

PRÉSENTATION DU PROJET *READING CLASSICAL TEXTS IN THE VERNACULAR* *

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1. Background

The articles and summaries collected in this special issue of *HEL* grow out of a workshop titled *Reading Classical Texts in the Vernacular*, organized at Waseda University on July 30, 2013 by Valerio Alberizzi (Waseda University), Teiji Kosukegawa (University of Toyama), and John Whitman (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics/Cornell University). The workshop was the culmination of a research trip to Japan by four specialists on medieval European glossed texts, Alderik Blom (University of Oxford), Franck Cinato (CNRS/HTL – Histoire des théories linguistiques), Pádraic Moran (National University of Ireland, Galway), and Andreas Nievergelt (University of Zurich). For an account of the research trip, see the *Carnet de voyage et perspectives* by Cinato in this issue. The issue contains summaries of the presentations by Blom, Cinato, Moran, and Nievergelt, and the papers presented by Alberizzi and Kosukegawa.

The objective of the trip and the workshop was to establish a working connection between specialists on medieval European glossed texts and scholars working on vernacular glossed materials in East Asia, with an initial focus on Japan. To our knowledge, such a relationship has never been explored before.¹ In this article I describe the project headed by Kosukegawa that funded the trip and workshop. I briefly comment on the nature and status of vernacular glossing in the so-called Sinosphere, the region in contact with Chinese writing. I provide a rapid overview of the *kugyōl* glossing tradition in Korea, since the papers by Alberizzi and Kosukegawa focus on the *kunten* glossing tradition in Japan. I outline the research questions identified by the workshop organizers in Japan, describe the initial responses to the research questions that emerged at Waseda, and pose what I see to be the outstanding questions for future research.

2. The Project

The Waseda workshop and the research trip that occasioned it were funded by a grant from the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) to Professor Teiji Kosukegawa titled *Jikokugo ni yoru kanbun bunken no kundoku ni tuite no riron oyobi*

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¹The intriguing possibility of a comparative study of East Asian and medieval European glossing practice, specifically syntactic glossing, has been raised by Yamauchi (2005) and King (2007). King refers specifically to Robinson's (1973) paper on syntactic glosses in Latin manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon provenance. King's research has been fundamental to the development of this author's thinking on the topic of glossing.

jissyōteki kenkyū 自言語による漢文文献の訓読についての理論的及び実証的研究 “Theoretical and empirical research on *kundoku* reading of classical Chinese texts in the vernacular”, with Whitman as chief collaborator. The impetus for the grant was an earlier project, also initiated by Kosukegawa, to propose a set of translations for the terminology used in Japanese *kunten* (vernacular glossing) studies over the past 100 years. Past research in the West, such as Seely’s (1993) history of Japanese writing, simply romanizes the Japanese technical terms. But the explosion of research on Korean *kugyōl* glossing over the past forty years (see below) has made it unsustainable to use purely Japanese terminology in a comparative discussion of vernacular glossing in the countries impacted by Chinese writing. The Korean term *kugyōl* 口訣 “oral embellishment” (Lee & Ramsey 2011: 83) has every much the same right to be used to designate the topic of sinographic glossing as does the Japanese term *kundoku* 訓読 “vernacular reading”; indeed the Korean term is better established in the Chinese tradition (*kundoku* in its current sense is a Japanese coinage), and makes explicit reference to the orality of the glossed texts, an issue to which we return below.

In the face of this problem, Alberizzi and Whitman worked within the frame of Kosukegawa’s initiative to investigate the history and terminology used in research on glossed texts in the medieval West. Some of the terminology, such as scratch or drypoint gloss, was immediately transferrable. We made extensive use of the gloss typology presented by Wieland (1983), ultimately adapting this terminology to distinguish phonographic, lexical, morphosyntactic, syntactic, and commentary glosses. The results of the initiative were published as Whitman et al (2010).

Two terms proposed in this work proved controversial among Japanese specialists: “gloss” and “vernacular”. “Gloss” was used to translate the Japanese term *ten* 点 “dot, point” and Korean *t’o* 吐 “gloss”, which are used in the same way in the two traditions. When the term *ten* is used to designate symbol glosses, such as the morphosyntactic glosses referred to as *(w)okototen*² in Alberizzi and Kosukegawa’s articles, or tone glosses and punctuation marks, all of which often have the shape of ink dots or stylus points, it might reasonably be translated as “mark”. But Japanese *ten* and Korean *t’o* are also used to refer to phonographic glosses using complete or abbreviated Chinese characters, Japanese *kanaten* 仮名点 and Korean *chat’o* 字吐. Such annotations cannot be called marks; they are graphs. The extension of the Korean and Japanese term is obviously functional, not formal; the same holds for the term “gloss” in European usage (see Cinato and Nievergelt’s summaries in this issue).

²See Alberizzi’s article for the etymology of Japanese *(w)okototen*. The first syllable designates the accusative postposition, *wo* through Early Middle Japanese, but subsequently *o* after the loss of a contrastive labial glide before /o/.

“Vernacular” turned out to be an even more controversial term, applied to the Japanese word *kun* 訓, the first character in *kundoku* 訓読 “*kun* reading” and *kunten* 訓点 “*kun* glosses”. The original Chinese word (Mandarin *hùn*) means “instruct”, secondarily “read, explicate”. In Japanese usage the term came to refer to native Japanese or vernacular readings of Chinese characters. As recent research has come to show, many non-Sinitic speaking literate people on the periphery of the Chinese cultural core developed the practice of reading Chinese characters in their own language (see the discussion by Ishizukua Harumichi (2001: 2) introduced in Alberizzi’s paper, and the overview in Kin 2010). In all of these written traditions except Japan, including Korea, the specific practice of reading Chinese characters in the vernacular has been lost. But we now know that Korea, Vietnam, and Uighur regions of Inner Asia all read Chinese characters in the vernacular in at least some contexts, minimally in pedagogy. Vernacular readings were paired with Chinese loan or sinoxenic readings: Sino-Japanese, Sino-Korean, Sino-Vietnamese etc. pronunciations borrowed from Chinese and adapted to the phonology of borrowing language. These pairings can be seen in surviving glossings of the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qiān zì wén* 千字文), a fifth century Chinese abecedarium which uses each of a set of a thousand characters exactly once in a poem. In glossed versions, of this text each character is accompanied by the sinoxenic loan pronunciation and the vernacular counterpart written in the local phonographic script.

