

9 The sinification of Japanese

Just as early Japanese society received massive intellectual, cultural, political and social influence from Tang China, so the Japanese language was heavily influenced by Chinese, particularly through the MJ period. There is no doubt that prior to this, both in Nara and pre-Nara Japan, some intellectuals and clergy, as well as traders and fishermen, had some facility in varieties of spoken Chinese. As was set out in 4.2.2 above, a number of early loanwords into Japanese from Chinese, possibly mediated through the Korean peninsula, may be identified, and it is likely that there are more which we are not able to identify. However, the pervasive influence on Japanese from Chinese in the OJ and MJ periods which took place through the medium of text was of an altogether different order, affecting both usage and especially vocabulary to an extent which merits the designation *sinification*. This took place through two related, complementary modes of interacting with Classical Chinese text (*kanbun* 漢文), generally thought of as two ways of ‘reading’ the texts: *kanbun-kundoku*, the rendition of Chinese text in Japanese, which affected grammar and usage (see 9.1) and (*kanbun-*)*ondoku*, the vocalization of Chinese text as such, which paved the way for the intake of a large number of loanwords from Chinese (9.2). Both of these ‘reading’ practices have a long history in Japan, predating the Nara period and continuing into the present. It is convenient to treat them as one here, for it is from the Heian period we find the earliest direct evidence for the language of *kanbun-kundoku* and the beginnings of a large-scale adoption of SJ loanwords.

9.1 *Kanbun-kundoku*

Kanbun-kundoku (漢文訓讀) is the interpretation, explication or translation in or into Japanese of Classical Chinese text. An important characteristic of *kanbun-kundoku* is the notion that it involves verbalizing the original Chinese text in Japanese, and it is popularly thought of as ‘reading’ Chinese text ‘in Japanese’ or ‘with Japanese grammar’. The practice of *kanbun-kundoku*, understood as ‘the “reading” of Chinese in a local vernacular language’, is not restricted to Japan, but is a common feature of civilizations within the Sinitic cultural sphere, attested and described in the sixth and seventh centuries from places as far-flung as Japan, the Korean peninsula, Vietnam and Gao Chang (高昌, the site of an important oasis city on the Silk Road, in what is now the

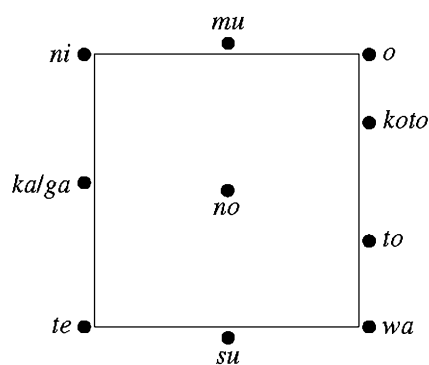
Chinese province of Xinjiang). It is safe to assume that *kanbun-kundoku* in this wider sense predates these early attestations, and it may be thought that the advent of Chinese text in Japan from the Korean peninsula early in the fifth century was accompanied by this practice. In Korean, rendition of Chinese text in Korean is said to date back at least to the fifth century. It is likely that the strong logographic element in Chinese writing favoured the development and spread through East Asia of *kanbun-kundoku* (-like practices), together with the notion that it consists in ‘reading’ Chinese in another language. Although *kanbun-kundoku* certainly is a kind of ‘translation’, we use the broader term ‘rendition’ in the following in order to capture all of what the practice involves.

A basic feature of *kanbun-kundoku* is the *translation* of words and phrases in the Chinese text into Japanese. Chinese and Japanese are grammatically quite different: Chinese has no inflectional morphology, expresses grammatical relations by word order and has a large inventory of grammaticalized preposed verbs and adverbs (expressing amongst others categories such as negation and mood), as opposed to the fairly rich verbal and adjectival inflection, specification of syntactic roles by grammatical particles and free word order (except for verb-finality) of Japanese. Thus, *kanbun-kundoku* involves finding suitable translation equivalents in Japanese for content and function words in the Chinese texts. However, in addition *kanbun-kundoku* involves a number of processes in order to render (‘read’) the Chinese text in Japanese: *transposition* (change of word order) and *interpolation* or *specification* (of inflectional morphemes or grammatical particles).

9.1.1 *Kunten*

Kunten (訓点 ‘reading marks, glosses’) is a cover-term for a variety of annotations added to Chinese text in order to aid these processes of its rendition in Japanese. The earliest extant *kunten*, from the late eighth century, are punctuation marks, showing phrasing and division of a text, and marks showing how to change the word order when rendering text in Japanese. The latter are collectively known as *kaeriten* ‘reversal marks’; through time these have included numbers and other means of showing sequence. Especially from the Heian period onwards, more types of *kunten* are found which may roughly be divided into two classes: *kana glosses* and *okoto-ten*.

