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Vernacularisms in Medieval Chinese

by

Erik Zürcher, Seishi Karashima, and Huanming Qin

Victor H. Mair, Editor
Sino-Platonic Papers
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305 USA
vmair@sas.upenn.edu
www.sino-platonic.org
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Vernacularisms in Medieval Chinese Texts

Erick Zürcher, Seishi Karashima, and Huanming Qin

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The workshop was attended by 25 participants from China, Italy, Holland, Japan, Russia, and the United States of America. Many of the papers presented at the workshop have already been published separately elsewhere.
Erik Zürcher:

Vernacular Elements in Early Buddhist Texts:
An attempt to define the optimal source materials

This paper does not deal with one particular text but rather with a method to be applied in order to define, within the huge mass of early medieval Chinese Buddhist texts, those materials that are most suited to the purpose of this conference, i.e. those materials from which we may expect to reap the richest harvest of early vernacularisms.

The first step to be taken is to set a lower limit in time for the texts to be included in our corpus. I propose to put that lower limit around 410 AD, i.e. the approximate date of the death of the famous Kuchean master Kumārajīva at Chang’an (actually the exact date is still disputed; Kumārajīva either died in 409 or 413 AD). The main reason for doing so is that one of the main contributions of Kumārajīva and his school lies in the fact that they have set a standard for later translators; they have created a characteristic type of Buddhist written Chinese that was soon afterwards adopted by all other translators of the early medieval period, as a kind of written "church-language". In other words: they created a medium that, by becoming petrified, no longer absorbed new elements from the vernacular and that unavoidably became ever farther removed from the living language. Before Kumārajīva, translators experimented in a variety of styles, ranging from pure wenyan to semi-vernacular.

At first sight this definition of our materials in time appears to be an easy task: just take the Taishō Canon and see what you find. In actual fact, it is not at all so easy to do so, for the attributions which are found in the Taishō Canon are based upon those made in the large catalogues of Tang times that, especially for the earliest periods, are teeming with false ascriptions. As a result, the translations attributed to early masters have multiplied as time went on: in the earliest catalogue the Parthian An Shigao 安世高, who was active about the middle of the second century AD, is credited with 34 works, whereas in Tang times that number has swollen to 176, and many of these later and unreliable attributions are now found in the Taishō Canon. In addition, we also have to deal with the problem of anonymous translations, hundreds of which are mentioned in earlier and later bibliographies. In order to be quite sure and rigorous, I have limited the enquiry to texts mentioned in the earliest
bibliography that has been preserved in its entirety, i.e. Sengyou’s 聖祐 Chu sanzang ji ji 出三藏記集 of 515 AD, with a few additions taken from the roughly contemporary Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, and starting from those data I have listed the texts that have been preserved in the Canon. This yields a total of 266 texts in about 850 juan. This of course is a staggering amount of written materials; in fact, it amounts to more than twice the size of Shiji, Hanshu, Hou Hanshu, and Sanguo zhi taken together.

Apart from this criterium based upon external bibliographical sources, we can also define our initial corpus on the basis of internal characteristics, i.e. features of style, translation and transcription. We can do so because we can observe certain shifts that can be dated rather accurately. Those shifts were made by almost all known translators - and they took place just around the lower limit of our time-span, i.e. about 400 AD, stretching into the first decades of the fifth century. Some old absolutely stereotyped forms were discarded, and were replaced by equally standardized new forms, and those new forms then became part of the petrified "church language" that I have mentioned before.

By far the most important shift concerns a standard phrase that occurs in practically all scriptures that pretend to contain sermons or statements made by the Buddha himself (hence the सूत्र and विनायaka texts), and this phrase is moreover most conspicuous, because it is the opening line of every scripture. I am referring to the well-known formula Evaṃ mayā śrutam, "Thus I have heard" - words traditionally attributed to the disciple Ānanda who after the Buddha’s passing away is said to have recited all the scriptures by heart.

In Chinese archaic and ancient translations this formula invariably is rendered by Wen ru shi 韶如是, "I’ve heard like this". However, for reasons that are not quite clear (maybe just in order to keep closer to the word-order of the Indian original) it was changed to Ru shi wo wen 如是我聞 , "Like this I’ve heard". The new formula for the first time appears in the late fourth century, and no doubt became popularized by Kumārajīva and his school in the first decade of the fifth century. It was immediately taken over by all other major translators; the shift was indeed so general that in the whole Taishō Canon I have only found twenty-four "post-Kumārajīva" texts that still open with the Wen ru shi formula. It is therefore an excellent internal criterium for defining the terminus ante quem for any Chinese scripture.
A second equally consistent and universal shift regards the transcription of the word *Nirvāṇa*, changing from archaic and ancient *nihuan* to the familiar *niepan*, and also in this case the shift took place around 400 AD.

Basing our selection also on these internal criteria has the advantage that they are purely formal, and therefore independent from the judgement of early cataloguers. But those criteria are especially important in the case of early anonymous scriptures, many of which are short to very short, rather obscure, written in a popular or even vulgar style - and therefore very valuable for us. The catalogues do contain lists of such texts under the heading *shi yi* "translator unknown". However, there is ample evidence that they simply did not know (or overlooked) many of such texts, and in all those cases the two formal criteria (*wen ru shi* versus *ru shi wo wen*, and *nihuan* versus *niepan*) become decisive.

We can therefore make a second exercise in order to define the gross list of texts from which we start, by collecting all texts containing those two formulas. This yields a total of nearly 300 texts, in about 900 juan. Again: this is a staggering, almost unwieldy mass of materials.

However, only a comparatively small part of it is really useful for the present purpose. In this paper I shall make an attempt to survey these materials, to weed out in successive stages those types of texts that are useless, hardly useful, or only moderately useful, and so to reduce the corpus to what is fully acceptable and, finally, optimal. Some types of texts, as we shall see, can be discarded at once; in other cases we have to do with certain obstructing factors: peculiarities that in various ways distort the vernacular element. I shall treat them one by one like a series of sieves and at every step I shall illustrate the argument by means of a text sample. At the final stage we shall have reached the point when we are able to define our optimal materials, the real nuggets extracted from the ore. At the end of this paper I shall present a few text fragments that in my opinion constitute the nearest we can get to the early medieval vernacular.

The first type of texts that has to be eliminated from our collection obviously consists of all those works written in a pure or almost pure literary Chinese. In this category we find quite a number of texts, most of which date from the third century. The most important representative of this type of translation is the third-century Sogdian master Kang Senghui who was active at the court of Wu in Nanking, apparently for a high-class
Readership. Here we find all the characteristics and trappings of standard wenyan, such as the use of rare literary expressions, prosody, obsolete or even archaic particles and, occasionally, even Chinese-type parallelism. Of course, the phenomenon in itself is highly interesting in social terms, but that does not concern us here and now. The following text fragment is a typical example of this pure, sophisticated literary style; it consists of a few lines from a "birth-story", one of the many translated by Kang Senghui.

The future Buddha and his brother (also a Bodhisattva) have sacrificed their lives in order to free a country from the power of an evil nāga (long 龍).

"The gods praised them, and without exception they admired their love. After the two Bodhisattvas had died they were reborn in the Fourth Heaven. As [the people of the] whole country had been saved from death [by their self-sacrifice], they embraced the corpses and wailed mournfully, saying: "These must have been divine beings! Who [else] would be so loving?" Their [= the two Bodhisattvas'] disciples [had gone out] to search for them, and when they saw how their masters in their universal compassion had killed themselves to rescue the people, they [likewise] mourned for them and praised their virtue. And again they all went on to proclaim how their masters [had realized] the transforming power of the Way. Only then the king as well as his ministers and subjects knew that there was [the way of] the Buddha, and within his whole territory all said: 'Does the transforming power of the Buddhas really go as far as that?' They buried the two corpses, and the whole country mourned for them."

Wenyan elements: negative mi 非; direct speech introduced by yue 言; demonstratives si 斯 and zǐ 茲; perfective yi 矣; interrogative shu 乎; dai 述 in the sense of ji 也 "as well as"; 览 "all, all-over"; xian 皆 "all"; juguo 升 "the whole country".
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A second type of texts that should not be included consists of "wenyan-izing" versions, sometimes made on the basis of already existing less sophisticated translations; it is what in Chinese is called run 潤 or run se 潤色, "polishing". Some early translators are known especially to have indulged in that kind of literary reworking, most of all the mid-third century Zhi Qian 支謙 (of Indoscythian descent, but completely sinicized). The process of "polishing" most clearly appears in those cases in which both the earlier crude translation and Zhi Qian's "wenyanized" version have been preserved, because there we see the polisher at work and we can note in detail the changes made. The process is clearly illustrated by the following two samples: two versions of a fragment from the story of the Bodhisattva Sadaprarudita in two translations of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā.

