Toward an International Vocabulary for Research on Vernacular Readings of Chinese Texts (漢文訓讀 Hanwen Xundu)*

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The practice of reading classical Chinese texts in the vernacular (漢文訓讀 hanwen xundu; Korean hanmun hundok, Japanese kanbun kundoku) is not restricted to Korea and Japan. It is a practice found in all parts of the Sinosphere, beginning with China itself and extending to all countries and regions which have used Chinese writing. In recent years there have been a number of international conferences and joint survey projects on this topic in Japan and Korea, and interest in vernacular reading of Chinese texts has increased among scholars in Europe and America as well. However the scholarly terminology used in this field in Korea and Japan is the product of many years of tradition, based on the judgments of individual scholars. This terminology has not been standardized, nor has it been the subject of scholarly scrutiny from an international readership. This hampers the exchange of ideas at international conferences and makes translation of research papers laborious. The lack of a common terminology is an obstacle to the advancement of vernacular reading studies as an international field. Of special concern is the fact that the bulk of Dunhuang materials are held by British and French institutions; this makes it particularly urgent that Western scholars be involved in developing a common vocabulary for the field.

This paper is the work of a joint research team involving scholars from Korea,

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Japan, Italy and the U.S., all of whom have grappled with the lack of an accepted international vocabulary for vernacular reading studies in their teaching and research. The terms presented here represent a first proposal. We invite comments and criticism. Our objective is not to mandate a set of translational equivalents, but to initiate an international scholarly discourse.

Our procedure in selecting the terms presented here took the following form:
1. Selection of approximately 150 basic terms in vernacular reading studies from Chinese, Japanese, and Korean.
2. Selection of 30 terms from the initial 150, based on frequency of use and importance. Project participants then each cooperated to propose translations for these.
3. Further selection of 24 basic terms, with Japanese as a matrix language. Translations, basic concepts, and examples of use were then further examined. The 24 terms are:

訓読、音読、訓点、訓点語、加点、移点、訓点資料、科段、句読、破音、声点、角筆、返読、仮名点、ヲコト点、紙背、奥書、不読、再読、漢籍、仏典、釈文、訓読文、漢字文化圏
(See the body of the paper for translations and transliterations.)
4. As an initial step, translations were proposed for English, Italian, and Korean.
5. In future research, we plan to expand the inventory of basic terms and target languages.

Keywords: kunten, kugyŏl(gugyeol), kanbun kundoku, gloss, vernacular reading, stylus

1. Introduction

The practice of reading classical Chinese texts in the non-Sinitic vernacular (漢文訓讀 hanwen xundu; Korean hanmun hundok, Japanese kanbun kundoku) is not restricted to Japan and Korea; it is a linguistic habitus found in all parts of the Sinosphere, implemented in the local language in all countries which have been touched by the culture of sinographic writing. We refer to 漢文訓讀 hanwen xundu below as “vernacular reading,” intending this term to apply specifically to the practice of reading a Chinese text in the local language. Recent years have seen an explosion, especially in Korea and Japan, of international conferences and international joint survey projects focusing on vernacular reading. Much of the impetus for this has been the discovery, beginning in 2000, of stylus (角筆 kakp’il/kakuhitsu) glossed texts from Korea dating from the 11th-12th century. Against this
background, Korean scholars have shown heightened interest in the history of vernacular reading in Japan, and a desire to learn from the best previous Japanese research in the field. At the same time, interest among scholars in Europe and America has grown, exemplified by a panel on Japanese and Korean vernacular reading materials at the 2006 Association of Asian Studies meeting in the U.S. As an object of intellectual inquiry, vernacular reading of Chinese texts is no longer the exclusive property of one country or region; it is common, international property.