Kana glosses are *man’yōgana* or *kana* written next to a character, indicating its ‘reading’. This could be a SJ word, in which case the gloss only had information about the pronunciation; or it could be the sound shape of a Japanese word used to render the Chinese word in Japanese, in effect constituting a translation or glossing in Japanese of the Chinese word. The development of *katakana* is closely linked to the practice of glossing, and *katakana* is traditionally viewed as originating as a subtype of *kunten*.

Figure 9.1 Example of *kunten* system

Okoto-ten (thus named after two frequently noted grammatical forms, the particle *wo* > *o* and the nominalizer/complementizer *koto*) or *tenioha* (named after the gerund formant *-te* and the particles *ni*, *o* and *pa* > *wa* (today written using the *kana* for *ha*)) are two common terms for diacritic marks which indicate grammatical morphemes. Graphically, *okoto-ten/tenioha* are lines, dots, circles, hooks or marks of other shapes which were placed next to or on *kanji*. *Okoto-ten/tenioha* are generally thought of as shorthand for grammatical particles or words, auxiliaries or inflectional endings; both the shapes and positions of marks are significant. Figure 9.1 is an example of part of a system which uses single dot marks for *-te*, *ni*, *o* and *wa* in the four corners of the space around a *kanji*, as well as marks for *o* and *koto*, exemplifying the frequent markings which gave rise to the two names for this kind of diacritic. It also includes marks for the particles *ka*, *ga*, *no* and *to*, as well as for *su* and *mu*.

Through the first half of the Heian period, a wealth of different *kunten* traditions developed, with individual scholars, sects or temples developing their own systems which grew increasingly complex and often secret, or at least exclusive. Tsukishima (1986) provides a large number of charts illustrating different systems, many of which are very elaborate. Within each school of reading, normative annotations and readings of individual texts became established, and from around the mid Heian period text annotations became the object of faithful, dogmatic tradition. From the Kamakura period, the introduction of neo-Confucianism was accompanied by new text interpretations, leading to some innovation and change in annotations of some Confucian texts. Today a simple system of *kunten*, confined largely to *kaeriten*, is taught in Japanese schools as part of the *kanbun* curriculum.

The following is an example of *kanzen* and *kanbun-kundoku*. (1) is a Chinese text, a short passage from the *Fǎhuà wénjù* (法華文句, Japanese *Hokke monjū* 'The sentences and phrases in the Lotus sutra'), an explication of the Lotus Sutra by Zhi-yi (智顓, Japanese Chigi) from the second half of the sixth century, written down by one of his students. Zhi-yi was the founder of Tiantai Buddhism, the ancestor of Japanese Tendai Buddhism, and the *Fǎhuà wénjù* is an important text in Tendai Buddhism. (2) is the text annotated with *kanzen*, adapted from Nishizaki (1992) which photographically reproduces the original annotated text and provides a precise transliteration in printed type (as well as a rendition in Japanese). The annotation dates from around the year 1000.

- (1) 何禿人從我上過
後時佛欲上天
是龍吐黑雲闇霧隱翳三光

- (2) 是、何ち
龍、禿^{カウ}
吐^{ハク}、人^ニ從^{ヨリ}
黑^{コク}、雲^{クモ}、
闇^{カク}、霧^{キリ}、
隱^{カクレ}、
翳^{カサス}、
三^ニ、
光^{ツキ}、
過^{カス}、
後^ノ、
時^{トキ}、
佛^{ブツ}、
欲^{ホク}、
上^{ノボ}、
天^ト、

In (2) we first of all see a great deal of *kana* glosses, both giving information about ‘readings’ of individual *kanji* and supplying grammatical information not represented in the Chinese text, such as particles and verbal auxiliaries and inflectional endings. The *kana* glosses do not distinguish between tenues and mediae, for example using 力 both for /ka/ in *kaburo* and for /ga/ in genitive *ga*, and inspection of the photographic reproduction of the original *kunten* text further shows that a number of variant *kana* shapes were used in the glosses. There are also some punctuation marks (a ‘comma’ after 過, 佛, 龍 and 雲, a ‘full stop’ after 天 and 光) and *kaeriten* in the form of the numbers 1 or 2 to the left of 從, 上, 欲, 天, 吐, 霧, 翳 and 光, indicating that the *kanji* (complex) marked ‘2’ should be rendered after that marked ‘1’. Finally, there are two instances of *okoto-ten*, a single dot by the top left corner of 時 and 天, standing for *ni*.

(3) is the *yomi-kudasi* (lit. ‘reading-down’), the Japanese text represented by the *kunten*. We have noted in CAPITALS readings not indicated in the *kunten* text, i.e., readings which we hypothesize in our interpretation. Note that 龍 appears earlier in the text where it is glossed as *riu*; 佛 is glossed simply by *ke*, which suffices to show that it is meant to be glossed *potoke* and not for example *putu*. Everything in lower case in (3) is directly represented in the *kunten* text. We use **boldface** for glosses giving grammatical information not represented in the Chinese text, and **bold italics** for such information given by *okoto-ten*, and we underline words which have been transposed, generally by a move to the right as instructed by numbers, but note also that the order of 欲 and 上 has been reversed without any overt instruction. Knowing and following the conventions used in this tradition of *kanbun-kundoku* allows a reader to render the Chinese text into Japanese.