(a) Semi-vernacular style, trsl. Lokakṣema, 2nd half second cent. AD; T225 道行經．
(b) Semi-wenyan style, trsl. Zhi Qian 支謙, mid-third cent. AD; T 226 Da mingdu jing 大明度經, j. 6, p. 505a.

S. meets the daughter of a rich house-holder who wants to join him in visiting the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata; she first wants to take leave of her parents.

var.: (Lokakṣema) 是=一(爾), 稱=辯(爾);
       女=汝(也, 真); 夫=偕(爾); 女=汝(亦, 真).

(Zhi Qian) 女具陳之=具陳之(明, 真).

Lokakṣema                  Zhi Qian

長者女語諸觀者曰: 彼女具陳之。所見願見親親賞者除云去。因
士妻彼女女具陳之。之。女言我欲得珍寶琦物, 父母所, 索金銀寶藏, 願至。彼女
陀波倫菩薩言: 共歸至我父母所。陀波倫菩薩即隨至父母所。女言: "父母所。我亦欲得便自說女
言。我欲得金銀寶藏, 願至。女自恣取之。"
"At that time the householder’s daughter said to the Bodhisattva Sadaprarudita: ‘Go with me to my parents’ place to ask them for gold, silver, jewels and costly things, and also in order to take leave of my parents’. The Bodh. S. then followed her to her parents’ home. When the girl had come home (read 乙 for 乃), she told the whole story to her parents. Her parents then answered her, saying: ‘What you tell us is a very happy [tidings]; it’s hard to hear about [such a thing]. We too would have liked to go with you, but we think we are [too] old, [so] we cannot go ourselves. If there’s something you want to have, just say so [for] yourself’. The girl said: ‘I want to have gold, silver, jewels and costly things’. Her parents said: ‘Take them, as much as you want!’"

The third kind of written language that we definitely cannot use here is what I somewhat unceremoniously would call "translationese", i.e. texts in which the Chinese is utterly distorted by an attempt to remain as close as possible to the non-Chinese original and which in the most extreme (but by no means rare) cases are only intelligible - at least to modern scholars - if one has the Indian original at one’s disposal. Our corpus contains many of such texts. They generally contain very few cases of vernacularism, apart from some very common expressions like yunhe 云何 for "how", or heyi gu 何以故 for "why". At the lexical level the texts are teeming with technical neologisms, mainly compounds such as fadeng ju 法等聚, "complex of dharmas", and many Chinese words are used in an atypical, technical sense such as yin 陰 for skandha. We find this kind of deformed Chinese not only in purely scholastic texts of the Abidharma type but also in a great number of sūtras devoted to a systematic exposition of the doctrine. As a phenomenon in itself the use of such extremely artificial meta-language is of course very interesting, but for the present purpose such texts obviously have to be excluded. Let us just have a look at a small sample: a small
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fragment from section 2, Xing pin 行品 "On [mental] Formations", of T 1550 Apitan xin lun 阿毘檀心論 (p. 810b), the Abhidharma-hṛdaya-sūtra, a scholastic compendium translated by Gautama Sanghadeva, 391 AD.

Every (momentary) thought (xin 心, citta) is a compound. Conscious thought as such does not produce a mental image; in order to do so it needs a number of "concomitant factors" (ju 偶) such as an object (yuan 原), time (shi 時), perception (xiang 想), attachment (yu 欲), contact (gengle 極樂) and discernment (hui 慧), memory (nian 念), reflexion (思), non-obstruction (jietu 解脫), attention (zuo yi 作意), concentration (sanmoi 三摩提, samādhi) and sensation (tong 痛).

The argument is first presented, in an extremely terse and concentrated form, in four five-syllable mnemonic verse, after which it is explained in prose.

"We shall now explain how thought arises from association. When thought is activated by something that thought needs to have [mental] concomitants; the complex of [indispensable] dharmas of discursive thought..."
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as well as the not [necessarily] proportional formations.

'Thought' [here] means 'mentation'; 'mentation' means 'being conscious [of something]'; these really refer to the same thing under different names. If this thought relies upon [something external], if it takes an object, if it arises at one moment, then that [whole]

complex of [concomitant] mental factors associated with thought will arise.

Question: "What is that complex of mental factors?"

Answer:

Perception, attachment, contact, discernment,
memory, reflexion, as well as non-obstruction,
attention as regards the sense-domain,
concentration and sensation.

'Perception' means that a thing immediately is received according to its physical shape.

'Attachment' means that at the moment of [sensory] reception there is the willingness to receive it.

'Contact' means that the thought relies upon the object, is joined to it, and does not become dissociated from it -----

Fourth: also generally to be excluded are expositions of the doctrine using a standardized, formulaic, and often extremely repetitive style, and this again will lead to a considerable reduction of our corpus. Many scriptures contain such enumerative passages and some scriptures virtually consist of such formulas from beginning to end. The school example is, of course, furnished by the various scriptures of the Prañāpāramitā-, or "Perfection of Wisdom"-class with their almost interminable litany of negation. By way of illustration we may have a look at the following passage from T 221 Fang guang banruo jing (Pancaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-praṇāpāramitā), translated by Kumārajīva, early 5th century (fragment from section 44, j. 9, p. 67b). The text contains an enumeration of the qualities of an advanced Bodhisattva.
"He then will know the Six Perfections; he knows that there is the Emptiness of internal and external [phenomena] and the Emptiness of Being and Non-being. Then he will know [the true meaning of] Omniscience. That is why it is called Precious Transcendence; why it is called Perfection of Wisdom. In Precious Transcendence there is nothing that arises and nothing that is extinguished; there is none who is attached and none who is detached; none who grasps and none who abandons. Why is that? There is no phenomenon at all that arises or is extinguished; that is [the object of] attachment or detachment; that is grasped or abandoned. Subhuti, in the Perfection of Wisdom there are neither good nor bad phenomena; neither religious nor profane phenomena; neither soiled nor unsoiled; neither active nor non-active phenomena ---- ".

However, at this point we must become somewhat less rigorous. More than ninety percent of the "Perfection of Wisdom" indeed consists of endless enumerations of phenomena that are declared to be void and unreal and such formulas contain little of the stuff we are after. But quite unexpectedly the monotonous enumeration may be interrupted by short illustrative, narrative passages that are written in a lively style and that may contain a wealth of vernacular intrusions, and the last two sections of the early Prajñāpāramitā versions are completely atypical and completely narrative. In other words, at this point the selection must no more be focussed upon discarding whole texts or even classes of texts: from now on we must talk in terms of passages or even small fragments of semi-vernacular that are found in
texts. We can conclude already in this stage that our final corpus of optimal materials will not consist of texts but of such passages and fragments.

The next distorting factor consists of the effect of versification. As we all know, innumerable early Buddhist texts already from Later Han times onward contain passages written in unrhymed gāthās, the length of which may vary from three to seven syllables. To gifted poets this would not present any obstacle because they would be able to preserve the verse form without distorting the language, but the monks who wrote these things were no poets but versifiers turning out their rather monotonous products by the yard. In their attempt to construct stanzas of the required length they appear often to have distorted the language either by inserting redundant words or syllables or by unnaturally condensing binomes to a single syllable. This tendency is reinforced by another stylistic feature: the interesting fact that the versifiers rather consistently try to place a caesura in each line, as in indigenous Chinese poetry, especially in 5- and 7- syllable lines (respectively, after the second and the fourth syllable). The use of the caesura is by no means as rigid as in secular poetry, and of course in many cases the regular pattern is disturbed by polysyllabic transcriptions. But the tendency is unmistakable, and this again could easily lead to distortion. Here again we should not discard versified passages as a whole, and it would be unwise to ascribe any unexpected form to this kind of distortion. But in any case such forms cannot be accepted at face value unless they are corroborated by other cases that are found in a prose context. For an example of what may be lengthened forms let us look at the following verse (only three of which have an irregular caesura, from T 6 Da banniepan jing 大般涅槃經 (Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra), translated by Faxian 法顯; early fifth century (j. 2, p. 205b).
Gāthās pronounced by various gods immediately after the Buddha has entered into Parinirvāṇa.

Note the following forms that may be "expletive":

反以; 諸衆生; 而次於餘人; 一切諸...

