古代・中世の漢文訓読文資料の文体史的研究

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【要旨】
本研究は、漢文訓読という方法が日本語の文体に与えた影響を、包括的に捉え直すことを目的としている。具体的には、第1次資料の調査・解釈に基づく文献学的研究、語彙論・構文論の側面から迫っていく言語学的研究の二側面に分けられ、さらにそれを文体という視点から包括していくことを指している。

文献学的研究としては、金水は高山寺本慰果和尚之碑文、高山寺本観智記、金剛寺本観無量寿経等の調査を行ってきた。また、朝倉は禅林聯句の全集を解釈するために、『(浄山聯句)』『成酞詩集』外の資料の総合的調査を敢行した。言語学的研究としては、金水は漢文訓読特有語としての「をり」の歴史的展開に関する研究、受身文の研究などを行ってきた。また、研究の収載をもとに、南カリフォルニア大学ロスアンジェルス校(UCLA)の東アジア言語文化学部において講義、講演等を行った。

本報告書では、金水がUCLAで行った英語による講演の内容を再録する。これは、金水の日本語による原稿を、Michael Scanlon, Judy Okada, Nina Yoshidaが英訳したものである。内容は、古代日本において中国古典・仏典の翻訳に際し、訓読という方法が発達し、独自の文体にまで成長したこと、漢文の受容が語彙にも大きな影響を及ぼしたこと、またそれは古代・中世に止まらず、日本語の近代化の過程で訓読の方法や漢語の造語力が強く働き、近代的な語彙・語法・文体の発達に寄与したこと等をまとめたものである。

【位置付け】
従来、日本語の文体史における漢文訓読文の重要性を説いた研究は少なくないが、文献学的および言語学的視点を総合して包括的に論じる研究は決して多くなかった。これにより、海外における成果の発表、研究者との幅広い交流を果たしたという点では極めて意義深い研究であったと言える。

【他領域との連携による成果】
言うまでもなく、中国文の古典研究から大きな恩恵を受けたが、それだけでなく、古典語とし
てのギリシャ・ラテン語のヨーロッパ各地における受容の実態が、漢文訓読文の創成と大きく重
1. Introduction

With the goal of achieving civilization and modernization, Japan has imported a great amount of text from foreign countries, and has furthermore translated and assimilated them. Needless to say, it was the Chinese texts which were employed primarily (as the means) for achieving civilization in Japan in ancient times, and in the case of her modernization, it was the texts of the West.

The influence of these texts and their translations have found their way into every corner of Japanese politics, religion, culture and lifestyle, but it furthermore had a significant impact upon the Japanese language as well. That influence extended not only to the level of vocabulary, but also extended into its characters, writing system, style, grammar, as well as phonology.

Moreover, what is worth noting is that we find that the translation of Chinese texts in Japan of pre-Modern times and the translation of European and American texts since modern times did not occur independently of each another, but that the former served as the foundation upon which the latter was realized and developed.

In this presentation, I wish to discuss, citing actual examples, the influence which the translations of Chinese texts in ancient times and those of Western texts in modern times have had on the Japanese language as seen from such (linguistic) aspects — with the exception of phonology — as its vocabulary, letters, writing system, writing styles, and grammar. And in the process of doing so, I will be focusing my discussion on the characteristics of the methods employed in carrying out these two categories of translations, and the relationship between the former and latter.

2. Ancient Chinese Texts and Translation
2.1 A short history of the writing styles of classical Japanese

In the ancient period (the 6th—8th century), written materials—such as classical writings, ordinances and statutes, Buddhist writings, et cetera—were imported from China in great numbers. At first, these texts were probably most often read in Chinese. However, out of necessity, translation of these materials was attempted.

It is thought that, as a method for translating this Chinese, a type of word-for-word
A translation called kundoku (訓読) was developed. Because it was the custom during ancient times in Japan to relay or transmit the results of this kundoku practice by word of mouth, and then, its rote memorization, no clear evidence of these kundoku methods exists for us at this time. With the advent of this kundoku method, set Japanese readings were given to Chinese characters. This is called the kun (訓) reading of a Chinese character.

