

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、加點、移點、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、漢字文化圈) (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, kugyōl(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.

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2.2 Steps (1-3): Collection of the Vocabulary Corpus

(i) Step 1: Sources for the initial vocabulary selection of 150 words:

- a. Ishizuka, Harumichi 石塚晴通. 2001. *Sōron* 總論. In Kanehiko Yoshida, Hiroshi Tsukishima, Harumichi Ishizuka, Masayuki Tsukimoto (eds.) *Kuntengo jiten* 訓点語辞典, 2-4. Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō shuppan. Vocabulary highlighted in boldface in this entry were selected.
- b. Ishizuka, Harumichi 石塚晴通. 1995, *Shōten no kigen* 声点の起源. In Hiroshi Tsukishima (ed.), *Nihon kanjionshi ronshū* 日本漢字音史論集, Tōkyō: Kyūko shoin. An English version is available in Ishizuka, Harumichi (1993), “The Origins of the Ssū-shêng Marks,” *Acta Asiatica*, 65, 30-50.
- 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):

kundoku 訓読, *-kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読, *ondoku* 音読, *-jundoku* 順読, *-shakudoku* 釈読, *kunten* 訓点, *kuntengo* 訓点語, *katen* 加點, *-tento* 点吐, *iten* 移点, *kunten shiryō* 訓点資料, *-kuketsu shiryō* 口訣資料, *-Tonkō katenbon* 敦煌加點本, *kadan* 科段, *kutō* 句読, *haon* 破音, *shōten* 声点, **kakuten* 角点, **kaeriten* 返点, *kanaten* 仮名点, *wokototen* ヲコト点, *-kuketsu* 口訣, *shihai* 紙背, **okugaki* 奥書, *katen shikigo* 加點識語, **fudoku* 不読, *fudokuji* 不読字, *kanseki* 漢籍, **bitten* 仏典, *busho* 仏書, *kanji bunkaken* 漢字文化圈, *shakumon* 釈文, *kundokubun* 訓読文.

(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* 加點, *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* 返読, *katakana* 片仮名, *wokototen* ヲコト点, *shihai* 紙背, *okugaki* 奥書, *fudoku* 不読, + *saidoku* 再読, *kanseki* 漢籍, *bitten* 仏典, *shakumon* 釈文, *kundokubun* 訓読文, *kanji bunkaken* 漢字文化圈, + *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,

Table 1. Frequency of the 27 selected terms in the titles of presentations at Kuntengo gakkai (1st-100th) and papers published in *Kuntengo to kunten shiryō* (1-122)

用語 Term	発表題目 Presentation title	論文題目 Paper title	用語 Term	発表題目 Presentation title	論文題目 Paper title	用語 Term	発表題目 Presentation title	論文題目 Paper title
<i>Kundoku</i> 訓読	38	21	<i>Haon</i> 破音	2	0	<i>Saidoku</i> 再読	3	3
<i>Ondoku</i> 音読	1	0	<i>Shōten</i> 声点	13	9	<i>Kanseki</i> 漢籍	6	4
<i>Kunten</i> 訓点	38	44	<i>Kakuhitsu</i> 角筆	9	8	<i>Butten</i> 仏典	4	1
<i>Kuntengo</i> 訓点語	18	13	<i>Hendoku</i> 返読	0	0	<i>Shakumon</i> 釈文	3	16
<i>Katen</i> 加点	18	10	<i>Kanaten</i> 仮名点	1	0	<i>Kundokubun</i> 訓読文	0	4
<i>Iten</i> 移点	0	0	<i>Wokototen</i> ヲコト点	7	3	<i>Kanji bunkaken</i> 漢字文化圏	0	0
<i>Kunten shiryō</i> 訓点資料	22	14	<i>Shihai</i> 紙背	0	2	<i>Kanbun shahon</i> 漢文写本	0	0
<i>Kadan</i> 科段	0	0	<i>Okugaki</i> 奥書	1	1	<i>Shuten</i> 朱点	1	3
<i>Kutō</i> 句読	0	0	<i>Fudoku</i> 不読	1	1	<i>Hakuten</i> 白点	1	3