The last disturbing factor which we have to take into account is found in a very great number of Buddhist scriptures: it is the general tendency to break up sentences into prosodic modules according to a consistent four-syllable pattern. The origin of this prosodic feature is not quite clear. Of course, we find it quite regularly in regular mainstream wenyan where it often is combined with syntactic and lexical parallelism. It may be that the Buddhist practice was inspired by such secular examples, although the social gap between the high-class literati and the circles in which these texts were produced makes such a direct borrowing not very probable. It may also be that the Buddhist four-syllable pattern had something to do...
with the way in which such texts were recited or chanted. But whatever the origin, the fact
remains that many Buddhist texts already since Han times show this feature very prominently,
sometimes up to ninety percent of the text. Notorious examples of prosodic style are the
many texts translated by the late 3rd-early 4th century Dharmarakṣa, and unfortunately almost
all texts produced by Kumārajīva are highly prosodic. The problem created by four-syllable
prosody is akin to the one created by versification. Here, too, we must take into account the
possibility that the language is distorted (either inflated or condensed) by the effort to force
it into the Procrustes-bed of the four-syllable pattern. Here again, the effect can be shown
most clearly when we have two parallel versions of the same text, the first one being written
in a free non-prosodic style and the second one constituting a prosodic reworking. For such
an example we again turn to two parallel fragments from the Sadāprudita episode as found
in the translations by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian (cf. above, no. 2), showing the contrast
between Lokakṣema’s free narrative style and Zhi Qian’s use of prosody.

T 224, j. 9, p. 470c-471p; T 225, j. 6, p. 503c-504p.

In a dream the Bodhisattva Sadāprudita (= "Ever-weeping") is exhorted by a god
to seek the Doctrine; S. is desperate because he does not see any way to do so. His
grief is compared to that of a convict whose property is confiscated and who is thrown
into prison along with his parents.

Var.: (Lokakṣema) 不得 = 不能得 (三空聖).
"As soon as he had woken up he went in search [of the Doctrine], but he could not get it at all. In his mind he became grieved and unhappy: he wanted to be able to meet a Buddha and to listen to the scriptures, but he was not at all able to do so. Also there were not the religious rules practised by the Bodhisattva. For that reason he became deeply grieved, and he wailed as he went along. He was to be compared to a man who has committed an offense at the great king's court: all his property is confiscated by the authorities, and his parents and he himself all locked up in prison; that man will wail, and his grief will be beyond words - in such a way the Bodhisattva Sadāprārudita was grieved and wailing."

We are now approaching the final stage in our quest for the optimal materials. As a result of the successive six steps in eliminating useless and less useful materials, what is left is a core body of texts and passages that are written in a free narrative style, not hampered by the distorting factors that have been mentioned so far. In order to avoid any misunderstanding on this point: I do not flatter myself with the hope that those materials truly represent the early medieval vernacular. The very fact that the narrative has been written
down - in Chinese script - must always have led to some degree of formalization. In China, as in other civilizations, the conscious attempt to reproduce living speech in writing is a rather late phenomenon. At best our texts more or less dimly reflect the vernacular, but considering the other written sources of that period we can say that they do so much more faithfully than any other materials.

There is, however, one more step to take, a last stage of refinement that will bring us as close to the vernacular as we can get. When going through texts of this type I have got the strong impression that even in this free narrative style vernacularisms tend to be more frequent in passages containing direct speech: monologue and dialogue. It is hard to make out to what extent this is due to any conscious effort on the part of the writers. In any case: although the core body as a whole can fruitfully be used for linguistic analysis, special attention should be given to passages representing the *oratio directa*. For that reason the remaining samples given below have been limited to such passages: I have reproduced, and in most cases also translated, the words spoken by the personages, and I have summarized the connecting narrative, just in order to preserve the original context.

a.  

T 78 *Doutiao jing* 兜調經, a probably early fourth century anonymous translation of a short scripture from the *Madhyamagama* (T 26 *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經; Pali version in *Majjhima-nikāya* 135, entitled *Cūla-kammavibhaṅga-sutta*).

Because of his aggressive behaviour the brahmin Doutiao (= Pali "Todeyya") has been reborn as a dog in his own household. His son, named Gu 阿 (= Pali "Cūla") is very fond of the dog; he pampers it excessively. One day, when Gu has gone to the market, the Buddha comes at his door and is fiercely barked at by the dog.

*Var.*:
B.: "[In the past] you always used to raise your hands and to scare people by your talk; now again when you are a dog you [still] bark at me, without knowing any remorse!"

The Buddha leaves, and the dog grows sad and listless.

Gu returns and asks his relatives:

G.: "Why is the dog like that?"

R.: "There happened to be a monk who came along. I don’t know what he has said, but as a result the dog went under the bed and lay down on the floor, and when I [tried to] feed it it wouldn’t eat".

G.: "What way did that monk go?"

R.: "To the east."

Gu is furious and goes to the Buddha who is sitting under a tree, talking with his disciples. He sees Gu from afar and says to his disciples:

B.: "Gu is coming! If he does not make it and he dies on the way, then he will go down to hell."

D.: "Why will he go down to hell?"

B.: "That man is coming with a bad intention, because he wants to harm other people. That’s why he is bound to go down to hell."

Gu arrives, and standing in front of the Buddha he asks him brusquely:

G.: "Which monk happened to pass along my door and scold my dog, so that it does not eat anymore, and no more lies down at its [proper] place?"

The Buddha tells Gu how he has been barked at, and what he has told the dog.
Q.: "What then is that dog to me?"
B.: "You must not ask me that. If you hear [the story] it will make you unhappy."
Q.: "Please tell it to me!"
B.: "If I tell you, it will make you angry."
Q.: "I won't dare to be angry. I want to hear it!"
B.: "It's your father Doutiao."
Q.: "When my father Doutiao was alive he was well-versed in the Scriptures, so he never (reading 終 instead of 終) [can] be a dog!"

B.: "Just sit down. What you [should] know is that only because of his conceit he has become a dog. If you want to know whether he [really] is your father or not, go home and say to the dog: 'If you really are my father Doutiao, you must [again] eat from your own bowl. If you really are my father, you must go back to your old place to lie down. If you really are my father, then you must show me the place where you in your former [life] have [buried] your store of precious things'."

Gu goes home and does as he was told; the dog points with its nose to a spot near the bed and scratches the floor with its paws; at that spot Gu discovers his father's hidden treasure; Gu is overjoyed and returns to the Buddha, and he becomes a devout lay believer.

Note the following features:
- *yan* 言 introducing direct speech; *yue* 聆 and *yun* 聲 point to "wenyanizing".
- *ru* 你 "you"; *er* 耳 and *ruo* 若 only in a wenyan context.
- *pingchang* 平常 "normal, common".
- *zuo* 作 as semi-copula "to be" (zuowei 作為 is also attested).
- *zhu* 許 "just; by accident".
laiguo 來過: a common type of directional compound.

hedeng 何等 "what [kind of]"; extremely common.

... zhe ... 者: "in case that ...", "if ..." (common, also without introductory ruo 若 or ru 如).

ting 聽 "please allow me ..."; ting wei wo shuo zhi 聽為我說之 appears to be a conflation of "allow me to hear it" and "please tell me".

yuan yu 順欲 and huan gui還歸 (or guihuan): common compounds.

dan zuo 但坐 "it is only because ...".

b. T 1435 Shi song lù 十誡律 (Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, also called Yiqueyoubu lù 十誡律, the "Disciplinary Rules of the Sarvāstivāda School"), translated by Kumārajīva, early 5th century.

j. 16, p. 115b-116b: a "case story" about the circumstances that prompted the Buddha to pronounce the rule that monks are not allowed to travel in female company.

Near Vaiśālī, in a weavers’ village, a woman has been beaten up by her husband, and she decides to run away from him, back to her parents’ home in Vaiśālī. At that moment she meets a monk who is travelling from Vṛjī to Vaiśālī. The woman asks him were he is going.

個 = 共 (三字); 他 = 他耶 (三字); 我自 = 自 (三字); 婦 = 婦 (三字)

W.: "Good man, where are you going?"
M.: "To Vaiśālī."
W.: "Let us go together."

So they do, but when walking close to the woman the monk cannot control his passion; he starts flirting and touching her.

In the meantime the weaver realizes that his wife is missing.

Wv.: "My wife may well have run away".

Finally he thinks:

Wv.: "That woman has been born in Vaiśālī, she surely must have gone home,"

and he indeed finds her walking with the monk; he grabs the monk and scolds him:
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"Is that the doctrine of you monks, that you should carry away my wife?"

M.: "I don't take her away - I myself am going to Vaiśāli, and your wife has come with me by herself."

Wv.: "You'd better confess right away!"

As he starts beating and kicking the monk, the woman intercedes:

W.: "Why do you beat him? This monk has not carried me away; I myself was going to Vaiśāli."

Wv.: "You little slave! For sure you've been doing dirty things together!"

He again gives the monk a thorough beating and then lets him go. The monk goes to Vaiśāli and tells his story, after which the Buddha proclaims the rule that a monk is not allowed to travel together with a woman.