As for the reading and writing of Chinese, although it is thought that at the beginning of this age it was the province of immigrants from the peninsula or the continent, gradually it became that Chinese characters were used by a wide range of aristocrats, bureaucrats, and functionaries. And then, they attempted to devise a way of expressing their own language on the basis of the method of translation.

Various attempts were made to express Japanese using Chinese characters. One such method was to use a Chinese character, which was originally an ideogram, as a phonogram, and this led to the development of manyōgana (万葉仮名). At first the use of manyōgana was limited to the representation of proper nouns such as personal and place names, but gradually its use spread to common nouns and, later, whole compositions were written in manyōgana.

Further, hentai-kanbun (altered Chinese writing, 变体漢文) or waka-kanbun (Japanized Chinese writing, 和漢文) also became used. In hentai-kanbun Chinese word order was reversed to fit Japanese grammar patterns and honorific affixes nonexistent in Chinese were added. Plus, there was born a mode of writing called senmyō-gaki (宣命書), in which content words such as nouns and verbs expressed in large Chinese characters and particles, suffixes, etc. expressed in small manyō-gana were mixed in writing.

In Heian period (the classical period), around the 9th century, hiragana was developed. Hiragana was a cursive form of manyō-gana. Two, three or more characters could be written without lifting the brush from the paper. It can be seen as a method of writing born out of the desire on the part of the literate classes (the bureaucrats and aristocrats) to be able to write the many manyō-gana with greater speed when composing everyday or non-formal texts.

Hiragana was originally employed for letters and everyday writings. In the classical period, it was presumed that women did not need to learn Chinese, so they wrote almost all texts in hiragana. Also, when men wrote women letters they employed hiragana. Moreover, traditional Japanese poetry was written in hiragana.

Hiragana was suited for the writing of everyday language, so it was used in the
writing of narratives, diaries, and essays that depicted the lives of the aristocrats. Among these types of writings are the world-famous Pillow Book and Tale of Genji. This style of writing the everyday Japanese language using mainly hiragana is called wabun (Japanese style writing).

In the classical period (the 9th–12th century), there were devised a group of symbols and characters that could record the results of the word-for-word translating method (kun-doku). These symbols and characters are called kunten. Katakana, as one part of these kunten, came into being and became fully developed in the classical period.

A katakana character was created by selecting one part of a manyōgana. Hiragana, because they were created to increase the speed of writing, have a rounded shape. On the other hand, katakana have an angular form because they were made to be written in the narrow spaces between lines of Chinese writing in such a way as to be in harmony with the original Chinese writing.

Katakana was born as a specialized symbol that was to be added to the foreign language of Chinese writing. We can say that the modern usage of katakana to record specialized words such as loan words and mimetic words is highly related to the script's origins.

The text which results from the Japanese reading (kundoku) of a Chinese text is called kanbun kundoku bun. This kanbun kundoku bun stands in opposition to wabun, and they have very different vocabulary, word usage, and structures.

In elite circles such as the fields of politics, scholarship, religion, et cetera Chinese writing (or kanbun kundoku bun) played a central role until the modern age. Japanized Chinese and katakana majiri bun, were also passed down to later ages.

In the medieval period (the 13th — 16th century), these kanbun kundoku bun and wabun became mixed. This gave birth to a writing style known as wakan konkôbun (mixed Chinese-Japanese style). This has also been passed down to much later ages.

2.2 Kundoku method of translation of Chinese texts

At this point, I'd like to touch briefly upon a method known as kanbun kundoku (漢文訓読), which was developed in the Heian Period. This method of translation involved such processes as kut (句読 ‘punctuations’), hendoku (反読 ‘reverse readings’), and 付訓 (‘supplementary attachments of Japanese readings’).

Basically, no punctuation is supplied in the original kanbun (漢文) = Chinese version
of the text. This version of the text is generally referred to as hakubun (白文), literally 'white text'. In order to be able to decipher and interpret this ‘white text’, it is necessary to recognize where the breaks occur between words and sentences, and to make the structure of the sentences and texts clear to its reader. Furthermore, because the Chinese and Japanese languages differ in terms of their basic word order, one must, for example, invert the ordering of the verb and direct object in these two languages. The symbols that were employed to indicate that such processes were applied in the reading of a Chinese text are known as kut-ten ('punctuation marks') and kaeri-ten ('reverse-reading marks').