When it comes to international conferences and international joint research surveys, the most fundamental problem is the absence of an established scholarly vocabulary in the field. The problem is equally acute for scholars wishing to write about vernacular readings of Chinese texts for an international audience. Even in the case of Korean and Japanese scholars, despite the fact that they draw on the same Chinese character-based scholarly vocabulary, in many cases the terminology used in this field differs between the two countries. Simply leaving technical vocabulary in Chinese characters or translating it literally is unlikely to be enough. For an audience unfamiliar with Japanese _kanbun kundoku_, for example, it is questionable whether the untranslated technical vocabulary used by specialists will make sense. Needless to say, this problem is even more serious in the case of an audience of Western scholars. When it is impossible to present the original Chinese character terminology, the only choice is to rely on the expertise of the translator or interpreter, who is then often forced to coin completely new technical vocabulary. The result is a major obstacle to the advancement of international research on vernacular reading practice: communication of ideas is often inadequate at international conferences, and translation of papers is cumbersome and time consuming. When we add to these considerations the fact that the better part of the Dunhuang materials, essential for studying the roots of vernacular reading, are held in Britain and France, the urgency of establishing a translational vocabulary for vernacular reading research that includes Western languages becomes all the more apparent.

The project reported in this paper is the preliminary work of an informal international research group, including scholars from Italy, Japan, Korea, and the United States. Members of the group, motivated by experience with the problems outlined above in their own university teaching and research activities, took as point of departure a subset of the
standard scholarly vocabulary on vernacular reading in Japan, and worked together to select counterparts for these vocabulary in each of English, Italian, and Korean.\(^1\) We present here the results of this preliminary effort, given at the Kuntengo gakkai (訓点語学会) in Tōkyō in October 2009. It is published here in a form that we hope will elicit the critical evaluation of an international readership. We emphasize that the objective of this initial effort is not to lay down a set of rules for the translation of vocabulary in this field, but to make available a set of tools to facilitate international exchange among scholars interested in vernacular readings of Chinese, and thereby make the field a truly international enterprise.

2. Methodology

2.1 Compilation of the Vocabulary Corpus

Below we briefly outline the basic methodology used to select the vocabulary translated.

1. 150 words were selected that are widely used in the literature on Japanese, Korean and Chinese vernacular reading materials.

2. The results of (1) were narrowed down to 30 words based on their frequency of use and importance. Group members then considered translations in their various languages.

3. We arrived at an initial classification centered on the Japanese vocabulary, further reduced the list of 30 words to a core vocabulary of 27, and then investigated the translations, definitions and use in context of each of the 27 core vocabulary items.

4. Target languages at the current stage of the project are: Japanese (matrix language), Korean, English and Italian.

5. The group aims to expand the number of words and target languages in the future as our investigation progresses.

\(^1\) Members of the group are: Miyoung Oh, Jinho Park, John Whitman, Valerio Luigi Alberizzi, Masayuki Tsukimoto, Teiji Kosukegawa, and Tomokazu Takada.
2.2 Steps (1-3): Collection of the Vocabulary Corpus

(i) Step 1: Sources for the initial vocabulary selection of 150 words:
   c. In addition, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese and Japanese materials, and sources on Classical Chinese usage, manuscript studies, stylus writing, and glossing were consulted.

(ii) Step 2: List of 30 words selected from (i). “-” marks words excluded at (iii); “*” marks words partially modified at (iii):

(iii) Step 3: Final list of 27 core vocabulary (57 words counting subheadings. “+” marks words added at this stage):
   - kundoku 訓読, ondoku 音読, kunten 訓点, kuntengo 訓点語, katen 加点, iten 移点, kunten shiryō 訓点資料, kadan 科段, kutō 句読, haon 破音, shōten 声点, kakuhitsu 角筆, hendoku 反読, katakana 片仮名, wokototen ホコト点, shihai 紙背, okugaki 奥書, fudoku 不読, +saidoku 再読, kanseki 漢籍, butten 仏典, shakumon 釈文, kundokubun 訓読文, kanji bunkaken 漢字文化圏, +kanbun shahon 漢文写本, +shuten 朱点, +hakuten 白点.

