

# Middle Chinese Loan Translations and Loan Derivations in Japanese\*

MATTHEW ZISK

*Yamagata University*

## 1 Introduction

It is a widely known fact that the Japanese language has been heavily influenced by Classical Chinese, similar in a sense to how the European languages have been influenced by Latin. Chinese influence is not simply limited to loanwords proper. As Yamada (1935), Ōtsubo (1981), Liu (2014), and Zisk (2015) point out, borrowing from Classical Chinese occurs in nearly every aspect of the Japanese language from the more apparent features such as lexicon, orthography, and phonology, to the less obvious such as syntax, morphology, and semantics.

What is unique about these morphosyntactic and semantic loans is the process through which they were borrowed, known as *kundoku*, or ‘vernacular reading’ (Whitman et al. 2010). *Kundoku* is the practice of reading Classical Chinese texts in a vernacular language through the addition of

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lexical and morphosyntactic glosses. This practice runs parallel in some aspects to glossing practices of the Latin West; however, a major difference between the two is that while in Western glossing, glosses are typically on a word or phrase level, in kundoku, glosses construct an entire meta-text readable in the vernacular.<sup>1</sup> The kundoku process could also be compared to translation, in the sense that a full readable text is constructed; however, a major difference is that in translation, the original text is discarded, while in kundoku, the original text remains intact. In other words, the text is *transposed* in real time by the reader through a mutually understood system of reading glosses. In this sense, kundoku could be more accurately interpreted as a form of *text transposition* than translation proper.

This paper starts out by presenting an overview of the linguistic forms borrowed through the kundoku process and then takes a detailed look at two of these, loan translations and loan derivations, in an early ninth century Chinese-Japanese gloss of *Konkōmyō saishō ō kyō* [Golden light sutra]. The goal of this study is to provide a framework for describing how such loans were formed and diffused into the Japanese language.

## 2 Overview of Imitational Borrowings

Chinese borrowings in Japanese can be broken down into two main categories: IMPORTATION and IMITATION (Zisk 2015). Importations are loans in which a foreign form is borrowed into a language in its original or approximate phonetic form and consists of loanwords, loan affixes, loan stylistics, loan phonemes, and loan phonotactics. Imitations are loans in which no actual phonetic material is imported but instead a novel form is coined using native material based on a foreign model. Imitations can be broken down into three main categories: LOAN FORMATIONS, LOAN MORPHOSYNTAX, and LOAN SEMANTICS, each of which can be broken down into further categories according to the following schema:

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<sup>1</sup> While there is still little work comparing Eastern and Western glossing practices, these differences were discussed at length at the workshop ‘Tapping Immaterial Resources: Glossing Practices between the Far East and the Latin West, c. 600 C.E.’ held at Goethe University Frankfurt on December 2–3, 2016 and organized by Anna Dorofeeva and Sebastian Riebold. For a review of the proceedings, see: <http://deglossis.hypotheses.org/174> (in French).

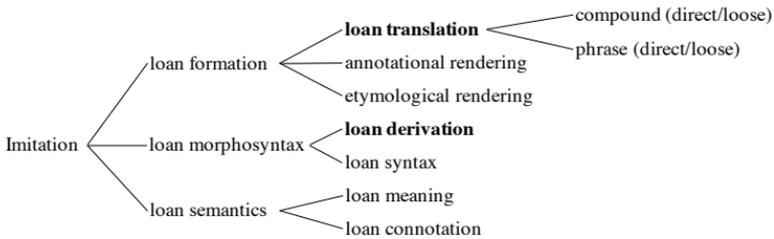


Figure 1. Imitations from Classical Chinese in Japanese (after Zisk 2015)

This paper focuses on loan translations and loan derivations. The term LOAN TRANSLATION (LT) has been used in a variety of different contexts in contact linguistics ranging from only including morpheme-by-morpheme translations to including more loose translations and even entire phrases. In this paper, I use the term LT to refer to all native compounds and phrases coined after Chinese models, but in particular, I will be looking at morpheme-by-morpheme translations of Chinese compounds. The term LOAN DERIVATION (LD) refers to words which have changed their lexical category either through morphological derivation or conversion based on a Chinese model (Zisk 2015). Some common examples are Early Middle Japanese (EMJ) *narab-* ‘to be parallel to’ (verb) > *narab-i=ni* ‘in addition to’ (conjunction) based on Middle Chinese (MC) 並 *bengX*<sup>2</sup> and EMJ *tokoro* ‘place’ (noun) > *tokoro* (passive nominalizer) based on MC 所 *srjoX*, both of which will be covered in detail later in this paper. LDs can, in many cases, be defined as a type of contact-induced grammaticalization; however, as the examples in this paper demonstrate, derivation from nouns to adverbs or verbs to adverbs is also common and thus not all examples of LDs fall under this category.