Once “vernacular” is established as the counterpart of *kun/hùn*, the Japanese term *kundoku*, *kun* + “reading” follows as “vernacular reading” and *kunten*, *kun* + “gloss”, as “vernacular gloss”. The articles by Alberizzi and Kosukegawa in this issue use the Japanese terms and these translations interchangeably.

The selection of the international terms “vernacular” and “gloss” involved a kind of double wager. The first wager was that there could be meaningful contact between research on glossing, in medieval East Asia and the medieval west, and the broader field of research on the relationship between vernaculars and classical or “cosmopolitan” languages exemplified by the work of Sheldon Pollock (1998, 2000, 2003). The second wager was that the East Asian traditions would have enough in common with the European traditions to justify the use of terminology standard in European scholarship. The objective of the Waseda workshop was to put at least the first wager to the test.

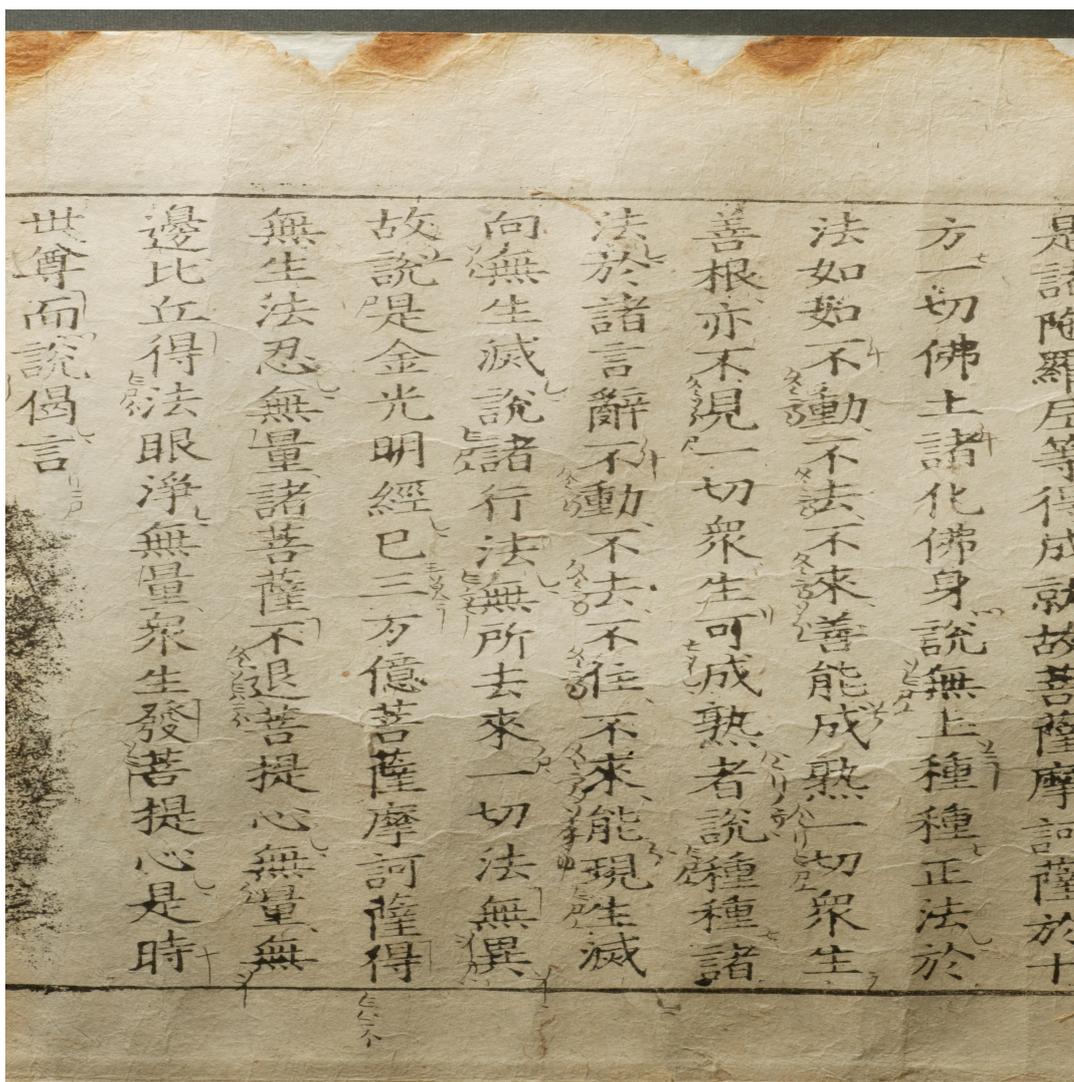
3. Vernacular glossing in the Sinosphere: Focusing on Korea

As the articles by Alberizzi and Kosukegawa provide a detailed description of the development of Japanese glossing practice, in this section I provide here a brief overview of the *kugyōl* glossing tradition in Korea. For an overview of this tradition in Korean, see Chung