The lists above are not the result of a purely objective selection process,
but rely mainly on group members' research experience with kunten materials. This is made clear in Table 1, which shows the frequency of the 27 words selected in (iii) in titles of presentations at Kuntengo gakkai and titles of papers published in Kuntengo to kunten shiryō, the journal of the Kuntengo gakkai. It should be noted, however, that no frequency-based survey of technical terminology in the main text of articles on vernacular readings of Chinese texts has yet been conducted; it is also not necessarily the case that high frequency correlates with degree of importance for technical terminology in this field.²

² For example, from an international perspective, such relatively low frequency words as “Sinosphere” (漢字文化圈 hancha munhwakwŏn/kanji bunkaken) or “poyin” (破音 p’aŭm/
2.3 Step 4: Background Sources Consulted for Translations

2.3.1 Korean


2.3.2 English


_____. 2010. Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts with *haon* are quite important. In the future, articles published in this field should probably be required to specify keywords, making establishment of common basic vocabulary easier.
reading marks and notes from Dunhuang 敦煌点本書目 の英文 術  語. The 102nd meeting of the Kuntengo gakkai 訓点語学会), Kyōto, May 23, 2010.


2.3.3 Italian


2.4 Step 5: Future Directions

If we consider locations where important collections of classical Chinese texts are preserved, Chinese, Russian, German and Vietnamese are among the leading candidates for a future expansion of the translation project initiated here. In order to make the terminology of vernacular reading studies fully understood, it is also equally important, first, to develop
an awareness among non-specialists of the fact that old manuscripts and printed books may be annotated with vernacular reading glosses, and second, to establish a common understanding of the high scholarly significance of such glossed materials.

3. Proposed Translations of the Core Vocabulary on Vernacular Readings (see Table 2)

3.1 Notes on the Proposed Korean Translations

As noted above, although Japanese and Korean are both languages situated in the Sinosphere, there are differences in the semantic scope of individual Chinese characters or character combinations used in the two languages, with the result that the same term may not have exactly the same meaning in one language that it has in the other. Particular care is required in the case of scholarly vocabulary, where characters or character compounds often have a specific, idiosyncratic semantic extension. Among the Korean translations we have proposed here, some are translations of terms used in research on Japanese vernacular reading (訓読 kundoku) in Japan which do not match the terminology used in Korean research on vernacular reading in Korea, that is, kugyŏl yŏngu (口訣研究). Taking, for example, the basic term 訓点 kunten, which in the Japanese literature means “gloss” or “reading mark,” we have translated this in Korean as 訓點 hunchŏm, using the same Chinese characters. However, in kugyŏl research in Korea, the term that actually corresponds to the Japanese term kunten is the expression t'o 吐. In the Japanese tradition, abbreviated Chinese characters, such as are found among Japanese kana, are called kana ten (仮名点). In the Korean tradition, these are called cha t'o (字吐). Likewise, glosses marking grammatical particles are called wokoto ten (ヲコト点) in the Japanese tradition, after the Japanese functional morphemes wo ‘OBJECT MARKER’ and koto ‘(fact) that.’ In the Korean tradition, these are called chŏm t'o (點吐, ‘point glosses’), due to the fact the shape of the gloss is usually a point or dot. Nevertheless, in the translations proposed here, we have translated kana ten literally, as 가나점 kana chŏm, and wokoto ten as 오코토점 ok’ot’o chŏm. Similarly, we have used direct renditions of the Japanese term hendoku (返読, inverted reading) and kaeriten (返り点, inversion gloss), translating them into Korean
Table 2. Proposed translations of the core vocabulary on vernacular reading

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<td>lettura vernacolare</td>
<td>kundoku</td>
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<td>漢文訓讀</td>
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<td>lettura vernacolare di un testo in cinese</td>
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<td>lettura vernacolare</td>
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<td>lettura vernacolare</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>lettura sinoxenica</td>
<td>ondoku</td>
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<td>音読する</td>
<td>音読하다</td>
<td>give Sinoxenic reading</td>
<td>assegnare una lettura sinoxenica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sinoxenic reading</td>
<td>lettura sinoxenica</td>
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<tr>
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<td>lettura sinoxenica</td>
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<td>順讀</td>
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<td>訓点</td>
<td>訓點</td>
<td>gloss</td>
<td>glossa</td>
<td>kunten, signs, symbols, diacritic marks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>訓点を施す</td>
<td>訓點을 달다, 訓點을 박다</td>
<td>to gloss</td>
<td>glossare, chiosare</td>
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<td>訓点語</td>
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<td>vocabolo dei testi con glose</td>
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<td>加點</td>
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<td>glossato, chiosato</td>
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<tr>
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<td>加點하다</td>
<td>add gloss</td>
<td>glossare, chiosare</td>
<td>mark, add mark</td>
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<td>移點</td>
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<td>glossa trascritta, trascrizione di una glossa</td>
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<td>trascrivere una glossa</td>
<td>adding glosses by copying</td>
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<td>古點本</td>
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Table 2. (continued)