### 3 Overview of Surveyed Text

The text used for this study, 金光明最勝王經 *Konkōmyō saishō ō kyō* (KKM), is a MC translation of the third century Mahayana text, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* [Golden light sutra], expounding protection of state through the divine power of the Four Heavenly Kings (四天王 *shitennō*, Skt. *caturmahārāja*). KKM was first translated into Chinese by Dharmakṣema (曇無讖) in 414–421 and later retranslated by Yijing (義淨) in 703. Both translations of KKM were transmitted to Japan relatively early on and are known to have been highly influential, with 100 copies of Dharmakṣema’s translation issued to temples across the provinces in 694 and gold-lettered copies of Yijing’s translation issued to each of the state-sponsored temples (國分寺 *kokubunji*) in 741 (Saeki 2013: 186–9).

<sup>2</sup> MC reconstructions follow Baxter and Sagart (2014).

The Saidaiji M.S. (SDM) is a copy of Yijing's translation and, according to its colophon, was transcribed in 762 by Kudara no Toyomushi (百濟豊蟲) as a tribute to his late parents. SDM consists of ten scrolls, all of which are meticulously preserved. The text was initially glossed in the early ninth century in calcium carbonate (white gloss) and later in vermilion in 1097. Both the ninth century and 1097 gloss contain wokoto-ten (morpho-syntactic dot glosses) and lexical glosses in katakana. In addition to the main white gloss, there are secondary white glosses scattered across the text by no less than seven hands (Kasuga 1942: 20). The main white gloss is extensive and spans across all ten volumes making the entire text readable in—or more specifically, *transposable* into—EMJ. A fully transposed text of the ninth century white gloss (main hand only) was published by Kasuga Masaji in 1942. More recently, a full color original size facsimile has been published by Bensei Shuppan (Sōhonzan Saidaiji 2013). For this study, I use Kasuga's transposition of the ninth century white gloss and in cases where Kasuga's transposition is problematic, I consult the Bensei facsimile.

## 4 Loan Formations in Saidaiji M.S.

### 4.1 Loan Translations

All categories of imitational loans given in Figure 1, other than the rather obscure etymological rendering, can be found in SDM. LTs are by far the most common imitational loan, with approximately 180 unique examples attested only counting compounds. LT compounds attested in SDM can be broken down into the following three categories:

- (a) Compound nouns (8 examples)
- (b) Compound verbs (165 examples)
- (c) Noun + adjective compounds (7 examples)

Tables (1)–(3) give a list of LT compounds in SDM. The MC compound is given in the left column followed by its reconstructed reading and the meaning of each stem. When more than one example was collected, the number of examples is given in brackets. The EMJ gloss is given in the middle column followed by the meaning of each stem and the page and line number of its location in Kasuga (1942). Katakana glosses are transcribed in capital letters and wokoto-ten in lowercase. When multiple examples of the same gloss exist, the most complete example is provided. Note that in some cases, the same gloss is used for multiple synonymous MC compounds. In such cases, all MC compounds and their respective glosses are given, separated by semicolons. When the meaning of a stem across synonymous MC compounds or between a MC compound and an EMJ gloss is identical, the meaning is given in the first occurrence and a ☆ in each subse-

quent occurrence. An English approximation of the compounded meaning is given in the right column.

Note that the majority of glosses in SDM are fractional, only providing wokoto-ten or a single katakana character to represent an entire word. For this reason, in many cases it is necessary to reconstruct a full reading of a character based on other glosses in the text or Chinese character dictionaries of the period. In the examples below, reconstructions are taken from Kasuga (1942) when available and based on standard character readings of the EMJ period as given in Chinese character dictionaries such as 類聚名義抄 *Ruijumyōgishō* and 色葉字類抄 *Irohajiruishō* when not. Reconstructed readings are given in capitals and placed in parenthesis.

### (1) Compound noun loan translations in Saidaiji M.S.

MC compound	EMJ gloss	Translation
(a) 彼此 <i>pjeX+tsheX</i> 'that' + 'this' [2]	(KA)RE+(KO)RE ☆ + ☆ (5.03)	this and that
(b) 船舶 <i>zywen+baek</i> 'ship' + 'large ship'	TUBU+BUNE 'large ship' + 'ship' (13.12)	ships
(c) 彼岸 <i>pjeX+nganH</i> 'other' + 'shore'	(KA)no+(KISI) ☆ + ☆ (29.5)	Nirvana
(d) 共俱 <i>giongH+kju</i> 'together' + 'together'	TOMO+DOMO ☆ + ☆ (55.23)	together
(e) 臂肘 <i>pjieH+trjuwX</i> 'forearm' + 'elbow' [2]	PIDI+TADAMUKI 'elbow' + 'forearm' (80.8)	elbow and forearm
(f) 俱共 <i>kju+giongH</i> 'together' + 'together'	MORO+TOMO 'many' + ☆ (107.19)	together
(g) 坎窟 <i>khomX+khwoT</i> 'hole' + 'cave'	ANA+IWAYA ☆ + ☆ (137.20)	caves and hollows
(h) 荆棘 <i>kjaeng+kik</i> 'chaste tree' + 'jube tree'	(UBA)RA+(ODO)RO 'thorny plants' + 'grove of thorny plants' (187.06)	thorny shrubs

