

A decorative L-shaped frame composed of thick, dark purple lines. The top-left corner is a horizontal line extending to the right, then a vertical line extending downwards. The bottom-right corner is a horizontal line extending to the left, then a vertical line extending upwards. The frame encloses the central text.

WHAT CAN AND CANNOT BE SAID

Attempting to Use the TLS to Measure ‘Correctness’

Anja Schmidt • Valerie Kiel

What our texts have in common

- They are written entirely in sinograms (Chinese characters).
- Their transmission histories are complicated.
- They were not written by a native speaker of Chinese. Hence, they display some (or a lot of) linguistic oddities, including grammatical “mistakes” as well as interference of different styles.
- They are Buddhist in nature.

How our texts differ

- The *Hwaōmgyōng mundap* 華嚴經問答 (HM) was likely created in Silla (i.e. on the Korean peninsula), the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (NR) in Japan.
- The HM is one coherent text, the NR is a collection of tales.
- Their genres are entirely different; the HM is thought to be notes taken during a lecture (most likely without any intent of being published in its currently extant form) while the NR consists of three properly sectioned parts, each with a preface.
- The HM is most likely meant to be written in Chinese – for the NR, that part is debatable for some of the tales. (Examples will be shown later.)

Our goals

- establishing what exactly would constitute *correct* Classical Chinese (and correct Buddhist Chinese) in regards to our texts
- analysing the language(s) and style(s) of our respective texts
- identifying and categorising the aforementioned oddities in accordance with our TLS-aided findings
- present some features we think are needed to enable us to speak of grammatical ‘correctness’ and ‘incorrectness’ + making this measurable

華嚴經問答上卷

沙門 法藏撰

問三乘事理普法事理去何別答三乘中事
者心緣色等奇理者平奇真如雖理事不同
而相即相融不相妨等亦不相妨而事義非
理義也普法中事理者理即事事即理理中
事事中理即中中恣維事理不亦而真元二
隨言全盡而全不盡如理事如事理也亦亦

Kōmyōji-bon 光明寺本

華嚴經問答上卷

沙門釋 法藏撰

問三乘中理事普法事理云何別耶答三乘中事者
心緣色礙等理者平等真如雖理事不同而相即相
融不相妨礙亦不相妨而事義非理義也普法中事
理者理即事事即理理中事事中理即中中恣雖事
理不參而真無二隨言全盡全盡而全不盡如理事
事事亦爾以心言一切法而無非心以色言一切法
而無非色餘一切人法教義等差別法門皆爾所以
者何緣起陀羅尼無障礙法隨舉一法盡攝一切無

華嚴經問答

Hwaōmgyōng mundap (T1873)

- Hwaōm/Huayan Buddhist question-answer text traditionally ascribed to Fazang (法藏, 643-712)
- Found to be almost identical to extant excerpts of the *Ch'udong ki* 錐洞記, a 7th~8th lecture text recorded by one of Silla monk Ŭisang's (義相, 625-702) students

- Comments regarding the language of the text(s):

Gyōnen (凝然, 1240-1321): “Under the title of the two scrolls of this [*Hwaōmgyōng*] *mundap* it says ‘compiled by Fazang’. However, the wording is inferior and clumsy”.

此問答二卷題下云。法藏撰。然文言卑拙。 (*Gokyōshō tsūro ki* 五教章通路記 T2339)

Ŭichōn (義天, 1055-1101): “Only, the compilers of that time were not yet skilled in style, subsequently leading to the sentences being vulgar and mixed with the vernacular”.

但以當時集者。未善文體。遂致章句鄙野。雜以方言。 (*Sinp'yōn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 T2184)

Hwaōmgyōng mundap (T1873)

- Linguistic oddities in the text are largely open to interpretation and will require a very careful examination to see if and what kind of mistakes were made
- To avoid premature judgment, “mistakes” will be demonstrated based on apparent corrections made during later editing processes
- Versions compared:
 - A: Taishō edition based on a late Heian manuscript
 - B: Print dated to 1701
 - C: Citations of *Ch‘udong ki* in text ascribed to Koryō monk Kyunyō (均如, 923-973)

Hwaōmgyōng mundap (T1873)

Context: Discussion of why one should worship one's own not yet awakened Buddha vs. an already awakened Buddha outside oneself

A: 是故正今**吾令**發心修行佛。但吾當果已成佛。非他佛也。

C: 是故正**令吾**發心修行佛。但吾當果已成佛。非他佛也。

Therefore, the Buddha who makes me resolve (to strive towards enlightenment) and practice right now is only the Buddha I have already become (in the future) in correspondence to the result (of my cultivation), it is not some other Buddha.