(3) 何 禿 人 我 上 從 過
 nazo kaburo **naru** PITO **no** WA **ga** uwe yori suguru,
 why bald COP.ADN person GEN I GEN above ABL pass.ADN

[The Dragon said:] ‘Why is a bald man passing over me?’

後 時 佛
 NOTI **no** TOKI **ni** POTOke,
 after COP.ADN time DAT Buddha

天 上 欲
 AME **ni** NOBOra-**mu** **to** possu
 heaven DAT ascend-CONJ.CONCL COMP want.CONCL

‘Later, the Buddha wanted to ascend to heaven.’

是 龍 黑雲 闇霧 吐
 KO **no** RIU, kokuUN-anbu **wo** paite
 this GEN dragon black.cloud-dark.mist ACC breath.GER

三光		隱 翳
SANGWAŪ wo		<u>kakusi-kakusu</u>
three.lights (the sun, moon, and stars) ACC		hide-hide.CONCL

‘The dragon hid the sun, moon, and stars by breathing black clouds and dark mist.’

Several questions arise from *kunten* texts such as (2). Should they primarily be considered ‘annotated’ Chinese text with more or less abstract instructions about their interpretation and rendition in Japanese, or are they rather orthographically severely underspecified Japanese text, superimposed on the still present Chinese source text? Is the use of *kunten* ‘annotation’ or is it ‘writing’? *Kunten* texts present a multi-layered textuality of great complexity with non-trivial difficulties of interpretation.

In China itself, annotating text for interpretation or pronunciation is well established and has a long history. For example, the *shōten* (‘tone marks’) mentioned earlier (6.1.2.2) are similar to *kunten* and are part of the same overall phenomenon. Until recently it was thought that *kunten*, including *katakana*, were independent developments in Japan, if perhaps generally inspired by for example *shōten*; similar types of materials exist in Korea, but are somewhat later. In Korea, marks to annotate text are called *kugyōl*; they are very similar to Japanese *kunten*, but the earliest have been thought to date from the ninth century. However, especially with the continuing discovery in both Japan and Korea of increasing amounts of *kunten* materials which are annotated not in ink, but by *stylus* (角筆 *kakuhitsu*) which leaves indentations or scratchings on the paper, but no colour, it is gradually becoming clear that techniques for annotation were used both on the Korean peninsula and in Japan at an earlier time than was previously thought, with the oldest such stylus materials in Korea dating from the late seventh century. It now in fact seems overwhelmingly likely that *kunten* techniques, too, like Chinese writing and text and *kanbun-kundoku*, were transmitted from the Korean peninsula to Japan. For example, the earliest Japanese materials are far more similar to the Korean materials than are later Japanese materials. Both *kanbun-kundoku* and *kunten* and their histories must be viewed in a pan-East Asian perspective, where, in particular, the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist canonical texts in Chinese translation and commentaries written in Chinese played an important role.

9.1.2 *Kanbun-kundoku and writing in Japanese*

A close relation holds between *kanbun-kundoku* and the development of writing in Japanese. In the course of *kanbun-kundoku*, fixed, habitual

renditions of individual *kanji* arose, resulting in conventional associations of many *kanji* with specific OJ words; or in other words, the establishment of conventional ‘*kun*-readings’ of *kanji*. Once this association of decoding (reading) was established, the next step of reversing the relation to one of encoding (writing) was not a big one. For example, habitually using Japanese *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’ to translate into, that is *read* in, Japanese the Chinese word written by 目 established a representational relation between 目 and *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’:

(4) 目 => *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’

This could now be reversed to have the word *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’ represented, that is, *written* by, 目, see (5), making possible logographic representation of Japanese. This is the origin of logographic writing of Japanese.

(5) *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’ => 目

Furthermore, by extension, once the encoding relation between *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’ and 目 was established, 目 could be used as a phonogram (*kungana*, cf. 1.1.2.5) to write the syllables /ma, me/:

(6) /ma, me/ => 目

Both the logographic and phonographic use of 目 shown in (5) and (6) are amply attested in the OJ sources. They provide indirect evidence that Chinese 目 in *kanbun-kundoku* in fact was rendered by *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’, for if 目 could be used to write OJ *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’ logographically and /ma, me/ phonographically, it is because *ma- ~ me* ‘eye’ habitually was used to translate Chinese 目 into Japanese in *kanbun-kundoku*.