### (2) Compound verb loan translations in Saidaiji M.S.

MC compound	EMJ gloss	Translation
(a) 恭敬 <i>kjowng+kjaengH</i> 'act humbly' + 'respect' [17]; 虔敬 <i>gjen+kjaengH</i> 'revere' + ☆	(TUTUSI)m-i+(UYAMA)P-U; TUTUSIm-i+(UYAMA)p-i 'act humbly' + ☆ (146.7; 103.16)	revere and respect
(b) 宣說 <i>sjwen+ywet</i> 'proclaim' + 'explain' [7]; 演說 <i>yenH+ywet</i> 'lecture' + ☆ [2]	(NO)BE+(TOK-A)m-u; (NO)BE+ (TO)K-U 'lecture' + ☆ (4.20; 33.7)	expound
(c) 悲號 <i>pji+haw</i> 'be sad' + 'cry out' [5]; 哀號 <i>oj+haw</i> 'pity', 'be sad' + 'cry out'	(KANASI)b-i+ORAB-U; (KANASI)b-i +(ORA)B-U 'be sad' + 'weep', 'cry out' (198.11; 198.15)	mourn and weep
(d) 悲泣 <i>pji+khip</i> 'be sad' + 'shed tears' [2]; 悲啼 <i>pji+dej</i> ☆, + 'cry'; 悲哭 <i>pji+</i> <i>khuwk</i> ☆ + 'weep'	(KANASI)b-i+(NA)K-U; (KANASI)b-i +(NAK-I)te; (KANASI)b-i+(NA)K- ITUTU ☆ + 'cry', 'shed tears' (197.4; 198.4; 198.14)	mourn and cry
(e) 羸瘦 <i>ljwe+srjuwH</i> 'tire' + 'grow lean' [3]	(TUKA)RE+YASE-te (39.4) ☆ + ☆	grow lean and weak

- (f) 流出 *ljuw+tsyhwit* ‘flow’ + ‘exit’ [3] (*NAGA*)*RE+(I)de-tu* (193.14) ☆ + ☆ flow out of
- (g) 啼泣 *dej+khip* ‘cry’ + ‘shed tears’ [2]; *NAK-I+(SIPOTA)R-I; (NA)K-I+* cry shedding many  
 涕泣 *thejX+khip* ‘shed tears’ + ☆ (*SIPOTAR-I)tutu* ‘cry’ + ‘wet one’s tears  
 sleeves with tears’ (192.15; 197.20)
- (h) 晃耀 *hwangX+yewH* ‘shine’ + (*PIKA*)*R-I+(KAGAYA)K-Ite;* shine and glisten  
 ‘glisten’; 光耀 *kwang+yewH* ☆ + ☆; (*PIKA*)*R-I+(KAGAYA)K-Ite;*  
 光耀 *kwang+yewH* ☆ + ☆ (*PIKA*)*R-I+(KAGAYA)K-Ite* ☆ + ☆  
 (65.14; 79.18; 115.13)
- (i) 懊惱 *awH+njewX* ‘feel heartsick’ + *MUSEB-I+(NAYAM-I)te* (199.19) be worried and  
 ‘worry’ [3] ‘be choked with tears’ + ☆ heartsick
- (j) 收取 *syuw+tshjX* ‘obtain’ + ‘take’ [3] (*OSA*)*ME+(TOR-I)te* (180.19) ☆ + ☆ take in and care for

### (3) Noun + adjective compound loan translations in Saidaiji M.S.

MC compound	EMJ gloss	Translation
(a) 無限 <i>mju+heanX</i> ‘not’ + ‘limit’ [2]	( <i>KAGI</i> ) <i>RI+(NA)-si</i> ‘limit’ + ‘not’ (8.19)	limitless
(b) 無量 <i>mju+ljang</i> ‘not’ + ‘measure’	( <i>PAKA</i> ) <i>RI+(NA)-KU</i> ‘measure’ + ‘not’ (48.14)	unmeasurable
(c) 無數 <i>miu+srjuH</i> ‘not’ + ‘number’	( <i>KA</i> ) <i>zu+(NA)-si</i> ‘number’ + ‘not’ (48.15)	uncountable
(d) 無畏 <i>mju+jw ijH</i> ‘not’ + ‘reverence’	( <i>OSO</i> ) <i>R-I+(NA)-si</i> ‘fear’, ‘reverence’ + ‘not’ (61.10)	without reverence, doubtless, certain
(e) 無遺 <i>miu+ywij</i> ‘not’ + ‘remain’	<i>NOKOR-I+(NA-KA)R-Am-u</i> ‘remain’ + ‘not’ (63.10)	nothing remaining
(f) 無底 <i>miu+tejX</i> ‘not’ + ‘bottom’	<i>SOKOPI+(NA-KU#AR-ASIME)-m-u</i> ‘bottom’ + ‘not’ (82.01)	unfathomably deep, bottomless
(g) 無際 <i>mju+tsjejH</i> ‘not’ + ‘edge’, ‘verge’	( <i>KIPAMA</i> ) <i>RI+(NA)-ki</i> ‘extremity’ + ‘not’ (107.01)	limitless

