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The Use of Chinese Words of Colloquial origin in the *Nihon Shoki*

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Abstract: *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 made use of colloquial and vernacular terms. As regards the native Japanese or *Xundu*-readings (訓読) of these Chinese words and phrases, there exists a body of extensive research, typified by the work of Kanda Kiichirō, in which it has been emphasized that the so-called early *Xundu*-readings of the *Nihon shoki* were carefully chosen with reference to Chinese commentaries and that this precision also extended to colloquial and vernacular expressions¹. However, the examination of how passages in the *Nihon shoki* containing Chinese colloquial and vernacular expressions from the Nan-Bei period to the Tang 唐 have been read has been inadequate, and it is from such a perspective that in this article the author wish to consider disyllabic adverbs and examine the realities of the early signs and symbols used to indicate *diacritical notes and marks* (訓点) in the *Nihon shoki*.

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1. Introduction

In any previous studies of the compilation of the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 it has been pointed out that the compilers borrowed heavily from Chinese works and Buddhist texts such as the *Hanshu* 漢書, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, *Sanguozhi* 三国志 (except for the *Shuzhi* 蜀志), *Liangshu* 梁書, *Suishu* 隋書, *Yiwen leiju* 芸文類聚, *Wenxuan* 文選 and *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (*Jinguan-gming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經) and also made use of colloquial and vernacular terms. As regards the native Japanese or *kun* 訓 readings (*kundoku* 訓読) of these Chinese words and phrases, there exists a body of extensive research, typified by the work of Kanda Kiichirō, in which it has been emphasized that the so-called early *kun* readings of the *Nihon shoki* were carefully chosen with reference to Chinese commentaries and that this precision also extended to colloquial and vernacular expressions¹. However, the examination of how passages in the *Nihon shoki* containing Chinese colloquial and vernacular expressions from the Wei 魏 and Jin 晋 through to the Tang 唐 have been read has been inadequate, and it is from such a perspective that

1 See Kanda 1949 and Matsuo 1986b.

in this article I wish to consider disyllabic adverbs and examine the realities of the early signs and symbols used to indicate *kun* readings (*kunten* 訓点) in the *Nihon shoki*².

As can be seen in the mid-Heian 平安 *kunten* of the Iwasaki 岩崎 manuscript of the *Nihon shoki*, there is evidence that serious consideration was given to the question of whether to read disyllabic expressions in the *Nihon shoki* as one word or two words in Japanese (Ishizuka 1985, 1986). It is therefore worth examining how these disyllables were read in early manuscripts of the *Nihon shoki*, such as the Iwasaki manuscript, that had been marked for reading in Japanese. In surveying the origins of the disyllables to be considered below, use has been made of digital data for Chinese texts, Buddhist scriptures and Dunhuang 敦煌 transformation texts (*bianwen* 變文), but my primary objective has been to elucidate the actual *kun* readings of passages in the *Nihon shoki* in which these disyllables have been incorporated.

The words to be considered in the following are, first, 35 disyllabic adverbs among the 104 words taken up by Matsuo Yoshiki (1986b) (listed here in the order of their Japanese *Kan-on* 漢音)

一時 亦復 益復 應時 何當 各自 況復 極甚 元來 更不 更無 事須 實是 少々 觸事
觸路 即便 即自 即時 大有 輒爾 都不 都無 當時 當須 獨自 倍復 必應 必須 必當
並不 便即 本自 猶復 要須

and, secondly, further 19 words added by the present writer:

更亦 更復 最爲 再三 茲甚 皆悉 威皆 共同 勿復 豈復 自然 悉皆 時復 正在 必自
無復 不復 並悉 並是

2. *Kun* Readings of Disyllabic Adverbs

I. Cases in which disyllables have been read as one word:

I-1. Instances in which disyllables have been given a *kun* reading

I-2. Instances in which only combining marks have been added

II. Cases in which disyllables have not been read as one word:

II-1. Instances in which disyllables have not been read as one word and the *kun* reading is inappropriate

II-2. Instances in which disyllables have not been read as one word but the sense is not all that wide of the mark or else unclear *Explanatory Remarks*

Passages from the *Nihon shoki* are quoted from the two-volume *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 (Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店) edition, while only the necessary sections of the Japanese rendering are cited from early manuscripts with *kunten*. The numerals following passages quoted from the *Nihon shoki* indicate the fascicle, page, and line (with fascicles 1–15 in

2 With regard to the *kunten* added to disyllabic adverbs in the *Nihon shoki* that originated in colloquial Chinese, on a previous occasion (Tang 2004) I took up six expressions of degree and pointed out that in many cases they were not read as disyllables. As reasons for this, I suggested a lack of understanding of colloquialisms and the fact that Japanese readings of Chinese characters had already become fixed.