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<td>翻文</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
as 返讀 pandok and 返讀點 pandok chŏm respectively. In kugyŏl research, the same concepts are normally referred to by the terms 逆讀 (yŏktok, inverted reading) and 逆讀點 (yŏktok chŏm, inversion gloss).

The Japanese term okugaki (奥書, colophon) is also unfamiliar among Korean researchers in this field. Left unexplained, the term is likely to be incomprehensible in Korean. Most kugyŏl texts discovered up until the present lack the kind of information contained in Japanese okugaki: an annotation of the date and circumstances (author, location, etc.) of glossing (katen 加点 in Japanese, 懸吐 hyŏn t’o in Korean). The Korean terms normally used for “colophon” are p’ilsagi (筆寫記, record of copy), in the case of manuscripts, and kangi (刊記, record of printing), in the case of printed books. Both of these are terms which refer to the date and circumstances of the publication of the book itself, not of the glosses. Therefore we have decided to use the term chiŏ識語 to refer to colophon, specifically a colophon recording the date and circumstances of glossing.

Another term commonly used in Japanese kunten research is shakumon (釈文, transcribed or printed text). In the Japanese tradition, this term refers to a Chinese text retranscribed in order to make it more intelligible. The term 釈文 would not be comprehensible to Korean researchers. There is a danger that the term might be understood to mean translation of a vernacular reading of Chinese text into modern Korean. The reason for this is that retranscription of a Chinese text to improve intelligibility is not a practice that is employed in kugyŏl research. It seems quite likely that the exact meaning of this term may vary among Japanese researchers as well. This leads to a more general point: in both Japanese research on vernacular glossing of Chinese texts and Korean kugyŏl research, problems are posed for a project like the present one by terms whose meaning varies depending on the researcher who uses them. One prominent example is the term 不讀 (fudoku, “unread,” referring to a character in the original Chinese text which is left unread in the vernacular rendition). We have rendered this term directly as Korean 不讀 (pudok), but this is another case which reminds us of the need for closer examination of the content of technical concepts in research on vernacular reading in Japan and Korea.

3.2 Notes on the Proposed English Translations

As is to be expected, given the status of English as international scholarly
lingua franca, a large number of English translations for terminology in the field of vernacular readings of Chinese texts have already been proposed. Seeley (1993) is a representative example; we have included a number of Seeley’s translations in Table 2. In Seeley’s monograph, as in many cases of Japan-centered research of this type, the term kunten (訓点, gloss) is left untranslated as kunten. Kakuhitsu (角筆, stylus) is explained as a “chopstick-shaped instrument.” There are at least three problems with this approach to translation. First, terms like kunten or kundoku, rendered directly into English in their romanized Japanese form, may be comprehensible to some Japan studies specialists in English-speaking countries, but they are completely incomprehensible to scholars specializing on the Sinosphere outside Japan, for example in countries like Korea or Vietnam. Therefore, in the translations proposed in this article, we have endeavored to avoid renditions into English which simply romanize Japanese (or any other Sinoxenic source language).

The second difficulty with English language terminology in this field is that it often does not adequately take into account pre-existing sinological terminology. For instance, as a general term to capture such concepts as Sino-Vietnamese (越南漢字音), Sino-Korean (韓国・朝鮮漢字音)—that is, loan readings of Chinese characters based on original Chinese pronunciations—sinologists have adopted the term “sinoxenic.” In this research we have tried where possible to adopt such general sinological terms. Another example is James Matisoff’s term “Sinosphere” to refer to the cultural area influenced by Chinese writing (漢字文化圏).