Together with the application of the processes just mentioned, an equivalent Japanese translation was assigned to each lexical item in the Chinese text; this process was broadly termed fukun (付訓 ‘the attachment of Japanese reading’). In such instances, the Japanese language equivalent that was assigned may have been the kun, semantic reading of the term, but in some cases, to make the most of the original Chinese reading of the term, it was assigned a kango (漢語 ‘Sino-Japanese’ reading). For example, to take the phrase syukke, “出家”, giving it a reading in kun would result in “ife wo idu”, but a Sino-Japanese reading of the same would produce “ syukke (su)” (In the case of the latter, it would require supplementation by the light verb su, an equivalent to English “do”).

Moreover, although kanbun kundoku is fundamentally a word-for-word method of translation, because Japanese has grammatical elements such as particles, verb-final conjugations, and certain auxiliary verbs which either have no equivalent or do not conjugate in the Chinese language, it is necessary to supplement these as appropriate in the Japanese translations.

Devices such as wokoto-ten (‘diacritical marks’) and katakana (‘simplified/partial kana’) were employed to carry out the process of fukun, attaching Japanese readings. During the early Heian Period, / man’yōgana (万葉仮名 ‘the phonetic use of Chinese characters’) was utilized for the task of attaching these Japanese readings within the text, but because man’yōgana are complex in their form, it was difficult using them to write in the narrow, existing spaces between the lines of Chinese text and thus, this eventually led to the invention of wokoto-ten, and its use gradually spread. wokoto-ten involved practice of making various kinds of marks on or beside the Chinese characters, and depending on the placement of this mark, it would indicate a certain syllable or grammatical element. The use of wokoto-ten greatly developed since the mid-Heian times, and various systems of its application were invented and passed down as different schools of its use.

While wokoto-ten developed on the one hand, it was complemented on the other hand by the gradual spread of a set of abbreviated forms of man’yōgana, called katakana, which were derived by writing just a fragment of the entire character, and its use came to parallel that of
wokoto-ten. In time, as the use of katakana became commonplace, the use of ワコト点, which required the added technical skills of knowing how to correctly interpret the specific marks as used in their many existing systems, gradually declined and became obsolete after the Kamakura Period.

Such textual markings as kutô-ten, kaeri-ten, wokoto-ten, and katakana are collectively referred to as kun ten. The practice providing a piece of text with kun ten is known as katen (加点) and a volume of such kun ten-supplemented text is, in turn, termed a katenpon (加点本) or more simply, tenpon (点本). In particular, tenpon works dating between the Heian and Kamakura periods are referred to as ko-tenpon, or ‘older tenpon’.

The practice of supplying kun ten marks to a text was at times carried out by the (original) interpreter of the text himself, but more commonly, they were written in by the disciple who was either listening to and noting down his master giving the kun reading of the text out loud, or the disciple who had borrowed his master’s tenpon and was recopying the marks in them onto his own copy. There were also occasions where the kun ten marks of a text were collated based on a number of other tenpon. Offentimes the name of the person, along with the date, place, method and situation in which the 訓点 was supplied was given at the end of document as its okugaki (奥書 or shikigo (識語 ‘a colophon/inscription’). For this reason, the older tenpon are extremely valuable as a first-rate written source whose date of compilation is clear. The older tenpon works existing today which bear katen marks that can clearly be dated to the Heian Period number in the several thousands. However, these numbers serve to provide a sharp contrast to the fact that there exists an exceedingly meager amount of sources in wabun (和文 ‘Japanese writing style’) that are clearly datable to the Heian Period.

2.3 The influence of translation of Chinese texts upon the Ancient—Medieval Japanese

At this point, let us take this opportunity to look back upon the ways in which Chinese language translations have had their influence on the Japanese language.

First of all, there is a noteworthy contribution which these translations have made upon the letters and writing system of the Japanese language. Most important is the fact that, until Chinese characters (漢字) were imported, the Japanese did not possess a writing system, and the introduction of Chinese characters and texts was inarguably a driving force that propelled Japan toward civilization.