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 the Kuntengo gakkai and titles of papers published in *Kuntengo to kunten shiryō* (訓点語と訓点資料), 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” (漢字文化圏 *hancha munhwakwŏn/kanji bunkaken*) or “poyin” (破音 *p'aŭm/*

2.3 Step 4: Background Sources Consulted for Translations

2.3.1 Korean

Chang, Kyungjun 張景俊. 2007. *Yugasajiron chömt'o söktok kugyöl üi haedok pangböp yöngu* 瑜伽師地論 點吐釋讀口訣의 解讀 方法 研究. *Kuköhak ch'ongsö* 國語學叢書 58. Seoul: Kukö hakhoe.

Kugyöl hakhoe 口訣学会. 1996-2009. *Kugyöl yöngu* 口訣研究 1-21.

_____. 1997. *Asia che minjok üi muncha* 아시아 諸民族의 文字. Seoul: T'aehaksa.

_____. 2006. *Hanmun tokpöp kwa Tong Asia üi muncha* 漢文讀法과 東아시아의 文字. Seoul: T'aehaksa.

Lee, Seungjae et al. 李丞宰 外. 2005-2009. *Kakp'il kugyöl üi haedok kwa pönyök* 角筆口訣의 解讀과 翻譯 1-5. Seoul: T'aehaksa.

Nam, Pung-hyun 南豐鉉. 1999. *Kukö-sa lul wihan kugyöl yöngu* 國語史를 위한 口訣 研究. Seoul: T'aehaksa.

_____. 2009. *Kodae Hangukö yöngu* 古代 韓國語 研究. Seoul: Shiganüimulle.

2.3.2 English

Alberizzi, Valerio Luigi. 2007. The significance of *kanbun kundoku* in the studies on Japanese language: the case of unread characters. *Phoenix in domo Foscari*, 1. Venezia: Civis (Scripta Web).

Crawcour, Sydney. 1965. *An Introduction to Kanbun*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies.

Gardner, Kenneth B. 1993. *Descriptive catalog of Japanese Books in the British Library printed before 1700*. London: British Library.

Giles, Lionel. 1957. *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.

Ishizuka, Harumichi. 1995. Japanese and Korean devices for reading Chinese Texts. In Stary, Giovanni (ed.) *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC)*, Kawasaki, Japan, August 7-12, 1995, 187-194. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

_____. 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.

Kinsui, Satoshi. 2002. The Influence of Translation upon the Historical Development of the Japanese Language. Paper given at the Center for Japanese Studies Colloquium, University of California, Los Angeles, April 29, 2002.

Kobayashi, Yoshinori. 2007. Tracing the Spread of Kakuhitsu Glossing of Chinese Texts in East Asia. Translated by John Whitman. Paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, MA. March 2007.

Komai, Akira and Thomas H. Rohlich. 1988. *An Introduction to Japanese Kanbun*. Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press.

Seeley, Christopher. 1993. *A History of Writing in Japan*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

The Tōhō Gakkai. 1993. *Studies in Sino-Japanese*. *Acta Asiatica* 65.

2.3.3 Italian

Alberizzi, Valerio Luigi. 2004. Studio filologico sul manoscritto dello *Hizōhōyaku* del secondo anno dell'era Nin'an (1168 d.C.) - Il giapponese medio attraverso le fonti in *kanbun kundoku* del periodo Insei-Kamakura (1086-1333 d.C.) [Middle Japanese as seen through an analysis of Insei-Kamakura period *kanbun kundoku* materials. A philological study on the *Hizōhōyaku* manuscript dated Nin'an 2, 1168 AD]. Venezia: Università Ca' Foscari.