- Interpretation: *ryōng* 令 as a ditransitive verb (cause so. to do sth.) is used with an object and a verbal expression → **word order should be VO**

Hwaömggyöng mundap (T1873)

Context: Why it is sufficient to worship the Buddha that one strives to become

A: [...] **無非**一物吾體佛故。

C: [...] **無**一物**非**吾體佛故。

[...] because there is not one thing that is not the Buddha of my body.

- Interpretation: *ilmul* 一物 and *och'ebul* 吾體佛 as the respective objects of *mu* 無 and *pi* 非 → wrong word order, verb and object should not be separated

Hwaōmgyōng mundap (T1873)

A: 又既諸經經**每**云。三世佛拜故諸罪業滅。

C: 又既諸經云。三世諸佛拜敬故諸罪業滅。

Moreover, various Sutras have already said: „Because the Buddhas of the three periods (past, present, and future) are worshipped, all karma of sin is extinguished “.

- Word order: The particle *mae* 每 meaning “every” should precede the noun it modifies, postnominal placement concurs with Korean grammar

→ How should we mark potential influence of the author’s mother tongue on the language of the text?

Hwaōmgyōng mundap (T1873)

Context: Previous argument that practitioners of other traditions who have reached their stage of enlightenment are not yet enlightened in the eyes of the Huayan tradition

A: 又前斷為。而此乘以者全不斷[...]。

B: 又前為斷。而以此乘者全不斷[...]。

[Then] again, the aforementioned regard [the delusion] as having been cut off, but if one bases oneself on this Vehicle, [they] have not been cut off at all [...].

- Interpretation: Either wrong word order of *tan* 斷 and *wi* 為 or unnecessary addition of *wi* 為; *i* 以 if seen as transitive verb meaning something like “use sth. (as basis of discussion)” should precede its object

Hwaōmgyōng mundap (T1873)

A: 若**佛以**者。 [...] 若**眾生以**者。 [...]

B: 若**以佛位**者。 [...] 若**以眾生位**者。 [...]

- When one again reads *i* 以 as “use sth. (as basis for discussion)” – here of (the position of) Buddha and the myriad living beings – the word order can be seen as wrong

A: 若**體門以**十入全體。 若以相者十入全相。

B: 若**以體門**十入全體。 若以相者十入全相。

If one bases oneself on the gate of entity, the ten kinds of entering are entirely entity; if one bases oneself on characteristics, the ten kinds of entering are entirely characteristics.

- In quite a few instances where *i* 以 is used in a similar fashion the word order is correct
→ **Passive/emphatic construction? How should we mark this?**

Hwaōmgyōng mundap (T1873)

A: 未來諸佛者**何為乎也**。

C: 未來諸佛者**何乎**。 / 未來諸佛**用何為**。

As for the various Buddhas of the future, what would they [be able to] do?

- Besides HM the combination *hoya* 乎也 is found only in texts dating to Ming dynasty or later and used in a different way (e.g. lists of grammatical particles)
- Evaluation: **wrong combination/unnecessary addition of grammatical particles** → how should we mark this?

