen. Romanized text is reproduced from the OCOJ, corrected where necessary, in consultation with the critical texts listed above. Romanized text, following the OCOJ, is transliterated according to the Frellesvig-Whitman system, a phonemic transcription that makes clear distinctions in the shape of OJ syllables lost in subsequent stages of the language, while at the same time keeping a clean appearance without the distraction of diacritics and character types unfamiliar to the general reader. A feature that makes it peculiarly well suited to rhetorical analyses including discussion of rhyme is that its representation of the glides characteristic of some OJ syllable types

¹¹As noted above, a text that seems to be written in literary Chinese has been excluded—and it not reproduced in Appendix 1.

with extra letters rather than diacritics ensures that readers unfamiliar with the language do not mistakenly interpret syllables containing such glides as instead containing an entirely different vowel. This study has deviated from the OCOJ romanization in one respect; the distinction between italic and non-italic lettering, used in the OCOJ corpus to recreate, in transcription, the distinction between phonographic and logographic writing, is considered to constitute an unnecessary level of detail for the purposes of this study. Therefore all OJ text is italicized, as noted in the conventions below.

Summary of chapters

As noted above, this study aims to shed new light on the significance of the Norito in their intertextual context, through analysis of various rhetorical features common to the Norito and other OJ texts. Individual chapters speak for themselves and do not require significant introduction. In broad terms, however, their function can be summarized as follows:

Chapters 1 and 2 offer an overview of existing literature dealing with the Englishiki Norito in Japanese, English and other European languages. They note the texts' involvement in ideological narratives of various sorts and the impact that has had on scholarship of them. Chapter 2, in particular, argues that the texts have sometimes been derogated, rather than championed, by their most learned commentators in the West—and that part of this negative reception can be attributed to the considerable role of rhetoric within the texts; and a hypocritically anti-rhetorical axis within Western modernity. When required to convey the sense of the texts to recipients through translation, however, the very same commentators made full use of their literary training to do so, creating in the process solidly literary interpretations, that draw on the potent rhetorical force of the English intertext.

Chapters 3 and 4 are intended as responses to this literature and aim to set the scene for more in-depth analysis of the Norito in later chapters. Chapter 3 outlines two major problematics arising from discourse about the texts introduced in Chapters 1 and 2 and which impinge significantly on analyses in subsequent chapters—firstly, how to date the Norito texts and, secondly,

whether we are justified in calling them ‘prose’, as some scholars have. Chapter 4 meditates on the theoreticality and rhetoricality of criticism, and the role of rhetoric in bringing texts under the spotlight closer to the critical narrative.

Chapters 5 and 6 are closely related. Chapter 5 introduces several features of rhetoric in the Norito in the context of the oral debate, aiming broadly to challenge simplistic assumptions that have sometimes governed our understanding of the relationship between rhetoric and orality in the modern West. Chapter 6 moves on from this to discuss a number of salient features of Norito rhetoric, at the same time inviting the reader to meditate on the changing perceptions of rhetoric with the Western tradition, previously introduced in Chapter 4—with the ultimate aim of demonstrating the extent of rhetoric’s importance within the Norito texts, as well as the close ties between different layers of rhetorical figuration, between texts, and between rhetorical text and language.

The reviews of literature and analysis found in Chapters 7 and 8 serve to lay the groundwork for Chapter 9; specifically to critique the routinely-held view that rhyme is either non-existent, or unimportant, within Japanese poetry, arguing instead that, in a variety of forms, rhyme is in fact a pervasive feature of Japanese rhetoric and poetic diction—first and foremost in the OJ tradition but also in diachronic contexts.

Chapter 9 itself aims to provide an outline of rhyme in the Norito and Old Japanese more broadly, through analysis of features such as vocalic assonance, vowel parallelisms and acoustic sets. It thus concludes a rhetorical analysis of the Norito that, throughout, has centered on close examination of textual features and comparison with other OJ texts.

Overall, the chapters outlined above serve to probe at the causes of the Norito’s problematic presentation in academic discourse to date and, with this information in hand, to valorize the texts as literary entities to be studied in conjunction with counterparts in the OJ tradition. Rhetoric will be at the heart of this debate and will be defined broadly, to realize its full heuristic potential. This means that emphasis will be placed on repetition, of phrases, words, and sounds—within texts and in the intertext. As a particularly pervasive and impressive breed of

rhetorical repetition, rhyme receives special attention in the last three chapters. However, as far as this study is concerned, it is the co-operative interaction of multiple features of rhetoric that characterizes the Norito along with the remainder of the OJ textual tradition. Above all, this interaction of features is what binds the Norito to themselves and other texts—and exploring how this works at the micro level will constitute a good proportion of the analytical work in the study.

Conventions

This thesis makes use of a number of sources in languages other than English, notably Old Japanese. As a general rule, passages or lines of verse in Old Japanese will include the text in 漢字 (*kanji*, (Ch. *hànzì*) ‘Chinese characters’, a phonemic transcription and an English translation. In some instances, where particular words are referenced very frequently in a chapter, or longer phrases are discussed in reference only to their sound shape, or syntax, just the phonemic transcription is used.¹² All Old Japanese is romanized according to the Frellesvig-Whitman system, as adopted in Frellesvig (2010) and the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese. The names of Norito, Old Japanese literary works and other proper nouns, when discussed, will be given in *kanji*, with accompanying readings in modern Japanese, as is customary. Sometimes, the pronunciation of their names in OJ will be supplied, if that is deemed necessary. A few selections of poetry in later forms of the language are provided in appropriate phonemic transcriptions, except where these are reproduced from other scholarly literature—in which case they have been left in their original form.

All quotations in contemporary Modern Japanese (cNJ), whether poetry or prose, are transliterated according to the modified Hepburn System that renders the syllabic nasal as *n* before all consonants. Where single words or short phrases in Japanese are mentioned, they are given in *kanji* first, followed by a transliteration and a translation (where required). When such words are used repeatedly in a small area of text, the *kanji* and translation are omitted and just the

¹² As noted above, a full critical text in *kanji* is supplied in Appendix 1.

transliteration is used. In longer quotations which have been translated by the author into English, or in cases where the nuance of the original is particularly important, a footnote including the quotation in the original language has been provided. In the case of quotations from premodern Japanese sources, modern 平仮名 *hiragana* and/or カタカナ *katakana* replaces premodern 仮名 *kana* in such footnotes. Japanese names are given in the standard Japanese order—that is to say with the family name preceding any other names. Transliterations of languages other than Japanese are according to an appropriate standard system.

The following are italicized as a matter of course: non-English words, names of monograph-length publications and journals. Other words may occasionally be italicized for emphasis. Journal article names are not italicized and instead placed within single inverted commas. Non-English words are not italicized in the case that they are the names of people, places (including institutions, e.g. 新宮皇學館, Jingū Kōgakkān), year designations (e.g. 享保 Kyōhō) or journal articles. The names of societies in languages other than English are italicized (e.g. 社会教育會 *Shakai Kyōiku Kai*). Broader periods of Japanese history (Heian, Edo, Meiji, etc.) are considered sufficiently familiar in English-language discourse on Japan to be rendered in standard non-italic type, without accompanying Chinese characters. The words *Engishiki* and *Norito* do not fit into any of the above categories for exemption; however, they appear so frequently in some paragraphs that italicizing them would cause the page to look cluttered and potentially confusing. Accordingly, a decision was made to leave them in a standard typeface. All translations from languages other than English are the author's own, unless otherwise noted.

Chapter 1

Review of Literature on the Norito Part I: Japanese Perspectives

Premodern Studies

After the compilation of the *Engishiki* itself, manuscripts editions of that document, such as the 九条家本延喜式 *Kujōke-bon Engishiki* (c. eleventh century)¹, and texts of Volume Eight collated and copied by priests such as Urabe no Kanenaga and Kanemigi (early- to mid-sixteenth century)²—alongside older non-extant texts on which these were based—may be thought of as the earliest scholarly engagements with norito. However, scholarship of the *Engishiki* texts as constituent elements within the Old Japanese tradition began in earnest during the Edo Period, pulled along in the tide of 国学/國學 *kokugaku* nativist polemic that crept through various communities within the Tokugawa order, from the late seventeenth century onwards.³

The first major study of the Norito to emerge from the *kokugaku* movement was Kamo no Mabuchi's 延喜式祝詞解 *Engishiki Norito Kai / Ge* of 1746—which has been called the “precursor” of Norito scholarship (Kaneko 70). The general aim of the study, to explicate the text and establish readings for unfamiliar terms, is typical of Mabuchian *kokugaku*—and is shared

¹Competing theories date the text somewhere between the mid-Heian and early-Kamakura periods (Kaneko 3). The manuscript is now housed in Tokyo National Museum.

²during the period of the development and consolidation of 唯一神道 *Yuiitsu Shintō* ‘One and only Shinto’, see: Breen and Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto*, pp. 47-52.

³Discussions of the scope and development of this movement in Edo Japan are to be found, in English, in Harootunian, H. *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* and Jansen, M. *The Making of Modern Japan*, pp. 204-210 & passim.

by the 延喜式祝詞考 *Norito-kō* (or *Norito no Kangae*), a revision of *Norito Kai*, completed late in Mabuchi's career (1768, pub.1800).

It is important to note that Mabuchi, like other later scholars under his influence, saw the Norito as OJ texts, to be analysed in conjunction with other texts from the same period. Mabuchi dedicates a section of the introduction to *Norito-kō* to name the reign-periods from which he had determined the different Norito texts; *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ō-harae* = Ōtsu / Kiyomihara (Asuka), *Toshigoi no Matsuri, Hirose, Tatsuta* etc = Nara, and so on (*Norito-kō*, Introduction). In the 附ていふ (*post scriptum*) section of the introduction, Mabuchi goes on to associate the Norito and the *Man'yōshū*, as two ancient written sources to be emulated in order to gain an understanding of the 神代 *Kamiyo* / *Jindai* 'Age of the Gods'; the period of Japanese mytho-history prior to the accession of 神武 Jinmu:⁴

...when one has picked apart and understood these norito, written oneself in emulation and learnt the nature of text; when one has managed to unravel the Man'yō songs and composed for oneself verses inspired by these; when one has known the elegance of the language of the ancients and has acquired the same forthright heart and manners of an honest age—only then can one get a sense of the Age of the Gods.
(*Norito-kō*, n.pag.)⁵

Mabuchi's analysis itself is solidly philological and comparative, focusing principally on lexis. To give a brief example, as part of his explanation of the recurring term *ugonapareru* "gather", Mabuchi writes that the second half of the word, "...*nawari*"(OJ-*napari*), "is an extension, related to *sonawari* and the *maruari* of words like *kiyomawari*."⁶—in the process relating the word structurally to words, such as *sonapar-*, that appear in the OJ corpus and contain the same intransitivizing element *-r-*. (〇三 [3]. See: Fig 1.1, an extract from this analysis). Compar-

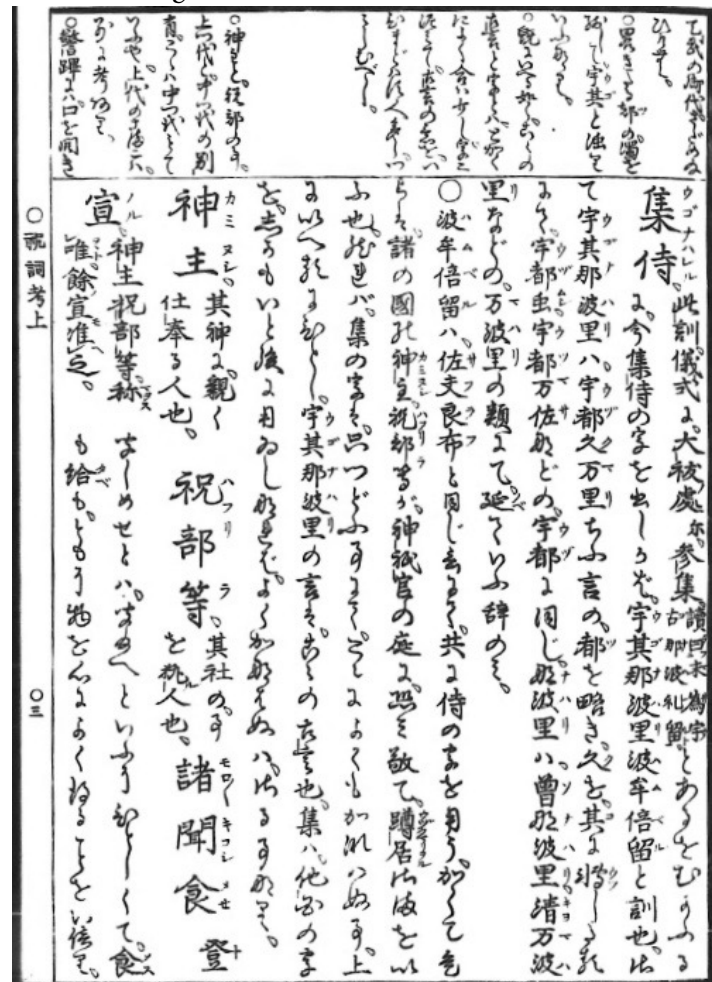
⁴Attainment of ancient virtues through study and emulation of ancient texts, language and oral tradition was a key trope in Mabuchian and other early *kokugaku* discourse. Though occupying a different and perhaps less prominent role, 'ancient' texts like the Norito retained an importance within later *kokugaku*, although scholars held differing views on the complex relationships between text and ideology. For a discussion of some of these views, see Harootunian, H. *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*, pp. 26-33.

⁵...まづこのりごとをととき知て、我もなずらへて書て、文ちふものゝさまを知、萬葉の歌を解得て、かつみづからもそれにならへる歌をよみ、いにしへ人の、詞のみやびたる事をしり、同じくなほきこゝろ、直き代の手ぶりを知ときぞ、神代をもおしはかりたらむ

⁶那波里ハ曾那波里清万波里などの万波里の類にて延ていふ辞のミ

isons with words and imagery in the *Man'yōshū* and other OJ texts are made throughout.

Figure 1.1: An extract from *Norito-kō*



Mabuchi's work influenced a number of later *kokugaku* scholars who went on to produce similar treatises on the Norito. In the main, their focus vis-à-vis the texts was the same; to establish and verify readings and to explicate the texts using comparative and etymological methods. A number of studies of Norito were made, by Mabuchi's pupil 本居宣長 Motoori Norinaga. The first, a study of *Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko no Kamuyogoto* entitled 出雲国造神賀詞後釋 *Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko no Kamuyogoto Go Shaku* was written in 1792 and published several years later with a preface by 千家俊秀 Senge Toshihide, who was then the 出雲國造 *Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko* / *Izumo Kokuō*.⁷ The 後釋 *Go Shaku* 'latter interpretation' refers, as

⁷This and other background information about Norinaga's contribution to Norito stud-

elsewhere in his oeuvre, to Motoori's own interpretation, contrasted with 考伝 *kōden*, his master (Mabuchi)'s analysis. Norinaga also wrote a similar “latter interpretation” of *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae*, known by the title 大祓詞後釋 *Ōharae kotoba go shaku*, “A latter interpretation of the *Ōharae no kotoba* [*Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ō-harae*]”, published 1796 (at around the same time as the *Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko no kamuyogoto go shaku*).

In the first volume of 玉勝間 *Tamakatsuma* (1795-1812), his well-known collection of essays, Norinaga also analysed the *Nakatomi no Yogoto*, focussing primarily on readings, contextual commentary and comparative linguistic analyses that isolate and identify later interpolations within the text.⁸

Another 注釋 *chūshaku* commentary on the *Toshigoi no Matsuri* (祈年祭祝詞注釋 *Toshigoi no Matsuri Norito Chūshaku*, 1795) was produced by another *Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko* of the Senge family, 尊澄 Takazumi.⁹ Takazumi's commentary reads very much as an instructive or didactic text. He relates terms encountered in the text to the vernacular in a relatively casual tone that, in places, approaches levity. Note, for example, how he explains the reading *tsumari*- (< OJ *tumar*-) for 留, in 神留 (OJ *kamudumar*-):

...The reason this is read “tsumaru” is that 神積 is attested in the Shoku Nihongi; 積 is a *kana* (假字) and when this is seen it is read “tsumaru”. *Tsumaru* / *todomaru* are cognate; when, in common parlance, we say “my pipe is blocked up (*tsumatte aru*)” this means that tar is remaining (*todomarite aru*) [i.e. stuck] inside. The sense of ‘remaining’ here is the same; so it [神留] means “gods / godly remaining...”

(祈年祭祝詞注釋 *Toshigoi no Matsuri Norito Chūshaku*, n.pag.)¹⁰

The norito continued to be of interest for the Hirata School, under the guidance of which,

ies has been made available online by the Motoori Norinaga Museum in Matsusaka, at <http://www.norinagakinenkan.com/norinaga/norinaga1/menu.html>

⁸There are a number of 活字 (print) editions of *Tamakatsuma* available as part of larger works. There is also a 文庫本 from the popular 岩波文庫 *Iwanami Bunko* that is now out of print but still widely available, *Tamakatsuma*, ed. 村岡典嗣 Muraoka Noritsugu (1986-7).

⁹Takazumi took up his role as the third generation (79th) after Toshihide (76th) who wrote the preface for Motoori's *Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko no Kamuyogoto Goshaku*. The Senge house retains the position of *Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko* to the present. Early Western Japanologist Lafcadio Hearn was also related to the family by marriage.

¹⁰ツマルトヨムハ續紀ニモ神積ト書テアル、積ハ假字ヅ、コレヲミレバツマルトヨムコトナリ、ツマルトドマルトハ通シテ同コトソ、俗ニキセルナドノツマツタト云フモ、ヤニノ中ニトマリテアルコトソ、コヽニトドマツテアル心テ同シコトデ、神トドマリト云フ心ヅ...

during the nineteenth century, *kokugaku* took on an increasingly populist, politicized mantle. Major contributions include 平田篤胤 Hirata Atsutane's 大祓詞正訓 *Ōharai no Kotoba Seikun* published in 1849 and *Norito Seikun* 祝詞(式)正訓 *Norito(shiki) Seikun*, a revision published, with all readings fully glossed, by his adopted son 平田鑢胤 Hirata Kanetane in 1870. 鈴木重胤 Suzuki Shigetane (1812-63), who had initially taken the Edo Period equivalent of a correspondence course with Atsutane but later fell out with the Hirata School, and Kanetane in particular (*Shinto Jiten* 515), began work on the 延喜式祝詞講義 *Engishiki Norito Kōgi* in 1848, completing it five years later. This work, which interpreted the Norito as laws or guiding principles for the regime (*Shinto Jiten* 570), influenced the study of the texts within later Shinto studies and 国文 *kokubun* 'national literature [studies]' considerably.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the Engishiki Norito were of interest to several generations of the Edo 国学者 *kokugakusha* ('nativist scholars'). The texts' close connection to early religious practice made them a natural choice for scholars pursuing a nativist agenda. The Norito were seen as closely associated with the poetry of the *Man'yōshū*, no doubt as a result of the similar age of the texts, and affinities of language and imagery between them. In the early days of *kokugaku*, the Norito were attractive to scholars seeking out a source of ancient language and natural, unfettered imagery of the kind they believed they had found in OJ poetry. As this romantic anti-didacticism (Jansen 205) gave way to a more overt political agenda and, at least in some of its incarnations, *kokugaku* itself began to look more like a new brand of didacticism, the Norito retained their appeal, as texts at the core of ancient 'Japanese' tradition. This was the legacy they carried with them into the modern period.

Since 1868

Monograph-length studies and commentaries

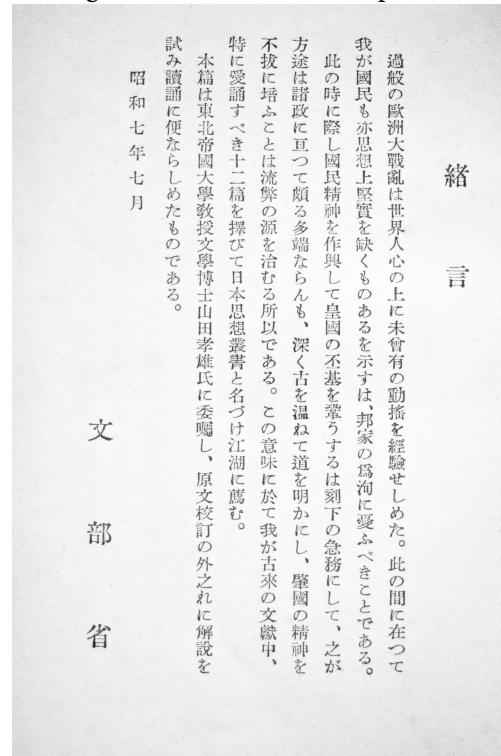
In the post-Restoration order, study of the Norito continued to pursue broadly nativist agendas, within Shinto studies, 国文 *kokubun* ('national literature') and anthropology / folklore

studies. The same period saw the establishment of state apparatus for the production and dissemination of Imperial myth, and official support for ‘Shinto’ institutions and ceremonial. It is not surprising that norito were on occasions conscripted into this statist programme. In 1932, for example, editions of a selection of seven of the Norito were published alongside a similar selection of the 続日本紀宣命 *Shoku Nihongi Senmyō* by the 文部省 *Monbushō* ‘Ministry of Education, Science and Culture’ (in the guise of an organization called the 社会教育會 *Shakai Kyōiku Kai* ‘Society for Social Education’), as part of a series entitled 日本思想叢書 *Nippon Shisō Sōsho* ‘Japanese Thought Library’. Prefacing the volume is a foreword by the Monbushō which recommends the selected texts to the populace (江湖に薦む) to be intoned aloud with enjoyment (愛誦すべき). This activity is part of a programme to “strengthen the foundations of the Empire” (皇国の丕基を鞏うする) through, amongst other things, “illuminating the path through profound recollection of the past, and nurture, unshakingly, the spirit of the early state” (深く古を温ねて道を明らかにし、肇国の精神を不拔に培ふこと) (See Fig. 1.2)¹¹

While further removed from statist propaganda than the above, other prewar studies treat the Norito primarily as sources of what they consider to be ‘Japanese’ tradition, ritual and language. A number of monograph-length studies of the Norito were produced during the war years (and the period immediately preceding this). These place emphasis on establishing a cultural and ritual context for the prayers and, as such, have been useful reference materials for later scholars working on similar themes. A particularly oft-consulted example is 次田潤 Tsugita Jun’s 祝詞新講 *Norito-shinkō* (1927) which provides a general cultural commentary on the rituals and the texts. Likewise 千田憲 Senda Ken’s 延喜式祝詞要論 *Engishiki Norito Yōron* (1931) offers readers an overview of the sacrificial objects used in the Engishiki Norito, the appearance of emotion in the texts, a section on the history and language of *Ōharae no kotoba* and, finally, a section on the role of Norito in the transmission of legend, with the conclusion that they are a useful resource, in this regard, for students of myth, Shinto and ancient history (62).¹²

¹¹ 祝詞宣命 *Norito Senmyō* 日本思想叢書第四編 *Nippon Shisō Sōsho* 4 社会教育會 *Shakai Kyōiku Kai* (1932).

¹² 神話、神道、古史の研究者に、好箇の材料を供給する訳である。

Figure 1.2: The *Monbushō* preface

Other important works of the period include an annotated study by 御巫清勇 Mikanagi Kiyotake (lecturer at 神宮皇学館 Shingū Kōgakkan, the Shinto seminary at Ise that later became Kōgakkan University) entitled 祝詞宣命新釈 *Norito Senmyō Shinshaku* (1933), and a general kokubun study 祝詞の研究 *Norito no Kenkyū* 白石光邦 Shiraishi Mitsukuni (1941) that seeks to associate the Norito with other texts of early officialdom, such as the 風土記 *Fudoki*.

The post-war period saw something of a decline in interest in the Norito. Nevertheless, research has continued in the relatively conservative domains of Shinto studies and *kokubun* at two former Shinto colleges that became universities in the post-War system; Kokugakuin and Kōgakkan, which have mostly focussed on traditional modes of structural analysis, establishment of 訓 *kun* ‘readings’, and annotations using historical sources to offer a window of elucidation on the texts and, more generally, on the cultural and ritual geography of the ancestral Japanese state. Another major concern has been establishing an urtext using comparative methods of textual criticism. This research, carried out mostly by a small group of very active scholars

associated with the colleges mentioned above, forms the backbone of modern Norito studies.

Unsurprisingly, Norito scholarship in the 1950s was dominated by scholars who had been active before and during the War. The first longer study, 延喜式祝詞講 *Engishiki norito-kō*, was completed by 金子武雄 Kaneko Takeo in 1951. It is exceptional in that Kaneko¹³ was Professor at the Liberal Arts School of Tokyo University and not directly affiliated with either of Shinto colleges. His primary interests were textual exegesis and indications within the texts of the thoughts and beliefs of the society and culture out of which they were born. The latter was the subject of a short article by the same author, entitled, 祝詞の思想 ‘Norito no Shisō’, which appeared in Tokyo University’s 国語と国文学 *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* in 1955.

The first major contribution from the Shinto colleges in the post-war period came in the form of 新講祝詞作文法 *Shinkō Norito Sakubunhō* by the senior priest and Shinto scholar 稲村真斗 Inamura Masato¹⁴ and edited/co-authored by 稲村正 Inamura Tadashi 1956. This is a guide for priests who need to compose new norito for various purposes based on the Engishiki texts. It also contains a detailed study of the Engishiki Norito themselves, including an original analysis using the rubrics of Western rhetoric. This element will be revisited in Chapter 6.

The publication of 古事記祝詞 *Kojiki Norito*, the first volume of the 日本古典文学大系 *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (NKBT) series in 1958 constitutes a major development in twentieth century norito studies. The Norito section, compiled and edited by 武田祐吉 Takeda Yūkichi 1958, a professor at Kokugakuin, contains a new fully edited text, based on the Urabe no Kanenaga manuscript, compared with a number of source texts, including the Kanemigi manuscript and the Kujōke-bon (See: Kaneko, 70). As part of a major series that was purchased by libraries, scholars and private collectors alike, Takeda’s is among the most widely available and read of all the modern texts. In keeping with the presentational norms of the volume in which it is con-

¹³The 金子武雄 Kaneko Takeo referred to here lived from 1906-83. He is sometimes mistaken for 金子武雄 Kaneko Takeo (1905-84), another scholar—and contemporary of his—who specialized in later literature.

¹⁴Inamura lectured at Kokugakuin and Shingū Kōgakkai, 宮司 *gūji* at several shrines in Eastern Japan: 香椎宮 Kashiigū, 日光二荒山神社 Nikkō Futarasan Jinja and 富士山本宮浅間神社 Fujisan Hongū Sengen Jinja

tained, the Norito are presented in the ‘original’ (i.e. an edited critical text in Chinese characters) with a parallel running 訓み下し *yomikudasi* and copious annotation. Takeda’s preface, which is referred to on occasions later in this study, is a substantial essay in its own right. The Norito’s inclusion in a multivolume collection of 文学 *bungaku* (‘literature’) confirms their association with this term and with other early works, such as the *Man’yōshū*, contained within it. Their position alongside *Kojiki* in the very first volume also reinforces a long-established *kokugaku* conceit that the texts originate somewhere in the distant past, at the fountainhead of Japanese tradition.

Other annotated texts of note include, Mikanagi Kiyotake’s 延喜式祝詞教本 *Engishiki Norito Kyōhon* 1959. As a 教本 *kyōhon* ‘textbook’, it is aimed at priests wishing to use, understand and create prayers after the style of the Engishiki texts and includes extensive notes and a translation into modern Japanese.

After the NKBT text, the next major work of textual scholarship was carried out by 青木紀元 Aoki Kigen, resulting in a standalone publication 祝詞 *Norito* in 1975 and, subsequently, his critical edition of 1978 that appeared in the 神道大系 *Shintō Taikei* series within a volume entitled 祝詞宣命註釈 *Norito Senmyō Chūshaku*, alongside editions of Mabuchi’s *Norito-kō* and other texts. Aoki was of the view that the *Kujōke-bon* is the oldest document preserving a text of the Engishiki Norito and, accordingly, he used it as a base text for his collated editions.

In the same 神道大系 *Shintō Taikei* series, thirteen years later, another critical text of the Engishiki Norito appeared, as part of an edition of the whole Engishiki by 虎尾俊哉 Torao Toshiya.¹⁵ This critical text has the distinction of having been assembled from the largest number of manuscript and other earlier sources, of any to date. The specifics of the textual material comprising Aoki and Torao’s editions are discussed in greater detail in Bentley (2001)¹⁶.

Aoki, a Shingū Kōgakkan alumnus, was responsible for several other highly-regarded studies of the Engishiki Norito, including a discussion of the history of the textual tradition sup-

¹⁵The Norito are contained in Part 1 (上), published 1991.

¹⁶pp. 23-26

porting our understanding of the Norito, 祝詞古伝承の研究 *Norito kodenshō no kenkyū* (1985) and, more recently, a new critical edition, 祝詞全評釈 *Norito Zenhyōshaku* (2000). The latter volume contains a new edited kanji text, with kana glossing and extensive annotation. The annotations are products of decades of research into key terms and the cultural background of the rituals.

Offering a very different perspective on the texts compared to Aoki and Torao's work, 岩井良雄 Iwai Yoshio's 祝詞・宣命語法考 *Norito Senmyō Gohō-kō* (1981) is another useful source. An historical linguist by training, Iwai Yoshio provides some enlightening commentary on grammatical usages in the Norito (compared to other Old Japanese sources) which inform analyses later in this study.

Norito scholarship has continued into the current century with the support of a relatively small group of scholars affiliated with the Shinto universities. Major works include: 本澤雅史 Motozawa Masafumi's 祝詞の研究 *Norito no Kenkyū* (2006), which comprises an historical and structural analysis of the texts and rituals presented alongside data concerning their performance and usage;¹⁷ 西牟田崇生 Nishimuta Takao's 祝詞大百科事典 *Norito Dai-Hyakkajiten* (2008), which offers a compendium of information about the history, development, usage and guide to composition – including Norito as they have been transmitted within local shrine traditions and their use in modern shrines; 金子善光 Kaneko Yoshimitsu's¹⁸ 延喜式祝詞の研究 *Engishiki Norito no Kenkyū* (2012), a general interdisciplinary study of the Norito contained in the Engishiki. This last work is a thorough and well-researched volume that includes in-depth discussion of textual issues and comparisons of phonographic usages (between various manuscript texts) that are informed by historical linguistics, making it one of the most engaging treatments of Norito to date—and certainly one of the most relevant to this study.

The works discussed so far constitute the majority of monograph-length publications dealing with the Engishiki Norito aimed at academics and priests engaged in the study of the texts.

¹⁷Motozawa, one of the leading figures in Norito scholarship of the period was a professor at Kōgakkan University and 禰宜 *negi* ('associate priest'; 'curate') at 宇佐神社 Usa Jinja.

¹⁸Kaneko is a lecturer at Kokugakuin's Faculty of Shinto studies, as well as being an active priest and blogger.

A final note on non-academic engagements with the Norito is required. The Englishiki Norito, and texts closely modelled after them, continue to be used regularly in Shinto ceremonial. Furthermore, they continue to be seen as integral to the traditions of the state by many people, especially those on the right of the Japanese political spectrum. As such, they are occasionally the subject of books aimed at a general audience. One recent example is よくわかる祝詞 *Yoku wakarū Norito*, published by 菅田正昭 Sugata Masaaki in 2010. Other books by the same author include 神道 *Shintō* (translated as Shintoism) in the フォービギナーズシリーズ *Fō Bigināzu Shirīzu* ‘For Beginners’ illustrated book series.¹⁹

Journal contributions

In addition to the lengthier studies noted above, there have been a number of shorter engagements with the Englishiki Norito texts, or specific aspects of them, published as journal articles or book chapters, over the last few decades. Many of these studies are not particularly well known; frequently, they are brief research reports published in the annual or proceedings of one or other university. In terms of background and affiliation, the researchers represented in this body of work exhibit greater diversity than those responsible for most monograph-length studies. However, there is unsurprisingly some overlap—and the influence of the Shinto Universities is still far from insubstantial. Most studies approach the texts from a broadly historical perspective, offering analyses of key terms and commentary on the ritual and cultural context. This is particularly true of contributions from the Shinto schools and related journals and associations (such as 神道研究会 *Shinto Kenkyūkai* and the now defunct 延喜式研究会 *Engishiki Kenkyūkai*).²⁰

The first few papers of relevance to this study originate in the mid-to-late Shōwa period (1960s-80s) and are of this latter type. 神詞の性格：神教の探求 ‘Norito no seikaku: shinkyō

¹⁹This contains illustrations by the 漫画家 cartoonist 森本清彦 Morimoto Kiyohiko. The front cover asks the provocative question, 日本人でなくても信者になれるか, “Can you become a believer even if you’re not Japanese?”. See: Sugata, M. & Morimoto, K. *Shintō*. Gendai Shokan, 2003.

²⁰The Englishiki as whole is seen as a valuable historical resource by students of early Japanese state, institutions and ritual/religious culture.

no tankyū’ 西角井正慶 Nishitsunoi Masayoshi (1961), published in the Kokugakuin Japanese Culture Research Institute Bulletin, is a thought-provoking study which conceives of all norito (including but not limited to those in the Engishiki) as a generic entity, with an oral history (5), with various social functions, and which can be likened to the tradition preserved in the *Omorosōshi* (20). It concludes with a consideration of the position of the infamous 教育勅語 *Kyōiku Chokugo*—not of direct relevance to the Engishiki Norito but interesting from the point of view of establishing generic boundaries (21). Next, there is 延喜式祝詞に現れた神人の道交について ‘Engishiki Norito ni arawareta shinjin no dōkō ni tsuite’ by 重松信弘 Shigematsu Nobuhiro (1976), published in a bulletin of Kōgakkan University. This is a thoughtful consideration of the relationships between deities and celebrants / humans established in the structure of the Norito texts. 祈年祭祝詞についての一考察 ‘Toshigoi no Matsuri Norito ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu’ (1977), by priest and member of the Jinja Honchō education committee 粕屋興紀 Kasuya Okinori, is mostly a consideration of the unusual term 辞別 *kotowakite* and its implications and was published in 万葉 *Man’yō*. Finally, from this period, there is also an early contribution from Kaneko Yoshimitsu, on clichés used in the liturgies: 祝詞・宣命慣用句考 ‘Norito Senmyō Kanyōkukō’ (1983). This was published in 神道及び神道史, a journal associated with Kokugakuin University.

There were several relevant articles produced during the 1990s. The first is a so-called 資料紹介 (‘introducing a source’) article that appeared in 神道学 *Shintōgaku* in 1992 under the heading 祈年祭祝詞 ‘Toshigoi no Matsuri Norito’. The author 森田康之助 Morita Yasunosuke presents a printed text of Senge Takazumi’s *Engishiki Norito Chūshaku*, accompanied by insightful commentary on this document.

Next, there is an article by 本澤雅史 Motozawa Masafumi, a leading Norito researcher, as noted above: 延喜式祝詞の時間表現：「朝日の豊栄登に」をめぐって ‘Engishiki Norito no jikan hyōgen: “Asahi no toyosakanobori ni” o megutte’ 神道史研究 *Shintōshi kenkyū* (1996). This article deals with various historical evidence concerning the time of day during which rituals were practised, in connection with the recurring phrase *asahi no toyosakanobori ni* found in

the Norito. Finally, worthy of mention is 西宮一民 Nishimiya Kazutami's 「祝詞」の文字の成立 ‘Norito no moji no seiritsu’, published in the Kōgakkan journal 神道史研究 *Shintōshi Kenkyū*. Revisiting themes he had raised previously,²¹ Nishimiya makes the important point in this paper that the character compound 祝詞 was chosen to ‘write’ the Japanese word norito under the direct influence of the Chinese textual tradition (and specifically the 文心雕龍 *Wén Xīn Diāo Lóng*, perhaps to emphasize a notional distinction between the liturgies known as norito and those more closely associated with the worship of Confucius, known as 祝文 (15).

From 2000-2009, the showing of output was broadly similar. 淵野健史 Fuchino Takeshi's 祝詞における神名の配列意識：神魂・高御魂の順序に就いて ‘Norito ni okeru jinmyō no hairetsu ishiki: ‘kamumusuhi’ / ‘takamimusuhi’ no junjo ni tsuite’, published in the bulletin of the author's university²² in 2001, discusses historical evidence supporting the notion that the ordering of two deities' names seen only in the Engishiki and the 日本三代実録 *Nihonsandai Jitsuroku* was by design, rather than accidental (13). 寺川眞知夫 Terakawa Machio's 祝詞と宣命 *Norito to Senmyō* (2003) is a state of the field article that outlines some general characteristics of Norito and Senmyō and compares the two in terms of their treatment in academic literature (31-4). It argues, in my view rightly, for a broader approach to Norito and Senmyō scholarship—that incorporates data gleaned from research into the *mokkan* and *kundoku* records (34).

In linguistics, 佐佐木隆 Sasaki Takasi's 歌と宣命・祝詞における構文上の差異：「如し」の場合 ‘Uta to senmyō: Norito ni okeru kōbunjō no sai: gotosi no baai’, which appeared in Gakushūin University's 人文 *Jinbun* in 2006, offers a new consideration of usages of *gotosi* in Norito, *Senmyō* and poetic OJ corpus. This article, along with 如 *gotoku* itself, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

2008 saw the publication of a paper entitled 広瀬大忌祭と龍田風神祭の成立に関する一試案：祝詞の検討を中心として ‘Hirose no Ō-imi no Matsuri to Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri no seiritsu ni kansuru ichi-kōsatsu: Norito no kentō o chūshin toshite’, by then Waseda

²¹ 祝詞の表記と訓読 ‘Norito no hyōki to kundoku’, *Shintōshi Kenkyū* 16(1), 1968.

²² 二松学舎大学人文論叢 *Nishōgakusha Daigaku Ronsō* 66, 2001.

University PhD student 山口 えり Yamamoto Eri. The paper, which appeared in 史観 *Shikan* in the historical journal based at Waseda, is a consideration of the differences and similarities between two ‘court festivals’ established during the reign of Emperor Jittō (late Asuka Period) (13). This paper is important because it affirms the notional distinction between the subcorpus of earlier ‘court liturgies’ and other the text, proposed by Bentley and noted in the Introduction to this study.

Finally, 山本幸司 Yamamoto Kōji’s 祝詞と宣命における口誦性 ‘Norito to Senmyō ni okeru kōshōsei’ (歴史と民俗 *Rekishi to Minzoku* 2009) is an original consideration of rhetorical language in the texts, from the perspective of Parry-Lordian oral-formulaic theory. Chapter 5 will respond to it in greater depth.

The present decade has already produced a number of note-worthy papers. First to mention is 堀川徹 Horikawa Tōru’s 六御県に関する試論：延喜式祝詞から見た成立と歴史的意義 ‘Mutsu no miagata ni kansuru shiron: Engishiki Norito kara mita seiritsu to rekishiteki igi’ (2010), published in Nihon University’s historical association periodical 史叢 *Shisō*. Like Yamamoto Eri’s paper mentioned above, this papers conceives of (a group within) the Engishiki Norito as texts closely allied to court ritual and seeks to understand aspects of the liturgies (specifically the eponymous *mutsu no miagata*) in their geo-political and geo-rhetorical context within the developing state; including their relationship with / distinction from the post-Taika 県制 *kensei* (system of local government division).

梅田 徹 Umeda Tōru’s chapter 延喜式祈年祭祝詞における稲の豊穰 ‘Engishiki Toshigoi no Matsuri Norito ni okeru ine no hōjō’ in 萬葉語文研究6 *Man’yō Gobun Kenkyū* 6 (2011)²³ is another essay that argues for the need to see the norito as structurally and rhetorically tied to the court elite and state ritual functions. The analysis focusses on the symbolic role of grain and agrarian ritual within the Tennō-centric order.

Two of Kaneko Yoshimitsu’s papers from this period²⁴ are of particular interest: 〈隠坐〉考

²³Tokyo: Izumi Shoin, 2011.

²⁴Kaneko has consistently produced valuable research on Norito throughout his career. It is not necessary to mention all here, since many of the themes dealt with in this research are revisited in his longer works, noted earlier

‘<Kakurimasu>-kō’ (2012), from the 國學院雜誌 *Kokugakuin Zasshi* and 神饌献供表現を考える ‘Shinsen Kenku Hyōgen o kangaeru’ (2013) in the bulletin of 儀礼文化学会 *Gireibunka Gakkai*. Both offer historico-cultural analyses of key terms within the text; the latter in particular includes discourse on clichéd expressions that will be valuable to later analyses in this study.

Finally two articles from the final issue of 延喜式研究 *Engishiki Kenkyū* (the journal of the *Engishiki Kenkyūkai*) (2015) are worth mentioning. These are 菊地照夫 Kikuchi Teruo’s 出雲国造神賀詞奏上儀礼と祈年祭 ‘Izumo no kuni no kamuyogoto sōjō girei to Toshigo no Matsuri’ and 藤森馨 Fujimori Kaoru’s 神衣祭と大嘗祭のニギタエ・アラタエ ‘Kamisono Matsuri to Ō-nie no Matsuri no nigitae; aratae’. The latter is an explication of the OJ terms 和妙 *nigitape* and 荒妙 *aratape* in the context of historical data gleaned from the 皇太神宮儀式帳 *Kō-taijīngū Gishikichō*, 令集解 *Ryō no Shūge*, 令義解 *Ryō no Gige* and other texts; whereas the former investigates the links between the performance of the *Izumo no kuni no kamuyogoto* liturgy and the *Toshigo no Matsuri* in the context of the geopolitics of the central polity (ヤマト王権 *Yamato Ōken*).

Other useful sources

Due to space constraints, it is impossible to list comprehensively all the sources that deal with the Norito in passing—or those that handle other themes of relevance to this study. The next few lines enumerate just four of the most useful. The first two, 肥後和男 Higo Kazuo’s 奈良時代における神儒佛の關係 ‘Nara Jidai ni okeru shin-ju-butsu no kankei’ (芸林 *Geirin*, 1952) and 久松潜一 Hisamatsu Sen’ichi’s 古代詩歌に於ける神の概念 *Kodai shika ni okeru kami no gainen* (1934, 1967) are now older studies and, to some extent, represent views of early Japanese culture that have since been problematized. Nevertheless, both offer insight into early belief systems and kami-worship, as understood through the textual and literary traditions of the OJ period and, in so doing, inform the current study. The latter also includes a discussion of 言霊 *koto-*

dama, as interpreted in the early-modern *kokugaku* tradition.

Kokugakuin University Research Institute for Japanese Culture’s 神道事典 *Shintō Jiten* (1999) is also worthy of note. This is a wide-ranging work, containing ‘alphabetically’ arranged indices of many aspects of the Shinto tradition and scholarship of it. Each section contains entries by leading scholars of early history and Shinto and the book as a whole is a valuable quick look-up resource for students of the religion and its early textual tradition.

Finally, a paper entitled 伊勢神宮社殿を修飾する古代の慣用表現：慣用表現「底つ石根に宮柱ふとしり、高天原に氷椽たかしり」の建築像と伊勢神宮社殿 ‘Ise Jingū shaden o shūshoku suru kodai no kan’yō hyōgen: kan’yō hyōgen “shimo tsu iwane ni miyabashira futoshiri, takama no hara ni higi takashiri” no kenchikuzō to Ise Jingū shaden’ by 東久仁政 Higashi Kunimasa is interesting in that it highlights a phrase occurring in the Kojiki that is very similar (and rhymes) with another found in the Norito and discusses its meaning in very *concrete* terms; that is to say with regard to how the shrine structure at Ise was constructed.

In addition to the above, other sources of relevance will be examined when the need arises in subsequent chapters. Sources related to rhyme in the Japanese tradition will be discussed in the reviews of literature on this topic found in Chapters 7 and 8.

When compared to other disciplines, *kokubun* and Shintō studies remain relatively conservative fields, no doubt all the more so in the Shinto Universities.²⁵ As a result, researchers in these fields have perhaps been inclined to view the Engishiki Norito texts more in terms of what they have bequeathed to later traditions, as historical, legal and religious documents, rather than as OJ literary sources, to be compared with the poetic corpus. Nevertheless, not only is it important to remember that the texts did have a historiographical and legal function; some of the work produced by Japanese scholars over the last few decades has begun to highlight the rhetorical function of text in a specific geo-political context, in this case, the developing ‘Yamato’ polity. This is an important development that will buttress my argument that the early court Norito

²⁵Kokugakuin’s motto, as of 2016, is もっと日本を。もっと世界へ。 “More of Japan, More to the World”. This is accompanied on the university website by other slogans, such as この国の心を写す日本人になろう “Become a Japanese person who reflects the soul of this country”.

corpus is essentially a body of literary, rhetorical texts, closely related through their rhetoric to other texts that form part of the same OJ tradition.

Chapter 2

Review of literature on the Norito Part II: English and European Languages

As the previous chapter has discussed the body of literature in Japanese dedicated to the exegesis and understanding of the Englishiki Norito corpus, the current chapter will attempt to assess the scope and depth of academic interaction with the Norito in English and, very briefly, in other European languages. As noted in the Introduction, the Norito are relatively understudied—all the more so in English and European languages. And, if the number of studies that deal with the Norito is small, considerations of them as literary documents deemed worthy of comparative treatment alongside the *Man'yōshū* and other early song are even rarer; as this chapter will demonstrate.

Nevertheless, all is not bleak. The bulk of published material dedicated to the Englishiki Norito in English is composed of translations of the texts. Though routinely seen as less intellectually engaged than academic books and articles, translations in fact offer many fruitful points of engagement with text—not least because the act of translating a text is subject to analogous forces of textual (re-)production and consumption as either interpreting one in the context of an academic discourse or composing one ‘from scratch’. This is true even of the most sterile treatments of source texts necessitated by the demands of what has been dubbed by some as “philological translation”.¹

¹“Philological translation...does not try to establish textual equivalence within the world of target texts...The retention of source language elements in the target text is deliberate. Philological translation is an exercise in alienation...Strangely enough, because of the specific intention and discrete situation, these translations might also be

The interdisciplinary and intertextual relationships between translation, interpretation and authorship have been recognized in literary criticism for decades but it is only very recently that digital humanities tools have begun to assist scholars in identifying the specific points of commonality on which this general interrelatedness depends. For instance, stylometric studies that explore the similarities and dissimilarities existing between multiple translations of a single source text have confirmed that, using certain data presentation techniques, a particular translator's style can be distinguished statistically using the same indices that identify and test authorship—suggesting ‘translations’ are in fact subject to stylistic pressures cognate with those that shape so-called ‘source texts’. Conversely, the study of stylometry also reveals pressures exerted on translations by source text (Rybicki & Heydel 715). To find traces of the author as well as of the translator, these traces can be “disambiguated” (ibid) by placing the disputed translations in contexts of various corpora, in order to “help to define the ‘filter’ that shows the translator’s multifaceted identity as an artist” (716).

Elsewhere, Gideon Toury defined “literary translation” as that which conforms “to models and norms deemed literary at the target end” (202). By design or otherwise, some of the translations of the Norito would seem to fall into this category, since they conform to certain literary norms in English—and, in particular, draw on idioms from the corpus of English literature. It is tempting to surmise that this is because of a sense, on the part of the translators, that the source texts themselves were literary and a resulting desire to engage with them in a literary way. However, this assumption does not hold up to scrutiny in every case. The following paragraphs sketch an outline of the existing English translations of the Norito to date, paying particular attention to their engagement with literary norms.

considered communicative equivalents...” (Neubert & Shreve 145-6).

Writing the Norito in English: a short history

To 1945

The earliest published English translations of the Norito in the Englishiki were produced by the British diplomat and pioneer Japanologist Ernest Satow. His translations first appeared in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)* in 1878 and 1881, and have been adapted, abridged and reused a number of times since—most recently, uncredited, alongside Chamberlain’s translation of the *Kojiki* from the 1907 issue of *TASJ*, as part of the Cosimo Classics series, under the title *The Holy Kojiki including the Yengishiki* (2007).

The choice to translate the Norito this early (both in Satow’s career and in the history of English-language scholarship of Japan)² reflects the perceived centrality of the texts to ‘ancient’ Japan’s religio-cultural and literary traditions, within *kokugaku*, noted in the last chapter, as well as a desire, on the part of Satow’s Japanese associates, to bring this centrality to the attention of the world outside Japan, in order to conform to cultural norms placed on them by the forces of European colonialism. The Norito’s position as dominant texts, during this period, is confirmed still further by the fact that they were routinely referred to synecdochically as the ‘Yengishiki’ when, in reality, they form only a tiny fraction of it.

From this perspective, it is also interesting that adapted and abridged versions of some of Satow’s translations were reproduced in a series entitled *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East* (1917)³, alongside the Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian texts, Hindu and Indian Buddhist scriptures, the *Kabbalah*, biblical *Apocrypha* and so on—giving the Norito a dual status as foundational canonic texts for Japan and as sources of non-canonic esoteric knowledge

²To put this in context, it is worth remembering that, at the time Satow’s translations of the Norito were published, the Asiatic Society of Japan of Japan was a mere six years old. The same issue of the *TASJ* journal includes an article, by Satow, on the *Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary* (226-267)—as, at that point, a satisfactory system had yet to be devised. Japanese studies in the West was in its infancy—and the Norito were among the first texts to attract scholarly attention.

³The Norito were included in Volume 13, which deals with Japan, alongside the *Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, *Man’yōshū*, extracts from *Genji Monogatari* and so on. Here, Satow’s translations have been abridged and adapted—presumably by Satow himself, although this is not stated. A few words here and there have been altered, such as ‘ears’ = ‘spikes’ for OJ 穂 *po* and ‘wardens and vergers’ = ‘the *kañnushi* and the *hafuri*’ for OJ 神主祝部 *kannusi papuri*.

for the West. The volume in which they appear begins with parallel quotations from *Genesis* and orientalist Max Müller, reinforcing the comparative religious, even theosophical, tone of the publication.

In *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (1904), Lafcadio Hearn makes reference to Satow's translation of the Norito, which he believed to be "probably the oldest documents extant in the Japanese tongue"—noting that he found it "interesting, not only as a fine example of the language of the norito, but also as indicating the character of the great ceremonies in early ages, and the nature of the offerings..." (98) Hearn's statement nicely summarizes the features that the early Anglophone scholars perceived as attractive qualities in the texts; namely their antiquity and the quality of their language—although not necessarily their value as literature.

Whatever Satow's opinions of the literary quality of the texts,⁴ it is clear that Satow's translations draw on literary sources in English and, given the nature of the journal in which they first appeared, were intended for an educated readership. As discussed further below, it is also clear his translations conform sufficiently to literary norms in English to recommend them for adaptation for a general audience, alongside literary and religious texts from a variety of traditions, as seen in the *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*. The introduction to Satow's translations in the latter volume considers the purification ritual (水月晦大祓 *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ō-harae*) to be the most "elevated and poetic" of the Norito, but recommends the harvest festival (祈年祭 *Toshigoi no Matsuri*) as the liturgy most likely to appeal to the aesthetic sensibilities of the "modern reader".

The second translation of Norito to appear in English was produced by German Japanologist Karl Florenz, then holding a professorship at the Imperial University in Tokyo. Florenz's

⁴Satow's copious notes on the original translations in *TASJ* are primarily concerned with details of the religious and ritual contexts within which the Norito came into being and functioned, as well as establishing pronunciations and meaning of words and, in the latter, are greatly informed by the work of Motoori and other Edo *kokugaku* scholars (although Satow is critical of their reasoning in places). In his analyses, Satow does not particularly treat the Norito as literary, or suggest their connection with other early works of literature—over and above noting that "...they are the oldest specimens of indigenous Japanese literature extant, excepting only perhaps the poetry contained in the *Kozhiki* and *Nihoñgi*..." and that, accordingly, they are of great value to the student of the most ancient forms of the Japanese language (another assertion that is well aligned with the *kokugaku* view).

monograph-length study appeared in *TASJ* Volume 27 (1899, 1-112)⁵ and is dedicated to the translation of the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ō-harae*, alongside an explanation of the ritual circumstances in which the Norito was used in ancient times and during the Meiji period—the latter including detailed description of ritual paraphernalia, with illustrations (*passim*). Unlike Satow, and other English-language commentators, Florenz specifically cites, as justification for his translation, the value of the texts as literary artefacts:

“It is difficult for anybody, and rather bold, to continue a work begun by Satow, for the inferiority of the continuation will be only too palpable. As the Norito, belong, however, to the most important, interesting and beautiful products of Japanese literature...the present writer has therefore ventured to come forward and supply the omission...”

(*Ancient Japanese Rituals: Part IV* 1)

Despite this acknowledgment of the Norito’s place within literature, Florenz’s primary motivation for translating his text seems to have been philological and historical. As Michael Watchuka notes,

“Florenz intended to present a philological translation of the *Ōharai-norito*...he reconstructed...how this ritual was really practiced, in order to know more about its use and the outlook on values, religion and law it represents....Only five pages of this 112 page long essay are actually occupied with his translation of that norito”. (61)

Like Satow, then, Florenz referred extensively to the philological research of the *kokugaku* school in producing his translation and analyses—supplementing this with the work of Western ethnographers, to provide a comparative cultural context in which to understand the rites to which his chosen norito was affiliated (*ibid.*). Indeed, the scope and detail of Florenz’s ethnographic descriptions and commentary are unsurpassed in any study of Norito in a Western language to date.

Since both Satow and Florenz published in *TASJ*, their translations are often discussed together – as in Miller’s review of Bentley’s grammatical analysis of the texts, referred to in more

⁵not 1879 and 1881, as cited, erroneously in Miller

detail below. This is not odd, given their common choice of publication and similar philological and ethnographic interests. It is odd, however that where Satow and Florenz's work is discussed, another set of translations of a number of the liturgies, published in 1905 and 1907 by Willam Aston—scarcely an unfamiliar figure within the scholarship of this period—has been largely forgotten. Only small snippets of Aston's translations made it into general works on Japanese history and religion, such as Anesaki's *History of Japanese Religion* (1930), Sansom's *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (1931) and Stuart Picken's *Sourcebook in Shinto* (2004) and they are absent from the bibliographies of both post-war norito translators and all the review articles discussed below.

While none is presented typographically on the page as English poetry, throughout the three translations discussed so far—and particularly in the work of Satow and Aston—one can discern, in places, the influence of the alliterative prosody of the Anglo-Saxon and English poetic traditions, or at least modern re-interpretations of these. Satow's rendering of 瓶閑高知瓶腹満雙弓 *mika nope takasiri*, *mika no para mite narabete* as “ranging-in-rows the bellies of the beer-jars” (*Toshigoi no Matsuri* and passim) and Aston's “sharp sickle forged in the fire” for 焼鎌乃敏鎌 *yakigama no togama* (*Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ō-harae*)⁶ are good examples of this.

Satow and Aston both leave some Old Japanese nominal and verbal collocations in a literal translation, resulting in an English text that looks and sounds ‘poetic’ to the modern reader because of the affinity between these collocations and those common in translations from Anglo-Saxon verse by the likes of Ezra Pound (not only the famous kennings of the ‘whale-path’ for *hwælweg* variety but also, more generally, other compound constructions such as ‘breast-care’ for *breostceare* (< *breostcearu*). Aston's “brine-paths” (compare with Satow's ‘sea-waters’) for 塩道 *sipodi*⁷ is reminiscent of this type of collocation. There are also other collocations that re-

⁶This is a good compromise that brings out the rhyme of the original in a form familiar to English readers. Florenz's “sharp sickle of a tempered sickle” retains the repetition of “sickle” but misinterprets *no* as a genitive rather than a copula.

⁷In the expression “the myriad meeting of the tides of the myriad brine-paths of the myriad ways of the currents of the boisterous sea” for 荒塩之塩乃八百道乃八塩道乃八百会 *arasipo no sipo no yapodi no yasipodi no yapoapi*.

mind the reader of an early-modern English poetic tendency to prepose adverb-verb constructions in an adnominal position. For example, as well as being an accurate translation, Aston's "many-piled clouds of heaven" for 天之八重雲 *ame no yapyegumo* would not seem out of place in Milton.⁸

More generally, in their choice of lexis, both translations exhibit the influence of such fecund repositories of early-modern English literary and poetic usage as *Paradise Lost* and the *King James Bible* (KJB)—with which there can be little doubt the translators were well acquainted. Aston's "massy" 太(敷立) *putwo(-sikitate)*, "upraising" 高知弓 *takasirite* and "adamantine" for 磐(門) *ipa(-two)* are all attested in similar phenomenal contexts within *Paradise Lost*. Elsewhere, the phrase "plain of High Heaven", used by both translators as very literal translation of OJ *takama no para* is perhaps more accidentally Miltonic (cf. *Paradise Lost* 1.104 "plains of Heaven") but nevertheless reinforces the poetic feel of the translations.

The recurring phrase 甘菜辛菜 *amana karana* has been rendered "sweet herbs and bitter herbs"—the second half of which has obvious biblical parallels (e.g. "and with bitter herbs they shall eat it" Exodus 12.8) – by both translators. Similarly Aston's "rice cleaned and in the husk" for 和稻荒稻 *nigisine arasine* (*Hoshizume no Matsuri*) can be compared to "and full ears of corn in the husk" (2 Kings 4) and the pacification myth, sometimes linked to 言霊 *kotodama*, expressed in the OJ phrase 語問志磐根子樹立草之垣葉乎毛語止弓 *kototoposi ipane kodati*, *kusa no kakipa wo mo kotoyamete* is likewise translated as: "...the rocks, trees, and smallest leaves of grass which had power of speech were put to silence", again sharing commonalities of lexis with phrases from the KJB, such as "Let the lying lips be put to silence"—also known from Shakespeare's euphemistic "put to silence" in reference to Marullus and Flavius' fate in *Julius Caesar* (1.2. 1. 282).

While they may not have always recognized the literary quality of the Norito's language openly, then, the early Norito translators seem to have had a sense, reflected in their treatment of the texts, that the liturgies contained a store of literary or rhetorical language and phrases

⁸Compare with for example "Oh Prince, Oh chief of many throned powers" *Paradise Lost* 1.128

which needed to be put into English that was equally as out of the ordinary, as euphonic and aesthetically formed. Stuart Picken's critique of Aston's translation that it "...follows the original text quite strictly and renders it in, albeit, rather dated, English without attempting any interpretation" (80) therefore rather undersells the literariness of the translator's interactions with his source texts.

Since 1945

No more translations of norito—either from the Engishiki, or other tradition—were made until after World War II. In the post-War period, Donald Philippi's *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers* was the first, published in 1959, by the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics at Kokugakuin University. It was subsequently reprinted, with a prefatory essay by Joseph Kitagawa, by Princeton University Press in 1990.