The bidirectional reading–writing relationship between *kanji* and Japanese words and morphemes – and what appears to be an identification of the processes of reading and writing – is evident from uses of 訓 in the earliest sources from the Nara period. In Chinese the basic meaning of 訓 (EMC *xun^h) is ‘instruct, teach, follow, obey’, as is also reflected in many current SJ words, e.g. *kunren* 訓練 ‘training’, *kyōkun* 教訓 ‘lesson’. It later came to be used in the sense of ‘gloss, read, interpret (authoritatively)’, cf. 訓詁 (SJ *kunko*) ‘exegesis, interpretation, annotation, commentary’. This is the sense and use reflected in SJ *kundoku*, *kunten* etc. In Japan 訓 is used in this way in our earliest sources, for example in the ‘reading’ notes inside the main text of the *Kojiki*, to mean ‘read (out) (a logographically written word)’. The reading notes are instructions, written in Chinese, about how to read the main text; they are not later additions, but part of the text. (7) is the first such note and

exemplifies this usage, instructing the reader to read the *kanji* 天 on this occurrence as *ama*, and not for example *ame*.

- (7) 訓 高 下 天 云 阿 麻
 read below say /a/ /ma/
 ‘*reading* the 天 after the 高, say *ama*’

However, a quite different use of 訓 is found in the *Kojiki* preface, which is generally regarded as being written in Chinese, in the paragraph outlining the writing principles employed in the main text of the *Kojiki*. Here 訓 is used to mean ‘logographic *writing*’, a usage not found in Chinese. The passage is generally instructive, for it explains well the tension between logographic and phonographic writing of Japanese, and we already here see the juxtaposition of 音 and 訓 (*SJ on, kun*) which today are used about different ‘readings’ of individual *kanji*. (8) gives the text line by line together with Philippi’s translation (1968: 43; emphasis added).¹

- (8) 然、上古之時、言意並朴、敷文構句、於字即難。
 However, during the times of antiquity, both words and meanings were unsophisticated, and it was difficult to reduce the sentences and phrases to writing.
- 已因訓述者、詞不逮心。
 If expressed completely in *logographic writing*, the words will not correspond exactly with the meaning,
- 全以音連者、事趣更長。
 and if written entirely *phonographically*, the account will be much longer.
- 是以今、或一句之中、交用音訓、
 For this reason, at times *logographic and phonographic writing* have been used in combination in the same phrase,
- 或一事之內、全以訓錄。
 and at times the whole matter has been recorded *logographically*.
- 即、辭理叵見、以注明、意況易解、更非注。
 Thus, when the purport is difficult to gather, a note has been added to make it clear; but when the meaning is easy to understand, no note is given.

¹ We change Philippi’s ‘ideographic’ to the more current ‘logographic’, and ‘phonetic’ to ‘phonographic’.

亦、於姓日下、謂玖沙詞、於名帶字、謂多羅斯、如此之類、隨本不改。

Again, in the case of surnames such as Kusaka, which is written 日下, and given names such as Tarasi, which is written 帶, the traditional way of writing has been followed without change.

In this way, all logographic writing of Japanese derives from *kanbun-kundoku* reversed from reading to writing. The basic mechanism is that any character or string of characters which could be rendered into Japanese could also be used to write the Japanese rendition, as illustrated above with 目 writing *ma-~me* ‘eye’. Another simple example is the writing of single grammatical morphemes by single *kanji*, for example the use of 而 to write the flective *-(i)te* (gerund), e.g. 始而 *padime-te* ‘beginning’. More complicated examples are the writing of morphologically complex forms, especially inflected verb forms, with logographic representation of grammatical elements, but with the order of the *kanji* reflecting the Chinese constituent order:

- (9) 不有 *ara-**zu*** ‘is not’
 可有 *aru **besi*** ‘should be’
 所知在 *sira-**re**-tari* ‘was known’

Such writing is very frequent in both *Norito* and *Senmyō* and is also found widely in the *Man’yōshū*. It is also a prominent feature of the *kanji-kana majiribun* way of writing which gained currency from the second half of EMJ. As mentioned above (6.1.1), Japanese writing today is a direct descendant of the *kanji-kana majiribun* of EMJ and LMJ, which in addition to the common principles of logographic writing of Japanese derived from *kanbun-kundoku* was particularly influenced by the use of *kana* glosses in *kunten* annotations. Thus, the way Japanese is written today may trace its origins directly back to *kanbun-kundoku* practices and *kunten* techniques.

9.1.2.1 Hentai kanbun, ‘kanbun’

An extreme and complicated logographic way of writing Japanese has some, but not all, constituents placed in an order resembling Chinese constituent order and little specification of verbal inflection. Reading this type of text involves some of the same processes as *kanbun-kundoku*. (10) is a very simple example from the *Kojiki* which illustrates the main principles: transposing elements (here underlined) and supplying grammatical elements not represented in the text (in **bold**). Although it is a way of writing Japanese, this type of writing is confusingly known as *hentai kanbun* (変体漢文 ‘deviant Chinese text (or writing)’); it is called ‘deviant’ because it exhibits non-Chinese features (including word order and use), which is not surprising as it

is a way of representing Japanese, not Chinese. One well-known example is the use of 御 to write general honorific elements in Japanese (as in (10) where it represents the honorific prefix *mi-*), whereas 御 in Chinese is used to refer to the emperor.