Note:
- adverb na 那 "where?" (to my knowledge not attested as "which?").
- directional compound zouqu 走去.
- huo dang 必當 ...
- bidang 必當 "surely must".
- jiang ... qu 將 ... 去: split-up directional compound; cf. jiangqu 將去 in the monk's answer.
- sui ... lai 隨 ... 来: another split-up directional compound.
- yunhe ken zhishou 云何肯直首 (also in the next story) is somewhat enigmatic; the translation is conjectural.
- ta 他: a very early occurrence of personal pronoun "him" (unless we would take it to mean "other [people]", but that is less probable in this context).
c. \textit{Ibid., j. 16, p. 116*}: a case story illustrating the rule that monks are not allowed to travel in the company of robbers.

When travelling to \textit{Vaisāli} a group of monks have lost their way in the forest. They run into a band of robbers who infest the region. The robber chief interrogates the monks, and after duly warning them allows them to accompany them.

\textbf{Var.:} 我等是賊 = 我是賊 (2.宮); 淘渡 = 淘度 (2.宮); 滲渡 (2.宮); 以失 = 以失 (2.宮); 運人問 = 語 (2.宮); 汝肯 = 肯 (2.宮); 汝 = 均 (2.宮); 不作 = 不能作 (2.宮); 必是失道 = 必是失道 (2.宮); 汝去 = 汝 (2.宮).

\begin{center}
R.: "Where are you going, monks?"
M.: "To Vaisāli."
R.: "This is not the way to Vaisāli!"
M.: "We too know that this is not the way to Vaisāli. It's because we have lost our way."
\end{center}

The monks then ask the robber:

\begin{center}
M.: "Where are you going?"
R.: "To Vaisāli."
M.: "Let us go together with you."
R.: "Don't you know that we are robbers? Sometimes we use a ford to cross the Ganges, sometimes we don't; sometimes we enter by a door, sometimes we don't. If you go together with us, you may get into trouble!"
\end{center}
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M.: "We have already lost our way - trouble or no trouble, we shall have to go with you."
R.: "Do as you like."

As they are crossing the Ganges they are arrested by a patrol; the patrolling soldiers ask the monks:

P.: "Are you also robbers?"
M.: "We are not robbers. It's [just] because we have lost our way."

The patrolling soldiers say:

P.: "You'd better confess straight away - we must take you to the magistrate."

After interrogation the magistrate, who is a believer, says:

Mg.: "Monks, the sons of Śākya, cannot do evil things; they surely have lost their way."

And he berates them:

"I now set you free. [But] hereafter you must no more travel with [such] bad people!"

(Stereotyped ending: the case is reported to the Buddha, who proclaims the rule).

Note:
- na 那, as in the preceding sample.
- plural forms wodeng 我等, rudeng 汝等, wocao 汝曹.
- ruo ... zhe 若 ... 者 "if".
- wei dang gong qu 誰當共去: "it so happens that ..."?
- yi shi zei ye 亦是賊耶: clear case of shi as a copula.
- fang ... qu 放 ... 去: split-up directional compound.
- mo 莫 "don't" (wu 勿 only in a wenyan context).

d. Ibid. j. 46, p. 330: a case story illustrating the rule that it is forbidden to ordain a woman without her husband's consent.

A householder's wife runs away from her husband who beats and kicks her; she takes refuge to the convent of a nun whom she knows well, because she used to frequent her home. The husband suspects that she is hiding in the convent.

Var.: 好 — (好)
"Could it be that my wife has run away?"

After having made a search, he thinks:

"For sure my wife has gone to [that] nun's convent!"

and again:

"Let her just stay there; [they will] tame her, and later on I shall take her back."

After a few days the woman says to the nun:

W.: "Good sister, why don't you ordain me?"

N.: "Your husband is still there, how [can I] ordain you?"

W.: "My husband has no use for me; if he needs me, he must come himself, [or else] he must send somebody."

The nun then ordains her. The husband is furious:

H.: "You bad nun! You wicked nun! You have ruined my family!"

N.: "Why [do you say that] I have ruined your family?"

H.: "You have taken my wife away and made her a nun!"

N.: "If this is your wife, then you may take her away."

The other householders are indignant:

HH.: "All those nuns say of themselves that they are good and have [gained] merit, [and yet] without the master's consent they ordain his wife! How about (?) the king's spouse, and the wives of the great ministers?"
Note:
- jiang wu ... ye 將無...耶: rhetorical question.
- wangzhì 往至: directional compound.
- ruo ... zhe 許...者 "if.
- yingdang 應當 "must".
- hegu po ru jia 何故破汝家: direct speech without introductory yan 言.
- ci shi ru fu 此是汝婦: shi copula.
- jiangqu 將去: directional compound.
- du tuo fu 度他婦: here again tuo fu also could be interpreted as "another [man's] wife". If zhu 主 here specifically refers to the husband of this story, tuo must be taken in the sense of "his".

e. T 551 Modeng nü jing 摩訶女經, an anonymous (3rd cent.? ) translation of the Mātāṅgi-sūtra, in later catalogues attributed to An Shigao 安世高 (mid-2nd cent.).

Ananda meets a girl, the daughter of the witch Mātāṅgi; she immediately falls in love with him. She goes home and weeps bitterly; Mātāṅgi asks why she is crying.

Var.: 问何字名 = 随问名字曰 (无明)

D.: "Mother, if you wish to give me in marriage, don't give me to [any] other man. At the riverside I have met a monk who begged for water from me. I asked him how he was called; his name was Ānanda. If I get Ānanda then I shall marry, but if you, mother, do not get him [for me] I shall not marry."

Mataṅgi soon finds out that Ānanda, being a monk, will not marry anyone. Since she is a witch, she plans to invite Ānanda for a meal and to bewitch him. She tells Ānanda:

M.: "My daughter wants to be your wife, Sir."

D.: "Since I am observing the Rules, I don't keep a wife."

M.: "If my daughter does not get you, Sir, as her husband, she will kill herself!"

D.: "I have the Buddha as my teacher, [so] I cannot have intercourse with women."

Mataṅgi goes home and tells her daughter:
M.: "Ānanda is not willing to be your husband. He says since he follows the Way of the Scriptures he cannot keep a woman."

D.: "It depends on your Way, mother!" (= referring to her witchcraft).

M.: "Of all the ways in the world there is none that can surpass the Way of the Buddha and the Way of the Arhat."

D.: "You just close the gate-doors, and don't let him be able to get out. In the evening he is bound to be my husband."

After Ānanda has arrived, Mātaṅgī closes the doors and casts a spell over Ānanda. She spreads the bed, but Ānanda is still unwilling. She then creates a big fire and says:

M.: "If you don’t want to be my daughter’s husband, I’ll throw you into the fire!"

At that moment the Buddha breaks the spell, and Ānanda can escape. The next day he tells the Buddha about his adventure.

A.: "Yesterday, when I was begging for food, I met a girl on the shore, and I begged her for water; [then] I returned to the Buddha’s place. The next day there was a woman, named Mātaṅgī, who invited me and wanted me to go to her home for a meal. [But] when I had gone out [and paid her a visit] she forced me, and she wanted to give her daughter to me as my wife."
The daughter is desperate; she cannot get Ananda off her mind, and the next day she pursues Ananda, trailing behind him on his begging round. When Ananda has returned to the monastery, she keeps waiting at the gate. Finally she leaves in tears, but then the Buddha calls her back and asks her:

B.: "You are pursuing Ananda; what do you seek [from him]?

D.: "I heard that Ananda has no wife, and I on my part have no husband. I want to be Ananda’s wife!"

B.: "Ananda is a monk, without hair. You have left [your] hair. Would you be able to shave your hair? [If you are,] I shall make Ananda be your husband!"

D.: "I am able to shave my hair!"

B.: "Go home and tell your mother, and [let her] shave your hair!"

The daughter goes home and reports the Buddha’s words to her mother, who is appalled by the proposal.

M.: "Child, since I have given birth to you I have protected your hair. Why do you want to be [that] monk’s wife? In the land there are powerful and rich families, and I myself can give you in marriage to [one of] them."

D.: "In life and death I must be Ananda’s wife!"

M.: "Why do you bring shame upon our caste?"

D.: "Mother, if you love me, you must act in accordance with my heart’s delight."
Mātāngī is weeping, but she still does as she is told and performs the tonsure, after which her daughter returns to the Buddha.

D.: "I have shaved off my hair!"

B.: "[Now] what do you love in Ānanda?"

D.: "I love Ānanda’s eyes; I love Ānanda’s nose; I love Ānanda’s mouth; I love Ānanda’s ears; I love Ānanda’s voice; I love Ānanda’s way of walking!"

The Buddha then explains how the body is impure and disgusting, impermanent, and a source of suffering. Mātāngī’s daughter is convinced and she enters the Order.