Philippi's choice to begin a long career in translating early texts of ritual and linguistic import with the Norito is surely significant in itself. His translation was completed not long after he had arrived in Japan in 1957. (He remained there until 1970.)⁹ As seems to have been the case for Satow, the decision to work on Norito no doubt reflects the attention that had been lavished on the texts in earlier Japanese scholarship and the success of this scholarship in recommending them to a young translator, interested in ancient language and ritual practice. In the introduction to his translations, like Hearn, Philippi judges the rituals to be of primary interest "as examples of ancient Japanese ritual...and the stately ritual language of the Japanese" (2).

No doubt the fact that he was studying on a Fulbright Scholarship at Kokugakuin, a centre of

⁹A wealth of information about the life and work of Philippi is to be found on a set of pages dedicated, in memoriam, by a friend and fellow translator, Frederik L. Schodt, found on his website. See: <http://www.jai2.com/dlp.htm>. Amongst other things, the obituary and interviews contained there reveal Philippi's interest in an "archaic", pre-agrarian societies and cultures—presumably fuelling the "neo-classicism" of which Kitagawa writes (Kitagawa xix). In Part 1 of his 1984 Interview with Schodt, Philippi—who was also a technical translator—states plainly his views in this regard, as follows: "I have always been attracted to the archaic world views which were superseded by the High Civilizations. I don't intend to forget them, and I think it is possible for anyone who knows languages to merge in his own consciousness elements from archaic worlds together with elements from different areas in the contemporary world. Even a person who does technical translations from Japanese is constantly confronted with extremely archaic words and concepts which have nothing to do with the "modern" world. I advocate a cultural approach to technical translation."

Shinto learning (and one with which Satow was connected) also had a bearing on his decision to translate the texts. Philippi's translation text is arranged in lines of unequal length to give it an appearance more closely resembling European poetry—which is in contrast to Satow, Aston and Florenz's translations, that had been rendered as running prose. Philippi uses English lines to separate off rhetorical and syntactic structures in the originals, as noted in his review of the translation for the Japan Times (Matt Treyvaud, Sep 5th 2015).¹⁰ To illustrate this, for example, consider the arrangement of the following clauses from the *Toshigoi no Matsuri* and *Minazuki no Tsukinami*:

天御蔭日御蔭登隱坐弓四方國乎安國登平久知食須故
ame no mi-kage - pi no mi-kage to kakurimasite yomo no kuni wo yasukuni to tapirakeku
sirosimyesu ga yuwe ni

Philippi, renders the above in English as follows, emphasizing the subordination in the original using line breaks and indents:

Where, as a heavenly-shelter, as a sun-shelter, he dwells hidden,
And tranquilly rules the lands of the four quarters as a
peaceful land.
Therefore... (19, 37)

Overall, Philippi adopted an alliterative style reminiscent of Aston's which gives the impression of falling in and out of stress metre, as the original texts do with the 5-7/7-5 prosody; his rendering of the line (*Tatsuta*) as "To divine and discover which deity's will this was" (28) exemplifies this sufficiently.

The translation does not profess to be designed with academic intentions in mind and Philippi states in his introduction that he has avoided overloading his pages with footnotes. He does, however, include a useful glossary of thirty-five key terms occurring in the texts, principally

¹⁰<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2015/09/05/books/book-reviews/norito-ritual-prayers-show-ancient-japan-struggling-spiritual-identity>

related to the specificities of the rituals with which the liturgies are associated. For general purposes, this is quite ample, given the objectives of the translation and the translator's commensurate skill at finding polysemous English turns of phrase that evoke the sense of more difficult terms loosely enough to avoid trouble. Since the meanings of some terms and phrases—particularly vocabulary specific to the Norito—are controversial, scholars wishing to learn more about the language of the texts will feel the lack of engagement with those controversies.

There are only a few corners where one gets the sense that the repetitiveness of the text could have been brought out more in translation; as in the unusual verbal compound 作作 *tukuri-tukur-* (*Tatsuta*) which Philippi turns into simply 'harvested' (28). This is no criticism of Philippi's skill as translator. On the contrary, for the very reasons repetitive texts like the Norito have been neglected in Western scholarship, as argued elsewhere in this study, retaining the doubling of *tukuri-tukur-* as something like "harvest-harvested" in translation would violate the rule, seen above, that literary translation must follow "models and norms deemed literary at the target end" (Toury 166). For reasons discussed elsewhere in this study, a translation that was as repetitive as the original simply would not look or sound like literature to a modern English audience—although it may take on an 'exotic' flavour that some readers could find aesthetically pleasing. Although Philippi did not consider the Norito to be of "great and enduring literary value" (2), it is clear that, like his prewar predecessors, he was sensible of the need to choose language carefully enough to ensure his translation was itself a literary creation; to effectively 'write' the Norito in literary English. By doing so he was able to arouse and direct the interest of English-speaking academics toward areas he considered important; the culture, religion and myths of an ancient people.

One thing that is a pity is that, for one reason or another, Philippi did not choose to implement his well-known system of Old Japanese transcription in his transliteration of toponyms and other special words in the Engishiki Norito translations. His translations of the Kojiki and the ancient songs are noteworthy for their use of a transcription system for Old Japanese that preserves certain phonological features of the language that are lost in transliterations based on

modern Japanese orthography; in particular the maintenance of *kō* / *otsu* vowel distinctions, using diacritics, and the use of *p* to transcribe OJ /*p*/, instead of an *f* or *h*, as was common in most editions of OJ texts until very recently.¹¹ This is by no means a trivial detail; the transcription not only reveals engagement with what was at the time cutting-edge research in historical linguistics, it also gives English-speaking readers unfamiliar with modern Japanese and OJ a truer impression of what the texts might have sounded like when intoned in the eighth century. The reason for this choice is not clear; however the most likely explanation is that, at the time of his translating the Norito, he was not yet aware of research that established the phonology of OJ as substantially different from that of the modern language. There is also a chance that he did not feel accurately preserving sound to be as essential for the Norito texts as it was for the early songs—since, as noted earlier, he did not consider the former to be works of literature.

Philippi does not specifically state the source of his base text. However, the short bibliography appended to the introduction to his translation cites exegeses and commentaries by Kaneko Takeo and Mikanagi Kiyosuke; as well as several prewar and wartime texts including Tsugita Jun's 祝詞新講 *Norito-shinkō*—and, based on this, it is reasonable to assume that the translation was put together in reference to all of these. It is a shame that Takeda's well-researched edition of Volume 8 (with additions) featured in the first volume of the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (1958)¹² seems to have appeared too late to be acquired and included in the mix of sources consulted by Philippi—although Mikanagi's 延喜式祝詞教本 *Engishiki Norito Kyōhon* (1959) curiously did.

The second complete English translation of the *Engishiki Norito* appeared within a translation of the first ten volumes of the *Engishiki* (*Engi-shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era*), published

¹¹It is only really in the last decade that presenting OJ in a phonemic transcription, rather than in modernized romanization based on Japanese *yomi-kudashi* has started to become more common in English language sources – and it is still by no means the norm. Recent books to use a phonologically his include Torquil Duthie's *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination* (2014) and Edwina Palmer's translation of the *Harima Fudoki* (2016), the latter adopting Philippi's now half-century-old system.

¹²Many readers will be aware that the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* was not released in order, beginning with Volume 1. Rather individual volumes were published separately, in no set order in the period between 1957 and 1963. The *Kojiki/Norito* (Vol.1) did not appear until 1958

by Felicia Bock in two parts; the first in 1970 and the second in 1972. Her translation has been of great use to historians of early Japanese ritual, government and jurisprudence—and is perhaps cited as often as Philippi's in modern English-language scholarship that refers to the Norito.

It is clear that Bock's project was bigger than Philippi's; being to provide English readers with access to a large proportion of one of the most detailed and voluminous repositories of information on early Japanese ritual—within which happen to be contained the Norito texts that form the main focus of this study. Therefore, it is no particular criticism of her approach to note the following point of concern regarding the source text editions upon which Bock's translation depends. Specifically, in order to maintain consistency, because her scope was so big, she has needed to base her translation on a group of pre-war editions of the Engishiki. This is not a problem in itself since, as Bentley notes, "Complete manuscripts of Engishiki are rare because most scribes only copied sections that interested them...." meaning editors interested in compiling editions of the entire Engishiki have sometimes been "able to find more variations, and...get closer to the archetype..." (24). However, the absence of any reference to the NKBT text, or indeed any post-war editions or scholarship tends to suggest that a presentation of the Norito texts as part of an Old Japanese linguistic and literary tradition was not a major part of the translator's overall project. This is further evidenced by a number of small infelicities of transcription and translation.

For example, Bock transliterates 大海 'great sea' as *o-umi* (Bock 1972, *passim*), which is etymologically incorrect and is contradicted by all reading traditions. Even according to the modern Japanese reading conventions to which she is adhering, the only etymologically correct transcription can be *ōmi* (<OJ *opomi*), since the collocation conformed to rules of OJ vowel deletion—and is attested elsewhere in this shape. Had Bock followed the NKBT text, she would have been directed towards the etymologically correct *ōmi* by Takeda's gloss おほみ (391).

The most recent published translations of norito in English are found in a volume entitled *Shinto Norito: A Book of Prayers*, published by Ann Llewellyn Evans. The 'Shinto Norito' that form the basis for Evan's translation are not the liturgies contained in Volume 8 of the Engishiki.

Rather, the book comprises a selection of liturgies from the textual tradition of the 椿大神社 Tsubaki Ō Kami Yashiro, the shrine in Mie Prefecture to which the author is closely affiliated. There is a degree of overlap with Engishiki Vol. 8; perhaps because her norito draw on the same oral or written sources as the Engishiki texts but, more likely, because they interpolate the Engishiki Norito as prestige texts, despite being of later origin. Evan's translation presents 23 texts used in rituals at her chosen shrine, which are set out clearly and accessibly, with a text in modern Japanese orthography, running in parallel to a romanization and English translation. The inclusion of a transliterated text is related to the author's belief in the "unique power" of *kotodama*—which she later explains by noting "Each word of the Norito has significance in its sounds, as well as in its meaning. This concept is called "*kotodama*" (xix). This ideologically lightweight definition of *kotodama* accords well with this study's view of the relationship between rhetoric and acoustic structures—elaborated further in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Evans' is not an academic translation.¹³ From the perspective of a study of the language or literary potential of norito, Evan's stated goals in producing her translation have encouraged an English rendering that is too loose to inform the current study, even where her source texts intersect with the Engishiki. Her translation of the first 'line' of the first liturgy in the collection,¹⁴ 高天の原に神留坐す *Takama no hara ni kamu zumari masu*—which has an exact equivalent in a number of Engishiki Norito texts (*Toshigoi no Matsuri*, *Minazuki no Tsukinami* etc) as OJ *Takama no para ni kamudumarimasu*—illustrates this point (3). Here she interprets the honorific auxiliary *masu* as being in the conclusive (終止形 *shūshikei*), resulting in the translation "In the Expanse of High Heaven dwell the exalted kami."¹⁵ This is highly unlikely since—although the phrase is written logographically, as it is in the Engishiki—reading tradition (in-

¹³Although the endorsement of the book by George Williams of the Department of Comparative Religion at California State University, Chico, hails the book as "...a treasure...for one wishing to learn kotodama (ritual chanting) and for serious students of Shinto." (Reproduced on the back cover of *Shinto Norito: A Book of Prayers*) Indeed, the book does well what it sets out to do; the translation and clear presentation of the text is effective as a practical "tool for Shinto practice and the recitation of prayers" (xiv) and as a general introduction to norito from one shrine tradition.

¹⁴身滌大祓 *Misogi no Ō Harai*

¹⁵In her tradition, she notes that the introductory clause is read only by "the Saishu or Michihiko (leader)" in group recitations (3), which might explain her decision to separate it out.

cluding the tradition upon which Evans herself is relying) preserves the form *kamuzumar*- (< OJ *kamudumar*-) for 神留. The form *kamu* (which the reading tradition she is using also preserves) in this word is perhaps the best-known example of OJ /u/ in alternation ¹⁶ with /wi/ , and is known in Japanese sources as a concealed form (被覆形 *hifukukei*), which means it “usually occurs in compounds and derived forms” (45). Additionally, of course, the second part of the compound *-dumar*- cannot be a separate word, as mediae like /d/ did not occur in OJ in word-initial position (ibid, 34). The /d/ is attested in the OJ poetic corpus (MYS894), where the same compound is encountered in mixed logographic/phonographic script, as 神豆麻利. It is clear, therefore, that the *kamudumarimasu* is in the adnominal—and that the clause is subordinated to the head NP that follows it (in this case 神漏伎命神漏彌命 *kamurwoki no mikoto kamurwomi no mikoto* ‘(the male and female deities) Kamurwoki, Kamuromwi’).

Given the different scope and focus of Evans’ work—and with Satow, Florenz and Aston’s pioneering work now over a century old—Philippi’s and Bock’s translations together form the go-to sources for English-speaking academia when discussing Norito. As complete translations, both have helped to raise general awareness of the Engishiki Norito in the field. Although preceding Bock’s by over a decade, Philippi’s translation is based on more recent critical scholarship and is more invested in producing euphonic structures in English to recall the repetition and tuning that link the texts to the OJ poetic corpus. It should be noted that there is another translation of parts of two norito from Engishiki, that are reproduced in English within the translation of Konishi Jin’ichi’s *History of Japanese Literature Vol. 1*. As they are presented as textual examples for analysis—and have been translated post facto by the translators of the whole work—they will be discussed below, in the context of Konishi’s research on norito.

In conclusion, it can be seen that, to date, no translation of the Norito in the Engishiki exists that makes use of exegetical sources post-1960, or takes advantage of the substantial advances in our knowledge of Old Japanese brought about through the efforts of historical linguists during the same period. The field will be greatly enhanced by such a translation if and when it does

¹⁶These alternations are known as ‘apophonic’, see Frellesvig 2009, p. 45

appear.

Studying the Norito in English

As noted in the Introduction, one view concerning the Englishiki Norito, in particular, that this study aims to contest is that they are verbose or unnecessarily repetitious. This view is reflected in many of the short mentions of the texts found in introductions to the translations discussed above, as well as works on literature and religion in English. This study argues that repetition is a salient feature of the texts that connects them to other elements within the corpus of OJ literature. However, the prevailing view in existing literature on the Norito in English holds that the texts' repetitive style detracts from their literary value.

It has already been noted that the early translators saw the texts primarily as repositories of data on ancient language and ritual and, apart from Florenz, do not appear to have been interested, principally, in their literary value or relation to other literature, despite their efforts to recreate the texts in literary English. George Sansom, writing in *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, (first published 1931) is similarly disparaging about the literary value of the text. In Sansom's view, the Norito were "rather poorly articulated", their "chief characteristic" being a "solemn pleonasm", which he exemplifies by the phrase "ara-shio no shio no yaoji no yashioji no shio no ya-o-ai" (60), which is equivalent to the OJ phrase *arasipo no sipo no yapodi no yasipodi no sipo no yapoapi*, translated by Aston as "myriad meetings of the tides of the myriad brine-paths of the myriad ways of the currents of the boisterous sea" (*Shinto: The Way of the Gods*, 302). Sansom makes no attempt to engage with the repetition or rhyme features of this phrase, as was typical in scholarship of the time. In keeping with the modernist aesthetic, repetition is seen as a meaningless formal feature which adds nothing to (or even detracts from) the literary worth of the texts—which the author believes is, overall, "not great" (60), despite some "picturesque...passages" (ibid).

Even Philippi, whose translation did so much to promote the Norito in the West, is quite

dismissive of the text in the introduction to his translation (1959, 1990). Again, in particular, it appears to be repetition that lets the texts down, from a literary perspective. They are “extremely repetitive” and “stereotyped phrases and sentiments appear again and again throughout with surprising regularity” (1). Philippi is likewise negative about the “flowery” language used in the texts, complaining that “the grammatical relationship of parts is difficult to determine...everywhere semantic clarity is sacrificed to sonority” (ibid). Of course, one cannot be certain that these are the features that, for Philippi, discourage a literary treatment of the texts, any more than one can be certain that the translator’s view of literature coincided with syntactically or semantically ‘clear’ or ‘unambiguous’ language. However, as noted previously, in the same essay—and after pointing out their repetitiveness—he arrives at the decision that the norito are of no “great and enduring literary value” (2).

The committee of translator and editors who produced the *Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai* translation of the *Man’yōshū* (originally published 1940) come close to linking the texts with the poetic corpus of OJ literature by noting that parallelism is a feature used in “Shinto litanies”¹⁷ and “...invariably in *chōka*” (xxi). They go no further in doing so, however. One of the few longer academic considerations of the texts is to be found in Konishi’s *A History of Japanese Literature, Vol.1: The Archaic and Ancient Ages* (1984).¹⁸ Konishi’s study also happens to be one of the few available in English that takes the Norito seriously as literature.

Using example passages from the ‘Celebration for the Palace’ (*Ōtonohokai*) and ‘Celebration of Prayers for the Coming Year’ (a mistranslation of *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, ‘Grain-Petitioning Festival’, as Philippi has it)—reproduced in translation in the English version—Konishi introduces some salient aspects of the Norito; not least the fact that they contain many phrases of five or seven syllable lengths (301-2). Additionally, he supposes, probably correctly, that many are composite texts comprising metrical phrases interspersed with explanatory prologues in “prose”

¹⁷This clearly refers to Norito—although, perhaps, not exclusively those contained in the *Engishiki*.

¹⁸Of course, as a Japanese-language source, strictly speaking, this should have been treated in the previous chapter. Its inclusion here reflects the influence of the widely-read translation of the work by translated by Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele (and edited by Earl Miner) on the English-reading Japanese Studies community.

(i.e. non-metrical lines)—which appears to be his principal justification for the term “verse-prose” he uses to describe the texts (ibid). Like other Japanese commentators discussed in the previous chapter Konishi links the texts with the belief in kotodama, noting, in particular, that the metrical ‘verse’ components, that form the core of the ritual texts, “served to activate the kotodama” (303).

Apart from metrical phrases, the main feature of Norito rhetoric introduced by Konishi is parallelism. He discerns a number of different types of parallelism in the texts, from collocations of similar words, through “direct” and “significant” antitheses, through to “alternating parallelism” (隔句対 *kakku tsui*)—which occurs when parallel phrases are themselves laid out in parallel through or between larger sections of text. (304). Because of the considerable volume of parallelistic material within the text and its complexity (Konishi considers, for example, “significant” antithetical parallelism to be more “advanced” than the direct kind), it is decided that the Norito texts were most likely influenced by Chinese poetic practice (306). If this is true, this would bring them closer in line with other elements of the OJ corpus and buttress the argument, made throughout this study, that the Norito are cast in the same literary mold as the *Man'yōshū* and other depositories of text classically understood as literature.

Edwin Cranston’s view is broadly similar. In his chapter of the first volume of *The Cambridge History of Japan*,¹⁹ Cranston gives a fuller appraisal than most of the Norito’s textual makeup – noting that their “rhetoric”, which he likens to that of the *Senmyō*,²⁰ depends on the “...repetition of formulaic phraseology” (485). They can also be likened to poetry—the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, in particular, is reminiscent of the “grand chōka style” (ibid)—which leads to the conclusion that in “their older strata [which Cranston had already identified as seventh or eighth century] they probably took form during that fertile period when the language perfected its po-

¹⁹The same discussion is reproduced in his own anthology, *A Gem Glistening Cup*.

²⁰This is a relatively common comparison. In *Realms of Literacy*, David Lurie, too, alludes to the commonalities of style the Engishiki Norito share with the *Senmyō*, noting that treating the two together was common within mid-twentieth century Japanese scholarship. In this case they were known as “literature of report and proclamation” 奏宣の文学 *sōsen no bungaku* (coined by Andō Tametsugu [1935, 35-90] and adopted by Kurano Kenji [1943, 328-451]”. p. 251 (Note 39)

tential as a vehicle for ritual and, out of that, made poetry, the period of which Hitomaro was the ultimate expression” (486).

The above are useful suggestions offering an optimistic starting point for a future in which Norito may be welcomed into the mainstream of Japanese literary studies. To date, however, no substantial investigation has been undertaken in English of the language or rhetoric of the Norito in comparison with Hitomaro, or any other *Man'yō* poet, to test the validity or usefulness of this view.

Sources outside literary studies

Very short mentions of the texts in linguistic, historical, cultural and religious studies are to be found here and there, but substantial engagements with either their textual matter, or the traditions it encodes, are extremely rare. Indeed, the Norito are perhaps conspicuous more for their absence in studies where, given their dual literary and religious dimensions, one might expect them to be mentioned.²¹ This is most likely related to the general perception of the texts, influenced by some of the English-language sources named above, as being relatively inaccessible and uninteresting.

There have been a few notable breaks in this silence; most prominently, perhaps in John Breen and Mark Teeuwen's discussion of the role of the texts in the context of the *Jingi* cult, found in their 2010 volume, *A New History of Shinto*, which offers a variety of sophisticated perspectives on the historical development of the religion. Building on the work of Nelly Naumann in German and a number of sources in Japanese that place the liturgies in their socio-political contexts, Breen and Teeuwen discuss the import of the Norito in reference to their place within what is often termed '*Jingi* myth'—the complex and multifaceted process of co-option of traditions that took place under the auspices of the Jingi-kan ('Office for Kami Affairs') in Nara.

²¹Gary Ebersole's *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*, which makes important points about the multiple social and ritual contexts in which *Man'yōshū* poetry could be deployed, for example, does not mention the Norito once.

Of particular interest is their note that, in common with other sources involved in this process, the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, or *Kinensai*, does not venerate central authority “in agricultural terms, but rather in economic and military terms” (34). Since in eighth century Japan—as in many cultures—products of agriculture were also objects of trade and commerce, and power over these was exercised through military overlordship, the applicability of those categories themselves is up for debate. Nevertheless, Breen and Teeuwen’s main point is both valid and important; the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, like other Norito, is more than just an agrarian rite. The ritual proffering and exchange of goods it describes (and which, in reality, it accompanied) had major significance for the geo-politics of the Yamato regime and subordinated satellite groups. The grain that might be assumed to be the chief object of interest to a ‘grain-petitioning’ rite does seem to be largely absent from lists of ritual goods involved in the mechanics of the rite—either documented self-referentially within the liturgical texts or in later accounts of it, however accurate, recorded elsewhere in the *Engishiki*. It is clear, nevertheless, that in this and other Norito, grain (御年 *mi-tosi* ‘HON-grain’, itself attested six times in the liturgy) retains a symbolic role as food and drink for the sovereign—in particular for its consumption by the ruler in ritual contexts; as well as (relatedly) a rhetorical function in rhyming phrases such as *ya-tukapo no ikasi po ni* and *nagamike no topomike*, where it is referred to in its uncooked and cooked forms respectively. The liturgy also contains the hapax, like *kamukapi*—of uncertain meaning but generally considered a collocation of 神 *kamu* (‘Deity’) and 穎 *kapi* (‘Grain ears’, ‘Ears still on the cut stalk’),²² written in phonograms 加牟加比, guaranteeing ‘correct’ pronunciation—which indicates some importance within the overall signification of the text (even if this was simply that it was an old word that needed to be spelled phonographically for reciters to recognize).²³

²²See Omodaka 1967, 222; Bentley, 239.

²³It is not my suggestion that phonographic writing was necessarily any ‘clearer’ to readers than logographic writing, as we know from many sources that both were used, in various combinations and orthographies, to encode the Old Japanese language, even in everyday discourse. There is no reason to assume that some texts were easier to read than others, as far as the scribes and their immediate circles were concerned (although how much difference existed between communities with regard to their use and style of writing Japanese is unknown). It is fair to point out, however, that phonographic script, by its very nature, is closely tied to phonology and sound and, as noted earlier, is used in the Norito where it is necessary to show how a sentence or phrase should be read in Japanese, by marking the particles for instance. It is relatively rare that NPs are written in phonograms—which, in itself, makes

Also of particular value in Breen and Teeuwen's analysis is their debunking of the notion that the Norito embody any sort of Japanese *esprit de corps* (36). The oldest among the texts were recorded in writing at a time before any notion of unified 'Japanese' statehood, and at a time when elites that oversaw the documenting of liturgies also "invested heavily in Yin-Yang and Buddhist practice, both as a means to position their court as the undisputed center of the nation and protect it from malign spirits" (ibid). With their roots firmly planted in this cultural milieu, their association with a Japanese spirit (derived from their cooption within *kokugaku* and other recent ideologies) is quite misleading. This is an important point if only because it is so easy to stray absent-mindedly into inappropriate territory with terms such as 'Japanese culture' and tradition.²⁴ Conversely, however, to contend that diachronic analyses are never valid would be equally troublesome. There is no reason to doubt that, for example, a consideration of commonalities between the Norito and the linguistic and cultural output of later inhabitants of the Japanese islands is justified and may bring about important conclusions in some areas; it is just important to remember that the texts came into being in the context of polities and societies that are as far removed from today's Japan as England (or, indeed, Scandinavia) of the twenty-first century is from the home of the *Beowulf* poet. In summary, as noted in the last chapter, there is copious literature on the subject of Englishiki ritual in its relationship to the politics and society of the developing state in Japanese. Breen and Teeuwen's analysis opens this literature up to English-reading academia and nuances many of its key points.

Aside from the above there is very little material in English that deals with Norito. Stuart Picken's *Sourcebook on Shinto* (2004) has already been mentioned above. A similar selection of readings and commentaries aimed at the student of Japanese religion, compiled and edited by Ian Reader, Esben Andreasen and Finn Stefánsson under the title *Japanese Religions: Past and Present* (1993), reproduces existing translations of the *Toshigoi no Matsuri* and the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ō-harae* (88-92), adding information about how they are deployed within Shinto

the phrase noteworthy. At the very least, therefore, I must agree with Bentley that phonographic writing conferred some sort of "emphasis" on text in a primarily logographic environment (15).

²⁴Even Kitagawa is occasionally guilty of this.

practice. The sections concerning Norito in these studies are relatively brief. Even briefer, but interesting nonetheless, is Ben-Amin Shillony’s comparison of the praxis and rationale of Jewish prayer with those of Norito, which appeared in Japanese translation as ‘Shintō no norito to Yudaya-kyō no kitōbun’ [‘Shinto Norito and the prayers of Judaism’], in *Jintai kagaku to nyū-saiensu no jōhōshi* (2012), but was originally written in English (personal communication). In linguistics, the texts are mentioned briefly in a number of sources, including Miyake’s *Old Japanese: A Phonetic Reconstruction* (2004, p.17), Frellesvig’s *A History of the Japanese Language* (2009, passim) and a number of smaller, or unpublished, studies influenced by similar linguistic approaches²⁵. To my knowledge, the only substantial treatment is found in John Bentley’s *A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose*, discussed later in this chapter.

One final source worth mentioning is Joseph Kitagawa’s essay, published as preface to the 1990 edition of Philippi’s translation of the Norito. The essay seems in particular to be concerned with establishing a more sophisticated, postmodern perspective on the texts and their surrounding historical narrative—noting the the problem of ‘hermeneutic distance’ in the understanding of texts that are temporally, geographically and culturally far removed from the interpreter (passim). It also makes the observation—an important one for the purposes of this study—that “...the intention behind collecting the norito was akin to that behind the compilation of the Man’yōshū: the desire to preserve early forms of rituals and prayers” (xxxvi). Here Kitagawa is placing the Norito in the broad cultural narrative that was formative for the MYS, in which, through the complex and interrelated processes of cooption, imitation, conservation and redefinition, the “enormous power and prestige of...Buddhism and Chinese civilization” (ibid) had wide-reaching implications for other traditions in Japan. This cultural context makes a comparison between the norito and other OJ texts—already necessitated on linguistic grounds—all the more worthwhile.

²⁵e.g. D. Trott, *Tense and Aspect in Old Japanese*, University of Oxford DPhil Thesis, 2014.

Sources in other European languages

Before moving on to discuss the largest study of Engishiki Norito in English to date, a brief word on sources in other European languages is needed. The latter are not numerous and can be divided roughly into two groups:

- (a) translations and cultural / literary commentary
- (b) linguistic descriptions and commentary.

Among the first group can be included the work of Heinrich Dumolin in German, appearing in two parts in *Monumenta Nipponica* in 1956. While not a translation of the texts themselves, as a well-researched and annotated translation of *Norito-kō*, Kamo no Mabuchi's commentary on the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, it contributed significantly to a general knowledge of the texts within Japanese studies in the West. *Norito-kō*, as noted in the previous chapter, contains a good deal of commentary on lexis in the *Toshigoi no Matsuri* and cross-references the poetic corpus, availing the reader of a wealth of information concerning the meaning of the text and usage in Old Japanese ²⁶

Also published in German is the important work of Nelly Naumann in '*Erfundene Traditionen*'—*Zur Standardisierung in den Norito* ["Invented Traditions'—On standardization in the Norito']²⁷, who examines the "standardization" (passim) of the norito that ran concurrent with their co-option within *Jingi* myth, and Hartmut Rotermund, who likens the 'magical' role of the norito with that of certain poems in the *Man'yōshū*, as Klaus Antoni notes (*Kotodama and the Kojiki: The Japanese "Word Soul" between Mythology, Spiritual Magic, and Political Ideology*, 4).²⁸ Naumann is relatively unusual among Western scholars in pointing out similarities of diction between the Norito and the OJ poetic corpus. The proposed connection is contingent on the premise that "pairs of opposites and parallelisms form the basis of poetic expression" (36) ²⁹.

²⁶For example, see the discussion of "阿須波 *asuba*" (< OJ *asupa*), p. 271.

²⁷In Antoni, K. Ed. 1997 *Rituale und ihre Urheber: 'Invented Traditions' in der japanischen Religionsgeschichte*

²⁸See Rotermund, Hartmut O. 1973. 'Majinai-uta: Grundlagen, Inhalte und Formelemente japanischer magischer Gedichte des 17. - 20. Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Interpretation.' (*MOAG* 59). Hamburg: OAG.

²⁹"Gegensatzpaare und Parallelismen bilden die Grundlage des poetischen Ausdrucks"

She notes that some imagery, expressed in clichés—such as “*wo die blauen Wolken langziehen*” (OJ *awokumwo no tanabiku kipami*, ‘where the blue clouds stretch out’) —“also applies” to *Man’yōshū* poetry of the same era (37).³⁰

Another significant contribution comes from L.M. Yermakoboy, who published a complete translation into Russian of all the Engishiki Norito alongside the *Senmyō* in 1991 under the title Норито СЭММЁ [‘Norito Senmyō’]. Like Naumann and many of the early English-language scholars Yermakoboy uses a transliteration based on historical spelling but not one that recreates the phonology of OJ. This is illustrated by the following lines from the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, which are repeated (sometimes with slight variation) in a number of places throughout the Norito corpus (46: I have added the kanji text for clarity):

大野原爾生物者
甘菜辛菜
青海原住物者
鰭能広物鰭能狭物

охоно-но хара-ни офуру моно ва
амана карана
авоми-но хара-ни суму моно ва
хата-но хиромоно хата-но сэмоно

Yermakoboy’s ‘introduction’ is a substantial essay in its own right, amounting to 81 pages. He draws on the work of Orikuchi Shinobu and Takeda Yūkichi, among others, to weave an analysis that, like Naumann’s, links the texts with poetry from the *Man’yōshū* and other elements of the OJ corpus through certain ritual topoi (passim).

The second group, linguistic commentary, includes a PhD thesis by Santiago J Martín Ciprián submitted to the University of Salamanca in 2015, entitled *Norito: Texto, Traducción y Comentario* [‘Norito: Text, Translation and Commentary’]. The thesis presents a kanji text and Spanish translation of the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*; however much of the remainder is dedicated to descriptive and comparative linguistic analysis of the text, morphological description and suggested etymologies for key lexemes (which of course include reconstruction of proto-Japanese

³⁰Doch auch die poetischen Bilder erstarren zum beliebig verwendbaren Versatzstück—eine Erscheinung, die letztlich auch für manche *Man’yōshū* gilt, die der gleichen Zeit entstammen.

forms), as well as a useful summary of existing literature dealing with the key questions that underpin OJ linguistics.

Finally, another doctoral thesis, by Anton Antonov, cited below, uses the Norito as part of a corpus of texts yielding data on certain features of the OJ language, with the objective of describing *Le rôle des suffixes nominaux en /+rV/ dans l'expression du lieu et de la direction en japonais et l'hypothèse de leur origine « altaïque »* [The role of /+rV/ nominal suffixes in the expression of place and direction in Japan, and the hypothesis of their “Altaic” origin] (thesis title). Both Ciprián and Antonov’s studies show influence from the linguistic theories of Bentley (and, ultimately, Alexander Vovin).

‘A descriptive grammar of early Old Japanese prose’

The most substantial scholarly engagement with Engishiki Norito to date is to be found in John Bentley’s 2001 publication *A descriptive grammar of early Old Japanese prose*, a reworking of his PhD thesis *A structural analysis of the language of the oldest norito*, submitted two years earlier. The book is a study of the language of the late seventh and early eighth century—which, the author contends, accounts for most of the language encoded by the texts of the earliest norito contained in the eighth volume of the *Engishiki*. It adduces further examples from the *Senmyō*, the *mokkan record* and, here and there, from the poetic corpus to support its arguments. It is the only study in English to handle the problem of dating the texts and the only one to engage with a broad range of modern Japanese editions, manuscripts and premodern print copies, in order to establish a base text for analysis that reflects the language and orthographic traditions of the eighth century as closely as possible.

Being the first monograph-length study in English of a set of texts that, as noted several times already, have been generally undervalued in anglophone scholarship, it is perhaps not surprising that Bentley’s study met with some dissenting opinions. It is not my intention to defend Bentley’s book. However, since its publication represents such an important development within

the history of Norito studies in English, it is worth dedicating a few lines to engage with the principal criticisms made of the book, insofar as they impinge on the scope of the present study. The points of contention that are of relevance here can be summarized as follows:

- (a) the norito are not prose (Miller, Miglione, Pinnington)
- (b) the norito are not Old Japanese (Miller, Miglione)
- (c) the critical text of the Norito that Bentley has produced is suspect (Miller).

The last two of these, (b) and (c), deserve particular attention since, as noted in the Introduction, Bentley's is one of a number of modern critical texts which have been consulted in this study—and it is his kanji text that has been used in the transcription of examples included in later chapters. They can be readily discussed together since, obviously, if the critical text Bentley has produced was not adequately researched, his claims that material contained therein encodes the Old Japanese language are left equally open to question.

Both (b) and (c) can be easily dismissed. Tackling (c) first, Miller's claim that Bentley "does not identify which manuscript(s) he has employed" (848) is groundless. As noted above, Bentley's book discusses two modern collated editions and, through them, a wide range of manuscript and printed sources, from the perspective of establishing the best critical text for discussion (18-26, 10-20 PhD Thesis). After identifying the manuscript and printed texts used by Torao in collating his edition³¹ Bentley notes "I have relied on Torao's...text. When there have been errors, I have corrected the text myself according to the various texts" (24). The two personal communications cited by Miller—presumably to buttress his contention that the author under review had played fast and loose with sources—are interesting asides that play a supporting role in Bentley's thesis and certainly do nothing to detract from it. Whatever other concerns one may have with the book, therefore, it cannot be denied that it addresses the question of texts in some detail and early on. Bentley's own critical text was produced by a process of comparison

³¹Torao's base text is the Kyôho printed text of 1723. He compared this one text with many others...[and]...also used the Kujô-ke manuscript...the Urabe Kanenaga Norito, Kanetsugu, Naikaku Bunko, Bonshun, Hanawa, Bonshun extra, Tsuchimikado, Inoue, Jôkyô and Fujinami manuscripts" (23-4).

that reflects a highly-regarded tradition of bibliographical scholarship in English and European languages.³² and stands up to comparison with other collated editions and text sources. This is why it has been adopted here as the basis for the kanji text used in examples—and is reproduced in full in Appendix 1.

This leads on easily to (b), represented by Miglione’s claim that Bentley’s “reconstruction of two different chronological groups of norito...is not definitely based on clear evidence” (309-10). In short, this criticism is wholly unfounded. Bentley cogently demonstrates that a subgroup within the Engishiki Norito corpus preserves etymological spelling of grammatical particles (32-6)—which justifies his consideration of the texts as part of an early OJ corpus. The thoroughness of Bentley’s textual and orthographic analysis alone is more than sufficient to justify his claims. Furthermore, internal and external historical data (toponyms, references etc.) further support the thesis that the earliest Norito were transcribed in a written medium at a time when Old Japanese was a living language, as will be touched upon briefly in the next chapter. Out of the three, therefore, (a) is the only criticism of Bentley’s analysis that merits fuller consideration—which it shall be given in the next few paragraphs.

Norito as poetry?

As noted above, English language sources have not, in general, engaged substantially with the literary qualities of the Norito, or with the question of how they relate, if at all, with the poetic corpus of Old Japanese. John Bentley’s book which—as noted above— is by far the largest study of the texts in English, suggests, in its title, that they are prose. While the book itself does go on to problematize this (30-31), it is perhaps understandable that its title provoked a debate regarding the essence of the texts as poetry or prose. In fact, the point was taken up in one way

³²He notes that he was guided by general principles set out in Williams and Abbott’s seminal *An Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies* (1989). The same Williams who co-wrote this seminal text is also responsible for the Methuen editions of *Macbeth* (2006), *Romeo and Juliet* (2007), and *Richard III* (2007). For an exposition of the painstaking degree to which details are preserved in textual scholarship of this kind, see: *A Bibliography of the Writings of Jeremy Taylor to 1700* (1971), compiled by Williams, in association with Robert Gathorne-Hardy.

or another, by all three reviewers of Bentley's book—whose views are outlined below.

The very first in the long line of criticisms that Miller levels at Bentley's work is that the Norito are not 'prose'. To illustrate this point—in the process exposing something of his own view of what is signified by the term—he highlights the texts' repetitiveness and their use of language resembling that of the OJ poetic tradition:

The texts with which he is concerned are in the main not prose, at least not in the usual understanding of that term... They are intricate, lapidary literary concoctions, full of repetitions and limited in vocabulary. They preserve a number of pre- (or at least, non-) Buddhist religious terms, many now not well understood; they make generous use of poetic-stylistic devices that elsewhere may be observed in full flower in the Old Japanese poetic canon... (847)

The second reviewer, Miglione, similarly, expresses surprise at Bentley's choice of the Norito, as the basis for his analysis of Old Japanese 'prose':

Bentley chooses to concentrate on the norito because he considers them as prose work. However, in the norito there is a presence of poetic lines, arranged in the typical structure of metric lines of 5/7/5 syllables, repeated throughout all the texts (Konishi, 1984:301-306). Considering that in this early stage of the language, and moreover in texts as liturgies, prose and poetry are strictly intermingled, it is not very realistic to try to separate these two ways of expression... we have the prose parts of *Kojiki*, as well as the *mokkan* (wooden tablets), dug out in great number from archaeological sites in recent years. All these elements make me think whether, instead of *norito*, analysing the language of *senmyô* and the above mentioned sources, would have represented a better choice. (309)

From a somewhat different angle, Noel Pinnington's review also makes the point that Bentley could have made more effort to engage with the question of what differentiates the 'special brand' of language to which he refers (i.e. poetry)³³ from the Norito:

[Bentley's data]...is hardly adequate for a nuanced discussion of the langue from which it sprung. Bentley seems to embrace the limitation rather too happily sometimes refraining from discussing forms that it does not include, and dismissing from consideration Manyôshû, as being poetry, and hence a special brand of language (Jan Mukarowsky and Roman Jacobsen [sic] are referred [sic] to justify this truism, but regrettably there is no

³³See p.2

discussion of what it might mean in this particular case, that is, there is no discussion of how the language of Manyōshū in fact differs from that of norito) (281-2)

In Bentley's defence, a discussion of this sort would lead to useful conclusions only if it critiqued the cultural sensitivities that shaped Jacobson and Mukarowsky's analyses, alongside its treatment of the Norito—and such a discussion, had it been present, would certainly have been criticized for bulking out a book primarily concerned with describing early OJ grammar. In any case, Bentley's decision to separate them from the poetic corpus as 'prose' is based on the introduction of a liturgy cited in the *Kojiki* as 'said' (云) rather than 'sung' (歌曰) (28).

The fact remains, however, that many of the phrases comprising the Norito texts fall into 5-7/7-5 syllabic structure typical of what is classically understood as poetic language in Japanese. In lexis, rhetoric and diction the texts also share common features with elements of the OJ poetic corpus, as comparisons in subsequent chapters demonstrate. Bentley, himself, paraphrasing Konishi's view, notes that "*norito* mirrors [sic] Japanese poetry by relying on specific diction for a desired effect" (28).

Aside from the reviewers mentioned above, there are a number of scholars who subscribe to this sort of 'half-way house' classification for the Norito. Konishi's term "verse-prose" was already introduced above. Linguist Antonov feels, likewise, that the Norito are neither prose nor poetry and deserve a treatment that recognizes their unique register:

...we are not inclined to accept...the liturgies as representing prose; in contrast with Bentley [2001a] and Vovin [2005]. We admit that they are not poetic language but believe, at the same time, that the variety of language used therein appertains to a very specific and highly codified register" (96)³⁴

Whether or not the norito can be considered 'poetry' is a moot point and is likely to remain so for two reasons. Firstly, aside from fragmentary records preserved in the *mokkan* texts, very little 'everyday' Old Japanese survives and, secondly, invoking terms like prose and poetry in

³⁴ ...nous ne sommes pas enclin à accepter...les liturgies comme représentant de la prose, à la différence de ce que font notamment Bentley [2001a] et Vovin [2005]. Nous admettons qu'il ne s'agit pas de langue poétique, mais nous estimons en même temps que la variété de langue utilisée appartient à un registre très particulier et hautement codifié.

relation to texts as alien from modern Western academia as the Norito at the least would require substantial historico-analytical engagement with their deployment—and risks falling foul of what Kitagawa terms “hermeneutical distance” (*passim*). As noted in the Introduction, the approach adopted in this study is to see the Norito as an example from one tradition that could be mobilized to problematize categories like these—and that, ultimately, the best way forward is to adopt a comparative approach centred on the OJ language as recorded in all extant sources, ‘poetic’ or otherwise.

Chapter 3

Two problematics

Chapters 1 and 2 sketched the history of Norito scholarship in Japanese and English and other European languages. This short chapter will briefly discuss two key problematics arising from this scholarship and from the texts themselves—and will explain the relevance of these to the study as a whole. One question that underpins the entirety of this study consists in how to place the Norito texts within the broad chronological sweep of Japanese literary development. Since this is fundamental to all subsequent analyses, it will be addressed immediately, below. The other problematic, related to how rhetoric links the texts to the poetic element of the OJ corpus, is introduced in brief below, but is broad enough that many pages will be filled with discussion of it, in subsequent chapters.

Dating the Norito

As noted in the Introduction, this study aims, as far as is possible, to understand the Engishiki Norito in chronologically appropriate linguistic, cultural and literary contexts. A major question that presents itself therefore is just how old the Norito actually are.

In Chapter 1, it was noted that the study of the Norito in Japan advanced greatly during the Edo Period, thanks to the efforts of the scholars from the *kokugaku* movement, for whom a principal attraction of the texts was their antiquity; and, in particular, the window on ancient language they offered. In Chapter 2, it was seen that a similar preoccupation with the antiquity

of the language preserved in the Norito affected early scholars and translators of the texts from the English-speaking world. To some extent this view of Norito as ‘ancient’ persists in both academic communities. Other opinions on the age of the texts, however, have been put forward.

In English, two reviewers of *A descriptive grammar of early Old Japanese prose*, Miller and Miglione, argued independently that Bentley had mistakenly claimed the texts to originate in the “early Old Japanese” period (Bentley, *passim*), as noted briefly in the last chapter. Kaneko (2012) notes that, in Japanese academia too, debate over the age of extant manuscripts and, ultimately, the antiquity of their source documents persists (14-16). In light of these circumstances, it is unrealistic to expect that a short study like this, or indeed anything short of major archaeological discovery, will have the final say on the age of the texts in their earliest written form. (Oral heritage is another matter that will be discussed separately below). Nevertheless, there are a few points concerning dating with which this study is able to engage, which are summarized in the following paragraphs.

The first point concerns the criticism, made of Bentley’s study of the texts in *A descriptive grammar of early Old Japanese prose*, to the effect that the study is unable to achieve its stated aims through analysis of the Norito texts since they do not encode pre-Heian Japanese, even in their earliest extant manuscript forms. Neither reviewer bases his/her claim on any evidence or substantive argument beyond remarking, that “The first manuscript copy of norito comes from the early Kamakura period (1185-1333)” (Miglione, 310), “at best...no earlier than ”early Kamakura,” i.e., ca. 1200;” (Miller, 847) and that “the mixed-script texts themselves are no earlier than 927” (*ibid*).

Though presented as uncontroversial, these statements are in need of some refinement. 927, as noted in the Introduction to this study, is the year when the compilation of the Engishiki was completed. Since contending that the norito texts found in chapter eight are no “earlier” than this amounts to claiming that (if included in the Engishiki at time of compilation) they must have been composed from scratch during that year, one is left wondering if the possibility of older sources being quoted, copied and interpolated in written documents can really have been

discarded (along with the science of textual exegesis) so completely in these reviews.

The other claim, that the earliest extant manuscript dates from “early Kamakura” is based on a statement to the same effect made by Takeda regarding the so-called 九条家本 *Kujōkebon*, the undated manuscript of the eighth volume of the *Engishiki* presumed to be the oldest (Takeda, 376). The other theories place the time of copying / compilation for this manuscript at mid-Heian (Emi Seifū), late-Heian (Aoki Kigen), end of Heian (校注延喜式 *Kōchū Engishiki*) (Kaneko 2012, 3).

Bentley’s study in fact contains by far the most thorough engagement with the problem of dating the texts in English. Rather than wasting time and space rephrasing his conclusions, it is simpler just to reproduce them here:

“....there is a clear split into two groups, because the first fifteen liturgies are related to the court, while the next twelve belong to the Ise Shrine. These liturgies were then arranged chronologically, according to what time of the year each ceremony was performed, with the first liturgy performed in the second month of the year, and the last performed near the end of the eleventh month. Having conducted my own textual analysis of the liturgies, I found a definite split in the orthography....The first fifteen liturgies (from the Toshigoshi no matsuri [sic] to Iwaido no matsuri) date from the late eighth century or earlier, while the liturgies starting with Ise shrine date from a period later than that....” (25-26)

Bentley’s view that some elements within the *Norito* corpus reflect an earlier tradition than others is supported by a wealth of textual data, discussed in brief below. It is also worth mentioning, however, that Bentley is by no means alone in splitting the texts into groups along such lines. As well as Omodaka’s claim that there are “old and new liturgies” (884), which Bentley cites (25), among common reference sources we have Takeda’s suggestions regarding the age and likely geographic provenance of certain *Norito* based on toponyms occurring within them (373-374) (although his conclusions differ from Bentley’s in places).¹

Bentley’s treatment of the core of the corpus as reflecting Old Japanese linguistic and literary environments is supported by a number of sources, not least Hashimoto (1942), Omodaka et al. (1967), Iwai (1981) and Kaneko (2012). Among English language sources, a similar view of the

¹See: Bentley, p. 26.

age of the texts is adopted in Miyake (2003) and Frellesvig (2009), amongst others. Even Takeda, who highlights the need to recognize that the texts have “changed in the course of transmission” (374), notes that a number of the texts are “believed to be old” (ibid) and that some, notably the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, have a base deriving from the Asuka period (373). This fits in well with Bentley’s periodization.

Writing systems, *mokkan* and *man’yōgana* spelling

Once thought to be a corpus confined exclusively to formal recitation at religious and state ritual events—and, in terms of textual attestations to the Norito and *Senmyō*—the mixed-script 宣命体 *senmyō-tai* is now considered to be fruitfully comparable to other orthographies in use during the period that Old Japanese was a spoken language. In particular, as Bentley notes, it shares many similarities with scripts used to write messages and documents on woodstrips (木管 *mokkan*), during the same period², most likely originating in similar systems employed on the Korean peninsula.³ Mixed script writing marking grammatical particles and other phonographically-written words in smaller characters was in use, alongside another system identical but for the differentiation of character size, on *mokkan* during the late Asuka Period (late seventh century) (14). Bentley’s examples can now be augmented further with data from the *Mokkan Database*.⁴

In contrast with transmitted texts, the *mokkan* record, although composed of short and often fragmentary sources, is growing year on year, as new strips are discovered at archaeological sites; and is now a sizeable corpus in its own right. Inspection of the *mokkan* record correspond-

²See: Bentley, 11-18

³Bentley, 9-10, 13 and 2001b ‘The Origin of Man’yōgana’ (passim).

⁴木管データベース *Mokkan dētābēsu*, compiled by the 奈良文化財研究所 *Nara Bunka Kenkyūsho* [Nara Cultural Properties Research Institute]. The following text written in ink on a *mokkan* excavated from the Fujiwara Palace site is an example of the type of material available in this database: 卿等前恐々謹解寵命□・卿尔受給請欲止申。 Not only does this *mokkan* preserve a mixed logo-phonographic orthography, it also preserves elements of syntax common in the Norito, notably Koreanism 前, ‘before’ in conjunction with 申 ‘to speak’, a possible Koreanism (See: Bentley, 10). A fuller consideration of the link between the *mokkan* and ‘literary’ OJ record is to be found in Duthie, T., *Man’yōshū and the Imperial Imagination* (2014) The strips are dated, wherever possible. In addition to orthographic comparisons, these sources are sometimes able to yield comparative contextual data concerning deployment of certain lexis within the Norito.

ing chronologically with literary OJ sources has enabled scholars to start to build a picture of how Old Japanese was used in ‘everyday’ writing, presumed to be closer to spoken usage than the ‘special’ language used in poetry, or performed texts, such as the Norito; although as far as writing systems are concerned, it would not appear that any major discrepancies existed between the ‘everyday’ and the ‘special’—if those distinctions even existed. This approach has parallels in the reconstruction of Vulgar Latin from the so-called “sub-literary tradition of Roman inscriptions”.⁵

In addition to comparisons with *mokkan*, some of the strongest evidence for including the Norito in the corpus classically understood as Old Japanese literature is related to *man’yōgana* spelling. As noted in the last Chapter, Bentley noticed a split between the first fifteen texts and the remainder with regard to the retention of etymological spellings of *kō* and *otsu* vowel distinctions (25-26) and, particularly, of /mwo/ and /mo/—a distinction which had collapsed even by the late OJ period (35). He justifies the split by the suggestion that the two groups originated from different text repositories or traditions (26). This argument needs no further refinement here. It is sufficient to note that this study adopts the same court norito as its principal source of data, with the exception that it excludes from consideration the small text written entirely logographically and in syntax much closer to Classical Chinese.⁶

The usual explanation for the existence of this text, based on its title in the Engishiki, is that it pertains to a group of 渡来人 *toraijin* (immigrants) from the continent resident in Yamato, gaining the designation 東文忌寸部, presumably to distinguish them from 西文忌寸部, descendants of the semi-legendary Paekchean scholar 王仁 Wani, resident in 河内 / 西 Kawachi (OJ Kaputi) (Takeda 427). However, it should be noted that, just because the text is written in a different script (and probably language), it does not necessarily derive from a different source text, or reflect an entirely heterodox tradition. Just as different, but contemporaneous, styles of writing are attested within the composite documents that comprise the *Man’yōshū*, and the

⁵See: Mann, J., ‘Spoken Latin in Britain as Evidenced by the Inscriptions’, *Britannia* 2 (1971), in Thomas, C. *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500*, p.69.

⁶As Miglione notes (310), Bentley left this in his text (although it does not figure within his analyses).

mokkan record, it is in no way unusual that a text such as this should be included. There is a chance that it was interpolated later; perhaps at the time of the compilation of the *Engishiki*. However, there is an equal chance that the text already formed part of the Norito corpus, in whatever form that was prior to its incorporation in the *shiki* text.

Interlinear Glosses

Related to the above, there is the issue of the glossing of manuscripts. Since so much of the text is written logographically, a good proportion of the data necessary to form an image of the sound shape of the Norito derives from interlinear *katakana* glosses which, of course, do not preserve the complete inventory of OJ phonemes. In a sense, however, the reason that they cannot be wholly trusted is the same reason that they should neither be disregarded; they have evolved over time, through repeated copying. Of course, assuming a single ‘original’ source for metadata like glosses falls foul of the same theoretical problems as would a similar presumption made of the origins of principal texts. Nevertheless, while clearly composite texts in their own right, it would generally appear that many glossings in the Norito consist of very archaic material. Bentley’s comments on the use and possible age of these data are apposite here:

When the liturgies were first committed to paper (or wood or bamboo), the writer used classical Chinese mixed with phonetic script...It appears that not long after this interlinear readings were introduced into the text to guarantee that even the Chinese sections of the text could be recited in Japanese. Almost all the surviving readings are written in *katakana*, but there is evidence in the Kanetsugu manuscript that the readings originally were written in *man'yōgana*... (31)

This evidence is related to characters used in the glossings that show a development from full-form characters, in course of the transmission of the text. In particular, the following three characters, selected by Hasegawa (1972, 52), are of interest:

Original	Altered to	Final Product
左	七	サ (sa)
禰 ⁷	子	ネ (ne)
和	禾	ワ (wa)

(Reproduced from Bentley, 32)

This requires some further explanation. The “Kanetsugu” manuscript referred to here is that of 卜部兼右 (Urabe no Kanemigi, sometimes read Kanesuke), called “Kanetsugu” in Bentley and in Ciprián, but more commonly known as Yoshida Kanemigi. This Kanemigi needs to be distinguished from another member of the family with the same name, as Kaneko Yoshimitsu explains:

“Among the founders of the fourth generation there was someone of the same name who also hailed from the Yoshida family. The Kanemigi who copied the Norito was twenty-one years old at the time of Kanenaga’s death. The two were known to each other.” (6)

The Kanemigi who “was twenty-one years old at the time of Kanenaga’s death” mentioned here was the second son of Kiyohara Nobutaka—who was the third son of Yoshida Kanetomo, the founder of so-called 吉田神道 *Yoshida Shintō*, or 唯一神道 *Yuitsu Shintō* (‘One-and-only Shinto’) sect (ibid). As Itō Satoshi explains, Kanemigi succeeded to the head of the Yoshida house⁸ at the tender age of ten, as the result of a feud:

“The Head of the Household of Yoshida at the time was Kanemitsu (the son of the first child of Kanetomo, Kanemune), but a dispute over transmission grew up between him and Hirano Kanenaga (Kanetomo’s second son), ending in Kanemitsu setting fire to his own residence and absconding in Daiei 5 (1525). As a result of this, Kanemigi succeeded him, at just ten years of age. (*Shintō Jiten* 540)

The loss of important documents from the fire and flight of Kanemitsu was clearly a major event in the life of Kanemigi who, after taking up his role as head of the house, “dedicated

⁷ Actually a variant character not included in the standard typesets: 禰

⁸ For a short account of his achievements in this role in English see: Breen and Teeuwen, p. 51.

himself to restoring them” (ibid.). It is during this period that he made his copy of the Engishiki Norito (1542/3).

Data obtained from glossings within the Kanemigi manuscript can be further nuanced by consulting the manuscript created by the second party in the dispute that resulted in the destruction of Kanemitsu’s property and the loss of much valuable material: Kanenaga. The Urabe Kanenaga text is a mere nineteen years older than the Kanemigi version. Both manuscripts are now housed in the library of Kokugakuin University. Given the course of events described above, it is perhaps not surprising that the two texts preserve rather different textual traditions (which are maintained in later copies and variants of the texts), despite their closeness in age and common origins within the Yoshida school. The situation is complicated but, as Kaneko demonstrates, close inspection of all extant manuscripts reveals a divergence between those ‘close’ to the Kanemigi manuscripts (itself relatively close to the Kujōke manuscript) and those that share more with the Kanenaga version:

However...there are manuscripts that coincide with the Kujōke text in many places and contain material that sometimes feels quite distant from the other various versions; these are the Urabe Kanemigi text and the Mukyūkai-bunko text. However...excluding those texts which are thought to be copied from the Kanemigi, there are number of manuscripts that share commonalities with the Kanenaga text. (16)⁹

Kanenaga was adopted into a branch of the family based at Hirano. It might be supposed that he had access to earlier copies of the Engishiki Norito which became the basis for his text but were not shared with the branch of the family responsible for the Kanemigi manuscript—especially given the tense relationship between the two. The order of the liturgies is a little different (appearing before *Kasuga Matsuri* in the Kanenaga text and after it in other manuscripts) and there are a few textual disparities; for example, the concluding section of *Toshigoi no Matsuri*—which is somewhat extended in the Kanenaga version.

⁹ただし（中略）九条家本との一致が多く、むしろ他の諸本との距離を感じさせる例もある写本として、ト部兼石と無窮会文庫本とがある。ただし（中略）ト部兼石からの転写とおもわれるものを除くと、現存する諸本のうちの数本はト部兼永本との共通点がある。

Figure 3.1: /ne/

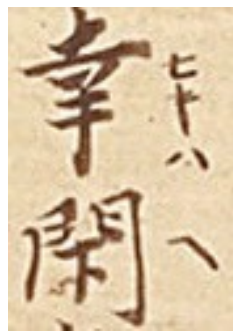
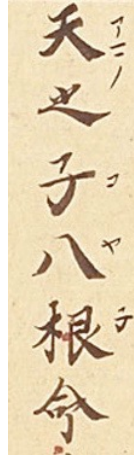


Figure 3.2: /sa/ (1)



Figure 3.3: /sa/ (2)

With regard to *kana* glossings, however, the Kanenaga manuscript also contains some of the variant characters found in the Kanemigi text.

子 for /ne/ is found throughout the Kanenaga text (Fig. 3.1); however 子 was retained in alternation with ネ, to write /ne/ until the Meiji period – so its use constitutes no strong evidence of archaism. As in the Kanemigi text, the graph 七 is found alongside サ, to denote /sa/ (Figs. 3.2 & 3.3), which might support the developmental pattern, 左→七→サ, through repeated copying and amendment, as suggested by Hasegawa.¹⁰ The syllable /wa/ is denoted by the graph ワ, as it is in modern katakana usage. As in the Kanemigi manuscript, 大君 is glossed as a reading guide for 王 (passim) (Fig. 3.4).

¹⁰The use of サ grew considerably from the eleventh century, although 七 never died out completely; Seeley, 198.

The syllable /ki/ is rendered most commonly in the manuscript as き, as in modern katakana usage, but on at least one occasion another graph, similar but with only one intersecting diagonal is used. (Fig 3.5)¹¹. This is unlikely to be intended to write anything other than /ki/, because it glosses a word 錯 *kikapi* (‘joints’) that is explained (in smaller full-form characters) as having the form 伎加比 /kikapi/. The form with only one diagonal is found within glossings in the Saidaiji *Golden Light Sutra*, dating from 830.¹² Both forms are found together, as they are in the Kanenaga manuscript, in a copy of the 史記 *Shijing* (Jp. *Shiki*) housed at Tōhoku University that dates from 1073¹³.