First, let us take a look at compound nouns (1). A total of eight compound noun LTs were collected in this study consisting of both direct morpheme-by-morpheme translations (a, c, d, g) and looser paraphrastic translations (b, e, f, h). In (a), MC 彼 *pjeX* ‘that’ and 此 *tshjeX* ‘this’ are rendered in Japanese as *kare* ‘that’ and *kore* ‘this’, respectively. While a similar compound *kore+kare* is common in EMJ kana literature, *kare+kore* is almost entirely limited to gloss language. The term 彼岸 *pjeX+nganH* ‘other shore’ (c) is a Buddhist metaphor for Nirvana. While this particular sequence of morphemes could arise naturally in a literal sense, its use as a metaphor for Nirvana undoubtedly derives from the MC compound. A small number of examples of *tomo+domo* (d) can be found in EMJ poetry, but overall this form is rare in native literature. The term *moro+tomo* (f) is abundant in kana literature and may be a native equivalent of *tomo+domo*. The term does not appear in Old Japanese (OJ), however, and a synonymous compound 諸共 *tsyo+gjowngH* ‘many’ + ‘together’ (= ‘together’) can

be found in MC Buddhist literature suggesting that this term could indeed be a LT. In (b) and (e), each character is translated directly but sequenced in reverse order. The reasoning behind this resequencing is uncertain as neither *tubu+bune* or *piji+tadamuki* appear anywhere in native literature and could perhaps be attributed to euphony. Both 荊 *kjaeng* ‘chaste tree’ and 棘 *kik* ‘jube’ (h) are names of thorny plants. Jube is *natume* in EMJ and chaste tree has no native equivalent. The reading *odoro* ‘grove of thorny plants’ for 棘 is most likely based on the annotation for 荊棘 in the Tripitaka commentary, 一切經音義 *Yiqièjīng yīnyì* (Hui Lin 慧琳), which defines 棘 as 小棗也叢生者 ‘a grove of short jube’, a citation from 說文解字 *Shuōwén jiězì* (Taishō Tripitaka 2128, Vol. 54: 503a18).

Next, we will look at compound verbs. (2) is a list of all compound verb LTs with three or more examples in SDM. A total of 165 compound verb LTs were collected in this study making them the most numerous type of imitational borrowing. Nearly all compound verb LTs are direct translations of their MC counterparts. Compound verbs are highly frequent in both OJ and EMJ, so it is quite possible that a number of the LTs found in SDM already existed in Japanese; however, out of the 165 forms collected in this study, only four were found in *Man’yōshū* (MYS), predating SDM, and only thirteen examples were found in kana literature of the EMJ period.<sup>3</sup> Out of the examples in (2), all compounds other than (g) and (i) are direct translations. In (g), the word *sipotar-* ‘to wet one’s sleeves with tears’ is used to gloss MC 泣 *kip* ‘shed tears’. 泣 is commonly read as *nak-* ‘cry’, ‘shed tears’, with a nearly identical meaning, in EMJ glosses; however, in this example, *nak-* is already used as a translation for 啼 *dej* and 涕 *thej*, perhaps motivating the glossator to select an alternate reading to avoid repetition. In (i), MC 懊 *awH* ‘to feel heartsick’ is translated as *museb-* ‘to choke’, ‘to be choked with tears’, while this character is commonly read as *nayam-* ‘to worry’. Once again, however, *nayam-* is used as a gloss for the second half of the compound, indicating that the glossator chose alternate readings when two characters of a compound were highly synonymous.

Next, we will look at noun + adjective compounds (3). All noun + adjective compound LTs collected in this study are translations of MC 無 *mju* ‘not’, ‘nonexistent’ followed by a noun. The order of the components is reversed in the gloss to match Japanese word order, in which *na-* ‘not’, ‘nonexistent’ typically follows a noun. In total, there are seven examples of *mju* + noun compounds for which at least partial glosses are given to the noun indicating that it was read using a native Japanese word. If we are to include compounds in which no gloss is given to the noun, this number increases; however, since we cannot rule out the possibility that the nouns in

<sup>3</sup> Survey conducted with Miyashima et al. (2014) and *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2nd edition.

such unglossed examples were read in Sino-Japanese, I do not include them in the number. Out of the EMJ compounds in (3), *kagiri+na-* ‘limitless’ (a) and *kazu+na-* ‘uncountable’ (c) both appear in MYS, indicating that these compounds predate SDM. Their usage in MYS, however, differs from that in SDM. In the former, *kagiri+na-* is used to express longevity or immortality and *kazu+na-* to express brevity or impermanence, while in the latter, *kagiri+na-* is used as a translation for MC 無限 *mju+heanX*, indicating limitlessness in general, and *kazu+na-* as a translation for MC 無數 *miu+srjuH*, indicating an uncountable number or infinity.