Note:
- ... zhe 者: "if ...".
- mo 莫 prohibitive: "don’t".
- ... wo bu jia ye 我不嫁也: ye appears to be a wenyan intrusion.
- bian 便 ubiquitous for "then\(^2\) (ze 則) is no doubt wenyan.
- yu ... gong 共 "together with".
- mu dao suo zai 母道所在: in this context ... suo zai in its literal sens; elsewhere it occurs as a curious idiom meaning "where?"
- wu 無 as a prohibitive(= mo 莫): a wenyan intrusion?
- huandaos 还到: directional compound.
- chi nü yu wo 持女與我: chi 持 or chiyong 持用 as a subordinated preverb "taking ...", like jiang 將 in wenyan or ba 把 in modern putonghua (very common).
- hedeng suo 何等索: verb - interrogative object in version.
- ning 宁 in a weak sense: sign of a rhetoric question (wenyan qi 這 ).
- ti toufa lai 别頭髮來: note the exhortative ... lai, "come on and ...".
T 526 Zhangzhe zi Zhi jing 長者子制經, "The Scripture of the Householder's Son Zhi (= Jeta?)"; an early (4th cent.?) anonymous translation, falsely attributed to An Shigao.

A sixteen years old boy, the son of a rich citizen of Rāja-grha, is deeply impressed by the Buddha; when one day the Buddha on his begging-round stands at the gate of his mansion, Zhi implores his mother to give him some food, but his mother refuses to do so.

Z.: "I see a man coming. who is very beautiful and quite wonderful; he has no equal in the world. Since my birth I have never seen a man like him. He is now standing at the gate, begging [for food]."

The mother is niggardly and refuses to give him anything.

Z.: "Mother, have pity! For my sake, give something to that man! One who gives something to that man is like a patient who has found a good doctor."

"One who gives something to that man will be famous in heaven and under heaven. Now that man is still standing outside."
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M.: "If you don’t stop harassing me, you’ll drive me crazy! That man does not come [here] for that, for begging, he just wants to cheat you. Now you are a foolish child; what do you know? If you don’t stop asking, it may well happen that you’ll get a [sound] beating with a stick - only then you’ll stop!"

Z.: "Mother, if you don’t want to give him something, then take my today’s portion of rice [and give it to him]. I'd rather not eat for a whole day. Have pity and fetch it quickly! I want to give it to that man, and I am afraid that that man will abandon me. If that man abandons me, [I realize that] it is hard to meet him [again]."

The boy finally fetches his portion of rice himself, as well as his finest clothes, and he goes to offer them to the Buddha, expressing his wish to enter the Bodhisattva career.

Note:
- *mu dang ai, yong wo gu ...* 母當哀, 用我故: this reading is to be preferred, although it only occurs in Korean recension (cf. the variant readings). *Yong ... gu* "because of" is very common.
- *buyong shi qigai gu lai* 不用是乞匄故來 is somewhat enigmatic; it either is a contamination of *buyong shi gu lai* and *buyong qigai gu lai* (as in my translation), or *shi* defines *qigai*: "does not come because of that begging".
- *hedeng zhi* 何等知: metathesis of verb and interrogative object.
- *... lai* 底: adhortative postverb: "come on, and ...".
- *qi ... qu* 去: split-up directional compound.


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<td>1435 十誡律 Puṣyātana &amp; Kumārajīva 61 C</td>
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Total corpus: 86 texts = 227 juan.
On Vernacularisms and Transcriptions in Early Chinese Buddhist Scriptures

Seishi Karashima

It is a fact that the early Chinese Buddhist scriptures, which range from the Later Han to the Northern and Southern Dynasties, have received little attention despite their great significance for Chinese philology as well as Buddhist studies. However, it is also true that the philological approach to these materials requires a solid knowledge of many languages ranging from Middle Indic to the Chinese vernaculars, which makes scholars decline taking on such a task. In spite of such difficulties, it is more than desirable that one investigate them both from the Indian and Chinese philological standpoints, as long as these texts are translations from Indian (or Central Asian) languages. This essay is intended to be a small step in this direction.

1. Mediaeval Vernacular Sinitic in Chinese Buddhist Scriptures

1.1. A Method to Investigate Vernacularisms in Chinese Buddhist Scriptures

Anyone who reads an early Chinese Buddhist scripture will be struck by peculiarities of the language used in it. Its difference from Classical Chinese may be partly due to the fact that many of the translators, who came from India or Central Asia, had not mastered Chinese well enough to translate by themselves, and thus worked in collaboration with native Chinese or sinicized assistants (misunderstanding between them must have been inevitable). The difference may be also due to the wide usage of neologisms in Buddhist scriptures — most of them are Buddhist technical terms —, which were invented in order to express foreign ideas and notions; and to vernacular words and usages used in the texts which were aimed at the illiterate masses rather than the literati.

Such vernacularisms and neologisms in Buddhist texts have long been neglected in Chinese dictionaries and grammatical books. Fortunately, there are more and more sinologists who are taking an interest in this field. For example, Shinjō Mizutani (水谷真成), Erik Zurcher, Shigeo Morino (森野繁夫), Zhu Qingzhi (朱慶之) are some of those sinologists who have written important works on this topic. There also exists an excellent introduction to Buddhist Sinitic written by Shōkō Kanaoka (金岡照光).

However, most of studies that have appeared hitherto on this topic are devoted to piecing together instances of vernacularisms from various Buddhist scriptures or to comparing them with similar expressions in the native secular literature in order to define their meaning inductively, without making the best use of the special character of Buddhist scriptures. i.e., the fact that they are translations and in most cases there are corresponding texts in Sanskrit, Pāli or Tibetan languages as well as variations in Chinese. Similarly, the meanings and history behind neologisms invented by Japanese translators in the Meiji era, e.g., “哲學” (philosophy), “科學” (science), can be clarified only when one compares them with the original words and other Japanese equivalent terms used by other Japanese translators at that time. This is true in the case of vernacularisms and neologisms in Buddhist texts; they
may be clarified when one compares them with their equivalents found in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Tibetan versions and other Chinese translations.

1.2. Instances of Difficult Words in Chinese Buddhist Scriptures

Here two instances will be given in order to illustrate the method stated above.

The late Prof. Kōjirō Yoshikawa (吉川幸次郎) wrote an essay on the colloquial style of a Chinese translation of the Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha (仏說無量寿経の文章), in Collected Works, vol. 7. In it he cited the following passage from the sutra as an instance of vernacular expressions found in the sutra: "恋心蕩逸，魯扈抵突" (Taihō vol. 12, 277a7. "[They] are self-indulgent, dissolute, insolent, offensive"), and he admitted that the meaning of "魯扈" (lǔhù), which is a bisyllabic word having the same vowel formation (so-called "疊韻"), was obscure to him. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Karashima 1994a: 211, fn. 103), a bisyllabic word similar to it is found in other Buddhist texts: "闡怒比丘虗扈自用" (Taihō vol. 1. 26a18. "The bhikṣu Channa is insolent, self-willed"), "常欲滅虗扈自用" (Taihō vol. 8. 27a27. "[One] wants always to extinguish insoucen (and) self-willedness"). "虗扈" (lǔhù), which is a homophone of "魯扈" and occurs in very similar contexts to that of the latter, must have the same meaning. Fortunately, a Sanskrit parallel to the former example is to be found in Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra 29. 14.: Chandaś caDdo rabhasab paruso rosita ākṛśako ("Chanda is violent, impetuous, harsh, furious, abusive"); and the latter has parallels in other Chinese translations: "破憍慢業" (Taihō vol. 7. 82c16. "[one] demolishes [one's] acts of overweening pride"), "破憍慢" (Taihō vol. 8. 256c19. "[one] demolishes [one's] overweening pride"). From these parallels and others (cf. Karashima loc. cit.) one may use deduction and therefore assume the meaning of the words "魯扈", "虗扈" as "insolent, self-willed, haughty, rude".

The second example is taken from Kumārajiva (鳩摩羅什)'s translation of the Lotus-sutra (妙法蓮華經): "當以衣械若以机案從舍出之" (Taihō vol. 9. 12b24. "[I] should, [carrying them] in the fold of my garment or on a table, take [them] out of the house."). "各以衣械盛諸天華" (23a27 = 23c4. 24a12. 24b20. "Each Brahma god king fills the fold of his garment with celestial flowers"). The word "衣械", which is also mentioned in Zhū (朱慶之) 1992: 216-217, is rather troublesome, and it seems to have become obscure even to the later Chinese commentators, who took it for a neckband, the front of a robe, or a foreign vessel for flowers (cf. Karashima 1992: 297). While no parallels of the latter sentence are found in other versions, the former one has a parallel in the so-called 'Kashgar' manuscript of Saddharma-pundarikāsūtra (鳩摩羅什): yam na aham sarvāṇiṃāni kumārakāṇy ekāsam samāvartya[m] pithakena, vā utsaṃgena vā-mādāyāsmād grhā nirgaccheyam (Toda 1981: p. 40. l. 14-15. "Suppose I, having gathered all the boys together and taken [them] on a stool or in the folds of [my] garment, go out of the house."). It is clear that "衣械" of Kumārajiva's translation parallels utsaṃga of the Sanskrit version. The Sanskrit word in this context may not mean "lap" but "fold of garment, pouched garment serving as a bag, a sort of an apron used for carrying things" (cf. CPD. s.v. uccānga; Goto 1980). Presumably its Chinese equivalent has the same meaning.