Moreover, another important contribution is that, based on these Chinese characters, two sets of scripts unique to the Japanese language, called hiragana and katakana, were invented during the Heian Period. However, the use of hiragana was restricted to writings of a personal or private nature and
consequently became separated from the world of kanbun (漢文, Chinese style writings), whereas because katakana served as a supplementary script to kanbun kundoku (漢文訓読), ‘Japanese reading of Chinese texts’, it continued to co-exist with kanbun, Chinese style writings.

Next, in terms of vocabulary, texts in kanbun kundoku have contributed in bringing kango, ‘Sino-Japanese words’ into the Japanese language. However, in the beginning, since the style of the language found in kanbun kundoku texts was a written one quite cut off from the everyday lifestyle, the influence of kango on the Japanese spoken language was not too remarkable. However, kango gradually trickled their way into the Japanese language in a broad sense, and furthermore, as Japan enters the modern ages, they display an explosive increase. I will be returning to this point for further discussion again at a later point.

Next, I would like to take a look at the stylistic influences which kanbun kundoku texts have had upon the Japanese language. In terms of documents dating to the Heian Period, those coming from the realm of Chinese writings, such as kanbun, kanbun kundoku-bun, waka kanbun, stood in opposition to the realm of wabun (和文), ‘Japanese style writings’. Wabun was founded on the everyday spoken language of the nobility, and thus, was outstanding for giving vividly detailed descriptions and expressing the fluctuations in emotions, but was not very well suited for conveying thoughts of a logical nature. This was particularly so because in wabun, there was a tendency to construct sentences by stringing a number of subordinate clauses together, one after another; therefore, sentences tended to be extremely long.

In contrast to this, kanbun together with kanbun kundoku was sparse in modal features, and was thus not well-suited for the delicate expressions of emotions, but was appropriate for sequencing together comparatively short and concise sentences to construct an idea in a logical fashion. By having kanbun made available to them, we might even say that the Japanese gained access to a means for developing their logical thoughts in their own language.

After medieval times, “pure” wabun actually falls completely out of use. The wabun legacy gets absorbed into and lives on in the form of what is known as waken konkô-bun (和漢混淆文), a style that retained the structural framework of kanbun kundoku-bun, but is enhanced by the (additional) emotional features of wabun. On the other hand, within the realm of politics, religion, and scholarship, since medieval and up until modern times, the kanbun kundoku style and its variations continue to bear a central role, just as it had done so in the past.

The next point I would like to make has to do with the influences of kanbun from a grammatical aspect: In terms of their basic morphology, neither wabun nor kanbun kundoku-bun differed significantly from each other during the Heian Period. However, being that kanbu kundoku-bun originally developed out of a word-for-word translation of kanbun, it came to develop some unique grammatical patterns that reflect
the constructions of kanbun, and in doing so, it evolved into a style of writing that came to stand in opposition to wabun. Even with a roughly figured, we can count 50 or more of these unique grammatical constructions that were brought about in this way by way of kanbun kundoku-bun. These constructions comprise one portion of the style, and is carried forth on to Modern times.

3. The Reception and Development of Sino-Japanese Words

At this time, I would like to discuss the acceptance and historical development of the kango (Sino-Japanese words).

In the Manyōshū, which is a document of the ancient period, over 99% of the vocabulary are wago, namely, indigenous Japanese words. From this we can surmise that in the everyday language of ancient Japan there were exceptionally few Sino-Japanese words.

When we look at documents of the classical period, we find that usage rate of Sino-Japanese words is linked to gender and class. Women rarely used Sino-Japanese words, while men did often. This is due to the fact that men had more opportunities to come into contact with Chinese writings in their work life. Among men, scholars who studied the Chinese classics and Buddhist clerics who everyday read the Buddhist scriptures and doctrinal works used much Sino-Japanese words.

In medieval documents, as a whole the usage of Sino-Japanese words goes up. This most probably has to do with the penetration of Buddhism. There are many examples of words changing from specialized Buddhist terms to everyday vocabulary during this period. Also, during this era, wasei kango (Japan-created Chinese words)—in other words, Chinese words that did not exist in China—were coined in great numbers. This shows that Sino-Japanese words were not limited to the level of adopted words, but reached the level of being a morpheme intrinsic to the Japanese language.