All of the three types of LT compounds found in SDM display similar formation principles, as can be seen from the examples above. Needless to say, direct morpheme-by-morpheme translations are by far the most common method; however, when no suitable Japanese equivalent for a MC term exists, the glossator may choose to give an approximate translation instead. This approximate translation may be inspired by Chinese dictionaries and commentaries, as in the case of (1h). In addition, sometimes the glossator may choose to invert the order of the components in a compound. This may be due to Japanese syntax, as in the case of 無 *mju* + noun compounds (3a–g) or simply due to euphony, as in the case of (1b) and (1e). Furthermore, in some instances, the glossator may choose to give alternating translations to two highly synonymous characters in a compound to avoid repetition of the same stem (2g, 2i).

## 4.2 Loan Derivations

LDs are not as numerous as LTs by type count; however, if we are to count the total number of tokens, they appear much more frequently, with the most common form appearing over 200 times. LDs are formed either through morphological derivation or conversion (zero derivation). In the former, a verbal suffix or enclitic is attached to the stem of the word to change its lexical category, and in the latter, the lexical category is changed without the addition of suffixes or enclitics. Overall, morphological derivation is much more common as a formation principle than conversion for LDs in SDM; however, this tendency applies to the Japanese language at large and is in no way unique to gloss language.

LDs in SDM can be broken down into eight groups based on their lexical category and whether or not morphological derivation occurs:

- (1) Morphological derivation (20 examples)
  - (a) Verb > adnominal modifier (4 examples)
  - (b) Verb > conjunction (2 examples)
  - (c) Noun > adverb (1 example)
  - (d) Verb > adverb (3 examples)
  - (e) Verb > compound case marker (6 examples)

(f) Verb &gt; conditional (4 examples)

(2) Conversion (2 examples)

(a) Noun &gt; passive marker (1 example)

(b) Verb &gt; adverb (1 example) (conversion + reduplication)

Tables (4)–(9) list all of the LDs collected in this study. These tables follow the same format as Tables (1)–(3), with the addition of the derivational process in parenthesis after the EMJ gloss.<sup>4</sup>

**(4) Verb > adnominal modifier loan derivations in Saidaiji M.S.**

MC word or compound	EMJ gloss (derivational process)	Translation
(a) 所有 <i>srjoX+hjuwX</i> 'place', passive nominalizer + 'to exist' [84]	(AR-AYU)-RU {exist-PASS-ADN} (7.22) (from <i>ar-</i> 'to exist')	all
(b) 有人 <i>hjuwX#nyin</i> 'to exist', 'a certain' # 'person' [55]; 或時 <i>hwok#dzyi</i> 'a certain', 'to exist' # 'time' [68]	(A)R-U#(PITO) {exist-ADN#person; <i>ar-u#TOKI</i> {exist-ADN #time} (8.12; 8.17) (from <i>ar-</i> 'to exist')	a certain [one]
(c) 所謂 <i>srjoX+hjw ijH</i> 'place', passive nominalizer + 'to say' [10]	(IP-AYU)-RU {say-PASS-ADN} (64.06) (from <i>ip-</i> 'to say')	so-called

**(5) Verb > conjunction loan derivations in Saidaiji M.S.**

MC word or compound	EMJ gloss (derivational process)	Translation
(a) 并 <i>pjieng</i> 'to match', 'in addition to' [51]	(APASE)-te {match-CVB} (4.20) (from <i>apase-</i> 'to match')	in addition to, and
(b) 並 <i>bengX</i> 'to be parallel to', 'in addition to' [3]	(NARAB-I)=ni {be.parallel.to-ADV=LOC} (88.10) (from <i>narab-</i> 'to be parallel to')	in addition to, and

**(6) Noun and verb > adverb loan derivations in Saidaiji M.S.**

MC word or compound	EMJ gloss (derivational process)	Translation
(a) 本 <i>pwonX</i> 'origin', 'originally' [8]	(MOTO)=YORI {origin=ABL} (87.08) (from <i>moto</i> 'origin')	originally, essentially
(b) 恐 <i>khjowngX</i> 'to fear', 'fearfully', 'disturbingly' [2]	(OSORU-RA)KU=pa {fear-NMNL=TOP} (192.13) (from <i>osore-</i> 'to fear')	fearfully, disturbingly
(c) 互 <i>huH</i> 'mutually'; 'alternatingly' [3]	TAGAP-I=ni {differ-ADV=LOC} (108.6) (from <i>tagap-</i> 'differ')	mutually, alternatingly
(d) 極 <i>gik</i> 'to reach the limit of'; 'extremely' [9]	KIPAME-te {reach.limit-CVB} (115.21) (from <i>kipame-</i> 'to reach the limit of')	extremely

<sup>4</sup> Glossing abbreviations follow Zisk, M. (2016). Old Japanese and Middle Japanese Morphology Charts, v1.03 (current version available at: <https://www.academia.edu/28715406/>).