The two instances stated above may be enough to illustrate the necessity to
compare Sanskrit, Pāli (and if necessary Tibetan) texts as well as other Chinese versions in order to make clear the meanings of obscure words in Chinese Buddhist texts.

1.3. Some Vernacular Words and Usages Found in Dharmarakṣa’s Translation of the Lotus-sutra

Many existing studies on Mediaeval Chinese found in Chinese Buddhist texts have a tendency to ‘glean’ the most interesting colloquial words and usages from a large amount of vernacularisms found in the texts. There can be, however, another type of study of this topic; namely, to make a detailed glossary, which may list and define mediaeval vernacular words and usages, semantic peculiarities, Buddhist technical terms, transcriptions etc., for each Buddhist scripture. On the basis of such a glossary, one could further compile a larger glossary which covers all translations done by a particular translator (or a team of translators).

I am preparing such a glossary of Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the Lotus-sutra (Zhō Fāhu 正法華經, translated in 286 A.D. Taishō vol. 9, pp.63–134), comparing it with other Chinese translations and Sanskrit versions (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, ed. H.Kern and B.Nanjio (abbr.K); Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra. Central Asian Manuscripts, ed. H.Toda). Even in this single text one finds plenty of words and usages which are hardly to be found in dictionaries and grammar texts. Here I will list some of these expressions.

i. Personal pronouns


ii. 諸所 (“all. many”), 鄙所 (“so many”)

In Z. one finds several instances of “諸所” which means not “every where” as expected but presumably “all. many”: e.g. (6) “或有放捨 諸所財業 而行布施”(64b14. “Or some throw away all [their] valuables and business and practise the spread of
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... gifts.

In Z. "爾所" is used with the meaning of "so many" just like the commoner compound word "爾数"; e.g. (12), "吾等無上正真道, 成最正覺已來, 其劫之限過於爾所塵數之劫" (113b25-27). "The limit [of the number] of kalpas since I accomplished the unsurpassed, right, and true way and achieved supremely right enlightenment exceeds [the limit of] so many kalpas which are numerous as the dust particles." K.317.8. na tāvanti paramāṇuraṇajāmi samvidyante, vāvanti mama .... anuttarām samyaksambodhīm abhisambuddhaya.

Presumably "所" of both "爾所" and "爾数" have the same meaning as "許"("about, or so, approximately"). Because these two words had the same final, they were used interchangeably at times.

iii. 截("in number")

When "截" is placed after a numeral, it is usually a numerical designation for years, but in Z. it seems to mean "in number": e.g. (8) "誦斯經者 … 引無央數 僧戴贊喻" (79c14-15. "One who recites this scripture .... drawing infinite numbers of millions of similes". K.98.7-8. yo dharma bhāse .... drstānta-koti-nayutair anekais.). "見無央數億載諸佛" (66b15. "[They] saw infinite numbers of millions of Buddhas". K.22.1-2. bhūnī budhha-koti-nayuta-sata-sahasrāṇi dṛṣṭāni.). "說法護護無數億百千垓兆載聲聞衆" (92a23. "[The sixteen princes] preach the Dharma and save multitudes of voicehearers innumerable hundreds of thousands of millions of milliards of billions in number." K.184.5-6. bahūnām śrāvaka-...-koñi-nayuta-sata-sahasrāṇaṃ dharmam desa- yanti.).

iv. Passive

In Z. a passive sentence is sometimes expressed by "(為) ... 所見" (59): e.g. (110) "其不篤信 諸佛音聲 … 為一切世 所見詆毁" (89b10-12. "Those who do not believe sincerely the sounds of the Buddhas ... will be maligned by all the worlds." K.162.3-4). "諸佛世尊所見諸僧" (63a15. "[The bodhisattvas] are praised by the Buddhas, the World-Honoured Ones." K.3.1. bahu-buddha-sata-sahasra-samstutair.).

v. Conditional, Concessive Clauses and Rhetorical Questions

In Z. "設使" (11) and "若令" (12) are used to make conditional clauses: e.g. (13) "設使人見此 如是像法師 當持此經卷 奉敬加供養" (117c14-15. "If one sees a Dharma-master such as this, [one] will hold this scriptural roll [and] make offerings reverently." K.343.9-10. yādi kaścīna narāṇ pāsyed idrśam dharmabhāṣānakaṃ / dhārayantam idāṃ sūtraṃ kuryad vai tasya satkriyām[ 'Kashgar' manuscript reads here "pūjanā"] //; "若有有人 (14) 還及彼土 須臾得聞 於斯經卷 …… 在在所由 無有大病" (118c24-26. "If one, having returned to that land, is able to hear this scriptural roll for a moment ... one shall have no grave illness wherever one is." K.352.5-6. sā[ 'Kashgar' manuscript reads here "yaś"] cāpi pratisāhiṣṭa tena sattvaḥ śrūṇeya sūṭreṇa muhūrtakam pi / .... mukha-roga tasya na kadaci bhoti //). The usage of the word "假當"("in case, if") in the following sentence is not to
be found in dictionaries: “吾之所有 財業廣大 假當壽終 無所委付” (81c5-6. “The wealth and business which I possess are vast. In case my life comes to an end, [I] have no one to whom to bequeath [them].” K.112.2 ayam ca kośo vipulam mamāsti kāla-kriyā ca māma pratyupasthitā.).

In Z. one may find several instances of “正使”(“even if, though”), which is also not uncommon in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts of this period, e.g. “正使生天及在人間，與不可會，恩愛別離” (75c22. “Even when [they] are born in the heavens or in the midst of men, [they] meet with what [they] hate, separate from what [they] love.” K.78.1-2. deva-manusya-dāridryam anīṣṭa-saṃyojāṁ īṣṭa-vinā-bhāvikāṁ ca dukkhaṁ pratyanubhavanti.). “正使我等不退轉地諸菩薩，尚不能知”(113b17-18. “Even we bodhisattvas, who [stay on] the ground from which there is no turning-back, do not know [it]” K.317.2-3. asmākam api ... avaivartya-bhūmi-sthitānaṁ bodhisattvānāṁ ... asmin sthāne citta-gocaro na pravartate.).

Three words “寧”, “當”, and “將” are used to stress rhetorical questions: “唯有 一乘 豈當 有三 ?” (70b19. “There is only one vehicle. How can there be two!” K.46.14. ekāṁ hi kāryam [v.l. yānām. cf.Karashima: 52] dvitiyāṁ na vidyate.). “尚無 二，豈當 有三 ?” (81b6-7. “There are not even two [vehicles]. How can there be three!” K.110.10.-). “豈將異乎” (100a3. “How can the king Jewelled-Canopy possibly have been anyone else!” K.224.1.-).

vi. Obscure words

There are still many words in Z. whose meanings remain obscure and await further investigations. For example, the meaning of “乙密”(yīmi), a bisyllabic word having the same vowel formation(叠韵), is not clear in the following sentences: “心念此已, 發願 乙密” (97c29. “Having thought thus inwardly, [Ananda] made a vow earnestly[?]” K.215.2. evaṁ ca ciṃtayaṁ ‘nuvicintya prārthayitvā). “假使菩薩乙密(113. 観察斯一切法” (107c16. “If a bodhisattva observes minutely[?] all the dharmas, ...” K.278.3-4. evaṁ hi ... bodhisattvo mahāsattvo bhikṣoṁ sarvadharmāṁ vyavalokayan viharati.).

Taking the case of Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the Lotus-sūtra alone, there are still many words and usages which are not to be found in dictionaries and remain to be investigated.