者矣天皇任般余宮之時天皇山后寢天也後婚合之時柶輕而
 鳴當奉請之恥羞白將請天皇詔言尔世奉清柶輕奉初從文羅
 能鐸者願敬年赤幡梓葉馬受河侯山田前之道与豐浦寺前之路走往
 柶輕詔越之御川唱請言天皇電神天皇奉清呼然而自伴還馬是
 雖電神而何故无聞天皇之請耶是還時浦中亦与飯里唱電云既此柶
 輕見之呼神司入奉新而特而於大宮奉天皇言電神奉清柶輕放
 後天皇見之悲憐追擊卑介込疏者个呼電堂此在奈良 然後時
 柶輕率也天皇勅留七日是詠彼志信電該同爰作彼墓以立碑文柱云
 以電柶輕之墓也呼電而忽而鳥籠踊跪於碑之柱被柱之折而電
 探所捕天皇而之致電不孔雷懼七日七之留死天皇敕使樹碑文柱生
 之祀之捕電柶輕之墓也所留石時名為電山聖蹟詠不其也 師脚上卷之及
孫 思合 上卷在陸 久不 較 也 具 轉 以 佛 亦 敬 年 卷 禪 亦 方 輩 去 煩 可 也 傳 大 波
早 上 卷 下 卷 三 用 么 標 游 方 標 天 樹 口 柳 亦 專 今 生 子 係 第 二
是 錄 佛 坐 金 刺 方 也 印 三 乃 重 大 乃 却 人 應 為 專 竟 收 錄 業 跡
 行時野中過於妹女之女嬪此馴之壯勝之言行雅嫌之谷將見有
 能九而折女也此之語之弟亦妻耶亦聽谷云即將於家交通相
 往此項懷任生一男子於家大十二 十五日生子大彼之子女向家言
 而初魁昨肯嚙吠家言骨性告家長此大打致雅慈慈老而折之致若
 二月三月之項設年亦春持所家室亦初春女亦將老則今入於神即
 被大將公家初退吠即驚鳥澡悲成野中冬親上而看家父見之此與
 於中子相生在吾之忘每來相寐如海夫該白乘寐如而初被妻
 者紅欄染裳 今 概 死 云 亦 亦 也 而初窺裳欄引逝也夫視去容慈歎日
其 亦 亦 也 以中子相生在吾之忘每來相寐如海夫該白乘寐如而初被妻
其 亦 亦 也 以中子相生在吾之忘每來相寐如海夫該白乘寐如而初被妻

N i h o n r y ō i k i

江天伴尔師天白惠述

其亦亦也

Nihon ryōiki (824)

- full title: *Nihonkoku genhō zen'aku ryōiki* 日本國現報善惡靈異記
- compiled by Japanese monk Keikai/Kyōkai 景戒
- oldest known collection of *setsuwa* 説話 in Japan; said to have been inspired by Chinese works such as the *Míngbào jì* 冥報記 (~655) and has itself influenced later *setsuwa* works in Japan like the *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語 (Heian period, year unknown)
- additional issue of the possibility that some of the tales are actually meant to be (morphographically written) Japanese, i.e. *hentai kanbun* 変体漢文
 - 日本語を漢文に倣って主に漢字だけでつづった文。正規の漢文にはない用字・語彙・語法を含む。平安時代以降、公私の記録や男子の日記・書簡などの文体として発達した。

Texts in which Japanese is spelt mainly in *kanji* [Chinese characters] only, imitating *kanbun* [here: Classical or perhaps in any way pre-modern Chinese]. Includes uses of characters, vocabulary, and syntax not found in proper *kanbun*. Since the Heian period, it developed as a style for public and private documents as well as men's diaries and letters etc.

(source: *Dejitaru daijisen* デジタル大辞泉; translation by me)

Nihon ryōiki (824)

- interpretation through *kundoku* 訓読 and *kakikudashi-bun* 書き下し文

- 訓読のもう一つの場合は、漢文を日本語の語法に従って読み下すことをいう。たとえば、『論語』の「有朋自遠方来、不亦乐乎」を「ともゑんぱうよりきたるあり、またたのしからずや」と読む類である。

Another case (interpretation) of *kundoku* is the transliteration of *kanbun* [here: Classical or perhaps in any way pre-modern Chinese] according to Japanese syntax. For example, [the passage] “有朋自遠方来、不亦乐乎” from the *Analects* would be parallelly read as “ともゑんぱうよりきたるあり、またたのしからずや.”

(source: *Encyclopedia Nipponica* (日本大百科全書); translation by me)

- when showing examples, I will include a *kakikudashi-bun* but not the actual *kunten* 訓点 (for practical reasons)
- translations taken from Shirane / Watson (2013), *kakikudashi-bun* taken from SKNBZ (1996)

Nihon ryōiki (824)

上・一

天皇勅使樹々碑文柱言**生之死之**捕電栖輕之墓也

天皇の勅使（みつかひ）碑文の柱を樹てて言（のたま）はく「**生きても死にても**電を捕りし栖輕の墓」とのたまふ。

When the emperor's envoy erected a new pillar, he inscribed it, “This is the grave of Sugaru, who **in both life and death** ensnared the thunder.”

- **生之死之**: attested only once in both TLS and CBETA; not impossible semantically but certainly not a common idiom and an unusual use of 之 in any case

Nihon ryōiki (824)

天皇住磐余宮之時天皇與后寐天安殿**婚合**之時 [...]