Vol. 1 and fascicles 16–30 in Vol. 2 of the Iwanami edition). The *kana* 仮名 signs used in the manuscripts are given in *katakana* 片仮名, while the special diacritics known as *wokototen* ヲコト点 are indicated in *hiragana* 平仮名, and supplementary readings provided by the author are enclosed in parentheses. Combining marks and punctuation marks are given as they appear in the manuscripts. The manuscripts of the *Nihon shoki* used below include the Iwasaki manuscript with mid-Heian *kunten*, the Maeda 前田 manuscript with *kunten* from the Insei 院政 period, the Zushoryō 図書寮 manuscript with *kunten* from Eiji 永治 2 (1142), the Kitano 北野 manuscript with *kunten* from the early Kamakura 鎌倉 period and the Kanekata 兼方 manuscript with *kunten* from the Kōan 弘安 era (1278–88), while other sources have been indicated as required.

I. Cases in Which Disyllables Have Been Read as One Word

I-1. Instances in which disyllables have been given a *kun* reading

1. 一時 2. 益復 3. 元來 4. 再三 (some instances) 5. 自然
6. 触事 7. 触路 8. 少々 9. 即便 10. 當時 11. 本自

[I-1.1] *Yishi* 一時

① 一時刺虜。而坐定酒行。(III: 205.7)

Atsuta 熱田 manuscript (Nanbokuchō 南北朝 *kunten*): 「一時^{モロトモ}に」

② 時我卒聞歌、俱拔其頭椎劍、一時殺虜。(III: 205.10)

Atsuta manuscript: 「一時^{モロトモ}に」

③ 是以、諸國一時貢上五百船。(X: 377.19)

Atsuta manuscript: 「一時^{モロトモ}に」

④ 筋力精神、一時勞竭。(XIV: 499.17)

Maeda manuscript: 「一時^{モロトモ}に」

⑤ 拯民塗炭、彼此一時。(XVII: 37.9)

Maeda manuscript: 「彼此一時^{モロトモナリ}」

⑥ 入鹿、終與子弟妃妾一時自經俱死也。(XXIV: 253.11)

Iwasaki manuscript: 「一時^{モロトモ}に」

⑦ 一時俱鑱十二通門、勿使往來。(XXIV: 263.10)

Iwasaki manuscript: 「一時^{モロトモ}に」

⑧ 唯吹負留謂、立名于一時、欲寧艱難。(XXVIII: 393.14)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): no *kunten*

A search of the *Guosue baodian* 国学宝典 for examples of colloquial usage in Chinese texts elicits the following results: *Hanshu* –0; *Hou Hanshu* –22; *Jinshu* –119; *Liangshu* –24; *Weishu* –59; *Suishu* –35; *Youxianku* 遊仙窟 –4. These include:

珍國之、一時土崩、(*Liangshu* 1)

但筋力精神、一時撈竭。(*Suishu* 2)

Youxianku, Daigoji 醍醐寺 manuscript (*kunten* from 1344):

眾人皆大笑、一時俱坐、「一時^{モロトモ}に」

一時大笑。「一時^{モロトモ}に」

又一時大笑。「一時^{モロトモ}に」

死去一時休、「一時^{モロトモ}に」

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka for examples in Buddhist texts elicits 12,685 examples (including nouns; among the 133 examples in the *Huayan* 華嚴 section, 61 are adverbs). These include the following 2 examples:

一時演說。悉亦如是。(Avataṃsaka-sūtra [tr. Śikṣānanda] 39; T. 10: 207)

如是等光對佛光、一時隱没俱不現。(Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā [tr. Dānapāla] 4; T. 12: 13).

There are 49 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu* 敦煌變文校注, which include the following 2 examples:

一時打其鼓不鳴。(Li Ling bianwen 李陵變文 p. 128)

將士聞言、一時入草。(ibid.)

[I-1.3] *Yuanlai* 元來

①即日、勅曰、元來諸家貯於神府寶物、今皆還其子孫。(XXIX: 417.7)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): 「元來」

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「元來」

②時新羅言、新羅奉勅入者、元來用蘇判位。(XXX: 497.10)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): no *kunten*.