The third type of difficulty is posed by terms which fail to make use of the prodigious literature in the European language philological tradition on glossing terms, tools, and techniques. For example, rendering 角筆 (kakp’il/kakuhitsu, “stylus”) as “chopstick-shaped instrument” fails to capture the commonality between the form and function of this tool as used in East Asia and its counterpart used in Europe to produce dry-point or scratched glosses. In cases such as this, we have opted for the term already established in Western philology for the corresponding concept.3

3 These second and third difficulties are at issue in the translation of the central term hanwen xundu 漢文訓讀. Professor Harumichi Ishizuka, the leading scholar in this field and a pioneer in its internationalization, renders this term as “xundu reading” (1997: 187). After careful consideration we have chosen to propose the English translation “vernacular reading of Chinese texts” instead. The reason for this is that we attempt to
In the following we examine in greater detail two specific cases, the basic term 訓点 (hunchŏm/kunten, “gloss”) and the term just mentioned, 角筆 (kakp’il/kakuhitsu, “stylus”).

Proposed translation example 1: 訓点 (hunchŏm/kunten) = gloss
The English term used for 訓点 kunten (Korean hunchŏm) up until the present by the Kuntengo gakkai in Japan is “diacritic (marks).” Strictly speaking, the term “diacritic” refers to a marker of phonetic distinctions. It is translated in Japanese as 音声記号 onsei kigō (Korean ŭmsŏng kiho, “phonetic symbol,” Gengogaku daijiten vol 6, Sanseidō, p. 157). Kinsui’s (2002) “symbols and characters used in kundoku (訓読)” is far more adequate, but it is dependent upon the Japanese term kundoku.\(^4\) More importantly, neither translation references the Western philological tradition of research on glossed texts. A standard Japanese-English dictionary, Kenkyusha’s Shin Wa-ei jiten (5\(^{th}\) edition, 2003) translates the expression 語釈 (goshaku, Korean ḵŏsŏk) as “an explanation of a word [phrase, technical term]; a gloss (on [of] a word)” (p. 984). In Kenkyuša’s Shin Ei-wa jiten (6\(^{th}\) edition, 2002), “gloss” is defined as “explication of a word or phrase written in the margins or between the lines (of, e.g. an ancient manuscript)” [(古写本などで)行間や欄外などに書き込んだ語句注解] (p. 1040). Based on these precedents, “gloss” would appear to be closer to the original meaning of 訓点 (hunchŏm/kunten) than “diacritic,” with its meaning of “phonetic symbol.”\(^5\) (The same Shin Wa-ei jiten defines 訓点 (hunchŏm/kunten) as “guiding marks for rendering Chinese into Japanese” (p. 828).

\(^4\) We are grateful to Professor Satoshi Kinsui of Ōsaka University for bringing his 2002 paper to our attention.

\(^5\) In English, borrowed from French diacritique (ultimately from Greek διακριτικός, “that which distinguishes”), a diacritic mark refers to a graphic symbol added to another graph. Thus, for example, the acute accent <’> added to <e>, <é> is a diacritic or diacritic mark. Japanese dakuten 漆点 or nigori 漆り are also diacritics. This meaning is clear in the earliest examples cited in the Oxford English Dictionary, e.g. Sweet, Henry (1877 Phonetics, p. 174) “Even letters with accents and diacritics... being only cast for a few fonts, act practically as new letters.” The OED defines the adjective “diacritic” as “applied to signs or marks used to distinguish different sounds or values of the same letter or character; e.g. è, é, ê, ë, etc.” (The OED Online, accessed at http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/ on 20.4.2010).
We do not adopt this paraphrase here, for reasons similar to those cited above.\textsuperscript{6}

In Europe, linguistic data involving vernacular explications of a Latin or other classical text are referred to as “place name + glosses.” For example, the Würzburg Glosses are interlinear and marginal glosses (notes, translations, and grammatical commentary) written in Old Irish in the 8\textsuperscript{th} century on the Latin text of the Pauline letters. These glosses are a major source on Old Irish. Further well-known examples of medieval European glosses are given below. The usage “X Glosses” corresponds to the expression in Japanese kunten studies “X ten (点),” for example Tōdai-ji ten 東大寺点 “Tōdai-ji glosses.” These expressions provide the information that the data is in the form of glosses, and indicate where the glosses were made or where they are held.