Figure 3.4: 王・大君

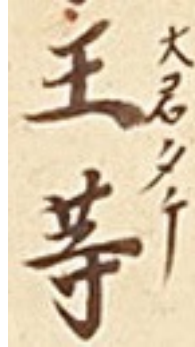
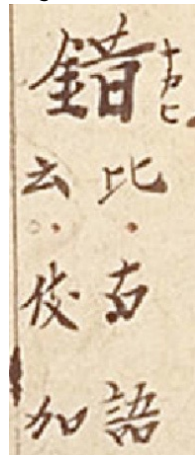


Figure 3.5: /ki/



¹¹The modern graph き became “predominant” from about the fourteenth century, see: Seeley, 198

¹²See: the following list for more details: 「大辞林第三版」の巻末付録「特別ページ: 片仮名」 [*Daijirin 3rd Edition*, Appendix ‘Special Pages: Katakana’]

¹³ibid.



Figure 3.6: /u/

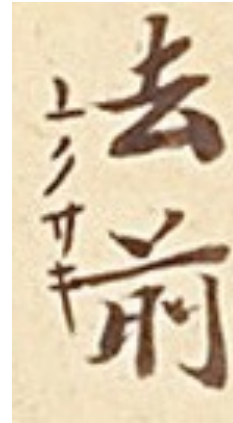
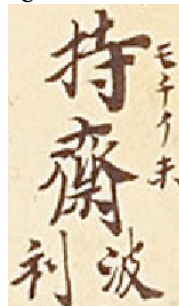


Figure 3.7: /yu/

/u/ is written 𐰇, in the left gloss of 疎, and ウ in the right gloss (Fig. 3.6). ウ became “pre-dominant” from about the twelfth century (Seeley, 198). Likewise, /yu/ is written throughout with the first character shown in Fig. 3.7. which was prevalent until the end of the eleventh century, alongside 由 (ibid.).

The manuscript also preserves at least one full-form *man'yōgana* in its glossings; 末 (Fig.3.8). Based on data from other manuscripts this would appear to be a 借音仮名 *shaku-ongana* for /ma/. Full-form phonograms continued to be used alongside the developing *kana* syllabaries “through the MJ period” (Frellesvig, 160) so their presence is no definitive proof that the glossings have earlier origins. However, the mixed usage seen here is indicative that glossings were likely altered over time along with the text and that a number of them were already present in manuscripts predating the Kanenaga text that were used in its collation.

Figure 3.8: /ma/



Of course it is not the case that *kana* glossings in this, or any other manuscript version, preserve Old Japanese perfectly. *Kana* is underspecifying even with respect to EMJ (Frellesvig 163), so this is impossible. Nor are the glossings in any way entirely conservative or archaic. Some 音便 *onbin* sound changes are noticeable; for example /sai/ < /saki/ (*Toshigoi no Matsuri*) and /ofoN/ < /opomi/ (passim).¹⁴ It is sufficient to conclude that it would appear that the glossings themselves have had a long textual history which, through solid comparative exegetical methods, can be unpicked to inform modern editors' interpretations of the text. The Kanenaga manuscript glossings would appear to preserve old material that merits further study.¹⁵ At the very least, it is clear that interlinear glossings offer the student of Norito a good deal more than “widely diverging exegetical opinions of this or that Tokugawa hermeneute”, as Miller alleged (847).

It is for these reasons that this study has not deviated from the approach taken by the *Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese*, the editors of the various modern critical editions of Engishiki Norito and the *Jidaibetsu Kokugo Daijiten Jōdai-hen* in handling the glosses as repositories of linguistic data to be valued.

Returning to dating the texts, then, in conclusion it is noted that there are ample textual, meta-textual and linguistic grounds for treating the central core of the Norito texts as Old Japanese; as indeed many commentators have done. It is also clear that there may be some noise from later stages of the language affecting the shape of modern editions, through the manuscript and reading traditions. The same may be said of a good proportion of the OJ corpus. Short of a major archaeological discovery (along the lines of one or more complete Norito texts written on *mokkan* glossed with full-form phonograms), these textual data are all anyone has to

¹⁴Onbin have been described as “the defining set of linguistic changes of the EMJ period” (192); their presence therefore means a particular reading cannot predate that period. However, the *kunten* record proves that they were already “an established part of the language by the time of the appearance of the first mainstream EMJ written sources at the beginning of the tenth century” (194), their presence in glossings of this sort is in no way surprising.

¹⁵These data from glossings tie in well with Kotani Hiroyasu's conclusions regarding the manuscript: namely that it preserves “older” (presumably more etymologically correct) *man'yōgana* than the Ku jōke text. See: Kotani, H. 木簡と宣命の国語学的研究 *Mokkan to senmyō no kokugogakuteki kenkyū* (1986), also quoted in Kaneko (2012), pp. 15-16.

go on and, in light of this situation, it is my view that it is important to adopt a broadminded approach—acknowledging that all texts represent a dynamic tradition, while also recognizing the importance of textual data to furnish the artefacts by which the roots of that tradition might be ascertained.

Rhetoric and diction; poetry and musicality

The question of whether to define the Englishiki Norito as poetry or prose—or something between the two—has been of interest to some commentators, as noted in the previous chapter. Not only is this question very difficult to answer because of a scarcity of pure ‘prose’ sources—also as suggested previously; it is also perhaps the wrong question to be asking. Given the hermeneutical distances involved, why should the Norito be trammled within any such category? Nevertheless, whether or not one finds such categories useful; it is clear that the key questions of phrasing, rhetoric, diction and musicality of language underpinning studies of poetics will coincide with this study’s general fabric of support.

One approach to dealing with these sorts of questions would be to adopt one or other prototype originating within the study of poetic language in the context of the European tradition. Certainly, there is no shortage of models to which one could refer.¹⁶

An alternative, is to use contextual evidence from the Japanese tradition itself; evidence such as the differentiation seen between the Norito and poetry and song in the *Kojiki*, indicated by an introductory “云” (for Norito) and “歌曰” (for poetry or song), and noted by Bentley. This approach is probably more defensible than unthinkingly applying western categories; however, it shares with those categories a reductionist discreteness that would surely benefit equally as much from problematizing. Japanese taxonomies, like others, frequently exhibit slippage; and that slippage itself can offer a useful starting point for close analysis. The example of 歌いもの *utaimono* and 語りもの *katarimono* is a case in point. These are two well-known Japanese

¹⁶Roman Jakobson, already mentioned in the previous chapter, among other formalists, offers (at least) one such prototype; that will on occasions prove useful in the course of subsequent analyses.

categories or genres of performance art that, like *norito*, do not map perfectly onto Western European terms such as song, or story-telling.

The distinction between them is classically understood to consist in the sorts of thematic material used in each and the techniques employed to pronounce and perform the words. As Oku Shinobu et al note,¹⁷ *utaimono* syllables are drawn out and sung or pronounced melodiously¹⁸; whereas in *katarimono*, descriptive or narrative material is recounted in a recitative fashion¹⁹ (46). However, as they also argue, in practical terms there is, and always has been, considerable overlap between the art-forms and, as such, it is not always fruitful to attempt to classify all texts generically in this way (*ibid*).

The approach adopted in this study is to allow features of the text to guide the analysis. A major salient feature of the *Norito* texts is their use of repetition, as noted in existing literature. This repetition, it will be observed, operates on several interconnected levels. It is repetition in one form or another—metre, parallelism, rhyme, and so on—that furnishes the *Norito* with all of the similarities to poetry and song with which they have sometimes been accredited. It is also repetition that, ironically, has been responsible in part for the texts’ relative obscurity within literary studies. The *Norito* are repetitive; repetition will therefore be at the heart of all analyses in the remainder of this study. The next chapter discusses how a study of rhetorical repetition of this kind may be meaningfully related to broader critical narratives.

¹⁷See: 日本の伝統的なリズムの学習に関する基礎的研究 ‘*Nihon no dentōtekina rizumu no gakushū ni kansuru kisotekikenkyū*’ [A study in the basics of learning traditional Japanese rhythms], Oku Shinobu, et al. (c. 2008).

¹⁸ “音節を引き延ばして旋律的に”

¹⁹ “叙事の内容を朗誦的に語る”

Chapter 4

theory or Theory?

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 have introduced some critical problems posed by the texts of the Engishiki Norito and the current state of the literature surrounding them—principally in relation to language: rhetoric, poetry / prose distinctions, the encoding of text in writing and so on. It falls to this short chapter, therefore, to meditate briefly on this study's relationship with 'theory'—a controversial and perplexingly broad term. It is not this chapter's place to argue that any one theory is paramount or to set up anything approaching a strict theoretical or methodological framework in which subsequent analyses are to be fitted—but rather, loosely, to set the tone for the theoretical meditations that seep into, and envelope subsequent chapters. Since the revival of rhetoric in the West, where it has happened,¹ has been often been related to (now mostly outmoded, but still pervasive) intellectual movements associated with Theory, these movements (elaborated upon below) constitute a good place to start. Meditation, in this case, means a manifest self-awareness of the involuted complexity of the critical process. It might be argued that since all criticism is to some degree omphaloskeptic the thrust of a critic's concerns—his or her own micro-theory—should be plain without the need for any further self-consciously and self-indulgently 'theoretical' rambling. However, if not a dereliction of duty, to leave aside discussion of theory altogether in a rhetorical study of the Norito is at least a missed opportunity, as the next few paragraphs aim to demonstrate.

To minimize confusion, at this point it is helpful to invoke a distinction between plain old

¹See discussion in Introduction.

theory, (*literary* theory); the theory that is born out of all critical engagement with textual material, primary and secondary, and its greedy namesake Theory (with a capital ‘T’); who, engorged by anthropological and sociological discourses, structuralist linguistics, psychoanalysis and Continental Philosophy gained, and later lost, its honorific initial. Theory with a capital T—what has been described as the “miscellaneous body of intellectual approaches that had increasingly become interlinked and mutually reinforcing in their repudiation of...‘liberal-humanist’...traditions in literary study, history, aesthetics and philosophy” (Baldick 334)—is routinely seen as a (now defunct) force that drove criticism from the outside—most closely associated with the assembling, and later disassembling, of Grand Narratives. However, as the recent emergence of a new “centrality of the literary” (Culler *passim*) within approaches inspired by Theory would appear to suggest, Theory, in literary criticism, was always most interesting at its *weakest* points—the points of meaningful intersection with text at which it was most susceptible to redefinition in new (but duller) shades of speculative discourse, wherein it tended, once more, toward plain old *theory*. Theory with a capital T was certainly never oblivious to its constantly repeating subjection to reappraisal from the perspective of texts of all descriptions. Christopher Norris summarizes the Foucaultian view, for example, as follows: “texts and interpretative strategies compete for domination in a field staked out by no single order of validating method” (87).

For the very reason that criticism is at once influenced by and generative of theory, themes that have been neglected in the scholarship of texts like the *Norito* to date intersect with issues of concern to theoretical discourses within Western criticism—meaning that no meaningful study of them can ever be made in a Western language, without at least a nod to the polemics surrounding those themes in theory. Rhyme, discussed in Chapters 7-9, for example, has been exposed to such diametric extremes of opinion within English criticism, that to invoke the term in a study of a non-Western text without meditating on these extremes risks bringing about a thoroughly lop-sided presentation of material. In *Reduced to Rhyme: On Contemporary Doggerel*, professor of English and defender of rhyme David Caplan runs his readers quickly through

the changes of fortune undergone by (end-)rhyme within discourse on English poetry since the Renaissance:

In Renaissance debates about versification, rhyme represents a modern technique, regardless of whether the participant decries rhyme as a “troublesome and modern bondage” or celebrates it as the “the chief life” of “modern” “versifying.” By the eighteenth century, many observers declared the argument settled. “[R]hyming is what I have ever accounted the very essential of a good poet,” Jonathan Swift advised a younger poet, adding, “And in that notion I am not singular.” To illustrate this lesson, Swift labored to develop an adequate metaphor for rhyme’s extensive powers. “Verse without rhyme is a body without a soul,” he wrote, “or a bell without a clapper.” Many poets and critics similarly maintained that rhyme defined the language’s poetry. “Rhyme,” Swinburne observed, building to his own comparison, “is the native condition of lyric verse in English: a rhymeless lyric is a maimed thing.” No knowledgeable reader holds this position today. (166-7)

Faced with such *monumental shifts* of taste and culture, any reasonable critic understands the need to think about how these shifts intersect with the critical terms he or she is using; which leads to the birth of a theoretical discourse—in some cases almost despite the critic’s best intentions. Academic cultures in the West mean that it is most frequently in the concepts and discourses forged by theoretical apparatus of the preceding generation that young critics find their inspiration.

This is surely why, ironically given the general shift in perception away from Theory as a force to shape literary studies, questions with sophisticated theoretical implications, formed under the influence of major contributors to what might be called the heyday of Theory in the mid-to-late twentieth century are, in the early decades of the twenty-first, increasingly forming the mainstay of new research in literary and cultural studies. This is occurring even in disciplines that were once less theoretically engaged. This trend was noticed by Jonathan Culler, an observer with decades of experience, in 2007. He writes:

“...anyone who has served on an appointments committee in a literature department recently has confronted all too palpable evidence that theory is not dead. In the very tight academic job market, where any opening can attract hundreds of applications, one can survey the state of literary studies simply by reading through the applications...even fields

previously immune or resistant, such as Chinese studies or medieval studies, today produce candidates with great theoretical sophistication...posing questions that...theoretical discourses have helped them formulate...Texts are read intensively, with theoretical issues in mind... ...The way questions in dissertation or postdissertation projects are framed is generated or inflected by theoretical investigations, speculations, argument. In that sense literary...studies are very much in theory these days, even if theory itself is not seen as the cutting edge..." (*The Literary in Theory* 2)

The spread of theoretization provokes another question—are not these new authors continuing to contribute to and *produce* theory? Assuming their work is engaged with the sorts of questions to which Culler is referring, above—and that it is read by others— they must be. For this reason, within the increasingly theoretical post-Theory order, then, the scholar of non-Western textual material has a particularly powerful complement of latent theory to unearth, and present for discussion. As long as theory is perceived as something produced in the West, through engagement with Western materials, its encounters with non-Western texts will seem ethnocentric; the incongruous use, on one region, of tools forged in another—and, on occasions, wrought into unhelpful shapes by the politics and philosophy of prestige. In contrast, theory that is fully engaged with the non-West will gather itself around, and remain conscious of, the points where conversations meet and concepts are honed through constant reappraisal alongside counterparts from other intellectual traditions.

Thus, rather than seeing theoretical engagement—and in particular the application of theory (or Theory)—simply as a means of minimizing projection or distortion (in keeping with the routine belief that the ultimate—and surely unattainable—objective of the critic is to avoid projection), it is possible, and in my view potentially interesting, to exploit the critic's tendency to project and ask instead what studying (and consequently projecting theory onto) texts like the *Norito* can tell us about the complex relationships between text and criticism, and between criticism and theories, in the academic space the current study inhabits. This is the principal reason that the moments of low-key theoretical meditation found in this chapter and, here and there, throughout the remainder of this study are justifiable.

Issues of space and relevance confine the remainder of this chapter to the discussion of just one of the many theoretical views through which criticism has been composed over the last few decades, in relation to its relationship to a rhetorical approach to text, such as the one adopted in this study. For this role, I have chosen ‘deconstruction’, most closely associated with the essays of Jacques Derrida. My reasons for this choice centre on the rhetoricality of Derrida’s writings themselves, as the following paragraphs will demonstrate.

In keeping with the general orientation of thinking outlined above, it is not my intention to introduce the salient lines of intersection between this study and deconstruction in theoretical terms as an overture to any serious attempt to ‘deconstruct’ the Norito in subsequent chapters. Rather, it is hoped, they will be seen as a few, out of many, potentially viable conduits through which observations made about the Norito might eventually flow back into criticism—with the objective of seeing the texts as the equals of criticism and theory. This, in turn, feeds into the gradual process, to which this study hopes to contribute, whereby the texts are brought back in from the cold isolation forced on them by taxonomic and (post-)colonial concerns.

The rhetoricality of deconstruction

The Western Humanities have been coming to terms—in the literal sense of finding a acceptable idiom in which to do business—with deconstruction now for more than half a century. It is notoriously elusive of concise definition—for the very reason that it concerns itself with the undermining of language and, particularly, what it sees as “rigorous” and “unreliable” (de Man 1979 *Allegories of Reading* 19) targeted uses of language—of which generic definitions are one representative denomination.

While it may not be easy to say what deconstruction is, it should be easier to describe what it does—at least as far as that may be ascertained from the writings of Derrida and other authors with which the term is most closely associated. The next few paragraphs attempt to do this in brief, with inevitable lacunae that could be filled only with the luxuries of more time, more

space and a broader and deeper knowledge of the textual traditions on which Derrida draws. Briefly, then, deconstruction teases the sense out of language, privileging the play—productive uncertainties—operating in the space between the polarities within what Derrida describes as the ‘*logos classique*’, the sense of which might be more easily accessed in English through words like ‘reasoning’ or ‘argument’² (and the onto-historical implications of these terms). Literary language and critical language are picked apart, alongside each other, and what is left over for readers to interpret is necessarily a challengingly literary document in its own right. As Barbara Johnson puts it “If anything is destroyed in a deconstructive reading, it is...the claim to unequivocal domination of one mode of signifying over another” (*The Critical Difference*, 5). Of course, there was never anything new about picking texts apart, or thinking critically about critical nomenclature; literary critics had been doing that since antiquity. What made deconstruction so difficult and provocative was that uncertainties in text were not presented alongside explanations, according to the precedents of dialectic, or logical reasoning—as this would have undermined Derrida’s rhetorical presentation—but rather alongside related uncertainties inherent in language, including the language of criticism.

Relatedly, another interpretive difficulty for readers of Derrida that arises from this presentation is the rhetoricality of the presentation itself. Since to craft an argument that depended on the oppositionality of statements would have run counter to the thrust of his thinking about the nature of argumentation, Derrida’s ‘point’ has to be less a ‘point’ and more a vaguely-sketched ‘line’ of questioning, dependent on—and illuminated by—the interrelatedness of the media through which it is expressed (i.e. words, phrases and sentences in the French language). His readers are not *told* things as much as *shown* them in words—the structure of his text thus buttressing, by analogy, the consideration of others housed within it. This mode of writing is certainly a movement toward rhetoric. It would be misleading to represent it wholly as a movement away from classical modes of argument and refutation—since the oppositionalities it challenges

²*Logos* is, of course, a highly polysemous term in Greek. See Sean Gaston, Ian Maclachlan (Eds.) *Reading Derrida’s Of Grammatology* (2011), p.25, for a consideration of its plurality of meanings and the ramifications of this for Derrida’s and Heidegger’s engagements with the term.

are, and always have been, a key element within the rhetorical tradition upon which he draws. And vice versa—the tools of classical rhetoric are scarcely, if ever, absent from ‘logical’ argument. Appropriately to itself, it is neither one thing nor the other, a textuality caught on the cusp.

Viewed positively, this degree of vagueness is helpful to the text scholar in that it necessitates a slowing down of the critical process, allowing texts to be read closely and meditatively, as well as by virtue of the thoughtful linguisticity it inspires, indeed on which it depends, as it saps at the roots of applied language; tied to, but challenging classically-accepted text-functions. Less enthusiastic appraisals of Derrida’s writing were also apt to centre on its abstruseness, with many critics writing off the ingenious crafting of his writing as just that; crafty—but ultimately lacking in substance, “...mere wordplay” (Kneale, 187). An examiner, who dignified a young Derrida’s philosophy license qualifying examination paper with the score of 5/20 wrote, of his responses:

“The answers are brilliant in the very same way that they are obscure...An exercise in virtuosity, with undeniable intelligence, but with no particular relation to the history of philosophy....Can come back when he is prepared to accept the rules and not *invent* where he needs to be better *informed*.”³

Ironically, the last sentence, by design or otherwise, itself echoes deconstruction in its rhetorical posturing (which, just perhaps, tells us something about the power of rhetoric in mediating between two sides of any dialogue). The contrast implied by the juxtaposition of the two italicized verbs *invent* and *inform* (presumably intended to be given suprasegmental stress when read aloud), is rendered all the more clear by the ironic disjunction of overall sense and lexical choice. The words themselves encourage contemplation of similarity; the repetition of the Latin preposition and verbal affix in both lends them rhyme and tells of a common etymological heritage. Their position within the syntax, as well as suggested intonation, on the other hand, turns them into code-words for two opposing ethical poles—a thoroughly rhetorical paradox that would not seem out of place in one of Derrida’s own essays.

This sort of etymologizing is certainly characteristic of deconstruction, and related to a clas-

³Quoted in *The New York Review of Books* review of Benoît Peeters’ *Derrida: A Biography*, March 25, 2013 —<http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2013/03/25/derrida-excluded-favorite/>

sicist impulse within it that is concerned with probing the depths of the Indo-European order to which Western philosophy pertains. Throughout *Of Grammatology*, Derrida, in his introduction of keywords, plays around with charged, over-determined semantics, through etymologies—*infans* (Lat. ‘speechless’), linked to *infant* ‘infant, child’ and, therein, to the father-child metaphor of the *Phaedrus* (39)⁴, later used to frame a discourse on *jeu* ‘the game’ or ‘play’, in dialogue with Plato’s *paidia* (50). Later still, in his interactions with Rousseau’s discourse on imitation, Derrida muses on the simultaneity of two polarities (in this case the life and death of art), recalling the origins of “iteration” in Latin *iterum* (‘anew’) and, ultimately, Sanskrit *itara*, (‘other’)?” (*Of Grammatology*, 209).⁵ This is a trend that was maintained in the work of later authors associated with deconstruction, including self-consciously rhetorical⁶ critic Barbara Johnson. In *The Critical Difference* she invokes the etymological origins of ‘syntax’ in Ptolemy:

“While pursuing this concept of syntax as a pivot for the turnings of darkness and light, I was startled to discover that the word *syntaxis* occurs in the title of a treatise by the second-century Greek astronomer, Ptolemy, whose geocentric view of the relations among the bodies in the solar system also deals with the question of what in the world turns around what. Could Ptolemy’s outmoded *Syntaxis* tell us anything about syntax and modern poetry? Is there a relation between grammar and gravitation?”

As noted above, these presentations are themselves (meta-)rhetorical—drawing upon the prestige of iterative precedent within the Indo-European tradition as an instrument of persuasion—leading readers, by powers of metaphor and allusion, to the inference that keywords, like texts more broadly, are to be understood, if at all, in relation to other iterations of themselves. Here, as elsewhere, multiple levels of rhetoric are joined-up, or *layered* and work together to encode Derrida’s thesis. When not read for their rhetorical force, these etymological deconstructions of meaning are close to worthless—falling subject, as they do, to criticism centering on the lin-

⁴Specifically Plato’s phrase “...its ‘parent[’s help] is [always] needed” (toū patrōs aiei deitai boithōū – *Phaedrus* 275d)” *Of Grammatology*, 39. The square bracket guides here are supplied by the translator; Derrida himself writes, simply: “infans...«toujours besoin de l’assistance de son père» τοῦ πατρὸς αἰεὶ δεῖται βοήθοῦ. *De la Grammatologie*, 59.

⁵“(iterum, de nouveau, ne vient-il pas du sanscrit itara, autre?)...” *De la Grammatologie*, 298.

⁶Self-consciously rhetorical’ because rhetoric is a concept or quality she finds a good deal of use for in her analyses. To give an example, in *Persons and Things* (2008) she writes: “The rhetorical figures that confer on things some properties of persons are thus *apostrophe*, *prosopopeia*, *anthropomorphism*, and *personification*.”

guistic argument that a word's meaning has more to do with synchronic usage than diachronic etymology. Janet Soskice recounts this argument, in critique of Lakoff's *Metaphors We Live By*, in her own well-known book on metaphor, *Metaphor and Religious Language*:

"Word meaning, modern linguistics stresses, is properly understood synchronically...it is absurd to think that one misunderstands the 'true' meaning of 'dandelion' if one does not know of its origins in 'dent-de-lion', or of 'malaria' because one fails to associate it with 'mal aria', bad air...Of course, advocates of the metaphor-as-myth thesis do not usually exemplify their claim with etymologies of terms like 'dandelion' and 'malaria' but with terms like 'ingenious' and 'intellect', the assumption presumably being that...with abstractions one is at the mercy of the original metaphor. But there is little reason to suppose that the current meaning of abstract terms like 'intellect' or 'consciousness' is any less rooted in synchronic practice than that of concrete ones..." (81).

This is surely a valid criticism, from the point of view of understanding the function of words qua everyday speech. However, one cannot help feeling it is one poorly applied to the language of Derrida's essays. Derrida's thesis is presented more as a repetitive string of rhetorically-potent and context-dependent propositions than as any permutation, including negation, of an inviolate truth. It makes little difference whether or not fellow members of his language community are aware of the etymologies presented in his texts or, indeed, whether those etymologies are even historically 'correct' or not; it is sufficient that Derrida himself was aware of them and saw in them the potential to support what might loosely be called his thesis. In the main, they achieve this by encouraging readers to meditate on the significance of a word's repetition in other historico-linguistic contexts. Derrida's language is resolutely *not serious*. This does not mean it is any sort of exception⁷; on the contrary, in many of its salient features, it fits with Austin's description of performative, as language that *does* something in a particular context. When Derrida writes, for example, of a structuralist operation he calls "soliciting", that it means "... (from the Latin)...shaking in a way related to the whole (from *sollus*, in archaic Latin "the whole," and from *citare*, "to put in motion")" (*Writing and Difference* 5) he no more means to tell his readers the history of the word 'solicit' than he does to write a dictionary.

⁷like "joking...or writing a poem", *How to do things with words*, Lecture 1, p. 9.

Rather he shows, by example, that such histories can be compiled, if need be, to question—and even threaten—concepts, to reveal their “supports”—which is also what he claims to be the effect of the action of soliciting (4). More than anything else, it is his *layering* of metaphor that is important here.

Conversely, however, responses—like Soskice’s—from readers whose previous reading has trained them to ‘read’ academic writing in ways that do not map congruously onto the rhetoricality of writers like Derrida, actually support Austin’s distinctions—which, as Cornelia Pearsall notes, form part of a noble pedigree of “philosophical approaches to the question of what things poetry appears to be doing, or not doing, with its words” (31). Derrida is not writing poetry but this is not the point. It is clear that some language is more directed towards certain modes of presentation than others; and to rebuke one mode of presentation from the perspective of another is a common but unhelpful practice. Another example of etymology mobilized, as rhetoric, in a specific context, is the coining of the feminist term “her-story”, as a counterpart to ‘history’, reanalyzed as < ‘his’ + ‘story’. A reader, or hearer, of the new word may be fully aware that its word history is not etymologically related to his-story (and may even be aware of the ‘correct’ origins of the word in Greek) but the word is no less striking to the eye and ear because of this; on the contrary, the subversive humour would not work as effectively as it does if recipients were ignorant of the ‘real’ etymology. Its form is as striking as it is because it is based on an implausibility, presented—in the manner of metaphor—as truth. This play encourages meditation on the word’s history; this in turn—and through the thoroughly rhetorical operation of analogy—encourages meditation on the signified—his-story/history. *Has history written so far been for and by men? Well yes, perhaps it has...* and so on. These are subversive forces that run through all paronomasia (“< Hellenistic Greek παρανομασία < ancient Greek παρα- para-...+ ὀνομασία naming..., after Hellenistic Greek παρανομάζειν to alter slightly in naming”!)⁸—and on which Derrida’s deployments of diachronic etymology in prevailingly synchronic environments also depend. In a similar way, culturally important texts from a variety of traditions were and are

⁸See OED entry for *paronomasia*; www.oed.com

made more convincing by the etymologies they present—whether or not that presentation has any grounding in the ‘truth’ as established by Western historical linguistics (the *Fudoki* being one example that springs to mind in the context of Old Japanese).⁹

Repetition—not only of etymologies—is key to Derrida’s presentation of ideas—so much so that this, when viewed from a negative perspective by his critics, is perceived as a major flaw in his analyses. In his essay, *Postmodernism, Derrida and Différance: A Critique*, philosopher Brendan Sweetman writes:

Derrida is making...a *metaphysical claim* about the nature of language and meaning: that there are no trans-historical meanings or essences, and that all texts can be deconstructed. However, any close reading of any of Derrida’s major works reveals, I believe, that he does not attempt to *argue* for this claim; rather, he simply *asserts* it over and over again... According to Derrida, Socrates seeks self-knowledge, but he then adds that such knowledge is not transparent, that it must be “interpreted, read, deciphered.” However, this is an assertion, not an argument. It does nothing to convince the reader who believes self-knowledge is transparent and that Socrates’s meaning is perfectly clear and that, although alternative readings might be possible, they are not legitimate.

(II)

Sweetman is clearly not convinced by Derrida’s rhetoric of *assertion* and *repetition*—and feels the lack of the rhetoric of logical argument. However, the repetition that is vilified in the above critique is, at the same time, used to great effect in the classically argumentative rhetoric of the critique itself. The keywords of Sweetman’s thesis, ‘argue’ and ‘asserts’ are contrasted in the first paragraph; this contrast is repeated, and inverted in the second, as “assertion” versus “argument”, reminding us of the relationship between logic and rhetoric, in the broad sense of patterns of speech designed to persuade. It need hardly be pointed out that this relationship has its roots in Classical philosophy.

One is reminded, for example, of Aristotle’s characterization of ‘invention’, the foremost stage in the composition of rhetorical speech, as dependent on “*logos*, or rational argument;

⁹In a fascinating article on the subject in Japanese dialects, Dutch linguist and missionary Rev. Willem Grootaers calls this concept “synchronic etymology”—meaning-histories related to native-speaker usage, analysis and (re-)interpretation (and often attested in texts)—as opposed to “diachronic etymology”—the meaning-histories based only on attestations in historical texts—to avoid the patronizing connotations implied in the more commonly used term, *folk-etymology*. See Grootaers 1987, p.196.

ethos, the speaker's character...and *pathos*, the emotions aroused in an audience." (Richards, 33) as well as relationships set out in *Gorgias*, the Socratic dialogue to which *Rhetoric* was likely offered partially in response. *Gorgias* in particular was of interest to Derrida who argued, in *Plato's Pharmacy*, that Socrates is carrying out a rhetorical act (indeed several) as he tries to convince his rhetorician interlocutor that his is an inferior art (*Plato's Pharmacy* passim). Examining the text itself, Derrida's claim seems justified. Socrates' argument, his *logos*—Gorgias, when questioned, also claims *logos* as the chief concern of his own art; “περὶ λόγους”—plays out, in Aristotelian terms, as *invention*. It is heavily dependent, firstly, on *pathos*—at each and every point he makes predictions of his interlocutor's response in attempt to elicit his agreement—and, secondly, on *ethos*—since his subtle empathies certainly lend him the appearance of trustworthiness, even if an ulterior motive lay behind them.¹⁰

It is also clear that Socrates' logic could not function without a complement of shared cultural knowledge on which to draw (the knowledge, for example, that 'rhetoric' is one among a number of 'arts' “τεχνῶν”)—which, itself, depends on the repetition and re-evaluation of the same terms (like *logos*) across time, and between fields and discourses. As in this case, the purpose of rhetorical discourse can be to devalue one or another of these repetitions—and their deployment in rhetoric—but it remains rhetorical nonetheless. This play between logic and rhetoric is highly suggestive for Derrida who asks, rhetorically, of Socrates, “isn't he the spitting image of a sophist? a *pharmakeus*?” (*Dissemination* 119).

Put simply, then, the disconnect between Derrida and critics—steeped in the same Western argumentative tradition—who argue for more traditionally philosophical approaches to text is thus no more than a contest between (closely and naturally related) orders of rhetoric – in which, repetition is playing on both sides. In this sense, above all else, repetition lies closest to

¹⁰ A good combination of two, for example, comes at the point when Socrates characterizes himself alongside Gorgias as someone with a genuine interest in getting to the heart of a discussion, without any other (presumably nefarious) motive: “...I flatter myself, you may be quite sure, that if there be any one else in the whole world that engages in a discussion from a genuine desire to know just what the argument is about and no more, I too am one of that sort; and I make no doubt that you are another.” (*Γοργίας* 453B, in translation, *Plato's Gorgias*, p.11. And Gorgias is aware something is going on; that he is being ‘convinced’. In response, he asks “well what then Socrates?” *Τί οὖν δῆ, ὦ Σώκρατες*” (ibid).

what is problematic about deconstruction.

Within Derrida's critical nomenclature itself, repetition finds expression in many forms but none more prominent than 'iteration'—the most well-known discussion of which is to be found in his 1971 essay *Signature Event Context*. Iteration is not repetition but it certainly depends on it, being the constant reproduction and alteration of writing as it is divorced from and reunited constantly with dynamic contexts. Iteration, linked to play and to his neologism *différance* (< "différer" + "différente"), was in a sense Derrida's answer to the 'problem' of repetition.

As Kierkegaard, and others after him, had done (Mazur 5), Derrida viewed repetition as a modality of difference, linked with alterity, movement and expansion through and into contexts. Words are never merely said twice as the second word, being repeated, takes on the "additional function" of being a repetition—(ibid). This is where Derrida comes closest to intersecting with theories that privilege language that does things as well as says things. In a generalization of Austin's speech-act theory—moving it outside its original parameters—he contends that the *successful performative*—language that really does have an effect on its recipient—depends on citationality, or iterability; repetition, in the intertext, in the minds of the textual recipient etc.:

"For, ultimately, isn't it true that what Austin excludes as anomaly...citation (on stage, in a poem, or a soliloquy) is the determined modification of a general citationality—or rather, a general iterability—without which there would not even be a "successful" performative? So that a paradoxical but unavoidable conclusion—a successful performative is necessarily an "impure" performative, to adopt the word advanced later on by Austin when he acknowledges that there is no "pure" performative. (*Limited Inc* 17)

This "citationality"—Austin's parasite—has gone on to enjoy a "distinguished career in literary theory", subsequently (Parker and Sedgwick 4). Many critics have seen it as a general model to which specific examples of repetition in literature may be fruitfully compared, including—perhaps most importantly for this study—repetition in poetry (Mazur 7).

So however valid his reading of Austin may be,¹¹ it cannot be denied that Derrida recognizes

¹¹It was famously challenged as a misreading by Austin's pupil John Searle. Derrida's account of this challenge is found in the 1977 essay *Limited Inc a b c ...* (reproduced in *Limited Inc* 1988).

the centrality of performance to the communicative process—and the centrality of the repetition (with alteration, but nevertheless repetition) to performance. Before iterability, let us not forget, repetition had also been tied up in the implications of his metaphorical deployment of the pharmakos rite. In *Plato's Pharmacy* he wrote: “The ceremony of the *pharmakos* is thus played out on the boundary line between inside and outside, which it has as its function ceaselessly to trace and retrace. *Intra muros / extra muros*. The origin of difference and division, the pharmakos represents evil both introjected and projected...” (*Dissemination* 134), noting, in relation to this, that “the mastery of the critical instance requires that surprise be prepared for...by the regularity of repetition.” (ibid).

Of course Derrida was not alone among his contemporaries in seeing repetition as a non-binaristic, ambivalent force, underprivileged in traditional Western philosophy. As Mazur notes, one of the most important reconsiderations of repetition (alongside difference, or alterity) from the perspective of the history of the Western philosophy was made by Gilles Deleuze, who argued that traditional philosophical approaches had tended to see repetition as “no more than a type of redundancy...identical with what is being repeated” (Mazur 10). “The task of radical modern philosophers”, he continues “is, to think difference and repetition in affirmative terms” (ibid). Foucault, like Derrida, saw in repetition the potential to challenge dialectic models of philosophy, as Christopher Norris points out: “Dialectics depend upon categories that ‘organize that play of affirmations and negations, establish the legitimacy of representation, and guarantee the objectivity of concepts’ (Foucault 1977, p.186). Repetition, on the other hand, breaks down those explanatory systems of history and knowledge which depend upon a logic of identity and non-contradiction. Such irruptions of uncontrolled meaning are the points at which textuality asserts itself against any form of absolute methodical constraint” (87). Furthermore, repetition (conjoined with alterity) was also a feature of, and keyword within, deconstructive approaches to social texts. Famously, for example, Judith Butler mobilizes repetition, in her realignment of deconstruction towards classically-defined notions of gender. In *Gender Trouble*, she writes: “As in other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that

is *repeated*. This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established” (191). Such applications would appear to be in keeping with Derrida’s own view of the potential of repetition to subvert. In *This Strange Institution called Literature*, Derrida himself associated “literature’s repetition...with a radical form of democracy, as radical openness to difference”, in which “one can no longer distinguish between ‘producer and receiver’ (74-5)...” (Goulimari 307).

In this way, repetition, writ large on the canvas of humanistic and social commentary, could be used to challenge dialectics—laying history, literature and knowledge open to the actions of a cyclicity that is disruptive to binaristic taxonomies of thought (paradoxically, since these too are constituted in repetitive terms). This is surely what frightened some people about deconstruction when it made its entrance onto the academic stage in the late twentieth century—and related to why various orders of repetition in literature were formerly dismissed as meaningless and / or given a wide berth, as a matter of routine.

Beyond (?) deconstruction

The avant-garde comingling of synchronicity and diachronicity in Derrida is still, certainly, not the norm. Studies and histories of criticism, even when arranged thematically—and even those that discuss approaches stressing play, slippage and non-linearity—typically have to reflect chronological concerns to some degree and, on occasions, fall into the conceit that knowledge / argument moves on from generation to generation. Considering oneself to possess a greater, or more refined, knowledge than one’s predecessors is a brand of hubris that, if no longer widely accepted as doctrine, nevertheless retains significant practical importance to the Western academic. A PhD student or other young researcher who is not aware of the latest research in his / her field will meet with a stern response from his or her mentors and examiners. A plea, on the part of the student, to the effect that he or she ignored the last twenty years’ worth of scholarship because, in any case, history and knowledge is non-linear is likely to be sadly ineffectual.

Because of this – and this is what makes developmental models of knowledge self-affirming—the immutable conceit of progress is defensible in one respect; students *have to* read what was written by their immediate antecedents and, whether they choose to engage with this dialectically, by praising it or refuting it, make a conscious choice to ignore it or, even, forget that they read it and unknowingly plagiarize it, something of this reading is always retained in their own writing. Since word-for-word repetition (citation) is only culturally acceptable within certain parameters (that it only occupy a certain proportion of the whole, that it acknowledge itself as such, etc.), students and researchers have to consciously mix this with what they believe to be ‘new’ material to sculpt a plausible narrative—which gives them a real sense of building on what has gone before. Repetition thus builds a linear dimension into academic discourse—as the two plain sayings ‘there is nothing new under the sun’ and ‘you can’t put the genie back in the bottle’ are combined, over and over and again. When boiled down to this extent, this is perhaps a trivial point; but one all too easy to forget. While to be expected, avowals to the effect that things have *moved on* are all the more farcical when this movement is purportedly in the ‘direction’ of non-linearity. As Niall Lucy notes, of the eponymous postmodern conceit, “‘the death of history’ is no less a metanarrative than utterances that express a belief in historical ‘progress’ or the ‘spirit’ of history” (61).

Certainly many criticisms have been levelled at deconstruction; some—coming from proponents of more traditional forms of argumentation—have been introduced already. There are others. In my view, some of the most salient critiques of deconstruction were made by its supporters. To give an example, Barbara Johnson—who amongst other things translated Derrida’s 1988 essay collection *Dissemination* into English—was early in noticing the risk of nascent oppression developing within Derrida’s anti-oppressive critical approach. In *The Wake of Deconstruction*, she observes that “in seeing the notions of identity, self-presence, and intentionality as *inherently* repressive of internal differences, Derrida renders epistemologically groundless all *identities*, even those of women or racial minorities who would attempt to assert themselves oppositionally.” The identities of which she speaks are also in constant flux – and

new ones appear for the cultural / textual critic to grapple with. It is thus clear that space has had to be made for identities which define themselves in terms of constants, and dialectics, even metastructures—and, no doubt, as we learn more about the human brain and the conditions of communication, this need will become ever more apparent. In relation to this, the generation ‘after’ deconstruction is stressing the need to valorize multiple simultaneous perspectives, inter- or trans-disciplinarity, digital searchability of text, stylometrics, etc; as well as the possibility of stasis, alongside dynamic play—the existence, by design or otherwise, of balance as well as tension. Ultimately, all we can do, as text scholars, is remain close to our texts in the still powerless, but hopefully no longer naïve, hope that they will help to guide us. It is after all, the repetition found in the Norito that has led, in this chapter, to a discussion of what might be termed ‘repetitive’ criticism.

As noted at the start of this chapter, however, scholarship in the Western Humanities is becoming more and more theoretically engaged and, since young scholars are involved, is likely to remain as such for the foreseeable future. While its heady days of youth might be over, deconstruction is part of this movement. The fundamental skepticism inherent in the controversial thinker’s difficult and enigmatically tangential engagements with criticism and philosophy (in particular his preference for “insinuation over analysis” (Tallis 175)) has left such a imprint on the Humanities—on fields as diverse as architecture and critical discourse analysis—that, whatever the future holds, for most of us, a return to an unproblematic liberal-humanistic lexicon would seem unlikely. Literary criticism, après deconstruction, is no exception in finding it increasingly difficult to remain “completely enclosed within a classical conceptuality”—as Derrida himself once put it (*Of Grammatology* 21).

What is different for this generation of critics is that, now deconstruction is a mature and well-established approach, they no longer have to define themselves in opposition to dialectical philosophy,¹² which gives them more space to think repetition and difference *affirmatively*, as

¹²This general feeling of mine ties in nicely with arguments made by Lipovestky in *Les temps Hypermodernes* (with Sébastien Charles, 2004), published in English translation as *Hypermodern Times* in 2005, to the effect that “hypermodernity” (the period, he claims, follows post-modernity) “...has sealed the decline of the great tradi-

Deleuze hoped—and this is what is simultaneously keeping deconstruction alive and altering it. This ‘maturing’ of deconstruction is discernible in Anglophone literary cultures too. Alan Kirby, who in *Digimodernism* argues that postmodernism is gradually being supplanted by a new aesthetic tempered by the digitalization of texts and characterized, amongst other things, by “onwardness” and “apparent realness” (Bonfiglioni 248), demonstrates that deconstruction was alive in the textual material produced by Hollywood at the turn of the twenty-first-century—citing the children’s movies *Chicken Run* and *Shrek* as examples of this. The former, he argues, is a text that “suggests time and place can only be evoked via existing texts, which must then be quoted, fragmented, detoured, played off each other” (12) and the latter a “deconstruction” of the rules forced on it by its fairy-tale genre while, nevertheless, remaining a fairytale (13). However, by the time the first sequel to *Shrek* was released, just four years later, deconstruction had progressed to such an extent as to unpick the unpicking of the genre that took place in the first film, leaving only a mess of postmodern tropes for the viewing public to try to make sense of. Other, better received, movies from the same period were far less aggressively deconstructive in structure. Having turned to new modes of narrative structure, they retained the paraphernalia of deconstruction only on the periphery, as a memory of the fun had by the previous generation. Only now that they have fully internalized the rhetoric of deconstruction, and the *play* this encodes, are authors able to push its outward features into the background.

Deconstruction, in whatever form it comes, makes best sense when read as rhetorically-charged, literary language in its own right. This chapter has established that it is important to recognize that the literary potency of Derrida’s rhetoric is related to its ability to suggest, through *multiple layers of repetition*, its own self-referentiality (and, by extension, intra- and extra- relatedness). This realization offers text scholars a reference point to help them valorize

tional structures of meaning, and their recuperation by the logic of fashion and consumption” (14)—quoted in Kirby, p.43. Kirby interprets Lipovestky’s view of the present era, described here, as one “...from which all pre-modern structuring principles...have *in practice* been stripped...” (ibid). Whether one sees digitality or rampant consumerism as the principal driving force of the current generation of literary production, it is clear that critics and authors feel now distant enough from the structuring principles of romanticism and modernity that they are able to re-engage with them, as and when necessary—but without being strictly governed by them.

repetitive texts in general and, in the case of this study, the Norito in particular. It is also a point at which analysis of texts and criticism in this study may be fairly aligned. Rhetoric is, after all, the summation of repetitions that take place at the level of the sentence, entire texts, composite texts—the dynamic echoes, in speech, of conversations heard and overhead within a language community. Rhyme, a special brand of rhetoric, is concerned with the repetitions that take place within, or between words. As this chapter has shown, the to-ing and fro-ing between supporters and detractors of rhetoric has roots in Classical antiquity and has continued, through Theory and theory, to the present. What is clear, though, is that those who object to rhetorical discourse often make, in their objections, as full use of the persuasive powers of speech and writing as those who more openly support it.

As noted in the Introduction, this study uses a digital corpus to identify common elements of rhetoric between texts, highlighting the interrelatedness of sounds, words and sentences. In so doing, (and appropriately in the context of deconstruction) it turns “the assumption” characteristic of Derrida, “that modes of rhetorical analysis, hitherto applied mainly to literary texts, are in fact indispensable for reading any kind of discourse, philosophy included”, (19) on its head; in the belief that texts (like the Norito) that hitherto have been routinely treated as non-literary may, through rhetoric and rhetorical analysis, reveal their literariness. In keeping with the general direction digital humanities seem to be taking us, the closeness to other texts that such analysis will reveal—connections that can easily be made with electronic resources—is in some ways more reconstructive than deconstructive. But the questions and uncertainties cleverly, and rhetorically, hewn into critical discourse by post-modern and post-structuralist writers are clearly not being forgotten—nor should they be. Above all, this chapter has attempted to show that the sense of Derrida’s writing is woven through different orders of repetition, inciting readers, through analogy, to meditate on the coding of meaning in language. Subsequent chapters will demonstrate that the Norito texts encourage an analogous style of ‘reading’. This analogy will be their newest contribution to theory.

Chapter 5

The Englishiki Norito and Orality

It has already been noted that the Norito contain many repetitions: of words and phrases. There is a scholarly consensus that the texts were orally performed and that, perhaps, somewhere within their composite structure lies an orally-composed core. This chapter shows that this oral heritage does not mean that, excusing the pun, such repetition can be ‘written off’ as formulae. Rather, as this chapter hints and later chapters demonstrate in other contexts, repetition in the Norito is a salient and meaningful element of text, layered through the discourse at phonemic, lexical and intertextual levels.

The first part of this chapter assesses the usefulness of applications of traditional oral-formulaic theory to the Norito in response to a recent Japanese study of the texts (Yamamoto 2009, see below for details). The second part introduces several more sophisticated approaches to orality and literacy; and adduces evidence of their heuristic potential from the Norito and other OJ texts.

Part 1: The Parry-Lord Hypothesis and the Englishiki Norito

To my knowledge, the only study dedicated to the treatment of issues of orality in the Englishiki Norito that exists to date is a short article by 山本幸司 Yamamoto Kōji, entitled 祝詞と宣命における口誦性 ‘Norito to Senmyō ni okeru kōshōsei’, [Orality in the Senmyō and Norito] and featured, as noted in Chapter 1, in 2009 (歴史と民族 *Rekishi to Minzoku*). Yamamoto holds

that the work of Parry and Lord, co-founders of the oral-formulaic school, provides a promising explanation for why the Norito contain more similar, but not identical, phrases than do the Senmyō—revisiting the Parry-Lord argument that oral literature necessarily contains many spontaneous elements, as it changes on each occasion that it is performed, and formulaic elements, which form the basic units of the compositional process. As one might expect, his treatment of the text in light of these theories leads him straight into a binarism: “it is surely not difficult to recognize that the Norito are ‘oral’ and the Senmyō are ‘literate’” (65-66). Clarification elsewhere in his analysis reveals that what he means by this statement is whereas, he feels, the Norito never had anything to do with writing, writing was, in some way, involved in the process of getting idea to utterance in the composition of the Senmyō (*passim*). In short, in Yamamoto’s view, Norito were orally composed and Senmyō were not.

To engage with “orality”, in any context, is to engage with a mid-twentieth century Western conceptual tradition that is very often baffled by the non-West—although ironically since it is the non-West upon which its existence is predicated. This predication itself conceals several further layers of irony; Parry and Lord’s analyses were made possible only by the existence of people, in the hinterland of Western European literate culture, for whom a brand of oral composition constituted the central-most territory of “literary” production; when, through transcription (again ironically), publication and analysis, it was turned into an object of fascination for Western literary (and literate) theory, it also became, like Barthes’ logos, at once “boundary and perspective” (Barthes 9), a totalizing problematic, a supplement which, like Rousseau’s, reveals only “an endless chain of supplements” (Culler *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* 104). It should be clear, therefore, that the ‘application’ of oral-formulaic theory to the non-West could never be a straight-forward, uncomplicated process.

Nevertheless, Parry and Lord’s studies in Yugoslavia had wide-reaching appeal, not only within Homeric scholarship, but also for the study of non-Western texts. Before long, their conclusions concerning features of oral poetic discourse were being applied to a wide range of the world’s supposedly ‘oral’ literature. James T. Monroe’s 1972 examination of formulae in

pre-Islamic قصيدة *qaṣīda*, Marshall Pihl's 1994 study of 판소리 *p'ansori*, (*The Korean Singer of Tales*), and Yamamoto's 2009 analysis of the Norito and *Senmyō* are all examples of this sort of scholarship. Within this scholarship, several features supposed to be common to literature born out of primary oral cultures have been posited. Due to time and space constraints, discussion in this chapter will be limited to two indices of orality that feature prominently in all iterations of oral-formulaic theory and therefore can be said to be representative of this tradition of scholarship. The first is the "adding style" and the second is the "formula" itself.

Adding style

As the name suggests, this is a form of expression—held to be characteristic of orally composed texts—that functions by 'adding' sentences together. It is an idea that stretches back all the way to Parry's earliest work and has continued to be respected by oral-formulaic theorists ever since. Albert Lord explains the adding style as expressing itself in terms of "Parataxis, appositives, and parallelism". He adds, "...Both Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon traditional poetry are strongly marked by these devices" (Lord 55-56). Ong—in keeping with his overall philosophy—aggrandizes this concept, naming it in *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* as one of the fundamental "characteristics of orally based thought and expression" (Ong 36). Additive structures, so it was believed, are more easily formed in an oral environment than so-called 'subordinative' ones, which presumably take more thought and time to map out grammatically and are therefore obstructive to the sonorous stream supposed to flow lyrically from the lips of the oral poet.

In its most basic form, the additive style manifests itself in strings of coordinate clauses, glued together by conjunctive expressions that correspond to the English "and". In his discussion of the style, Ong uses the following example, taken from the Douay version of *Genesis* 1:

In the beginning God created heaven, and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters. And

God said: Be light made. And light was made. And God saw the light that it was good; and he divided the light from the darkness. And he called the light Day, and the darkness Night; and there was evening and morning one day. (35)

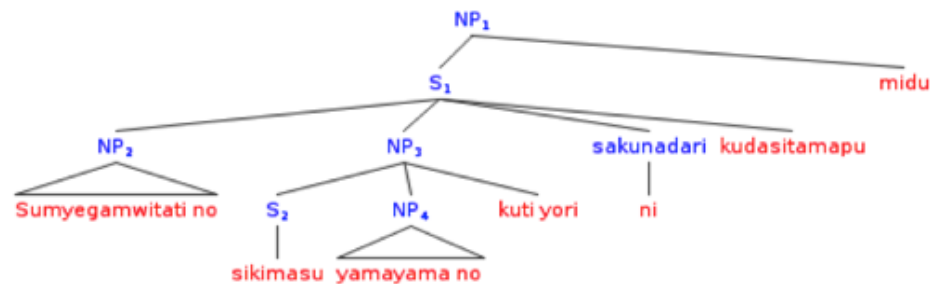
The over-representation of European languages and literatures was a major failing within traditional oral-formulaic theory. There was little attempt by the early scholars to understand how the adding style might manifest itself in languages with a substantially different information structure from the European languages featuring in their analyses. However, Ong's generalizing of the feature cannot be put down to such ethnocentric naivety. His discussion of the passage from Genesis reproduced above includes reference to the "additive Hebrew original" (ibid) and, in the introduction to the book in which it is contained, he writes:

Almost all the work thus far contrasting oral cultures and chirographic cultures has contrasted orality with alphabetic writing rather than with other writing systems (cuneiform, Chinese characters, the Japanese syllabary, Mayan [sic] script and so on.) and has been concerned with the alphabet as used in the West (the alphabet is also at home in the East, as in India, Southeast Asia or Korea). Here discussion will follow the major lines of extant scholarship, although some attention will also be given, at relevant points, to scripts other than the alphabet and to cultures other than just those of the West. (3)

For mature oral-formulaic theorists like Ong, it would appear that a relatively low degree of subordination (and, accordingly, a relatively high level of coordination) was a feature that, cross-linguistically and cross-culturally, could be associated with oral composition. If, for the sake of argument, one wished to demonstrate the Norito's credentials as orally-composed literature according to the adding-style model, looking for sentences or clauses that contain little subordination would be the best place to start. It will be seen, however, that here the Norito fall at the first hurdle. Even a cursory examination of the texts—including the "Palace Ritual" (宮中祭祀 *kyūchūsaishi*) Norito that Yamamoto considers oldest and, therefore, most fitting as subject matter for a study of orality—reveals a high degree of subordination. The following example is a noun phrase from the *Pirose no Opo-imi Maturi*:

Sumyegamwitatino sikimasu yamayama no kuti yori sakunadari ni kudasitamapu midu (“Water that the Sovran kamwi send down in torrents from the mountains that they rule”).

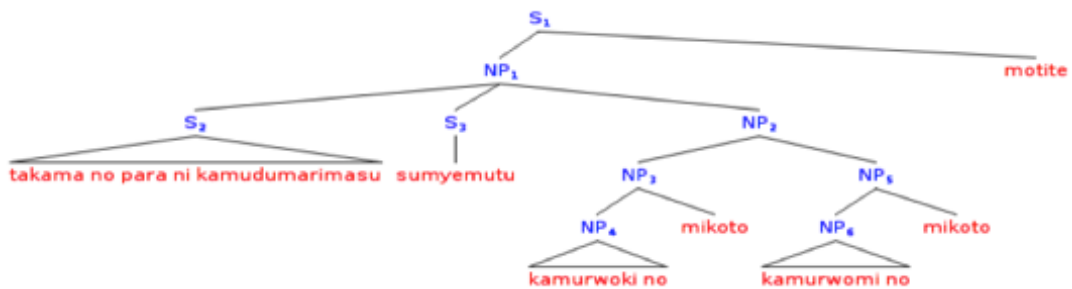
Figure 5.1:



Let us take another example, this time a clause:

takama no para ni kamudumarimasu sumyemutu kamurwoki no mikoto kamurwomi no mikoto motite (“By the command of the Imperial male deities and female deities who reside, godly, on the plains of High Heaven”)

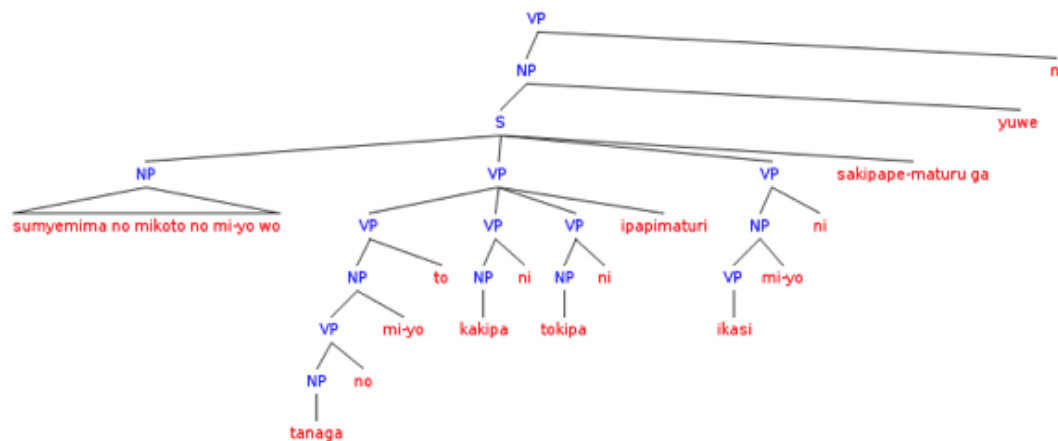
Figure 5.2:



A good argument could be made for this clause being paratactic – since two adnominal phrases, S2 and S3, are modifying the head NP2 and are at the same level. However, as we see from the phrase structure diagram, there is some fairly complex embedding here. Furthermore, although the rest of the tree has been abbreviated to fit the space we have, in fact, the whole matrix S1 is itself subordinated to another clause by *motite*.

In fact, many common subordinators, such as V(RTK) + *ga yuwe ni* “because V” or V(RTK) + topicalizer *pa* “the act/agent of V-ing” also often follow clauses which themselves contain several layers of embedding. An example of the former is given below.

Figure 5.3:



sumyemima no mikoto no mi-yo wo tanaga no mi-yo to kakipa ni tokipa ni ipapimaturi, ikasi mi-yo ni sakipapematuru ga yuwe ni (“because they sanctify the Imperial Scion’s reign, as eternal rock, and make it to flourish as a fulsome long reign”)

In all these examples, the parataxis, if it is to be understood as such, lies here in the deep structure of relatively complex syntax – which oral-formulaic theorists traditionally held to be the reserve of literate, or chirographic, cultures. A broader question, that is asked in linguistics but neglected in the oral-literate debate, is how language affiliations and typologies affect the distribution of subordinative and coordinative structure; in other words does subordination naturally occur more frequently in some oral languages than others?

It is difficult to decide precisely what sort of expressions to label appositive – as in simplest terms this just means to place two or more structures alongside each other – but we can say with confidence that straightforward identifier appositives, in English marked by the same parenthetical commas as mark many subordinate clauses, (i.e. Paris, my hometown,...) are uncommon in the language of the Norito. Parallelistic expressions, in contrast, are to be found in abundance –

mikanope takasiri mika no para mite (“wine jars brimming over, wine jars belly-full”); *pata no piromono, pata no samono* (“things broad of fin, things thin of fin”); *ame no mikage pi no mikage* (“grand light of heaven, grand light of the sun”) to cite but a few. However, many of these are also highly repetitive and, therefore more likely to be identified by traditional oral-formulaic scholarship as potential formulae rather. Accordingly, they will be included in the discussion of formulae, which follows below.

Some formulae?

Francis Peabody Magoun Jr, a contemporary of Parry who taught both Lord and Ong, explains the formula – which, in oral-formulaic theory is the principal criterion for identifying poetry that was composed orally – as a frequently repeated expression to which oral poets “would scarcely have to devote conscious thought in order to fit...into some different context or slightly different grammatical situation” (Magoun 450). One significant implication of this thesis is that the referential or semiotic dimensions of the formula delimit those of its constituent lexical units. Listing some possible Old English formulae, Magoun continues: “It is hard to believe that they [i.e. the Beowulf poet(s)] had much concern with possible connotative effects produced by passing mention of sails, swans, or whales” (Magoun 452).