In the pre-modern age the usage rate of Sino-Japanese words continued to rise, but the explosive rise in Sino-Japanese words only came with the modern period. This was due to the fact that, when abstract concepts, which came from the West, were incorporated into Japanese, they did not do so as western loan words. Rather, they were transformed into Sino-Japanese words and integrated. For instance, the majority of Sino-Japanese words employed now vernacularly—such as gimu (obligation), kenri (right), sekinin (responsibility), riyū (reason), kankei (relationship), kōzō (structure), kaikaku (reform)—were employed as translation words in the Meiji period (1868-1912).
4. Modernization of Japanese and Translation

4.1 Tôsei Shosei Katagi

In 1868, with the move of the capital to Edo and the institution of direct rule by the emperor, the Meiji period began. The goal was to build a new state by means of modernization on every level (political, economic, military, and cultural).

Just as translation of kanbun was an essential part of ancient Japanese civilization, the translation of western (European and American) texts was extremely important for the modernization of Japan. Various genres of texts – including political, social, economic, scientific, historical, and literary genres – were translated into Japanese. However, in contrast to ancient times, its influence spread rapidly to all corners of Japan by means of the newly created education system and mass media.

The forerunners of translations were the shosei (書生), or the students of this period. What I have cited in the handout is from a novel by Tsubouchi Shôyô, published in 1885-6, called Ichidoku Santan Tôsei Shosei Katagi (一読三嘆 当世書生気質). Temperament of Students of Nowadays). This novel depicts the life and behavior of the shosei (students) during the second decade of the Meiji era (early 1880's) in a somewhat caricaturized style.

As it is prominently described here, Tsubouchi has his shosei use the many English in their original form, untranslated. For instance, they use rabu for “love,” dorankâdo for “drunkard,” herupu for “help,” ankonshasu for “unconscious,” bukku for “book,” uocchi for “watch,” yûsufuru for “useful,” hisutori for “history,” hisutorikaru essei for “historical essay,” etc. Most of these words are hardly used in spoken Japanese even today. These appear to be not so much loan words, but rather English used as a form of “jargon” in the Japanese. It is more likely an exaggerated depiction of the strong elitist sense of the shosei, who feel they are at the forefront of western culture.

As already mentioned earlier, in the Meiji era, these imported words were not translated and used as loan words, but rather, they were first translated into kango (Sino-Japanese words). In 当世書生気質 Temperament of Students of Nowadays, these English words are written in katakana, followed by the kango equivalent in parentheses. Some examples include ai (愛 love), mukankaku (無感覚 unconscious), shoseki (書籍 books), rekishi (歴史 history), and shiron (史論 historical essays).

Among the kango of the Meiji era are those that had been in use already, but there are also many which were newly created, or given new meanings during this period, and became part of everyday usage. Also, kango are not limited to those which originated in
China. There are many which were created in Japan, and came to be used in China as well.

4.2 Increase of Loan Word

When did the custom of using western words directly as loan words, rather than using kango to convey the concept of the source words, begin, and when did this practice become frequent?

It is thought that the derivation of loan words began in the pre-modern period. However, in the pre-modern period there was nothing more than an extremely low number of words that trickled into Japanese from Dutch, Spanish, et cetera.

From the Meiji period on, loan words come into the Japanese language from English, French, German, Russian, etc. The source language in most cases was determined by the field of specialty. For instance, art-related terms and weight-and-measures were from French, and medical terms and mountain-climbing terms were from German. Of course, this is due to the fact that there were tendencies to use certain languages for certain specialties. However, from the very beginning, English tended to be generally used for a variety of specialties, and with time, English became the dominant source for loan words over other languages.

The increase in loan words only came with the 20th century. The following chart is based on the results of the National Institute for the Study of Japanese Language's publication, Change in Magazine Language. It shows samples of 10,000 words taken from the magazine Chûkôron at 10-year intervals. Notice the remarkable growth in L-words after the end of the Second World War.