③又新羅元來奏云、我國、自日本遠皇祖代、(XXX: 497.14)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): 「元來」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* 国学宝典 for examples of colloquial usage in Chinese texts elicits the following result: *Hanshu* –0; *Hou Hanshu* –0; *Jinshu* –0; *Liangshu* –0; *Weishu* –1; *Suishu* –0; *Youxianku* –5. These include:

置上元來盡所求年。(Weishu 170)

Youxianku, Daigoji manuscript:

元來不見、他自尋常、^{モト ヨリ}「元來」

元來無次第、請五嫂為作酒章、^{モト ヨリ}「元來」

元來知劇、未敢承望、^{モト ヨリ}「元來」

李樹子、元來不是偏、巧知娘子意、擲果到渠邊。^{モト ヨリ}「元來」

元來不相識、判自斷知聞、^{モト ヨリ}「元來」

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits no examples, but there are six examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jinoshu*, which include the following 2 examples:

法界元來本清淨、都不關他空不空。(Foshuo Amituo jing jiangjing wen 佛說阿彌陀經講經文 2, p. 685)

地獄元來是我家。(Damuqianlian mingjian jiumu bianwen 大目乾連冥間救母變文, p. 1031)

[I-1.4] *Zaisan* 再三 (some instances)

①爰無以過。如是相讓再三。(XV: 511.17)

Zushoryō manuscript: no *kunten*

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「相讓(リタマフコト)再三」

②百濟使將軍君等、在於堂下。凡數月再三、(XVII: 39.18)

Maeda manuscript: 「數^{アマタ(ツキ)}月^(フタツ)再^{ヒ(ミタ)}三」

③任那早岐等對曰、前再三廻、與新羅議。(XIX: 69.15)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「再_ニ三_ニ廻」

Kanbun 寛文 9 (1669) edition: 「再_ヒ三_ニ廻_ヒ」

④以中臣鎌子連拜神祇伯。再_ニ三_ニ固辭不就。(XXIV: 253.19)

Iwasaki manuscript: 「再_ニ三_ニに固_ナ辭_ヒて」

Zushoryō manuscript: 「再_ニ三_ニに固_ナ辭_ヒて」

⑤輕皇子、再_ニ三_ニ固辭、(XXV: 269.15)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): 「再_ニ三_ニに固_ナ辭_ヒて」

In the above examples of *zaisan*, it is read as one word in ④ and ⑤ and as two words in ①, ② and ③. It was presumably because it was widely used in classical Chinese as a disyllable that it was able to be read as one word in early *kunten* manuscripts of the *Nihon shoki*.

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following examples: *Hanshu* – 3; *Hou Hanshu* – 0; *Jinshu* – 1; *Liangshu* – 1; *Weishu* – 1; *Suishu* – 7; *Youxian* – 0, These include:

一日再三出。(*Hanshu* 51)

再三返覆之。(*Weishu* 88)

令美人再三吟詠。(*Suishu* 22)

再三辭推。(*Zutangji* 2)

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 842 examples. There are no examples in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*, which had close links with the compilation of the *Nihon shoki*, but the following three examples may be cited:

再三索財。小母答如初。(*Dirghāgama* [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in Hongshi 弘始 era of Later Qin 後秦] 7; T. 1: 46)

我再三告言。閻浮利内大樂。(*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* [tr. Bai Fazu 白法祖 of Western Jin] 1; T. 1: 165)

如是再三求哀乞。(*Pusa chutai jing* 菩薩處胎經 [tr. Zhu Fonian of Yao-Qin 姚秦] 7; T. 12: 1048)

There are 20 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 4 examples:

遠公既蒙再三邀請。(*Lushan Yuangong hua* 廬山遠公話, P. 268)

求守獄子脫枷、獄子再三不肯。(*Yanzi fu* 燕子賦, P. 378)

是日耶輸再三請、太子當時脫指環。(*Taizi chengdao jing* 太子成道經, P. 435)

太子問聞死轉愁眉、再三怨恨實可悲。(*Baxiang bianwen* 八相變文 1, p. 512)

According to Gao Wei (1985), *zai* 再 and *san* 三 were originally numbers, but when joined together they formed an adverb, with the meanings of the two elements combining to signify “frequency”, “repetition” or “excessiveness”, and they lost their original meanings of “two” and “three”. The *kun* reading *shikiri ni* シキリに given in examples ④ and ⑤ above is apposite.