As mentioned above, there are a number of oft-repeated phrases in the Engishiki Norito that superficially resemble oral-compositional formulae. Many of these, as Yamamoto has demonstrated, also occur elsewhere in the corpus of OJ (Yamamoto 59-61). But are they really working in the manner Magoun describes? Let us consider two examples.

(i) 朝日能豊逆登爾 *asapi no toyosakanobori ni* ‘when the morning sun rises fulgent’

There are nine attestations of *asapi no toyosakanobori ni* to be found in the Norito but none anywhere else in the OJ corpus. However, if we search for *asapi* alone, we discover it occurs twice in songs from the *Kojiki* and a further six times in the *Man'yōshū* where it is found, variously, in combination with the semblative in *asapi nasu* (“like the morning sun”), with the

verb *sasu* (“to shine”, also related to *sasu* “to pierce the ground, to sprout up”) in an epithet for the toponym Kasuga, and once in the collocation *asapikage* (“the light of the morning sun”). In several cases it appears in close proximity to (and syntactic relationship with) adjectives like *magupasi* (beautiful), *makirapasi* (brilliant, blinding). Omodaka also cites a (putatively separate) *asapisasu*, (“where the morning sun shines”), as a 枕詞 *makurakotoba*: “pillow word, fixed epithet”) for the Toyuranotera, a name of a sixth century temple in Asuka that bears clear phonological resemblance to *toyosakanobori ni*, found in the 日本国現報善惡靈異記 *Nihonkoku Genpō Zen’aku Ryōiki* (*Jidaibetsu Kokugo Daijiten Jōdaihen* 18).

Although by the time of the presentation of the *Kōtaijingū Gishikichō* (皇太神宮儀式帳), in 804, there seem to have been rituals containing the phrase *asapi no toyosakanobori ni* that were performed in the afternoon, by comparing descriptions from the *Engishiki* and the *Toyukegū Gishikichō* (止由氣宮儀式帳), we can ascertain that “palace ritual” Norito, containing the phrase, would be intoned not long after other ritual activities were begun at dawn break—just “when the morning sun rises fulgent” (Motozawa *passim*). So, phrases in the Norito like *asapi no toyosakanobori* and others such as *simo tu ipane ni miyabasira putosiritate takama no para ni ti-gi takasirite* and its variants—which have been convincingly demonstrated by Higashi to be descriptions of a technique of shrine construction relatively new in the OJ period—may have functioned more like technical terms, with fixed referents, than as semantically bare formulae. Furthermore, although some usages in the *Man’yōshū* tend to suggest that *asapi-* had some sort of rhetorical or connotative effect above and beyond indicating the sun at a particular time of the day; even in such usages, the phrase’s intertextual associations guaranteed that it was far from meaningless. In fact it is not outside the realms of possibility that the word appealed to *Man’yō* poets aiming to elevate the tone of their language precisely because of the immediacy of its link to ritual time.

(ii) 堅磐爾常磐爾 *kakipa ni tokipa ni* ‘like eternal rock’

The precise semantic scope of this phrase is not clear but, in the Norito, it appears to be used as an adverbial phrase meaning “eternally”. I have translated it as “like eternal rock”, here, because the *tokipa* component is supposed to be a derivative form of *toko-ipa*, (“eternal rock”) formed by a process of regular vowel deletion in OJ (*A History of the Japanese Language* 40). The whole phrase occurs nine times in the Norito. In the reverse form *tokipa ni kakipa ni* it occurs another five times. Since it appears with such frequency, and in two alternative forms, at first glance it appears to fit the description of the formula outlined above.

A finer-grained analysis, however, requires one to look beyond just the Norito, at the broader corpus of OJ literature. We quickly realize that, in addition to comprising a composite stock phrase, *tokipa* and *kakipa* are significant OJ keywords in their own right. A search for *tokipa* in the *Man'yōshū* yields nine results in total, four phonographically written. There are three attestations of the word followed by what appears to be the copula *naru*, two followed by the semblative copula *nasu* (note reading tradition) and four further isolated attestations: *taki no tokipa no*; *tokipa ni imase*; *oyazi tokipa ni*; *tokipa ni masamu*. The *Man'yōshū* examples are testament to the complexity of phonosemantic relationships in which *tokipa* could be, and was, embedded by OJ authors. The following example is from Book III (MYS 308):

常磐成	<i>tokipa naru</i>	though as eternal rock
石室者今毛	<i>ipaya pa ima mo</i>	the stone-house
安里家礼騰	<i>arikyeredo</i>	endures there still...

Not only does *tokipa* resonate with the subsequent *ipaya*, we also see a type of chiastic reversal at work in *ipaya pa i-(ma)*. Chiasmus—discussed a little more in Chapter 9—was suggested to be a facet of OJ rhetoric by Edwina Palmer in a short article entitled “The “Womē-No” Poem of “Harima Fudoki” and Residual Orality in Ancient Japan’ (87). While no chiasmus identical to the above is to be found in the Norito, very similar structures abound. A common example is the phrase: *kakipa ni tokipa ni ipapi-(maturi)* “praise [the Gods] as eternal rock (i.e. ad infinitum)”.

Returning to the MYS, we find more phonological resemblances involving *tokipa* that are of relevance here. For example, in Book VII, we encounter the following (MYS 1134):

能野川	<i>Yosinwōkapa</i>	the Yoshino river
石迹柏等	<i>ipa to kasipa to</i>	its stones and oak
時齒成	<i>tokipa nasu</i>	like eternal rock...

Here, an acoustic set¹—*ipa*—is repeated three times. What is more, it is not difficult to conceive of *kasipa* (“Emperor oak”)—a symbol of permanence or eternity (Omodaka *Man’yōshū Chūshaku* Vol. 7 81)—as a pun for *kakipa*. Not only is its counterpart *tokipa* linked to another auspicious tree, the 榊 *tuga*, in MYS 4006 (Omodaka *Man’yōshū Chūshaku* Vol. 17 193), there is evidence to suggest an interchangeability of /k-/ and /s-/ in OJ, or pre-OJ, most notably in the case of the *-ki* (adnominal) and *-si* (conclusive) forms of adjectives. In OJ there are a number of attestations of this conclusive form used in the adnominal position. For example, the following pair, cited by Frellesvig, both mean “black hair” (‘A Diachronic Perspective on Early Japanese Adjectival Morphology: Some More Pre-Old Japanese Copulas’ 14):

迦具漏伎 可美	<i>kagurwoki kami</i>
蚊黒爲 髮	<i>kagurwosi kami</i>

Furthermore, Omodaka cites several instances of 石 glossed as *kasipa* in the 日本書紀 *Nihon-shoki* (*Jidaibetsu Kokugo Daijiten Jōdaihen* 178). If we assume that such a connection between /k-/ and /s-/ did exist, then a pun on *kakipa* and *kasipa* in MYS 1134 becomes very plausible. In several of the Norito—for example the *Kasuga no Maturi*—such a pun would have the effect of tying the *kakipa ni*, through the *kasi* element, to the contiguous expression, *ikasi miyo ni* (“into/as splendid reigns”), adding a further layer of polysemous complexity to the discourse.

¹Acoustic sets are introduced in more detail in Chapter 9.

It is perhaps significant that both the *Womē-No* poem on which Palmer based her analysis and the MYS verses quoted above all encourage a ritual interpretation. When taken alongside the examples we have from the Norito, they raise the possibility that cryptic word play, including chiasmus, was a facet of OJ ritual utterance and what Japanese sources call *kotodama* (“word spirit”). This then gives rise to the question of the extent to which *kotodama* relied on an oral compositional process—and if it does predate the introduction of writing, as the later Japanese discourse leads us to believe. Given the oral-performative element of Norito, we cannot discount the possibility that there was an oral dimension to the compositional process also. However, rather than stock phrases, or formulae, oral expression seems to have been dependent on variation and interchangeability at a lexical level and, overall, was so heavily involved with sound resemblances that we can be in little doubt that the originators of OJ texts were in some way concerned with their “connotative effects” (see above).

That a certain rhetoricality is at work within both these expressions cannot be denied. However, as we have seen, the rhetoric force is operating on the level of the lexeme – and not exclusively at the level of the “formula”. It will be useful here, perhaps, to invoke Fillmore’s distinction between substantive and formal idioms, cited in Vyvyan Evans’ seminal *How Words Mean*. Whereas the former are “lexically filled”—i.e. they can only consist of certain combinations of fixed lexical items—the latter is no more than a syntactical framework into which context-appropriate lexemes can be fitted (90-91). Conceiving of OJ idiomatic expressions in this way would, at the very least, help to explain the variation we find in the Norito expressions better than does assigning them all the bland label “formulae”. It will be noted that this objection to the notion of semantics and aesthetics being wholly sacrificed to pragmatics in formulae is far from new. In the case of Homer, G.M. Calhoun challenged this central premise of oral-formulaism as early as 1933 (Foley, 58). Subsequently, this and other premises on which the oral-formulaic school was built would be problematized on a variety of grounds discussed in the next section.

In conclusion of the first section of this chapter, it is fair to say that certain words and

phrases in the Norito are repeated, with variation. The repetition of these words and phrases—alongside other forms of repetition, including the sub-lexical sound resemblances and intra- and inter-sentential parallelisms discussed in later chapters—forms a salient characteristic of the Norito's style. It is most likely also fair to conclude from this that *sound* was important to the composers of the Norito, as is routinely believed. However, there is little evidence that this concern with sound was related solely to the demands of oral composition, transmission and performance. To understand the role of orality in the texts a more flexible approach is needed, as discussed below.

Part 2: Other approaches to orality in the Engishiki Norito

Although traditional oral-formulaic theory has retained sufficient popularity to support the occasional study (such as Yamamoto's), in recent decades it has been problematized on what may be called post-modern grounds—principally that seeing an oral text as representative of an alien tradition, subject to forces entirely dissimilar to those shaping the narrow experience of modern Western literacy is, itself, a modern Western conceit. As seen above, repetitive phrases in the Norito are challenging to interpretations that see the semantically-bare formula as basic to oral literature. The following paragraphs briefly summarize the post-modern critique of oral-formulaism and introduce some more data from the Norito in support of these broader-minded approaches.

Ruth Finnegan, a founding member of the Open University, dedicated much of her career to studying the circumstances in which, cross-culturally and cross-linguistically, oral literature is composed, disseminated and performed. Her work has tended to lead her to valorize the similarities, rather than the differences, between literature produced in primarily oral and primarily written environments and, in particular, to challenge what may only be called chauvinistic, evolutionary views of the development of written culture—such as those put forward by David

Diringer² and perpetuated, albeit in greatly more qualified terms, by the late Fr. Ong. In her second³ major contribution on the subject of oral literature, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (1977), she put forward the argument—now a *locus classicus*—that oral and written literature cannot be binaristically defined; a text's perceived orality in fact operates around three (interrelated) nodes; composition, transmission and performance (*passim*).

In the course of the same analysis, she also makes the important point that Western literate culture defines poetry, at the most superficial level, in typographic terms. Poetry has lines and stanzas; prose does not. (25) Again, this is challenged not only by entirely oral poetic traditions, which are clearly unable to implement such typographic distinctions, but also by non-Western traditions of all shapes and forms—and exhibiting various degrees of 'orality' with respect to their composition, performance and transmission. This slippery intersect between poetry and orality is further reason to challenge the notion of texts like the Norito as strictly 'prose', as some commentators have done in the past.

In her introduction to the *Penguin Book of Oral Poetry* (1978), Finnegan puts forward the same general arguments concerning the difficulties inherent in bifurcating oral and written literature:

It has become clear... 'oral literature cannot be totally separated from written literature in any absolute sense. The common criteria for 'orality'... oral composition, transmission, and performance—are relative and elusive ones which may well conflict with each other, for a poem may be orally composed then later transmitted in writing, or perhaps written initially but then performed and circulated by oral means... (2)

By the time *Communicating*, another of her most influential books, was published in 2002, Finnegan had developed the arguments cited above to reach the broad conclusion that human communication takes place over a continuous spectrum of sensory experiences. Any particular instantiation of visual, aural or other communication, is as valid as the next; modern Western

²Diringer - "the alphabet is the last, the most highly developed...system of writing...now universally employed by civilized peoples" (1968 vol 1:13) in Finnegan 162.

³The first had been concerned only with Africa. See: *Oral Literature in Africa* (1970).

literacy is but a fragment within the “continuum of ingenious ways that humans communicate by mobilizing the channel of vision to create and focus attentively on specific and relatively standardized visual sights” (166). In Finnegan’s analysis, the dominant modes in which intra-cultural communication takes place do have an effect on thought (as argued in the extreme by the oral-formulaists); the Kaluli, for example, are considered to have an “acoustic epistemology” (80). However, there is plenty of room for overlap; Finnegan argues that “an extensive reliance on acoustic communication is emphatically not just something of ‘other cultures’ far away or long ago” (83)—orality is clearly at work within the so-called privileged ideologies of modern literacy and mass education, though those ideologies have tended to obscure “the acoustic dimensions of human experience and action” (82), as demonstrated by her study of bells in nineteenth-century France.

Based on this analysis, one of Finnegan’s primary conclusions is that, during the twentieth century, features of oral and written communication had been meted out unfair treatment related to “simplistic and romanticizing prejudices encouraged by outdated binary stereotypes” (175). In a sense, the fascination of modern Western culture with the ‘orality’ of others is to do with its categorizing itself as a ‘literate’ one. This construct is ultimately harmful even to Western culture’s understanding of itself.

Rosalind Thomas is another scholar who has pointed up the difficulty of drawing a strict distinction between the ‘literary’ output of oral and literate cultures (and, indeed, between those two ‘stages’) themselves — and in a context of developing literacy broadly analogous to that in which Norito came into being. In *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, she writes:

...the earliest Greek writing suggests that it was first used at least to mark objects or to make a memorial, even to write down verse...For the poet, the dictated performance might be only one performance among many and, since he was doing only what he had always done, it is probably anachronistic to think that he would regard the written texts as superseding all his own performances. (48)

To illustrate this point, Thomas borrows and broadens an analogy from Silk (1987) with jazz musicians; noting that the latter are quite able “to play written music without destroying

their ability to improvise” (49). More important than the use of an oral or written medium is the strict training needed to produce a narrative (musical, poetic or otherwise) that sits within culturally-defined parameters of acceptability. In jazz, and the instrumental music of the European baroque period, some aspects of musical performance are directed by means of specific written instructions of various kinds; others are guided loosely by written instructions; still others left entirely to individual artists’ interpretation. As a result, each performance is different from the last but remains wholly acceptable to its recipient audience. Composition, adaptation and performance of Norito at shrines in the present day tends to suggest a similarly multi-faceted encoding of performance directives.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above theoretical discourse is that strict boundary lines cannot always be drawn between oral and written texts, or oral and written dimensions of a single text. Analyses of the Norito, composite orally-performed texts, would appear to bear out this general hypothesis.

At the most basic level, the Norito writing system itself challenges any sort of binaristic analysis. The rich OJ intertextual associations of words and phrases found in the Norito have already been discussed, in brief, above. The logographic element of the Norito writing system played a special role in their intertextuality. This should not be misunderstood; the primary function of OJ writing was never anything other than to encode oral OJ language. As is the case today, Chinese characters had no disembodied meaning that could exist outside the linguistic contexts in which they are employed. Indeed, as Unger has demonstrated convincingly, former (mis-)interpretations of those characters as ideographic were predicated on a fictitious teleology in which signs lead immediately to and from thoughts; to grasp more properly how characters ‘mean’ has required a reconfiguration of Western thought “that transcends the particulars of East Asian history and comparative studies of cultures” (*Ideogram* 166 and passim). Nevertheless, in common with other writing systems, individual graphs within OJ writing systems do not have a one-to-one relationship with oral language; and this potent asymmetry was readily exploited by literary craftspeople of all persuasions, including early compilers, authors or tran-

scribers of the liturgies.

A good example, occurring frequently in the Norito, is the compound 雑物, discussed in 王小林 Wang Xiaolin's 2008 paper 音と訓のはざ間にて—『延喜式』祝詞に見える「雑物」をめぐって 'On to kun no hazama ni te: "Engishiki" Norito ni mieru "kusagusa no mono" o megutte' (国語国文 *Kokugo Kokubun* 77.8). Reading tradition dictates that the compound encodes the OJ locution *kusagusa no mono*, meaning "various things". Wang, on the other hand, holds it to be a technical term for ceremonial offerings and distinct from a number of other words, which actually did mean "various things" (51). 雑物, he demonstrates, is related to 調 in other transmitted sources, including *Nihonshoki* (ibid). It is clear from these sources that the term is linked with 調 and 進上 (i.e. it is a type of ceremonial offering) with a broad breadth of meaning. It was used as the second-half of collocations of the kind X-雑物, where the antecedent element specified the category of offering to be made. It appears to have referred to offerings coming from 畿外 Kigai—areas outside the central-most provinces (51). From attestations in the 貞観交替式 *Jōgan Kōtaishiki* it is clear from context that it sometimes referred to breakable objects, like pottery, and other times to agricultural produce, subject to the whims of weather (55).

The term, including its use in combination with 種種 (as seen in the *Nihon Shoki*), has a long lineage in the Chinese written tradition; it was used in 易經 *I Jing*, (*Book of Changes*) and 文選 *Wen Xuan* (55).⁴ While each has its own nuances, in the Chinese sources, the terms 庭實, 方物, 土物, 土毛, 雜物⁵ essentially refer to the same thing ('tribute', the goods by a local ruler, polity or dominion offered to a more powerful leader or state) which, according to Wang, can be related to 任土作貢 *rèn tǔ zuò gòng*, a principle of geo-political structure in the region since the age of the 尚書 *Shangshu* (書經 *Shujing*). Content within the 養老職員令 *Yōrō Shiki'in Ryō* suggests that the ideological foundation on which the Japanese *Ritsuryō* system of tribute and taxation was based may also be meaningfully related to *rèn tǔ zuò gòng* (58). If this is the case, the

⁴Both texts are believed to have been in circulation in Japan very early; perhaps since before the Nara period.

⁵Romanized Chinese omitted as the transmission of the written word is what is under scrutiny here.

use of the term in the Norito—the performance of which was in many instances accompanied by the ritual exchange of tributary / indentured goods—is hardly surprising.

Whatever ideologies lie behind its inclusion in the Norito, it is clear that 雜物 was some sort of technical term in common use within the bureaucracy of the various states in existence during the OJ period. The term is also found on *mokkan* discovered at the 津堂遺跡 site (potentially from an earlier period, of comparable antiquity to the Norito) where it is linked, in the same way as it is in the Norito and other texts, with 進上: 〓

謹解申雜物進上名簿帳事合佰漆拾玖人平將胤絹百疋源親方穀二百疋藤

Another strip from the same excavation also contains the term; although sadly it is too corrupt to make much sense of:

請雜物〇／□□〇□□□／奈□〔多力〕□□□〓・□／諸□〓

A marker, found at Heijō-kyō and dating from 天平 Tenpyō 8 (736), that reads 北倉雜物帳 provides further evidence that 雜物 was a term in active use in Japan. By using it to write *kusagusa no mono*, another OJ word or expression, or even a lexical borrowing from Chinese, or a Korean language, that has been obscured by later reading tradition, the Norito compilers were thus associating the texts with a system of goods exchange fundamental to the *Ritsuryō* order—and with a long heritage within the (written) histories of continental polities and their institutions of government and taxation.

雜物 is one example, from the Norito, of how the slippage inherent in logography was used by scribes to considerable connotative effect. It is by no means, however, an anomalous case. Listed below are several other examples of character compounds to which reading tradition ascribes an old Japanese word or phrase but which also have a considerable heritage within the continental written record:

1. 五穀
2. 四方

3. 幣帛

These terms have been inadequately investigated in the Norito, most likely because of a desire to downplay the texts' intertextual sophistications, in order to emphasize, instead, their heritage as within early 'Japanese' oral culture. There is insufficient space here to go into this in any depth; however, it is worth noting that the last term, 幣帛, appears (in close proximity to 五穀) in continental discourse relating to taxation as far back as the Mencius (see below):

夫貉，五穀不生，惟黍生之。無城郭、宮室、宗廟、祭祀之禮，無諸侯幣帛饗飮，無百官有司，故二十取一而足也

In Mo all the five kinds of grain are not grown; it only produces the millet. There are no fortified cities, no edifices, no ancestral temples, no ceremonies of sacrifice; there are no princes requiring presents and entertainments; there is no system of officers with their various subordinates. On these accounts a tax of one-twentieth of the produce is sufficient there." (Translation by Legge)

Whatever Old Japanese words they were intended to encode, kanji compounds such as 幣帛 and 雜物 themselves embody a rich intertextual heritage which links the texts in which they are deployed with prestigious politico-intellectual traditions from continental East Asia.

In *On the Inscription of the Hitomaro Poetry Collection* (2006) David Lurie has made a similar point concerning the associative potentialities of semantic phonograms (義君 *gikun*) in the context of the *Man'yōshū*. The sorts of character-word associations tell of the development of a "robust literacy" more than some ancient primary oral culture. On another level, these visual resemblances work in conjunction with sound resemblances in various sorts of paranomastic and rhyme features, as discussed in later chapters. Elsewhere, in *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (2011), Lurie notes that the *Nihonshoki Senmyō* (texts, in his opinion, characterized by "repetition and lofty tone"), too, are the products of careful narrative crafting, drawing on continental literary sources:

Despite their careful diction, which supported the public vocal performance of these texts by officials designated to read them, the language and rhetoric of the *senmyō* is far from primeval orality, as they employ many structures and locutions derived from literary Chinese writings mediated through *kundoku* (Kotani 1986). Much like the Yakushi inscription

and the prose of the Kojiki, these proclamations are concerned more with producing texts that can be convincingly vocalized than with reproducing pre-existing orality in writing.

The intertextual potency of their writing system thus clear, a second sense in which the Norito texts challenge binaristic definitions of oral and written literature is related to their structural arrangement. There are two types of norito recorded in the Englishiki corpus, labelled ‘*mawos*- type’ and ‘*nor*- type’, according to the verb in which the liturgical utterance is terminated. These types are also known as 宣命体 *sen’myōtai* or 宣下体 *sengetai* and 奏上体 *sōjōtai*. As Kitagawa notes it is routinely believed that the *nor*- type is the original form and the *mawos*- type texts are later Heian-period interpolations. This view, of which 武田祐吉 Takeda Yūkichi is perhaps the best-known proponent, is surely linked to a perceived transition from oral government, in which oral proclamations by the higher echelons of the government in the presence of its rank and file carry the weight of legal authority, to a more literate society in which oral proceedings are recorded word for word. However, this interpretation is by no means the only one—or the necessarily most convincing. 重松信弘 Shigematsu Nobuhiro is not convinced that the *mawos*- and *nor*- terminations have much bearing on the content of individual texts or that they are in any way useful indicators of age. Other commentators, like 安津素彦 Anzu Motohiko, contend that the *nor*- elements within certain norito are “secondary” components, unrelated to the core structure of the liturgy (ibid).

It is indeed the case that in the so-called *nor*- type, there are a number of examples where *mawos*- terminated utterances have been embedded within the *senmyōtai*. Commonly, this gives rise to an introductory clause including the humilific verb *mawos*-, terminated by the OJ nominalizer *-aku*, followed by the liturgical utterance itself, marked off again by a humilific nominalized with *-aku*, followed by a quotative *to noru*, as in the following from the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*:

辞別伊勢爾坐天照太御神能太前爾白久...

...皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣

koto wakite, ise ni masu amaterasuopomikamwi no opo-mapye ni mawosaku...

...sumyemima no mikoto no udu no mitegura wo tatapegoto wopematuraku to noru.

In particular, I speak humbly in the great presence of the [Sun Goddess] Amaterasu...
 ...humbly fulfill words of praise over the Sovereign Scion's august offerings. So do I proclaim.

The precise speaker-recipient relations lying behind such usages are uncertain and varied possibly depending on who was present at specific performances; however, what historical sources tell us about the arenas in which court norito were performed encourages comparison with certain *koto* (and paired *no* / *koto*) nominalizer usages in modern Japanese.⁶ The 'core' liturgy is certainly embedded within a reportative structure; however, there is no clear evidence that the reportative is directly related to oral presentation of the texts (or to a progression from primary oral to literate culture). Rather, the repetitive rhetorical structures and textual frames, of which the aforementioned reportative locution is one, and into which the Norito are fitted, function to demarcate the liturgies as texts with special cultural and official status, and to ensure an appropriate oral delivery when the time comes.

In conclusion, therefore, the romantic conceit of an 'original' Norito text, drawn from an exclusively oral ritual heritage in which celebrants, selected from the community according to qualifications of birth and status, offered up words of praise to deities in return for the vouchsafement of the group, obscures their composition and adaptation during a period of growing literacy (Lurie, *passim*). A more sensitive analysis must apportion roughly equal importance to the texts' parallel oral pronouncement and their enshrinement within written documents.

It is likely that Norito had a legal or paralegal function as performed texts and their inclusion in a volume dedicated to written legal codes (式) underscores their importance for the literate bureaucracy of state—at least in the early Heian Period and, most likely, earlier. Furthermore, the texts continued to be widely adapted to particular ritual circumstances long after the development of robust literate institutions, of the kind that sponsored the compilation of the Englishiki—and, indeed, in some contexts are used in this partially-improvised fashion to the present. The convenience of having a written text to be orally interpreted and performed in rit-

⁶ ことと話した *koto to hanashita*, for example is a common usage for reporting speech in newspaper and magazine articles.

ually correct fashion was surely clear to the 中臣 Nakatomi, 忌部 Imibe and other groups that were involved with the composition and performance of Norito at an early stage (most likely at some point during the early OJ period), which explains the way the writing system was used to encode the texts. The Norito provide evidence that, if they can be identified at all, oral and literate elements of text may freely collaborate; written text is able to support, and expand the associative potential of, oral performance text. This understanding was nascent within Ong's later work, although embedded in problematic evolutionary narratives. In *Orality and Literacy*, he notes: "Long after a culture has begun to use writing, it may still not give writing high ratings. A present-day literate usually assumes that written records have more force than spoken words as evidence of a long-past state of affairs, especially in court. Earlier cultures that knew literacy but had not so fully interiorized it, have often assumed quite the opposite."

Some conclusions

To reiterate, there can be no doubt that the Norito are, in some sense, 'oral' texts; Norito have thrived - and continue to thrive—in oral environments through performance, reception, repetition and so on. However, as this chapter has tried to demonstrate (and the work of scholars such as Finnegan and Thomas have shown, already, in other contexts), any attempt to squeeze these all under the umbrella of 'oral literature' is fraught with risk.

Yamamoto's study was the first to use Parry-Lordian oral-formulaism as a theoretical tool to re-analyze the Norito—and out of fresh academic conjugations of this sort are necessarily born fresh academic observations. In this respect it is a landmark piece of scholarship. However, like the oral-formulaic school itself, the plausibility of Yamamoto's conclusions is injured by his tendency toward sweeping binarisms—which are easy to debunk in the case of the Norito. It has been seen that texts at once demonstrate some properties of oral composition, according to the oral-formulaic model, while lacking others—and that in itself should be sufficient to raise some doubts about the validity of the model. It has also been observed that rhetoric in the

Norito is heavily dependent on the connotative effects of sound resemblance—and that can work on a phonemic or lexical, as well as phrasal level. These levels will be explored further in later chapters. Finally, and relatedly, this chapter has affirmed the general proposal made in the Introduction, that Norito share certain commonalities of expression with other areas of the OJ literary corpus that warrant closer attention.

But what of the oral debate itself? If, as Derrida demonstrated, the phono-logo-centric bias of the modern West is actually a deviant expression of a deeper concern with writing (Culler *On Deconstruction : Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* 100-02), then the work of Walter J. Ong may constitute one of its foremost examples. Ong's attempts to problematize the oral debate by forcing the 'oral' into the shackles of subalternity have had the effect of expanding the debate to grand proportions – proportions that the reductionist parameters of the oral-formulaic approach are incapable of delineating fully. As Finnegan and Thomas demonstrated, interaction with 'orality' in literature necessitates a delicate approach; one which treats oral transmission, oral performance and oral composition independently, while valorizing their commonalities and interactions, both with each other and with elements of visual communication—in whatever form that might happen to take. All studies of orality should therefore proceed with extreme caution. By putting oral cultures in a category of their own, authors risk perpetuating certain distortions arising, somewhat ironically, from the limitations of the "privileged ideologies" of modern Western literacy. In his defence, Ong does appear to have been genuinely fascinated with the oral cultures and literatures he studied. While, out of all his postulates, it was the "technologizing" of the word that made the biggest ripples on the surface of Western scholarly discourse, Ong's own work may, in hindsight, be re-envisioned as an exercise in "fetishizing" the word—much as Frazer or Staal might be thought of as "fetishizing" ritual, or "fetishizing the fetish" (Apter and Pietz *passim*). As Ong wrote in the *Presence of the Word*, published a decade and a half before *Orality and Literacy*, the "mystery of sound" and, by implication, the spoken word is "most productive of understanding and unity, the most personally human, and in this sense closest to the divine" (324). Hartley, though perhaps a little unkind, is justified in

detecting in Ong's work something of the "kind of 'noble savage' Romanticism to which the 1960s generation seemed peculiarly prey..." (Hartley 214). Future studies of orality will need to continue to look closely at cultures of performativity—which, as Culler notes, means really getting to grips with performance involves "the cooperation...of philosophy and literary theory and...reconnecting with the domain of performance theory in theatre studies and the social sciences" (Culler *The Literary in Theory* 165). Interdisciplinary approaches will inform our understanding of the productive collaboration of written text and oral performance. In sum, in studies of orality, as elsewhere, what we should pursuing is a middle path that is combinative rather than reductionist, that moves away from "division and difference" and towards "inclusion, connection and relation", a contiguous, 'joined-up' approach to text and intertext (H.L. Moore 205).

Chapter 6

Rhetorical expressions in the Englishiki Norito

‘The rhetorician would deceive his neighbours,
The sentimentalist himself, while art
Is but a vision of reality.’
W.B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*

The few lines quoted above, selected and redeployed by C.K. Stead to preface his seminal study of the development of English poetry in the early decades of the twentieth century¹, give eloquent expression to a number of concatenated problematics that were redressed (and re-dressed) in modernism, and bequeathed to later scholarship in the patterns still traced out by disciplinary boundaries today. Yeats contrasts art—not in the dubious sense of artful, but valorized anew, along with literature and genius—with rhetoric in a way that leaves the reader in no doubt which is the moral superior; art may be a simulacrum of “reality”, but its motivations are free from the stain of deception. Rhetoric, on the other hand, exists to deceive. It is impure; not something to be relied on, nothing which has the capacity to contribute meaningfully to knowledge. Such was the distrustful view of rhetoric which was held by many in the Western world at the turn of the twentieth century and which still lingers, here and there, to the present. As noted in Chapter 4, the ongoing debate, within the Western tradition, between language users who recognize the power of rhetoric and deploy it for their own ends, and those

¹See: *The New Poetic, Yeats to Eliot* (1964), p.1

whose seek to foreground other dimensions of language (though, often, making use of the same persuasive forces as the rhetoricians) stretches back to Classical antiquity.

This short diversion serves to illustrate an important point concerning why this study invokes rhetoric to describe features of the Norito and, more generally, Old Japanese literary diction. The modernist *zeitgeist* captured in Yeats' lines removes rhetoric from art. However, over the course of long history as an art (often in the dubious sense of artful), rhetoric provoked a wide spectrum of responses from recipients in the Western tradition. One approach to such a challenging term is to remove it from discourse altogether and leave it on the sidelines somewhere—the same approach that is sometimes taken when encountering literature, or other cultural output, that poses difficulties of interpretation. Likewise, when non-Western texts are structured in a way that is challenging to Western modes of discourse or argument, it is sometimes the case that they, too, are not given the attention they deserve.

It will be seen in this chapter that many repetitive structures encountered in texts from the Old Japanese tradition encourage a rhetorical interpretation—increasing the texts' il- and per-locutionary functionality; however, being a term with a checkered history in its own right, rhetoric is rarely the first place scholars begin when attempting to make sense of such material. Western scholars approaching premodern Japanese literature in general have been apt to steer clear of rhetorical analysis and concentrate on other features of texts; in particular, explanation of 'meaning', and biographical and historical context. Their motives for doing so are not always immediately apparent, but it seems likely that, alongside disciplinary cultures inherited from Japanese colleagues and mentors, the problematic status of rhetoric in the Western has been a contributory factor.

A final point of concern that may be raised about the deployment of terms from Western rhetorical scholarship in the analysis of a non-Western text such as the Norito is one of cultural appropriateness; might not scholars, for example, be safer confining themselves to Japanese terms when discussing rhetorical structures in the Norito? This is not a particularly persuasive argument; *makura kotoba*, *jo-kotoba*, *kakekotoba* and *engo* depend on composite and interre-

lated modes of morphosyntactic and phonological play² that also underpin features of classical and modern European rhetoric. Furthermore, unfortunately, issues of genre have meant that even these terms, employed extensively to describe rhetorical figures in use within the study of Japanese traditional poetry have only been applied sporadically to the Norito. More work is needed to pick apart the layers of play that give form to Old Japanese rhetorical language, and to explicate the links between resemblances of sound, meaning and word shape—including the complex slippage associated with logography discussed in the previous chapter. The examples from the Norito and other OJ texts in this chapter begin to attempt this.

Performativity and rhetoric

The link between rhetoric and performance is clear: the performativity of a text is contingent upon its ability to convince its audience that it has, or will, achieve what it sets out to achieve. The view that such persuasive force is inherent in certain patternings of discourse is central to the post-modern understanding of rhetoric as subject and agent of criticism. Kenneth Burke's deconstruction of the truth-opinion dialectic, (itself in dialogue with the pure-impure binary invoked above), relies heavily on this conviction (which, of course, also motivated Austin and later interpreters of his work). A few lines from Burke's seminal *A Rhetoric of Motives* are sufficient to demonstrate this.

The kind of opinion with which rhetoric deals, in its role of inducement to action, is not opinion *as contrasted with* truth...Of course, a speaker may be true or false in identifying a person by some particular sign of virtuous conduct. You may say that a person so acted when the person did not so act - and if you succeed in making your audience believe you, you could be said to be trafficking in sheer opinion *as contrasted with* the truth. But we are here concerned with motives a step farther back than such mere deception. We are discussing the underlying ethical assumptions on which the entire tactics of persuasion are based. Here the important factor is opinion (opinion in the moral order of *action*, rather than in the "scenic" order of truth.) The rhetorician, as such, need only operate on this

²This word downplays (pardoning the pun) the seriousness of rhetorical language in Old Japanese. Cultural biases against rhetorical language are so entrenched in English and other European languages, that it can be difficult to settle on critical nomenclature that describes features without belittling them.

principle. If, in the opinion of a given audience, a certain kind of conduct is admirable, then a speaker might persuade the audience by using ideas and images that identify his cause with that kind of conduct. (54)³

If rhetoric is conceived of in this way, its relevance to Norito is immediately apparent. The Norito were, and are, performed texts, as discussed in the previous chapter. The figurations found in their text might thus serve to illuminate the opinions which sculpted them, as well as helping us to understand their relationship with the other extant vestiges of Old Japanese written culture. It goes without saying that divisions of knowledge in such a culture—as far removed in time, space and technological development from our own as it is—do not map well onto our epistemological nomenclatures. As Gary Ebersole notes, “The early Japanese did not distinguish religion, politics, and literature in the ways we do, for poetry/song participated immediately in these other dimensions of social life to a far greater extent than is now generally recognized.” (17) Give such a performative environment, the aspects of text—namely repetitive and parallel locutions—that in the European tradition have traditionally been discussed under the banner of rhetoric are perhaps key to understanding OJ texts in (again from a Western perspective) a number of different disciplinary contexts.

There is a problem with this approach in that, however noble its intentions, it risks othering all non-Western or difficult ancient texts like Norito as exclusively ‘rhetorical’. To avoid this, it is important to be aware of rhetoricalities found in all the sources that inspire us, be they ‘primary’ or ‘secondary’. A careful eye, and ear, for rhetoric should not be restricted to the student of texts identified by today’s critics as performative—just as the study of performativity is not the sole preserve of the scholar of texts with an explicit rhetorical agenda. Burke was careful to draw a distinction between what he called “primitive magic” (42) and rhetoric: “the magical use of symbolism to affect natural processes by rituals and incantations was a mistaken transference of a proper linguistic function to an area for which it was not fit...If we then begin by treating erroneous and derived magical use as primary, we are invited to treat a proper use of

³The emphases here are Burke’s own.

language...simply as a vestige of benightedly prescientific magic...” (ibid). He goes on to deconstruct, well and truly, the dialectic of which rational-modern and rhetorical-primitive formed opposing nodes – and to which, in the genealogy of modernist discourse, the pure versus impure dialectic we invoked earlier is but once-removed kin: “To be sure, the rhetorician has the tricks of his trade. But...any overly scientist [sic] approach to them (treating them in terms of flat dialectical opposition to modern technology) must make our world look much more ‘neo-primitive’ than is really the case” (ibid).

The derogatory sense in which Burke here uses “magic” in conjunction with “primitive” would certainly seem to betray a bias toward Western, post-Enlightenment modes of knowledge. However, the dominant position held by rhetoric in his paradigm removes it from the obscurity of otherness, where it might otherwise have been shackled alongside ritual, leaving the door open to the possibility, explored later by Lyotard and others, that ‘scientific’ discourse, too, is not entirely independent of the sculpting forces of rhetoricality. This defence of rhetoric as real and soberly linguistic, and the call for precision this represents, was not only groundbreaking at the time but also highly apposite to any study, like this one, of linguistic structurations deployed in a magico-performative context.

The rhetoric of the Englishiki Norito: some noteworthy figures

Syntax, morphology, prosody and intonation are all involved in the act of persuasion. This study’s debt to the many volumes of research dedicated to deepening our understanding of all these aspects of the Old Japanese language has already been noted. However, there have been only two significant attempts to undertake analysis of the Englishiki Norito, with the express purpose of building an inventory of rhetorical devices found in the texts, using the vocabulary of rhetorical analysis developed in the study of European classical and modern literature and oratory.

The first of these came into being as part of a broader study of Norito (including liturgies

preserved in local shrine traditions and ‘new’ norito, composed, adapted and arranged by members of the Shinto priesthood in the course of their day-to-day duties), undertaken by 稲村眞里 Inamura Masato in the mid-twentieth century, at least in part, as an instructive manual for priests and others engaged in the composition of liturgies. Inamura’s analysis commences with the claim that one “needs to be broadly familiar with rhetoric in the norito” (72), in order to comprehend them fully. His thesis is, therefore, essentially similar to that of this study. The paragraph that follows this opening statement, however, is more provocative—in the best sense of that word. In it, Inamura outlines his general view of the language of the (Englishiki) Norito that, in valorizing their close connection with the language and culture of their creators, contrasts starkly with the widely-held opinion that the Norito are esoteric and far removed from everyday speech (Miller’s “recondite”, etc). His comments are sufficiently different from most other scholarship on the texts, in this regard, to be worthy of quotation at length:

...we must first break down our preconception of Norito being ‘auspicious words’ or ‘beautiful language’ (善言 *zengen*, 美辞 *biji*). When we encounter the grand, flowing and solemn literary expressions of the likes of the ‘Great Exorcism’ [of the Last Day of the Sixth Month] (*Ô-harae no kotoba*), the ‘Divine Congratulatory Words of the Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko’ (*Izumo no Kuni no Miyatsuko no Kamuyogoto*), or the *kotowaki* (special invocation, choosing of words) offered up to the Grand Goddess of Ise [Amaterasu Ōmikami] from the *Toshigoi no Matsuri*, we can scarcely help feeling that way. Many of them should be seen as businesslike phrases; in terms of their form; the Norito of the present day are better structured and more beautiful. The rich expressions offered to the deities might seem exaggerated when compared with their equivalents in modern day rites; however, when considered in light of the articles contained in the Englishiki, one finds that they are no more than factual records. When one thinks along these lines, one realizes that, on the contrary, the Norito are actually trustworthy documents and should be conceived of as being rooted in everyday life and experiences. They are, in the first place, statements made before the gods and so felicitous language has been chosen. However to see this and immediately call them ‘auspicious words’ or ‘beautiful language’ is only to tell part of the story; indeed no other terms have relegated Norito to the realms of superficiality and frivolity as much as these. (72-3)

The “trustworthiness” of the Norito as historical documents is not a matter of particularly relevance to this study but there is certainly evidence, from elsewhere in the Englishiki and other

writings documenting court rites in the Nara period, to support the claim that there are elements within the liturgies that are of immediate significance to the ritual act in which they were involved. Furthermore, Inamura's conviction that norito expressions derive from real Old Japanese usage compels him to use comparative data from elsewhere in the corpus to elucidate his analyses—and stands as a valuable heuristic for this, and subsequent, chapters.

Inamura's study is limited mostly by its brevity; after a short examination of what are seen as key rhetorical devices used in the Engishiki Norito (72-85), the author moves on to a discussion of classical Japanese literary rhetoric of the likes of *makura kotoba*, *jo-kotoba*, *kakekotoba* and *engo*—arguing that these are features of later norito that have deviated from the orthodoxy established in the Engishiki and are to be avoided (85-9). Through finer-grained analysis, this and subsequent chapters demonstrate that rhetorical features present in the Engishiki Norito share certain commonalities with the devices listed above—and that it is time they took their place alongside them in the narrative of Japanese literary history.

The second study of features of Engishiki Norito from a rhetorical perspective is to be found in a short article by Kameyama Kazumaro which deals with the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae* one of the early court norito.⁴ His study resembles Inamura's in its desire to document the rhetoric of Norito systematically and in its willingness to make use of data obtained from comparison with contemporary Norito and critical nomenclature derived from Western rhetorical analysis. It differs, however, not only in its contextual framing – it is a brief research note rather than a chapter from a longer work – but also in its stated motivations. Here the difference is considerable. Whereas Inamura's study was concerned with defending Norito as everyday language, Kameyama's sees the Norito as a way to unlock the mysteries of *kotodama*, (言霊 'word spirit') an ideologically laden term that is often invoked by modern Japanese scholars in reference to rhetorical peculiarities and poorly-understood locutions in early verse. Referencing two well-known verses from the *Man'yōshū*, he notes (of the belief in *kotodama* amongst the early Japanese and its connection to the Norito):

⁴It is sometimes referred to in modern Japanese usage by the more general term 大祓詞 *Ō-harae no kotoba*.

...they believed in a kind of mysterious power resting in language and that that could influence the fortunes and misfortunes of human beings. Therefore, since norito are the words used when deities' names are invoked in solemn ritual settings and praises are offered up to them, they came into being as literature as a development of the belief in *kotodama*; by which, using good words, beautiful words, words of praise and approbation, evil may be expunged and good made to flourish... (152)

Despite Inamura's claims, envisaging the Norito as collections of "good words" or "beautiful words" does not seem to have discouraged Kameyama from tackling their use of language head on. While his use of terminology is perhaps not as clear as Inamura's and runs the risk of obscuring some subtleties of texture, (as in the case of 疊語 *jōgo*, which corresponds roughly to 'reduplication' and was used by Inamura to refer exclusively to what we shall later call 'reduplicative epithetic phrases' but which, for Kameyama, seems to have been a more general term, covering a number of types of parallel NP construction), his analysis is thorough and his interpretations generally convincing. Furthermore, as discussed below, multiple rhetorical figures are used simultaneously and so there is a need for a certain porosity of nomenclature. In particular, Kameyama's willingness to transcend vague statements regarding the relationship between norito prolixity and *kotodama* belief—to explore the possibility that changes from small to large and use of repetition and parallelism lends to the texts a sense of "concatenation" (連鎖性 *rensa-sei*) and "boundlessness" (無限性 *mugensei*)—marks out his work as unique within the annals of Norito scholarship. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to an investigation of some of the textual properties of Norito that lead to the conclusion that their literariness is closely tied to their rhetoricality—as Kameyama suggested in the case of the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae* (146).

Repetition

Repetition in writing and speech is so widespread as to be sometimes overlooked as a rhetorical device in its own right. It appears to be an important feature within the structure of the Englishiki Norito—and essential to many of the more complex figurations discussed in this and

subsequent chapters.

It need hardly be stated that repetition and ritual enjoy an intimate relationship; there is a colossal body of literature on the subject, even excluding studies of non-verbal repetition. Old Japanese is no exception in this regard. Ebersole, like many Japanese scholars, cites repetition in Old Japanese corpus, particularly of ritual phrases (“words of praise”), as a manifestation of the belief in *kotodama* – which we have already identified as the conviction that certain words, or groups of words, possess the ability to influence the will of the gods. Of the following Imperial poem from the *Nihonshoki*, he concludes: “The incantational nature of this verse, with its repeated words of praise...should be obvious. The praise was designed to win over the local kami to ensure the fertility of the land and a bountiful harvest.” (27)

舉暮利矩能	<i>komoriku no</i>	The mountain of Hatsuse
播都制能野麼播	<i>patuse no yama pa</i>	Of the hidden country
伊底柁智能	<i>idetati no</i>	Is a mountain
与慮斯企野麼	<i>yorosi-ki yama</i>	Standing beautifully,
和斯里底能	<i>wasiride no</i>	Is a mountain
与慮斯企夜麼能	<i>yorosi-ki yama no</i>	Projecting beautifully.
據暮利矩能	<i>komoriku no</i>	The mountain of Hatsuse
播都制能夜麼播	<i>patuse no yama pa</i>	Of the hidden country
阿野爾于羅虞波斯	<i>aya-ni ura-gupasi</i>	Is truly lovely,
阿野爾于羅虞波斯	<i>aya-ni ura-gupasi</i>	Is truly lovely.

Though passing unmentioned in Ebersole’s analysis, repetition of phrases and keywords is also a prominent feature of the *Toshigoi no matsuri*, a substantial monument to Old Japanese agrarian ritual, as evidenced in the following few lines.

皇神御年等能	<i>mitosi no sumyegamwitati no</i>	Before the Sovereign kamwi
		of the Grain, suppliant I speak:
前爾白久	<i>mapye ni mawosaku,</i>	the Late-Ripening Grain the
		Sovereign kamwi will bestow
		and offer up [to the Emperor],
皇神等能依左志奉牟	<i>sumyegamwitati no yosasi</i>	the Late-Ripening Grain we

奥津御年乎	<i>maturamu okitu-mitosi wo tana-</i>	take and nurture, water-foam
手肱爾水沫書垂	<i>pidi ni minawa kakitari muka-</i>	dripping from our hands and
向股爾泥寄弓取作牟	<i>momo ni pidi kakiyosete tori-</i>	arms, the mud of the field
奥津御年乎	<i>tukura-mu okitu-mitosi wo</i>	
八束穂能伊加志穂爾	<i>yatukapo no ikasi po ni sumye</i>	clinging to our up-turned
	<i>gamwitati no yosasimaturaba</i>	thighs.

The repetition in the juxtaposed topic-comment structures of the *Nihonshoki* example given above, at first, appears less sophisticated. However, on closer inspection, it is evident that similar syntactic relationships are being exploited in both selections – that, broadly, may be thought of as a kind of chiasmus or anadiplosis. In the NSK example the comment of the first topic-comment pairing (*idetati no yoroshiki yama*) finds itself varied and repeated (as *wasiride no yoroshiki yama*) as subordinate clause modifying the topic of the second pairing. In the Norito example, two NPs with the same head noun collocation (*okitu-mitosi* ‘Late-ripening Grain’), modified by subordinate structures, act as subject for the same predicate. The same compound verb that forms the predicate of both NPs, *yosa-si-matur-*, modifies the first *okitu-mitosi* NP as a prepositive VP, producing a prolepsis. The internal structure of both cases reminds us of the 序詞 *jo-kotoba*, an anadiplosis dependent on paronomasia found in Japanese verse (and revisited briefly later in this chapter). It is interesting to note that the Norito example contains a pun (*pidi*, ‘elbows’, ‘mud’), also discussed later in the chapter.

Similar inverted structures are also found in abundance among the *chōka* of the *Man’yōshū*, such as the following depiction of Mt. Fuji, from MYS 3.319:

不盡能高嶺者	<i>puzi no takane pa</i>	Lofty peak of Fuji;
天雲毛	<i>amagumo mo</i>	Heaven-clouds shall not
伊去波伐加利	<i>i-yuki-pabakari</i>	Go by there
飛鳥母	<i>tobu tori mo</i>	Nor the birds that fly
翔毛不上	<i>tobi mo noborazu</i>	In flight soar up
燎火乎	<i>moyuru pwi wo</i>	The burning flames
雪以滅	<i>yuki moti keti</i>	Perish in the snow
落雪乎	<i>puru yuki wo</i>	The falling snow
火用消通都	<i>pwi moti ketitutu</i>	Perishes in the flame

Here, too, are several examples of the sort of inverted repetition of the kind described above (*tobu* / *tobi* ‘fly’, *pwi* ‘fire’, *yuki* ‘snow’). In the context of the Norito, Inamura calls the phenomenon (re-)iteration (反覆法, *hanpukuhō*) and notes that it was a common trait of ancient song (上古の歌謡, *jōko no kayō*), although without providing examples to substantiate this claim.

It is clear that such phenomena are not confined to Old Japanese. Similarly anadiplosic or chiasmus-like repetition can be identified in texts from many cultures. Consider the position of *gloria* ‘glory’ and its associated key-words *gloriam* (accusative) and *glorificamus* (first-person plural of *glorifico* ‘to glorify’) in the following from the *Gloria*, a prayer used regularly in the liturgies of several Christian denominations. Note also that this inverted repetition is present alongside straightforward morphosyntactic parallelism (*Laudámus te, benedicimus te, adorámus te, glorificámus te*) which, in the Latin, produces an end rhyme. Vernacular prayer books often emphasize the parallelism with punctuation marks, such as the vertical bar (see below). The emphatic demarcation of parallelism in this way highlights the nature of the hymn as a performance text; parallel structures are accentuated so that the chorus (in many modern churches the congregation) may perform those particular words with the same intonation, beginning and ending simultaneously. The rhetorical structure of the Latin verse (in this case rhyme) facilitates a ritually correct oral delivery even without the marks:

*Glória in excelsis Deo, et in
terra pax hominibus bonæ vol-
untátis. Laudámus te,
benedícimus te, adorámus te,
glorificámus te. Grátias ágimus
tibi propter magnam glóriam
tuam.*

Glory be to God on high,
and on earth peace to men
who are God’s friends. | We
praise Thee. | We bless Thee.
| We adore Thee. We glorify
Thee. |

(Translation from *A Simple Prayer Book*, Catholic Truth Society, 1966, 21-22)

Can the presence of reiterative structures such as these be attributed to a connection with ritual? Perhaps—but, clearly, this is too big a question for any one study to answer. Even if it

could be answered, it is also clear that that answer would need to be more nuanced than a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’. It has already been noted that while perhaps less immediately involved in the ritual act than the Norito, some OJ poetry may have fulfilled some as-yet-undefined ritual role. The fact that the liturgies and poetry are further connected by the presence, in both, of the types of repetitive structures seen above perhaps therefore supports the notion of a common link to ritual. However, for the very reason that the ritual role of poetry in the OJ period is not fully understood, it is difficult to define exactly what constitutes a ‘ritual’ poem—and the sharing of rhetorical features with the Norito does not appear to be confined to any one category of OJ verse.

What is apparent, rather, is that *repetition* is essential to many of the rhetorical structures in the Norito and other OJ texts—as will be discussed further below. This section concludes, therefore, by citing a final example that demonstrates the implementation of similar patterns in a text from the Saxon tradition—one that, like Norito stands on the cusp between what is conventionally understood as poetry and prose and between ritual and literature; the last of the Vercelli Homilies (translation from Fisiak 312):

*...hās hrymedon on heora cleopunge,
and hie swā ungemetlice hrymdon...*

*...hoarsely they screamed when shouting,
yea so immoderately they screamed...*

Reduplicative epithetic phrases

Another structure involving lexical repetition that occurs with some frequency in the Norito is represented by the example *yatuka-po no ikasi-po* and might be generalized to (modifier-)NP + copula + modifier-NP, where the noun-phrase (NP) remains the same both times. To my knowledge, such constructions have yet to be identified or named in English language scholarship of Old Japanese. Even in Japan, this salient feature of Norito (and, more generally, OJ) rhetoric has been given little more than passing reference. As noted earlier, Inamura employed

the term 畳語 *jōgo* (‘folded/piled word’), used commonly to refer to morphological and lexical reduplication in modern Japanese of the type 我々 *wareware*, to classify such expressions (although he did not comprehensively describe their syntactic structure, variation, or distribution outside the Norito). Kameyama also seems to have acknowledged the existence of such structures but his description of them is stymied by his use of *jōgo* to describe all reduplication that is not covered by the parallel term, 重語 *jūgo* (‘piled-up word’). Takeda Yūkichi, editor of the NKBT Norito text, also seems to be referring to this type of construction in his passing observation that Norito make frequent use of 重ね言葉による表現 *kananekotoba ni yoru hyōgen* (‘expressions formed by layering words’), for which he provides the examples *nagamike no topomike* (lit. eternal-great-food that is long[-lasting]-great-food) and *iku pi no taru pi* (lit. ‘fulsome sun that is a live sun’). He supposes this kind of prolixity to have its origins in the oral environment in which the Norito came into being: “since Norito are words to be intoned aloud (口誦される), the doubling up of the same words, or phrases with the same root, in this way, lends them great resonance (大きく響く)” (Takeda 379). This interpretation is echoed in Inamura (文の口調を美しくする ‘to make the tone of the sentence more attractive’) and Kameyama (文章の口調を整えている ‘to shape the tone of the sentence’) (74 & 151, respectively).

Supplying an adequate English term to isolate and describe this phenomenon is similarly problematic. ‘Reduplicative epithetic phrase’ has been chosen to reflect the following structural characteristics:

- (a) Reduplication of the head noun phrase is always present.
- (b) One or both reduplicated head nouns are modified by a preposed constituent, which can be an NP, VP or AP.
- (c) The resulting phrase forms an NP constituent in its own right.

While some examples occur more than once in the corpus, it is not my intention to suggest comparisons with Homeric epithets or the like. Given the small size of the corpus, there is insufficient data available to claim, with any confidence, that these were in any way fixed or set

phrases in OJ. It is possible, though, to view the phonological and syntactic structure on which they depend as a salient feature of Norito and OJ rhetoric.

This analysis will split the phrases into two groups, given the names “balanced” and “partial”, according to whether the reduplicated head noun is modified both times, or the second time only (i.e. whether the form is aN₁-COP-bN₁ or just N₁-COP-bN₁). This nomenclature is inadequate in several respects, not least because it is not always clear to which group a phrase should be consigned; however, for the sake of heuristic simplification, it must suffice for the present. Inspection of the OCOJ has revealed that at least the first type, and possibly the second too, is attested outside the Norito, in the poetic corpus – though relatively infrequently.

Group A: Balanced reduplicative epithetic phrase

In addition to the two phrases introduced by Takeda, as noted above, (which both belong to Group A), a number of others can be identified in the Norito (although only in the court liturgies and the *yogoto*; see below).⁵

安幣帛乃足幣帛	<i>yasumitegura no taru mitegura</i>	plenteous offerings; secure offerings
八束穗乃伊加志	<i>yatukapo no ikasipo</i>	luxuriant ears, many-bundled ears
五十櫃御世乃足良志御世	<i>ikasi mi-yo no tarasi mi-yo</i>	a fulsome grand reign, a luxuriant grand reign
足御世乃茂御世	<i>tarasi mi-yo no ikasi mi-yo</i>	a luxuriant grand reign, a fulsome grand reign
燒鎌乃敏鎌	<i>yakigama no togama</i>	a sharp sickle, a fire-wrought sickle

Likewise, in the *Many'ōshū* we find an identical structure in Book 2 (MYS.2.148):

青旗乃 / 木旗能上乎
awopata no / kopata no upe wo
 over the spread of trees (like a green banner)

⁵The comma separating two NPs in the translation of these phrases is marking subordination (equivalent to the OJ copula) and can be replaced with ‘that is’ or ‘that are’, to carry this sense more clearly. Given the modality carried by the copula, however, this translation might require further adjustment, as discussed below.

Interpreting such phrases is difficult because little is known about them; which is why the translations above are intended only as very tentative guides. What can be said with confidence, however, is that the pivotal *no* cannot be anything other than a copula. Interpreting it as the genitive case particle would, in the case of *yakigama no togama*, for example, produce a translation along the lines of sharp scythe of a (heat)-wrought scythe, which is implausible. As the copula *no*, on the other hand, it would indicate that the preceding NP modifies the NP that follows (or, put another way, mark subordination in a complex NP)—which seems far more likely here. Diaereses without the connecting copula (e.g. *ikukuni tarukuni*) are considerably more numerous in the text—which does tend to suggest the copula had some special significative function. This is also the case in the second group of reduplicative epithetic phrases, discussed below.

Group B: Partial reduplicative epithetic phrase

This type of phrase has yet to be adequately documented in the literature. The most unambiguous example in the Norito is to be found in the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae*:

供男能八十供男	<i>tomo no wo no yasotomo no wo</i>	all the many courtiers that are courtiers
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It occurs at the conclusion of a long diaeresis, enumerating the various types of *tomo no wo* (‘courtiers’) whose transgressions were to be expunged through the agency of the deities—which suggests the interpretation “all of the myriad *tomo no wo*” (followed by Takeda).

Other Group B phrases found in the Norito would also tend to support this reading. For example, *simā no yasosimā* ‘all the myriad (is)lands’, (see Takeda 390) attested in several of the liturgies, is sometimes modified by a relative clause that would allow alternative interpretations but, elsewhere, it is found unmodified, following the termination of a co-ordinate structure, which suggests its constituency as a phrase. Since twice it is followed by the phrase *oturu koto*

naku (roughly: “without any omissions”), we can be fairly sure that the exhaustive interpretation is correct here. The same can be said of its counterpart phrase, *kuni no yasokuni* ‘all the myriad lands’.

The *Man’yōshū* offers a more equivocal example (MYS.2.161):

向南山	<i>kitayama ni</i>	clouds,
陳雲之	<i>tanabiku kumo no</i>	blue clouds stretching
青雲之	<i>awokumo no</i>	on the northern mountains

This might be viewed as Group A or B, depending on how the phrase is parsed. Understanding the phrase as Group A gives [NP [NP [VP [NP *kitayama ni*] *tanabiku*] *kumo no*] *awokumo*] and treating it as Group B (i.e. seeing *kumo no awokumo* as a constituent NP) produces the flatter [NP [VP [NP *kitayama ni*] *tanabiku*] [NP *kumo no*] *awokumo*]. Both are possible—although the latter interpretation might be easily missed by anyone unfamiliar with Norito usage. Since, however, all but one (*taru*) of the modifier VPs found in the Group A examples from the Norito (see above) are attested in the infinitive, rather than the adnominal form and none contain the dative *ni*, the second interpretation would seem the more likely.