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4.3 The development of passive construction and translation

Translation of western words influenced the Japanese language in several ways. For instance, it is said that the use of tokoro no (for example, Jon ga kau de aroo tokoro no hon ‘the book which John will buy’) evolved from the relative pronoun construction. Also, an inanimate-subject construction such as sono kōkei ga watashi o obiyakashita evolved from the translation of the construction ‘The sight frightened me.’

(1) relative pronoun construction: [Phrase]tokorono [Noun]
ex. Zyon-ga kau dearou tokorono hon
John-NOM buy-will which book
‘the book which John will buy’

(2) inanimate-subject construction:
ex. sono kōkei-ga watasi-o obiyakasi-ta
that sight-NOM I-ACC frighten-PAST
‘The sight frightened me’

Before the emergence of these types of constructions, there must exist a practice of word-for-word translation. This practice, needless to say, comes from the kanbun kundoku tradition. I will show this process of the emergence of a new usage, which came about by means of the kundoku translation method, using the niyotte passive as an example.
The characteristic Japanese passive construction that existed from ancient Japanese is as follows:

(3) active construction: \( \text{AGENT-}(ga)\ \text{OBJECT-}(o)\ \text{VERB} \)

passive construction: \( \text{OBJECT-}(ga)\ \text{AGENT-ni}\ \text{VERB-}(r)\text{are} \)

Example:

a. Mary-\( ga \) John-o \( sikat-ta \)
   ‘Mary scolded John’

b. John-\( ga \) Mary-ni \( sikar-are-ta \)
   ‘John was scolded by Mary’


Here, the particle \( ni \) is used to show the agent of the passive construction. This type of construction is referred to as the \( ni\)-passive, and it often conveys an adversative effect on the subject, whereby the subject of such a passive construction almost always must be human. (However, this generalization is simplified for our purposes here. See Kinsui (1997) for a more detailed explanation.)

On the other hand, the \( niyotte \) passive uses \( niyotte \) instead of particle \( ni \) to indicate the agent. Because the \( niyotte \) passive is able to express a completely neutral relationship, there are no semantic constraints on the subject or verb. Therefore, the subject can be an inanimate object.

(4) a. *hata-\( ga \) gakusei-ni \( kakager-are-ta \)
   ‘The flag was flown by a student.’

b. hata-\( ga \) gakusei-\( niyotte \) kakager-are-ta
   ‘The flag was flown by a student.’

However, the \( niyotte \) passive has a bookish tone, and is not suited for spoken language. We can say the same thing for the previously mentioned \( tokoro \) no and the inanimate-subject constructions as well.

Kinsui (1997) shows that the source for this \( niyotte \) passive sentence is the translation from the Dutch during the Edo (pre-modern) period. I will cite the relevant portions below, with some explanation.

For two hundred years after 1650, primarily on religious grounds, Japan virtually closed its doors to the outside world, except China and the Netherlands, with which the Shogunate permitted a limited trade. Despite the isolation policy, new scientific achievements and technologies from European countries,
including medicine, were brought into Japan through Dutch publications, and they stirred great interest among the Japanese. They were studied as a new academic field called Rangaku (the Dutch studies), and as a matter of course, this included the study of the Dutch language. Rangaku at the early stage was limited to the extent that interpreters mainly learned to converse in daily life and commercial contact, but it gradually expanded as the translation of academic writings became an important task of the specialists.

However, grammatical studies expanded and a translation method based on the notion of parts of speech developed only in the nineteenth century.

At first a word-for-word translation method was applied and one read Dutch writings in the manner of the kanbun style.

However, even when these were read in word-for-word translation, because there was not yet a clear sense of parts of speech or appropriate Japanese equivalents, it was difficult to decipher the meanings. Thus, it was necessary to take these word-for-word translations and reformulate them into sentences (in traditional kanbun kundoku style) whose meaning made sense.