[I-1.5] *Ziran* 自然

①即自然有可怜小汀。(II: 165.12)

Kanekata manuscript: 「自_ヲ然_ニに」

②自然沈去。(II: 177.15)

Kanekata manuscript: 「自_ヲ然_ニに」

③而自然言之、玉萋鎮石。出雲人祭、(V: 253.13)

Atsuta manuscript: 「自_ヲ然_ニに」

④清彦答曰、昨夕、刀子自然至於臣家。(VI: 279.13)

Atsuta manuscript: 「自_ニ然_ニ」

⑤是後、出石刀子、自然至于淡路嶋。(VI: 279.14)

Kitano manuscript (*kunten* by Kanenaga 兼永): 「自然_ニ」

⑥布彌支・半古、四邑、自然降服。(IX: 357.9)

Atsuta manuscript: 「自_ラ然_{カラ}」

⑦若已建任那、移那斯・麻都、自然却退。(XIX: 85.17)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「自_ラ然_{カラ}」

⑧太佐平・王子等來。即自然心生欽伏。(XX: 145.17)

Maeda manuscript: 「自_ニ然_ニ」

⑨自然增益、三百餘丈。(XXIX: 465.16)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): 「自然_ニ」

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「自_ラ然_{カラ}」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* for examples of colloquial usage elicits the following results: *Hanshu* —0; *Hou Hanshu* —4; *Jinshu* —18; *Liangshu* —5; *Weishu* —11; *Suishu* —6; *Youxianku* —2. These include the following 4 examples:

知妖逆之徒自然消珍也。(Jinshu 28)

若糧運不通、自然離散、(Liangshu 1)

Youxianku, Daigoji manuscript:

天衣錫體、自然浮出、「自_ラ然_ト」
自然能舉止、可念無比方。「自_ラ然_ト」

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 11,968 examples (including nouns; among the 127 examples in Vol. 2 of the Āgama section, 63 are adverbs). These include the following 2 examples:

粟自然例裂。(Dīrghāgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 18; T. 1: 121)

大寶自然而至。(Saddarmapundārika-sūtra [tr. Kumārajīva of Later Qin] 2; T. 9: 17)

There are 17 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

災祥自然消散 (Yanzi fu 1, p. 376)

體瑩而琉璃不異、自然清淨、(Weimojie jing jiangjing wen 維摩詰經講經文 1, p. 751)

[I-1.9] *Jibian* 即便

①以禪觸體、即便懷脹。(XIV: 463.12)

Maeda and Zushoryō manuscripts: 「即_{ハチ}便_{スナ}」

②即便灑涕愴矣、纏心歌曰、(XVI: 13.11)

Zushoryō manuscript: no *kunten*

③馬子宿禰、即便隨去 (XXI: 157.19)

Zushoryō manuscript: no *kunten*

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「即_{ハチ}便_{スナ}」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* —0, *Hou Hanshu* —3; *Jinshu* —7; *Liangshu* —0, *Weishu* —5; *Youxianku* —0, These include the following 2

examples:

堂勒兵追討、即便奔散。(Hou Hanshu 31)

臣被詔之日、即便東下。(Jinshu 42)

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 6,516 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

懈怠比丘即便臥息。(Dīrghāgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 9; T. 1: 55)

即便驅逐令出國界。(Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra [tr. Dhāmakṣema of Northern Liang 北涼]; T. 12: 378)

There are 25 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

今來助國、即便拜為左相、(Qiu Hu bianwen 秋胡變文, p. 233)

太子見已、即便驚忙。(Baxiang bianwen 1, p. 510)

According to the *Gudai hanyu xuci cidian* 古代漢語虛詞詞典, *ji* 即 and *bian* 便 are synonymous, and together they form a compound adverb of time meaning “immediately”. The *kun* reading *sunafachi* スナハチ given in example ① above is apposite.

[I-1.11] *Benzi* 本自

①本自荒芒。(I: 129.22)

Kanekata manuscript: 「本_{モト}自_{ヨリアラヒ}荒_{タリ}芒_{タリ}」

A search of the *Guosue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* –1; *Hou Hanshu* –7, *Jinshu* –3; *Liangshu* –2; *Weishu* –8; *Suishu* –3; *Youxianku* –1. These include the following 3 examples:

汝南尹更始翁君本自事千秋。(Hanshu 88)

我本自疑此。(Jinshu 32)

眼多本自令渠愛、(Youxianku)

Daigoji manuscript: 「本_{モト}自_{ヨリ}」

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 1,173 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

本自誓言。不犯梵行。(Dīrghāgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 11; T. 1: 67)

一切諸法性本自空。(Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra [tr. Huiyan 慧嚴 of Song 宋] 24; T. 12: 765)

There are 4 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

如來本自大慈悲、聞語慘地劍雙眉。(Damuqianlian mingjian jiumu bianwen, p. 1035)

為是真如本自修。(Jingang banruo boluomi jing jiangjing wen 金剛般若波羅蜜經講經文, p. 642)

According to the *Gudai hanyu xuci cidian* (p. 199), *benzi* means *benziju* 本自就。Matsuo (1986b) writes that it is synonymous with *yuanlai*. The *kun* reading *motoyori* モトヨリ given in example ① above is apposite.