- (10) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
於其嶋天降坐而
- 2 3 1 4 5 6 7
so **no** sima ni ama-kudari-masi-te
that GEN island DAT heaven-descend-RESP-GER
- 1 2 3 4 5 6
見立天之御柱
- 3 4 5 6 1 2
ame no mi-pasira **wo** mi-tate
heaven GEN HON-pillar ACC see-erect
- 1 2 3 4 5
見立八尋殿
- 3 4 5 1 2
ya-piro-dono **wo** mi-tate-tamapi-ki
eight-hiro-palace ACC see-erect-RESP-SPST.CONCL
- ‘Descending from the heavens to this island, they erected a heavenly pillar and a spacious palace’ (*Kojiki, Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 1, pp. 52–3; translation by Philippi 1968: 50)

Hentai kanbun is subsumed as a subtype under the more general term ‘*kanbun*’, which has given rise to a great deal of confusion, because it is commonly used in a variety of meanings, to refer to quite different types of text, ranging from text written straightforwardly in Classical Chinese – this is the way we used the word above – over *hentai kanbun* to refer also sometimes to those portions of a Japanese text which are written in *kanji*.

In addition to *hentai kanbun*, a practice arose of writing a Japanese text by reversing fully, and not just partially as with *hentai kanbun*, the process of *kanbun-kundoku* and thus so to speak translating the Japanese text into Chinese with the purpose of it being re-translated into Japanese when read. Some texts written in this way were even supplied with *kunten* (both *kana* glosses and diacritics) in order to aid the interpretation and thus have the appearance of *kunten* texts. It may be thought that much, if not most, ‘*kanbun*’ written in Japan since the late Heian period is not actually written in Chinese, although it looks that way, but is a cumbersome representation of Japanese. The writing

of Japanese ‘in *kanbun*’ – including but not limited to *hentai kanbun* – continued long into the modern period.

9.1.3 Orthographic overdifferentiation

‘*Kun*-readings’, that is habitual association of individual *kanji* with Japanese words, have occasionally imposed orthographic distinctions on Japanese which reflect distinctions in Chinese (cf. also 1.1.3.1 about polyvalence and equivalence in the use of *kanji* to write Japanese logographically). For example, the verb *yom-* must be written by (a) 読 or (b) 詠 depending on whether it means (a) ‘read (silently), read (out), chant (a sutra)’ or (b) ‘compose, write a poem’, leading to the popular belief that *yom-* is two different words. An extreme example is the word *oba* (< OJ *woba*) which simply means ‘aunt’, but which can be written 伯母 for ‘older sister of father (or mother)’ or 叔母 ‘younger sister of father (or mother)’, imposing Chinese derived kinship differentiations on the writing of Japanese. It may well be that the split of OJ *mono* ‘thing, being, person’ into two separate words (a) ‘thing’ and (b) ‘person’ has been reinforced by the writing by two different *kanji* from early on: (a) 物 and (b) 者.

9.1.4 Kokuji

A final offspring of logographic writing of Japanese is the invention in Japan of *kanji* for Japanese words, the so-called *kokuji* (国字). Well-known examples which are in use today include those in (11). Note that the final three are used with ‘*on*-readings’ to make up SJ (looking and sounding) vocabulary.

- (11) 柵 *sakaki* ‘sakaki-tree; sacred tree’; 辻 *tsuji* ‘crossroad’; 凧 *kogarashi* ‘fierce wind in late autumn and early winter’; 峠 *tōge* ‘mountain pass; peak’; 畑, 畠 both *hatake* ‘field’; 嘯 *hanashi* ‘talk’; 鱈 *tara* ‘cod’; 躰 *shitsuke* ‘discipline, manners’; 躰 *appare* ‘splendid, brilliant’; 働 *hatarak-* ‘to work’, *dō* (労働 *rōdō* ‘work’²); 腺 *sen* ‘gland’ (汗腺 *kansen* ‘sweat gland’); 鉋 *byō* ‘rivet’ (画鉋 *gabyō* ‘drawing pin’).