The existence in the *Manyōshū* of the usage *mononopu no yaso-no-tomonowo*—bearing a striking resemblance to the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae* example discussed above (*mononopu* being another term referring to men attending to court duties) and, again, following a clause that is clearly not modifying it—lends further weight to the hypothesis that cases of subordination of internally complex NPs by the copula *no* discussed here are modality-bearing, contributing more to the sense of the utterance than a straightforward copula meaning. Documenting these (and similar) structures is therefore necessary, to build a better understanding of the Norito texts.

Similar structures

If discussion were opened up, here, to include other forms of reduplication, we would find that a great many similar structures exist in the Norito. However a fuller consideration of these will have to wait until Chapter 9, where links between lexical reduplication and rhyme are explored in greater detail. In support of the argument that reduplicative structures, such as those outlined above, warrant documentation and special treatment let us consider just one adjunct example, attested twice in the Norito corpus, again in the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae*:

罪止云布罪

tumi to ipu tumi

sins that are called sins

Here there are no clauses directly modifying the reduplicated nouns but the first is subordinated to the second to form a complex NP as above. This time, however, the subordination is achieved through the use of the complementizer *to* and the verb *ip-*, ‘to say / call’, yielding the literal translation: ‘sins that are called sins’. It would be tempting to accept this translation as it is, were it not for the fact that this particular type of reduplication persisted in later forms of the language and is still in use today—in certain idiomatic phrases that tend to produce an emphatic nuance.

A common example found in cNJ is 今日という今日 *kyō to iu kyō* (roughly: ‘today’s the day’) (Horn. S, personal communication). A cursory investigation, using NINJAL’s *Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese*, reveals that Tanabe Yōko’s 1996 translation of Dickens’ *Our Mutual Friend* contains an example of this phrase, in its modern usage. It is given here, alongside Dickens’ original, for comparison:

…それから食卓に着い
ている彼の傍らにひざまづ
きながら、「さあ、よろし
くって。もしも今日という
今日、しっかりスタートラ

...sorekara shokutaku ni
tsuiteiru kare no katawara ni
hizamazukinagara, “Saa, yoro
shiku tte. Mosimo kyō to iu
kyō, shikkari sutaatorain ni

...and then said, kneeling
down by him as he sat at ta-
ble: ‘Now, look here, sir. If

would appear to be an *n* form of the copula (like *no* and *ni*), derived from the (same) “copula root nV-” (ibid). This places the two in the same distribution. They also both appear to have had a semblative modal function.

Classifications borrowed from European scholarship of rhetoric are only useful insofar as they serve to structure a finer-grained analysis than might otherwise be possible—so arguing whether either or both should be deemed simile is not necessary. What is important, here, is that copula forms are active within the rhetorical structure of the Norito, modifying the sense of utterances in ways that relate to the particular circumstances of the OJ language environment and go far beyond simple subject-predicate linkage. This tends to support our earlier treatment of reduplicative epithetic phrases (which also centre on a copula) as modality-bearing structures.

Kameyama identifies several “figurative usages” (比喻法) that appear in the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae*, all of which, on inspection, turn out to be (relatively) unambiguous instances of simile marked by *gotoku*. They are reproduced, with translations, below.

科戸之風乃、 天之八重 雲乎吹放事之如久	<i>sinadwo no kaze no ame no ya-pegumwo wo pukipanatu koto no gotoku</i>	As does the wind, whence it came, blow up and part the manifold clouds of heaven.
朝之御霧・夕之御霧乎、 朝風・夕風乃 吹掃事之如久	<i>asita no mi-kiri – yupube no mi-kiri wo asakaze – yupukaze no pukiparapu koto no gotoku</i>	As does the morning wind and evening wind blow and scatter the mists at dawn and dusk.
大津邊爾居大船乎、 舳解放艫放放弓 大海原爾 押放事之如久	<i>opo tu pe ni wiru opo-pune wo, pe tokipanati – tomo tokipa- natite, opo-mi no para ni os- ippanatu koto no gotoku</i>	As does one push and release great ships in the great har- bor off onto the great-sea-plain, unroping the stern and un- roping the bow
波[sic]方之繁木本乎、	<i>wotikata no sigye-ki ga moto</i>	As does one clear away dis- tant thickets, cutting at the

焼鎌乃敏鎌以弓、 打掃事之如久	<i>wo yakigama no togama motite,</i> <i>uti-parapu koto no gotoku</i>	base, with a sharp scythe, a forged scythe.
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All four examples demonstrate an interesting complex semblative termination *koto no gotoku* (attested a further three times, elsewhere in the Norito). It is interesting because of the behaviour of the adjectival form *gotosi*, from which the infinitive *gotoku* is derived. It is now known that, in Old Japanese, whereas adnominal clauses modifying conclusive *gotosi* or the adnominal *gotoki* are always unmarked, clauses modifying the infinitive “are optionally marked by *ga*” (Horn 79). The *ga* marks a “special kind of relativization (Frellesvig and Whitman 2011), with *koto* ‘fact’ as a head, forming a complex NP from which an adjective is...derived” (ibid). The *no* marking, seen here, is reserved for “nominally-headed phrases immediately preceding *goto...*” (ibid). Given the derivation of *goto-*, it can thus be seen that the semblative termination *koto no gotoku* is, itself, a form of reduplication—which, again, might lead us to imagine that it was preferred over a simple semblative because it carries additional nuance and/or because of its sound shape. This accords well with 佐佐木隆 Sasaki Takasi’s supposition that *koto no gotoku*-type usages of *gotosi* (the third type, according to his classification) carried a “graver” (‘重々しい’) nuance when compared to other types.⁶

重馬荷爾 表荷打等 伊布計等能其等	<i>omo-ki umani ni</i> <i>upani utu to</i> <i>ipu koto no goto</i>	like as they say— onto a horse’s heavy burden, to stack another load
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The one attested case of *koto no goto-* outside the Norito corpus (by Yamanoue no Okura, MYS 5.897, above) is embedded within a wonderfully complex locality of sound, incorporating head and internal rhyme – that would rather seem to suggest that its euphonic properties were at least part of the reason it was selected. The preceeding simile, 痛伎瘡爾波 / 鹹塩遠 / 灌知布何其等久 *itaki kizu ni pa / karasipo wo / sosoku tipu ga gotoku* ‘like as they say – to

⁶“Uta to senmyō: Norito ni okeru kōbunjō no sai: gotosi no baai”, p. 191.

pour strong salt onto a raw wound”, demonstrates that Okura was able to quote conventional wisdom without the need for an additional nominalizing *koto*. The really interesting feature, here, is the rhyme that, once again, accompanies the simile (*sosoku* and *gotoku*) – and the fact that Okura has allowed himself a prosodically irregular line, in order to accommodate it. The role of rhyme in shaping the form and sense of Norito utterances (and its interrelationship with the rhetorical figures we have discussed) will be given fuller treatment in Chapter 9.

Parallelisms

Parallelism is another specialized form of repetition, known to be a feature of poetic and rhetorical discourse across a variety of linguistico-cultural communities. Since parallelism figures so prominently within the oral-formulaic debate, a fuller description of this device in the Norito will be left for a later chapter, in which we shall discuss the interplay of oral and literate elements in the texts; however, insofar as parallelistic structures comeingle and interact with other rhetorical features to reinforce the discursive potencies of the text, they are apposite to our present discussion. A single example should be sufficient to demonstrate this.

α

谷 藁 能 狭 度 極

taniguku no sawataru kipami

as far as valley-toads cross

β

塩 沫 能 留 限

siponawa no todomaru kagiri

to where the brine-foam ends

This collocation of phrases, found in both the *Toshigoi no matsuri* and the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae* contains two principal layers of parallelism, semantic and syntactic. These are supported by further layers of parallelism; the first in the repetition of the acoustic set —

awa— (rhyme) and the second in a logographic play on the association of 谷 and 極.⁷

Returning to the semantic parallelism—since the “valley-toad” is a creature of the land and “brine-foam” a periphrastic reference to the sea, α and β form a clear parallel structure which can probably be generalized to something like “as far as things extend, on land and sea”. Since both sea and land are delimiters necessary to the existence of an island, this has implications for the adjacent phrase, *sima no yasosima*, and adds weight to our hypothesis of the partial reduplicative epithet as exhaustive (i.e. “all the many”). It is interesting to note that while β is unique to the Norito, α occurs twice in the *Man'yōshū*, in a similar exhaustive paradigm, but in vertical rather than horizontal parallelisms:

日月能斯多波	<i>pitukwi no sita pa</i>	beneath the sun and moon
阿麻久毛能	<i>amakumo no</i>	as far as the
牟迦夫周伎波美	<i>muka-busu kipami</i>	heavenly clouds hang low
多爾具久能	<i>taniguku no</i>	as far as the
佐和多流伎波美	<i>sa-wataru kipami</i>	valley-toads cross
		(from MYS 5.800)
山彦乃	<i>yamabikwo no</i>	as far as the
将應極	<i>kotape-mu kipami</i>	mountain-echo answers
谷潜乃	<i>taniguku no</i>	as far as the
狭渡極	<i>sa-wataru kipami</i>	valley-toads cross
		(from MYS 6.917)

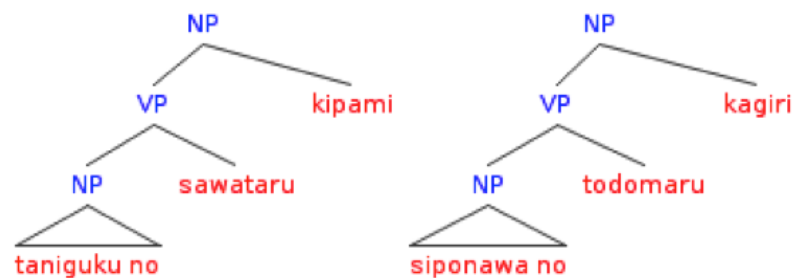
As we can see, in these two cases, presumably playing on its *tani* (“valley”) component, the *Man'yō* poets have opted to juxtapose the phrase with more elevated co-parallelisms, clouds, in one instance, and mountains, in the other.

Let us return to consider the syntactic parallelisms encoded in α and β . Each forms a phrase (see below) containing an embedded clause and headed by a noun (*kipami*, *kagiri*, both meaning roughly “extent, limit”), as seen in Fig. 6.1.

The embedded clause in each contains a subject of four morae marked by the nominative case particle *no*, forming a pentamoraic unit. Being of identical prosodic length, *kipami* and

⁷The word 谷 has meanings in some Chinese sources (notably the 詩經 *Shijing*) that are translated by the OJ verb *kipam-* (cNJ *kiwamar-*), of which 極 *kipami* is a derivative. See Tōdō A. et al., *Kanjigen*, p. 1499.

Figure 6.1: Syntactic parallelism



kagiri effectively split the second, heptamoraic, units uniformly into a colon of four, followed by a colon of three, morae. The first colon of the second unit, in both cases, is occupied by a tetramoraic verb, ending in the rhyme *-aru*. This structure, that Jakobson likened to arithmetic regression in the case of Musimaro's poem (161), is found throughout the OJ corpus. It may be remembered that Orikuchi Shinobu also observed that, particularly within the early poetry of the *Nihonshoki*, parallelisms of content or meaning come to be reflected in formal parallelism—a development which he considers to have originated in 寿詞 *yogoto* / *jushi*, the uttering of 'good (i.e. auspicious) words' (3 & passim). In sum, in phrases like these, the semantic parallel is contiguously restated in the morphosyntactic and prosodic structures, at once, associated with similar statements elsewhere in the OJ discourse space. Like other instances of repetition we have considered, each parallel restatement is greater than the sum of its parts; like Derrida's *pharmakos*, an introjective and projective sounding of the rhetorical instrument and a re-affirmation of its locutionary and illocutionary force.

Paronomasia

Paronomasia is a general term for 'word-play', based on sound resemblances, with its origins in Greek verse.⁸ This sort of word play was particularly devalued in modernist discourse within the Western tradition. In his 1982 paper on the topic of paronomasia, J.D. Sadler summarizes the prevailing attitude toward the pun, a (now generally light-hearted) incarnation of paronomasia

⁸The word paronomasia is derived from the Greek *paronomazein*, 'to call by a different name'.

well known to his English readership, at that time:

“Someone once said that the test of a good pun was for the recipient to say, ‘Isn’t that awful?’”
Sadler, 1982/3

Despite lingering prejudices of this sort, it is now recognized that, firstly, paronomasia⁹ encompasses a vastly greater array of phenomena than can be explained away by the ‘simple’ English pun and, secondly, that even the latter is capable of expanding, and subverting, meaning through potentially-boundless intertextual, intergeneric and, occasionally, interlingual associations. The prominent role of punning and wordplay within post-modern and post-structuralist critical discourse, discussed briefly in Chapter 4, may, in great measure, be attributed to this high degree of instrumentality.

Understanding paronomasia broadly as any juxtaposition of identical or similar-sounding words to rhetorical effect clearly means that such a figure constitutes a form of repetition; and, as such, approaches and overlaps with other types of rhetorical structuration discussed in the current chapter, and elsewhere in this study. This is broadly analogous to the more expansive senses in which, as noted in Chapter 8, rhyme is defined by certain scholars of poetry in European languages—notably Geoffrey Leech. Discerning the contours of paronomastic structures therefore necessitates a close, fine-grained analysis of figures coupled with a broader comparative overview that incorporates material from interrelated texts. In his 2015 study of the rhetoric of *The Lord’s Prayer* from the Christian tradition, a text deployed in similar liturgical contexts to the Norito, and similarly rich in rhetorical material, Michael Martin does precisely this; looking closely at the rhetorical figures found in his text; and comparing them an array of examples drawn from the corpus of Hebrew poetry, to which, he argues, the prayer belongs. In particular the distinction he draws between ‘organic’ and ‘inorganic’ paronomasia (following Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*) is a useful heuristic for this discussion:

⁹The Greek term is preferable to simpler English alternatives because it lacks the pejorative connotations the latter have picked up or that, in the case of terms like ‘word-play’, are built into the etymological structure.

Organic paronomasia

This denotes when morphologically-related (and acoustically-similar) forms (verb roots etc.) co-occur in close proximity to each other. The following is an example supplied by Martin:

wā ʾōmar rāzîlî rāzîlî ʾôy lî

bôgədîm bāgādû ûbegeð bôgədîm bāgādû

But I say, I pine away, I pine away. Woe is me!

For the treacherous deal treacherously, the treacherous deal very treacherously. (Isa 24:16b)

It will be seen that this type, in particular, is difficult to differentiate from other forms of rhetorical repetition, especially since it can work closely with—and even form part of—those forms. In Martin’s example, the wordplay is contained within a repeated phrase that might otherwise be considered simple repetition, or identical rhyme (*bôgədîm bāgādû ûbegeð bôgədîm bāgādû*). It follows a line containing a triplet assonance (*lî, lî, lî*) and a clear pivot at *rāzîlî* which, in other contexts, might be considered an anadiplosis.

This sort of paronomasia is to be found in abundance in the Englishiki Norito texts and, like the Hebrew example shown above, paronomastic structures are often embedded within other layers of morphosyntactic association. In the following, from the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ôharae*, for example, the phrase *itu no ti-waki ni ti-wakite* could be considered organic paronomasia:

天之磐座放天之八重雲乎

伊頭乃千別爾千別弓

天降依左志奉岐

ame no ipakura panare

ame no yapyegumwo wo itu no ti-waki ni ti-wakite

amakudasi yosasi-maturiki

Deigned to Heaven-descend,

Leaving the stone-throne of Heaven,

Multitudinously-splitting the heavenly clouds in an awesome multitudinous-splitting

The first *ti-waki* is a NV compound comprising *ti* (‘thousand’, ‘multitude’) and *wak-* (‘to split’) that is nominalized in its infinitive form to give *ti-waki* (‘multitudinous-parting’). This

sort of adverbial use of nouns in NV compounds is by no means unusual in OJ. The second *ti-waki* comes as part of a different verb form, the gerund (*ti-wakite*), formed by the addition of a short piece of connective verbal morphology. The forms are thus similar but different. As noted above, they co-occur with other rhetorical structures; in this case within a larger structural parallelism comprising three clauses beginning with 天, ‘heaven’. Further, if reading tradition is correct in interpreting the last of these as a 被覆形 *hifukukei* ‘concealed form’ (*ama*), then this might also be considered a kind of organic paronomasia, as it is a closely related variant of the juxtaposed 露出形 *roshutsukei* ‘exposed form’, *ame*. In his discussion of ‘Rhetorical Devices in the Septuagint Psalter’, Eberhard Bons notes that ‘organic’ paronomasia of nominal and verbal forms is to be found in the Greek psalter; including at places in the text where, in the Hebrew, words derived from different roots are used (*Et sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, 74)

Punning repetition

‘Punning repetition’ is a type of organic paronomasia in Hebrew poetry, described by Wilfred Watson in *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse* (1994) and *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (2004) (passim), and noted by Martin (361). This occurs where a polysemous word is repeated, with different meanings apparently dominant in each repetition.

There are several examples that resemble this form of paronomasia to be found within the Norito corpus, for instance:

手肱爾水沫昼垂。向股爾泥昼寄弓

ta-na-pidi ni minawa kakitari mukamomo ni pidi kakiyosete

water-foam clinging to the bow-of-their-arms, mud cleaving to their upturned thighs

(*Hirose no Ō-imi no Matsuri*, etc.)

大津邊爾居大船乎舳解放艫解放弓

opo tu pye ni wiru opo-pune wo p(y)e tokipanati

loosing the prow of the great ship at the place of the great harbour

(*Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae*)

Both examples are certainly a type of repetitive pun, however neither strictly correspond to Watson’s paradigm for Hebrew poetry. In the first case, an entirely coincidental homophony has been exploited to rhetorical effect by the Norito composer; there is no reason to assume 肱 *pidi* and 泥 *pidi* are in any way etymologically related. This means that while the structure closely resembles the “punning repetition” described by Watson, it cannot be termed ‘organic’. It is also embedded within a chiasmic, or anadiplosic structure—where the repetition of *pidi* forms opposing nodes and the pivoting nouns *minawa*, *mukamomo* form an *m*-alliteration.

The second example poses more of challenge to analyze but encourages a similarly complex rhetoric interpretation. The latter half of the pun, 舳 *p(y)e* ‘prow’, ‘bow’, is only attested logographically in the OJ corpus and its sound shape (*kō-otsu* affiliation) is consequently unknown. It is transcribed as *pe* in the OCOJ only because of this lack of data, in accordance with the conventions of that publication. Given its meaning, however, a cognate relationship with 邊 *pye* ‘place’, ‘vicinity’, is not outside the realms of possibility. If this is the case, this example therefore conforms better to the Hebrew “punning repetition” model than the last. If the words were different but similar; as in the case of one *pe* and one *pye*, then the phrase does not constitute organic paronomasia but still bears a close resemblance to “punning repetition”, much like the last example. There are certainly a number of examples elsewhere in the OJ corpus of punning across the *kō-otsu* divide, as Edwina Palmer has demonstrated.¹⁰ Either way, the pun was almost certainly intentional—because of the complex acoustic structure within which it is embedded. Rather than an anadiplosis, the puns are contained in a rhyming structure formed by the repetition of 大 *opo-* and the parallel juxtaposition of vowels in the words following it, yielding a vowel parallelism of *o-o-u-e* (*opo tu pe ni wiru opo-pune*). It will also be noted that this parallelism is contained within subordinative, rather than coordinative syntax. Vowel parallelisms of this sort are relatively common in the Norito and other OJ texts—and will be discussed again in Chapter 9.

¹⁰See: “The ”Womē-No” Poem of ”Harima Fudoki” and Residual Orality in Ancient Japan’, *passim*.

Inorganic paronomasia

This occurs when similar-sounding, but unrelated, words are juxtaposed in some way. The first example of ‘punning repetition’ type phrases in the Norito, above, is of this inorganic type. It is clear that any inorganic paronomasia must also form a rhyme; sometimes identical, other times not.

Consider the following extract from a song in the 常陸国風土記 *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki* (FK.7):

伊夜是留乃
 阿是乃古麻都爾
iyazeru no
aze no kwomatu ni
 On the little pine at Aze (of iyazeru?)

This example is particularly interesting because the paronomasia/rhyme occurs within a toponym (阿是) and what is understood to be its 枕詞 *makura-kotoba*, 伊夜是留乃 *iyazeru no*, of uncertain meaning. Together the rhyming pair closely resemble the Norito’s partial reduplicative epithet, described earlier in this chapter. The fact that this *makura kotoba* would appear to have been dependent on a paronomastic structure of this sorts lends further weight to the thesis that OJ rhetoric is layered, linked up and works together. This would, likewise, tend to support the long-suspected but unproven notion that phrases which later became fixed in poetic usage as *makura-kotoba* evolved from freer rhetorical couplings (some of which were clearly still active, formative structures during the period in which the Engishiki Norito were first composed).

Another example of inorganic wordplay in Hebrew poetry is found in what Watson calls “root-play”; the juxtaposition of similar root. In *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse* (1994), he notes:

Occasionally the consonants of a word in the first colon are inverted to form another word in the second (rootplay):

To demonstrate this, he proffers the following example:

She led him by plenty of smooth-talk (*leqah*) By the smoothness (*heleq*) of her lips she urged him Prov. 7.21 (ibid)

Watson notes that this wordplay is embedded in a form of chiasmus—that turns out to resemble closely the *kakipa ni ipa*-type structure found in the Norito.¹¹ In fact, there are very many examples of juxtaposed similar words that vary by only a single consonant or vowel in the Norito. These will be addressed again in Chapter 9, in the context of rhyme and vowel parallelism.

Intertextual paronomasia

I should like, tentatively, to introduce a further category of paronomastic structure, not discussed directly in either biblical scholarship or, to my knowledge, scholarship of Japanese literature to date: intertextual paronomasia. A form of allusion, this structure depends on the recurrence of words or phrases known from other texts, or contexts, and the plays of meaning that can exist between them. In the OJ tradition, logography adds a further layer of complexity to the mix. If it existed, the pun on *kakipa* and *kasipa*, in *kakipa ni tokipa ni / tokipa ni kakipa*, cited in Chapter 5,¹² can be considered an example of intertextual paronomasia. The fact that the *kanji* 石 (with obvious semantic ties to 磐) appears to have occasionally been used to write the word *kasipa* in other OJ texts meant that even if *kakipa* was never ‘read’ *kasipa* in the Norito, it may still have reminded the listener (or reader, through its logographic encoding) of the other word, familiar from the intertext. Just like other forms of paronomasia, this type can be combined with other rhetorical structures; *kakipa ni tokipa ni*, for example, contains internal parallelism and rhyme and is commonly embedded within larger syntactic parallelisms.

A similar example is constituted in the following pair of nouns, meaning ‘interlocking roof timbers’:

千木
tigi

¹¹See Chapter 5.

¹²See pp. 88-89.

‘roof-timbers’

比木, 氷椽

pigi

‘roof-timbers’

The first form is common throughout the court ritual Norito that form the primary basis for the current study. The second, on the other hand, is only to be found in the Norito of the Ise Shrine Tradition, the 止由氣宮儀式帳 *Toyukegū Gishikichō*, as 比疑, (Motozawa, 175) and, most famously, in several passages in the *Kojiki*.¹³ If one ever existed, the distinction in meaning between the two words is now obscure. It has been suggested that the words may originally have been technical terms referring to subtly different architectural features, or else different parts or uses of the same structures (*Kojiki; Norito*, 99). It is also possible that 比木・氷椽 *pigi* was reserved for the feature as it existed at certain shrines (such as Ise). It is also possible that the terms were always interchangeable. Whatever the case may be, given their close acoustic resemblance (rhyme), semantic affinity and deployment within the text, it is likely that, if both were known from different texts, contexts, or traditions, one term could suggest the other in the minds of recipient.

Finally it is worth mentioning that, as is well known, polysemantic puns, known in Japanese as *kakekotoba*, or ‘pivot-words’ are commonly found within traditional Japanese *waka* (as well as a number of other literary forms), sometimes acting as the pivot for 序詞 *jo-kotoba* and 枕詞 *makurakotoba*. It will be observed that anadiplosic and paronomastic structures underpinning both are found in abundance in the Norito, as elsewhere within the Old Japanese literary corpus. It is probably not too much of a stretch to suggest that the rhetorical layout of early texts like the Norito contributed to the development of such poetic forms. The search for the origins of later poetic devices in OJ rhetoric is certainly not new—however, until now the focus of that search has tended more toward content, or locutionary meaning, than other levels of rhetorical

¹³It is interesting to note that one such passage, related to the descent to earth of the deity 邇邇藝命 *Ninigi-no-Mikoto* (天孫降臨 *Tenson Kōrin*), is immediately preceded by a passage containing a repetitive expression akin to reduplicative epithets described in this chapter: 夕日之日照國也 *yupupi no pi-teru kuni nari* ‘It is a land where the evening sun sun-shines’.

material. Simple dictionary entries even ascribe the origins of the 序 preface to a tendency within OJ poetry to "move onto the substantive part of the poem from a description of the scenery or objects in view at the place of actual composition". (Super Daijin, electronic edition).

Periphrasis (or circumlocution)

Before concluding this discussion of rhetorical figures and moving on to discuss rhyme, one final structural example should be adequate to demonstrate the rhetoricality of Norito text and its receptivity toward a critical approach similarly guided by rhetoric. Periphrasis, by its nature, prefers verbosity to succinctness and so might be thought of as rhetoric par excellence, at the very kernel of the debates concerning purity of style that formed the starting point for this chapter—and that are a substantial factor in the Norito's exclusion from the mainstream of Japanese literature (particularly as it is viewed in the West). It is clearly not possible to determine, objectively, the relative verbosity of a text-set—or, indeed, any facet of its style—without engaging in close comparative work with other texts. As noted elsewhere, tentative comparisons of this sort involving other elements of the OJ corpus would tend to suggest that the Norito share many commonalities of language and expression with other OJ texts—in particular, a 'linked-up' rhetorical structure.

In accordance with a main tenet of this study, then, this chapter interprets the circumlocutionary phrasing found here and there throughout the texts both as a feature of this rhetorical structure and as bound closely to other features of rhetoric and rhyme discussed in other chapters.

Consider, for example, the following phrase, found in almost all liturgies with which this study is concerned:

α 天御蔭

ame no mi-kage

β 日御蔭

hi no mi-kage

Lit: α = ‘great shade from heaven’ β = ‘great shade from the sun’ Interpretive meaning (clear from context): ‘imperial palace’

It can immediately be observed that this collocation of phrases is repetitive and parallelistic. Only the modifying NP (*ame no, pi no*) is varied, leaving the genitive particle *no* and the head noun *mi-kage* (itself a collocation of an honorific *mi* and *kage*, shade on earth and the light above is relatively clear. However, although the ultimate referent (i.e. the Imperial dwelling place) is on earth, the celestial phenomena co-opted in its description, *ame* (‘heaven’) and *pi* (‘sun’), paradoxically lend an overall sense of elevation to the image which, where necessary, can collaborate in another level of parallelism with juxtaposed phrases describing earthly phenomena; for example, *yomo-no-kuni* (which directly follows *ame no mi-kage—pi no mi-kage* no less than four times in the Norito corpus). The comingling of parallelisms here might thus be said to reflect the duality of the word *kage* itself—which, elsewhere in the OJ corpus, is used in the alternative sense of ‘light’ (e.g. MYS 3.317).¹⁴

Furthermore, as before, there is intertext to be explored here. The duality of heaven and earth discussed above (and the contextual appropriateness of the phrase) is reinforced by intertextual associations with words and expressions containing the elements *ame* or *pi*, related to the imperial cult. The most obvious example, 天下 *ame no sita* (‘all under heaven’, ‘the realm’) is used so frequently in OJ, with verbs meaning to reign over (*siras-*, *marwos-*, *wosame-*), as to seem close to being a fixed epithet. 安米乃美加度 *ame no mikadwo* (‘the Grand Gate of Heaven’) refers to the Emperor’s residence in MYS 20.4480 (Kōjien 70) and, elsewhere in the Norito, we find an attestation of 天御舍 *ame no mi-araka*, with an apparently identical meaning (*Tatarigami o utsusiyaru* ‘To drive away a revenging kami’).

An elongated form of the parallelism, in the form *taka-siru ya / ame no mi-kage / ame siru ya / pi no mi-kage no* appears in a *chōka* in the first book of the *Man’yōshū* (MYS 1.52) and a poem in praise of Empress Suiko in the *Nihonshoki* (NSK 102), cited in Omodaka (761), contains the

¹⁴The same interpretation could also be valid here, meaning the phrase would mean something like ‘the grand light of heaven; the grand light of the sun’. The choice of interpretation here is not greatly important to the discussion—both are deliberately complex designations for a single location, the palace.

phrase *waga opo-kimi no kakurimasu ama no ya-swo-kage* (“the manifold shade of heaven in which my Great Lord shelters”, referring to the Emperor’s residence). Kaneko proposes this as an example of the link between the periphrasis and the adjacent verb *kakur-* (‘to hide’, ‘to take shelter’); and the link between them both and the practice of ritual seclusion expressed in the more explicitly ritual term *komor-* (‘to seclude oneself’) (Kaneko 175).

All of the above would seem to suggest that the *ame no mi-kage pi no mi-kage* parallelism is not a fixed, semantically-empty phrase but, rather, a complex construction that has been assembled from a pool of familiar images – the impact of which could be augmented by their incorporation within parallelistic, reduplicative structures. The overall message that emerges from this imagery is not quite ‘on earth as it is in heaven’ but, at the very least, ‘let’s maintain the appropriate relationship between both’.

In sum, the periphrastic rhetoric presented in the Norito is not any sort of epideixis. Or rather it might be, but to call it this, one would need to circumnavigate all the negative connotations of that word—a process that would necessitate substantial engagement with centuries of western critical discourse. As noted earlier, the debates in which periphrasis have been entangled in the western critical theory mirror closely those surrounding rhetoric, as a whole; which is why it was important for us to deal with it in our discussion of Norito rhetoric. In the days when rhetoric was conceived of as an art to be mastered by the poet and orator in Europe, periphrasis was also seen, by many commentators, in a positive light, as a device poets needed to learn. It served to whet audiences’ curiosity and, thus, increase the depth of their response, when the obfuscation was later removed. This valorization of periphrasis for art’s sake is quite clearly at odds with the abhorrence of deceptive language that underpinned the later, Romantic alienation of rhetoric; these views are entangled in a recurring dialectic that goes back to Plato – and which we have invoked several times already. Like many others, this dialectic, when allowed to play out, ultimately takes on a mantle of morality. Co-occupants of the same epistemological space become comrades, their work can attract only approbation; outliers, on the other hand, provoke disdain and reproval. In *Rhetoric*, her contribution to the *New Critical Id-*

iom series, Richards re-examines this dialectic through a comparison of Puttenham's and Pope's treatments of periphrasis. She notes: "it is not entirely clear that Pope would have approved of Puttenham's 'good' examples. Nor is it likely that he would have approved of the detail in his art...*The Art of Sinking in Poetry* [Pope's treatise] implies that good writing is in some sense unteachable" (74-7). Given such extremes of opinion regarding periphrasis within the history of English literature, it is essential that the modern English-language scholar of Norito acknowledges the proportions of this debate and the accordingly problematic nature of the terms it has produced—and, above all, that he or she tries to see periphrastic usages in the Norito on their own terms; which means avoiding value judgments of the kind made by earlier commentators quoted above.

What is the principal difference between the *ame no mi-kage pi no mi-kage* periphrasis and those discussed by Puttenham, or by Pope and his contemporaries? The immediate answer is, of course, that it is not known *how* it was studied and mastered. However, this answer reminds us of several unresolved issues regarding rhetorical figurations in the text. As noted, these structures appear to act within some grander intertextual project or schema, that carries a message greater than the sum of its constituent parts. However, there is no way to be sure what imagination lay behind them, the extent to which they represent a conscious manipulation of language or whether they were, indeed, the product of any one intellect. Faced with such difficulties of interpretation in texts like the Norito, the mid-twentieth century generation tended to look for the unlettered singer, an unsung hero of textual composition, as Roberta Frank has noted (*The Search for the Anglo-Saxon Oral Poet*, 12). Evidence from the Norito texts makes it clear that, while edited at various points, their core as extant today belongs to the OJ tradition. Beyond this, very few data concerning their composition are available. This is why acknowledging the contribution of the OJ language itself is so important. Whatever the circumstances of their composition, the Englishiki Norito, as any other texts, must be governed, in some part, by the linguistic environment in which they were created. As targeted uses of language, repetition, rhyme and rhetoric are very much part of this. Given the chasm of time and epistemological

distance that separates the Norito from the twenty-first century critic, it is ironic that this very void of understanding has the effect of rescuing them from obscurity, bringing them into to a critical discourse which privileges the primacy of rhetoric—and before which the confidence of former generations has shattered into a myriad shards of postmodern uncertainty.

Some general concluding notes

This chapter can conclude with several statements concerning the rhetoricality of the Norito and the small points of ontological insight regarding rhetorical criticism qua rhetoric that the study of that rhetoricality yields.

It has been seen that, above all, repetition is not something that should be ignored. It forms part of every rhetorical feature discussed in this chapter and contributes in a substantial way to the action by which texts fulfill various locutionary and illocutionary functions. Both are achieved simultaneously; the Norito's rhetoricality is clearly contingent both on what the texts say *and* how they say it. Kameyama concluded that figurations in the *Minazuki no Tsugomori Ōharae* text were “interrelated”, rather than working independently (146). This argument can be magnified still further: throughout the Norito text, the locutionary force of utterances is reinforced through (various forms of) repetition in the main text (itself a meta-text of the locutionary act), through repetition in morphosyntactic structures and, finally, through (potentially boundless) repetition, in the intertext. The rhetoricality of the texts depends, therefore, on repetition and interrelatedness with other texts. Only if we understand this can we hope to appreciate their literary worth.

It is clear that our observations about the rhetoricality of the Norito lead us in the general direction of big rhetoric. This is nothing new. Already in 1996, Theresa Enos identified “a growing belief in English departments that all criticism is rhetorical criticism and that the study of rhetoric is central to what they do...” She continues to the conclusion: “If all criticism is rhetorical, then literary criticism is dissolving into rhetorical criticism, just as rhetorical criticism is

dissolving into literary criticism” (606). Twelve years later, Richards went so far as to categorize the modern move away from rhetoric as a rhetorical act in its own right: “Wordsworth’s aim to observe the most potent and illuminating instances of common speech is entirely cognate with a central axiom of the rhetorical tradition: to learn from actual usages of speech in the world around one” (107). The direct descendent of this discourse is the notion of rhetoricality – the sense one gets of text being rhetorical by nature – which is thus a happy and ironic metaphor for how the figures of sound and sense, themselves standing in for grander prejudices, come in play. The totalizing inescapability of rhetoric is perhaps the only conclusion that a study undertaken of rhetoric today may hope to reach.

However, there are still binaries to be questioned and discourses to be filled out. If Auden’s exploration of the boundaries of sacred and profane (a binary that can be replaced with a host of others; not least pure-impure) was confidently modern, the wholesale deconstruction of sacred-profane in favour of a narrative driven by the force of rhetoric itself is self-consciously (not confidently – because such confidence runs counter to the insecurities inherent in such thinking) postmodern. And texts such as the *Norito*—that abhor the profane, but depend more on the persuasive force of their rhetoricality than the purity of self as the principal vector of their imaginative genius, necessarily inform and refine this re-conception of literary language.

Chapter 7

Rhyme in the Japanese tradition Part I: English and European Languages

Rhyme provides an ideal point of continuation from the last chapter for two reasons; one solidly textual and the other more abstract. The first is that the previous chapter concluded by noting that many of the figurations holding the texts of *Engishiki Norito* together depend heavily on repetition – of which rhyme, or acoustic repetition, in all its various forms, is not only a fine example but one which is interwoven with others in *Norito* to shape the persuasive fabric of their narratives. The second reason is that figures of diction described by the English critical term ‘rhyme’ are, like other forms of rhetorical repetition, entangled in the same, now familiar, discourses of critical judgment that have tended to exclude *Norito* from comment in mainstream literary studies. Indeed, rhyme is so underprivileged in the scholarship of traditional Japanese poetry and literature that it is routinely believed that it does not exist.

The following two chapters introduce the history of rhyme in the scholarship of Japanese literature, in English and Japanese. This chapter begins by briefly noting the origins of the term in European antiquity and its problematic status within the Western tradition, before going on to discuss views concerning rhyme in Japanese poetry expressed in European-language scholarship.

Introduction: the problem of rhyme

In an original and thought-provoking article about “ethnic phonetic play” (338) in Catallus, Joshua Katz reminds his readers of these webs of dialectic by beginning with a statement that bifurcates art – in Jakobson’s modern understanding of the word – and mimesis, as motivations for the use of rhyme in poetry: “One possibility is that he or she is striving to make the poem a “work of art”, for which a tried and true technique in the poet’s arsenal is the manipulation, whether conscious or not, of these smallest units of speech...The other possibility is that he or she is striving to imitate, or at least create an association with, certain sounds in the “real world” that are known to the audience” (ibid). Previous chapters of this thesis have presented the argument – which, indeed, Katz’s own conclusions would seem to support – that these two readings of the poetic impulse do not stand necessarily in dialectic opposition, as the above statement would appear to suggest. Rather, therefore, it is Katz’s gentle refutation of Wills’ reductionist approach to repetition as a “clean, formal feature...possessing little or no semantic value...almost always semantically otiose...” (Wills 3), to the effect that “phonological repetition can in fact have a great deal of meaning” (Katz 346), that I should like, in this chapter, to valorize. Phonological repetition is a salient and meaningful feature of Norito rhetoric that does not lend itself to clean, surgical severance from other matrices of repetition that include “alliteration” and “metre” (Wills ibid) – which is perhaps why the phrase “rhythm and rhyme”, an euphonic collocation in itself, is so often heard. This leads back to the first point of intersection between the last chapter and the present one – the collaboration of different orders of repetition.

In linguistics, and particularly in phonology, ‘rhyme’ refers to “a single constituent of syllable structure comprising the nucleus...and coda...sometimes also called the rime...” (Crystal 417). In other analytical contexts, however, the word tends to adopt a broader range of meaning. Within European poetry analysis, the strictest, and probably most familiar, definition of rhyme is that provided in Philip Hobsbaum’s *Metre, Rhythm and Verse Form*, from the New Critical Idiom series: “the exact echoing of a sound at the end of one line by the sound at the

end of another line” (Hobsbaum, 36). Even within this usage, since the poetic line in the European tradition is metrically determined, there is retained a trace of the term’s broader Indo-European heritage, which most likely relates it to Greek ἀριθμός (*arithmos*), from which the modern English term for the “science of numbers” (OED), ‘arithmetic’, is derived and, of which *numerus*, a Latin term for metrical patternings in oratory and poetry, was possibly a semantic calque (Guggenheimer 25).

Likewise, metrical arrangements have been, knowingly or unknowingly, used to parallel semantic arrangements in the European tradition since Classical times. This assertion is supported by the example of ἀντίθετον (*antitheton*), the antithetical statement, as explained by Guggenheimer: “As far as it expresses a real contrast, the antithetical statement or ἀντίθετον must be considered a figure of thought. But the formal implications of ἀντίθετον are so important that it may also be defined as a figure of diction; as such it may be recommended for balanced periods which are likely to result in *numerus*” (43). Much the same can be said of the use of puns, or παρονομασία (*paronomasia*) (49), which were discussed in the previous chapter.

Even in more abstract and generalized studies of language, this interweaving of semantic and acoustic parallels in poetry has not been passed by unnoticed. As minimalist syntactician Uriagereka notes, for example, poets “...make use of less obvious semantic dependencies in their poems, through parallelisms and subtle associations that are based on lexical and semantic implications...” (142). In the rhyme pairs and groups they create, “...words...are paired phonologically, which focuses the reader’s attention on comparing them semantically as well ...” (ibid).

The extremes of opinion to which, over the last several centuries, the use of rhyme in poetry has been subjected within English-language criticism were already introduced briefly in Chapter 4. Overall, the history of critical engagement with patterns of acoustic, phonological and metric repetition in the West has been long, checkered and fraught with complexity. While the interrelationship of sound and sense in repetitive language has, at various points, been recognized within the discourse that ultimately produced terms such as “rhyme”, somewhere in the melee of literary praxis and critique, the two began increasingly to be seen as dialectic opposites

or, at the least, points between which tensions necessarily emerge. And, after European society had internalized the “*prestige de l’individu*”, (Barthes 491) the tension formal constraints like rhyme supposedly placed on individual expression came to be viewed in a broadly negative light. Something of this thinking lingers in surprisingly recent scholarship, including Hobsbaum’s widely-read textbook, acknowledged above. In language that reflects an artistic preference for simplicity of expression that greatly influenced English language scholarship of Japanese poetry in the twentieth century (Mann 2014, *passim*), he writes: “It is...difficult to achieve an unforced lyricism without having to overcome a tension between form and language.” (44).

The tendency to view rhyme as a short-lived, and broadly unwelcome, addition to European and, particularly to English, poetry may be linked to this modern apprehension, and, relatedly, to the older notion that rhyme is primarily associated with rhetoric, oratorical ‘prose’ which, as noted in the Chapter 6, has often been the subject of critical aversion and distrust. Prior to the late twentieth century, it was commonly held that, in Classical Greece and Rome, rhyming structures – and end rhymes in particular – were absent from serious poetry, found “mainly in prose”, were “avoided by the better poets” (*ibid*) or that they were “preliterate, popular devices” (15).¹ It will be seen, therefore, that rhyme was once consigned to an artistic underclass, in the study of European antiquity, for the same reasons that the Englishiki Norito were dismissed as repetitious and lacking in literary worth.

Scholars wishing to discredit this sort of approach working in European classical philology and poetics have needed to dig around the problem, thinking critically about problematic nomenclature, keeping close to their texts, close to their languages, and working with comparative sources to demonstrate the interrelationship of sound and sense in rhyme. I would argue that, in the process, they have shown it to be a noteworthy feature of language craft, ‘poetic’ or otherwise. In order to engage with acoustic repetitions in the Englishiki Norito in any way beyond the most superficial, the following few chapters will have to engage in some of this kind of excavation.

¹The views critiqued by Guggenheimer, here, are those of the German classicist Eduard Norden.

European views of rhyme in scholarship of Old Japanese poetry

If rhyme was to be othered by modernist Western criticism, the act of searching expectantly for it in non-Western poetic traditions is at once natural, from the point of view of that discourse, and problematic, from the point of view of post-colonial theory. Scholarship of Japanese poetry provides an interesting case in point, since in the great majority of studies, it is held that rhyme (particularly in the sense of end-rhyme) is not an important feature of Japanese versification—and, in many cases, that it is absent from the Japanese poetic tradition altogether. The extent to which European attitudes influenced the development of this particular perception remains to be seen and, in any case, such processes are scarcely ever linear or unidirectional; it is, for example, well known that (culturally-biased) perceptions of Japanese verse by Western observers influenced the development of poetry in English and other European languages in the early years of interaction in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and this certainly fed back into the aesthetic consciousness of Western criticism. Nevertheless, it is plainly evident, in early Western descriptions of it, that the apparently pared-down, artless and rhyme-less rhythmicality of ‘Japanese poetry’—for these are the agonizingly vague terms in which studies of national literature deal—was broadly pleasing to the developing modernist aesthetic. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the leading British Japanologist of the time, wrote the following in 1880:

“Japanese prosody...regards neither rhyme, tone, accent, quantity, nor alliteration, nor does its rather frequent parallelism follow any regular method. Its only essential rule is that every poem must consist of alternate lines of five and seven syllables to mark the close. It is, indeed, prosody reduced to its simplest expression. Yet so little artifice is needed to raise prose to verse in this most musical of tongues, that such a primitive meter still satisfies the native ear to-day in every street ballad, as it already did in the seventh century at the Mikado’s court; and no serious attempt has ever been made to alter it in the slightest degree, even during the period of the greatest intellectual ascendancy of China.” (*The Classical Poetry of the Japanese*, 4-5)

Bon-sauvage moralities aside, this description is revealing in a number of ways. It portrays the apparent lack of rhyme in a broadly positive light; syllable counting alone is so satisfactory

to the ears of the Japanese that they have never – until the modern period – felt the need to sully it with supplementary metrical constraints. Its appeal rests on its simplicity and its fittingness to its environment – the Japanese language – which Chamberlain here terms “the most musical of tongues”. This last observation is particularly intriguing. The interaction of the syllable-counting rhythm and the musicality, which, in today’s terms, may be interpreted as phonological characteristics, of the language should be a principle concern of all serious studies of Japanese poetics – and is a recurring theme across this and subsequent chapters. Moreover, to reiterate a point made several times already, this time in response to Chamberlain’s comments, conceiving of instances of rhetoricality as discrete features – along the lines of “rhyme, tone, accent, quantity...alliteration...parallelism” (ibid) is problematic. Parallelism, the only rhetorical device he finds to be active in Japanese verse, for example, by necessity creates rhyme, alliteration and intonational concordances – as well as underscoring semantic relations, as noted earlier. This is so immediately evident, even in translation, that it is difficult to imagine that such an impression was formed if not under the strain of modernist ideological baggage – which, as mentioned already, increasingly weighed in against rhyme in Western Europe, during this period. The lines from the following English poem, of uncertain authorship, and perhaps a translation from French, is an eloquent illustration of the effect of parallelism on rhyme and accent outside the parameters of prescribed poetic and parallelistic diction of the kind found in Biblical or Classical Chinese verse:

Dear white fella
 Couple things you should know
 When I born, I black
 When I grow up, I black
 When I go in sun, I black
 When I cold, I black
 When I scared, I black
 When I sick, I black

And when I die, I still black...

With regard to the traditional rules of English prosody, this is free verse; it does not conform to any strict paradigm based on stress. Line lengths vary between 4 and 7 syllables. It is clear, however, that the repeated parallelisms centering on “when I...I black” constitute rhyming patterns (head, internal and end rhyme) in themselves – when I rhyming with the next when I (line initial), I and I (line internal) and I black and I black (line final). As identical repetitions, but for one key word or phrase, they also encourage regular accent patterns, which has the effect of highlighting the varied element within otherwise consistent intonational phrasing. In the case of English, this means stress, for the most part, but in a Japanese translation of the poem, regularities of pitch are equally noticeable:²

俺、生まれるとき黒	<i>ore, umareru toki kuro</i>
俺、大人なるとき黒	<i>ore, otona naru toki kuro</i>
俺、日向行くととき黒	<i>ore, hinata iku toki kuro, etc.</i>

Besides inviting the reader or listener, line by line, to meditate on a particular semantic consistency, blackness, (which, in a further level of parallelism, is to be juxtaposed with inconsistency, in the second half of the poem) the parallelisms here clearly give rise to sound patterns – including alliteration, internal rhyme, end rhyme and regular patterns of accent. Of course this is no discovery of my own; it is something that poets of many cultures and languages feel keenly – and capitalize on in their art. As Geoffrey Leech succinctly puts it, “parallelism is the aspect of poetic language which most obviously relates it to music” (93).

It should not be necessary to expend so many lines in response to a piece of nineteenth-century scholarship, were not the notion of rhyme being absent, or near absent, from the Japanese

²I am grateful to Junko Hagiwara, of the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford for suggesting amendments to this translation based on unconventional usages observed among non-native learners of Japanese in their composition of texts.

tradition such a pervasive one in subsequent scholarship of Japanese poetry from all periods, particularly in English and other European-language publications. Scholarly treatments of Japanese poetry, many decades after Chamberlain penned the remarks seen above, would continue to hold to the premise that Japanese poetry, prior to contact with the West in the modern period, was not influenced by rhyme or accentual concerns like English poetry – while, at the same, intimating that the origin of Japanese prosody lay somewhere at the intersect between 5, 7, 5 syllable-counting and the natural musical lilt of the language.

For example, in the introduction to their English translation of a selection of thousand poems from the *Man'yōshū* (1940), the committee of translators appointed by the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) inform their readers that “...Japanese verse...takes no account of the question of stress, pitch, or length of syllable; nor is rhyme employed for poetic effect.” They go on to expand on Chamberlain’s musical musings, citing the lack of rhyme expected by the mid-twentieth-century English audience as “an inevitable consequence of the phonetic system of the Japanese language in which, as far as concerns its standard form, known since the beginning of history as the Yamato language, all syllables end in vowels, and there is no clear distinction between accented and unaccented, or long and short syllables, thus rendering impossible a metrical system based upon rhyme or accent.” (xxi). Donald Keene’s comment that “interpretations of the Manyōshū have...reflected the outlook of the modern critic almost as much as they conveyed the intent of the original poets” (v), made in his preface to a later edition of the JSPS Translation, are apposite here. With regard to rhyme, however, the opinions expressed in the translators’ introduction cannot easily be explained away by convenient terms such as the “philosophy of the Japanese state...in 1940” (ibid). While perhaps logically defensible, as intellectual and artistic trends are certainly in constant dialogue with state philosophy – and fuller discussion of these interactions generally falls outside the remit of literary analysis and translation—to do so nevertheless obscures the complex interactions of discourse through a more exact understanding of which one might build a more balanced appraisal of rhyme in Japanese poetry.

Over-simplistic descriptions of Japanese prosody were replicated again and again in the work of later generations, particularly in translations, where comparison with European models is a particular necessity. Bownas and Thwaite (1964), again in an introduction to a collection of translations of Japanese poetry (the *Penguin Book of Japanese Verse*) discount rhyme as a formative element of the Japanese poet's craft, on the now-familiar grounds that the nature of the language disallows it. They write: "In that the syllable always ends in one of the five vowels, rhyme becomes so simple and monotonous as to be pointless" (xiviii).

As in the case of earlier scholarship, Bownas and Thwaite's conclusions can be, in part, explained by the stylistic and ideological involvement of English poetic movements. Thwaite was, and is, a highly-accomplished English-language poet. He has been active since the postwar years and, as such, in the course of his formation as an artist, he cannot have failed to draw inspiration from his peers and predecessors in a tradition that courses with the lyricism (to use their own term) of the modern idiom, and which includes the likes of Phillip Larkin and, ultimately, Yeats, Lawrence and Pound—whose attraction to the simplicity of Japanese verse, one commentator suggests, was contingent on his exposure to less-than-fluid English translations, turned out by the modish Japanese *littérateurs* with whom he corresponded during the interwar period (Kodama, 1987).

The same claim that the nature of the Japanese language prevents rhyme from being an interesting poetic feature lingers on in very recent discourse on translation. With the slight caveat that the apparent lack of rhyme in Japanese poetry, when compared to other traditions, may be understood as a difference in degree rather than absolute principles, Swedish linguist Göran Malmqvist cannot see much use for rhyme and assonance for the Japanese poet, as evidenced in his discussion of Lindberg-Wada's paper from the same symposium, (reproduced in the volume *Translation of Poetry and Poetic Prose: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium* (1999).):

Euphonic features such as assonance, alliteration and rhyme and the prosodic feature caesura probably obtain in the poetry of any language, though the extent to which these features are employed may vary greatly...In a language such as Japanese...incidents of rhyme would seem so hard to avoid as to make rhyming rather meaningless. For the same reason also

assonance apparently plays a minor role in Japanese poetry. (218)

Likewise, as recently as 2012, Irene De Angelis made the sweeping statement, seen again and again, that Japanese poetry “has neither metre nor rhyme” in the introduction to her interesting book on *The Japanese Effect in Contemporary Irish Poetry*. Given the impact of the unfettered terseness of image found in *haikai* forms – or at least European and American perceptions to this effect – on English poetry, in some of the sources listed above (although, of course, not in the case of the JSPS translation of the *Man'yōshū*), vague terms like ‘Japanese poetry’ might have been formulated in reference, mostly, to these later poetic forms. If so, this is even more problematic since, as is well known, these early modern poetic forms allowed for the inclusion of lexical items incorporating heavy (CVC) syllables (i.e. with the syllabic nasal), absent from earlier poetry (Otake 508) – rendering statements about the syllable always ending in one of a small number of vowels factually inaccurate.

In any case, the view that rhyme does not exist as a poetic device in Japanese did not stop at the level of literary overviews and translators’ introductions, however; it extended into serious studies of Japanese literature, including some that dealt with OJ. One notable example is Ian Levy’s study of Hitomaro, entitled *Hitomaro and the Birth of Japanese lyricism* (1984), which opens with the statement – “Japanese poetry has neither metre nor rhyme. It is formally constituted by a rhythm of phrases (*ku*) with alternating numbers of syllables”.

Mark Morris is another scholar who firmly disavows the existence of rhyme in all Japanese *waka* – albeit for different reasons. In *Waka and Form, Waka and History* (1986), he informs us, succinctly; “Japanese waka do not rhyme” (568). The perceived lack of rhyme, according to Morris, is not to be ascribed to “the limits of the sound inventory of Japanese” but rather “because classical Japanese poetry is composed according to principles radically different than those which organize most Western and other poetries, such as Chinese.” (569) Those principles, in Morris’s view, though vague, appear to depend on *waka* being composed of a single line, rather than “five lines in the pattern 5-7-5-7-7” (ibid). Morris also obliquely criticizes Jakobson by invoking debates surrounding the “arbitrary” nature of deciding which patterns in poetry

are significant. (568) In this, he surely makes an important point regarding distortions that, particularly left unchecked, are apt to occur within the critical process - itself a criticism of the structuralist movement in general.

More puzzling, however, is Morris' questioning of statements made about assonance on the same lines. Assonance is a euphonic feature closely related to other euphonic features in the Japanese tradition - and no doubt many others. To call "*honobono to*" assonant need not imply that it be read as "a stack of five lines" (569) - indeed it is difficult to imagine why anyone should wish to suppose that they should be. However radically different from other traditions the compositional process of the waka may be, it is naive to imagine that new poems are all born in a single, spontaneous lyric impulse, without fine crafting, at least at the lexical level—certainly writings left by masters of the art, throughout the ages, discourage such a supposition. Choosing to create a phrase of five syllable lengths all with the same vowel, as in "*honobono to*" is surely part of that process of crafting. In my view, this vocalic assonance, alongside consonantal repetition, is what lends the phrase the beauty which Morris ascribes to it.

J. Thomas Rimer reveals a more orthodox view, in his essay 'Japanese Literature: Four Polarities', published in Nancy G. Hume (Ed.) *Japanese Aesthetics and Culture: A Reader* (1995). Tracing the "tensions" that he sees as having shaped Japanese literature all the way back to earliest song, he is more restrained in his claims about rhyme, but the overall message is familiar: "The regular metrics and easy availability of rhyme in Japanese, for example, provided few opportunities for sustained interest in the kinds of rhetorical devices available in, say, English or Chinese" (8). And just to demonstrate that English is not the only Western language to produce scholarship tending to ignore rhyme in Japanese poetry, a final example is taken from the introduction to Jacqueline Pigeot's *Questions de poésie japonaise* (1997). Once again, the message is clear – and all-encompassing: "It [tanka] is composed of five lines, numbering 5,7,5,7 and 7 syllables respectively...Rhyme is unheard of" (3).³

³Il se compose de cinq vers comptant respectivement 5, 7, 5, 7 et 7 syllabes...La rime y est inconnue.

It can be seen, therefore, that a great many sweeping claims have been made, by scholars of Japanese poetry working in English and other European languages, to the effect that rhyme either does not exist or, at least, does not play a major role in any poetry written in Japanese. In some cases, this so-called rhyme may have just referred to end-rhyme; in others, given the theory's predication on Japanese poetry's CV light syllable and limited vowel inventory it most likely referred to vocalic assonance elsewhere as well; and, in still others, as seen above, "assonance" is listed alongside "rhyme" (presumably end-rhyme) as a feature absent from Japanese verse.

This conception has found itself recycled, again and again, even within otherwise sophisticated scholarship, to the present. Thus, despite working a century and a half later, some scholars are effectively replicating an approach to rhyme in Japanese poetry that began, at least in the West, with pioneering Japanologists like Chamberlain. Since attitudes toward rhyme, both in general and in the specific case of Japanese, are so closely interwoven with the discourses that have shaped Western criticism over a substantial period of time, it is likely that this manner of generalization will continue, if only in vestigial form, for the foreseeable future. Only the most sensitive of Anglophone critics have been able to engage in any meaningful way with rhyme in Japanese. Their contributions are summarized in the next few lines.

Engaging with rhyme in Japanese

In their seminal *Japanese Court Poetry*, which draws on Miner's comparative work and superlative grasp of Early Modern English poetry, Brower and Miner (1961) use somewhat different terminology to talk about concordances of sound in Japanese verse:

"The qualities of Japanese poetry of depth (or sonority), gentleness, strength (or firm consonance), and fullness (or assonance in harmony with movement) grow from two familiar features of the language...an unusually high proportion of vowels in regular alternation with consonants." (10)

It is not wholly clear what distinctions are being drawn here between sonority, consonance and assonance – and, judging by the subsequent development of their argument, it would seem that these terms are used not wholly in reference to phonological characteristics of poetic structure – but it is clear that, at the very least, vocalic assonance is judged to be a salient feature of Japanese poetry. In addition, what is particularly significant about this statement is the inversion of the argument, seen repeated many times above, that Japanese poetry lacks deliberate rhyme because of its prevailing CV structure and small inventory of vowels. Here, in contrast, this aspect of Japanese phonology is valorized as a productive system within the development of poetic diction.

Interestingly, however, Brower and Miner appear to view the natural consonance offered by the Japanese language as a tool for the poet as something that runs contrary to rhetoricism, in the sense known to the Western tradition – arguing that both can only be present in the work of the most skillful of song-crafters, citing 柿本人麻呂 Kakinomoto no Hitomaro as an example of such a master. Where others were not, Hitomaro was able to imbue his poems with “parallelism of thought and sound, single and double parallelism, antithesis, the echoing and re-echoing of idea and sound...closely worked out formal structure, ironies, and various other sophisticated techniques also found in Western poetry.” It is difficult to imagine how suppositions to the effect that “the fluid smoothness of Japanese prosody” is unsuited to “sustained poetic forms” (11) came into being, if not under the influence of paradigms that aligned Japanese verse with the modern English lyric – terse, emotionally-charged and free of embellishments such as rhyme.