天皇、磐余（いはれ）の宮に住みたまひし時、天皇、后と大安殿（おほやすみどの）に寐（ネ）テ**婚合（クナカヒ）**したまへる時に、 [...]

Once, when the emperor was living at the Iware Palace, he and the empress were sleeping together in the Ōandono and **were intimately engaged**.

- **婚合** attested only 4x in TLS and only once in CBETA; Chinese definition of the term lists a different meaning than the one intended here (as indicated by the *kakikudashi-bun* and the context)
- interestingly, the only reference listed for **婚合** as **クナカヒ** in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 is this exact one from the NR
- **Japonism that should probably not be listed alongside attributions from proper Chinese texts**

Nihon ryōiki (824)

上・二

女聽答言即將於家交通相住

女「聽（ゆる）さむ」と答へ言ひて、即ち家に將（み）て交通（とつ）ぎ相住む。

She replied, “I will.” So he took her home, and they married and lived together.

- word order → How would we mark this? Could this be an emphasis of what the woman says? Is emphasis of object common if the object is direct speech?

Nihon ryōiki (824)

比頃懷任生一男子

比頃（このころ）、懷任（はら）みて一（ひとり）の男子を生む。

After a time, she became pregnant and gave birth to a boy.

- potentially another Japonism?
- probably supposed to be 此頃 (though SKNBZ did not correct it)
- however, even then the combination is attested only twice in TLS and 11x in CBETA
→ What (kinds of) nouns can deictic expressions refer to?

Nihon ryōiki (824)

故名爲支都禰也

故、名づけて岐都禰（きつね）とす。

(Hence she is called a kitsune [meaning both “fox” and “come and sleep”].)

- phonographic use of characters (支 was corrected to 岐 for that reason)
- Play on words that only works in Japanese; one would like to put this under “rhetorical devices”, however, should we not make clear which language we are talking about when doing so?

Nihon ryōiki (824)

下・三八

諾樂樂宮廿五年治天下勝寶應眞聖武太天皇召於大納言之藤原朝臣仲麿而御前居諾之

諾樂の宮に二十五年天の下治めたまひし勝寶應眞聖武太〔上〕天皇、大納言藤原朝臣仲麿を召して、御前に居（す）ゑて詔（みことのり）したまはく

Retired Emperor Shōhō-ōjin Shōmu [Shōmu, r. 724–749], who had ruled the country for twenty-five years from the Nara Palace, **summoned** High Councillor Fujiwara-no-asomi Nakamaro **into his presence** and delivered a decree, saying, [...]

- 召於: extremely rare combination; attested only around 30 times in all the texts in TLS, and some of these cases are clearly “to invite + 於 + <LOC>”; there are, however, usages attested in CBETA where the object is a person (usually a pronoun)
→ What prepositions regularly co-occur with certain verbs? Which usage of said verb co-occurs with those prepositions (for polysemous verbs)? What types of objects can follow?
- 御前居: word order

Nihon ryōiki (824)

朕子阿陪内親王與道祖親王二人以之**令治天下欲**

「朕（わ）が子阿陪の内親王（ひめみこ）と道祖（ふなど）の親王（みこ）との二人／以（も）て、**天の下を治め令（し）めむと欲（おも）ほす。**

“It is my desire to see Princess Abe and Prince Funado rule over the land.”

- 二人以之: word order; emphasis of object?
- 令治天下欲: word order again, and in it seems quite obvious that a Japanese word order was kept in mind; while the structure is V-O for 令治 | 天下, the 欲 glued on at the end is telling
→ How would we mark those verbal constructions that seem to be “torn apart”?
How would we indicate that they should have been attached to one another?

Summary

- different kinds of issues: lexical, syntactic, and a mixture of both
- very common issues that appear in both texts (e.g. word order) but take on different forms
- rhetorical devices? mistakes?
- potential influence from author's/compiler's native language

Conclusion/List of features

- separate list for attributions and rhetorical devices likely unique to texts influenced by Korean or Japanese (so as not to mislead users working only with Classical/Buddhist Chinese proper)
- observations → word order
- possibility to establish links between prepositions and the verbs that they follow/the objects they precede
- possibility to assign type of object (say ANIMATE, LOCATION, etc.)
- additional suggestion: possibility to mark quotations and their source

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