9.1.5 Kuntengo

Although *kanbun-kundoku* was practised in Japan long before the spread of *kunten*, it is not until the appearance of *kunten* materials that we get direct

² 労働 was earlier written 労働, but in the Meiji period the current writing came to be used, following a period where 労働 was glossed *hatarak-* ‘to work’, which is the word 働 was made up to write. The *kanji* 働 itself was used already in the LMJ period.

evidence for the language used in *kanbun-kundoku*, although we do have some *indirect* evidence from written Japanese in the form of early identifiable influence from Chinese on Japanese (through *kanbun-kundoku*, see 9.1.6), and in the form of early well-established associations between individual *kanji* and Japanese words in the writing of Japanese, as mentioned in 9.1.2. The value of such indirect evidence is difficult to judge – the risk of circularity is obvious – and should only be taken to supplement direct evidence. The language used in *kunten* texts is referred to as *kuntengo* (訓点語). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the study of *kunten* texts (see 6.2.2) and of *kuntengo* has become an important focus of study for Japanese linguists and philologists, more recently attracting overseas scholars as well. *Kunten* texts are important primary sources and it is thought that especially *kunten* texts from the first half of the Heian period reflect some form of vernacular language, and they thus contribute to filling the gap in our knowledge of early EMJ left by the lack of other types of sources between late OJ and *c.* 900. However, *kunten* texts are in some respects orthographically underspecified and on some points very difficult to interpret, so their evidential value is not entirely straightforward. Furthermore, strict, dogmatic norms of rendition and annotation arose, so that *kunten* texts from after the middle of the EMJ period generally cannot be taken to reflect contemporary language.

As may be expected, *kuntengo*, which originates in a form of translation, is specialized and special, differing from general language in a number of respects, in terms of *style* and *usage*. However, although *kuntengo*, like much translation language, most likely was stilted and in some respects formal, it first and foremost constitutes one use, or genre, of Japanese and does not differ in basic morphology or syntax from other genres of Japanese. For example, in *kuntengo* subject and object nouns generally have case particles to show their grammatical function, whereas subjects and objects often were left unmarked in general writing – and in spoken language. This is a difference in formality, not in grammar.

Through the early Heian period, a specialization can be observed, so that some expressions were used exclusively or predominantly in *kuntengo*, whereas other near-synonymous forms were used in general prose writing. Apart from differences in formality and genre, this to some extent reflects that *kuntengo* preserves archaic features of the language. One example is the particle *i* (3.7.1.3) which is only attested in a small number of examples in OJ and not used at all in general writing in EMJ, but which was used extensively in some schools of *kanbun-kundoku*. In other cases, however, it was a matter of tendencies that some frequent features of *kuntengo* would not be used much in general prose writing. (12) gives some examples from the EMJ period, of which the forms in (a) reflect differences in usage or genre, whereas those in (b) reflect retention of forms which had gone out of use in the contemporary

language. Towards the end of EMJ and in LMJ, *kuntengo* exerted a great deal of influence on formal writing, and some forms were revived in writing outside of *kuntengo*. This coincided largely with the spread and wider usage of *kanji-kana majiribun* (6.1.1).

(12)	General prose	<i>Kuntengo</i>
a.	-(e)do concessive -nu, -ne, -de negative adnominal, exclamatory, gerund nar- copula	-(e)domo -zaru, -zare, -zusite tar-
b.	-sase- causative yaū-nar- 'be like' opase- (>owase-) 'exist.RESP'	-(a)sime- goto- imas-, masimas-

9.1.6 *The influences of kuntengo on the Japanese language*

More importantly, a number of usages in *kuntengo* originated in the course of attempting a faithful, literal rendition from Chinese. Some such features, which arose in the translation process and which thus reflect influence from Chinese, were carried over into and gained currency in general language used outside that context, for example through dissemination of sutra commentaries or in the related didactic *setsuwa* literature, or through the speech and writing of scholars and clergy familiar with *kanbun-kundoku*. This is not unlike the kind of influence the language used in Bible translations in Europe had on European languages, where many words and idioms arose in and spread through their use in Bible translations. Examples in English from William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament (1525) include *the powers that be*, and *eat, drink and be merry*, and words such as *busybody*, *castaway* and *zealous*.

Although it was during the EMJ period that the influence from *kanbun-kundoku* on Japanese gained momentum and increased, it seems clear that already OJ was influenced by *kanbun-kundoku*. This is evident in particular in the *Senmyō* and *Norito*, but also in some poetry from the *Man'yōshū*, but hints of this influence are found throughout the OJ text corpus. This means, conversely, that it is not possible to gauge the full extent or character of this influence, for we have no attestation of Japanese before it set in, but in the following we outline the type of influence *kanbun-kundoku* had on Japanese and give some examples of usage which permeated to general language.

Lexical loan translations originating in *kanbun-kundoku* abound in Japanese through the Old and Middle Japanese periods. Early examples include *ame-tuti*

‘heaven and earth; the world’ originating in the rendition of 天地; *ko no yo* ‘this world (opposed to before- and after-life)’ < 此世, *kaku-no-goto(ku, -si)* ‘(be(ing)) in this way’ < a number of different expressions in Chinese: 如是, 如此, 如斯, 如, 若斯, *nana-kusa no takara* ‘seven treasures; many treasures’ < 七寶, *iki-sini* ‘living and dying’ < 生死, *toki-doki* ‘sometimes’ < 時時, *tokoro-dokoro* ‘here and there’ < 所所, 处处, and more generally the reduplicating pattern of the last two examples. In addition to loan translations it is very likely that *kanbun-kundoku* more indirectly has influenced the use of individual lexical and grammatical items in Japanese widely, but it is at present not possible to say much concrete about that. See below (9.3) for one example.