(2006) and Nam (1999, 2002, 2006); for an English description, see Nam (2012). *Kugyŏl* glossing has all the components of Japanese *kunten* glossing, as pointed out in chart in Figure 18 in Kosukegawa's article. Like *kunten*, *kugyŏl* uses character glosses, called *cath'o* 字吐 (字吐), in the form of abbreviated phonographs, formally and functionally similar to Japanese *katakana*. It also uses syntactic glosses, including inversion glosses (*yŏkt'o* 逆吐) that indicate the word order in the Korean rendition of the text, and morphosyntactic or point glosses (*chŏmtho* 點吐) that designate Korean functional morphemes. These correspond to Japanese *hendokuten* 返読点 and *wokototen* フコト点 respectively. The chief difference between the Korean and Japanese traditions lies in the paucity of materials in the former. Material preserved in Korea cannot be confirmed before the 10th century, and the oldest surviving materials involve drypoint or stylus glosses. This does not indicate that vernacular glossing was less common or developed later in Korea; on the contrary, the best evidence indicates that important parts of the glossing tradition, particularly the earliest patterns of morphosyntactic glossing (Korean *chŏmtho*, Japanese *wokototen*) using points and lines, was transmitted from Silla on the Korean peninsula in the 8th century, together with Huayan or Avatamsaka Buddhism (see the important line of research initiated by Kobayashi 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008).

Early Koryŏ period *kugyŏl* (10th, 11th century) is of the variety referred to by Korean scholars as *sŏkdok kugyŏl* 釋讀口訣, interpretive *kugyŏl*. *Sŏkdok kugyŏl* glosses the classical Chinese text so that it can be read entirely in Korean, exactly like the Japanese reading of a *kunten* annotated text.

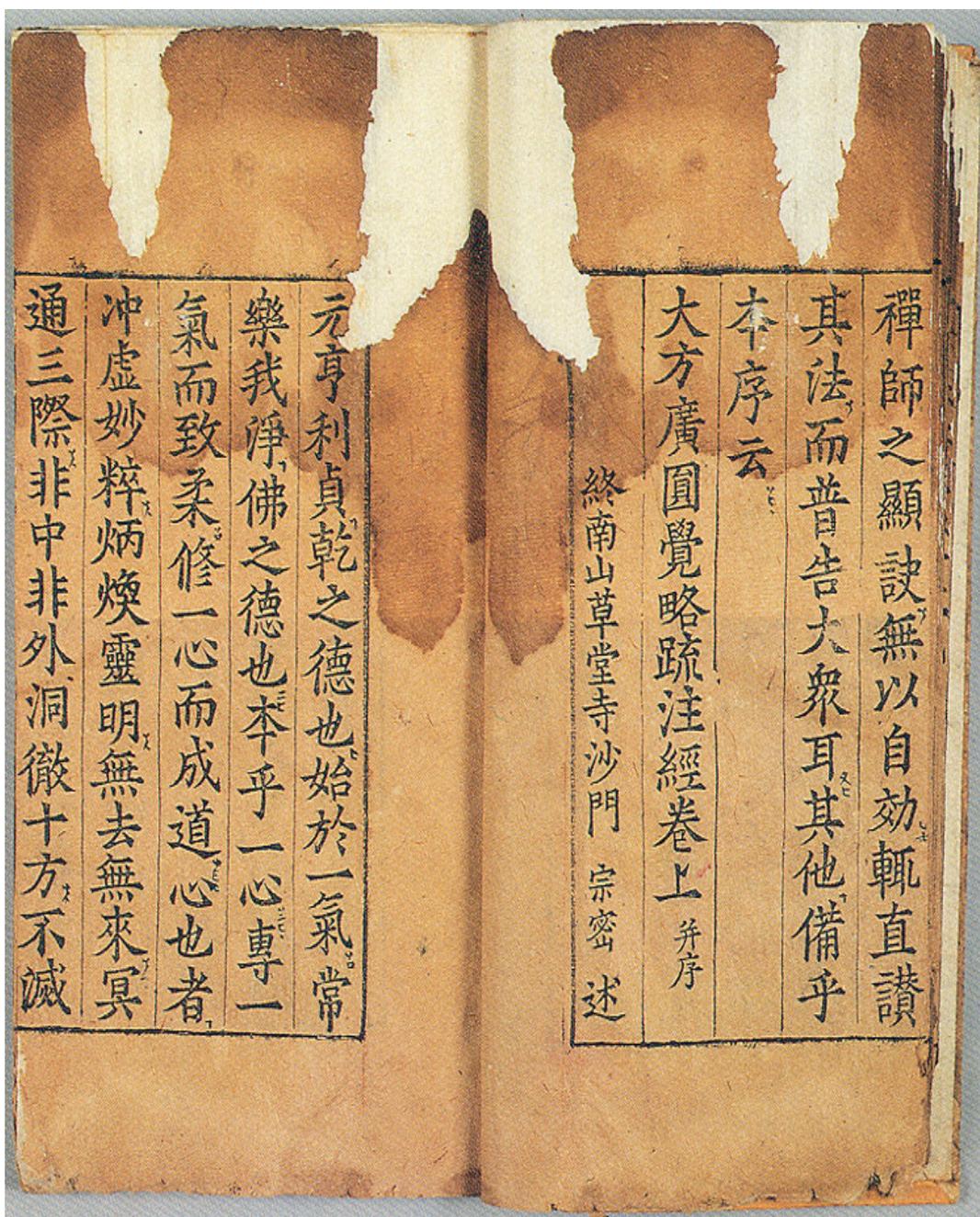
Figure 1. *Sŏkdok* (Interpretive) *Kugyŏl* in the *Kŏmgwangmyŏng-gyŏng* (金光明經), fascicle 3. Xylograph, 13th century (Koryŏ period).