The English word “gloss” derives from Latin, ultimately Greek glōssa, meaning “tongue” or “language.” Latin glossa came to refer to marginal or interlinear explanations of the linguistic material in a text, such as pronunciation, grammar, or lexical meaning. In medieval Europe, glosses written in vernacular languages such as Old English, Old French, Old Irish, and Old High German are among the earliest sources for these languages, just as Japanese kunten and Korean kugyŏl materials are among the earliest sources for these languages. Just as kunten and kugyŏl were added to original Chinese texts in East Asia, in Europe, scholars and students, chiefly monks, added glosses to Latin texts, mainly the Bible and biblical commentaries, to assist their own readings, interpretations, and studies. The author of a glossed text is a glossator, equivalent to the Japanese

\footnote{Professor Harumichi Ishizuka (Ishizuka 2010) offers an important alternative for the term kunten 読点: “reading mark”. Professor Ishizuka points out that “reading mark” is the term used in the catalogue of Dunhuang manuscripts in the British Museum (see Giles 1957) to describe annotations added to the text to facilitate reading. We concur that this is an appropriate term for such annotations in the Dunhuang and other Chinese manuscripts. The difficulty is that sinological scholarship does not use the term 読点 (讀點) to refer to reading marks in the Dunhuang manuscripts. The term kunten 読点 is a Japanese coinage, which refers specifically to the practice of reading Chinese texts in the vernacular (in this case, Japanese). We therefore respectfully propose that “reading mark” be reserved for cases such as the Dunhuang manuscripts, and “gloss” for contexts where the text is annotated to be read in a language other than Chinese. However we agree with Professor Ishizuka that the problem of continuity with the Dunhuang and other Chinese examples of annotation is a crucial one, and we look forward to continued discussion of this topic.}
term *katensha* (加点者, Korean *kajŏmja*). Western medieval glosses are not necessarily written in the vernacular; thus the *Glossa ordinaria*, a complete gloss of the Latin Bible produced in 12th century France and widely copied in the Middle Ages, is written in medieval Latin (Smith 1999). The exact European counterpart of Japanese *kunten* and Korean *kugyŏl* are **vernacular glosses**, glosses written in a vernacular language. Vernacular glosses include marginal glosses (written in the margins of the original manuscript), interlinear glosses, and context glosses, written immediately after the word they explicate. The following are representative vernacular glosses from medieval Europe. They are just a small sample of the vast amount of material of this type.

**The Karlsruhe glosses.** 9th century. Old Irish glosses on Glosses on the Latin texts of Augustine’s *Soliloquia* “Soliloquies” and Bede’s *De rerum natura* “On the nature of things” (Stokes 1887).

**The Reichenau glosses.** 8th century. The best-known manuscript referred to by this name contains glosses on the Latin Bible in a Romance variety that shows affinities with Old French, and in Frankish. Other manuscripts associated with the abbey of Reichenau on Lake Constance in Germany contain glosses in Old High German.

**The Vespasian Psalter.** 8th century. An Old English interlinear gloss on the *Book of Psalms* (Kuhn 1965).


**References on gloss in the medieval West**


Proposed translation example 2: 角筆 (kakp’il/kakuhitsu) = stylus

Kenkyusha’s *Shin Ei-wa jiten* (6th edition, 2002) gives as its first definition of stylus 尖筆 senpitsu (Korean ch’ŏmp’il) “pointed writing instrument” (p. 2445). The second definition, 鉄筆 teppitsu (Korean ch’ŏlp’il) “iron stylus” is somewhat strange from a Japanese point of view, as the instruments used for scratching glosses in kakuhitsu (角筆 Korean kakp’il) materials were typically made of bamboo, wood, or ivory. But this is simply a cultural and historical difference. Latin stilus “pointed instrument” comes from Greek στύλος “pillar, tapered cylindrical object,” and has nothing to do with the material from which the instrument was made.