I-2. Instances in which only combining marks have been added

1. 亦復 2. 況復 (some instances) 3. 獨自

[I-2.1] *Yifu* 亦復

①至於卓淳、亦復然之。(XIX: 87.18)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「亦復」

②卓淳之國、亦復當興。(XIX: 91.10)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「亦復」

③懷隨意寶、遂所須用、盡依情、此妙法寶亦復然。(XIX: 101.17)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「亦復」

④來到任那、亦復如是。(XIX: 107.9)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「亦復」

⑤溝澆之流、亦復凝結。(XXIV: 249.8)

Iwasaki manuscript, Zushoryō manuscript, Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*), Kanbun 9 edition: no *kunten*

⑥奉進、亦復不晚。(XXIV: 257.7)

Iwasaki manuscript, Zushoryō manuscript, Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*), Kanbun 9 edition: no *kunten*

⑦天神地祇、亦復誅罰。(XXVII: 381.10)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*), Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*), Kanemigi 兼右 manuscript (1540 *kunten*), Kanbun 9 edition: no *kunten*

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* – 1; *Hou Hanshu* – 15; *Jinshu* – 9; *Liangshu* – 10; *Weishu* – 6; *Suishu* – 2; *Youxianku* – 1. These include the following 3 examples:

東郡白馬故大堤亦復數重。(*Hanshu* 29)

餓死者亦復不少。(*Weishu* 55)

圍棋出于智慧、張郎亦復太能。(*Youxianku*)

Daigoji manuscript: 「亦^x復」

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 22,141 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

亦復歡喜。思惟分別。(*Dirghāgama* [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 8; T. 1: 51)

是諸法者亦復虛偽。(*Māyopamasamādhi-sūtra* [tr. Zhu Fahu 竺法護 of Western Jin] 2; T. 12: 150)

There are 15 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

更一小弟、亦復癡顛。(*Shunzi bian* 舜子變, p. 203)

貧道慈親不積善、亡魂亦復落三塗。(*Damuqianlian* 大目乾連, p. 1028)

The only examples of *kunten* in manuscripts of the *Nihon shoki* are the combining marks used in the Kitano manuscript with *kunten* from the Nanbokuchō period and the reading is unclear, but they have been provisionally included here in light of the Daigoji manuscript of the *Youxianku* with *kunten* from 1344.

[I-2.2] *Kuangfu* 況復

①況復朝聘既闕、貢職莫脩。(XIV: 481.12)

Maeda manuscript: 「況復_(去)」 (_(去) means *mata* マタ)

②況復謀滅百濟官 (XIX: 113.17)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「況_復」

③況復平安之世、刀劍不離於身。(XIX: 123.15)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「況_復」

④斯等雖微、尚謂祥物。況復白雉 (XXV: 313.14)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): the character 況 is unclear

The Maeda manuscript takes *fu* 復 in ① in the sense of “again” (*mata* マタ), which is inappropriate in this context, but since the Kitano manuscript in ② and ③ uses combining marks, it has been included here.

II. Cases in Which Disyllables Have Not Been Read as One Word

II-1. Instances in which disyllables have not been read as one word and the *kunten* reading is inappropriate

1. 況復 (some instances) 2. 必自 3. 無復 4. 不復

[II-1.2] *Bizi* 必自

①則曾不血刃、虜必自敗矣。(III: 193.12)

Atsuta manuscript: no *kunten*

Kitano manuscript (*kunten* by Kanenaga): 「必、自_に」

②不意之處、則曾不血刀、賊必自敗矣。(VII: 291.20)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「^{カナラスミツカラ}必 自」

③能祭吾者、則曾不血刃、其國必自服。(VIII: 327.13)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「^{フツクニシタカヒ ナム}必 自 -服」

Atsuta manuscript: 「^{マツロヒシタカハン}必自_ 服」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* -3, *Hou Hanshu* -2; *Jinshu* -6, *Liangshu* -0, *Weishu* -1; *Suishu* -4, *Youxianku* -0. These include the following 2 examples:

浮以為天子必自將兵討之、(*Hou Hanshu* 33)

知楚之必自來、(*Weishu* 37)

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 142 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

必自如意。(Xixing *benqi jing* 修行本起經 [tr. Zhu Dali 竺大力 and Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 of Later Han] 1; T. 3: 466)

狂愚不捨。必自燒身。(Luoyun *renru jing* 羅云忍辱經 [tr. Faju 法炬 of Western Jin]; T. 14: 769)

There are no examples of *bizi* in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*.