Another salient commentary on the nature of rhyme in Japanese verse is to be found in Steven Carter’s collection of translation and thoughtful commentary entitled *Traditional Japanese Poetry, an Anthology*. Carter bifurcates “rhyme” (again, presumably end-rhyme) and other forms of internal rhyme, alliteration and assonance, following Brower and Miner in classing the latter as a major feature of the short verse form, tanka. Indeed he views the “strong emphasis on internal alliteration and assonance” (2) and “absence of rhyme, which inevitably would have produced tedious, sing-song rhythm” (ibid) as “resulting from or reacting against” the pri-

macy of the 短歌 *tanka*—which, again like Brower and Miner, he sees as the natural scion of a language that does not lend itself to protracted verse forms. The problem with this line of argument—that should become clear in the next few chapters—is that rhyme features such as alliteration and assonance are also prominent within longer poems in the MYS, and elsewhere in the OJ corpus, working alongside other dimensions of rhetoricality (discussed in the previous chapter).

In his anthology of OJ poetry in translation, *The Gem-Glistening Cup*, Edwin Cranston appears to be more open to the idea of rhyme in OJ than many of his peers; pointing out sound resemblances found in poetry at various points in his commentary (*passim*) and noting Tsuchihashi's discussion of 脚韻式繰り返し *kyakuinshiki kurikaeshi* 'end-rhyme-type repetition' and 尻取り式繰り返し *shiritorishiki kurikaeshi* 'tail-catching repetition' in ancient song (802).

The last, and perhaps most substantial interaction with rhyme in Japanese found in English is to be found in Judith Rabinovitch's seminal study of 歌經標式 *Kakyō Hyōshiki*. Since her engagement with rhyme is primarily in response to Hamanari's views on the subject, this will be discussed below, along with other Japanese-language scholarship.

Outside literary studies, rhyme has been considered more seriously – albeit by relatively few authors. In linguistics, some pertinent observations have been about certain rhyme features in Old Japanese poetry, notably by Roy Miller, in his study of the *Poems on the Footprints of the Buddha* (Jap. 仏足石歌 *Bussokusekika*) which are significant enough that they will need to be treated in more depth in the next chapter. The close attention to phonological detail found in this sort of linguistic commentary is almost entirely absent from literary analyses and, so, greatly informs the analyses of rhyme made in the following chapters. It is only a pity that disciplinary concerns render the discussion of the rhyme and rhetorical features an aside, rather than a priority in linguistics.

This being said, since Western linguistics developed from a philological tradition that also includes literary analysis, it is not surprising that scholars that straddle both avenues of enquiry are apt to exist. In this regard, a final word of acknowledgement is due to 'Notes on the the

Contours of an Ancient Japanese Poem: The Farewell Poem of 732 by Takapasi Musimaro’, a short article penned by Roman Jakobson late in his career, as a product of his close association with Japanese linguist Hattori Shirō, mentioned once already in the previous chapter. Born of a desire to document aesthetic uses of language in close descriptive terms and “to connect poetics and linguistics so as to show that you could not properly understand one in the absence of the other” (Buchanan 416), the philological methods of the Moscow Linguistic Circle, of which Jakobson was a founding member, and its sister group Opojaz (The Society for the Study of Poetic Language), had far-reaching implications for generalizing Western approaches to cultural criticism in the mid-to-late twentieth century, reaching an apogee in Structuralism but, as noted previously, much of the formalists’ critical engagement with language and attention to detail was retained in post-structuralist discourses – and remains germane to the present.

Given this literary bent, it is no surprise that Roman Jakobson is one of the few scholars who, to my knowledge, have ever made any considerable attempt to undertake an analysis of rhetorical figures, including rhymes, in Old Japanese, right the way down to the level of the segment. The close attention paid by Jakobson to various levels of phonological and syntactic concordances in “The Farewell Poem of 732” not only underscores those concordances, bringing to light features of interest within the text, but also encourages the reader (particularly one familiar with post-structuralist discourse) to think critically about the terms commonly employed in reference to poetic text, in both Western and Japanese traditional discourse (e.g., parallelism; *makura kotoba*). This article has been a source of inspiration to the chapters dedicated to rhyme in the Engishiki Norito in this study.

Chapter 8

Rhyme in the Japanese tradition Part II: Shifting Japanese discourses

The generally low level of interest in Japanese rhyme in Western scholarship is more understandable when one considers the situation in Japan. In premodern Japanese discourse on poetics—which, in other respects, was highly sophisticated—relatively little attention was paid to the sound of *waka* poetry, especially until the early modern period (Brower and Miner, Roger Thomas, 4). Under close scrutiny, premodern commentaries on poetics do hint at a tendency toward euphonic repetition on the part of poets; however this tendency is either treated within part of a proscriptive programme, designed to limit its use, or else is wrapped tightly in envelopes of discourse that appear to valorize other aspects of poetic composition. In the minds of early Western observers, already influenced by the rising tide of modernism and their own politico-cultural concerns, these factors are likely to have added to a developing impression that Japanese poets were never particularly concerned with rhyme. In reality, this was never the case—as the following paragraphs aim to demonstrate. Discourse on rhyme was, in fact, a product of some of the very earliest of all Japanese scholarly interest in poetics.

The Kakyō Hyōshiki

Rhyme is a key element of discussion in a document known to us today as *Kakyō Hyōshiki*, which has been translated as a ‘Formulary for Verse based on the Canons of Poetry’. It was

completed, under the title 歌式 *Uta Shiki* ('A song formulary') by late Nara courtier 藤原浜成 Fujiwara no Hamanari in 772. As is well known, Hamanari's project was to right the wrongs of his age vis-à-vis poetic composition by pointing out what he deemed to be the "illnesses that infect the body poetic" (Bowring 445). His 'Seven Ills of *Waka* Poetry', adaptations of concepts applied in earlier scholarship to rhyme in the classical Chinese language, are well-known and there is no need to engage with them in any great depth here but —since they do impinge upon other scholarship discussed later—they are reproduced, in translation:

- Head-Tail defect: the final syllables of the first and second lines must not be the same sound.
- Chest-Tail defect: the final syllable of the first line and the third and/or sixth syllable of the second line must not be of the same sound.
- Waist-Tail defect: the final syllable of any line must not be the same sound as the basic rhyme syllable.
- Mole defect: none of the five lines should contain a syllable having the same sound as the basic rhyme syllable.
- Wandering Wind defect: this fault results when the second syllable of any given line is the same sound as the final syllable in that line.
- Same-Sounding Rhyme defect: this fault occurs when the two rhyming syllables are identical.
- Whole Body defect: there must not be two or more identical sounds anywhere in the poem, excluding from consideration the [sound used as the] basic rhyme syllable, which is one of two rhyme syllables. (in *Rhetoric in Modern Japan* 30-31).

In *Kakyō Hyōshiki*, Hamanari attributes what he perceives as a recent decline in the art of *waka* to the ignorance of the above poetic infelicities—which all pertain to the repetition of sounds within and between lines. Hamanari's dependence on Chinese models was likely to have been one factor that, along with his choice of the 変体漢文 *hentaikanbun* writing system, caused his relative alienation within mainstream *waka* scholarship in the modern period. It is certainly the case that, until the last decades of the twentieth century at least, he was greatly neglected in modern scholarship, inside and outside Japan (Rabinovitch, *passim*). However, his application of the concept of 'poetic ills', borrowed from Chinese scholarship, to Japanese verse

was an intellectual leap that was far from ignored by his successors in the Classical period. On the contrary, as Rabinovitch has noted, similar “ills” were to crop up again and again in poetic treatises—although not always in as prominent a position as Hamanari might have hoped. Despite his relative obscurity in the modern era, Hamanari, as a personage too, was far from unknown—as well as the oblique references to his work found in a number of sources, he is mentioned by name in bibliographies as late as the thirteenth century.

Even compared to later reworkings of it, Hamanari’s analysis distinguishes itself by how closely it is tied to rhyme and repetition. His notion of rhyme centres on “a simple one-syllable congruence based on vowel identity at the end of lines three and five” (Rabinovitch 494), linked to the use of the Chinese term 韻 *yùn* (Jp. *in*)—used to signify rhyme in Chinese poetic forms, as well as the rime component of a syllable in 韻書 *yùnsū* (Jp. *insho*). The latter, as is well known, are dictionaries that group characters by tone and rime and contain guides to pronunciation in so-called 反切 *fǎnqiè* (Jp. *hansetsu*) spelling, which splits the syllable into onset + rime (+ final) pairs. Hamanari’s nomenclature is not always perfectly transparent to the modern reader and his understanding of rime / rhyme may have been broader than has sometimes been supposed—as Rabinovitch argues persuasively. However, what is clear is that his impressions regarding the prosodic construction of Japanese poetry—however accurate they may be—rested, to some extent, on an understanding of phonology at the level of the segment. The latter, we can surmise, he acquired, at least in part, during his time at the 大学寮 *Daigakuryō* (“University”), where he would have been exposed to a range of Chinese poetry, such as the strictly-rhyming 律詩 *lǜshī* (Jp. *risshi*) (ibid 495)—as well as, perhaps, lexicographical sources of the kind mentioned above. In addition to setting out his rules for the correct use of rhyme, in *Kakyō Hyōshiki*, Hamanari describes two rhyme identities (麤韻 *soin* “coarse rhyme” and 細韻 *saiin* “fine rhyme”) which, from the examples he proffers, appear to refer to rhymes containing low (/a/) and high (/i/) vowels, respectively (495). This distinction will be explored again in the next chapter.

Judith Rabinovitch's seminal treatment of Hamanari's work,¹ cited several times above, is the only major study of its kind in English and, because of its extensive treatment of Hamanari's theories vis-à-vis rhyme in OJ poetry—and the notion of rhyme in Japanese more generally—it merits summary here. Rabinovitch's analysis centres on a detailed engagement with Hamanari's own terminology and examples of rhyme (end-rhyme) in early song, expanded with a few of her own specimens. Both, for the most part, she supposes to be the result of accident—and her overall thesis is that end-rhyme, or any similar system of rhyming across lines, in Japanese is not feasible. This question of “feasibility”² of rhyme in Japanese poetry, to which Rabinovitch only dedicates a few pages of focussed discussion but alludes to throughout her study, draws on many of the arguments seen repeated in English language scholarship above—centering on the differences between the phonology of Japanese and European languages, the all-pervading CV open syllable structure, the relative lack of “rhythm” or stress in Japanese and so on (499). Why a lack of stress that apparently discourages the adoption of end rhyme should permit free use of alliteration—a feature so widespread in poetic traditions operating strict stress metres—is a particularly puzzling aspect of this line of argument.

The apparent lack of solid examples for the sort of end-rhyme Hamanari is suggesting as a feature of OJ poetry leads Rabinovitch on to a short, but informative, discussion of rhyme in a broader sense, incorporating assonance, consonance (in this case meaning) and alliteration—all of which she judges to be a “major” feature of OJ poetry and, if—as she supposes—they fell within his understanding of rhyme, or euphony more broadly, potentially what motivated Hamanari to associate rhyme so closely with felicitous waka composition. Another line of argument developed in her monograph leads to the conclusion that “many if not all of the phonetic principles or rules embodied in Hamanari's “defects” [i.e. *ills*] were already operating before he set out to describe them in the Code” (494)—including the “same sound rhyme” 同声韻 *dōsei* in

¹Entitled: ‘Wasp Waists and Monkey Tails: A Study and Translation of Hamanari's *Uta no Shiki* (*The Code of Poetry*, 772), Also Known as *Kakyō Hyōshiki* (*A Formulary for Verse Based on The Canons of Poetry*)

²This could be a nod to Kuki Shūzō, whose essay 日本詩の押韻 *Nihonshi no Ōin* ‘Rhyme in Japanese Poetry’ included two sections dedicated to 日本詩の押韻可能性 *Nihonshi no ōin kanōsei* ‘The Feasibility of Rhyme in Japanese Poetry’, outlining the pros and cons thereof. Kuki's monograph is discussed in greater detail below.

discussed below, in the context of later scholarship. She notes that a randomly selected sample from the *Kokinshū*, (compiled in the early tenth century but containing verses antedating and contemporaneous with the *KKHS*) contain relatively few examples of the type of rhyme necessary for the rule to be applied—but in nearly every case where the rhyme does occur, it does not violate the rule. The same conformity is found in samples from two other texts—which Rabinovitch takes to be suggestive that poets may have been guided by some “fundamental euphonic principle” (*ibid*), with regard to rhyme too. This line of argument is not as challenging to the author’s overall thesis as this brief summary has made it appear, since she subsequently notes that “rhyme [again meaning end-rhyme] is not a general concern” for Japanese poets, in any case (*ibid*). It would seem, therefore, that, in Rabinovitch’s opinion, certain euphonic principles were at work in *waka*—the observation and analysis of which inspired Hamanari to formulate a set of rules, as he did, to mirror those already existing for Chinese poetry. The challenge of describing *waka* in an alternative epistemological idiom resulted in the same distortions of which much of the scholarship reviewed in this chapter is also guilty—albeit tending to over-, rather than, under-estimate the importance of rhyme in *waka*. As noted below, he was to be criticized for this in later scholarship. Nevertheless Hamanari was certainly no crank: his arguments were sophisticated, drew on a wide range of sources—many of which are no longer available to us—and, to some extent, appear to have been based on actual poetic practice. Rabinovitch’s study has demonstrated all of this cogently and convincingly.

Returning to the study itself, there a few more points that need to be addressed, in light of the approaches taken in this triptych of chapters dedicated to rhyme. Firstly, Rabinovitch argues that one major problem for the study of rhyme in the *Kakyō Hyōshiki* is the inability of the “somewhat abstract science of linguistic reconstruction” to predict the “precise phonetic or acoustical qualities of the language of this or any other early text.” (502). Anything less than the closest working relationship between historical linguistics and literary analysis does indeed pose difficulties for close textual scholarship of this kind. It is a pity, therefore, that Rabinovitch’s own study—which is in other respects highly sophisticated—reveals a few areas which one can-

not help feeling would have benefitted from closer association with linguistics. Particularly glaring is the assertion that “there were...eight vowel sounds in Old Japanese”, which appears without citation and is repeated several times in the subsequent analysis. This is clearly based on interpretations of *kō*- and *otsu*- *rui* syllable types that were no longer the most persuasive in 1991.³ As it happens, however, since she appears to treat *kō* and *otsu* syllables as rhymes in her analysis, this misconception has no significant impact on her conclusions. A second, more minor, concern is Rabinovitch’s repeated use of the word “primitive” in her periodization of Japanese verse. Putting arguments vis-à-vis value judgments aside, at the very least, the dismissive connotations of the term are at odds with Hamanari’s own view of early song—which, as Rabinovitch herself notes, he saw as containing attractive rhyming structures that his contemporaries would do well to emulate.

Ultimately, Rabinovitch judges end-rhyme (or, in her words, quasi-rhyme) to be unimportant, mostly accidental, features that occur only occasionally in OJ poetry—and particularly *chōka*. In the course of her analysis, she reuses many of the arguments made in the earlier English language scholarship on Japanese rhyme, noted above; namely that most rhyme does not “register as such in our consciousness”, the lack of “terminal consonance” (i.e. CV structure) and lack of “stress-accent” working together to make rhyme “difficult to implement”. In this thesis, I argue that end-rhymes and similar structures were meaningful participants in the construction of OJ rhetoric—not in the strict forms argued for by Hamanari but, rather, in structural modalities that allow them to work in conjunction with other features of rhyme and rhetoric. Despite the differences in our conclusions, however, Rabinovitch’s overall project—to ensure Hamanari’s arguments are not to be ridden rough-shod over, as well as to raise the possibility that his defence of end-rhyme as a salient characteristic of early *waka* was influenced by the presence, in that corpus, of similar features, such as vocalic assonance, alliteration, consonance and whole-word repetition—has informed the arguments made in this and subsequent chapters greatly and is, in my view, an important rejoinder to those apt to neglect the role of rhyme in Japanese

³See Frellesvig 32.

poetics.

Rhyme and the developing *waka* aesthetic

After Hamanari, scholarly attention appears to have gradually shifted away from rhyme, particularly as encoded in the term 韻 *in*. One possible explanation for this is an ontological tendency, within Japanese discourse on poetics, to view euphonic, semantic and logical structures as a single, or at least in some way coalescent, category. It is by no means my intention to devalue this approach; the intersects between meaning and sound—and in particular the vital role played by sound patterns in the construction and transmission of meaning—align well with the non-reductionist approach that this study aims to valorize. However, for whatever reason, where present at all, in many cases, rhyme is so tightly woven into other discourses as to be difficult to place precisely.

While 空海 Kūkai's studies of Chinese poetics 文鏡秘府論 *Bunkyōhifuron* and 文筆眼心抄 *Bunpitsuganshinshō*—which might have been intended to influence Japanese (*waka* as well as *kanshi*) poets' praxis (Teale 149)—included discourse on *in*, commentaries on, and guides on the composition of poetry using it. Discourse born out of the revitalized interest in *waka* from mid-Heian onwards generally did not include much in the way of reference to rhyme. Only two mid-Heian treatises, known today as 喜撰式 *Kisenshiki* and the 孫姫式 *Hikohimeshiki*, both of uncertain authorship, are concerned with rhyme to anything approaching the extent of Hamanari. These are the source of the “four and eight poetic ills” mentioned by Teika, as seen below (Brower 419, note 63).

In academic discourse, as in Hollywood, fame is one of the first victims of changing fashions. Thus, to rely too heavily on premodern studies of poetics that are well known in the present when building one's impressions of attitudes toward the various aspects of poetry composition held by practitioners and critics in the past risks unfairly aggrandizing the contemporary influence of those studies. Nevertheless, it is still interesting that 韻 *in* is largely absent

from many famous premodern works of criticism—including those which may justly be called epoch-making even in their own historical context.

A search of, for example, the prefaces to the *Kokinshū* (ca. 905), the first officially-sanctioned essays of their kind and well-known as the arbiters of Japanese poetic taste for many generations subsequently, yields no mention of the term *in*—or indeed much else that might be construed as a reference to rhyme or euphony of any kind. The only term of potential interest in this regard is 詞 *kotoba*, invoked frequently by Tsurayuki, for example, in his famous critique of 在原業平 Ariwara no Narihira's poetry: こゝろ余りて詞たらず “*kokoro amarite kotoba tarazu*” (Ozawa 57); a description echoed in Ki no Yoshimochi's *kanbun*, 其情有余 其詞不足 (ibid 417). What exactly is meant by 詞 *kotoba* in this case is matter for debate elsewhere; it is clear, however, that the term scoped over a broader range of critical concerns than simply euphony and rhyme. An acceptable English translation might, therefore, be 'diction' or 'rhetoric'.

In 藤原公任 Fujiwara no Kintō's essay on the composition of waka poetry, 新撰髓脳 *Shinsen Zuinō*, poets are warned against forms of repetitious writing, some of which Teele has translated as “rhyme” (157)—but in fact the term used by Kintō is not *in*, as the translation might suggest but rather (同)字 *zi*. This is to some degree defensible, firstly because Hamanari also uses this term in his description of ills related to rhyme (passim) and, secondly, because Kintō's own examples include non-identical rhyme (for example, は and ば) and not just character repetition, as the term would seem to suggest. If nothing else, this proves that Kintō was aware of a tendency to repeat sounds at certain key points within *waka*—which would tend to support Rabinovitch's thesis that Hamanari's norms to some degree reflected actual poetic practice and had not merely been plucked “out of thin air” (493).

Hamanari's models attracted support from some prominent figures in the literary world later in the Heian Period, not least 藤原清輔 Fujiwara no Kiyosuke—a prominent poet and literary critic immortalized, like Kintō, in Teika's 小倉百人一首 *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu*, who in his much-studied treatise 奥義抄 *Ōgishō*, supported the notion that rhyme had been an important component of ancient poetry lost after the time of the Man'yōshū (ibid). However, as this

line of argument tends to suggest, even in the rare cases that it was mentioned at all, there is no indication that late Heian authors were engaging with rhyme much more than an historical curiosity—or a rule to be obeyed under most circumstances. Furthermore, the Man' yō era poetry reproduced in late Heian scholarship contains many discrepancies when compared with texts established subsequently as authoritative, possibly for the reason that the copied texts with which scholars such as Kiyosuke were working were solely written in kana, without the original orthography present and had diverged from older sources considerably (Terashima 56). A closer association with the sound of OJ poetry was rendered possible only by the efforts of the *kokugaku* linguists, several centuries later.

A generation or so after Kiyosuke, Fujiwara no Yoshitsune's and Fujiwara no Chikatsune's prefaces to the *Shinkokinshū* (1205) resemble the earlier *Kokinshū* prefaces in making no specific reference to rhyme. As in the *Kokinshū*, the term 詞 *kotoba* 'language' is invoked, alongside the related term 言の葉 *koto no ha* 'language'; the former is apparently a metonymy for the poems themselves here. Critical analysis, again as in the *Kokinshū*, centres on the choice of lexis, which can be strong (つよし *tsuyoshi*) or otherwise. Clearly, sound cannot be ruled out from this discourse; it is likely to have been a factor in lexical choice throughout the history of poetic composition. Certainly the relative strength of certain words compared with others—and how these words should be paired with each other—is a key element within poetic discourse after the *Shinkokin* period, including in Teika's essay discussed below. Again, the connotations of the term 'strength' are subject to debate that is outside the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that, if sound plays any role in the definition of words as 'strong' and 'weak' (and, in my view this is highly likely) any deliberate positioning of words in the confines of a regulated metrical structure, syllabic or otherwise, will inevitably cause patterns of sounds to emerge—as seen in *When I born I black* discussed in the previous chapter.⁴

⁴One is reminded of the discussion of subtle onomatopoeia, at the level of the "...general 'colour' of sounds' on such dimensions [sic] 'hardness' / 'softness', 'thinness' / 'sonority'." in Geoffrey Leech's *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*, Harlow: Longman, 1969, p.98. Sonority is to some extent quantifiable, as discussed a little more in the next chapter. Relative hardness, as Leech notes, is "ultimately subjective" but "...there is enough general agreement on such associations to form the basis of a general system or 'language' of sound symbolism" (ibid). Such

Where 韻 *in* does make an appearance in late Heian and medieval discourse on *waka*, such as in 藤原俊成 Fujiwara no Shunzei / Toshinari's 古來風躰抄 *Koraifūteishō* and his son 藤原定家 Fujiwara no Teika / Sadaie's 毎月抄 *Maigetsushō* (1219),⁵ it is generally relatively brief. In the *Koraifūteishō*, Shunzei gives one of the most negative appraisals of the role of rhyme in the period, noting the use of “韻の字” “rhyming syllables” in Japanese verse was “unseemly” (Rabinovitch, 517) and that rhyme generally had no place in *waka*, before going on to allude to the dangers of putting on a guise of Chinese-inspired erudition (漢家の學問 *kanka no gakumon*), in a thinly-veiled attack on scholars like Hamanari (ibid). This is a notable step in the othering of Hamanari's work—and by extension 韻 *in*—as Sinified and of little consequence to the Japanese tradition.

Teika, known for his interest in the past and, in particular, for proposing etymologically accurate spelling⁶ based on earlier manuscripts in 下官集 *Gekanshū* (?1241) and 僻案抄 *Hekianshō* (1226) (Frellesvig 174), appears to have been more open to the idea of controlling the use of rhyme in *waka*, along similar lines to Hamanari and other early scholars. However, unlike Hamanari, Teika dedicates, in 毎月抄 *Maigetsushō*, only a few lines to his warning against poetic ills, as seen below:

Regarding [poetic] ills, the ill of *byōtō* is not too troublesome. The ill of *sei'in* is one that

systems are language-specific—although, as in many cases, general trends may be cross-linguistically identifiable. Given the organization of *kana* tables according to consonant properties, based on principles formed in Sanskrit philology (briefly discussed below), it is clear that, from at least mid-Heian, there was an awareness of the difference between, for example, what are now known as ‘true consonants’ and ‘glides’. Thus, although what we are dealing with in the *Shinkokinshū* preface, as elsewhere, are keywords linked to dynamic discursive frameworks rather than static axioms, it is entirely possible that consonant type was one factor that contributed to the definition of those keywords. If, in this way, words possessed of one or several of a certain consonant type were considered relatively ‘stronger’ or ‘weaker’ then advice concerning their choice in poetry has a direct bearing on sound patterns; choosing words with a high proportion of similar or identical consonants obviously results in alliteration. The repetition of consonants in the Engishiki Norito and elsewhere in the OJ corpus is discussed in Chapter 10.

⁵There is a theory that 毎月抄 *Maigetsushō* is a forgery, written by an author other than (and most likely post-dating) Teika—either entirely or in part. For more details on this, in English, see Brower 404. Since the question of whether or not the text was authored entirely by Teika is not of primary importance here, this chapter follows Brower in treating the text as Teika's work while acknowledging the possibility of later interpolations.

⁶Aside from his own poetic artistry, Teika's fame in the present is mostly due to the role he played in the compilation 新古今和歌集 *Shin Kokin Wakashū* and to his creation of the 小倉百人一首 *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu* – both projects that required close involvement with poetry from the OJ period. However, his work on reconstructed etymological *kana* spelling was also important enough that the spellings he proposed eventually gained the sobriquet 定家仮名使い *Teika kana-zukai* ‘Teika kana usage’ (Frellesvig 174).

I wish people would avoid under all circumstances. Poems suffering from the ill of *byōtō* are also inferior to those that do not. As for the “four ills and eight ills” and the like—these are already well known by all so there is no need to think about them afresh.⁷

The ill of 声韻・聲韻 *sei'in* is generally understood to equate to the 同声韻 *dōsei'in* found in Hamanari's *Uta no Shiki* (*Kakyō Hyōshiki*). It is interesting to note, in the full 真本 *shinpon* texts of *Kakyō Hyōshiki* the term used is 同声韻 but in some of the later abridged 抄本 *shōhon* texts, including the Imperial Household Agency manuscript, the term itself is 聲韻, making it identical to Teika's own term. In Hamanari's model, as noted above, this means an infelicity arising from the identical repetition of the rhyme syllable—i.e. the last syllable of lines 3 and 5 (Brower 419 and Rabinovitch 494). Hamanari himself used the example of rhyming 尔 *ni* with 尔 *ni* to illustrate this. He considered it only a minor transgression and considered it permissible in *chōka*—perhaps reflecting the use of identical syllable repetition alongside other forms of rhyme and parallelism in these verse forms. The ill of 平頭 *byōtō* does not appear in Hamanari's list of ills but is understood to mean the first and fourth lines beginning with an identical syllable (Brower 419).

These comments are open to a number of interpretations: one of which being that Teika was merely referring to *in* as a concept formally built into poetry contest judgments via the ills, rather than anything reflecting actual poetic practice (ibid). An alternative and, in my view more persuasive, interpretation is that Teika is using Hamanari and other early scholars' nomenclature—which, as argued previously, might have reflected actual practice by those commentators and their contemporaries—to buttress his own opinions regarding the shape elegant *waka* poetry ought to take. The explanation of this ideal shape, for the most part, centred on choice of lexis and topic, as it did in other later works. However, it is clear that the sound of *waka* was of concern to Teika and, to try to express this concern in terms acceptable to contemporary poetic discourse, he invoked rules governing rhyme schemes that, by that stage, had a lengthy history and were still making appearances in the judgments of 歌合 *uta-awase* ‘poetry competitions’.

⁷病のことは、平頭の病は苦しからず。声韻の病は、かならず避らまほしく候。平頭の病も、なからむには劣りて候。四病・八病などは、人のみな知れることにて候へば、事新しくかんがへ申すに及ばず。

In other words, exactly how the sound shape should be constructed at the syllabic or segmental level may or may not have been completely clear to Teika himself—but Hamanari’s “ills” provided a framework of discourse in which he was able to draw his readers’ attention to the need for careful, euphonically pleasing diction.

Whatever the case may be, it is worth noting that implementation of the rules noted above did not inhibit poets from employing sound repetition and rhyme of various types in their poetry. Indeed, given that, as noted above, they came into being under the supposition that all Japanese poetry should include rhyme, it would be highly surprising if they did. Deliberately or otherwise, Teika himself composed poems that included end-rhyme, vocalic assonance and alliteration. All three are found in the following tanka from the 拾遺愚草 *Shūi Gusō*, Teika’s 私家集 *shikashū* (personal waka collection), which is sometimes supposed to be an ironic piece lamenting his own loss of official patronage (石田吉貞 Ishida Yoshisada, 新古今歌壇と歌風の分裂 *Shinkokin Kadan to Kafū no Bunretsu*, 12):⁸

君が代に	<i>kimi ga yo ni</i>	cranes that parted
霞をわけし	<i>kasumi o wakesi</i>	in my Lord’s reign
あしたづの	<i>asitadu no</i>	the haze
さらに沢辺の	<i>sara ni sawabe no</i>	should not go on to
ねをやなくべき	<i>ne o yanakubeki</i>	sleep by the marshland

Note that, despite the repetition of initial k- at the start of ll. 1 and 2, vocal assonance dependent on -a in l. 4 and an AABBA end-rhyme pattern, this poem is not in violation of either of the ills described by Teika, above. This sort of collaboration between a variety of rhyme features will be seen again and again in the text of the Engishiki Norito, as well as in OJ poetic sources, in the next chapter.

⁸This view is based on notes appended to the poem in various sources, and was adopted by Kubota Jun, amongst others. Teika’s strident ambition is well-known and such a motivation is certainly not outside the realms of possibility. For a fuller account of the debate surrounding this interpretation see: Sugiura pp. 115-6.

It is also interesting to note that, like Kintō before him, Teika—despite warning against the overuse of rhyme—also kept an open mind, considering the overall effect of the poem to be of paramount importance; and acknowledging that it is possible to create an aesthetically pleasing and powerful poem, even when disregarding the ‘rules’. Given all of the above, the proscriptions against rhyme of various descriptions might be interpreted, therefore, as a general warning against the over-use of rhyme—as it would appear Hamanari’s own warnings were intended to be. Pronouncements of this sort, like guides on choice of lexis and topic, were intended to limit poets’ tendencies to overuse techniques and styles that, for difficult-to-pinpoint linguistic reasons, seemed attractive to them. Since a good deal of this chapter is predicated on the belief that “hermeneutical distance” (Kitagawa xxx) has caused modern Western and, some Western-inspired Japanese, critics to misunderstand or underplay the role of rhyme in Japanese verse, seemingly obvious comparisons with Western treatises (such as Rabinovitch’s nods to Tennyson and Gerald Manley Hopkins) will be avoided here. However, it is probably fair to say that successful poets, and other arbiters of taste, have attempted to impose similar limitations in many poetic traditions, including those of Western Europe.

Edo *kokugaku* and rhyme

A renewed and reinvigorated scholarly interest in the sound of Old Japanese poetry arose, along with the *kokugaku* (nativist) philological movement, in the Edo period. While the motivations behind this project certainly had a proscriptive dimension (to replace the degenerate and vulgar sounds of the present with the clear and beautiful sounds of the past), the facilitation of that project imposed upon Early Modern philologists, from Keichū onwards, the need to investigate real orthographic usages, sound patterns and rhetoric, in order to gain access to an OJ tradition that, while never completely out of view, was by that stage greatly obscured by its obsolete writing system and language. The *kokugaku* scholars’ treatments of OJ phonology and poetics have been assiduously studied by subsequent generations of Japanese scholars and do not re-

quire recounting in detail here. The key points within this scholarship related to rhetorical and euphonic features in poetry, including rhyme, have been summarized lucidly and concisely in English by Roger Thomas, in his article ‘Sound and Sense: Chōka Theory and Nativist Philology in Early Modern Japan and Beyond’. The brief discussion of Edo scholarship that follows is greatly indebted to his analysis.

Hamanari’s term 韻 *in* was largely absent from discussion of poetics in the Edo Period. As before, however, this is not to say that an awareness of and interest in rhyme did not exist. To begin with, amongst other things, scholars from the nativist schools built on work that had been ongoing since the Heian period to complete, for the first time, an etymologically-correct list of *kana* with consonants (五十音図 *go-jūonzu* ‘table of fifty sounds’, or simply 音図 *onzu* ‘sound table’)—which depends on “analysis of a syllable into subsyllabic parts, or a mora into submoraic parts” (Frellesvig 177) and was certainly influenced by the *fǎnqiè* spelling system discussed earlier in this chapter (p.156). In this, and many other respects which need not be re-examined here, the *kokugaku* philologists and historical linguists were indebted to frameworks of thought and discourse that have their origins in continental East Asia. Thus, unsurprisingly, the ‘nativist’ philological movement—although retro- and auto-nymically referred to as such—was anything but. As previous generations had done, *kokugaku* philologists worked, through a number of concatenated dialogues, to hone terminologies and discursive frameworks, shared with and/or in response to other branches of scholarship—including continental Asian as well as parallel Japanese intellectual movements (all of which were similarly composite themselves).

For this reason—as well as the ever-present ‘hermeneutical distance’—rhyme and other euphonic features were frequently discussed in the *kokugaku* literature in the context of shifting critical nomenclatures that are challenging for the modern Western observer to interpret.⁹ A summary of this length cannot do justice to the sophisticated and dynamic patterns of usage of all of these terms, so I refer the reader to Thomas’ article for a fuller discussion in English.

⁹Thomas’ choice of the term “imprecise” is more troublesome since there is no reason to assume that ‘precision’, in the biased sense of the state of being sufficiently honed as to be *easily understood by the modern critic*, was foremost in the minds of the *kokugaku* scholars who assembled them.

Briefly, the keywords related to euphony in poetry found in Edo scholarship that Thomas earmarks for discussions are 言霊 *kotodama*, 格 *kaku* and 調べ *shirabe*—which, to a greater or lesser extent, feature within the descriptions of OJ poetry penned by a number of prominent *koku-gaku* theorists (passim). All of the terms were broad enough to encompass the breadth of the “symbiotic” relationship between historical linguistics and poetics¹⁰ that developed during the eighteenth century. The first of them, *kotodama*, has ideological implications that are broader than the scope of this chapter.

The second, 格 *kaku*—a term assimilated from Chinese poetics¹¹—is scarcely less complex. Meaning roughly “type” or “class”, it was invoked in parallel with the third term, *shirabe*, in concepts such as 格調 *kakuchō* and, in others, seems to have been concerned with broader typologies of rhetoric and poetry that scope over, and encompass *shirabe*. These range from ‘types’ of rhetorical structure in discourse analysis—as in Yoshika’s 常格 *jōkaku* ‘constant frameworks’ (Thomas 17)—to ‘types’ or ‘modes’ of language—such as in Norinaga’s phrase “古語の格 *kogo no kaku*” (‘in the mode of the ancient language’), describing inflected forms not exhibiting the 音便 *onbin* sound changes (Motoori 95). Thomas is of the view that, overall, *kaku* is “relatively more important in *chōka* poetics than *shirabe*” (5). However, since references to *shirabe* often work to structure discourse on *kaku*, particularly where that discourse is concerned with structures that include euphonic repetition and parallelism, and references to musicality form part

¹⁰These somewhat artificial Western categories of scholarship are retained for ease of understanding – since Thomas’ point is surely clear and a highly important one. However, it would perhaps be more correct to say that what we, in Western academia in the twenty-first century, conceive of as ‘poetics’ and ‘linguistics’ formed a meaningful and indissoluble unit in late Tokugawa *kokugaku*. Of course, it is worth noting that, in addition – and no doubt related – to these ontological tendencies, practical issues were also at play. As this study has noted several times, the great majority of the Old Japanese corpus is composed of poetry – and, therefore, studies of ancient language (the principal object of the nativists’ interest) relied heavily, as they do today, on poetic sources.

¹¹The term 詩格 *shigé* (Jp. *shikaku*) referring to taxonomies of poetry – and the rules governing their production, is perhaps best known from the title of the influential Yuan period treatise on poetic composition, 聯珠詩格 *Liánzhū Shīgé* (Jp. *Renju Shikaku*). See: 詩法から詩格へ : 『三体詩』およびその抄物と『聯珠詩格』. This treatise was widely read and interpreted in Japan, leading to the production of various commentaries and glossed texts in the Muromachi and Edo periods –the Muromachi kana-glossed version, 聯珠詩格抄 *Renju Shikaku-shō*, 阿部攢齋 Abe Ryakusai’s commentary 聯珠詩格名物図考 *Renju Shikaku Meibutsu Zukō* and 柏木如亭 Kashiwagi Jotei’s annotated Japanese translation 訳注聯珠詩格 *Yakuchū Renju Shikaku*. See 住吉朋彦 Sumiyoshi, Tomohiko 旧刊『聯珠詩格』版本考 *Kyūkan “Renju Shikaku” Hanponkō* 斯道文庫論集 *Shidō Bunko Ronshū*. No.43 (2008), p.215- 263

of so much of the English-language criticism discussed above, I will confine the remainder of my comments to *shirabe*.

The term *shirabe*, as Thomas notes, pertains to the musicality, or “tuning” of a poem and, in the writings of Kamo no Mabuchi, is held to be the “main concern” of OJ verse—associated with the notion that poetry was sung in ancient times. This conception was adopted by later scholars such as 本居宣長 Motoori Norinaga and 橘守部 Tachibana Moribe. Reminiscent of Leech’s pairing of parallelism and music, seen above, at its most musical—as seen Moribe’s 長歌撰格 *Chōka Senkaku*—*shirabe* appears to be close to the patterning (あや *aya*) of phrases and sounds in poetry; something that could be honed by the addition of various parallelistic rhetorical devices, including identical rhymes (畳句 *jōku* “folded and stacked phrases”)¹² for example. This closeness to parallelism and rhyme is less apparent in its usage elsewhere, but a concern for the sound of poetry is present without fail. For instance, in Motoori Norinaga’s discussion of the correct reading of a certain toponym in the *Man’yōshū*: (“This phrase is six characters [i.e. syllables] in length and there are surely some who consider the *shirabe* tuning to be bad...”), *shirabe* appears to be more concerned with the number of syllables in a phrase and less with the sound of those syllables, clearly linked to the 調 *chō* of 五七調 *goshichichō* (and 七五調 *shichigochō*—because the adoption of one in preference to the other was a major point of concern to the *kokugaku* philologists). Overall, therefore, one might perhaps think of *shirabe* as something akin to the ‘modern’ term 韻律 *inryū* ‘prosody’—encompassing a variety of metrical and other auditory considerations.

Linked to the three concepts listed above, another technical term of note—that is to be repeated in the rhetorical scholarship of the mid-twentieth century—is 対句 *tsuiku*, which was used to mean ‘antithetical pair’ (in the work of Moribe, for example) or, more generally, to any sort of parallel semantic, syntactic or auditory structure. Ironically, given their quest for pure language free of foreign influence, *tsuiku*, like many concepts invoked by the *kokugaku*

¹²See Thomas, R. Appendix 2, p.26 Moribe believed that repetition in *chōka* revealed *aya* ‘design’ which demonstrates that *chōka* were intended to be sung—while in the case of 催馬楽 *saibara*, poems were given extra syllables to make them “accord with the beat” (Thomas 14).

philologists, is actually a term borrowed from Chinese literature (Tanaka 24).

小国重年 Oguni Shigetoshi was one late Edo scholar of note who took an interest in 対句 *tsuiku* as a feature of Old Japanese poetic rhetoric. In 長歌詞之珠衣 *Chōka Kotoba no Tamaginu* (1801), he produced analyses of several varieties of *tsuiku*, as noted briefly in the previous chapter. More or less accurately, he compared the number and type of these parallel phrases used in the work of different poets represented in the *Man'yōshū*, as seen below:

“there are very many of Lord Kakinomoto no Hitomaro’s poems in the *Man'yōshū* but not a single one lacks a *tsuiku*. Indeed, particularly numerous were poems with many *tsuiku*...Lord Yamabe no Akahito composed his poems with a preference for the ‘continuous *tsuiku*’ (連対句)...Lord Ōtomo no Yakamochi only used ‘couplet *tsuiku*’ (二句対句); and there were also many poems by him that include no *tsuiku* at all.”

This selection (deliberately biased toward three poets known in the modern period for their different styles) supports the close stylistic relationship, discussed in the previous chapter, between Hitomaro and the Norito (which as we saw, also contain many *tsuiku*)—as well as general comments about Hitomaro’s rhetoricism, such as those of Brower and Miner, noted above.

Invoking various ‘types’ (格 *kaku*) to structure his arguments, in the same work, Shigetoshi produces sophisticated analyses of OJ rhetoric, some of which are closely tied to rhyme. As Thomas notes (II):

While most of Shigetoshi’s frameworks appear to be more focused on rhythm of sense than of sound, others are specifically auditory. One is the use of reduplicated words and phrases (重ね詞 *kasane kotoba*), such as are seen in MYS199 (*tsuyujimo no kenaba kenu beku* “like dew or frost, resigned to die if they must” ... *samoraedo samoraikanete* “though they would serve him, yet are they unable” ... *Kudara no hara ni [yu] kami-hafuri hafuriimashite asamo-yoshi Kinoe no miya o toko-miya to* “in [from] the plains of Kudara he is interred [sic] as a god, his everlasting shrine at Kinoe palace, famed for hempen garments”)

As the first example cited here, (*tsuyujimo no kenaba kenu beku* “like dew or frost, resigned to die if they must” ... *samoraedo samoraikanete* “though they would serve him, yet are they unable”) clearly demonstrates, the repetition of words Shigetoshi is describing is not always the repetition of whole words; it can be the repetition of a verbal stem, with varying tense morphology for

example. Since the example of repetition he provides is a consonant-base verb, *ken*- “to die” this means that, at least as far as Oguni Shigetoshi was concerned, the repetition of a CV syllable along with the initial C of the next syllable was a salient auditory feature within OJ poetry.

Therefore, it can be seen that the repetitive features of OJ rhetoric were noticed and discussed by philologists of various *kokugaku* schools during the Edo Period. Rhyme, defined broadly as any repetition of sound, was treated within these discussions in the context of a number of dynamic and interrelated key terms—making it a salient, but not always overt, participant in the discourse. Why 韻 *in* was not invoked as a key term in the discussion of repetition is not clear—especially since *tsuiku*, another term from Chinese poetics was adopted freely, without much concern over its applicability to Japanese. For whatever reason it was selected by them, the *kokugaku* philologists’ influence on later generations of scholars meant that it was the latter, alongside other terms we saw applied to repetition—疊-[句, 語] *jō*-[*ku*, *go*]; 対句, *tsuiku*; 重-[詞, 語] *kasane*-[*kotoba*], / *jū*-[*go*]—that would later form the basis of the vocabulary of OJ rhetorical criticism in the twentieth century and beyond.

From 1868 onwards

The history of scholarship on rhyme in Japan since the Meiji Restoration, has all come into being under the influence of discourse on rhyme in Western Europe. To say “in reaction to” would be a considerable over-simplification; the pressures exerted on Japanese academia by a European tradition buttressed by Colonial prestige, pushed and pulled it in many, often non-linear, directions. The term 韻 *in* experienced something of a renaissance at this time—not least because of its co-option into translations of various European words related to rhyme in poetry, as exemplified in the diagram below (after Kuki):

$$\text{韻律 } inritsu = \text{prosody} \begin{cases} \text{韻 } in = Rheim \begin{cases} \text{頭韻 } tōin = Stabreim, \text{ alliteration (頭韻 } tōin) \\ \text{脚韻 } kyakuin = Endreim, \text{ rhyme, rime (尾韻 } bi'in) \end{cases} \\ \text{律 } ritsu = Rhythmus, \text{ rhythm, } rhythme \end{cases}$$

In addition to this—and its use in the translation of linguistic terms such as 音韻論 *on'inron*

‘phonology’—rhyme, under the guise of *in* was invoked and, indeed used, by a number of poets and authors wishing to move Japanese poetry on, in new directions inspired by the West—as exemplified in the well-studied 新体詩省 *Shintaishishō*, that was written as a first attempt to emulate Western poetry in the Japanese language and included stanzas and, in some cases, end rhyme. Kuki also notes others—including 森鷗外 Mori Ōgai and 岩野泡鳴 Iwano Hōmei—who composed a small number of “rhymed verses” (押韻詩) (Kuki 13)—both of whom, either through translation, composition or both contributed to the development of the 新体詩 *Shintaishi* ‘New Form Poem’. Embodying the ideological syncretism of the period, the *Shintaishi* also seems to have been influenced by Old Japanese precedent and, in particular the *chōka*. As Roger Thomas notes, rephrasing a point made by 揖斐高 Ibi Takashi, “a consciousness of *chōka* as a native precedent appears to have been an important factor motivating the creation of *Shintaishi-shō* and even of the devices it employs” (21).

九鬼周造 Kuki Shūzō’s own contribution—in the form of a monograph, written in Paris, entitled 日本詩の押韻 *Nihonshi no Ōin* [‘Rhyme in Japanese Poetry’] (1931) hereafter *Rhyme*—merits some more detailed discussion. In *Rhyme*, Shūzō, in typically erudite fashion, juxtaposes Japanese, Chinese and European rhyme features in a balanced and sophisticated discussion of Japanese rhyme. His project resembles the *Shintaishi* movement in that it meditates on various possibilities for the future use of rhyme in Japanese verse. In this regard, Kuki is optimistic, because he believes that the core concepts are already well-rooted in the Japanese tradition: “...the active reason I believe in the potential for the development of rhyme in Japanese poetry depends on the fact that I have observed that its germ is already in existence—and can perceive there its outlook for the future” (39). However, *Rhyme* distinguishes itself, amongst scholarship on rhyme from the period, by its level of detail and breadth of analysis. Particularly important for the current discussion is, firstly, its treatment of various sorts of rhyme in Old Japanese. He demonstrates what he deems to be “considerable” use of alliteration in *Man’yōshū* and *Kikikayō* (20), 同語の反復 *dōgo no hanpuku* ‘whole word repetition’, end-rhyme (taking the form of the identical syllable repetition forbidden in Hamanari’s and other treatises) and

rhyme based on vowel correspondences in the penultimate syllables of inflected forms. In addition to the link he proposes between rhyme and *kakekotoba*, seen in the last chapter, perhaps most apposite to this discussion are his examples of the interactions between head-rhyme and 枕詞 *makurakotoba* ‘pillow words’ (24) and end-rhymes from the *Man’yōshū* based on simple vowel correspondences, arranged in parallelisms—the latter being what, he argues, makes an otherwise weak rhyme effective (65-70). The idea of parallelism being linked to rhyme has been touched on several times already; Kuki’s analysis highlights how widespread parallel rhyming is in the Japanese tradition, drawing on examples from 今様 *imayō* to buttress his *Man’yō* era specimens (112). Rhyming parallelisms of this sort will be given more consideration in the next chapter.

Notably, Kuki also associates repetition and rhyme with an oral performance tradition, invoking terms 片下 *kataoroshi* 上歌 *agenta* and 志良宜歌 *shiragenta* to describe poetry in the *Kokin* and elsewhere in the OJ corpus in terms of its performance style—noting that end-rhyme is particularly prominent in the *agenta* (31). This ties in well with the intersects between orality and rhetoricality discussed, in various cross-linguistic/cultural contexts, in previous chapters. Still another intersect with arguments made elsewhere in this thesis is to be found in his engagement with what may be called the modernist aesthetic morality—though he does not name it as such—that views rhyme as superfluous artifice. His view is that this position is untenable, as the following lines make clear:

...there are those who think along the following lines: Rhyme is not innocuous play. Rhyme is embellishment; embellishment is meaningless artifice. We should have a moral aversion to rhyme... ...I am not going to try to refute this sort of ‘artless-ism’ as an artistic standpoint. However, considering a simple poetic style to be the only one of any value whatever is audacious in the extreme. It is hardly worth restating here that art and morality each have their own domains. It is in no way problematic to imagine that rhyme forms came into being as, when trying to carry over the effect of artistic expression, thickly and solidly, and in the most concentrated terms, poetry (詩) capitalizes on the thrownness (Ger. *Geworfenheit*) inherent in language, as a new function of projection (Ger. *Entwurf*).

Finally, in connection with the above, it is worth mentioning that Kuki saw an association

between rhyme and the Norito [and *Senmyō*] via *kotodama*—although he did not expand on this any further than to cite the texts as an example of how euphonic “play” (遊戯 *yūgi*) such as rhyme need not be without artistic or cultural value. In the introduction to *Rhyme*, he writes: “To decide that because rhyme is euphonic play therefore it must be valueless is a rather facile. On the contrary, it is essential we value the *kotodama* found in the period of the *Norito* and *Senmyō*” (9).

Man'yō scholarship increased greatly in depth and breadth after the war—and an interest in its rhetoric certainly formed part of that movement. However only a relatively small number of scholars from this generation followed in Kuki's footsteps in tackling rhyme in all its forms, as found in OJ poetry. One, more positive, interpretation of this might be that scholars were approaching the features of the texts through other region-specific discourses, as their predecessors in the Edo Period, and earlier, had done. However one cannot help feeling that lingering ideas concerning the place of the *Man'yōshū* at the fountainhead of Japanese civilization in the modern day, as well as a Western-inspired fetish for the oral and the simple, run through commentaries made by mid-to-late twentieth century scholars such as 久松潜一 Hisamatsu Sen'ichi who, despite engaging with Kuki Shūzō's discourse on 押韻 *ōin* is keen to point out that repetitive semantic and euphonic structures in the songs of the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* are “intended to appeal to the ears” and are unrelated to parallelisms found in Chinese poetry (which of course were accompanied by rhyme) (175).

Indeed the two interpretations are in any case linked—*kokugaku* scholarship privileged certain rhetorical terms such as 対句 *tsuiku*, seeing them as core features unique to ancient Japanese song; interpretation of early modern *kokugaku* scholarship forms part of the study of Old Japanese literature in 国文 *kokubun* ‘National (Japanese) literature’ departments of modern universities; as a result, the same terms are borrowed from this earlier scholarship in reference to Japanese texts. 韻 *in*, on the other hand, remains largely confined to discussion of rhyme in 漢詩 *kanshi* and Chinese poetry (where it had always been used), as well as in foreign literature (where it was used to translate terms related to rhyme in the Western tradition, as noted previously). When

this and modern ideological incentives to keep Japanese and Chinese literature as distinct as possible are taken into consideration, it is hardly surprising that such terminological discrepancies were maintained along disciplinary lines. Only in the last couple of decades has the scholarship of *kanshi* and *kanbun* begun to be (re-)integrated into the mainstream as far as Japanese literary studies in Japan are concerned.

That the term 韻 *in* never became a popular one within Japanese discourse on traditional Japanese poetic forms is demonstrated in a simple search of *The Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese* (BCCWJ), compiled by the Japanese National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics which contains “a broad selection of published works” chosen “entirely at random” and, in total, comprises some 103.4 million words. The BCCWJ yields only six hits for 押韻 ‘rhyme, rhyming’—none of which pertain to rhyme in Japanese language poetry. One entry concerns the 懷風藻 *Kaifūsō*, a Nara period collection of 漢詩 *kanshi* (which the author notes “can’t be accepted as the national language [i.e. Japanese]”) and another is from a book on Edo Period *kanshi* poets; the remainder pertain to literatures of other regions, namely China and Persia. Terms such as 脚韻 *kyakuin* ‘end-rhyme’ are similarly rare. Even 韻律 *inritsu*, a more general term covering broadly the same semantic scope as the English term ‘prosody’—and more routinely applied in academic literature to Japanese poetry—would appear to be relatively uncommon in reality, yielding only a handful of hits (out of a total of 45) related to Japanese literature. Splitting the collocation 詩歌 *shika* ‘poetry’—embodying the dialectic of 詩 *shi* (*kanshi*, Chinese and, later, other foreign poetry) and 歌 *uta* (*waka*, Japanese verse)—into its constituent elements, it is possible to say scholars overall continue to find more difficulty in associating *in* with 歌 *ka* than they do with 詩 *shi*.

Discussion of 韻 *in* is of course not totally absent. Later scholars have engaged with Kuki’s paper, particularly those aiming to link the *Man’yōshū* and other early poetry to an oral-rhetorical tradition—one notable example being Hisamatsu, as mentioned earlier. Another example is the great scholar of rhetoric, 山口正 Yamaguchi Tadashi, who, drawing on Kuki’s analyses, addressed the question of rhyme in *Man’yō* poetry in his important book 万葉修辭の研究 *Man’yō*

Shūji no Kenkyū (1969). Here the attitude adopted toward the possibility of rhyme is much more positive; “...it [*ōin*, rhyme] can be implemented in parallel within the syllabic metre of Japanese. Moreover, when one considers the great influence exercised over them by the literature of China, that might be termed a country of rhetoric, it is no strain to imagine that people [i.e. Man’yō poets] could have used rhyme without feeling particularly inhibited from doing so”. He also acknowledges the close link between rhyme and parallel arrangement of phrases; “rhymes are arranged in parallel...and one gets the feeling that the charm of sound repetition is being actively contrived” (276). It never gets as far as systemized rhyme along the lines of Chinese poetry though and ultimately, Yamaguchi argues, due to certain “unique characteristics of the national language [Japanese]”, these sorts of structures “should be understood as repetition of identical sounds and phrases [同音・同句の繰り返し *dōon/dōku no kurikaeshi*]” and not as “making rhymes [韻をふむ *in o fumu*]”. Similarly, other work, such as that of 土橋寛 Tsuchihashi Yutaka on *kodaikayō* treats rhyme (though rarely specified as any sort of *in*) in broader discussion of repetitive rhetorical features—demonstrating several interesting rhyme features that are also to be found in the Englishiki Norito. Finally, though it does not directly pertain to Japanese poetry, Konishi’s study of Kūkai’s 文鏡秘府論 *Bunkyo-hifuron* (1951), engages with Hamanari’s discussion of *in* in Old Japanese.

It can be seen, therefore, because of their double association with European and continental East Asian models, terms involving the word *in* remain relatively underprivileged in Japanese discourse on poetry and literature in general. By pointing this out, I do not mean to suggest that 韻 *in* is necessarily the best term to use to describe what this thesis identifies as euphonic structures or rhyme features. In its strictest definition, it is a feature of Chinese verse, that integrates with, and is dependent on other features of Chinese verse that often do not have exact parallels in the Japanese tradition. Furthermore, by using terminologies that naturally place rhyme alongside other forms of repetition, Japanese scholars have emphasized the connections between the two—as this study aims to. However, the virtual exclusion of *in* from mainstream discussion of premodern Japanese poetry has three negative effects: firstly, it effectively excludes Hama-

nari from the debate altogether, helping to feed the conception of him as a maverick whose ideas had little bearing on poetic practice, despite his impact on later scholarship; secondly it contributes to the notion that rhyme might not exist in Japanese poetry at all, or that somehow it works within an entirely different framework in Japan, making comparisons with other poetic traditions more difficult; and, thirdly, it wastes some of the discursive potential of the term in itself, in particular its link to phonology. The immediacy of its connection to phonological characteristics of poetic language—such as it retains in the study of Chinese verse and lexicography—might, if applied sensitively, encourage a more linguistically rigorous approach to the study of sound patterns in Japanese poetry and rhetorical discourse—after all, it was this semantic scope that allowed it to be adopted as a word to translate both ‘rime’ and ‘rhyme’ in the modern period.

In conclusion, therefore, it will be noted that although rhyme was very often tightly enveloped in other discourses, and privileged to different degrees by different authors and at different times, statements ruling out rhyme completely in Japanese (as ‘unfeasible’ etc) are rare in the history of Japanese scholarship. This contrasts starkly with the situation in the English- and other European-language scholarship reviewed above.

End rhyme in modern Japan

A persistent tradition of rhyme in Japanese has continued into the modern period, particularly through popular songs. The rhyme in many cases is interwoven with complex metrical and musical structures that require close analysis in the following paragraphs. While not directly related to the Norito or Old Japanese, these cases demonstrate the feasibility of rhyme in cNJ—a language that, like OJ, has only five vowels.

In the last decade or so, scholars have begun to pay attention to the use of rhyme as a feature of hip-hop lyrics. This feature is given particularly detailed treatment by Tsujimura Natsuko and Stuart Davis in their 2009 book chapter, ‘Dragon Ash and the Reinterpretation of

Hip Hop: On the Notion of Rhyme in Japanese Hip Hop'. In the chapter, the authors argue that rhyme, including end rhyme, is a salient feature of hip-hop in Japan—beginning with the premise that “Traditional Japanese poetry has no notion of rhyme” (180) and noting that early hip-hop, too, “either used word repetition or had very little or no rhyming” (182). Over the course of the last several decades, hip-hop in Japan has “come to adopt a notion of rhyme even though there is no basis for it in traditional Japanese poetry” (ibid). Their analysis depends on linking the emergent rhyme schemes employed in hip-hop with the notion of *mora*—leading to the conclusion that rhyme, as it is understood in this genre in Japan, actually consists of what can be described as “moraic assonance” (192), in other words “combining the traditional notion of *mora* count in Japanese poetry with the notion of assonance (vowel identity) in Western poetry...rhyming units in Japanese Hip Hop lyrics ideally should have an identical number of *moras* and the corresponding moraic elements should agree in quality” (ibid). This provides a useful framework of analysis to take along into the next chapter of this study.

However, there is a major point of concern regarding the contextualization of their analysis; namely that categorizing rhyme as a recent “borrowed” feature (180), they are grossly underestimating the scope and appeal of rhyme in popular song in Japan—even confining discussion to the period since the Meiji restoration. There is no reason to doubt that the notion of *mora* has always been a fundamental one in Japanese poetics—and given their willingness to recognize the “complicated linguistic aspects of cultural appropriation” (ibid) involved in the localization of “global, historically Western rhyming practices” (ibid), it is curious that the authors did not take this a step further and acknowledge other ‘local’ precedents, including the use of rhyme—and particularly end-rhyme, because this appears to be the main focus of their attention—in poetry and popular verse. Indeed, perhaps “moraic assonance” itself has a longer history than their analysis of hip-hop suggests. The next few lines contain examples of rhyme used in genres of song popular in Japan, in the modern period, other than hip-hop.

Firstly, it should be noted that, while certain premodern performance genres like 催馬楽 *saibara* and 朗詠 *rōei* receive a reasonable amount of scholarly attention in conjunction with

poetry, it is not as common for discussion of ‘traditional’ Japanese poetry to include less prestigious, ‘popular’ forms—the various types of medieval and early-modern 俗謡 *zokuyō* ‘folk songs’ (from which Kuki collected a few excellent examples of end-rhyme) and 童謡 *dōyō* ‘children’s songs’ (some of which form part of the above corpora), etc. There is no space in this study to explore these any further; however, repetition of sound seems to have been an important feature within all of them.

In the modern period, the last of these, children’s songs, have been collected and studied, alongside other folk songs, by ethnographers and ethnomusicologists—but they are certainly not generally considered within the context of the traditional poetic canon. In a short article on the subject of children’s songs, Felicia Bock, noted previously as a translator of a large section of the *Engishiki*, cites the following, gathered from a mid-eighteenth century source by Fujisawa Morihiko, with (presumably) her own translation appended:

<i>Abura-ya no kado de</i>	At the oil dealer’s corner
<i>Ame ga futte</i>	It had rained,
<i>Subette</i>	Slipping
<i>Abura issho koboshite</i>	She spilled a shō of oil
<i>Tarō-dono inu to</i>	Mr. Tārō dog and
<i>Jirō-dono inu to</i>	Mr Jirō dog
<i>Neburi-yotte sōrō</i>	Lapping it up grew tipsy

The lines above, extracted from the middle of a longer song, indicate how vocalic assonance at the end of moraically-measured phrases or 句 *ku* can create patternings of text and sound that function like—and when transcribed in horizontal lines of text as above ‘look’—like European end-rhyme. Children’s songs retained end-rhyme as a salient feature into the modern period, as can be seen in the following:

<i>Semba gawa niwa</i>	In the river of Semba
<i>Ebi sa ga otte sa,</i>	Live shrimps
<i>Sore o ryoshi [sic] ga</i>	Which a fisherman catches

*Amina de totte sa,
Nite sa, kutte sa.
Umasa de sassa!*

With a net
Cooks, and eats
How tasty they are!