On a more general level, the language of *kanbun-kundoku* was characterized by being *expository*, with relatively sparse use of modals, and *explicit*, with for example far less drop of core case particles than in other genres. In that way *kanbun-kundoku* language undoubtedly encouraged the development and use of formal, expository styles and modes of discourse in Japanese. Possibly related to that is the influence on information structure in Japanese sentences, and this is perhaps the greatest structural influence which Chinese, through *kanbun-kundoku*, has exerted on general Japanese. In Japanese, clauses are typically connected by non-finite verb forms or post-verbal conjunctive particles which express a variety of conjunctive and modal categories, and other types of mood, including negation, are expressed by verbal auxiliaries or (post-verbal) clitics, i.e. particles or extensions. The function words which in Chinese express such categories generally occur earlier in the sentence, and in the process of *kanbun-kundoku* they were often rendered by adverbs, or nouns or verb forms drafted in to function adverbially, placed at the beginning of the sentence or clause. When carried over into general language, this may be thought to have contributed to the now widespread use of *conjunctions* (which in Japanese are sentence or clause initial adverbs) and sentence initial *modal adverbs* which introduce the overall modality of the sentence, both of them sometimes in correlation with specific modal verb forms. This type of usage has thus influenced the information structure of Japanese sentences; it may also have contributed to the decline in verbal modal auxiliaries in the language. Examples of such conjunctions and modal adverbs include *sikasite* ‘and, then’ (< *sika site* ‘doing thus’), *sikaru ni* ‘however’ (< ‘although it is thus’), both originally used to render 而 ‘then, and’ (EMC *ɲi/ɲi). The adverb *imada* ‘(even) now’ (etymologically *ima* ‘now’ + *-da* ‘adverbial formant’) came to be used in correlation with a negative verb form to mean ‘not yet, never’, e.g., *imada tokazute* ‘not yet untying’ (KK 2). This usage of *imada* originates in the rendition of the Chinese negation 未 ‘not yet’ (EMC *muj^h) and continues in the modern language, where primarily the reduced shape *mada*, which is attested already from EMJ, is used. Yamada (1935) lists around

fifty examples of *kanbun-kundoku* usages which are preserved in the modern language, and the great majority are such conjunctions and adverbs.

A slightly different case, involving a more straightforward grammatical loan translation, is the rendition of Chinese 而後, which is a sentence connective ‘and then’. In addition to *sikasite* and *sikaru ni* just mentioned, 而 on its own was also rendered by the gerund formant *-(i)te*, and was in turn used to write *-(i)te* as mentioned above; and 後 ‘after, afterwards’ (EMC *ʃəw) could be rendered by *noti* ‘end’. The combination 而後 was jointly rendered as (VERB)-*te noti* which found its way into general usage in the meaning ‘after VERB-ing’, e.g., *okosete noti* ‘after sending’, eventually to form the model of the NJ synonymous construction VERB-*te kara* (*tabete kara* ‘after eating’). A noun such as *noti* ‘end’ lends itself to grammaticalizing to acquire conjunctive uses and that may well have contributed to the acceptance into general language of *-(i)te noti* as a conjunctive expression, but it remains syntactically unusual in Japanese to combine a gerund and a noun in this way.

A famous example of syntactic influence from Chinese, through *kanbun-kundoku* language, on Japanese is the use of a nominalized verb form to *introduce* reported speech or thought, leading to a framing construction, widespread already in OJ, where reported speech is both introduced and concluded by a verb of utterance, e.g. (13). (14) is an example from the *Man’yōshū*, repeated from 3.1.4.9.2 above.

- (13) (X) *ipaku* ‘Y’ *to* *ipu*
 say.NMNL COMP say
 ‘(X) says “Y”’

- (14) *kamwiyo ywori ipi-tute-kuraku*
 god.age ABL say-transmit-come.NMNL
sworamitu yamato no kuni pa
 soaring Yamato GEN land TOP
sumyekamwi no itukusiki kuni
 ruling.deity GEN august-ACOP.ADN land
kotodama no sakipapu kuni to
 word.spirit GEN bless.ADN land COMP
katari-tugi ipi-tugapi-kyeri
 tell-continue.INF say-continue-come.STAT.CONCL

‘It has been recounted down through time since the age of the gods: that this land of Yamato is a land of imperial deities’ stern majesty, a land blessed by the spirit of words’ (Levy 1981) (*MYS* 5.894)

The *introduction* of reported speech is atypical of Japanese, where conclusion by a complementizer and verb of utterance is usual. It is thought to have originated in *kanbun-kundoku* renditions of phrases like Chinese 子曰 ‘the master says: ...’, introducing sayings by Confucius in the Analects, which in *kanbun-kundoku* typically is glossed as *si ipaku* (> mid EMJ *iwaku*), using the nominal form of *ip-* ‘say’ (> *iw-*). The rendition of 子曰 ‘X’ as *si ipaku* ‘X’ (*to ipu*), rather than for example *si* ‘X’ *to ipu*, maintains the original word order, and again information structure, and keeps the rendition of 子 and 曰 together, at the expense of creating an unusual sentence construction. From EMJ, the nominal verb form disappeared from general use, but this construction continued to be used through the MJ period with other nominalizers, e.g. *koto* or SJ *yaū* ‘way, manner’, as in (15). It is no longer used productively in the modern language.