From the 13th century on, however, *sōkdok kugyōl* is replaced by so-called *sundok* 順讀 ‘consecutive’ *kugyōl*, referred to by some scholars as *ūmdok* 音讀 ‘Sino-Korean’ *kugyōl*.³ In *sundok kugyōl*, a whole sentence or clause is read as written in Chinese, with Sino-Korean pronunciations. Clauses are concluded or connected by Korean functional morphemes, usually forms of the copula or the light verb *hA-* ‘do/say’. The practice would be similar to inserting English ‘do’ and ‘be’ in strategic places to string together phrases of the Latin Bible. In English *sundok kugyōl*, the first two sentences of *Genesis* might read, “In principio **did** creavit Deus cælum, et terram. Terra autem **was** erat inanis et vacua.” If *sōkdok kugyōl* represents a vernacular reading of the Chinese text, *sundok kugyōl* represents a reading closer to the classical Chinese cosmopolitan original.

³The translation ‘consecutive *kugyōl*’ for *sundok kugyōl* 順讀口訣 is due to Ross King (2007).

Figure 2. *Sundok* 順讀 (Consecutive) *kugyöl*, referred to by some scholars as *ümdok* 音讀 ‘Sino-Korean’ *kugyöl* in the *Wöngak-gyöng* (圓覺經 Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment). Koryö Period.



As pointed out by Alberizzi, Uyghur glossing of texts in the Chinese Mahayana canon seems to have been of the latter type: minimal or no disruption of the original Chinese word order, with phrases connected by functional elements such as “do” or “is”. (For a description of the Uyghur glossed material, see Shogaito 2012.) We can give many explanations for the development of this style of minimally vernacularized glossing. In Korea and Central Asia,

both regions adjacent to the Chinese cultural ascendancy, the pressure of the cosmopolitan, the prestige of Chinese writing, is elevated in comparison to Japan. Korean scholars also point to the relatively high level of Chinese literacy in Korea. But in the case of *sundok kugyŏl* a shift toward formulaic reading of the liturgical texts may also have contributed to the abandonment of interpretive glossing.

Adaptations of Chinese writing to inscribe the vernacular in Korea and Japan precede the first evidence for glossed Chinese texts by several centuries (for a recent account of the genesis of Japanese literacy, see Lurie 2011). Both Korea and Japan modified Chinese writing to inscribe their vernaculars in texts such as vernacular verse, vernacular memorials on stone or metal, and the inscribed wooden slips known as *mokkan* (木簡), well before evidence for vernacular glossing appears. The earliest such evidence involves transcriptions of place and personal names using Chinese characters as phonograms. In these early exemplars it is usually difficult to identify the linguistic background of the writer. However evidence from *mokkan* uncovered in both regions tell us that by the mid 7th century, modified forms of sinographs were used for phonographic writing.⁴ Graphic modifications of Chinese characters used for vernacular transcription consisted both of cursive forms and abbreviated forms (略体字 *yakcheja /ryakutaiji*). In both cases most of the modified forms have Chinese precedents, but by the end of 7th century the particular sets of phonographs favored in the archipelago and in the Three Kingdoms of Korea seem to have emerged. Around this time (earlier in Korea) we also have attestations of syntactically modified sinography: Korean *idu* and Japanese *hentai kanbun* 変体漢文. In these forms of writing, Chinese characters may be unmodified, but vernacular word order is used to some extent, and certain sinographs are used phonogrammatically to write vernacular functional morphemes such as case particles or verb suffixes. Thus the elements of vernacular adaptation exist prior to the first evidence for glossing.

The origins of glossing practice are harder to trace in Japan, but in Korea, Nam (2006) provides a narrative of the development of *kugyŏl* glossing. According to Professor Nam's account, the first surviving attestation of *kugyŏl* glossing is in the third fascicle of the *Sŏk hwaŏm kyobungi* 釋華嚴教分記, a commentary on 法藏 Fazang's *Huayan jiaofenji* 華嚴教分記 composed by Kyunnyŏ 均如 (923-973), the Koryŏ period clerical scholar and author of 11 of the surviving *hyangga* songs. The data consist of two lines, first studied by Ahn Pyong-hi (1987):

⁴See Lurie (2011 for a detailed over view of *mokkan* writing and its counterparts in Korea.

(1) 或^如有^如佛性^隱闡提人^隱有^豆亦^亦善根人無^如好^尸丁^丁

或^如有^如佛性^隱善根人^隱有^豆亦^亦闡提人無^如好^尸丁^丁

The boxed characters in (1) make no sense from the standpoint of the Chinese text. The lines are a quotation from the *Mahayana Nirvana sutra* (*Mahāyāna-mahāparinirvāna-sūtra*; *Da banneipan jing* 大般涅槃經). The Chinese text reads:

(2) 或有佛性，一闡提有善根人無。或有佛性，善根人有一闡提無。

The original text (2) is the same as (1) without the boxed characters. Professors Ahn and Nam point out that the boxed characters are unabbreviated forms of *kugyŏl* phonographic glosses, indicating postnominal particles, verb suffixes, and verbs in Korean. The *kugyŏl* characters were restored to their unabbreviated shape by later redactors of Kyunnyŏ's manuscript. The Korean text reads word-for-word as follows according to Professor Nam's interpretation:

(3) 或^如 有^如 佛性^隱 闡提人 隱有豆亦
 ?-ta is-ta 佛性^{Λn} 闡提人 ^{Λn} is-tu-yə
 -DEC exist-DEC Buddha-nature TOP depraved TOP exist-fact?-and
 善根人 無^如 好^尸丁
 善根人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 virtuous not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and

或^如 有^如 佛性^隱 善根人隱有豆亦
 ?-ta is-ta 佛性^{Λn} 善根人 ^{Λn} is-tu-yə
 -DEC exist-DEC Buddha-nature TOP virtuous TOP exist-fact?-and
 闡提人 無^如 好^尸丁
 闡提人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 depraved not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and

In order to produce a complete vernacular rendition, the Korean reader must transpose the underlined existential verb 有^如 *is-ta* 'exist-DEC' with its theme argument 'Buddha-nature', deriving SOV order:

(4) 或^如 佛性^隱 有^如 闡提人隱 有豆亦



?-ta 佛性^{Λn} is-ta 闍提人^{Λn} is-tu-yə
 -DEC Buddha-nature TOP exist-DEC depraved TOP exist-fact?-and
 善根人 無如 好尸丁
 善根人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 virtuous not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and

或如 佛性隱 有如 善根人隱 有豆亦
 ?-ta 佛性^{Λn} is-ta 善根人^{Λn} is-tu-yə
 -DEC exist-DEC Buddha-nature TOP virtuous TOP exist-fact?-and
 闍提人 無如 好尸丁
 闍提人 əp(s)-ta ho-r t.yə
 depraved not.exist-DEC say-ADNOM fact.and

‘Either one says that there exists a Buddha-nature and *icchāntika* (depraved people or unbelievers) have it and virtuous people do not, or one says that there exists a Buddha-nature and the virtuous have it and *icchāntika* do not.’