2. Chinese Buddhist Transcriptions as Material for Reconstructing the Chinese Sound System

In order to identify the original language of the Chinese translation of Dirghāgama (abbr. Dā. 長阿含經. Taishō vol. I. pp.1-149), which was rendered in Chinese by Buddhayaśas (佛陀耶舍) and Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) in Changan (长安) 413 A.D., the present author has analysed approximately 500 transcriptions found in it. comparing them with corresponding Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan words and other Chinese transcriptions (Karashima: 1994b). In that study, some problems concerning Chinese phonology were also discussed; two of them will be brought up here. MC reconstructions follow the system devised by Karlsgren (1954) and emended by Li Fang-kuei (李方桂 1971) with some notational changes proposed by Coblin (1983: 41).
2.1. On the value of MC. ji-(羊母) reflected in transcriptions

Relying on his analysis of phonological glosses of the Wei-Jin Period, Coblin assumed the value of MC. ji- was $\alpha$- in this period (1974-75: 310-311). On the basis of Chinese transcription of foreign words, Pulleyblank also assumed the value of MC. ji- was $\alpha$- in the period between Han and Tang (1962: 115). Coblin, who analysed transcriptions found in Han Buddhist scriptures, reconstructed MC. ji again as $\alpha$- (1983: 62-63).

However, on the following grounds, the value of MC. ji- in DĀ (413 A.D.) seem to have been not $\alpha$- but ji- which corresponds to the semi-vowel $y$- in Indian languages.

In DĀ, there are five cases, where MC. ji- corresponds to Skt. -k-: e.g. (17) “延” (MC. jian) of “尼延豆” (Taishō vol. 1, 80a11) corresponding to “kān” of BHS. nikantho. A phonetic development such as -$k$- $\rightarrow$ -$j$- is not known in Indian and Central Asian languages; rather one may assume that this transcription reflects the Prakrit development -$k$- $\rightarrow$ -$y$- in the underlying language of DĀ.

There are also seven examples, where MC. ji- corresponds to Skt. -c-: e.g. (19) “耶” (MC. jia) of “婆耶” (80a26) corresponding to “cā” of Skt. vācāsu. The development -$c$- $\rightarrow$ -$j$- is exceptional in the Middle Indic (cf. Brough 1962: 226; Norman 1970: 134-35), thus one may assume that these transcriptions reflect the common Prakrit development -$c$- $\rightarrow$ -$y$- in the underlying language.

Skt. consonant groups $jy$, $dy$- in initial position are assimilated to $j$- in the Middle Indic. If MC. ji-(羊母) had the value of $\alpha$- in this period as Pulleyblank supposes, then such Middle Indic initials would have been transcribed by MC. ji. But in fact they are transcribed by MC. 2- (Pkt. j); e.g. (19) “鱼” (MC. 2ju:, 2ju-) of “jyoti” (80b26), “jyoti” (80b12). Thus in DĀ. MC. ji- corresponds distinctively to $y$ of the underlying Prakrit, while MC. 2- corresponds to Pkt. $j$. We may assume that the value of MC. ji-(羊母) at least at the beginning of the fifth century in Changān was not $\alpha$- but ji-.

In DĀ, MC. s- (心母), s- (书母), z- (禅母), ji- (羊母) correspond to Skt. (or Pkt.) s, š, j, y respectively, while in Chinese Buddhist scriptures from the middle of the second century A.D. till the fourth century MC. ji- corresponds to these Skt. sounds (cf. Pulleyblank 1983: 85).

2.2. On the value of finals of MC. yu(魚) category reflected in transcriptions

Coblin (1983: 100-103) assumed that MC. finals -wo (MC. mō 模 rime), -jwo (MC. yū 鱼 rime) and -ju (MC. yú 虜 rime), which belong yū 無 category in OC., had a-vocalism in most Eastern Han sound glosses and o-vocalism in the language of the Eastern Han Buddhist transcriptions.

In DĀ, the transcriptions with these finals correspond primarily to Sanskrit (or Pāli) syllables having the vowels $u$, $\delta$, and $au$. Therefore, one may assume that these finals had o-vocalism also in the language of DĀ. The transcriptions with finals in question found in DĀ. are listed under.

i. -wo (MC. mó 模, mō 模, mō 模 rimes)

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80b17. "織(MC.swo)提耶(Skt. Sūrya-, Pa. Sūrya-), 80a27. 素(MC.swo-)婆矣(Skt. súpaṣa-. Pa. sūpana-).

ii. -jwo(MC. yō 魚. yō 語 rimes)


iii. -ju(MC. yō 虚 rime)


Notes
I am indebted to Prof. Victor H. Mair, who read the earlier version of this paper, for his valuable comments and suggestions.


(2) Although the reading pithakena ("with a stool") agrees with the reading of the Chinese translation, it could have been originally pithakena ("with a basket"). Cf. Vinayapiṭaka I 225. 13-14. pitaṇā pī ucchange pi pūresum. For a confusion among pitaṇa, pithaka, and pithaka, cf. BHS. s. vv.

(3) Other instances of "仁者": 64b8. 仁者. 濃首("You, Broad-Head!" K. 10.7. Maṇju-ghosa), 65b26. 濃仰仁者("[People] are looking up with thirst to you". K. 15.11. tvām ca bhavāvivekṣanti). "仁者" is used also with the meaning of "a benevolent man": e.g. 98a24. 仁者阿難("the benevolent one, Ananda" K. 217.8. Anandabhadro mama dharmadhārakah).


(4) This sign denotes that a passage in Z. lacks its parallel in the Sanskrit versions.

(5) Wang/Pang(王云路・方一新: 25) cite some instances of this usage from Jīn Shū (晉書 646 A. D.).

(6) Other instances: 64b6. 伏佛殊異 諸所經籍("[Some] have seen all the outstanding scriptural texts of the Buddha". K. 10.5. ye cāpi anye sugatasya putrā. Cf. Karashima 1992: 30). 71a19. 其有滅度 諸如來("All the Thus Come Ones who have passed into extinction". K. 50.1, parinirvrṭanām ca jināna teṣām. 84b27. 諸藥品類 各各異種 碎小段落 諸所良藥 嘗藥且慶 吾悉當說("Sorts of medicinal herbs are various. All good medicinal herbs are broken in pieces. Listen. Kāśyapa! I will explain all." K. 129.7-8. ksudrānuksudrā ima oṣadiṣyo ... anyā ca madhyā mahatā ca oṣadiṣī śrūthā tāḥ sarva prakāśayiṣye.). 120c7. 諸所種類("all sorts [of cows]". K. 363. 10.-). 121c 11. 諸所鬼神("all ghosts [and] spirits". K. 369. 5. yaksānā).

(7) Other instances: 111a23. 從古以來 未曾見聞 乃有爾所 菩薩之衆("From of old [we have never seen nor heard that there are so many multitudes of bodhisattvas." K. 302. 12-13. adṛṣṭa-pūrvo 'yam asmābhir [ 'Kashgar' and Farhād-Bēg manuscripts add

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here "evarūpa", "evarūpo" respectively, which agree with “爾所” of Z.) mahā-bodhisattvas-gaṇo mahā-bodhisattvā-rāśīr aśruta-pūrvaś ca.). 113b9 = 113b23. As is usual, 越割所國土，復著一塵("In this manner, again he takes another particle of dust, and then, after passing over so many lands, again deposits it." K.316.8. – Cf. Karashima 1992: 185).


In this connection it could be noteworthy to mention that in Z. the compound word "計載" is found several times(125a27, 126c5, 129b15, 130c16) with the meaning of "calculates, measures".

(9) For this usage in non-Buddhist texts, see Ushijima(牛島德次): 323-324; Liu(柳士鎮): 320-321; Wo(吳金華).


(13) Other instances of "設使": 71b16. 設使各各 作奇異行("[Cf. K.51.5). 101a17. 設使聞者 書寫執持("Cf. K.229.6.). 112c19. 設使聞者 今不沈吟("[How excellent that the World-Honoured One explains this meaning! ... ] if someone hears it, it causes him not to harbour doubts." K.312.12. srūtva na vicikitsām āpadyeṇ). 114c29-115a2. 設使衆生 見是世界 水火災變 劫燒天地 當斯之時 吾此佛土 具足微妙 柔軟安雅("When[!] the beings see that the world is in calamities of floods and conflagrations [and that the fire at the end of] a kalpa burns heaven and earth, at that
time this Buddha-land of mine is fully refined, delicate, peaceful [and] fine.” K. 324.13-14. \( \text{vadā'pī sattvā ima lokahātum paśyanti kalpenti ca dāhyāmānām} / \text{tadā'pī cedām mama buddha-kṣetram paripūrṇa bhoti maru-mānusānām} // \). 124b21. 設使人 實此經行（Cf. K. 391.6).

Another instance of “若今”: 119a22-25. 彼人若今眼根清浄而以肉眼観諸所有諸 故日肉眼（K. 354.6-9. sa evam pariśuddhena ca kṣuṇa-indriyena prākrtena māṃsacaksuṣā ... tat sarvam draksyati.）.