- (15) kaditori no ipu yaū
 oarsman GEN say manner
- kurotori no moto ni siroki nami wo yosu
 (black)scoter GEN base DAT white wave ACC break
- to zo ipu
 COMP FOC say
- ‘The oarsman said: “below the black birds, the white waves are breaking” ’ (*Tosa*)

Although the nominal form ceased to be productive and dropped from general use, a number of such forms continued to be used in *kanbun-kundoku* in these constructions, found their way into general language as sentence initial adverbs or nouns, and are retained into the modern language: *iwaku* mentioned above, which is now used as a noun ‘reason, pretext; past’ and also to introduce quotes or proverbs (‘as the saying goes’); *negawaku wa* ‘I pray, hope’ (< OJ *negapaku pa* ‘pray.NMNL TOP; what I pray’); *omoeraku* ‘methinks’ (< *omop-yeraku* ‘think-STAT.NMNL; what I am thinking’); *omowaku* ‘thought, opinion’ (today written 思惑) (< *omopaku* ‘think.NMNL; what I think’); *osimuraku wa* ‘regrettably, unfortunately’ (< *wosimuraku pa* ‘regret.NMNL TOP; what I regret’); *osoraku* ‘likely, probably’ (< *oso(ru)raku* ‘what I fear’).

Other examples of usage retained in *kanbun-kundoku* language and subsequently carried over into general language include the OJ passive *-(a)ye-*, which dropped out of the language in the transition from OJ to EMJ, but is reflected in lexicalized modifiers such as *iwayuru* ‘so-called’ (< OJ *ipa-yuru* ‘say-PASS.ADN’), *arayuru* ‘all, every’ (< *ara-yuru* ‘exist-PASS.ADN’), both of

which are in use today. In *kanbun-kundoku*, *ipayuru* and *arayuru* were used in rendition of phrases such as 所謂 NOUN and 所在 NOUN, respectively. In Chinese 所 (EMC *sɿʃ) is both a noun ‘place’ and also, as in these examples, a subordinator used in some relative clauses, and in these two cases 所 was rendered by adnominal verb forms, which subsequently passed into general language as lexicalized forms. Interestingly, a more literal way of rendering Chinese 所VERB之NOUN (‘NOUN which VERBS’), instead of simply forming a normal Japanese relative clause, arose in *kanbun-kundoku* and was carried over into written language in the form VERB *tokoro-no* NOUN, where *tokoro-no* functions as a complementizer between the relative clause and the head noun, for example (16); see also 12.6.1.1.2. This usage is clearly motivated by the *kanbun-kundoku* rendition of 所 as *tokoro* ‘place’ and 之 as *no*, combined with the use of Chinese 所 in relative constructions. As with the quotative framing construction mentioned above, this construction is not ungrammatical in Japanese, but nor is it motivated internally within Japanese. In the Meiji period this usage was revived in *kanbun-kundoku*-like translations of relative pronouns in Dutch.

- (16) tatekome-taru tokoro-no to
 close-STAT.ADN door
 ‘The door which had been closed’ (*Taketori*)

9.2 *On*doku

*On*doku (音読 ‘pronunciation reading’) is the reading and vocalization of Chinese text in Chinese, learned as a foreign language, without rendition or translation into Japanese. Over time a great many loanwords have entered Japanese based on this way of reading Chinese texts. Today somewhere between thirty-five and sixty per cent of words in running text, depending on genre, are SJ loanwords, and it is customary to speak of a distinct SJ vocabulary layer in the Japanese lexicon. The term ‘Sino-Japanese’ is ambiguous and that has given rise to several misunderstandings. There are three distinct, but interrelated issues, which are not usually distinguished explicitly: (a) *Japano-Chinese*: Chinese as a foreign reading language in Japan (9.2.1); (b) *Sino-Japanese*: nativized norms for pronouncing *kanji* (9.2.2); (c) *Sino-Japanese loanwords*: loanwords in Japanese deriving from J-Ch or SJ (9.2.3).

9.2.1 *Chinese as a foreign (reading) language; Japano-Chinese*

In the initial period of contact with Chinese text and language, the fifth and sixth centuries, this contact is thought to have been indirect and primarily to