The word *zi* 自 is used after monosyllabic adverbs to form disyllabic compounds, and according to the *Gudai hanyu xuci cidian* the character *zi* in *bizi* is a so-called empty word. In the Late Tang there are examples such as *shangzi* 尚自, *xuzi* 須自 and *yizi* 亦自. In the above three examples from the *Nihon shoki*, *bizi* is not read as a single word and the *kun* readings are inappropriate.

[II-1.3] *Wufu* 無復

①天下恆闇、無復晝夜之殊。(I: 115.10)

Kanekata manuscript: 「無復_(去)」 (_(去)means *mata* マタ)

②而山中嶮絕、無復可行之路。(III: 195.19)

Atsuta manuscript: 「無_レ復…」

③一時殺虜。々無復噍類者。(III: 205.10)

Atsuta manuscript: 「無_レ復…」

④而猶守迷圖、無復改意。(III: 211.8)

Atsuta manuscript: 「無_レ復_(去)…」

⑤無復風塵。(III: 213.9)

Atsuta manuscript: 「無_レ復…」

⑥無復可行之路。(VII: 309.14)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「無_レ復^{マタ}…」

⑦新羅無復侵逼他境。(XIX: 87.7)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「無_レ復…」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* -10; *Hou Hanshu* -31; *Jinshu* -86; *Liangshu* -18; *Weishu* -40; *Suishu* -28, *Youxianku* -0. These include the following 2 examples:

則君臣分定、無復異心。(Liangshu 13)

宴會之時、無復先師之敬、(Suishu 9)

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 2,797 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

當於爾時。無復日月星辰。(Dirghāgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 6; T. 1: 37)

無復諸煩惱、(*Piposhifo jing* 毘婆尸佛經 [tr. Fatian 法天] 2; T. 1: 159)

There are 2 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*:

諸漏已盡、無復煩惱。(Taizi chengdao jing, p. 439)

諸漏已盡、無復煩惱。(Xida taizi xiudao yinyuan 悉達太子修道因緣 1, p. 473)

According to the *Gudai hanyu xuci cidian*, the character *fu* 復 in *wufu* is an empty word. The *kunten* in the seven examples from the *Nihon shoki* cited above are all inappropriate.

[II-1.4] *Bufu* 不復

①不復別有處所、但臨死氣絕之際、是之謂歟。(I: 95.11)

Kanekata manuscript: 「不_レ復^{マタ}…」

②由是、長髓彥軍卒皆迷眩、不復力戰。(III: 209.7)

Kitano manuscript (*kunten* by Kanenaga): no *kunten*

③年踰若干。不復稱夭。(XIV: 499.17)

Maeda and Zushoryō manuscripts: 「不復、稱^{マタ} - ^{イノチミ} 夭^{シカシトイフヘカラス}」

④後由出火之亂、棄而不復檢。(XXVI: 341.9)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「不復_レ檢」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* -43; *Hou Hanshu* -49; *Jinshu* -141; *Liangshu* -32; *Weishu* -74; *Suishu* -39, *Youxianku* -0. These include the

following 2 examples:

設壇而拜、不復考試。(Hou Hanshu 27)

玉樹後庭花、花開不復久。(Suishu 22)

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 7,326 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

反覆諦觀。不復屈伸。(Dirghāgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 7; T. 1: 45)

現身財寶不復貧樂。(Sūrataparipṛcchā [tr. Bai Yan 白延 of Cao-Wei 曹魏]; T. 12: 56)

There are 4 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

更不復坐苦。(Lushan Yuangong hua, p. 268)

不復煩惱國家財寶、(Xudana taizi haoshi yinyuan 須大拏太子好施因緣, p. 502)

Since *fu* in *bufu* is an empty word, the *kunten* in examples ①, ③ and ④ above are inappropriate.

II-2. Instances in which disyllables have not been read as one word but the sense is not all that wide of the mark or else unclear

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------|-------|------------------|-----------|-------|------|
| 1 應時 | 2 何當 | 3 皆悉 | 4 豈復 | 5 各自 | 6 咸皆 | 7 共同 | 8 極甚 |
| 9 更亦 | 10 更不 | 11 更無 | 12 更復 | 13 勿復 | 14 再三(一部) | 15 最爲 | |
| 16 事須 | 17 茲甚 | 18 悉皆 | 19 實是 | 20 時復 | 21 正在 | 22 即自 | |
| 23 即時 | 大有 ³⁾ | 24 輒爾 | 25 都不 | 26 都無 | 27 當須 | 28 倍復 | |
| 29 必應 | 30 必須 | 31 必當 | 32 並悉 | 並不 ³⁾ | 33 並是 | 34 便即 | |

