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 (訓詁) 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 (Jinguanguang zuishengwang jing 金光明最勝王経) and also made use of colloquial and vernacular terms. As regards the native Japanese or kun 訓 readings (kundoku 訓詁) 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 晉 through to the Tang 唐 have been read has been inadequate, and it is from such a perspective that

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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. 

As an 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 変文), 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 韶爾 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 最為 再三 茲甚 皆悉 威皆 共同 勿復 豈復 自然 皆皆 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

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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 ツコト点 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 Madax 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 関方 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

[I-1.1] Yiishi 一時

1. 一時非性。而坐定酒行。(III: 205.7)
   Atsuta 烏田 manuscript (Nanbokuchō 南北朝 kunten): 「一時に」
2. 時我卒闘歌、便指其頭椎虜、一時殺虜。(III: 205.10)
   Atsuta manuscript: 「一時に」
3. 是以、諸國一時貫上五百船。(X: 377.19)
   Atsuta manuscript: 「一時に」
4. 筋力精神、一時労竭。(XIV: 499.17)
   Maeda manuscript: 「一時に」
5. 親民塗炭、彼此一時。(XVII: 37.9)
   Maeda manuscript: 「彼此一時」
6. 入鹿、終與子弟妃妾一時自經俱死也。(XXIV: 253.11)
   Iwasaki manuscript: 「一時に」
7. 一時倶鐘十二通門、勿使往來。(XXIV: 263.10)
   Iwasaki manuscript: 「一時に」
8. 唯吹負留難、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; Suihu −35; Youxianku 遊仙窟 −4. These include:

- 珍國之、一時土崩、(Liangshu 1)
- 但筋力精神、一時撲竭。(Suishu 2)

Youxianku, Daijōji 醍醐寺 manuscript (kunen from 1344):

- 帝人皆大笑、一時俱坐、「一時に」
- 一時大笑。「一時に」
- 又一時大笑。「一時に」
- 死去一時休、「一時に」
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 section, 61 are adverbs). These include the following 2 examples:

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

There are 49 examples in the Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu 唐代文校注, which include the following 2 examples:

一時打其鼓不鳴。(Li Ling bianwen 李陵變文 p. 128)
将士聞言、一時入草。(ibid.)

[1-1.3] Yuanlai 元來
① 即日、勅曰、元來諸家貳於神府寶物、今皆還其子孫。(XXIX: 417.7)
  Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura kunten): 「元_來」
  Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunten): 「元来」
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、自日本遣皇祖代。(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、自他尋常、「元_來」
元來無次弟、請五嫂為作酒餞、「元_來」
元來知劇、未敢承望、「元_來」
李樹子、元來不是偏、巧知娘子意、擇果到渠邊。「元_來」
元來不相識、判自斷知聞、「元_來」

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

法界元來本清浄、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 大目乾連冥間教母變文, p. 1031)

[1-1.4] Zaisan 再三 (some instances)
① 爱無以過。如是相讓再三。(XV: 511.17)
  Zushoryō manuscript: no kunten
  Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunten): 「相_疆(リタマ Waiting)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_ 月再_ 三」
③ 任那早岐等對曰、前再三處、與新羅議。(XIX: 69.15)
Kitano manuscript (Nambokuchō kunten): 「再_三躊」
Kanbun 宽文 9 (1669) edition: 「再_三_躊」

①以中臣鎌子連挍神祇伯。再_三_躊不過就。 (XXIV: 253.19)
Iwasaki manuscript: 「再_三_躊_箔て」
Zushoryū manuscript: 「再_三_躊_箔て」

⑤軽皇子、再_三_躊_箔、 (XXV: 269.15)
Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura kunten): 「再_三_躊_箔」

In the above examples of *zaisan*, it is read as one word in ① and ⑤ and as two words in 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; *Weishi* — 1; *Suishu* — 7; *Youxian* — 0. These include:

一日再出。(Hanshu 51)
再_三_躊覆之。(Weishi 88)
令美人再_三_躊詠。(Suishu 22)
再_三_躊推。(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_躊財。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_躊言。聞浮利內大樂。(Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra [tr. Bai Fazu 白法祖 of Western Jin] 1; T. 1: 165)

如是再_三_躊衰乞。(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)

求守猿子脫枷、猿子再_三_不肯。(Yanzi jiu 燕子賦, P. 378)

是日耶輸再_三_請、太子當時脫指環。(Taizī 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-然に」

②自然沈去。(II: 177.15)

Kanekata manuscript: 「自-然に」

③而自然言之、玉藻鑲石、出雲人祭。(V: 253.13)

Atsuta manuscript: 「自-然に」
清彦答曰，昨夕，刀子自然至於臣家。(VI: 279.13)

Atsuta manuscript: 「自然に」

⑤是夜，出石刀子，自然至於神路。(VI: 279.14)

Kitano manuscript (kunten by Kanenaga 兼永): 「自然に」

⑥布弥支・半古、四邑、自然降服。(IX: 357.9)