_____. 2006. I manoscritti dei testi sacri dall'VIII al XII secolo come fonti per lo studio della lingua giapponese [Buddhist text manuscripts from VIII to XII centuries as materials for the investigation of Japanese language]. *Scritture e codici nelle culture dell'Asia (Giappone, Cina, Tibet, India)*. *Prospettive di studio*. Venezia: Cafoscarina.

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 가나點 *kana chŏm*, and *wokoto ten* as 오코토點 *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

Japanese (matrix language)		Korean	English	Italian	Seeley 1993	Ishizuka 1995
訓読	訓読	訓讀	vernacular reading	lettura vernacolare	<i>kundoku</i>	
	訓読する	訓讀하다	give vernacular reading	assegnare una lettura vernacolare		
	漢文訓読	漢文訓讀	vernacular reading of Chinese texts	lettura vernacolare di un testo in cinese		
	*訓読 (語レベル)	釋讀, 訓讀	vernacular reading	lettura vernacolare		
	*訓読み	釋讀, 訓讀	vernacular reading	lettura vernacolare		
音読	音読	音讀	Sinoxenic reading	lettura sinoxenica	<i>ondoku</i>	
	音読する	音讀하다	give Sinoxenic reading	assegnare una lettura sinoxenica		
	*音読 (語レベル)	音讀	Sinoxenic reading	lettura sinoxenica		
	*音読み	音讀	Sinoxenic reading	lettura sinoxenica		
	*順読	順讀	Sino-Korean reading, con- secutive reading	lettura sinocoreana		
訓点	訓点	訓點	gloss	glossa	<i>kunten</i> , signs, symbols	diacritic marks
	訓点を施す	訓點을 달다, 訓點을 찍다	to gloss	glossare, chiosare		
訓点語	訓点語	訓點語	glossed text vocabulary	vocabolo dei testi con glosse		
加點	加點	加點	glossing, glossed	glossato, chiosato		
	加點する	加點하다	add gloss	glossare, chiosare		mark, add mark
移点	移点	移點	transferring gloss, transferred gloss	glossa trascritta, trascrizione di una glossa		

Table 2. (continued)

Japanese (matrix language)		Korean	English	Italian	Seeley 1993	Ishizuka 1995
	移点	移點하다	transfer glosses	trascrivere una glossa	adding glosses by copying	
訓点資料	訓点資料	訓點資料	glossed material	materiali con glosse		diacritic materials
	訓点本	訓點本	glossed text	testi con glosse	<i>kuntenbon</i>	
	加点本	加點本	glossed text	testi con glosse		
	古点本	古點本	glossed text	testi con glosse		
	点本	點本	glossed text	testi con glosse		
科段	科段	科段	paragraph (mark)	marca del paragrafo		
句読	句読	句讀	punctuation	punteggiatura	punctuation	
	句切り(点)	句切點	phrase break	marca della frase		
破音	破音	破音	<i>poyin</i>	<i>poyin</i>		<i>poyin</i> marks
声点	声点	聲點	tone gloss	glossa tonetica		
角筆	角筆	角筆	stylus	stilo	chopstick-shaped instrument	
	角筆点	角筆點	stylus gloss	glossa a stilo		
返読	返読	逆讀	inverted reading	lettura inversa		
	返点	逆讀點	inversion gloss	marca dell'inversione	reading mark	
	返読符	逆讀符	inversion mark	segno di inversione		
仮名点	仮名点	가나點	phonogram gloss	glossa fonogrammatica	phonogram gloss	
	片仮名	가타카나	<i>katakana</i>	<i>katakana</i>	isolating phonogram	
	草仮名	草書體가나	cursivised phonogram	fonogramma corsivizzato	cursivized phonograms	
	略体字	略體字	abbreviated character	carattere abbreviato	abbreviated phonogram	
ヲコト点	ヲコト点	오코토點	morphosyntactic gloss, <i>wokototen</i>	glossa morfosintattica, <i>okototen</i>	<i>okototen</i> , special diacritics	

Table 2. (continued)