This example shows that *kugyōl* glossing was practiced in the 10th century, but two additional types of evidence show us that the origins of the practice probably go back to the 7th century. First, Professor Nam (2006) provides documentary evidence that the teachings of Ŭisang 義湘, the founder of the Huayan sect in Korea, were recording using glossing techniques similar to *kugyōl* upon his return to Silla from Tang China around 670. Professor Nam points out that in the accounts of Ŭisang’s teachings, it is reported that they were recorded “mixed in with the vernacular” 雜以方言. The second type of evidence for early Korean *kugyōl* glossing is the evidence that the earliest Japanese morphosyntactic (*wokototen*) patterns at the end of the 8th or early 9th century have Silla precursors, as discussed in Kobayashi’s research. The surviving Korean exemplars are actually later, but the direction of transmission of Huayan-related texts and teaching suggests influence from Korea to Japan (Kobayashi 2006, 2008, Whitman 2009). However the matter remains controversial.

The nature of this early material is relevant for considering the origins of glossing in both Japan and Korea. First, the earliest surviving material involves phonogram glosses (Korean *chat’o* 字土, Japanese *kana ten* 仮名点). Kasuga (1956: 266) proposes a rough chronology of what he considers the oldest glossed texts known in Japan at the time of his research. The glosses in these texts, all added in white ink, are undated, but Kasuga places the oldest of them in the late 8 century. The four oldest of these texts, as judged by Kasuga, contain only

phonogram glosses (Japanese *kana ten* 仮名点), in unabbreviated form (*magana* 真仮名), inversion glosses, and punctuation marks. These four oldest texts are:

- (5) a. The Keiun (768) ms. of the *Konponsetsu issai ubu binaya*
根本説一切有部毘奈耶 (Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya vibhaṅga)
- b. The Keiun ms. (768) of the *Konponsetsu issai ubu hisshunibinaya* 根本説一切有部苾芻尼毘奈耶 (Mūlasarvāstivāda bhikṣuṇī vinaya vibhaṅga)
- c. The Keiun ms. (768) of the *Jinin bosatsu kyō* 持人菩薩經 (Lokadharapariṣcchā-sūtra)
- d. The Keiun ms. (768) of the *Ōkutsumara kyō* 央掘魔羅經 (Aṅgulimāliya sūtra)

The first two of these texts (6a-b), are *vinaya* texts, that is, texts laying out the rules and regulations of monastic discipline for monks and nuns respectively. It makes sense that such texts should be glossed for vernacular reading, since they are of practical use.⁵ The last text, the *Aṅgulimāliya-sūtra*, differs from the first three in that it is glossed entirely in Sino-Japanese, and was clearly meant to be read in that form (音読 *ondoku/ūmdok*), that is, not in the vernacular. It therefore contains no morphosyntactic or inversion glosses, but only Sino-Japanese sound glosses and linking glosses (*gōhu* 合符), showing which sequences of characters are to be read together as compound-like units. Kasuga draws two conclusions from these characteristics of the earliest glossed data:

- (8) a. In reading Chinese texts in the vernacular (漢文訓讀), morphosyntactic glosses (*wokoto ten* 乎已止點) developed later than readings indicated by phonograms (假名附訓).
- b. The “symbolicization” of vernacular glossing (訓點法の符號化) begins with punctuation marks (句點) and inversion glosses (反讀符).
(Kasuga 1956: 267)

The corpus of potential 8th century glossed texts in Japan (and Korea) has increased since the time of Kasuga’s writing, particularly due to the identification of drypoint or stylus-glossed (角筆 *kakuhitsu/kakphil*) texts (Kobayashi 2004). Like the material cited by Kasuga, the 8th century drypoint glosses are undated, but Kasuga’s generalization that

⁵It is noteworthy, however, that the two texts represent the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, as the dominant vinaya tradition in China, Japan, and Korea is the Dharmagupta (*Shifen lu* 四分律) vinaya. It is possible that the relatively recent date of translation made these vinaya texts of interest to 8th century monastics. According to Vogel (1970), the *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya vibhaṅga* was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 703 and 710.

phonogram glosses, punctuation, and inversion glosses are older than morphosyntactic glosses appears to hold true for drypoint gloss material as well.

This generalization matches Professor Nam's characterization of early Korean *kugyŏl* texts, including (3). The examples in (9) too involve phonogram glosses. Nam lists the following 6 such texts, dating from the 10th to the 13th century.