## (7) Verb &gt; compound case marker loan derivations in Saidaiji M.S.

MC word or compound	EMJ gloss (derivational process)	Translation
(a) 以 <i>yiX</i> 'to use', 'by means of' [219]	= <i>wo#MOT-ITE</i> {= <i>ACC#use-CVB</i> } (143.12) (from <i>mot-</i> 'to hold', 'to use')	instrumental case marker
(b) 於 <i>jo</i> 'to be at', 'to place' [60]; 據 <i>kjoH</i> 'to depend on', 'to occupy' [1]	= <i>ni#(O-I)te</i> ; = <i>ni#O-Ite</i> {= <i>LOC#place- CVB</i> } (25.8; 175.17) (from <i>ok-</i> 'to place')	locative case marker
(c) 依 <i>ijj</i> 'to lean on', 'to depend on', 'by virtue of' (61); 由 <i>yuw</i> 'to originate from' (56); 爲 <i>hjweH</i> 'to assist', 'for', 'to be caused by' [7]	= <i>ni#YOR-Ite</i> ; = <i>ni#(YOR-I)te</i> ; = <i>ni# YOR-Ite</i> {= <i>DAT#depend.on-CVB</i> } (56.16; 36.11; 35.16) (from <i>yor-</i> 'to depend on')	instrumental case marker

## (8) Verb &gt; conditional loan derivations in Saidaiji M.S.

MC word or compound	EMJ gloss (derivational process)	Translation
(a) 假使 <i>kaeX+sriX</i> 'temporarily' + 'use' (= 'if') (8); 設 <i>syet</i> 'set up', 'if' [3]; 若 <i>nyak</i> 'young', 'if', 'or' [1]	( <i>TATO</i> ) <i>p-i</i> ; <i>TATop-i</i> ; <i>TATOP-I</i> { <i>com- pare.to-ADV</i> } (49.9; 80.21; 13.6) (from <i>tatop-</i> 'to compare to')	if, for example
(b) 譬 <i>phjieH</i> 'to compare to', 'if', 'for example' [3]	( <i>TATO</i> ) <i>pe-ba</i> { <i>compare-COND</i> } (34.9)	if, for example

## (9) Loan conversions (zero derivation) in Saidaiji M.S.

MC word or compound	EMJ gloss (derivational process)	Translation
(a) 所說 <i>srjoX#sywet</i> 'place', <i>passive</i> <i>nominalizer</i> # 'explain' [81]	( <i>TOK-I</i> )+ <i>tamap-u#(TOKO)RO</i> { <i>speak-ADV+RESP-ADN#place</i> } (46.14)	passive nominalizer
(b) 倍 <i>bwjX</i> 'double', 'increase', 'increasingly' [3]; 倍增 <i>bwjX+tsong</i> 'double' + 'increase' (= 'increasingly') [199.13]	<i>MA(S-U+MA)s-u</i> ; <i>MAS-U+MAS-U</i> { <i>increase-CCL+increase-CCL</i> } (80.6,	increasingly

First, let us take a look at adnominal modifiers<sup>5</sup> (4). In all of these examples, the starting form is a verb, which then takes the adnominal suffix *-(r)u* to act as a modifier. Verbs taking the adnominal is by no means unique to gloss language; however, in the examples above, in addition to being adnominalized, the core meaning of the word changes, forming a novel expression not deducible from the original without understanding of the corresponding MC model. The first two examples involve existential verbs. MC 有 *hjuwX* (OC \*[*G*]<sup>wə</sup>ɔ) is typically used to express possession or existence, while MC 或 *hwok* (OC \*[*G*]<sup>wə</sup>ək) is used as an indefinite article-like structure expressing a meaning similar to 'a certain one' or 'in a certain case'.

<sup>5</sup> The term adnominal modifier corresponds with Japanese 連体詞 *rentaishi*, a class of words which act like adjectives in the sense that they modify nouns, but are incapable of taking standard adjective suffixes.

Being similar in pronunciation, these characters are commonly interchanged in texts (Baxter and Sagart 2014: 39). In Japanese, *ar-* is strictly an existential verb; however, by becoming associated with 有, it in turn took on the senses of 或 as well. *Ar-u* (b) is used both before nouns such as *pito* ‘person’ (MC 人 *nyin*) and *toki* ‘time’ (MC 時 *dzyi*) as an adnominal modifier and by itself in headless position with the topic marker *=pa* (*ar-u=pa*) or a combination of the emphasizer *=i*<sup>6</sup> and *=pa* (*ar-u=i=pa*) to express ‘a certain one’ or ‘in a certain case’. In many instances, the words *pito* and *toki* are supplemented via katakana gloss when the original MC text only has 有 or 或, indicating that such headless phrases were still uncommon in Japanese. In later glosses, *ar-u=i=pa* often acts as a conjunction expressing the meaning ‘or’; however, in SDM, the lexical meaning ‘a certain person, time, or case’ seems to be preserved in each example.