Atsuta manuscript: 「自然に」

⑦若已建任那、移那斯・都、自然却退。(XIX: 85.17)

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunten): 「自然に」

⑧太佐平・王子等来。即自然心生従伏。(XX: 145.17)

Maeda manuscript: 「自然に」

⑨自然增益、三百餘丈。(XXIX: 465.16)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura kunten): 「自然に」

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunten): 「自然に」

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:

知妖逆之徒自然消凜也。(Jinshu 28)

若糧運不通、自然離散。(Liangshu 1)

Youxianku, Daijoji manuscript:

天衣錦體、自然浮出、「自 - 然と」と

自然能舉止、可念無比方。「自 - 然と」

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:

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

大寶自然而至。(Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-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)

體壍而琉璃不異、自然清淨。(Weimojie jing jiāng jing wen 維摩詰經講經文 1, p. 751)

[1-1.9] Jibian 即便

①以禪觸體、即便懐脹。(XIV: 463.12)

Maeda and Zushoryō manuscripts: 「即・便」

②即便流涕悄矣、纏心歌曰。(XVI: 13.11)

Zushoryō manuscript: no kunten

③馬子宿禪、即便隨去 (XXI: 157.19)

Zushoryō manuscript: no kunten

Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunten): 「即・便」

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。（Hu Hou Hanshu 31）
臣被詔之日、即便束下。（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。（Dirghāgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later Qin] 9; T. 1: 55）
即便驚遂令出國界。（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。（Qi Liu Hui 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 古代漢語詞語詞典, 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] Benzī 本自
①本自荒芒。（I: 129.22）
Kanekata manuscript: 「本自荒芒」
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: 「本自」
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。（Dirghāgama [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、聞法悟地剎雙眉。（Damuqianliang mingjian jiumu bianwen, p. 1035）
為是真如本自修。（Jingang banruo boluomi jing jiangjing wen 金剛般若波羅蜜經經文, p. 642）
According to the Gudai hanyu xuci cidian (p. 199), benzī means benzijū 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. 咸復 （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 (Nanbokuchô kunten):「亦_復」
②卓淳之國，亦復當興。(XIX: 91.10)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kunten):「亦_復」
③懸隨事實，遂所所用，盡依情，此妙法寶亦復然。(XIX: 101.17)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kunten):「亦_復」
④來到任那，亦復如是。(XIX: 107.9)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kunten):「亦_復」
⑤溝洗之流，亦復凝結。(XXIV: 249.8)
   Iwasaki manuscript, Zushoryô manuscript, Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura kunten),
   Kanbun 9 edition: no kunten
⑥奉進、亦復不晚。(XXIV: 257.7)
   Iwasaki manuscript, Zushoryô 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 (Nanbokuchô 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)
   圖棋出于智慧、張郎亦復太能。(Youxianku)
   Daigoji manuscript:「亦_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。(Dirghâgama [tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of Later
   Qin] 8; T. 1: 51)
   是諸法者亦復虛偽。(Mâyopamasamâdhī-sûtra [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、亦復癡顚。(Shunzi bian 舜子変, p. 203)
   貧道慈親不積善、亡魂亦復落塚。(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 Nanbokuchô 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 潤復
①潤復朝聘既闕，貢職勿修。(XIV: 481.12)
Maeda manuscript: 「況復(去)」 (from means mata マタ)
②況復期禀百濟官 (XIX: 113.17)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunen): 「況_復」
③況復平安之世、刀鉄不離於身。(XIX: 123.15)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunen): 「況_復」
④斯等雖微、尚謂祥物。況復白雉 (XXV: 313.14)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunen): the character 况 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 kunen reading is
inappropriate
   1. 况復 (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 kunen
   Kitano manuscript (kunen by Kanenaga): 「必、自に」
②不意之處、則曾不血刃、賊必自敗矣。(VII: 291.20)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunen): 「必 自」
③能祭吾者、則曾不血刃，其國必自服。(VIII: 327.13)
   Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchō kunen): 「必 自 服」
   Atsuta manuscript: 「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。 (Xiu xing benqi jing 修行本起經 [tr. Zhu Dali 斌大力 and Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 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] Wûfu 無復
①天下恆聞，無復晝夜之殊。(I: 115.10)
  Kanekata manuscript: 「無復(去)」(去) means mata まつ
②而山中唅絕，無復可行之路。(III: 195.19)
  Atsuta manuscript: 「無復…」
③一時殺虜，々無復噍類者。(III: 205.10)
  Atsuta manuscript: 「無復…」
④而猶守迷圖，無復改意。(III: 211.8)
  Atsuta manuscript: 「無復(去)…」
⑤無復風塵。(III: 213.9)
  Atsuta manuscript: 「無復…」
⑥無復可行之路。(VII: 309.14)
  Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kuten): 「無復…」
⑦新羅無復侵逼他境。(XIX: 87.7)
  Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kuten): 「無復…」
  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。(Jinshu 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. Buddhayašas and Zhu Fonian in Hongshi era of
  Later Qin] 6; T. 1: 37)
  無復諸煩惱、(Piposhifo jing 毗婆尸佛經 [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 wûfu is an empty word.
  The kuten in the seven examples from the Nihon shoki cited above are all inappropriate.