[II-2.18] *Xijie* 悉皆

①天見屋命・太玉命、及諸部神等、悉皆相授。(II: 153.20)

Kanbun 9 edition: 「悉皆」

②下及百姓、悉皆饒富、令無所乏。(XX: 145.14)

Maeda manuscript: 「悉(ク)に皆」

③悉皆隨侍。使人賜鞍作臣屍於大臣蝦夷。(XXIV: 265.9)

Iwasaki manuscript: 「悉(ク)に皆」

④天皇、及臣連等、所有品部、宜悉皆罷、爲國家民。(XXV: 299.15)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): 「悉(ク)に皆」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* -0, *Hou Hanshu* -2; *Jinshu* -5; *Liangshu* -8; *Weishu* -12; *Suishu* -1; *Youxianku* -0. These include the following 2 examples:

于是西域五十余國悉皆納質內屬焉。(Hou Hanshu 47)

自是湘部諸郡、悉皆蜂起。(Liangshu 19)

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 7,591 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

3 This has been included here because it was taken up by Matsuo (1986b), but it should probably not be regarded as a disyllable.

深至咽喉。悉皆熱沸。(Qishi jing 起世經 [tr. Jñānagupta et al.] 3; T. 1: 322)

諸人民等悉皆出家。(Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā [tr. Dānapāla] 4; T. 12: 14)

There are 15 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

應是山澗鬼神、悉皆到來。(Lushan Yuangong hua, p. 253)

身肉悉皆充供養、經過千劫不為難。(Foshuo Amituo jing jiangjing wen 佛說阿彌陀經押座文, p. 1160)

The word *xijie* is an adverb expressing extent and means “all”. The *Gudai hanyu xuci cidian* defines it as a compound empty word. The two elements *xi* and *jie* formed a disyllabic compound that came into use in the Six Dynasties period but it is no longer used in contemporary Chinese. In examples ②~④ above, the *kun* reading *kotogotoku ni mina* 悉(ノ)に皆 does not take it as a disyllable, but the sense is nonetheless not all that wide of the mark.

[II-2.19] *Shishi* 實是

①方知、實是皇孫之胤。(II: 163.10)

Kanekata manuscript: 「實_に是_(レ)、」

②從地來者、當有地垢。實是妙美之。(II: 171.8)

Kanekata manuscript: 「實_に是_(レ)、」

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* –0, *Hou Hanshu* –0, *Jinshu* –0; *WeiShu* –0; *Suishu* –1; *Youxianku* –1. These include the following 3 examples:

先眾後己、實是宿心。(Jinshu 50)

沉鱗競躍、實是欲界之仙都。(Yiwen leiju 37)

真成物外奇希物、實是人間斷絕人。(Youxianku)

Daigoji manuscript: 「實_に是_(レ)、」

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 1,516 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

此實是毀諦言也。(Dīrghāgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 16; T. 1: 102)

雖現女身實是菩薩。(Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra [tr. Huiyan of Song] 1; T. 12: 606)

There are 22 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

當今日下、實是孤危。(Li Ling bianwen, p. 130)

東鄰美女、實是不如、(Pomo bian 破魔變, p. 534)

According to Shimura (1984), in the early medieval period there was a rapid increase in words ending in *shi* 是, and in the *Youxianku* there appear words such as *zhishi* 直是, *zhongshi* 終是, *shtshi* 實是, *jishi* 既是, *naishi* 乃是, *jishi* 即是 and *dingshi* 定是. The adverbial usage of ~*shi* is prevalent in works by Du Fu 杜甫. In the Late Tang and Five Dynasties period the tendency to use *shi* as a suffix is said to have progressed even further.

[II-2.31] *Bidang* 必當

①此云宇氣譬能美儺箇。必當生子。(I: 105.15)

Kanekata and Kanenatsu 兼夏 manuscripts (late Kamakura *kunten*): no *kunten*

Kanbun 9 edition: 「必當^{ス、サニ (ベ) シ} …」

②必當奪我天原、乃設大夫武備。(I: 107.14)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必、當_に」

③不有凌奪之意者、汝所生兒、必當男矣 (I: 107.17)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必、當_に」

④必當爲女。如此則可以降女於葦原中國。(I: 107.17)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必、當_に」

⑤有清心者、必當生男矣 (I: 119.20)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必、當_に」

⑥防禦者、國內諸神、必當同禦。(II: 141.8)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必、當_に」

⑦損若用此矛治國者、必當平安。(II: 141.9)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必、當^{サキク マシ マサム} -平-安」