Japanese (matrix language)		Korean	English	Italian	Seeley 1993	Ishizuka 1995
紙背	紙背	紙背	versum	verso		
奥書	奥書	識語(지어)	colophon	colophon		
	識語	識語(지어)		colophon	<i>ten date</i>	
不読	不読	不讀	unread	non letto		
	不讀字	不讀字	unread character	carattere non letto		
再読	再読	再讀	iterated reading	lettura iterata		
	再讀字	再讀字	iterated character	carattere a lettura iterata		
漢籍	漢籍	漢籍	Classical Chinese texts	Classici cinesi		Chinese classical texts
仏典	仏典	佛典	Buddhist texts	testi buddhisti		Chinese Buddhist texts
	仏書	佛書	Buddhist texts	testi buddhisti		
	漢訳仏典	漢譯佛典	Chinese Buddhist texts	testi buddhisti in cinese		
釈文	釈文	釋文, 判讀文	printed or handwritten re-transcription of glossed text	trascrizione del testo originale		
訓讀文	訓讀文	訓讀文	text interpreted in the vernacular	testo in vernacolare		
	解讀文	解讀文	interpreted text	testo interpretato		
	訳文	譯文, 解釋文	translated text	testo riscritto		
漢字文化圏	漢字文化圏	漢字文化圏	Sinosphere	Sinosfera		
	漢文文化圏	漢文文化圏	Sinosphere	Sinosfera		
漢文写本	漢文写本	漢文寫本, 漢文筆寫本	Copied Chinese text	manoscritto cinese		
朱点	朱点	朱點	Vermillion gloss	glosse vermiglie		red-ink mark
白点	白点	白點	White gloss	glosse in biacca		white marks

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* 加點 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 (韓國・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 (漢字文化圈).

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 (*hunchōm/kunten*, “gloss”) and the term just mentioned, 角筆 (*kakp’il/kakuhitsu*, “stylus”).

Proposed translation example 1: 訓点 (*hunchōm/kunten*) = gloss

The English term used for 訓点 *kunten* (Korean *hunchōm*) 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 *ūmsōng 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, Kenkyūsha’s *Shin Wa-ei jiten* (5th edition, 2003) translates the expression 語釈 (*goshaku*, Korean *ōsōk*) as “an explanation of a word [phrase, technical term]; a gloss (on [of] a word)” (p. 984). In Kenkyūsha’s *Shin Ei-wa jiten* (6th 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 (*hunchōm/kunten*) than “diacritic,” with its meaning of “phonetic symbol.”⁵ (The same *Shin Wa-ei jiten* defines 訓点 (*hunchōm/kunten*) as “guiding marks for rendering Chinese into Japanese” (p. 828).

use existing scholarly vocabulary in English and other languages wherever possible, and because *xundu* 訓讀, in the sense of a reading in a language other than Chinese, is not a general sinological term (in this meaning, it is a Japanese coinage).

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* 濁点 or *nigori* 濁り 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 founts, 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).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 8th 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 *kugyōl* materials are among the earliest sources for these languages. Just as *kunten* and *kugyōl* 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

⁶ Professor Harumichi Ishizuka (Ishizuka 2010) offers an important alternative for the term *kunten* 訓点: “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 訓点 (訓點) to refer to reading marks in the Dunhuang manuscripts. The term *kunten* 訓点 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).

The Turin glosses. 9th century. Old Irish glosses on the New Testament (Cahill 1999).

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

Kenkyūsha's *Shin Ei-wa jiten* (6th edition, 2002) gives as its first definition of **stylus** 尖筆 *senpitsu* (Korean *ch'ōmp'il*) "pointed writing instrument" (p. 2445). The second definition, 鉄筆 *teppitsu* (Korean *ch'ōlp'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 *kugyōl* 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. Meritt (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

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 *kugyōl* 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 inkhorn 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*.

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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/kanbun 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”).⁸ 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 (*chusōk/chūshaku*), gloss is the appropriate translation for 訓点 (*hunchōm/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.

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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

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 加點 (*kajŏm/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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