- (9) Translation (*sŏkdok*) *kugyŏl* 釋讀口訣 with phonogram glosses 字吐, following Nam 2006
- a. *Sŏk Hwaŏm kyobungi* 釋華嚴教分記 (mid-10th c.)
 - b. *Hwaŏm-su fascicle 35* 華嚴疏卷第 35 (est. late 11th ~ early 12th c.)
 - c. *Hwaŏm-gyŏng fascicle 14* 華嚴經卷第 14 (est. first half of 12th c.)
 - d. *Happu Kŭmgwang-gyŏng fascicle 13* 合部金光經卷第 3 (est. beginning 13th c.)
 - e. *Kuyŏk Inwang-gyŏng fascicle 1* 舊釋仁王經上卷 (5 leaves attested; est. beginning 13th c.)
 - f. *Yugasajiron fascicle 3* 瑜伽師地論卷第 3 (mid-13th c., after 1246)

We must be cautious in drawing conclusions from the Korean data, as it involves only 6 texts over 3 centuries. However Nam and Kasuga concur that the early stage in the development of glossing technology involves phonological (phonogram) glosses, followed, or perhaps accompanied by, punctuation and devices for indicating syntactic inversion of the vernacular reading. Of these four devices, punctuation is already provided by the Chinese tradition, and as we saw above the phonogram inventories were established in Korea and Japan prior to the advent of glossing. The specific innovations made in Japan and Korea for glossing were thus inversion marks (syntactic glosses) and morphosyntactic glosses (*chat'o/wokototen*). The best current evidence is that these last two were transmitted from Korea to Japan.

In summing up this brief introduction to vernacular glossing in Korea and Japan, it is crucial to emphasize that glossed texts are treated by specialists in these countries as vernacular, that is Japanese or Korean, not Chinese texts. The Chinese translations of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經; *Golden Light Sutra*) or the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經; *Flower Garland Sutra*) are Middle Chinese texts. But thoroughly glossed texts such as the Saidaiji-bon *Konkōmyō saishō ōkyō* (西大寺本金光明最勝王經; white ink glosses est. 9th c.) or the Chin-bon *Hwaŏm-gyŏng*, fascicle 20 (晉本華嚴經; drypoint morphosyntactic glosses 9th or 10th century) are studied as Japanese and Korean texts respectively. The glosses generate more or

less completely recoverable vernacular texts, corresponding to the oral vernacular reading that a cleric would have delivered in the 9th or 10th century. As emphasized by Kosukegawa, this vernacular reading is distinguished from translation in the conventional sense. Later, in both Korea and Japan, manuscript and printed translations of Chinese Buddhist and secular classics are produced. But the vernacular readings generated by glossed texts differ from translation in several important respects. First, the original text (the lemma) does not disappear. It is constantly present, and indeed if it were visually displaced by the vernacular reading, the prestige of the text would be destroyed. Second, the lemma constrains the vernacular text in a way not found in normal translation: while the bare syntactic requisites of Japanese and Korean (primarily, head final constituent order) are maintained in the vernacular reading, the resultant style is heavily influenced by Chinese grammar, and needless to say, lexicon. As a result, vernacular reading of Chinese texts has been the major conduit for Chinese influence on the development of Korean and Japanese written language (see Yamada 1935 for the influence of vernacular reading on Japanese). Third, because not everything is specified by the gloss, the gloss-based vernacular text is to some degree the personal product of the reader. In this sense *kunten/kugyōl* glossing might be understood as a script for performance, similar to a musical score or playscript (Whitman 2011).

4. Research questions

The main research questions that emerged in our discussion at Waseda focused on a central issue: once we get past the excitement imparted by a certain superficial similarity (the existence of drypoint glossing, syntactic glosses, etc.), how comparable are the East Asian and medieval European traditions? See here the very similar set of questions raised by Cinato in his “Carnet de Voyage et perspectives”. Here, I divide the issue into four specific questions.

(i) How is reading practice implicated in the development and use of glosses?

The vocalization of glossed texts (oral reading) defines how glosses are used in Korea and Japan. The rule was (and is) to read the Chinese text (aloud) in the vernacular. Sinoxenic oral reading (Japanese *ondoku*; Korean *ūmdok* 音讀) was and is limited largely to ritual texts, such as dharani. In contrast, the consensus among European specialists seems to be that medieval glossed texts were read, when read orally, in Latin (but see (iii) below).

(ii) What can we say about transmission of glossing traditions?

Research on this issue is still in its infancy in East Asia and the West. In the latter case we await Blom’s work in progress. Kobayashi’s publications (see references) have established a basis for future comparative research on early glossing in Japan and Korea.

The issue of transmission brings to the forefront similarities and dissimilarities between monastic cultures, and their technologies of education, reproduction, and dissemination.

(iii) Was there full textual vernacular reading of glossed texts in the West?

This question is a refinement of (i). There was vernacular reading in the West: at the level of individual lexical glosses, it seems certain that there were contexts, such as in the classroom, where such glosses were vocalized. But interest in glossed texts as sources for the vernacular at the sentence or text level is relatively slight in the West. There are exceptions. Robinson's (1975) well-known article argued that in certain Anglo-Saxon glossed texts with an Anglo-Saxon interlinear gloss and syntactic glosses, the glosses were designed to generate a vernacular reading at the text level. Robinson's view was contested by Korhammer (1980), who raised two main objections: first, the word orders generated by the syntactic glosses often appear to be highly marked for Anglo-Saxon; second, the same or similar syntactic glossing systems were used in Latin-on-Latin glossed texts from the continent.

Korhammer's first objection is addressed for the specific case of the Lambeth Psalter (11th c.) by O'Neil (1992). O'Neil argues that in this text, the syntactic glosses were added after the Anglo-Saxon interlinear gloss, and worked in conjunction with marginal glosses to generate a vernacular (Anglo-Saxon) text. O'Neil's conclusion warrants quoting in full:

“This striking example (and others) of a contemporary reader applying the construe system to the Old English and recording the resulting arrangements in a syntactically acceptable sentence suggests that something more than a mere structural overview or a crude translation of the Latin was intended. Nor is it surprising that these reconstructed sentences do not always agree in word-order with ‘orthodox’ Old English sentences, given the problems attending their creation. On the one hand there was the problem that since the construe system was entered after the interlinear Old English gloss – as argued above, it functions integrally with marginal additions and corrections to the latter – the scribe had to deal with a word-for-word gloss already in place. On the other hand, he was constrained by a construe system which in the first instance was intended for the Latin text... Regardless of how well he succeeded, there is no doubt about his intention: the pervasive presence of the construe system throughout the Lambeth Psalter suggests that he intended to recast the whole Old English gloss as integral sentences” (1992: 256).