In examples such as these, the regular line-terminal and internal repetition based on vowel identity (i.e. assonance) is so prominent that it can hardly be dismissed as a triviality, or unintentional. Its regular positioning also means it appears ‘built in’ to the metrical structure—in the manner of “moraic assonance”, briefly discussed above.

As seen above, in the process of deriving this term, Tsujimura and Davis argue that “cultural appropriation”—in many contexts dirty words now—is a complex and multifaceted process that invariably draws on existing trends—and it should not need to be pointed out that this can result from both passive contact between cultures and active policies of incorporation. Around a hundred years before the hip-hop artists Tsujimura and Davies discuss were born, Meiji musicians, studying Japanese and European instruments and theory alongside each other, for example, harmonized the pentatonic 律 *ritsu* and 俗楽 *zokugaku* scales according to rules devised in the context of the scales and modes of Western classical music, to produce a composite framework within which song lyrics could be woven. In fact, this sort of musical interaction produced many complex matrices of combination—which amongst other things produced the 唱歌 *shōka*—songs sung in schools under the pre-war system, and which, alongside the related genre of 校歌 *kōka* ‘school anthems’, survive in certain contexts to the present. In the era of recorded music, the advantage of these and other poems discussed below is that, by listening to the poem as it is sung to music, it is easy to identify where, in the course of the musical performance, rhymes are being co-opted into the overall phrasing of the piece.

Similar combinations of 7,5 or 5,7 metre and Western-inspired (or ‘fusion’) scales and harmonies are to be found in the 軍歌 *gunka* ‘military songs’—a sub-genre of 流行歌 *ryūkōka* ‘popular songs’—popularized during the nineteen thirties and forties by radio broadcasts and by the emerging major record labels, such as Columbia Records (known as 日蓄工業 *Nitchiku Kōgyō* or ニッチク ‘*Nitchiku*’, for short, during the 1940s), 帝国蓄音器 *Teikoku Chikunonki* ‘Imperial

Gramophone’, (familiarily known as テイチク ‘Teichiku’), King (originally 大日本雄辯會講談社 *Dai-Nippon Yūbenkai Kōdansha*) and Victor (日本ビクター). The following lines, for instance, are taken from the first verse of 荒鷲の歌 *Arawashi no Uta*, released during the Second Sino-Japanese War, on Victor, in 1938. The song, which was widely sung by children in the manner of a 唱歌 *shōka* or 童謡 *dōyō*, is set to music in a minor pentatonic mode and with a dotted double meter, typical of Western military marches, as well as some beats with a longer heritage in Japan, like that of the Tokushima 阿波踊り *Awa-odori*, for example.

空の護りは	<i>sora no mamori wa</i>	Duty calls –
引受けた	<i>hikiuketa</i>	He’s off to save our skies,
来るなら来てみろ	<i>kuru nara kite miro</i>	Come on if you think you can,
赤蜻蛉	<i>aka tonbo</i>	Little Dragonfly
ブンブン荒鷲	<i>bunbun arawashi</i>	Hmmm Hmmm Eagle Rampant!
ブンと飛ぶぞ	<i>bun to tobu zo</i>	My, he can fly!

As the lines above demonstrate, rhymes at the ends of phrases help to give shape to the overall sound of the poem—and emphasize the phrasing. It does not stop there, however. The last two phrases *bunbun arawashi* / *bun to tobu zo* act as a sort of 囃 *hayashi*, or refrain. In many places in the verses, phrases are paired in couplets, linked by rhymes that correspond to important points within the phrasing of the music; some of which are not immediately obvious from the lyrics alone. For example, the second verse contains the pair of phrases 南京ぐらゐは / 一またぎ *Nankin gurai wa* / *hitomatagi* ‘Nanking is but a single leap away’. The two phrases are spread across four bars of music, which is phrased as follows in the dotted metre (which is actually closer to swing, or Baroque *notes inégales*). Musical bars are indicated by square brackets, notes of longer duration by bold text and shorter duration by standard text:

[*na-n-ki-n*]₁ [*gu-ra-i-wa*]₂ / [*hi-to-ma-ta*]₃ [*gi - -*]₄

As the final /i/ of *matagi*, occurs in the second bar of the phrase (4), and is lengthened to last for one whole beat—that is to say the equivalent of two morae in the previous bars. It is followed by

a beat's rest before the next bar begins. Since they are both the last longer mora in their respective bars, the affinity of /i/ in *gurai* with the /i/ of *matagi*—which ties them both in to the last bar of the preceeding phrase, which also contains a final /i/. The /i/ of *hito*, by falling on the longer element of the beat immediately following the /i/ of *gurai*, sets up a kind of syncopated rhythm, which seems to have the effect of emphasizing that point in the phrasing. While by no means regular, this sort of pattern is seen throughout. This is presumably related to the phrasing of the *hayashi* that follows—where the focus points in the metre are brought out by alliteration of *bunbun- - -bun*. In this verse, these are emphasized still further by the rhyming of *bu-n-bu-n* with *Na-n-ki-n*—which, as can be seen above, occupy parallel positions in the preceding pair of phrases.

After the war, 歌謡曲 *kayōkyoku*, by this stage a term for popular songs, and particularly the nostalgic genre increasingly associated with the term 演歌 *enka* continued in a similar vein, like *gunka* drawing on elements of traditional scales (e.g. ヨナ抜き音階 *yona-nuki onkai* “missing fourth and seventh scale”—i.e. a form of pentatonic scale) and, in many cases, conforming to the five-seven or seven-five prosody, while maintaining dialogue with other worldwide musical movements, such as jazz and rockabilly. Lyrics were often written by specialist professional lyricists, in the employ of one or other of the major labels noted above.

The following are two rhyming couplets taken from the end of the first two verses of 高校三年生 *Kōkō Sannensei* released by 舟木一夫 *Funaki Kazuo* for Japan Columbia records in 1963:

離れ離れになろうとも	<i>hanarebanare ni narō to mo</i>	even if we go our separate ways
クラス仲間はいつまでも	<i>kurasu nakama wa itsu made mo</i>	classmates are forever
フォークダンスの手をとれば	<i>fōku dansu no te o toreba</i>	when joining hands in folkdance,
甘く匂うよ 黒髪が	<i>amaku niou yo kurokami ga</i>	oh that black hair smells sweet

In the first set the rhyme is ‘identical’—based on an exact repetition of the emphatic topic marker *mo*—and in the second, it depends on a repetition of /a/ in *toreba* and *ga*. As above, the parallel position of vowel affinities in the context of the music, emphasizes those affinities—and the phrasing at the level of the verse.

Likewise, あや色の恋 *Ayairo no koi*—much later (2006) but in the same nostalgic *enka* style—reveals the same use of rhyming couplet phrases at the end of verses. Only the first verse is shown below (but similar rhyming couplets also occur at the end of the subsequent two verses).

あやいろ なないろ 恋のいろ	<i>aya-iro nana-iro koi no iro</i>	patterned colours, seven colours, colours of love
雨はしんしん 泣きぬれて	<i>ame wa shinshin nakinurete</i>	the rain’s silent tears wetting the stillness
あれからいくとせ 過ぎました	<i>arekara ikutose sugimasita</i>	many years passed since then
綺麗に咲いた 恋路の瀬	<i>kirei ni saita koiji no se</i>	chances from the path of love
思い浮かべてしまったの あやいろのひと	<i>omoiukabeshimattano ayairo no hito</i>	have flowered to beauty Then I remembered him the one who patterned the colour

In other genres, too, vocalic assonance was being used, alongside whole word repetition and other rhyme features within a repetitive metrical framework. Folk, and protest songs, composed and performed by individual singer-songwriters rather than the professional lyricists mentioned earlier, are no exception from this. Consider the following from 酒と泪と男と女 *Sake to namida to otoko to onna*, released by then-little-known 河島英五 Kawashima Eigo in 1975/6 :

忘れてしまいたい事や	<i>wasurete shimaitai koto ya</i>	things he’d rather forget
どうしようもない悲しさに	<i>dō shiyō mo nai samishisa ni</i>	loneliness he cannot shake
包まれた時に男は	<i>tsutsumareta toki ni otoko wa</i>	when a man’s wrapped up

The rhyming couplet here depends on the vowel identity /a/ in *tsutsumareta* and /wa/. It is impossible to tell without the music but the mora containing the vowel are distributed in

parallel with each other, within the overall phrasing of the poem as it is fitted to Kawashima's melody. Specifically, *tsu-tsu-ma-re-ta to-ki ni* and *o-to-ko wa* are allocated an equal measure of prosodic length (one bar each) and the morae containing the rhyme are emphasized, both by placement in bar (on the third beat) and by duration (one whole beat—longer than any other) in both instances. Since both bars contain an initial one-beat rest, this means that *tsu-tsu-ma-re-* and *o-to-ko* are both sung in one beat, leading to a triplet-like rhythm in the latter. The whole pattern is repeated in the second verse. In the final verse the rhythm is changed a little—and finished off with another rhyming couplet, as seen below:

おれは男 泣きとおすなんて 出来ないよ	<i>ore wa otoko nakitōsu nante dekinai yo</i>	I am a man. I can't just cry it away.
おれは男 泪 見せられないもの	<i>ore wa otoko namida miserarenai mono</i>	I am a man. I can't show show them my tears.

Unsurprisingly, the use of rhyme has continued as a feature of the popular music of the last few decades—that has come to be known as J-Pop. For example, the major 1993 hit *I love you* (尾崎豊 Ozaki Yutaka) contains a number of rhyming couplets similar to those seen in earlier songs, above. The phrases below are sung in parallel. They occupy the same prosodic duration in the song and are sung to the same melodic phrase, which is repeated.

ひとつに重なり 生きてゆく恋を 夢みて傷つくだけの 二人だよ	<i>hitotsu ni kasanari ikite yuku koi o yume mite kizu tuku dake no futari da yo</i>	the two dreaming of a love that layers our lives as one but only get hurt
---	--	--

The climax of the chorus comes at another rhyming couplet (repeated after both verses, and once more at the close of the song), given below:

悲しい歌に	<i>ka-na-shi u-ta ni</i>	to a sad song
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This time the rhyme depends on the affinity of two sets of consecutive vowels /a/ and /i/ - what Kuki described as ‘extended simple / masculine rhyme’ (拡充単純韻 *kakujū tanjun’in*). The first rhyme element is heavily emphasized by its placing within the phrasing of the music. Both morae fall on the first beat of the bar (marked in bold), preceded by a single-mora anacrusis, and are sung to last for two beats each—making them considerably longer than any of the other morae. The second rhyme element, involving /i/ is far shorter, helping to round off the phrasing—which including the anacrusis, produces two parallel musical phrases in the following shape: < > < > Interestingly, this double-rhyme phrasing is maintained in an English translation of the song, used in Debbie Gibson’s cover for Sony Music Japan.

that *our love* won’t *scar from*

In standard US English the rhyme domains are clear (as seen in the phonemic transcription below):

1. /ɑ:r/ /lʌv/
2. /skɑ:r/ /frʌm/

A final interesting example is to be found in Okinawan pop hit 涙そうそう *Nada-sōsō*. Once again, we find parallel rhyming couplets that occur towards the end of each verse. In this case, the pairs also contain sound affinities that depend on acoustic sets, rhyming units composed of a mixture of vowel and consonant phonemes (discussed again in the next chapter): —*ag*— in the first verse and —*it*— in the second. In conjunction with the adjacent end-rhyme (vocalic assonance), these produce a sophisticated parallel vocalism.

おもかげ / 探して	<i>omokage sagasite</i>	searching for traces
見えたら / きっといつか	<i>mietara kitto itsuka</i>	if [I] can be seen, then surely one day

And in the third verse the rhyme is replaced by the repetition of a whole word “*aitakute*”.

会いたくて 会いたくて	<i>aitakute aitaute</i>	missing you missing you
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These modern examples are clearly very distant, linguistically and culturally, from the corpus of literature on which this study is focussed. Diachronic analyses always risk encouraging unwarranted parallels between fundamentally different material and it is certainly not my intention to argue that because rhyme is a feature of J-Pop it must be present in the Norito. The point here is, rather, to highlight the feasibility—indeed the pervasiveness—of rhyme in Japanese, through a persistent tradition that extends to the present day. Furthermore the degree of integration between rhyme and music in the popular songs discussed above discourage the interpretation that using sound affinities to bolster other metrical features is something new, or in any way simply ‘borrowed’ from Western European or American popular music. At the very least, it most certainly predates hip-hop—and it is my view that this it is far too widespread to be considered “experimental”. If rhyme of any kind did not sound pleasant to Japanese listeners, lyricists would not use it again and again to phrase their work—and phrase is the operative word here since, though the ways in which rhyme integrates with metre in Japanese clearly differ from the strict patterns used formerly in English it is clear that instances of sound affinities are neither accidental nor entirely independent of metre. Tsujimura and Davies proposed the notion of moraic assonance as a “means internal that allows for the adoption of the foreign notion of rhyme” (192). Parallel phrases of similar or equal prosodic lengths containing rhyme, that conform to this notion, have been found in many of the songs investigated above—which would tend to suggest that moraic assonance was already a feature of Japanese. And the various patterns with which lyricists have been able to mould their language to music and metre would equally tend to suggest that this supposedly latent feature was more complex and better developed in Japanese than many authors allege.

Of course, none of the above proves that this was the way it worked in the Norito, or in the eighth century in general—but it does go some way to challenge the notion that rhyme is unfeasible in Japanese poetry because of the phonology of Japanese language. Furthermore, it underscores an important point. Various sorts of sound affinity in the songs quoted above are co-opted into metrical structures. Since this is the case—it is very difficult to argue, even in the

strictest European sense, that they do not ‘rhyme’—since, after all, what is end-rhyme if not merely the combination of phonemic parallelism with a metrical one?

If nothing else, the modern examples of rhyme cited above make us think about the connection between rhyme, metre and rhetoric. Rhyme and other euphonic features—like the broader rhetorical structures discussed in the previous chapter—are working hand in hand, and on a number of different levels of repetition. Phrases can be repeated, words can be repeated, phrases can contain repeated words, words can contain repeated sounds and sounds can be repeated between words. Leech warned his readers that rhyme should not “be defined with reference to words” (92). Subtler advice would be that one cannot always define it in that way. The Old Japanese corpus will continue to demonstrate this in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Rhyme in the Engishiki Norito and other OJ texts

Vocalic assonance

If rhyme is to be thought of as a system of juxtaposed phonological concordances, considered or otherwise, then vocalic rhyme, known also as vocalic assonance, clearly concerns the juxtaposition of vowels (or sets of vowels) of identical or similar identity. First and foremost, then, it is necessary in this section to give thorough consideration to the patterning of OJ vowels in text, paying close attention to what historical linguistics can teach us about the quality of those vowels and their interaction. The distinction between 甲 *kō* and 乙 *otsu* (Type A and B) syllable types, introduced in the introductory chapter of this work is in many respects the most distinctive feature of OJ phonology – and certainly one of the most discussed.¹ The nature of the sound values represented in this orthographic distinction was subject to much speculation in the early years after its discovery—including theories to the effect that the distinction reflected a richer vowel inventory than found in later forms of the Japanese language. Since, in current interpretations, these distinctions are understood, rather, to relate to “sequential diphthongs, i.e...the presence of a palatal or labial glide, /y/ or /w/, in one or the other member of the syllable pairs” (Frellesvig 32), syllables of opposing types can be said to ‘rhyme’ with each other, in the

¹Since their (re-)discovery in 1909 by Hashimoto Shinkichi (see: Frellesvig, 28-9), interpretation of the syllable types has been a prominent feature of many major studies of OJ; Lange (1973), Ohno (1980), Martin (1987), Miyake (2003) and Frellesvig (2009), to name a few recent examples.

sense that they share a common nucleic vowel (rime). For example, in the following construction, composed of the OJ highly honorific prefix *opomi* (< *opo* + *mi*, two honorific prefixes) and *mwi* ‘body’, *mwi* maybe considered to rhyme with the preceding *mi*, yielding an internal rhyme structure AABB.

大御身
o-po-mi-mwi
 ‘august body’
 (SM₄₁, 59)

The distribution of OJ Vowels

A generalized distribution of OJ vowels is a necessary tool for any serious consideration of rhyme in the language. As noted above, the phonemic vowel system of OJ has been the subject of decades of research in historical linguistics—and the prevailing theory that has emerged from this is that, as today, five vowels existed in eighth-century Japanese: / i, e, a, o, u/ (Frellesvig 32). Counting the vowels attested in the phonographic poetry of the MYS and *Kikikayō*, Martin was able to produce a generalized distribution, reproduced below (Fig. 9.1):

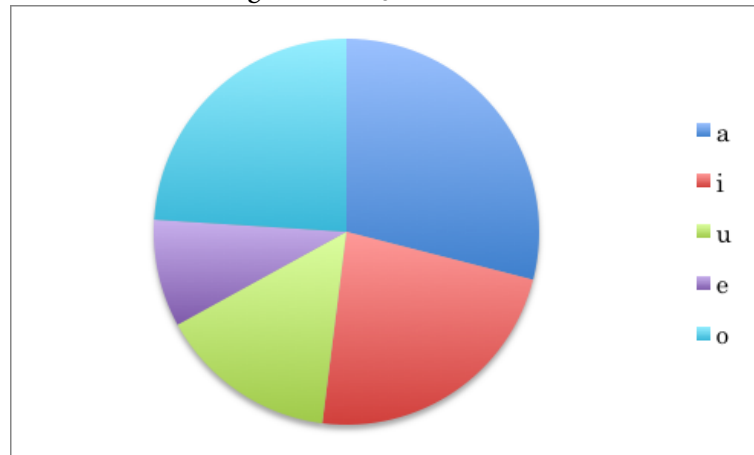
Figure 9.1: Generalized OJ Vowel Distribution

.23 <i>i</i>	<i>u</i> .15
.09 <i>e</i>	<i>o</i> .24
<i>a</i> .29	

In graphic form this yields the following:

These are very important data to introduce at this point as they mean it is not fair to say that because a particular vowel occurs with greater frequency than another in a particular selection from the Norito, or MYS poem, that this necessarily is indicative of assonance. If the above distribution reflects that of the Old Japanese language as a whole, it can easily be seen that, even if syllables were arranged together randomly within the parameters imposed by the lexis—or put

Figure 9.2: OJ Vowel Distr.



another way, if a string of OJ words were put together without any conscious effort to create assonant structures on the part of the speaker or composer—the frequency of vowels can never be expected to be uniform.

Of course, a good argument can be made that because these data are taken from the phonographic corpus only—and rightly so, since to generalize to this extent requires a degree of confidence in the intended shape of words that is not available across the whole of the OJ corpus—this might not perfectly reflect the distribution of vowel sounds in everyday speech. Words selected for inclusion in poetic phrases might have been selected on different grounds from words selected for use in everyday utterances. Since, sadly, we have very few data on the latter—save that which can be pieced together from the *mokkan* record—this can neither be convincingly affirmed nor denied. The view adopted in this chapter is that, firstly, the phonographic corpus is sufficiently large for it to reflect the phonology of the overall lexis, even if there is a degree of skew in the data-set due to its being poetry and, secondly – in accordance with the overall ethos of this thesis – that speech and poetry feed into each other anyway. Just because the phonology of OJ naturally causes a lot of rhyme, there is no reason to assume that this feature did not influence the compositional process in any way.

Arisaka's Law

In addition to the overall complement of vowels shown above, another consideration must be borne in mind regarding vocalic assonance in Old Japanese; this is Arisaka's Law. As is commonly known, Arisaka's Law is a "restriction on the shape of OJ root morphemes" made by mid-twentieth century Japanese linguist Arisaka Hideyo (Frellesvig 44). Expressed in the transcription system used throughout this study, this restriction can be summarized as follows: /Co/ occurs only very infrequently in the same two-syllable root morpheme as /Ca/ /Cwo/ and /Cu/ (ibid; Frellesvig & Whitman, 40).

Quickly these restrictions were heralded as the vestiges of a once-active vowel harmony (Shibatani 138-9)—the process of long-distance assimilation whereby vowels assume features (backness, roundness etc.) of other vowels occurring near to them, but separated by at least one, usually consonantal, segment – which, in some languages, causes the emergence of complementary sets of suffix declensions. Such claims were hotly contested by some linguists, who highlighted the differences between the restriction seen by Arisaka and 'true vowel harmony', found in a number of languages in continental Asia—for example, that Arisaka's Law applies only to root morphemes and does not operate between adjacent, or even distant, morphemes, as vowel harmony does in some languages (Shibatani 139). The finer points of this debate pertain more to the nature of vowel harmony than they do to OJ and so shall be omitted here. Suffice it to say that, in the absence of solid evidence in the form of attestation of stages of the Japanese language predating OJ, early Japanese vowel harmony is likely to remain a theory—albeit, in light of the seven-vowel hypothesis for pre-OJ, shown by Frellesvig and Whitman to support the vowel-harmonic origins of Arisaka's Law (Frellesvig & Whitman 40-41), one that is likely to continue to attract support, in some quarters, for the foreseeable future.

Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that Arisaka's co-occurrence restrictions are a salient feature of OJ phonology and germane to a discussion of rhyme. This is because certain sounds do not—or, at least, are vastly less likely to—occur together in the same word stems. It seems reasonable to assume that OJ speakers responsible for the composition of the corpus made

use of this in their poetry somehow, consciously or otherwise. This argument is a circular one since all of the data on which Arisaka's Law is based—like Martin's distribution—derive from a corpus of *phonographically written verse* and not dictations of ordinary speech. If, however, one assumes, as linguists have done, that the distribution of vowel sounds in these verses reflects that of OJ more broadly, it may be concluded that a proportion of the words and word formants available to the composers of the Norito and other elements of the OJ corpus had some degree of natural assonance—specifically, with respect to Arisaka's Law, those containing the vowel *o*.

Since this is the case, it is also clear that, when examining assonance or vocalic rhyme in the Norito or OJ poetry, the smaller the unit investigated (poetic line etc.) the more it tends toward the size of a root morpheme and, therefore, the greater the statistical proportion of that unit occupied by the assonance, in the event that it is present. OJ poetic lines are short, rarely exceeding seven syllable lengths; therefore, it should be expected that any naturally-occurring assonance, related to Arisaka's Law will have a relatively significant effect on the overall assonance of the line. A single example, taken from a song recorded in the *Kojiki*, is sufficient to illustrate this:

袁登賣能
登許能辨爾
wotomye no
toko no bye ni
at the girl's
bedding-place

(From KK.33)

In the above selection, Arisaka's law applies to the roots *toko* and *woto*. In poetic lines, or phrases, of just 4 and 5 morae in duration the vowel sounds in the two roots account for 40-50% of the total number of vowel sounds in the selection. Due to the aforementioned vowel co-occurrence restrictions, these stems are *statistically more likely to contain a repetition of the same vowel, /o/*. The impressiveness of the effect of such stems within short metrical utterances could very well have been a trigger for more widespread use of assonance in poetry. In this example, as elsewhere, the assonance is contained within a broader rhyme structure that interlocks with

the metre: there is a partial vowel parallelism (*Co-Co-(Co)-Cye*), finished off with a consonantal assonance (*no / ni*).

Vocalic assonance in the OJ Corpus

Vocalic assonance, (deliberate) repetition identical of similar vowel sounds, in OJ is a feature that has been acknowledged here and there in the literature to date (Hisamatsu *passim*, Yamaguchi 1984), although only rarely with any reference to OJ phonology (Jakobson and Miller being two exceptions)—or to the details of how patterns of rhyme are actually put together². The next few paragraphs introduce a few examples to illustrate the nature of vocalic assonance in Old Japanese. Although this study focusses primarily on the Norito, lineation is more transparent in the poetic corpus and so this is the most convenient place to start. The mixed-script element of the MYS corpus is seldom discussed in linguistic studies of OJ phonology, because the accuracy of the sounds it preserved is dependent on a reading tradition that is sometimes equivocal, or based on interpretations and commentaries of the text sullied by the interpolation of later stages of the Japanese language. However, like the Norito, mixed-script MYS texts encode the sound of the OJ language and certainly warrant inclusion in any discussion of rhetoric and rhyme in the OJ tradition. Through comparison with an example carefully selected from this mixed-script corpus, it will become clear that, as in other respects, there are parallels to be drawn between the features of rhyme in the Norito and elsewhere in the OJ corpus.

Mixed-script *Man'yōshū* Corpus

The first example is a well-known *chōka* by Hitomaro from Book 1 of the *Man'yōshū* (MYS 1.29) about a visit to the site of the (already-ruined) 近江 Apumi³ Palace site that recounts the story of the Tenchi Emperor's move there from the Yamato plain, across the intervening hills to the

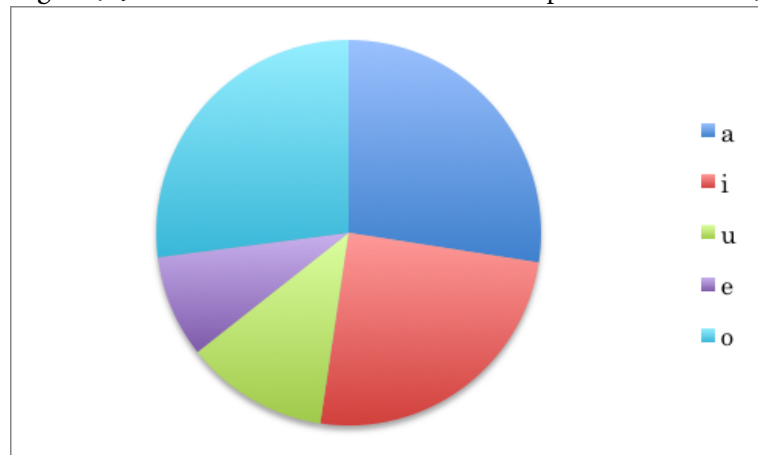
²In this case, aside from discussion in Jakobson and Miller, noted above, probably the most detailed analysis is to be found in a little-known PhD thesis entitled *A Structural Analysis of Eleven Long Poems in the Manyōshū*, Chu, H.S., 1975.

³Ōmi; present day Shiga Prefecture.

shores of Lake Biwa. As a first step, each vowel was counted and the proportion of the total number of vowels it represents calculated. This is expressed graphically in Fig. 9.3.

It is clear that the vowel distribution shown above closely resembles the distribution of vowels found by Martin across the whole of the phonographically-attested corpus of OJ, seen above in Figs. 9.1 and 9.2. This is interesting in itself as it would tend to support the accuracy of the traditional ‘readings’ of logographically-written words (which are, as noted in earlier chapters, the product of centuries of scholarship) with regard to OJ phonology. This is further grounds to be hopeful about obtaining meaningful conclusions about sound and rhetoric from logographic data sources. To obtain meaningful conclusions about vocalic assonance, however, it is necessary to look more closely at how the general distribution of OJ vowels is shared out through the body of the poem.

Figure 9.3: Vowel Distribution in mixed-script *chōka*, MYS1.29



For a finer-grained analysis, therefore, a selection of ten lines from the poem is discussed below. The lines have been numbered 1-10 for clarity in analysis. Since it is an excerpt from the middle of the poem, the numbers do not represent the actual position of the lines in the work as a whole.⁴ Since the selection is taken from a mixed-script poem, there are a number of readings that are supplied by tradition but none in this case to cause any great equivocation. The reading *ame no sita* in Line 1 is a very common phrase, attested phonographically elsewhere

⁴Counting from the first line of the poem, they correspond to ll.9-18.

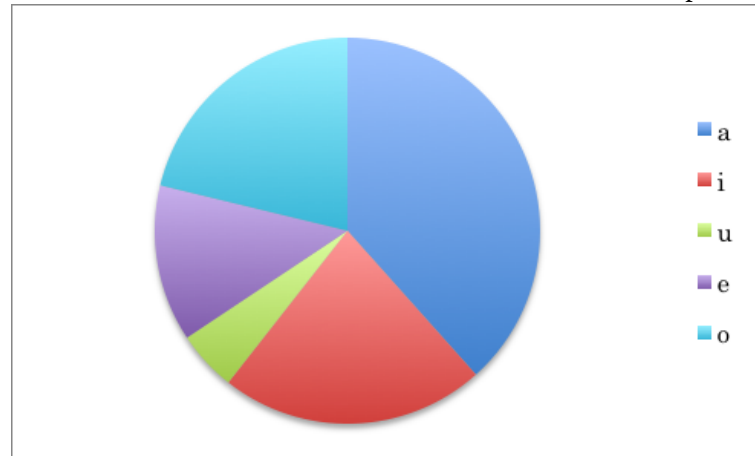
and it is a near certainty that it is what is meant by 天下 here. Line 7 *ikasama ni* is equally straightforward. In the extant OJ corpus, nine out of ten attestations of 何方 are found adjacent to some incarnation of the verb 念 *omop-*, and in all of these cases, the characters are understood to write the word *ikasama*. In six out of these nine cases, the word is followed by phonograph 尔 *ni*, making the presence of the *ni* unequivocal. In the remaining three cases, including this one, where this phonograph is not present, the majority precedent, together with grammatical and metrical considerations makes it clear that *ikasama ni* was intended. The selection is, thus, as follows:

1	天下	<i>ame no sita</i>	where he had ruled gloriously
2	所知 食来	<i>sira-si-myesi-kyeru</i>	all under heaven –
3	虚見	<i>swora-mitu</i>	sky-full
4	倭乎置	<i>yamato wo oki</i>	Yamato left behind,
5	青丹吉	<i>awoni yo-si</i>	crossing the Nara mountains
6	平山越而	<i>narayama kwoyete</i>	of blue-sheened earth
7	何方	<i>ikasama-ni</i>	we know not
8	所念計米可	<i>omoposi-kye-me ka</i>	his great thoughts wherefore,
9	天離	<i>ama-zakaru</i>	a heaven-distant
10	夷者雖有	<i>pina ni pa aredo</i>	frontier-place though it be...

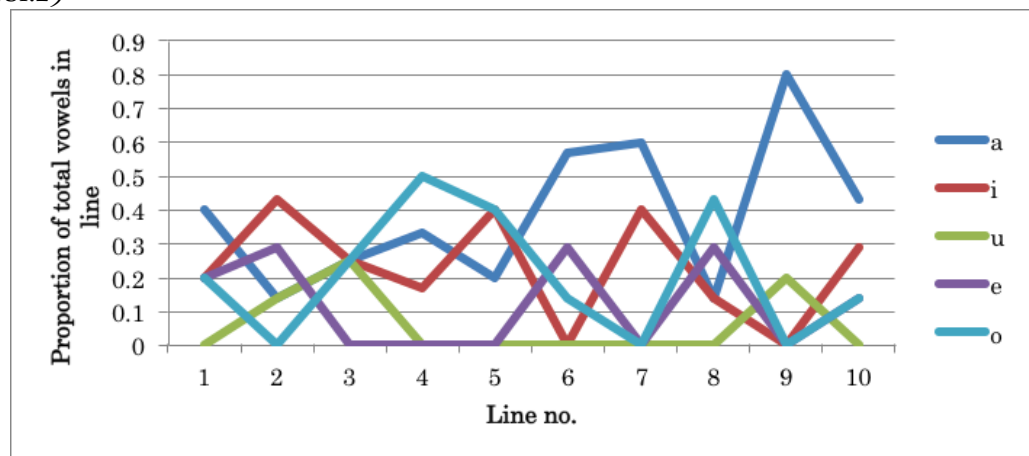
(From mixed-script *chōka*, MYS1.29)

Counting the number of each vowel here and displaying these as a percentage of the total number of vowels / syllables in the selection yields a distribution (Fig. 9.4) which is visibly different from the distributions for both the phonographically-attested corpus and poem as a whole (Figs. 9.2 & 9.3)—which, as noted earlier, are very close in appearance.

Just by looking at Fig. 9.4, it is clear that *a* is over-represented and *u* under-represented in this selection relative to the two distributions seen earlier. Since it is known from Fig. 9.3 that this bias is corrected by the remainder of the poem (i.e. if the proportion of *a* is higher in this selection, it must be lower in the remainder), this might be thought of as the first clear indication that some sort of assonance is present. Within the selection itself, a cursory glance at the text is sufficient to perceive that vowels are not evenly distributed through the words and lines of the poem. Another graphic representation (Fig. 9.5), this time plotting line number against the

Figure 9.4: Vowel Distribution in ten-line selection from mixed-script *chōka*, MYS1.29

proportion of the total vowels in each line made up by each vowel type makes this unevenness still plainer and facilitates a more nuanced discussion of its features.

Figure 9.5: Line by line distribution of vowels in ten-line selection from mixed-script *chōka*, MYS1.29

This graph makes it immediately clear that there are a number of lines within the selection within which a particular vowel occupies a substantially higher proportion of the total number of vowels than others (l. 9 being the most dramatic). There are also lines in which several vowels are found in more-or-less even numbers (ll. 3 and 5, for example). Given the conditions of Arisaka's Law, there is statistically less chance of /o/ appearing in a line with /a/, /wo/ and /u/ – which, along with the short line length, might begin to explain why o values are frequently

low at a-peaks and vice versa (u is relatively underpresented here but o is still absent from two out of the three lines in which it is present). However, there would appear to be more going on here. The peaks and troughs seen here reveal a tendency for lines to be dominated by one, or two, most frequently occurring vowels. A single vowel category accounts for $\geq 50\%$ of all the vowels in the line, in four out of the ten lines. The first and second most frequent vowel in any given line, when added together, account for $\geq 70\%$ of all the vowels in that line, in eight out of the ten lines. Across the ten-line selection, the relative spread of percentages is highest for the vowels, u e and o.⁵ By the same measure, the other two vowels, a and i are relatively more evenly spread across the lines, although with some notable outlying points of assonance (e.g. l 9 for a). It is also worth noting that, viewing the poem as a whole, the spread becomes more pronounced for a, e and o.⁶ To make firm claims about this more data is required since, for instance, the spread of u in the case of the ten-line selection above is accounted for by just three isolated appearances of the vowel – which is difficult to interpret in the context of assonance beyond the simple proposal that its relative underrepresentation might result from a linguistic, or artistic, requirement to include more of another vowel than usual in this passage.

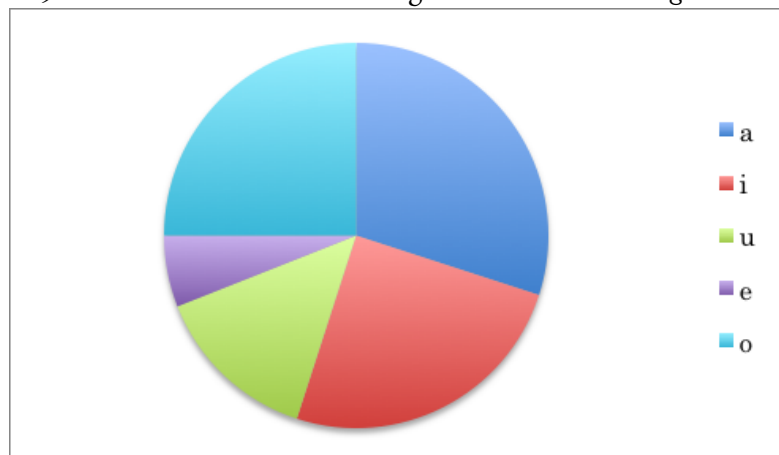
The Norito corpus

The vowel distribution of many elements of the Norito corpus closely resembles that seen above in the poetic corpus. Below is a graphic representation of the distribution of vowels in a substantial selection of text from the section of the *Toshigoi no Matsuri* pertaining to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu (Fig. 9.6). Its striking similarity to the distributions for the whole phonographic corpus and the mixed-script MYS poem analyzed above (Figs. 2 & 3, respectively) will be immediately apparent.

It was already noted that Miller's generalized distribution in Figs. 9.1 and 9.2 was derived

⁵This conclusion has been reached by calculating the Coefficient of Variation, CV (also known as relative standard deviation) for each vowel. This statistic is the standard deviation (SD) expressed as a proportion of the mean and is computed, simply, by dividing the former by the latter. It is included in the tables of descriptive statistics included in Appendix 2.

⁶Descriptive statistical data for the whole poem is given, for purposes of comparison, in Appendix 3.

Figure 9.6: Vowel Distribution in long selection from *Toshigoi no Matsuri*

from an entirely poetic corpus and that, therefore, it might not perfectly reflect the distribution of vowel sounds in colloquial OJ. Nevertheless, it is surely significant that the distribution produced from this selection of the Norito is so strikingly similar. It is not a random sample—but it does not have to be. Discovering that any Norito or part of it is this close to the phonographic poetic corpus in its vowel distribution supports the thesis that the Norito and the poetic corpus share sufficient commonalities to justify comparison between the two—even if those commonalities mostly depend on the two sets of texts encoding a single language. Of course, for the very reason that the vowel distribution of this longer selection so closely resembles those seen above from the poetic corpus, it tells us little, on its own, about the presence, or lack, of assonance in this selection of text. Once again, a finer-grained analysis is required to yield any conclusions concerning vocalic assonance in the Norito. Although it contains a number of phrases of syllable lengths close to the 五七調・七五調 *go-shichi-chō/shichi-go-chō* ‘5-7, 7-5 metre’, this particular selection also includes a number of longer phrases (of, for example, 7+3) and, as such, it is difficult to make a fair line-by-line comparison with poetic examples using this selection of text.

Another selection,⁷ from *Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri* (abbr. *Tatsuta*), while not

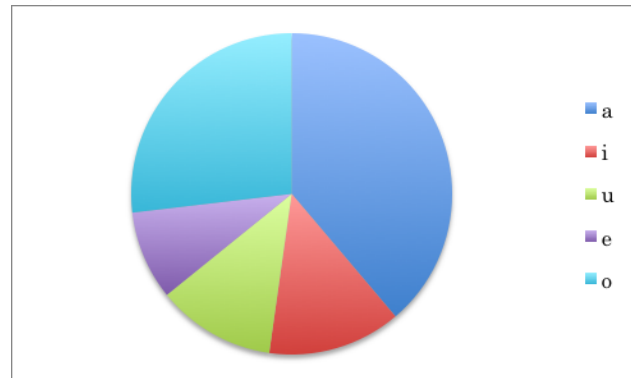
⁷The selection is not of exactly the same number of syllables as the previous example. It does not need to be; assonance can be concentrated in sections of text of varying lengths. For ease of analysis, however, I have selected portions roughly comparable in length.

uniform *go-shichi-chō*, is easier to compare with the *chōka* example discussed above:

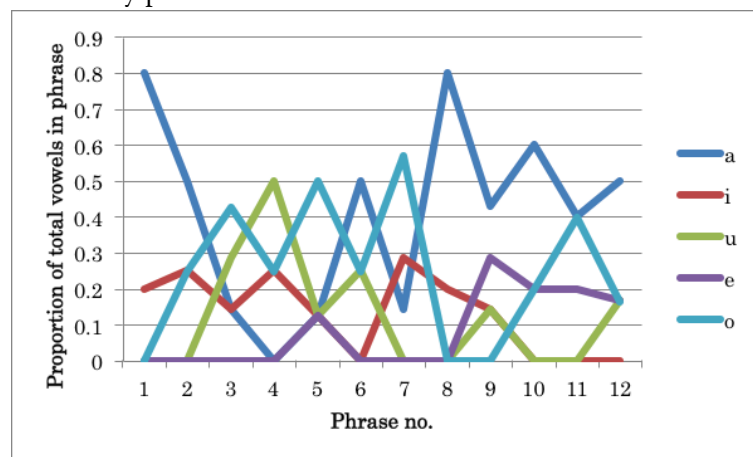
1	吾宮者	<i>wa ga miya pa</i>	if our august house
2	朝日乃	<i>asapi no</i>	be set at where morning sun
3	日向處	<i>pimukapu tokoro,</i>	sun-faces
4	夕日乃	<i>yupupi no</i>	where evening sun
5	日隱處乃	<i>pikageru tokoro no</i>	sun-shines
6	龍田能	<i>tatuta no</i>	at little-field (<i>wonwo</i>) in Tatinwo
7	立野乃小野爾	<i>tatinwo no wonwo ni</i>	at Tatuta—
8	吾宮波	<i>wa ga miya pa</i>	if you will set our
9	定奉弓	<i>sadamematurite</i>	august house there
10	吾前乎	<i>wa ga mapye wo</i>	and before us
11	称辞	<i>tatapegoto</i>	fulfill our
12	竟奉者	<i>wopematuraba</i>	words of praise

(From *Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri*)

As in the poem, there is some morphology supplied only by reading tradition and not transparently recorded in the written text—namely the genitive case particle *ga* in phrases 8 and 10. These particles are fairly unambiguous since, as is well-known, the personal pronouns in OJ take *ga*; indeed this was one of major constituent-marking roles of the particle, which was more limited in the scope of its usage than its counterpart *no* (Frellesvig 128). As common elsewhere in the Norito, the majority of words are written logographically, with only particles and small elements of verbal morphology spelled out phonographically. The toponym 龍田 *Tatuta* (cNJ: *Tatsuta*) is well known from the MYS and Norito-specific terms like 称辞章 *tatapegoto* have been convincingly established based on usages in the Jingirei and other sources (Kaneko 83-92). The parallel terms 日向 *pimukapu* and 日隱 *pikageru* in Phrases 3 and 5 are unique to this Norito but, again, partial evidence to support these readings is available in other sources – such as the toponym 日向 *Pimuka* (cNJ: *Hyūga*) attested phonographically in NSK 103, in the phrase 譬武伽能古摩 *Pimuka no Koma* ‘a horse of Pimuka’. Thus, overall there is little substantial cause to doubt the readings and, by extension, the vowel values predicted by the critical text in use. As before, by counting each vowel and expressing these as a proportion of the total number of vowels in the selection, it is possible to produce an overall vowel distribution, yielding the following:

Figure 9.7: Vowel Distribution in shorter selection from *Tatsuta*

Likewise, a phrase-by-phrase breakdown can be plotted, as seen in Fig. 9.8.

Figure 9.8: Phrase by phrase distribution of vowels in shorter selection from *Tatsuta*

Like the one seen above for the Hitomaro poem (Fig. 9.5), this graph shows a number of phrases within the selection within which a single vowel occupies a substantially higher proportion of the total number of vowels than others (Phrases 1 and 8 being the most noticeable). There are no phrases in which all vowels are found in equal quantity. More so even than in the poem examined earlier, there is a tendency for lines to be dominated by one, or two, most frequently occurring vowels. A single vowel category accounts for $\geq 50\%$ of all the vowels in the phrase, in nine out of the twelve phrases. The first and second most frequent vowel in any phrase (or one out of the group in the case of a tie for second place), when added together, account for $\geq 70\%$ of all the vowels in that phrase, in ten out of the twelve phrases.

Vowel parallelism

The previous section has shown that vocalic assonance is a feature of OJ verse. A certain proportion of this assonance can be put down to chance and another proportion is certainly related to Arisaka's Law; although this natural tendency within the language may very well have also been a starting point for intentionally structured patterns of vowel repetition. Such patterns are perhaps at their most visible in the cases of vowel parallelism that occur frequently throughout the OJ poetic corpus and the Norito. This was alluded to briefly during the discussion of inorganic paronomasia in Chapter 6. Vowel parallelism refers to a parallel structure, within a verse or passage, in which vowels are repeated (or varied) in a regular way, usually in combination with the mora-counting metre—in a similar way to rhyme structures seen in later poetry, discussed in Chapter 8. The following paragraphs divide vowel parallelism into two parts for discussion, according to whether the juxtaposition of identical or contrasting vowel sets is the more salient feature of the parallelism.

Parallel vowel repetition

Regular repetition of vowels between metrical lines is a feature of OJ poetry but not one that has ever attracted the level of attention it deserves. A number of scholars, including Kuki Shūzō (discussed in the previous chapter) and Yamaguchi Tadashi (万葉修辞の研究 *Man'yō Shūji no Kenkyū*, 276) have demonstrated that parallel repetition of vowel sounds between lines occurs in OJ verse, sometimes at the end of the line, in the manner of rhyming in other poetic traditions. Kuki argued that multiple rhymes are more effective than single rhymes in Japanese at creating an acoustic effect because of the high ratio of vowels within words—and frequent unintentional co-occurrence of vowels (*passim*). He stops short, however, of paying attention specifically to longer parallelisms, where strings of identical vowels are repeated in order between adjacent lines (*ibid*). Some of these longer vowel parallelisms, were noted by Chu in the “rhyme” sections of his analysis, (*passim*) but not given specific comment. To my knowledge, the feature has never been addressed in studies of Norito to date.

One example of this sort of parallelism was seen above (and is reproduced below, for clarity):

袁登賣能
登許能辨爾
wotomye no
toko no bye ni
at the girl's
bedding-place

(From KK.33)

Many such structures are to be found throughout the whole of the poetic OJ corpus. The following is an example from the 常陸国風土記 *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki*:

夜蘇志麻加久理
和乎弥佐婆志理之
ya-swo-sima-kakuri
wa wo mi-saba siri-si

(From FK.8)

Here there is a parallel assonance between the two lines that lasts for five consecutive morae (including an 'extended single rhyme'⁸ depending on the similarity of /wo/ and the glide-containing *kō-rui* syllable /Cwo/,) a chiasmus (*sima...misa*), and an end-rhyme. The statistical likelihood of such a highly developed parallelism occurring by accident is infinitesimally small.

Unsurprisingly, similar structures occur in the Norito. A good example from the Norito corpus was introduced already in the previous chapter:

大津邊[爾居]大船
opo tu pye ni wiru opo-pune
the great ship at the place of the great harbour
(*Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae*)

Sometimes the parallelism can be embedded in longer structures, as in the following example (the parallel vowels have been underlined here for clarity):

⁸ 拡充單純韻 *kakujū tanjun'in*, see Rabinovitch, 495

山野爾住物者

毛能和物

毛能荒物

青海腹爾住物者

鰭乃広物

鰭狭物

yamanwo ni sumu mono pa

ke no niko mono

ke no ara mono

awomi no para ni sumu mono pa

pata no piro mono

pata no sa mono

of the things living on the hill-plain,

things soft of fur

things rough of fur,

of the things living on the blue-sea plain,

things broad of fin

things thin of fin

(From *Michiae no Matsuri*)

Contrastive vowel parallelism

Even less widely recognized than the above is the type of parallelism in which two or more identical (rhyming) vowels are ‘swapped’ for a different, similarly identical, set within an otherwise unvaried parallel structure. Since the contrast of vowels is the most prominent feature of this type of parallelism, it may tentatively be given the name ‘contrastive vowel parallelism’. It seems to be particularly common in some of the parallel structures repeated throughout the Norito corpus, but is a feature found throughout the OJ corpus.

Here is an extract from an example cited above (p.203), which contains a double contrastive vowel parallelism of the shape *a-a; u-u*. It is taken from *Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri*:

日乃日向處

夕日乃日隱處

asa-pi no pimukapu tokoro

yupu-pi no pikageru tokoro

where morning sun sun-faces
 where evening sun sun-shines

In examples of vowel parallelism where the varied vowels occur in short two-morae stems, such as the above, the potential involvement of Arisaka's Law, and any other co-occurrence restrictions that may have existed during the prehistory of the language, in the development of this sort of rhetorical structure can more easily be identified. Since two-morae stems containing a repetition of the same (or, by some as yet uncertain measure, related) vowel sounds were common in OJ (and perhaps more common in earlier stages of the language), it is easy to see how these could be fitted into contrasting pairs, as in the following examples:

長御食能
 遠御食止
naga-mike no
topo-mike to
 Eternal food [for the Sovereign] that is
 Longlasting food [for the Sovereign]
 (Various Norito)

和妙
 荒妙
nigitape
aratape
 smooth baken stuff
 course baken stuff
 (Various Norito)⁹

大稻
 荒稻
nigisine
arasine
 smooth grain
 rough grain
 (From *Hirose*, etc.)

⁹For more discussion of the meaning of these terms, see: Fujimori, K. 'Kamisono Matsuri to Ō-nie no Matsuri no nigitae; aratae', *Engishiki Kenkyūkai* 30 (2015).

The following containing a three-mora length contrastive vowel parallelism (*i-i-i, a-a-a*) is taken from a song recorded in the *Nihonshoki*:

伊比志柁俱弥播夜
 阿柁羅陀俱弥播夜
ipi-si takumi pa ya
atara takumi pa ya
 the carpenter who said[...]
 the poor carpenter!

(From NSK.78)

Interestingly, the same sort of contrast is to be found in the poetry of other languages which have regular restrictions of vowel co-occurrence; such as is the case with pure vowel harmony. For example, as Peter Michalove notes in a paper entitled, ‘Vowel Harmony Contrast as a Poetic Device in “The Secret History of the Mongols”’,¹⁰ “...vocalic contrast may be used to underscore the semantic parallelism well-known as a feature of Mongolian poetry” (104). The following example, reproduced from the same paper, demonstrates how complementary vocalizations reinforce such semantic (and syntactic) parallelisms in classical Mongolian verse:

<i>nidün-tür-iyen qaltu</i>	Who has fire in his eyes,
<i>ni’ur-tur-iyen geretü</i>	Who has light in his face
	(ibid)

As noted in the previous chapter, in other contexts within the history of Japanese verse, regular patterns of rhyme have been combined with the mora-counting metre to produce robust acoustic structures—which coincides with the general observation made throughout this study that different layers of rhetoric are frequently meshed together in complex mutually-supportive networks. There can be little doubt that any residual restriction on vowel co-occurrence that may have existed in OJ would have been noticed, and used to the same end, by the skilled linguistic craftspeople responsible for the creation of the corpus of OJ poetry and the Norito.

¹⁰ *Central Asiatic Journal*, 50:1 (2006), pp. 101-107

Allophonic Variation

The above analyses of vocalic assonance in OJ work at a phonemic level. At the risk of stating the obvious, however, it is clear that the real acoustic environment in which the OJ corpus came into being—in other words, the OJ language as it was pronounced; at the level of phonetic realization—was more diverse than this phonemic ‘guide’ would suggest. Putting aside the question of dialect, there are at least two major issues of phonetic realization that impinge on vowel assonance. Firstly, as Frellesvig notes, “For some of the syllables involving the labial glide, in particular /mwo, nwo, ywo, rwo; pwi, bwi mwi/, it seems reasonable to assume a pronunciation like [u_o] and [u_i], that is, with a shift in phonetic sonority peak from the vowel to the glide.” (32) How this might have affected which syllables sounded most assonant together is not immediately apparent. Secondly, a number of allophonic variations have been posited for Old Japanese. Most of these pertain to consonants rather than vowels. However, one significant feature of phonetic realization did apply to vowels; specifically, the assimilation of nasality onto vowels in the proximity of nasal consonants, a process commonly known as nasalization.

Assimilation, the adoption by one segment of various qualities (one being nasality) from neighbouring segments, is a cross-linguistically universal feature that includes allophonic nasalization; both regressive (affecting the previous segment), as in US English [kæt] ‘can’t’ (Jensen 6) and progressive (affecting the following segment), as in Sundanese [ɲisər] ‘displace’ (Archangeli and Pulleyblank, in de Lacy, 366). Another term, closely related to (and sometimes used synonymously with) ‘assimilation’, is ‘harmony’ – which, under most definitions, incorporates longer-distance assimilation of features, from “two or more not-necessarily-adjacent segments” (ibid. 353). Harmony will be discussed again later in this section, in relation to vowel harmony.

It is thought that nasalization in Old Japanese was probably bi-directional; all vowels directly preceding and, possibly to a lesser extent, following nasals or mediae were subject to the influence of the nasal environment and pronounced with some degree of nasality themselves (Frellesvig 38). This, like other forms of assimilation, would likely have occurred across word borders (cf. the coarticulatory assimilation long recognized in nasal environments in Spanish;

un gato [ungato] ‘a cat’ cv. *un beso* [umbéso] ‘a kiss’). However, since mediae did not occur in the initial position in OJ, the process would in this case have been confined to syllables preceding initial alveo-dental and labial nasals, /n/ and /m/. The following short example from the Norito (*Hirose no O-Imi no Matsuri*) is glossed with a broad phonetic realization¹¹ that takes this putative nasality spreading into account:

若宇加能賣能命
 /wakauka no mye no mikoto/
 [wagaugā nō mjé nō mʲigodo]
 (The Deity) ‘Wakauka-no-me’

This sort of allophonic nasalization is probably not as significant for a study of poetic sound shape as nasal-oral distinctions at the phonemic level, complete with minimal pairs, as exist in some languages. To begin with, it would seem that its impact of nasalized vowels in a nasal environment on listener perception is not as significant as vowel nasality in an otherwise oral environment. In the case of Taiwanese, a language with distinct nasal-oral contrast at the phonemic level, following oral voiceless consonants (C[̥]), and one in which vowels following nasal consonants are always nasalized (N[̃]) as a result of progressive assimilation, (as they probably were in OJ), Kawasaki (2009) examined the degree of nasalization in both C[̥] and N[̃] syllable types and found that “the degree of nasality is affected by contextual contrast, that is, the nasality is greater in a contrastive environment than in a non-contrastive environment” (21). Such a thesis—if it does hold true cross-linguistically—would certainly seem to accord with the common-sense intuition of a native speaker of a language (English) that, like OJ, lacks phonemic distinction between oral and nasal vowels and therefore any such contrastive environment. Speakers of such languages are often unaware that their vowels are busy assimilating nasal characteristics. It is not the case that allophonic nasality effects no change on speaker perception. Another study,¹²

¹¹Based on allophonic variation described in Frellesvig (2009).

¹²‘The Perception of Nasalized Vowels in American English: An Investigation of On-line Use of Vowel Nasalization in Lexical Access’, Joyce McDonough, Heike Lenhart-LeHouiller, Neil Bardhan, University of Rochester, unpublished.

comparing speaker perception of pre-nasalized vowels in English and Thai concluded that “the nasalization of a vowel aids as much in lexical access as the cues in a vowel that provide information about the place of articulation of an upcoming consonant.” (n.pag) In Old Japanese, assimilation of this kind might have been taking place in oral performances. If this is the case, in the above example, it will be observed that although containing different vowels, the sixth and eighth syllables of this name, phonemically /mye/ and /mi/, shared a very similar onset (due to other allophonic considerations) and a nasalized vowel, when realized phonetically. Together, these phonetic factors might have brought the sound of phonemically more distant syllables close enough together for them to be used in assonant or paronomastic structures within texts. In conclusion, while thinking at a phonetic level will take OJ literary studies into uncharted and perhaps occasionally risky territory, it is worth remembering that sound affinities present at the level of phonetic realization are not fully encoded even within the best phonemic transcriptions and, in some cases, such as in the above example, a phonetic reconstruction may suggest that more factors than just vowel identity were implicated in the construction of assonance in OJ.

Mixed consonant-vowel assonance

The above discussion of vocalic assonance in Old Japanese should have made it clear that vocalic assonance, combined with other features such as the mora-counting metre and syntactic and morphological parallelism, was a major feature of OJ rhetoric—and that the Norito were no exception to this. Consonantal assonance, or alliteration, is much better documented in the OJ case, and has been acknowledged in Western Japanological discourse since at least Brower and Miner (1961). Unsurprisingly, however, in addition to consonantal assonance and the vocalic assonance discussed earlier in this chapter, Old Japanese poets and song-crafters were able to combine vowels and consonants to create further layers of sound affinity to enhance and complement the rhetorical structure of their work. These units—which I call acoustic sets—more closely resemble rhyme in English poetry than do simple one-to-one vowel concordances. If the

repetition of acoustic sets, along with the various kinds of vocalism discussed in the previous section, are included in the definition of rhyme, it becomes evident that, far from being non-existent, rhyme in OJ is extremely pervasive. Despite this, mixed consonant-vowel assonance in the OJ tradition is relatively under-documented in the literature to date, perhaps in part because its units of assonance do not strictly follow mora boundaries—which, as anyone familiar with Japanese script is aware, makes them virtually un-transcribable in *kana* orthography.

Acoustic set

The notion of acoustic sets was introduced by Eva Guggenheimer¹³ to explain certain acoustic patterns within Latin verse; which, like Japanese verse, was once thought to lack any sort of rhyme, as noted in Chapter 7. The acoustic set is fundamentally a recurring block of phonemes, consisting of a mixture of consonants and vowels which, according to Guggenheimer, “may be identified in almost any classical Latin poem selected at random” (‘Acoustic Symmetry in Catallus’, 186). When similar structures are found in Old Japanese, in some cases they follow mora boundaries, like the set *sisi* in the following example from a well-known *Kojiki* song:¹⁴

夜須美斯志	<i>yasumisisi</i>	the boar that bore a wound
和賀意富岐美能	<i>wa ga opo-kimi no</i>	that was the boar
阿蘇婆志斯	<i>aswobasi-si</i>	with which our lord,
志斯能	<i>sisi no</i>	tranquilly ruling,
夜美斯志能	<i>yamisisi no</i>	diverted himself from boredom
		(KK.98)

¹³See: ‘Acoustic Symmetry in Catallus’, (*Dialectica* 1970) & *Rhyme effects and rhyming figures. A comparative study of sound repetitions in the classics with emphasis on Latin poetry* (1972).

¹⁴“Diverted himself from boredom” for *aswobasi-si* ‘sported’ is perhaps a bit of a stretch but, otherwise, I have merely tried to re-create a similarly repetitive text in English. The paronomastic repetition of sound in this English translation gives it an unserious, even infantile, feel. The original may have been intended to be humorous (the poetic persona is scared by the sound of the wounded boar and flees up a tree) but this does not mean it was necessarily doggerel in the OJ tradition. The fact that repetition and punning can so easily reduce English verse to doggerel only serves to underscore how deep prejudices against rhetorical repetition run in the modern English poetic tradition.

In many cases however, in order to recognize such patterns, analysis needs to be carried out at a segmental—and not at the moraic level.¹⁵ The reason for this is that acoustic sets are not necessarily contained within the confines of the moraic structure and instead may consist of, for example, the rime of one mora and the onset of the next. If this idea seems challenging to the entrenched paradigm of a prosodic structure dependent on mora-counting, it should be remembered that many features of language work in this way. In the case of OJ, bidirectional nasality spreading has already been mentioned. Other major features of the language that involve the association of adjacent segments, including parts of different mora, are vowel deletion in compounding (of the type *awomi* < *awo* + *umi*) and in poetic usage (*ji-amari*).