In kugyŏl and kunten studies, 角筆 kakp’il/kakuhitsu also refers to a style of glossing, where glosses are inscribed on a written or printed Chinese texts by scratching the surface of the paper. The exact same technique existed in the medieval West; it is referred to as “dry-point” (Meritt 1961, Rusche 1994) or “scratch(ed) glossing” (Meritt 1934). Dry-point references the printmaking term, where a sharp instrument is used to incise an image on the printing plate. Merrit (1961) revises his earlier term “scratched gloss” to “dry-point gloss,” and this is followed by Rusche. Rusche (1994, 195-197) explicitly discusses the motivation for inscribing dry-point rather than ink glosses in the medieval West, and uses the term stylus to designate the instrument used for this purpose, as follows.⁷

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⁷ Rusche’s explanation of the motivation for dry-point glossing is based on the ubiquitous use of wax tablets in the European Middle Ages. This explanation does not extend to Korean and Japanese kakp’il/kakuhitsu glosses, since wax tablets were not used in East Asia. Nevertheless, dry-point glossing is similarly widespread there; for example, all of the older kugyŏl glosses in Korea involve dry-point (kakp’il) glosses.
Ink was neither rare nor expensive in the Middle Ages, but it had to be mixed before use, and any surplus would soon dry out. Also necessary was an inkmour or some other vessel to hold the ink, a quill and a knife for sharpening the nib. While these materials were readily available in the scriptorium, a monk in another part of the monastery, such as the library, classroom, or cell, had to rely on the only writing instruments that were always on hand: a wax tablet and a stylus. Wax tablets were used for multiple purposes, such as note-taking, composing or revising texts, or keeping accounts. In the classroom, students used wax tablets to write down passages to be memorized for the next class; letters were composed on wax tablets before the final draft was copied onto parchment, or wax tablets themselves were sent. If anyone struggling through a text such as De laudibus virginitatis wished to make notes or gloss difficult passages in the manuscript itself, the stylus was readily available. Thus, dry-point glosses represent the immediate and personal responses of an individual working through a text, and can reveal what aspects, whether vocabulary, grammar, or interpretation, were interesting—or troublesome—to that reader. (Rusche 1994: 196-197).

Despite cultural/historical differences such as the use of wax tablets, we see that the use of sharp instruments to inscribe glosses on written texts by clerical glossators in China, Japan, and Korea has exact parallels in Europe. The terms used to designate the technology used for this purpose, in particular stylus and dry-point gloss, seem appropriate translations of 角筆 kakp’il/kakuhitsu.

References on stylus and dry-point glossing in the medieval West

3.3 Notes on the Proposed Italian Translations

Despite the widespread growth of Japanese studies, in Italy, scholarly works on classical Japanese and Japanese linguistics are still at an initial stage, conducted only by a handful of specialists. The forerunner in
this field was Prof. Marcello Muccioli, who produced the first grammar of Classical Japanese in Italian (1970; now out of date). More recent achievements include a book on the history of the Japanese language (1999) and one on writing in ancient Japan (2005), as well as a growing number of research papers dealing with linguistics and classical Japanese language. Most of these works adopt mainly a rōmaji transliteration of terms related to Japanese linguistics, followed by an explanation of the meaning. Vernacular reading terminology is no exception to this rule.

The principles followed in the Italian translation of the words presented in Table 2 follow those described for English in the preceding section. In general, we have tried to use cognate terms for Italian and English, terms which share a common Latin or Greek origin. We anticipate that the same principles will apply for translation of vernacular reading terminology into other Western languages. We have extended this parallel treatment to the translation of hanwen xundu 訓読 (hanmun hundok/kan bun kundoku) and the Japanese term kunyomi 訓読み, rendered as “vernacular reading” in English and “lettura vernacolare” in Italian.