The practice described by O'Neil is very close to gloss-based vernacular reading in

East Asia, and many of the issues he raises – in particular the constraints imposed by the order in which different types of glosses were applied – are important for understanding East Asian glossing practice as well. But this argument has been developed in full for just one text, the Lambeth Psalter.

(iv) **Extensions and consequences of glossing practice**

Cinato's research emphasizes the importance of glossing practice for the development of lexicography and grammatical science. To oversimplify, glossaries are compiled from glosses and develop to provide a model for dictionaries and encyclopedias. Glossing of Latin texts can also be understood as an early form of grammatical analysis; in Cinato's phrase, glossators are early grammarians.

Again we must avoid the risk of facile comparisons, but both of these developments have parallels in the Japanese glossing tradition. Tsukishima's (1959) seminal article "The importance of the Toshiyō-bon *Ruijūmyōgishō* in the history of the development of *kunten*" laid the foundation for two generations of research exploring the relationship between *kunten* glossing and the compilation of early dictionaries in Japan (see also Tsukishima 1964). From the standpoint of the development of the Japanese grammatical tradition, the term for grammatical particles and affixes in traditional Japanese grammar, *te-ni-o-ha*, is derived from one specific ordering of the morphosyntactic glosses –*te* (GERUND), *ni* (DATIVE/LOCATIVE), (*w*)*o* (ACCUSATIVE), *φa* (TOPIC) in the traditional gloss diagrams (点図 *tenzu*) introduced by Alberizzi and Kosukegawa. These potential parallels in the intellectual and cultural impact of glossing deserve further exploration.

5. The discussion at Waseda

The papers by Alberizzi and Kosukegawa and the abstracts by Blom, Cinato, Moran and Nievergelt give an overview of the exchanges at Waseda. Blom's talk focused on glossing of the Latin Psalter, particularly Old High German. Cinato's presentation situated glossing in a broader intellectual context. The issues Cinato raised relating glossing and medieval linguistic thinking call for further exploration of East Asian (particularly Japanese) parallels along the lines suggested in (iv) in the preceding section. Moran focused on the text that he has done so much to make available to the scholarly public, the 9th century St. Gall Priscian (Moran 2010). Moran's presentation evoked much interest from the Japanese scholars present in connection with the difficult problem of digitizing the multidimensional information contained in glossed texts. Nievergelt's discussion of Old High German glossed texts raised numerous points that are relevant for East Asian scholarship, in particular the observation

that the Old High German tradition “is much more dense and persistent” in glosses than that in texts. The same can be said in part for Korean and Japanese. For the ninth century, the beginning of Early Middle Japanese, the vast bulk of our material is in the form of *kunten* glossed material. Although the Korean *kugyŏl* corpus is still small, it comprises the better part of our sources for Korean prior to the 15th century. Nievergelt’s emphasis on the importance of understanding the specific cultural context for medieval glossing is applicable to East Asian research as well.

Both Blom and Moran presented evidence in their presentations that the syntactic glosses or construal marks in the glossed texts they analyzed do not generate continuous vernacular texts in Old High German or Old Irish respectively. This evidence was convincing and of great interest to the Japanese researchers in attendance. Nevertheless, it raises further questions about the role of the vernacular, to which I turn below.

6. Directions for future research

Some of the questions raised here and in Cinato’s *Carnet de voyage* will be explored at a second workshop to be held July 31 - August 1, 2014 at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics in Tokyo. Many have crystalized over the past year. They can be organized into questions of context, of form, and of function. Questions of context center around Cinato’s observation regarding medieval Western and East Asian glossed texts that “La périodisation même de leurs attestations historiques présente aussi un intérêt, car le développement du phénomène en Asie et en Europe sensiblement à la même période semble correspondre à un « état » (seuil ?) culturel équivalent qui a impliqué des besoins identiques” (*Carnet de voyages*). Is this mere accident? An initial hypothesis is that the parallels reflect the role of monastic culture in roughly the same period, against the background of mass religions which made an imperative of what Banniard (1992) calls “communication verticale” – transmission of received texts incised in a “cosmopolitan” variety (in Pollock’s sense), by a trained, literate class to the less or nonliterate.

Formal parallels, also touched on in Cinato’s *Carnet*, include responses to the problem of visually distinguishing lemma and peritext, similarities and differences in gloss typologies, material factors such as paper versus parchment, ink versus drypoint, and reference or not to the act of glossing or the glossator in colophons. One possible difference in syntactic gloss typology is the coexistence, sometimes in the same text in medieval Europe, of sequential glosses (glosses which indicate word order; typically letters of the alphabet) and construe marks in the original sense of Draak (1957), termed *Kontstruktionenshilfen* by Korhammer

and *signes de construction syntaxique* (SCS) by Lemoine (1994).⁶ SCS are tuples (most often pairs) of symbols, typically commas, virgules, or combinations of points and lines, which relate subject and verb, verb and object, adjective and noun, genitive and noun, etc. Formally they resemble the systems of sinographic numerals (一 ‘1’, 二 ‘2’, 三 ‘3’ or the sinographs 上 ‘upper’, 中 ‘middle’, 下 ‘lower’) that fix the order in the vernacular reading of elements in the Chinese lemma that cannot be reordered by a simple inversion gloss in *kunten* and *kugyōl* glossing. However while the East Asian syntactic glosses fix order in the vernacular reading, SCSs have generally been understood to mark syntactic dependencies at a more abstract level, rather than order. Nevertheless, as Lemoine points out, “Et pourtant, on a parfois l’impression que le système des SCS fait plus que réunir un substantif et un adjectif, un verbe et son sujet ou son complément; il semble qu’on puisse y trouver des ébauches de constructions qui rapprochent le système des signes de celui des lettres, ou système séquentiel” (1993: 88). This issue relates directly the question of functional comparability with which I close.