*Ar-ayu-ru* (a) and *ip-ayu-ru* (c) are both formed in a similar fashion, taking the passive suffix *-(r)aye-* to form a passive adnominal structure. *Ar-* does not take the passive in OJ and while there are examples of *ip-* taking the passive in MYS, it is used in the literal sense ‘to be said by someone’, with an apparent agent, and not in the fixed sense of MC 所謂 *srjoX#hjwjiH* ‘so-called’, which specifies no particular agent.

Now, we will look at conjunctions (5). *Apase-te* (a) and *narab-i=ni* (b) are both copulative conjunctions expressing ‘in addition to’ or ‘and’. Similar to the adnominal modifiers above, the stems of the underlying verbs are suffixed—in this case *apase-* takes the converbial *-(i)te* and *narab-* the adverbial/gerund *-(i)* and locative case marker *=ni*—in order to function as a new lexical category. A third MC copulative conjunction deriving from a verb, 及 *gip* ‘to reach’ is also used frequently throughout SDM. In later glosses, 及 is commonly glossed as *oyob-i*, the adverbial/gerund of *oyob-* ‘to reach’, adding an additional conjunction to the list of LDs; however, all examples of 及 in SDM remain un glossed, making it impossible to discern whether or not this character was read as *oyob-i* in SDM.

Next, we will look at nouns and verbs which derived into adverbs (6). Similar to the adnominal modifiers in (4), there is nothing unique about this particular derivation process in Japanese; however, in the examples above, each of the words does not only undergo derivation, but also borrows a novel sense from the MC model in the process. For example, *moto* ‘origin’ (a) borrows the sense ‘essentially’ from MC 本 *pwonX*, as in 佛性本清淨 *BuQsyau=no* (*MOTO*)=*YORI* (*SYAUZYAU*)=*nar-u koto=wo* ‘a Buddha nature is in its essence pure’ (28.23) and *osore-* ‘to fear’ (2.) borrows the sense ‘fearfully’ or ‘disturbingly’ from MC 恐 *khjowngX*, which comes at the head of a clause and expresses fear or concern that a certain event may

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of this particle is highly disputed, but it is traditionally treated as an emphasizer.

occur, as in 飢苦所纏恐食子(UU)-RU (KU)=ni (MATOPA)RU, (OSORU-RA)KU=pa (KO)=wo=ZO (KURAP-A)m-u=ya ‘(The tigress is) overtaken in hunger and I fear that she may devour her cubs’ (192.13).

Now, we will take a look at conditionals formed from verbs (8). *Tatop-i* (a) and *tatope-ba* (b) are both conditionals that come at the beginning of a sentence or clause and express the meaning ‘if’ or ‘for example’. *Tatop-i* is the adverbial/gerund of the consonant stem verb *tatop-* and *tatope-ba* is the conditional of the vowel stem verb *tatope-*. Both of these verbs are identical in meaning, expressing ‘to compare’ or ‘to take as an example’; however, *tatop-* was for the most part limited to gloss language and fell out of usage after the EMJ period. *Tatope-ba* is a typical conditional in Japanese, taking the conditional verb suffix *-(a)ba*. *Tatop-i*, on the other hand, is unique in that a conditional is formed out of the adverbial/gerund. Both of these forms are absent in OJ and mostly limited to gloss language during the EMJ period, strongly implying that they were modeled after their MC counterparts. All examples of *tatop-i* and *tatope-ba* in SDM come at the beginning of a clause, taking no particular object, suggesting that they have undergone decategorialization and their verbal function has weakened.

Next, we will take a look at compound case markers (CCM) (8). There are three CCMs deriving from six MC models in SDM. All of these CCMs are formed by combining a case marker enclitic with the converbial form of a verb. For example, =wo#*mot-ite* takes the accusative case marker =wo and the verb *mot-* ‘to hold’, ‘to use’ to form an instrumental case marker based on MC 以 *yiX* ‘to use’, ‘by means of’. The converbial of each of these verbs can also be found in MYS, but their meanings in SDM appear to be much more bleached. Take for example the following sentence from SDM, where 以 is glossed as *mot-ite* (MC text on top, EMJ gloss on bottom).