[II-1.4] Bûfu 不復
①不復別有處所、但臨死氣絕之際、是之謂瀆。(I: 95.11)
  Kanekata manuscript: 「不復…」
②由是、長軀彥軍卒皆迷眩、不復力戰。(III: 209.7)
  Kitano manuscript (kuten by Kanenaga): no kuten
③年饒若干。不復稱天。(XIV: 499.17)
  Maeda and Zushoryô manuscripts: 「不復、稱 - 天」
④後由出火之亂、棄而不復檢。(XXVI: 341.9)
  Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kuten): 「不復検」
  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:

反覆諧觀，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。(Sūrataparipṛccchā [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 inappropirate.

**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 僅復 5 各自 6 盡皆 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 最為
16 事須 17 茲甚 18 悉皆 19 實是 20 時復 21 正在 22 即自
23 即時 24 大有 25 長爾 26 不兼 27 當須 28 倍復
29 必應 30 必須 31 必當 32 並悉 33 並不 34 便即

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**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(く)に皆」

③悉皆隨侍。使人賜鞍作臣屬於大臣諸夷。(XXIV: 265.9)

Iwasaki manuscript: 「悉(く)に皆」

④天皇、及臣連等、所有品部、宜悉皆罷、為國家民。(XXV: 299.15)

Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura kunten): 「悉(く)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:

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3 This has been included here because it was taken up by Matsuo (1986b), but it should probably not be regarded as a disyllable.
There are 15 examples in the *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu*, which include the following 2 examples:

應是呪誦鬼神、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 *kototoku ni mina* 悉(ク)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: 「實は（シ）」

②從地來者、當有地尾。實是妙美之。（II: 171.8）

Kanekata manuscript: 「實は（シ）」

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:

先殲後己，實是宿心。（*Jinshu* 50）

沉膦競躍，實是欲界之仙都。（*Yiwen leiju* 37）

真成物外奇物，實是人間斷絕人。（*Youxianku*）

Daigoji manuscript: 「實は（シ）」

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

此實是殿誦言也。（*Dirghāgama* [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* 破魔竟, 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此云字氣皆能美優邃。必當生子。（I: 105.15）

Kanekata and Kanenatsu 兼夏 manuscripts (late Kamakura *kuten*): no *kuten*
Kanbun 9 edition: 「必当♂♂…♂♂」
② 必当奪我天原、乃設大夫武備。(I: 107.14)
Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura kunten): 「必、當♂」

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♂」

④ 必当為女。如此則可以降女於華原中國。(I: 107.17)
Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura kunten): 「必、當♂」

⑤ 有清心者、必當生男矣 (I: 119.20)
Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura kunten): 「必、當♂」

⑥ 防禦者、國內諸神、必當同禍。(II: 141.8)
Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura kunten): 「必、當♂」

⑦ 拘若用此以衛國者、必當平安。(II: 141.9)
Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura kunten): 「必、當平♂安♂」

⑧ 言之曰、姿所振、若非天孫之胤、必當業滅。(II: 143.9)
Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura kunten): 「必、當業♂滅♂」

⑨ 若以恶心射者、則天稚尚、必當遺害。(II: 145.7)
Kanekata manuscript (late Kamakura kunten): 「必、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」

⑪ 曰、彼地、必當足以恢弘大業、(III: 189.17)
Kitano manuscript (kunten by Kanenaga): 「必♂、足♂當♂」

⑫ 若能敬祭我者、必當自平矣。(V: 239.17)
Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kunten): 「必♂當♂…♀□」

⑬ 必當賜辱、偏於臣連、酷毒流於民庶。(XIV: 501.8)
Maeda manuscript: 「必當♂」

⑭ 必當遭救。宜速報王。(XIX: 97.9)
Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kunten): no kunten
Kanbun 9 edition: 「必當♂…♂♂」

⑮ 今不遠而復、必當有敬 (XIX: 103.13)
Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kunten): 「復♂、當♂」

⑯ 往救將亡之主、必當國家 (XIX: 115.16)
Kitano manuscript (Nanbokuchô kunten): 「必當♂」

⑰ 十一曰、明察功過、賞罰必當。(XXII: 185.10)
Iwasaki manuscript: 「必當♂」
Zushoryô manuscript: 「必當♂」

⑱ 未詔之際、必當難待。(XXV: 303.10)
Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura kunten): 「必當♂」

⑲ 若今不伐新羅、於後必當有悔。(XXV: 317.19)
Kitano manuscript (early Kamakura kunten): 「必當♂」

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。（Avatāṃsaka-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、必當顚覆；（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 bianlùe 助字辨畵) 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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