At the beginning, therefore, there was no room for a novel sentence pattern like the niyotte-passive to develop. In the 1850’s, however, a textbook was published that contains a faithful word-for-word translation of the original for the first time -- this reflected the social condition under which the Great Powers of the West demanded that Japan opened its doors, which increased the interest in the study of Dutch among the Japanese. The book was a translation of the second edition of the Dutch grammar called Grammatica of Nedelditsche Spraakkunsts (1822, Leyden/Groningen). This grammar was known as Garammachika, and it was the most commonly used textbook of Dutch grammar in those days. It is in this context that the niyotte-passive sentence made its first appearance. In the following I would like to consider how this happened.

A Dutch passive sentence has the structure:

(5) Passive structure in Dutch:
NP1 zijn/worden PP (door NP2)

Zijn/worden are auxiliary verbs used to form a passive sentence, PP indicates the past particle form of a verb, NP2 is the agent, and door is the marker of the agent. The preposition door is a cognate of the English through whose intrinsic function is to indicate path, means and way. The Japanese students of Dutch grammar followed the vocabulary of the kanbun style, and assigned niyotte to door in the translation. Furthermore, they made
translations as consistent as possible with the method of the kanbun style of that time, while their translations of Dutch materials were at the same time quite literal. It is through such literal translation that the niyotte-passive was born. In other words, niyotte was assigned to door whether the sentence including it contained a passive or not, and when door occurred in a passive sentence this mechanically resulted in marking the agent with niyotte, an option which Japanese had not had until then.

I investigated three word-for-word translations of Garammachika, published in 1856 and 1857, and found that the passive sentences with the agent marked by door were translated by the niyotte-passive without exception. (6) is the original Dutch sentence and (7) is an example of its literal translation.

(6) ...Er zijn echter enige algemene regelen en waarnemingen hieromtrent door kundige Taalbeoefenaars voorgesteld,...
‘There are, however, some general rules and observations proposed thereby by erudite linguists’
(Grammatica of Nedelduitsche Spraakkunsts : section 32)

(7) Sokoni sikasinagara kokonituite takuminaru gogakusya-ni yotte sadame-rare-taru
there however thereby erudite linguists-by establish-PASSIVE-PERFCT
ichinino ippannaru kisoku-ya oyobi keiken-ga aru
some general rule-and experience-NOM exist
(Sô-yaku Garammachika, 1856)

As far as I know, this is the earliest example of the niyotte-passive to be found.

Around the establishment of the Meiji government in 1868, replacing the Tokugawa Shogunate, the zeal of Dutch studies dropped off all of a sudden, and the interest was shifted to the learning of English, French, German and Russian. The method of translation and comprehension developed in the learning of Dutch, however, was carried over to the study of English and other languages. Although niyotte was not always used as a translation equivalent of English by, the by-passive in literal translation is always translated as the niyotte-passive.

(8a) is a passage from an English grammar textbook used at the beginning of the Meiji Period, and (8b) is its literal translation.

(8)a. Art. 95. The nominative case denotes the agent; as, ‘Mary loves her mother;’ ‘the earth is round.’ What is meant by the agent?
(Pinneo’s Primary Grammar of the English Language for Beginners)

b. Syukaku-wa disya-o arawasu tatoeba Maarii-wa kareno haha-o
5 Conclusion

In today's presentation, I began by stating that the translations of kanbun, and especially the kundoku method, greatly influenced the Japanese letters, writing system, vocabulary & usage, and writing style. Kanbun brought writing into the Japanese language, introduced numerous abstract concepts, and made possible the development of logical thinking.

However, on the other hand, we can also add the criticism that Japanese receive too much influence from the kanbun kundoku sentences, to the extent that it could not depart from this method, and resulted in dragging overly complex words and writing system all the way to modern times. The complexity of the Japanese writing system acts as a disadvantage when dealing with the digital age of information.

We also discussed the influence the translation of western material had on modernization. However, what became clear is that even in the case of translation of western materials, the legacy of the kanbun kundoku was carried over. One carry-over is the direct translation style of European sentences, in accordance with the kundoku method. Another is the ability that kango (Sino-Japanese words) has in creating new words, which was used to take in the many concepts of the West. Still another carry-over is the usage of katakana to represent the loan words from the western languages.

When we look at it this way, we can perhaps be a bit surprised at the fact that so much of what is visible in the Japanese language today was brought about by translation. Perhaps in a way, this is a characteristic of Japanese culture itself.

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