In the following phonographically-written *tanka* example from Book 5 of the *Man'yōshū*, an acoustic set is repeated that does not coincide with mora boundaries:

余呂豆余爾	<i>yorodu-yo ni</i>	deign to remain
伊麻志多麻比提	<i>imasitamapite</i>	through a myriad ages
阿米能志多	<i>ame no sita</i>	ruling resplendent
麻乎志多麻波祢	<i>mawositamapane</i>	over all the realm
美加度佐良受弓	<i>mikadwo sarazute</i>	leave not the august gate
		(MYS.5.879)

Here the acoustic set is —*sitam*— and is repeated three times, in *imasitamapite*, between *sita* and *mawositamapane* and in *mawositamapane* itself.

This sort of assonance occurs within the Norito too, as in the following repetition of the acoustic set —*um*—:

履佐久彌弓馬爪
 ...*pumisakumite uma no tume*...
 ...stepping [on these], the horses' hooves...
 (From *Toshigoi no Matsuri*)

On occasions, the repetition of acoustic sets occurs in conjunction with a contrastive vowel parallelism. In this case the unvaried element of the parallel structure is occupied by an acoustic

¹⁵Naturally, Guggenheimer's acoustic sets are the product of segmental analysis. They include units such as —*in*—, —*ell*— and —*at*—. See: Acoustic Symmetry in Catallus', 186.

set and adjacent vowels are varied regularly, to create a further layer of parallelism. This sort of parallelism occurs in the *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae* within the phrase cited by Sansom as an example of the Norito's "solemn pleonasm" (*Japan: A Short Cultural History*, 60), and translated by Aston as "myriad meetings of the tides of the myriad brine-paths of the myriad ways of the currents of the boisterous sea" (*Shinto: The Way of the Gods*, 302), as noted in Chapter 2. The phrase is reproduced below:

荒塩之塩乃八百道乃八塩道乃八百会

arasipo no sipo no yapodi no ya-sipodi no sipo no yapoapi

myriad meetings of the tides at the myriad tide-paths that are myriad paths of tides that are rough tides

(From *Minazuki no Tsugomori no Ōharae*)

I have translated *sipo* as tides throughout, to recreate the repetition. However, there is clearly some sort of paronomasia going on between multiple meanings of *sipo*, expressed in Aston's choice of tides/brine/currents.¹⁶ As well as the repetition of the acoustic set —*odi*—, and the repetition of *sipo* itself, there is a contrastive parallelism of the vowels that precede the acoustic set —*sipo*—, as seen below:

asipo...o sipo...a-sipo...o sipo

A similar varied vocalism is also to be found in the following, from which is also an instance of the figure Chapter 6 called a "reduplicative epithet":

皇神能敷坐嶋能八十嶋

sumyegami no sikimasu sima no ya-sosima pa

the myriad (is)lands that are (is)lands that the sovereign deity(ies) rule(s)

(From *Toshigoi no Matsuri*)

This time the contrastive vocalism is between /u/ and /o/, as can be seen below:

¹⁶The word *sipo* seems to have referred to the waters of the sea, in some sense, as in *siponawa* < *sipo* 'brine' + *na* + *awa* 'foam' (*Toshigoi no Matsuri*), as well as to the changing tides, as in 四寶三都良武香 *sipo mitu ramu ka* 'will the tide grow full?' (MYSr.40), and the salt deposited by them. The last two senses have survived in cNJ as *shio* (潮; 汐) and *shio* (塩). Perhaps the word referred particularly to the movement of the sea at the shoreline, in contrast with terms like 大海 *opomi*, which referred to the sea as a great expanse of water.

..*asu sima...asosima*

Throughout the OJ corpus, adjacent repetition of multiple acoustic sets is used to create more complex rhyming structures. In the following single heptomoraic unit, for instance, is contained two double repetitions of acoustic sets; *—sik—* and *—asi—*.

志可志家良斯母

sika-si-kye rasi mo

...(apparently) ruled

(From MYS.5.814)

Finally, in some cases, multiple acoustic sets are used alongside other forms of repetition, as in the following poem about Ogura mountain, near Tatsuta, which contains three repetitions of *—wo—*, three of *—am—*, two of *sak—*, a small chiasmus (*pana...p*), and paronomasia (specifically a pun on *yama*, ‘mountain’ and *yam-(a)*, the 未然形 *mizenkei* of the verb, *yam-* ‘to cease’):¹⁷

小鞍嶺尔

開乎鳥流

櫻花者

山高

風之不息者

wo-gura no mine ni

saki-woworu

sakura no pana pa

yama taka-mi

kaze si yama-neba

the cherry trees

dripping with blossom

on the peak at Wogura—

since the mountains are high

and the wind unceasing

(From MYS.9.1747)

Chiasmus

As well as structural anadiplosis, and other rhetorical order changing, there is evidence of chiastic reversal at a phonemic level in OJ. This has already been documented by Edwina Palmer in *Fudoki* songs, as noted in Chapter 5.

In the same chapter, the frequently-recurring Norito phrase *kakipa ni tokipa ni ipapimaturi-* was discussed—which contains a triple repetition of the acoustic set *—ipa—*. While the only true chiasmus it contains is within the word *ipapi*, the inclusion of this word, after the repetition of

¹⁷The reading *kaze si yama-neba* is dependent on reading tradition—though not particularly suspect.

ipa in *kakipa ni tokipa ni* would appear to add another layer of complexity to the rhyme structure.

Similar examples of chiasitic reversal (albeit, sometimes only transmitted logographically) are found here and there throughout the poetic corpus of OJ, for example:

夷者雖有
pina ni pa aredo
 though it is a far-flung place
 (From MYS.1.29)

There is a chance that these small instances of chiasmus might be accidental consequences of the repetition of acoustic sets comprising vowel and consonant phonemes. However, like other forms of rhyme, they often combine with larger rhetorical and repetitive structures, as in the following example from an Asuka period poetic exchange between the female courtier 志斐姬 Shii no Omina and Empress Jitō (持統天皇 Jitō Tennō; reigned 690-697), which also depends on a pun on the name of the composer, Shii, (OJ Sipwi) and *sipwi* meaning ‘forced’. The chiasmus¹⁸ here is written phonographically:

不聽雖謂	<i>ina to ipedo</i>	though I said no
語礼々々常	<i>katate katate to</i>	tell me tell me
詔許曾	<i>norase koso</i>	you said so
志斐伊波奏	<i>sipwi i pa marose</i>	that’s why I [Sipwi] said it
強語登言	<i>sipwikatari to noru</i>	you call it “forced [sipwi] to tell you”
		(From MYS.3.237)

Given their close association with acoustic sets and other forms of repetition, perhaps the best way to conceive of phonemic chiasmus in OJ, is broadly, alongside acoustic sets, as a disruption of the moraic structure. Similar structures (below), which are not perfect chiasitic reversals, but give the impression that rhyming units and, occasionally, morae themselves have been split up and their phonemes scattered around, lend weight to this hypothesis—making the case once again for analysis of rhyme in OJ poetry at the level of the segment and *not* the mora:

¹⁸Technically, this is only a true chiasmus if the glide in /pwi/ is ignored. However, it seems clear that some sort of repetitive vocalism was intended.

石室者今毛
ipaya pa ima mo
 the stone-house still...

立野乃小野爾
tatinwo no wonwo ni
 ...in little-field at Tatinwo

As this study has demonstrated over and over again, the tendency for rhyme and other sorts of rhetorical repetition to combine to form complex structures is a salient feature of the Norito, as well as other elements of the OJ corpus. In many cases, these structures work with the mora-counting metre to produce robust acoustico-metrical structures. The reverse seems to be true of chiasmus—and probably of lexical level anadiplosis. While the exact significance of this syn-copation cannot be ascertained from the data available, it is likely that, as in the case of the contrastive vowel parallelisms discussed above, repetition with variation of this kind also served to finesse a broader rhetorical project.

Building on a more general discussion of rhyme in the previous two chapters, this chapter has argued, through analysis of a spectrum of acoustic structures found in the Norito and other Old Japanese texts, that rhyme is a pervasive feature of those texts. As observed in larger rhetorical structures in Chapter 6, patterns of rhyme interact and interlock with other features of rhetoric. Similar rhyming structures are to be found throughout the OJ corpus—which underscores the close intertextual relationship that the various elements of that corpus enjoy.

It was noted in this chapter that elements of the Norito subcorpus exhibit an overall vowel distribution that closely mirrors that of the OJ poetic texts, which supports the argument that the Norito encode the same language and textual tradition as these other texts—an essential tenet of the study as a whole. Vocalic assonance was also shown to be a salient feature of both the Norito and other texts in the OJ corpus. Where, as discussed in previous chapters, some commentators might be tempted to dismiss this assonance as an accident of phonology, it was

demonstrated that this assonance is worked into more complex features that are highly unlikely to have come about by chance. As well as the more widely documented head rhyme, or alliteration, OJ texts including the Norito exhibit at least two distinct kinds of vowel parallelism, the repetition of acoustic sets made up of mixtures of consonant and vowel phonemes and chiasmus. Whereas parallel vocalisms tend to follow patterns that intersect with the mora-counting metre, the mixed consonant-vowel assonance that accompanies the repetition of acoustic sets and chiasmus is more disruptive to that metre.

The exact significance of these features is unknown—and likely varies between texts and, in the case of the poetic corpus, between poem—but the overall similarities observed between usages of rhyme in different elements of the OJ corpus would tend to suggest that they all form part of a common palette of rhetorical and articulatory effects familiar to speakers of the OJ language.

Some concluding notes

Chapter 9 concluded a triptych of chapters dedicated to establishing rhyme as a feature of Japanese rhetoric that is too pervasive to be discarded as an irrelevance, demonstrating this in the particular case of the Norito and in OJ literature more generally. The question therefore arises of what relevance this conclusion has for the study as a whole. The answer lies in the relationship between rhetoric and rhyme.

It was noted in the Introduction that this study adopted a broad view of rhetoric, as structured repetitive language. It should be immediately evident that, under this view, rhyme constitutes a special brand of rhetoric, in which repetition takes place at phonemic and phonetic levels. The close analysis at the level of the segment found in this last chapter has helped to demonstrate that this special brand of rhetorical repetition operates, and co-operates with other features, within the rhetorical texture of the Norito, as it does in other OJ texts. The primary aim of the chapter in valorizing this repetitive feature was to present a new approach to under-

standing the Norito. However, because of the pervasiveness of rhyme in the whole OJ corpus, another conclusion to be drawn from the presentation is that the same approach can and should also be applied to other texts in that corpus. In this respect, the chapter is continuing to address a general concern of the study: namely, that the Norito be associated more closely than they have been to date with a body of texts that are generally accepted as literature and widely studied and appreciated.

The view that Japanese 和歌 *waka* “do not rhyme” recounted in Chapter 7 is unchallenged within Japanese Studies to the extent that it approaches a truism. Like flat claims concerning the Norito’s floweriness and heavy-handedness, however, it would seem this is in need of nuancing. In many traditions, rhyme, defined broadly, as a spectrum of repetitive acoustic features, scopes over such a variety of complex composite structures that it is often impossible to separate it, in any meaningful sense, from other rhetorical features, such as paronomasia. This broad-minded view of rhyme is now very well established in English literary studies—particular in the more linguistically-engaged corners of this field. The term rhyme, like rhetoric, is nevertheless loaded with at least a century’s worth of ideological baggage. Rich parallel structures of rhyme in English are still associated with doggerel, children’s verse and birthday card greetings, just as puns are associated with cracker jokes. Given the pervasiveness of acoustic repetition and parallelisms of various kinds in the OJ corpus and elsewhere, it is perhaps even a possibility that the insistence on a ‘rhyme-free’ *waka* by Anglophone researchers was part of a bid to protect the canon of Japanese literature from criticism in the West on the grounds of frivolity.¹⁹

In Japan, the Japanese translation of ‘rhyme’, 韻 *in*, is a term strongly associated with poetry in the Chinese language that, while deployed extensively in early and medieval discourse on *waka* poetics, fell out of widespread use in reference to Japanese verse. In modern discourse, therefore, it carries with it the double connotation of ‘Western’ rhyme (complete with all the

¹⁹Within the many warps and folds that burden the fabric of (post-)colonial discourse, there are other possibilities that need not be dwelt on here—one being the relatively short length of most of the poetry in the Japanese canon, encouraging comparison with the European lyric—which, by the twentieth century, had itself picked up connotations of terse emotion, unfettered by meaningless rhetorical devices and rhyme.

ideological baggage that entails) and ‘Chinese’ rhyme (a simplistic view that sadly overlooks the importance of *kanbun* literacies in premodern Japan). While some discussion of rhyming features in OJ has gone on in Japanese literary studies, therefore, there is a reluctance to associate this with 韻 *in*, as Hamanari famously did. Another major difficulty for Japanese-language scholarship is that analyses are only very rarely conducted at a segmental level—meaning that some rhyme features (e.g. acoustic sets) are apt to be missed altogether. More work is needed in Japan (and in Japanese studies in the West) to close the divide between literary studies and linguistics and bring analytical tools across from linguistics into literary studies—as they have been in English departments around the world.

In sum, only by valorizing all forms of repetition in the Norito and other OJ texts as meaningful features can we hope to form an adequate understanding of the texts. In order to do so, we first have to be able to identify those forms of repetition, including rhyme—and, as the example of English has shown, linguistic approaches can assist in this. Once this is achieved, we must acknowledge their function, interconnectedness and potential significance—and this means thinking very carefully about the epistemological backdrop of terms we choose not to employ, as well as those we do.

Conclusion

The Englishiki Norito are a set of Old Japanese texts outside what might be called the canon of premodern Japanese literature, as routinely read and interpreted by students of that subject. This is true of university departments inside Japan almost as much as it is of Japanese Studies communities in far-flung corners of the globe—such as Oxford. Anecdotal experience has taught me this is the case because, when asked about my work by curious colleagues on meeting for the first time, my reply that I study the Norito is in many cases met with a look that gradually shifts from thinly-veiled bemusement to mildly-tickled surprise, as my interlocutor plucks the recently-unheard word from his or her memory, dusts it off and comes to terms with the idea that someone should want to dedicate years of their life to studying such an arcane group of texts.

Anecdotes aside, compared to other components of the OJ corpus, such as the *Man'yōshū*, Norito are relatively underprivileged, both in academic discourse and in the general knowledge of people possessing an otherwise robust familiarity with early Japanese literature. In Japan, as noted in Chapter 1, the Norito were once routinely analyzed alongside other OJ literature by the *kokugaku* linguists, but seem to have become detached from the wider OJ corpus in the modern period, meaning that scholarship of the texts is now mostly confined to a lively but small community of academics mostly associated with Shinto institutions. This segregation can probably be attributed to the Norito's co-option into statist narratives and propaganda during the period of growing nationalism between the 1860s and World War II—and to problematics of re-engagement with these narratives in the post-war period. Another factor may have been influence from Western Japanese studies which, as argued in Chapter 2, has been broadly un-

friendly to the Norito texts, because of a perception of them as repetitious, over-rhetorical and essentially lacking in literary qualities.

The analysis in subsequent chapters of this study aimed to challenge this view—and bring the texts back into the mainstream, to be interpreted and appreciated, in particular alongside their counterparts in the OJ tradition, with which they are connected by way of layers of rhetorical and intertextual material. This study has explored these connections, by concentrating on the rhetorical features of the Norito texts in conjunction with analogous features found elsewhere in the OJ corpus—most of which is classically understood as poetry; and literature. It is a happy irony, therefore, that the very repetitive linguistic structures within the texts that once relegated them to an inferior status in the eyes of some commentators now can bring the Norito back in from the cold and reunite them with the literary tradition in which they belong.

After some preparatory groundwork concerning texts and genres in Chapter 3, and a brief consideration of the benefits and difficulties of the term ‘rhetoric’ in Chapter 4, the first point at which the study brought its rhetorical analyses to bear on the Norito is in Chapter 5, in a discussion of the texts’ relationship to the oral. Here, it was concluded that, despite being written documents, ultimately (in the Englishiki) deployed within a literate juridical framework, the texts also have a robust oral dimension. It was also noted that the associative potential of logography was exploited in the Norito, as elsewhere in the OJ corpus—and that those associations served to link the liturgies with other OJ texts depending on the same or similar modes of literacy. This is hardly a surprise—given that, as noted in the Introduction, the early Norito subcorpus that forms the central core of analyses in this study was crafted in writing roughly during the period that an official 神祇 *jingi* cult and bureaucracy were emerging in Japan, referencing prestigious models, traditions and texts from continental East Asia at every point along the way.

The rhetorical analysis in Chapter 6 was in many ways the focal point of the whole study. It was seen, (aptly) again and again, that repetition of one kind or another forms the basis for many of the rhetorical structures found in the Norito and other OJ texts. While this repetition has formerly damaged the texts’ status as literary artefacts, it should really be seen as the key

to understanding them. Repetition not only structures many utterances within single texts to enhance their functionality, but also unites them with other elements of the OJ corpus and, in the process, illuminates their considerable literary potential.

The triptych of chapters (7, 8 and 9) concerned with rhyme set about to continue a rhetorical analysis of the texts, paying particular attention to the case of rhyme—which is treated in these chapters as a specialized form of rhetorical repetition. In order to achieve these goals, it was necessary for Chapters 7 and 8 to first make a case for a discussion of rhyme in the context of Japanese literature, to enable Chapter 9 to pare this debate back to the particular case of the Norito and Old Japanese. It was seen that rhyme, when defined in broad terms that include various types of assonance and acoustic repetition, is a substantially more pervasive feature of Japanese poetry than has generally been suggested and that the OJ tradition was no exception to this. The Norito share many rhyme features with texts from the OJ poetic corpus, although some of these features can only easily be recognized through close analysis of the language at a segmental level—an approach that has been largely absent from Japanese literary studies until now. The degree of complexity observed in some types of interlocking acoustic parallelism is so extremely high that it is difficult to conclude that the OJ speakers responsible for the corpus had anything less than an outstanding sensitivity to rhyme, and its articulatory potential in rhetorical contexts.

The biggest lesson of all—as noted throughout the study—is that a salient feature of the Norito’s rhetorical structure, and the ‘secret’ of much of their functionality, is the co-operation of multiple layers of rhetorical language, including rhyme. This final layer of meta-repetition ties all the micro-level repetition into a macro whole that ensures the message is not missed—and encourages the listener to think about similar messages, carried in similar ways, in similar texts. This is how the Norito are bound to the rest of the OJ textual tradition—and is perhaps the most significant conclusion to be drawn in this study.

The breadth of Japanese literature approached by scholars working in English increases year on year—and, over the last decade or so, the field of OJ literature has seen several studies that

focus on texts once buried in similar holes to the Norito.¹ As well as filling some minor lacunae in our understanding of the texts, this study has attempted to direct scholarly attention, during this period of exploration, toward the Norito, as texts that form an integral part of the OJ tradition. It is clear, however, that a good deal of work remains to be done. In the first instance, when subjected to comparative analysis, interlinear glossings supply information essential to interpreting logographic texts that far surpasses a simple pronunciation guide. As such, they deserve to be treated as important documents in their own right and subjected to the same close analytical approach—as argued in Chapter 3. In a world of electronic corpora, it seems extraordinary to cast aside these metadata as the “...widely diverging exegetical opinions of this or that Tokugawa hermeneute.” (Miller, on Bentley, 847). To date, relatively little work on the transmission of glossings has been done, even in Japanese and it is strongly suspected that subjecting these interlinealia to rigorous comparative analysis would yield results in aid of our understanding of the texts.

Secondly, another major avenue of discovery in terms of comparative analysis that, due to time and space constraints, could not be explored extensively in this study is that of the 古事記 *Kojiki*. The *Kojiki* is certainly a vast repository of information concerning the OJ textual and literary culture. Due to difficulties extracting ‘pure’ linguistic data from a text that encodes the OJ language in a way that privileges features that have been traditionally of little interest to Western linguistics, the main body of the *Kojiki* text is absent from the OCOJ² and, because of the close connection between this study and that corpus, plays a less prominent role than other texts from the period in comparative analyses. The *Kojiki* is a repository of intertext for the Norito and vice-versa. These connections will need to be revisited in future—alongside similar connections with other texts that have not been exhaustively examined in this study but that are sure to attract more and more attention in coming decades, such as the 続日本紀宣命 *Shoku*

¹I am thinking in particular of Edwina Palmer’s new annotated translation of (and commentary on) the 播磨風土記 *Harima Fudoki* (Brill, 2016); as well as Ross Bender’s annotated translations of the 宣命 *senmyō* recorded in the 続日本紀 *Shoku Nihongi* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016).

²The phonographically-written songs recorded in the text are included in the corpus and have been referred to extensively in this study.

Nihongi Senmyō, and newly-catalogued 木簡 *mokkan*.

Thirdly, and finally, it goes without saying that information technologies must continue to inform the study of Norito, as it moves into its next phase. This study has drawn extensively on data made available by digital text corpora and other digital humanities resources. It is clear that analytics³ capable of exploiting digitally marked-up text repositories of this kind will, in future, deliver both breadth, and focus, to the debate.

³In particular, the emerging science of stylometrics offers the text scholar an exciting complement of new approaches to comparative research.

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PRINCIPAL ONLINE RESOURCES

Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese	http://pj.ninjal.ac.jp/corpus_center/bccwj/
Nara Cultural Properties Research Institute Mokkan Database	https://www.nabunken.go.jp/Open/mokkan/mokkan.html
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APPENDIX, Text of *Norito*

(1)

祈年祭額

集侍神主祝部等諸聞食登宣。高間原爾神留坐皇睦神漏伎命。神漏彌命以。天社國社登稱辭竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。今年二月爾御年初將賜登為而。皇御孫命宇豆能幣帛乎。朝日能豐逆登爾稱辭竟奉久登宣。御年皇神等能前爾白久。皇神等能依左志奉牟奧津御年乎。手肱爾水沫書垂。向爾泥書寄弓取作牟奧津御年乎。八束穗能伊加志穗爾。皇神等能依左志奉者。初穗乎波千穎八百穎爾奉置弓瓶閑高知瓶腹滿雙弓。汁爾母穎爾母稱辭竟奉牟。大野原爾生物者。甘菜辛菜。青海原住物者。鰭能広物鰭能狹物。奧津藻菜邊津藻菜爾至弓爾。御服者明妙。照妙。和妙。荒妙爾稱辭竟奉牟。御年皇神能前爾。白馬。白猪。白鷄。種々色物乎備奉弓。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎稱辭竟奉久登宣。

大御巫能辭竟奉皇神等能前爾白久神魂。高御魂。生魂。足魂。玉留魂。大宮乃賣。大御膳都神。辭代主登御名者白而辭竟奉者。皇御孫命御世乎。手長御世登堅磐爾常磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閑奉故。皇吾睦神漏伎命。神漏彌命登皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎稱辭竟奉久登宣。

座摩乃御巫乃稱辭竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。生井。榮井。津長井。阿須波。婆比支登御名者白弓辭竟奉者。皇神能敷坐。下都磐根爾宮柱太知立。高天原爾千木高知弓皇御孫命能宇豆乃瑞能御舍乎仕奉弓天御蔭日御蔭登隱坐弓四方國乎安國登平久知食故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎稱辭竟奉久登宣。

御門能御巫能稱辭竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。櫛磐間門命。豐磐間門命登御名者白弓。辭竟奉者。四方能御門爾湯都磐村能如塞坐弓朝者御門開奉。夕者御門閑奉弓疎夫留物能自下往者下乎守。自上往者上乎守。夜能守日能守爾守奉故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎稱辭竟奉久登宣。

生嶋能御巫能辭竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。生國足國登御名者白弓辭竟奉者。皇神能敷坐嶋能八十嶋者谷藝能狹度極塩沫能留限。狹國者広久。峻國者平久。嶋能八十嶋墮事無皇神等能依左志奉故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎稱辭竟奉久登宣。

辭別伊勢爾坐天照太御神能太前爾白久。皇神能見霽志坐四方國者。天能壁立極。國能退立限。青雲能藹極白雲能墮坐向伏限。青海原者棹柁不干。舟舳能至留極。大海爾舟滿都都氣弓。自陸往道者荷緒縛堅弓磐根木根履佐久彌弓。馬爪至留限。長道無間久立都都氣弓狹國者広久。峻國平久。遠國者八十綱打

掛弓引寄如事。皇大御神能寄奉波。荷前者皇太御神能太前爾。如橫山打積置弓。殘乎波平聞看又皇御孫命御世乎手長御世登堅磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閑奉故。皇吾睦神漏伎神漏彌命登宇事物頸根衝拔弓。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎。稱辭竟奉久登宣。

御懸爾坐皇神等乃前爾白久。高市葛木。十市志貴。山邊。曾布登御名物白弓。此六御懸爾生出甘菜辛菜乎持參來弓皇御孫命能長御膳能遠御膳能聞食故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎稱辭竟奉久登宣。

山口坐皇神等能前爾白久。飛鳥。石村。忍坂。長谷。畝火。耳無登御名者白弓。遠山近山爾生立留大木小木乎。本末打切弓持參來弓。皇御孫命能瑞能御舍仕奉弓。天御蔭日御蔭登隱坐弓。四方國乎安國登平久知食須我故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎。稱辭竟奉久登宣。

水分坐皇神等能前爾白久。吉野。宇陀。都祁。葛木登御名者白弓。辭竟奉者。皇神等能寄志奉牟奧都御年乎。八束穗能伊加志穗爾寄志奉者。皇神等爾初穗波顯爾母汁爾母瓶閑高知瓶腹滿雙弓 稱辭竟奉弓。遺乎波皇御孫命能朝御食夕御食能加牟加比爾長御食能遠御食登赤丹穗爾聞食故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛。稱辭竟奉久登。諸聞食登宣。辭別忌部能弱肩爾太多須支取掛弓。持由麻波利仕奉禮留幣帛乎・神主祝部等受賜弓。事不過捧持奉登宣。

(2)

春日祭

天皇我大命爾坐世。恐岐鹿嶋坐健御賀豆智命。香取坐伊波比主命。枚岡坐天之子八根命。比賣神四柱能皇神等能広前仁白久。太神等能乞賜比能任爾春日能三笠山能下津石根爾宮柱広知立。高天原爾千木高知弓。天乃御蔭日乃御蔭止定奉弓。貢流神寶者御鏡御橫刀。御弓御梓御馬爾備奉理御服波明多閑照多閑。和多閑荒多閑爾仕奉弓。四方國能獻礼留御調能荷前取並弓。青海原乃物者。波多能広物。波多能狹物。奧藻菜。邊藻菜。山野物者甘菜辛菜爾至麻弓。御酒者甕上高知。甕腹滿並弓雜物乎如橫山積置弓神主爾某官位姓名乎定弓獻流宇豆乃大幣帛乎安幣帛乃足幣帛登。平久安久聞看登皇大御神等乎稱辭竟奉久登白。如此仕奉爾依弓今母去前母天皇我朝廷乎平久安久足御世乃茂御世爾齋奉利常石爾堅石爾福閑奉利預而仕奉流處處家家。王等卿等乎母平久天皇我朝廷爾伊加志夜久波叡能如久仕奉利。佐加叡志米賜登稱辭竟奉良久登白。

(3)

広瀬大忌祭

広瀬能川合爾称辞竟奉流皇神能御名乎白久。御膳持須留若宇加能賣能命登御名者白弓此皇神御前爾辞竟奉久。皇御孫命能宇加能幣帛乎令捧持弓王臣等乎為使弓称辞竟奉久乎。神主祝部等諸聞食登宣。奉流宇豆乃幣帛者。御服明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物。楯戈御馬御酒者瓶能閑高知。瓶能腹滿雙弓。和稻荒稻爾山爾住物者毛能和支物。毛能荒支物。大野能原爾生物者。甘菜辛菜。青海原爾住物者。鰯能広支物。鰯能狭支物。奥津藻菜。邊津藻菜爾至万弓置足弓奉久登皇神前爾白賜部止宣。如此奉宇加乃幣帛乎安幣帛能足幣帛止。皇神御心平久安久聞食弓。皇神孫命能長御膳能遠御膳乃赤丹能穗爾聞食。皇神能御刀代乎始弓。親王等王等臣天下公民能取作奥部御歳者。手肱爾水沫昼垂。向股爾泥昼寄弓取將作奥部御歳乎。八束穗爾皇神能成幸賜者。初穗者汁爾母千稻八百稻爾引居弓如横山打積置弓秋祭爾奉牟登皇神前爾白賜登宣。倭國能六御縣乃山口爾坐皇神等前爾母皇御孫命能宇加乃幣帛乎。明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物。楯戈爾至万弓奉。如此奉者。皇神等乃敷坐須山山乃自口。狭久那多利爾下賜水乎甘水登受而。天下乃公民乃取作禮留奥都御歳乎惡風荒水爾不相賜。汝命乃成幸波閑賜者。初穗者汁爾母穎爾母瓶乃閑高知。瓶腹滿雙弓。如横山打積置弓奉牟登王等臣等百官人等倭國乃六御縣能刀禰男女爾至万弓。今年某月某日諸参出来弓皇神前爾宇事者頸根築拔弓。朝日乃豐榮登爾称辞竟奉久乎神主祝部等諸聞食止宣。

(4)

龍田風神祭

龍田爾称辞竟奉皇神乃前爾白久。志貴嶋爾大八嶋國知志皇御孫命乃遠御膳乃長御膳止赤丹乃穗爾聞食須五穀物乎始弓。天下乃公民乃作物乎。草乃片葉爾至万弓不成。一年二年爾不在。歳真尼久傷故爾百能物知人等乃卜事爾出牟神乃御心者。此神止白止負賜支。此乎物知人等乃卜事乎以弓卜止母。出留神乃御心母無止白止聞看弓。皇御孫命詔久。神等乎波天社國社止忘事無久遺事無久称辞竟奉止思志行波須乎誰神曾天下乃公民乃作物乎。不成傷神等波我御心曾止悟奉禮止宇氣比賜支。是以皇御孫命大御夢爾悟奉久。天下乃公民乃作物乎。惡風荒水爾相都都。不成傷波我御名者天乃御柱乃命。國乃御柱乃命止御名者悟奉弓。吾前爾奉牟幣帛者。御服者明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色乃物。楯戈御馬爾御鞍具弓品々乃幣帛備弓。吾宮者朝日乃日向處。夕日乃日隱處乃龍

田能立野乃小野爾吾宮波定奉弓吾前乎称辞竟奉者。天下乃公民乃作作物者。五穀始弓。草乃片葉爾至万弓成幸閑奉牟止悟奉支是以皇神乃辞教悟奉處仁宮柱定奉弓。此乃皇神能前爾称辞竟奉久止。皇神乃前爾白賜事乎。神主。祝部等諸聞食止宣。

奉宇豆乃幣帛者。比古神爾御服明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物。楯戈御馬爾御鞍具弓品々乃幣帛獻。比賣神爾御服備。金能麻笥。金能喘。金能枷。明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色能物。御馬爾御鞍具弓雜幣帛奉弓。御酒者瓶能閑高知。瓶腹雙弓。和稻荒稻爾山爾住物者。毛乃和物。毛乃荒物。大野原生物者。甘菜辛菜。青海原爾住物者。鰯能広物。鰯能狭物。奥都藻菜邊都藻菜爾至万弓爾如横山打積置弓奉此宇豆乃幣帛乎。安幣帛能足幣帛止。皇神能御心爾平久聞食弓。天下能公民能作作物乎。惡風荒水爾不相賜。皇神乃成幸閑賜者。初穗者瓶能閑高知。瓶腹滿雙弓。汁爾母顯爾母八百稻千稻爾引居置弓秋祭爾奉牟止。王卿等百官能人等。倭國六縣能刀禰。男女爾至万弓爾今年四月(七月者云今年七月)諸參集弓。皇神能前爾宇事物頸根築拔弓。今日能朝日能豐榮登爾称辞竟奉流。皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎。神主祝部等被賜弓。脩事無奉禮登宣命乎諸聞食止宣。

(5)

平野祭

天皇我御命爾坐世。今木與利仕奉來流皇太御神能広前爾白給久。皇大御神乃乞志給乃麻爾麻爾。此所能底津石根爾宮柱広敷立弓。高天乃原爾千木高知弓。天能御蔭日能御蔭登定奉弓。神主爾神祇某官位姓名定弓進流神財波御弓御大刀御鏡鈴衣笠御馬乎引並弓御衣波明多閑照多閑和多閑荒多閑爾備奉利弓。四方國能進礼流御調能荷前乎取並弓。御酒波瓶戸高知。瓶腹滿並弓。山野能物波甘菜辛菜。青海原能物波波多能広物波多能狭物奥都毛波邊津毛波爾至麻弓。雜物乎如横山置高成弓獻流宇豆乃大幣帛乎。平久所聞弓天皇我御世乎堅石爾常石爾齋奉利。伊賀志御世爾幸閑奉弓。万世爾御坐令在米給登。称辞竟奉久登申。

又申久。參集弓仕奉流親王等王等臣等百官人等乎母夜守日守爾守給弓天皇朝廷爾伊夜高爾伊夜広爾伊賀志夜具波江如久立榮之米令仕奉給登称辞竟奉久登申。

(6)

久度古関

天皇我御命爾坐世。久度古関二所能宮爾弓供奉来流皇御神能広前爾白給久。皇御神能乞比給万比之任爾此所能底津石根宮柱広敷立。高天能原爾千木高知弓天能御蔭日能御蔭止定奉弓神主某官位姓名定弓。進流神財波御弓御大刀御鏡鈴衣笠御馬乎引並弓御衣波明多閑照多閑和多閑荒多閑爾備奉弓。四方國乃進礼留御調乃荷前乎取並弓御酒波瓶乃閑高知。瓶能腹満並弓。山野能物波甘菜辛菜。青海原乃物波鱒乃広物鱒乃狭物奥都毛波邊津毛波爾至麻天雜物乎如横山置高成弓獻流宇豆乃大幣帛乎平久所聞弓天皇我御世乎堅石爾常石爾齋奉利伊賀志御世爾幸閑奉弓。万世爾御令坐米給登。称辞竟奉久登申。又申久。参集弓仕奉親王等王等臣等百官人等乎毛夜守日守爾守給弓天皇我朝廷爾彌高爾彌広仁伊賀志夜具波江能如久立榮之米令仕奉給登称辞竟奉良久登申。

(7)

六月月次

集侍神主祝部等諸聞食登宣。高天原爾神留坐皇睦神漏伎命神漏彌命以天社國社登称辞竟奉皇神等前爾白久。今年乃六月月次幣帛(十二月者云今年十二月月次幣帛)。明妙照妙和妙荒妙備奉弓朝日乃豐榮登爾皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎。称辞竟奉久登宣。大御巫能称辞竟皇神等能前爾白久。神御魂高御魂生魂足魂玉留魂大宮賣御膳都神辞代主登御名者白弓。称辞竟者皇御孫命乃御世乎手長御世登堅磐爾常磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閑奉故。皇吾睦神漏伎命神漏彌命登皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

座摩乃御巫称辞竟奉皇神等乃前爾白久生井榮井津長井阿須波婆比伎登御名者白弓称辞竟奉者皇神能敷坐下都磐根爾宮柱太知立。高天原爾千木高知弓皇御孫命瑞乃御舍仕奉弓天御蔭日御蔭登隱坐弓四方國乎安國登平久知食須故皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

御門乃御巫能称辞竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。櫛磐間門命豐磐間門命登御名者白弓称辞竟奉者四方能御門爾湯都磐村能如久塞坐弓朝者御門開奉。夕者御門閑奉弓疎布留物乃自下往者下乎守。自上往者上乎守。夜乃守日乃守爾守奉故皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

生嶋乃御巫能称辞竟奉皇神等乃前爾白久。生國足國登御名者白弓称辞竟奉者皇神乃敷坐嶋乃八十嶋者谷蟻能狭度極塩沫乃留限利狭國者広久陰國者平久

嶋乃八十嶋墮事無久。皇神等寄志奉故皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

辞別伊勢爾坐天照太御神乃太前爾白久。皇神乃見霽志四方國者天乃壁立極國乃退立限青雲能霽極白雲乃向伏限青海原者棹柁不干。舟艫乃至留極大海原爾舟滿都都氣弓自陸往道者荷緒結堅弓磐根木根履佐久彌弓馬爪至留限長道無間久立都都氣弓狹國者広久峻國者平久遠國者八十綱打掛弓引寄如事。皇太御神寄志奉良波荷前者皇太御神乃前爾如横山打積置弓残乎波平聞看。又皇御孫命御世乎長御世登堅磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閑奉故皇吾睦神漏伎命神漏彌命登鵜自物頸根衝拔弓皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

御縣爾坐皇神等乃前爾白久高市葛木十市志貴山邊曾布登御名者白弓此六縣爾生出甘菜辛菜乎持参来弓皇御孫命乃長御膳乃遠御膳登聞食故皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

山能口坐皇神等乃前爾白久。飛鳥石村忍坂長谷畝火耳無登御名者白弓。遠山近山爾生立流大木小木乎。本末打切弓持参来弓皇御孫命乃瑞乃御舍仕奉弓天御蔭日御蔭登隱坐弓四方國乎安國登平久知食須我故。皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

水分坐皇神等乃前爾白久吉野宇陀都祁葛木登御名者白弓称竟奉者皇神等依志奉牟奥都御年乎八束穗乃伊加志穗爾依志奉者皇神等爾初穗者穎爾母汁爾母瓶閑高知。瓶腹滿雙弓。称辞竟奉弓遣乎波皇御孫命乃朝御食夕御食乃加牟比爾長御食乃遠御食登赤丹穗爾聞食故皇孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。諸聞食止宣。辞別忌部乃弱肩爾太襪取掛弓持由麻波利仕奉礼留幣帛乎神主祝部等受賜弓事不過捧持奉登宣。

(8)

大殿祭

高天原爾神留坐須皇親神魯企神魯美之命以弓皇御孫之命乎天津高御座爾坐弓。天津璽乃劔鏡乃捧持賜天言壽(古語云許止保企言壽詞如今壽傷之詞)宣志久。皇我宇都御子皇御孫之命此乃天津高御座爾坐弓天津日嗣乎万千秋乃長秋爾大八洲豐葦原瑞穗之國乎安國止平氣久所知食止(古語云志呂志女須)言寄奉賜比弓以天津御量弓事問之磐根木乃立知草能可岐葉乎毛言止弓天降利賜比志食國天下登天津日嗣所知食須皇御孫命乃御殿乎今奥山乃大峽小峽爾立留木乎齋部能齋斧乎以伐採弓本末乎波山神爾祭弓中間乎持出来弓齋鋤乎以弓齋柱立弓皇御孫之命乃天之御翳日之御翳止造奉仕礼流瑞之御殿。(古語云

阿良可)汝屋般命爾天津奇護言乎(古語云久須志伊波比許登)以弓言壽鎮白久此乃敷坐大宮地底津磐根乃極美下津綱根(古語番繩之類。謂之綱根)波府虫能禍無久。高天原波青雲乃靄久極美天乃血垂飛鳥乃禍無久堀堅多留柱桁梁戸窓乃錯比(古語云伎加比)動鳴事無久。引結幣留葛目能緩比取葺計留草乃噪岐(古語云蘇蘇伎)無久御床都比能佐夜伎夜女乃伊須須伎伊豆都志伎事無久平氣久安久奉護留神御名乎白久屋船久久遲命(是木靈也)屋船豐宇氣姬命登。(是稻靈也。俗詞宇賀能美多麻。今世產屋以辟木束稻。)

御名乎波奉稱利弓皇御孫命乃御世乎堅磐常磐爾奉護利五十櫃御世乃足良志御世爾田永能御世止奉福爾依弓齋玉作等我持齋波利持淨麻波利造仕礼留瑞八尺瓊能御吹支乃五百都御統乃玉爾明和幣(古語云爾伎弓)曜和幣乎附氣弓齊部宿禰某我弱肩爾太襪取懸弓言壽伎鎮奉事能漏落武事乎波。神直日命大直日命聞直志見直志弓平良氣久安良氣久所知食登白。

詞別白久大宮賣命登御名乎申事波皇御孫命乃同殿能裏爾塞坐弓參入罷出人能選比所知志神等能伊須呂許比阿禮比坐乎言直志和志(古語云夜波志)坐弓皇御孫命朝乃御膳。夕乃御膳供奉流比禮懸伴緒。襪懸伴緒乎手蹟足蹟(古語云麻我比)不令為弓親王諸王諸臣百官人等乎。己乖乖不令在邪意穢心無久宮進進米宮勤勤之米弓咎過在乎波見直志聞直坐弓平良氣久安良氣久令仕奉坐爾依弓大宮賣命止御名乎稱辭竟奉久登白。

(9)

御門祭

櫛磐窓豐磐窓命登御名乎申事波四方内外御門爾如湯津磐村久塞坐弓四方四角与利疎備荒備来武天能麻我都比登云神乃言武惡事爾(古語云麻我許登)相麻自許利相口会賜事無久自上往波上護利自下往波下護利待防掃却言排坐弓朝波開門。夕波閉門弓參入罷出人名乎問所知志咎過在乎波神直備大直備爾見直聞直坐弓平良氣久安良氣久令奉仕賜故爾豐磐窓命櫛磐窓命登御名乎稱辭竟奉久登白。

(10)

六月晦大祓

集侍親王諸王諸臣百官人等諸聞食止宣。天皇朝廷爾仕奉留比禮挂伴男。手襪挂伴男劍佩伴男伴男能八十伴男乎始弓官官爾仕奉留人等乃過犯家牟。雜雜罪乎今年六月晦之大祓爾祓給比清給事乎。諸聞食止宣。

高天原爾神留坐皇親神漏岐神漏美乃命以弓八百万神等乎神集賜比。神議議賜弓我皇御孫之命波豐葦原乃水穗之国乎安国止平久知所食止事依奉岐。如此依志奉志國中爾荒振神等乎波神問志賜神掃掃賜比弓語問志磐根樹立草之垣葉乎毛語止弓天之磐座放天之八重雲乎伊頭乃千別爾千別弓天降依左志奉岐。如此久依左志奉志四方之國中登大倭日高見之国乎安国止定奉弓下津磐根爾宮柱太敷立、高天原爾千木高知弓皇御孫之命乃美頭乃御舍仕奉弓天之御蔭日之御蔭止隱坐弓安国止平氣久所知久武國中爾成出武天之益人等我過犯家牟雜雜罪事波天津罪止咩放・溝埋・槌放・頻蒔・串刺・生剥・逆剥・屎戶許許太久乃罪乎天津罪止法別氣弓国津罪止生膚断・死膚断・白人・胡久美・己母犯罪・己子犯罪・母与子犯罪・子与母犯罪・畜犯罪・昆虫乃災・高津神乃災・高津鳥災・畜仆志蟲物為罪許許太久乃罪出武。如此出波天津宮事以弓大中臣天津金木乎本打切。末打断弓千座置座爾置足波志弓天津菅會乎本刈断・末刈切弓・八針爾取辟弓天津祝詞乃太祝詞事乎宣禮。如此久乃良波天津神波天磐門乎押披弓天之八重雲乎伊頭乃千別爾千別弓所聞食武。国津神波高山之末短山末爾上坐弓高山之伊惠理乎撥別弓所聞食武。如此所聞食弓波皇御孫之命乃朝廷乎始弓天下四方国爾波罪止云布罪波不在止。科戶之風乃天之八重雲乎吹放事之如久。朝之御霧夕御霧乎朝風夕風乃吹掃事之如。大津邊爾居大船乎舳解放舳解放弓大海原爾押放事之如久。彼方之繁木本乎燒鎌乃敏鎌以弓打掃事之如久。遺罪波不在止祓給比清給事乎。高山短山之末与理佐久那太理爾落多支津速川能瀬坐須瀬織津比咩止云神大海原爾持出奈武。如此持出往波荒塩之塩乃八百道乃八塩道乃塩乃八百会爾坐須速開都比咩止云神持可可吞弓牟如此久可可吞弓波氣吹戶坐須氣吹戶主止云神根国底之国爾氣吹放弓牟。如此久氣吹放弓波根国底之国爾坐速佐須良比咩登云神持佐須良比失弓武。如此久失弓波天皇我朝廷爾仕奉留官官人等乎始弓天下四方爾波自今日始弓罪止云布罪波不在止高天原爾耳振立聞物止馬牽立弓今年六月晦日夕之降乃大祓爾祓給比清給事乎。諸聞食止宣。四国卜部等大川道爾持退出弓祓却止宣。

Literary Chinese Text Omitted

(12)

鎮火祭

高天原爾神留坐皇親神漏義神漏美能命持弓皇御孫命波豐葦原乃水穗國乎。安國止平久所知食止天下所寄奉之時爾事寄奉之天都詞太詞事乎以弓申久。神伊佐奈伎伊佐奈美乃命妹背二柱嫁繼給弓國能八十國嶋能八十嶋乎生給比八百万神等乎生給比弓麻奈弟子爾火結神生給弓美保止被燒弓石隱坐弓夜七夜昼七日吾乎奈見給比曾吾奈背乃命止申給比支。此七日爾波不足弓隱坐事奇止弓見所行須時、火乎生給弓御保止乎所燒坐支。如是時爾吾名背乃命能吾乎御給布奈止申乎吾乎見阿波多志給比津止申給弓吾名背能命波上津國乎所知食倍志吾波下津國乎所知牟止申弓石隱給比與美津坂爾至坐弓所思食久。吾名背能所知食上津國爾心惡子乎生置弓來奴止宜弓返坐弓更生子。水神・鵜・川菜・埴山姬・四種物乎生給弓此能心惡子乃心荒比留波水神・鵜・埴山姬・川菜乎持弓鎮奉禮止事教悟給支依此弓稱辭竟奉者皇御孫能朝廷爾御心一速比給波志止為弓進物波明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物乎備奉弓青海原爾住物者鰭廣物鰭狹物與津海菜邊津海菜爾至万弓爾御酒者瓶邊高知、瓶腹滿雙弓和稻荒稻爾至万弓爾如橫山置高成弓天津祝詞乃太祝詞事以弓稱辭竟奉久止申。

(13)

道饗祭

高天之原爾事始弓皇御孫之命止稱辭竟奉。大八衢爾湯津磐村之如久塞坐皇神等之前爾申久。八衢比古・八衢比壳・久那斗止御名者申弓辭竟奉久波根國底國與利龜備疎備來物爾相率相口會事無弓下行物下乎守理上往者上乎守理夜之守日之守爾守奉齋奉禮比進幣帛者明妙照妙和妙荒妙爾備奉御酒者瓶邊高知瓶腹滿雙弓汁爾母穎爾母山野爾住物者毛能和物毛能荒物青海腹爾住物者鰭乃廣物鰭狹物與津海菜邊津海菜爾至万弓爾橫山之如久置所足弓進宇豆乃幣帛乎平氣久聞食弓八衢爾湯津磐村之如久塞坐弓皇御孫命乎堅磐爾常磐爾齋奉。茂御世爾幸問奉給止申。又親王等王等臣等百人等天下公民爾至万弓爾平久齋給部止。神官天津祝詞乃太祝詞事乎以弓稱辭竟奉止申。

(14)

大嘗祭

集侍神主祝等諸聞食止宣。

高天原爾神留坐皇睦神漏伎神漏彌命以天杜国杜止敷坐留皇神等前爾白久。今年十一月中卯日爾天部御食乃長御食能遠御食止皇御孫命乃大嘗聞食牟為故爾皇神等相宇豆乃比奉弓堅磐爾常磐爾齋比奉利茂御世爾幸聞奉牟爾依弓志千秋五百秋爾平久安久聞食弓豐明爾明坐牟皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎明妙照妙和妙荒妙爾備奉弓朝日豐榮登爾稱辭竟奉久乎。諸聞食止宣。

事別忌部能弱肩爾太襪取持弓持由麻波利仕奉禮留幣帛乎神主祝部等請弓事不落捧持弓奉登宣。

(15)

鎮御魂齋戶祭

高天之原爾神留坐須皇親神漏岐神漏美乃命乎以弓皇御孫之命波豐葦原能水穗国乎安国止定奉弓下津磐根爾宮柱太敷立高天原爾千木高知弓天之御蔭日之御蔭止稱辭竟奉弓奉御衣波上下備奉弓宇豆乃幣帛波明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物御酒波瓶腹滿雙弓山野物波甘菜辛菜青海原物波鰭広物鰭狭物奥津海菜邊津海菜爾至万弓爾雜物乎如横山置高成弓拋留宇豆幣帛乎安幣帛能足幣帛止平久聞食弓皇良我朝廷乎常磐爾堅磐爾齋奉。茂御世爾幸聞奉給弓自此十二月始来十二月爾至万弓爾平久御坐所令御坐給止今年十二月某日齋比鎮奉止申。

(16)

儺祭詞

諦定位可候。大宮内爾神祇官宮主能伊波比奉里敬奉留天地能諸御神等波平久於太比爾伊麻佐布倍志登申。事別弓詔久穢惡伎疫鬼能所所村村爾藏里隱布留乎波千里之外四方之堺東方陸奥西方遠值嘉南方土佐北方佐渡与里乎知能所乎奈牟多知疫鬼之住加登定賜比行賜弓五色宝物海山能種々味物乎給弓罷賜移賜布所所方方爾急爾罷往登追給登詔爾挾姦心弓留里加久良波大儺公小儺公持五兵弓追走刑殺物曾登聞食登詔。

Appendix 2

Descriptive statistics, for 10-line selection of mixed-script poem discussed in Chapter 9 (p.201):

Alpha (for confidence interval) 5.%

Variable #1 (a)

Count	10	Mean Deviation	0.174		
Mean	0.386	Second Moment	0.04304		
Mean LCL	0.22956	Third Moment	0.00482		
Mean UCL	0.54244	Fourth Moment	0.00415		
Variance	0.04783				
Standard Deviation	0.21869	Sum	3.86		
Mean Standard Error	0.06916	Sum Standard Error	0.69157		
Coefficient of Variation	0.56656	Total Sum Squares	1.9204		
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.43044		
Minimum	0.14				
Maximum	0.8	Geometric Mean	0.32979		
Range	0.66	Harmonic Mean	0.27923		
		Mode	0.14		
Median	0.365				
Median Error	0.02741	Skewness	0.53946		
Percentile 25% (Q1)	0.2125	Skewness Standard Error	0.61451		
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.535	Kurtosis	2.23971		
IQR	0.3225	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.92244		
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.185	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.63972		
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	0.47671	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-0.37979		

Variable #2 (i)

Count	10	Mean Deviation	0.126		
Mean	0.228	Second Moment	0.02202		
Mean LCL	0.11612	Third Moment	-0.00059		
Mean UCL	0.33988	Fourth Moment	0.00089		
Variance	0.02446				
Standard Deviation	0.15640	Sum	2.28		
Mean Standard Error	0.04946	Sum Standard Error	0.49459		
Coefficient of Variation	0.68598	Total Sum Squares	0.74		
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.22016		
Minimum	0				
Maximum	0.43	Geometric Mean	0.34479		
Range	0.43	Harmonic Mean	0.30489		
		Mode	NaN		
Median	0.225				
Median Error	0.01960	Skewness	-0.18168		

Percentile 25% (Q1)	0.1475	Skewness Standard Error	0.61451
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.37250	Kurtosis	1.83761
IQR	0.225	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.92244
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.2	Skewness (Fisher's)	-0.21545
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	0.56000	Kurtosis	
(Fisher's)	-1.09065		

Variable #3 (u)

Count	10	Mean Deviation	0.0826
Mean	0.059	Second Moment	0.00873
Mean LCL	-0.01145	Third Moment	0.00089
Mean UCL	0.12945	Fourth Moment	0.00019
Variance	0.00970		
Standard Deviation	0.09848	Sum	0.59000
Mean Standard Error	0.03114	Sum Standard Error	0.31143
Coefficient of Variation	1.66920	Total Sum Squares	0.1221
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.08729
Minimum	0		
Maximum	0.25	Geometric Mean	0.60885
Range	0.25	Harmonic Mean	0.61947
		Mode	0

Mediano

Median Error	0.01234	Skewness	1.08699
Percentile 25% (Q1)	0	Skewness Standard Error	0.61451
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.105	Kurtosis	2.43320
IQR	0.105	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.92244
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0	Skewness (Fisher's)	1.28901
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	NaN	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-0.03774

Variable #4 (e)

Count	10	Mean Deviation	0.121
Mean	0.121	Second Moment	0.01655
Mean LCL	0.02400	Third Moment	0.00061
Mean UCL	0.21800	Fourth Moment	0.00036
Variance	0.01839		
Standard Deviation	0.13560	Sum	1.21
Mean Standard Error	0.04288	Sum Standard Error	0.42881
Coefficient of Variation	1.12067	Total Sum Squares	0.3119
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.16549
Minimum	0		
Maximum	0.29	Geometric Mean	0.48243
Range	0.29	Harmonic Mean	0.44469
		Mode	0
Mediano	0.07		
Median Error	0.01700	Skewness	0.28759

Percentile 25% (Q1)	0	Skewness Standard Error	0.61451
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.2675	Kurtosis	1.29918
IQR	0.2675	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.92244
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.145	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.34104
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	1.72857	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-2.04251

Variable #5 (o)

Count	10	Mean Deviation	0.1512
Mean	0.206	Second Moment	0.03122
Mean LCL	0.07276	Third Moment	0.00172
Mean UCL	0.33924	Fourth Moment	0.00168
Variance	0.03469		
Standard Deviation	0.18626	Sum	2.06
Mean Standard Error	0.05890	Sum Standard Error	0.58901
Coefficient of Variation	0.90418	Total Sum Squares	0.7366
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.31224
Minimum	0		
Maximum	0.5	Geometric Mean	0.39136
Range	0.5	Harmonic Mean	0.33210
		Mode	0
Median	0.17		
Median Error	0.02334	Skewness	0.31242
Percentile 25% (Q1)	0.035	Skewness Standard Error	0.61451
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.3625	Kurtosis	1.72826
IQR	0.3275	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.92244
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.13	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.37049
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	0.88235	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-1.28398

Appendix 3

Descriptive statistics, for whole of mixed-script poem discussed in Chapter 9 (p.201):
Alpha (for confidence interval) 5.%

Variable #1 (a)

Count	39	Mean Deviation	0.16830	
Mean	0.29051	Second Moment	0.03993	
Mean LCL	0.22489	Third Moment	0.00444	
Mean UCL	0.35613	Fourth Moment	0.00399	
Variance	0.04098			
Standard Deviation	0.20243	Sum	11.33	
Mean Standard Error	0.03242	Sum Standard Error	1.26419	
Coefficient of Variation	0.69681	Total Sum Squares	4.8487	
		Adjusted Sum Squares	1.55719	
Minimum	0			
Maximum	0.8	Geometric Mean	0.31359	
Range	0.8	Harmonic Mean	0.26130	
		Mode	0.14	
Median	0.25			
Median Error	0.00651	Skewness	0.55593	
Percentile 25% (Q1)	0.14	Skewness Standard Error	0.36839	
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.4	Kurtosis	2.50251	
IQR	0.26	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.68353	
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.11	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.57841	
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	0.66872	Kurtosis		
(Fisher's)	-0.39653			

Variable #2 (i)

Count	39	Mean Deviation	0.11809	
Mean	0.24564	Second Moment	0.02123	
Mean LCL	0.19779	Third Moment	0.00054	
Mean UCL	0.29350	Fourth Moment	0.00120	
Variance	0.02179			
Standard Deviation	0.14763	Sum	9.58	
Mean Standard Error	0.02364	Sum Standard Error	0.92193	
Coefficient of Variation	0.60099	Total Sum Squares	3.1814	
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.82816	
Minimum	0			
Maximum	0.57	Geometric Mean	0.30709	
Range	0.57	Harmonic Mean	0.27180	
		Mode	NaN	
Median	0.2			
Median Error	0.00474	Skewness	0.17544	

Percentile 25% (Q1)	0.14	Skewness Standard Error	0.36839
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.345	Kurtosis	2.66717
IQR	0.205	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.68353
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.09000	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.18253
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	0.58462	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-0.20863

Variable #3 (u)

Count	39	Mean Deviation	0.11692
Mean	0.12	Second Moment	0.01794
Mean LCL	0.07601	Third Moment	0.00169
Mean UCL	0.16399	Fourth Moment	0.00075
Variance	0.01842		
Standard Deviation	0.13570	Sum	4.68
Mean Standard Error	0.02173	Sum Standard Error	0.84748
Coefficient of Variation	1.13087	Total Sum Squares	1.2614
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.6998
Minimum	0		
Maximum	0.43	Geometric Mean	0.45785
Range	0.43	Harmonic Mean	0.39806
		Mode	0

Median 0.14

Median Error	0.00436	Skewness	0.70228
Percentile 25% (Q1)	0	Skewness Standard Error	0.36839
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.2	Kurtosis	2.33667
IQR	0.2	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.68353
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.15	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.73069
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	0.83150	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-0.58579

Variable #4 (e)

Count	39	Mean Deviation	0.09315
Mean	0.07897	Second Moment	0.01051
Mean LCL	0.04530	Third Moment	0.00090
Mean UCL	0.11264	Fourth Moment	0.00025
Variance	0.01079		
Standard Deviation	0.10387	Sum	3.08
Mean Standard Error	0.01663	Sum Standard Error	0.64865
Coefficient of Variation	1.31520	Total Sum Squares	0.6532
		Adjusted Sum Squares	0.40996
Minimum	0		
Maximum	0.29	Geometric Mean	0.49891
Range	0.29	Harmonic Mean	0.42887
		Mode	0

Median 0

Median Error	0.00334	Skewness	0.83673
Percentile 25% (Q1)	0	Skewness Standard Error	0.36839

Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.14	Kurtosis	2.27321	
IQR	0.14	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.68353	
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.87058	
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	NaN	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-0.65820	

Variable #5 (o)

Count	39	Mean Deviation	0.21151	
Mean	0.26410	Second Moment	0.06178	
Mean LCL	0.18247	Third Moment	0.00963	
Mean UCL	0.34573	Fourth Moment	0.00840	
Variance	0.06341			
Standard Deviation	0.25181	Sum	10.3	
Mean Standard Error	0.04032	Sum Standard Error	1.57256	
Coefficient of Variation	0.95346	Total Sum Squares	5.12980	
		Adjusted Sum Squares	2.40954	
Minimum	0			
Maximum	0.8	Geometric Mean	0.45803	
Range	0.8	Harmonic Mean	0.39567	
		Mode	0	

Median 0.2

Median Error	0.00809	Skewness	0.62687	
Percentile 25% (Q1)	0	Skewness Standard Error	0.36839	
Percentile 75% (Q3)	0.415	Kurtosis	2.20136	
IQR	0.415	Kurtosis Standard Error	0.68353	
MAD (Median Absolute Deviation)	0.09000	Skewness (Fisher's)	0.65223	
Coefficient of Dispersion (COD)	1.01282	Kurtosis (Fisher's)	-0.74019	