(14) Here the Korean Edition (高麗藏) reads “若今”.
(16) Here the Taisho Edition (大正藏) reads “乙蜜”, which is a mere misprint.
(17) For other instances, see Karashima 1994b: 15-16.
(18) For other instances, see Karashima 1994b: 63, fn. 21.

Abbreviations and Signs

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>BHS.</td>
<td>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPD.</td>
<td><em>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</em>, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen et al., Copenhagen. 1924-</td>
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<tr>
<td>DA.</td>
<td>the Chinese translation of <em>Dirghagama</em> (Changāhānjing 長阿含經).</td>
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<tr>
<td>MC.</td>
<td>Middle Chinese or Ancient Chinese</td>
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<td>OC.</td>
<td>Old Chinese or Archaic Chinese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>Pāli</td>
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<td>Skt.</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
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<td>Z.</td>
<td>Dharmaraksā (Zhū Pāhū 竺法護)’s translation of the Lotus-sutra (Zhengfāhuājing 正法華經).</td>
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List of Works Quoted in This Paper

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<td>1984 <em>Gōhānyō xüct shōučè</em> (古漢語虚詞手冊), Jilin (吉林人民出版社).</td>
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ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES OF VERNACULARISMS
IN THE POETRY OF THE SIX DYNASTIES THROUGH SUNG

QIN HUANMING
Nanjing Normal University

Although poetry was generally considered as elegant literature from the Six Dynasties to Sung in China, especially compared with the developing popular literature at that time, we should not ignore its vernacular aspects. On one hand, in this period, Chinese classical poetry achieved its most perfect expression, but to some degree, it represented a kind of deviation from ordinary language or in the opposite direction of vernacularization; on the other hand, poets writing during this period often adopted vernacular words and used elements of vernacular grammar. This paper will give a brief discussion of this phenomenon.
The folk songs and ballads of the Six Dynasties known as yüeh-fu 樂府詩, especially southern yüeh-fu, were very vernacular. As folk songs, the diction of these poems was quite popular. Let us see the following poems selected from Yüeh-fu shih chi 樂府詩集, vols. 44 & 46.

**Midnight Song**（Tzu-yeh ko）

When my lover worries, I worry too;
When my lover laughs, I am happy.
Don't you see the intertwined trees,
Whose branches join despite their separated roots?

**Unaccompanied Song**（Tu-ch'ü ko）

I love you so much, how could I call your name directly?
I miss you so much, I couldn't address your style.
I'll call you my lover again and again when we meet.
We swear not to depart from each other forever.

In the above poems, *huan* 歡 means "lover," *nung* 儀 means "I" or "me," *lang* 郎 is "sweetheart". These expressions were all drawn from the spoken language of the south in this period. Meanwhile, some literary poets also employed vernacularisms, such as "Charming Girl" 嬌女詩 written by Tso Ssu 左思, "Blaming Sons" 責子 written by T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛, and "In Imitation of the Difficult Journey" 擬行路難 written by Pao Chao 鮑照. We can see many common words in these poems. Yet we must also say that the expressions of literary poetry, more influenced by the rhapsody (*fu* 賦), were magnificent, ornate, and elegant.
In the T'ang Dynasty, especially in the mid-T'ang, literary poetry embodied more vernacular than ever. "All the popular expressions of the world were used by Lo-t'ien (Po Chü-i)世間俗語, 已被樂天道盡," remarked Ch'en Fu-chih 陳輔之 of the Sung period in his shih-hua (詩話 "poetry talks"). Nonetheless we must also point out that literary poets were often in a dilemma. Let us read the following poem written by Ku K'uang (顧況), a poet of the mid-T'ang.

Son (Chien)

[Chien, worry for the Min area... In the light of Min customs, the son is called chien and the father lang-pa.]

The son was born in the Min area,
He was caught and castrated by government officials.
The officials enslaved him and got a great quantity of gold.
The son was punished as the grasses and trees.
"Heaven is ignorant and lets me suffer from persecution.
God is ignorant and lets them receive happiness."
When the father had to part from his son, he said,
"I regret giving you birth.
When you were born,
Somebody suggested to me not to bring you up.
I didn't follow the suggestion.
Now you have suffered this pain."
The son had to part from his father,
Fretting and bursting into tears,
"Heaven is cut off from the earth.
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Until I go to Yellow Springs, I'll never be able to meet you".

It is not difficult for us to see that, in form and style, this is a quatrisyllabic 四言體 poem, which derived from The Classic of Poetry (Shih-ching 詩經), so we can say that it imitated the ancient poetry and revived the tradition. But we can also see that this poem adopts many common terms from Min language, which went counter to the usual classical tradition. "Make the old serve the new, make the popular serve the elegant 以故為新,以俗為雅." This statement was repeated by Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣, Su Shih 蘇軾, Huang Ting-chien 黃庭堅, and Yang Wan-li 楊萬里 of the Sung Dynasty. They faced the contradiction and tried to do their best to find a way out of it. But as we have seen above, this contradiction existed before the Sung Dynasty.

The solution to the problem of the contradiction between living language and poetic language still had not been worked out by the poets of the Sung. They laughed at Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫 of the T'ang Dynasty who dared not use the common word "cake" (kao 糕) in his poems. Meanwhile, they tried to find the source of this word (See Chu Pien's Feng yüeh t'ang shih-hua 朱弁: 風月堂詩話, Shao Po's Shao shih wen-chien hou lu 邵博: 邵氏聞見後錄, etc.). Yet this ridicule itself
indicated that Sung poets had more courage than those of the T'ang to face the problem.

Let us examine the following poem written by K'ung P'ing-chung(孔平仲), a poet of the Northern Sung Dynasty.

**Written To His Grandfather for My Son**

Since my father came to Mi-chou,
He has gotten two sons in the two years.
Ya-erh is lovely and strong.
Chêng-chêng has cut a tooth,
You haven't seen them;
If you see them you'll be very happy.
I have read many books
And can write out two pieces of paper at once.
San-san is full of energy, and
Ta-an is able to walk now.
Though you have seen them,
Their skills are much better than before.
When we meet together,
We'll all kneel respectfully around you.
Grandmother has been in the capital,
You are an official in the ministry.
Great-grandmother is eighty-five years old,
How about her eating and sleeping recently?
My father and mother
Miss you every day.
When we have a good time or a festival is coming,
Or even when food is delicious,
We all miss you very much.
And often count the days till we return on our fingers.
We used a stove yesterday;
The north wind blew at night.
After eating we all felt alone;
We looked into the distance for thousands of li.

This poem imitates a child's words to write a letter. Many vernacular words are used, especially such as tieh-tieh, weng-weng, p'o-p'o, t'ai-p'o, etc. which all were contemporaneous appellations and there are also many pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions in this poem. The poem is very close to a spoken letter.

Without in-depth research, many words in Sung poetry are difficult for people to understand, because Sung poets liked to quote many allusions and literary quotations in their poems. But grammatically Sung poetry is more vernacular than that of the T'ang. In Sung poetry, subject, time and space markers, and other function words (hsi-tzu虚詞) were more used, so "who," "when," "where," "what to do," and "how to do," which offer clues to the poetic meaning, are often more explicit in Sung poetry. If we say the words of T'ang poetry are descriptive, the words of Sung poetry may be said to be narrative and analytical, which makes them closer to the spoken language.

Let us compare the following two poems, the first written by Mêng Hao-jan 孟浩然 of the T'ang and the other written by Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 of the Sung.
Mooring on the River at Chien-tê

The boat moves to moor by the misty shore,
Sun sinking, the traveler’s sadness increases.
Boundless plain with trees at the horizon,
The clear water reflects a neighboring moon.

Following the Rhymes of Tung-p’o’s "Nine Glories Mountain in a Jug"

Someone carried the mountain away at midnight,
It was felt at once that drifting mists warmed azure sky.
May I ask, it was set in a splendid chamber,
And how to be fallen and lost amid the jumbled clouds now?
Where is that person who can bring back Chao’s ring of jade?
So even if having gone into Southern Branch land,
the dreams still can’t get through.
Fortunately the frosty bell mountain hasn’t been rolled up,
With bludgeon in sleeve, I go to listen to its perfect sound.

(In addition to standard reference works, I have also consulted the translation of Professor Stephen Owen.)

In the latter poem, there are many words and phrases, such as yu jen, tun chüeh, shih wen, ho ju, neng hui, an tsai, i ju, and lai yu, which have the characteristics of exposition and analysis. But the former poem does not have these characteristics. In the latter, there are many allusions, such as ch‘ih shan, hua wu, Chao pi, Nan k’e, and hsiu chui, while the former poem lacks them. So we can say that...
when the poetry bases itself upon the expression of the feeling, the poet will try his best to break the conventional grammatical rules and its words will be popular; when the poetry bases itself upon the expression of experience, even if its words may be ornate or elegant, its grammar must be close to the vernacular.
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