As we have seen, Korean and Japanese glossing was used to generate vernacular texts, and recovery of these texts is the main objective of modern research. The texts provide information not only about vernacular lexicon, phonology, and morphology, but syntax and (although this has been underexplored) semantics.

In contrast, on the view of e.g. Korhammer (1980), Western medieval glossing does not generate a vernacular text. Robinson (1973) and O’Neil’s (1992) defense of Robinson’s interpretation of the Lambeth Psalter are exceptions to this view,⁷ but they appear to be in the minority. That would then be the major difference between the East Asian and medieval European glossing practice: medieval European glossing was restricted to a purely heuristic or explanatory function; it did not inscribe the vernacular at the sentence level or above.

On this view, lexical glosses serve merely to aid the scholar’s understanding; they are not associated with any kind of textual production. Syntactic glosses only impose a grammatical analysis; they are unrelated expressively to any natural language (other than the Latin lemma). Sequential glosses are somewhat of an oddity from this perspective: if SCS suffice to explain syntactic relations, why also fix word order? Reynolds (2004) argues that sequential glosses are designed to generate the *ordo naturalis*, the “natural” order of constituents as understood by medieval grammarians. But the *ordo naturalis* is usually taken to be SVO, and as Draak,

⁶I adopt Lemoine’s term and acronym here. I am indebted to Franck Cinato for bringing Lemoine’s article to my attention.

⁷As appears to be Lemoine’s position. While citing Korhammer’s hypothesis that “le système séquentiel ne correspondrait à la syntaxe d’aucune langue vernaculaire précise; il serait seulement un système pédagogique mis au point dans les écoles du haut Moyen Âge (1994: 105), Lemoine adopts Robinson’s view of sequential glossing: “Il consiste en lettres de l’alphabet qui, disposées sur les différents mots de la phrase latine, permettent au lecteur de rétablir l’ordre des mots tel qu’il se présente dans sa propre langue (irlandais, anglo-saxon) (1994: 84-85).

Korhammer, and Lemoine point out, sequential glosses frequently specify VSO order.

Lemoine (1994), taking note of Draak's observation that VSO order is unmarked in Old Irish, suggests that verb-initial order in Anglo-Saxon sequential glosses may be the result of Irish influence. Korhammer (1980), rejecting the possibility that medieval glossing was related to a vernacular reading, argues that verbs are placed first because they are the most important element in the sentence. But what then governs sequencing of the rest of the sentence: order of decreasing importance?

The nonspecialist reader quickly notices the interest in educational practice in the medieval studies milieu of modern glossing research, but it is difficult to escape the impression that much remains unclear about the role of the vernacular in medieval education and reading. Grotan's (2006) monograph focuses on the role of Old High German at St. Gall during the period of Notker Labeo, but her discussion is mostly limited use of the vernacular as a tool for explication in the classroom; we are left without an overall picture of the linguistic habitus of the St. Gall community.

In the case of Japanese teaching of classical Chinese, we have a very clear idea of the role of the vernacular, because of the existence of a continuous tradition that, in a version reformed during the Edo period, persists (albeit in attenuated form) in Japanese high schools today. Students are taught the rudiments of classical Chinese composition, learn to interpret the syntactic glosses, and to read glossed texts in a form of classical Japanese. Teaching of classical Chinese grammar is done through a system of grammatical terminology revised from Chinese models and a set of classical Japanese equivalents for functional elements that are learned by rote. Success is defined by correct composition and the ability to produce an acceptable vernacular reading. Although the significance of *kanbun kyōiku* (education in classical Chinese) in modern Japanese society has been reduced to the point of ridicule, its original design and intent fits within Banniard's model of vertical communication: it aims to produce literate specialists who are able to communicate a body of prestige texts to a population with less refined literate skills.

In Banniard's scheme of vertical communication, vernacular reading plays a central role. According to Banniard (1992) and more particularly Roger Wright (1982, 1994, 2013), a kind of vernacular reading was practiced in all of the Romance speaking countries prior to the Carolingian reforms. On this view, for some period prior to the ninth century (later outside of France), Latin texts were (orally) read in the local Romance variety. On Wright's "logographic" version of this view, vernacular reading could extend to substitution of vernacular morphology and lexical items for material in the Latin text. For Wright and Banniard, such vernacular reading was not a kind of translation; it was the way that Latin

texts were read. Among the texts that Wright cites to support this view are orthographically Latin texts, some glossed, from the Iberian peninsula. In his analysis of a document from the diocese of Porto written at the end of the 10th century with transmitted Latin orthography but clear Ibero-Romance features, Wright points out that the preferred order was VSO, commenting that “Verb-Subject-Object order was the unmarked order of speech at that time” (2013: 80). The order that Wright identifies as VSO is actually the early Romance version of verb second (Ledgeway 2008): in all of Wright’s examples, the finite verb follows a relative pronoun or the conjunction *et*. Given the broad prevalence of this word order in early Romance, it would seem worthwhile to examine the sequential glossing in continental manuscripts to see if they do not fit it.

Banniard (1993) identifies 790-840 as a period of “crisis” for vertical communication in Europe. Around that period, literate elites become aware that Latin texts, even when read with vernacular phonology, are no longer comprehensible to vernacular audiences. It seems noteworthy that this period coincides with the advent of syntactic glossing.⁸ Ultimately, from the standpoint of vertical communication, glossing gives way to translation. This is once again the sequence of events we see with vernacular glossing versus vernacular translation in Korea and Japan.

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⁸Lemoine presents the following chronology for the 62 syntactically glossed texts listed by Korhammer: first texts from the 8th century, 22 from the 9th, 25 from the 10th, 21 from the 11th, and jsut 6 from the 12th (1994: 106).

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