- (10) 願 以 此 善根, 速 成 無上 慧  
 pray.for use this good.deed quick become supreme wisdom  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 (NEGA)P-U (KO)no (ZENKON)=wo (MOT-I)te (SUMIYAKA)=ni  
 wish-CCL this good.deed=ACC use-CVB quick=ADV LZ  
 (MUZYAU)=no (WE NA)R-Am-u  
 supreme=GEN wisdom become-CJT-CCL  
 ‘By virtue of these good deeds, may I swiftly attain supreme wisdom!’ (37.10)

(10) is from a prayer heard by the Bodhisattva Ruciraketu in a dream. While it is still possible to derive some lexical meaning from 以 and *mot-ite* (i.e. ‘May I *use* these good deeds to attain supreme wisdom!’), the meaning is heavily bleached, acting more as an instrumental marker similar in meaning to English ‘by’ or ‘by virtue of’ than a lexical verb.

Finally, we will look at loan conversions (9). There are only two loan conversions in SDM: *tokoro*, which changes from a lexical noun expressing a physical place to a passive nominalizer based on MC 所 *srjoX*, and *mas-u+mas-u*, a reduplication of the verb *mas-* ‘to increase’ in its canonical, or conclusive, form *mas-u*, which acts as an adverb with the meaning ‘increasingly’ based on MC 倍 *bwojX* and 倍增 *bwojX+tsong*. *Tokoro* is used in passive constructions such as 所造(TUKU)R-ER-U#(TOKORO)=no {build-PASS-ADN#place} ‘that which is built’ (36.17–18) and 所說(TOK-I)+tamap-u#(TOKO)RO {speak-ADV+RESP-ADN#place} ‘that which is explained’ (46.14), in which a verb in the MC text is preceded by 所. *Tokoro* is typically followed by the genitive case marker =no or copula =nar-, but may also appear with no further gloss. Such passive constructions using *tokoro* are frequent in gloss language but entirely absent from MYS and EMJ kana literature. The status of *mas-u+mas-u* as a LD is disputable. This word appears four times in MYS; however, it is nearly absent from EMJ kana literature. In addition, the word bears a striking resemblance to MC 倍增 *bwojX+tsong* ‘to double’ + ‘to increase’ (= ‘increasingly’). This, and its absence from EMJ kana literature, suggest that *mas-u+mas-u* could have been modeled after 倍增 predating or independent of the form in MYS.

As we can see from the examples above, LDs, for the most part, follow typical Japanese derivational patterns; however, examples such *ar-u* (4b), where the adnominal is used as a headless noun phrase, and *tatop-i* (8a), where the adverbial/gerund is used as a conditional, going against standard Japanese morphology, do exist. Furthermore, in nearly all of the examples above, in addition to changing lexical category, the form in question also takes on a novel sense not deducible from the original meaning of the word without knowledge of the MC compound. Out of all of the LDs collected in this study, only the three CCMs (7a–c) and *mas-u+mas-u* (9b) were observed in MYS, the former three still retaining their lexical meaning. All of the LDs are attested in other EMJ glosses and all LDs other than *ar-ayu-ru*, *apase-te*, and *mas-u+mas-u* are attested in the kundoku-influenced *Konjaku monogatari shū*, demonstrating that these forms were strongly associated with glossing language throughout the EMJ period.

## 5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have given a comprehensive list of LTs and LDs in SDM and discussed the formation principles behind both categories of loans. The formation principles of each loan category can be summarized as follows.

LTs are formed primarily as morpheme-by-morpheme translations of their MC counterparts; however in cases where no Japanese equivalent exists or both components of the original MC compound are highly synonymous leading to an identical translation in Japanese, looser, paraphrastic

translations are used as well. In addition, it is also not rare to invert the order of the components of a compound for euphonic reasons.

LDs are formed either through morphological derivation with the addition of verbal suffixes and enclitics or through conversion in which the influenced form remains unmodified. While most of the derivational patterns observed do not go against standard Japanese morphology, in many cases, the influenced form takes on a novel sense not deducible from the original. Overall, morphological derivations are much more common than conversions, a fact that holds true for word formation in general in Japanese.

The question of whether a specific form is in fact an imitation or existed prior to Chinese influence, is not always easy. Only five out of the 180 LTs and four out of the 22 LDs collected in this study are observed in MYS. We must remember that our corpus of OJ materials is highly limited, so it is possible that more forms existed and are simply unattested for; however, the same general trend can be seen for these forms in EMJ kana literature as well, strongly suggesting their kundoku origins. The fact that nearly all of the LDs collected in this study appear in *Konjaku monogatari shū* also goes to show that these expressions were closely linked to kundoku.

LTs and LDs, such as those attested in SDM arise from the metaphrastic nature of the kundoku process. The desire to *transpose* each and every character of a text led to the types of imitational compounds and grammatical constructions given in this paper. Furthermore, the general prestige of Classical Chinese helped to preserve many of these borrowings, even transmitting some of them down to the modern era. In this way, it can be said that Classical Chinese played a major role, not in just providing Japanese with a vast repertoire of loanwords, but molding the very word formation and morphology of native expressions themselves.

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