In Italy, the practice of supplementing a main text with inter- and extra-linear notations and comments, later grouped under the common name of glossa, can be traced back to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (483-565) and his judicial reforms collected in the so-called Corpus juris civilis. This consists of the Codex Justinianus, the Digesta or Pandectae and the Institutiones; during the 12th century it became the model of much European legal code. To a certain extent, the influence exerted by this code on the European medieval lay society can be compared to the influence achieved by Chinese classics in the countries of the Sinosphere.

To avoid misinterpretation of the Corpus, Justinianus forbade further development of legal precedent through any kind of scholarly commentary, but with the passing of time, its contents became obscure and the collection was lost, until its rediscovery and re-establishment as the object of legal studies conducted at Bologna by Pepo and then by Irnerius (c. 1050–after 1125), who taught it for the first time in the 11th century. Irnerius is well known for his teaching method, which involved reading a passage of the Roman law aloud, allowing his students the time to copy it, and then explaining it by means of glosses. Originally the glosses were simple interlinear annotations to the text, explaining the meaning of words and passages difficult to understand. But as the glosses grew too large to
be inserted between the lines of the text, Irnerius began to write them on the margin of the page, thus being the first to introduce marginal glosses, which later came into general use. Marginal glosses should not be confused with *scholia* (singular *scholion*, from Greek σχόλιον “comment,” “lecture”).

The term *scholia* is traditionally restricted to grammatical, critical, or explanatory comments on a classical Latin or Greek literary, written on the margin of the text. Classical *scholia* are often so extensive that they are later compiled as an independent work, in the form of a commentary. In contrast to *scholia*, which may comment on the content of a text, a gloss refers strictly to a linguistic explication. Thus while *scholia* may be rendered as *注釈* (*chusŏk/chūshaku*), gloss is the appropriate translation for *訓点* (*hunchŏm/kunten*).

Irnerius’s pupils, Bulgarus, Martinus Gosia, Jacobus de Boragine and Hugo de Porta Ravennate, the so-called Four Doctors of Bologna, were among the first of the *glossators* whose tradition was carried on by French specialists in jurisprudence, known as the Ultramontani, in the 13th century. Other famous schools of glossators in Italy on the Roman law were active in Turin during the middle of the 6th century AD and in Pavia from the middle of 10th to 11th century.

**References on the development of glossing in Italy**


4. Further Issues and Proposals

In the broadest sense, the cultural heritage of a certain region is not the property of that region alone, but the common heritage of the global

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8 We are grateful to Professor Tōru Kuginuki of Nagoya University for bringing the relevance of *scholia* to our attention.
human community. Mutual understanding of and respect for the different values transmitted by a cultural legacy should be maintained for the benefit of future generations. Thus the cultural legacy of Japanese *kanbun kundoku* and Korean *kugyŏl* should be made available to the international scholarly community. Together, they show the existence of a common cultural heritage of glossed reading shared by vernacular reading traditions for Chinese texts throughout the entire Sinosphere. Establishing a common terminology is a crucial step toward a fuller understanding and appreciation of the value of these materials among language and linguistic specialists.

In recent years, growing interest in original Chinese textual material has spurred the creation of large image format databases of manuscripts, starting with the famous IDP (International Dunhuang Project) at the British Library. Such archival activity is of great importance, but when the main objective is focused on rendering the image of the main text, interlinear or marginal glosses are often overlooked. In the absence of accepted translations for such terms as 訓読 (*hundok/kundoku*) and 加点 (*kajôm/katen*), it is impossible even to transmit these concerns to archivists and other specialists. Clear, correct, and widely understood translations of the basic terminology related to glossed manuscripts in the Sinosphere are a crucial first step toward overcoming this and similar problems in scholarship.

We repeat, in closing, that the objective of this paper represents simply a preliminary proposal from a group of scholars interested in vernacular readings of Chinese texts as an international cultural legacy. It is not our intention to lay down a set of rules for translations of terminology in this field. It is our hope that the proposals here be met with many others from scholars around the world, and that vernacular reading studies thereby develop as an international field.

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