⑧誓之曰、妾所娠、若非天孫之胤、必當焦滅。(II: 143.9)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必當、焦^{ヤケホロヒテム}滅」

⑨若以惡心射者、則天稚彥、必當遭害。(II: 145.7)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必^{マシコレ}當害」

⑩是實天孫之子者、必當全生、則入其室中、以火焚室。(II: 155.20)

Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura *kunten*): 「必當_に、」

⑪余謂、彼地、必當足以恢弘大業、(III: 189.17)

Kitano manuscript (*kunten* by Kanenaga): 「必^ス、足^{ヌヘシ}當」

⑫若能敬祭我者、必當自平矣。(V: 239.17)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「必^{カナラスマサニ ナム}當 …」

⑬必當戮辱、遍於臣連、酷毒流於民庶。(XIV: 501.8)

Maeda manuscript: 「必當_に」

⑭必當遣救。宜速報王。(XIX: 97.9)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): no *kunten*

Kanbun 9 edition: 「必當^{ニ (ベシ)} …」

⑮今不遠而復、必當有敬 (XIX: 103.13)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「復_ニ必^ニ…當^{ニ (シ)}」

⑯往救將亡之主、必當國家 (XIX: 115.16)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō *kunten*): 「必當^{マサニ}」

⑰十一曰、明察功過、賞罰必當。(XXII: 185.10)

Iwasaki manuscript: 「必當^{アテ}」

Zushoryō manuscript: 「必當^{アテヨ}」

⑱未詔之間、必當難待。(XXV: 303.10)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): 「必當_に」

⑲方今不伐新羅、於後必當有悔。(XXV: 317.19)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura *kunten*): 「必當_に」

Among the above 19 examples, there are none in which *bidang* is read as one word.

A search of the *Guoxue baodian* elicits the following results: *Hanshu* —0, *Hou Hanshu* —12; *Jinshu* —20; *Liangshu* —8; *Weishu* —20; *Suishu* —12; *Youxianku* —0. These include the

following 3 examples:

今若立之、後必當怨。(Hou Hanshu 10b)

玄冬之初、必當開爽。(Weishu 53)

此輩惜妻子、必當死戰。(Suishu 55)

A search of the CBETA Electronic Tripitaka elicits 1,736 examples, which include the following 2 examples:

有來求必當施與。(Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra [tr. Xuanzang] 533; T. 7: 722)

必當捨離一切纏縛。(Avataṃsaka-sūtra [tr. Śikṣānanda] 19; T. 10: 103)

There are 6 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

屋無強梁、必當頽毀;(Wu Zixu bianwen, p. 16)

龍天歡喜、必當罪滅三世。(Taizi chengdao jing, p. 463)

Liu Qi 劉淇 (*zhuzi bianlüe* 助字辨畧) defines *bi* 必 as *shen ye* 審也 (p. 248), while *deng* 當 is synonymous with *ying* 應. According to Zhang Yongyan 張永言 (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, p. 19), on the other hand, *dang* has no real meaning. Matsuo (1986b), meanwhile, explains that *bidang* expresses the conjecture that something will occur “without doubt”.

3. Concluding Remarks

In the above we have considered 54 disyllabic adverbs used in the *Nihon shoki*, and it has been found that 11 of these, representing about twenty percent, were read as single words. There were also 4 disyllables that were not read as single words and for which inappropriate *kun* readings were given, and this also represents about seven percent. In the majority of cases, these disyllabic adverbs were not interpreted as single words, but the sense in which they were read was either not all that wide of the mark or else unclear. The Japanese method of reading Chinese was based on the grammar of classical Chinese, which is primarily monosyllabic, and so there developed a method of readings Chinese that was close to the diction of Chinese in respect to both writing conventions and grammar. But with the increase in disyllabic words, the Japanese failed to develop a method of readings Chinese that reflected colloquial usage. Considered as a whole, the *kunten* applied to the *Nihon shoki* shows lack of understanding of colloquial Chinese, and the gulf between Chinese and Japanese usage has not been bridged, but it could be said that there are no major errors in the interpretation of the general sense of the words in question. (Readings based on the *Wenxuan* so-called *Monzen-yomi* are not used in the *kunten* applied to the *Nihon shoki*.)

It is thought that finding Japanese readings for Chinese words of colloquial origin would have entailed considerable difficulties, and there are instances in which inappropriate *kun* readings were used. Probable reasons for this were (1) a lack of understanding of colloquial Chinese (although this varied with the period and also school of learning) and (2) the fact that Japanese readings for Chinese characters had become fixed. This could be described as the fate or limitation of study centered on the classical language.

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