

中央研究院

第二屆國際漢學會議論文集

中華民國七十五年十二月廿九日至卅一日

語言與文字組 (上 冊)

慶祝中央研究院院慶六十週年

中華民國七十八年六月

台 灣 台 北

中央研究院

第二屆國際漢學會議論文集

語言與文字組

目 錄

上 冊

1. Ablaut and Initial Voicing in Old Chinese
Morphology: *a as an Infix and Prefix
.....Edwin G. Pulleyblank 1
2. 上古漢語 *s-前綴的構詞功用.....梅 祖 麟 23
The Causative and Denominative Functions of
the *s- Prefix in Old Chinese.....Tsu-Lin Mei 33
3. 論談添盍帖分四部說.....陳 新 雄 53
4. 中古敷微二字母之音值再擬測.....謝 雲 飛 67
5. 隋唐五代宋初重紐反切研究.....周 法 高 85
6. 論重紐等韻及其相關問題.....龍 宇 純 111
7. Notes on the Initials of a Northwest Dialect
of Tang Times.....W. South Coblin 125
8. 十二世紀末漢語的西北方音（韻尾問題）.....龔 煌 城 145
9. The *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* of Matteo Ricci:
A Historical and Linguistic Introduction
.....Paul Fu-mien Yang 191
10. 韓國漢字音內的舌音系字音變化.....姜 信 沆 243

11. 論音韻闡微的入聲字·····	林慶勳	267
12. The Phonological Representation of Certain Vowel- Obscured Syllables in Mandarin: An Autosegmental Approach ·····	Yi-Chin Fu	297
13. 重疊詞的聲調變化及其影響·····	陳重瑜	305
14. What is a Kèjiā Dialect? ·····	Jerry Norman	323
15. X/F 在西南：一項規律史的研究 ·····	何大安	345
16. The Historical Background of the Soochow Tone Sandhi ·····	Mantaro J. Hashimoto	379
17. 漢語聲調的演變·····	丁邦新	395
18. The Status of Suprasegmentals and Other Syllabic "Accessories" in Taiwanese Riming Schemes ·····	Chang Yü-hung	409
19. Possessives in Early Archaic Chinese ·····	Søren Egerod	429
20. 上古漢語的句法發展·····	戴璉璋	443
21. The Classical Chinese Modal Particle Yi 已 ·····	Christoph Harbsmeier	471
22. On the Modalities of Obligation and Epistemic Necessity in the Shiyouji ·····	N. G. D. Malmqvist	505

下 冊

23. 關於漢語的詞序類型·····	湯廷池	519
24. Chinese Morphology: Anatomy of a Headless Language ·····	Shuanfan Huang	571
25. History of the Comparative Construction in Chinese from the 5th Century B. C. to the 14th Century A. D. ·····	Alain Peyraube	589
26. On the Meaning of the Particle <i>Le</i> in Mandarin ·····	Jeffrey C. Tung	613
27. Some Aspects of Child Language Acquisition of Mandarin Syntax ·····	Paul Jen-kuei Li	619

28. 試論動詞重複·····	梅 廣	637
29. Serial Verb Constructions in Chinese·····	Feng-fu Tsao	653
30. 漢語正反問句的模組語法·····	黃 正 德	679
31. The Nominal Predicate in Chinese Sentence with Comparing Notes·····	Prapin Manomaivibool	705
32. 漢語官話方言中複數詞「們」的出現時代問題·····	吳 其 昱	709
33. Aspects of Historical and Comparative Syntax in Taiwanese and Mandarin·····	Ying-che Li	715
34. 粵語量詞用法的研究·····	張 洪 年	753
35. Asian Studies in the American Liberal Arts College·····	Timothy Light	775
36. 符號與文字——三論史前陶文和漢字起源問題·····	李 孝 定	795
37. 形聲字形符之形成及其演化·····	許 鎔 輝	805
38. 從假借形聲論漢字體系的性質·····	張 日 昇	827
39. 當代轉注說的一個趨向·····	黃 沛 榮	837
40. 甲骨文字考釋三則·····	金 祥 恆	875
41. 釋虫·····	吳 匡	891
42. 論「任官卜辭」·····	鍾 柏 生	895
附錄		
一、拼音說明·····		i
Explanation of Romanization·····		ii
二、地名對照表 (A Comparative Table of Place Names)·····		iii

ABLAUT AND INITIAL VOICING IN OLD CHINESE

MORPHOLOGY: *a AS AN INFIX AND PREFIX

Edwin G. Pulleyblank

University of British Columbia

I. Introduction

Over twenty years ago I identified under the term 'ablaut' a morphological process in Old Chinese word families consisting of alternation between the vowels *ə and *a in pairs such as *tán* 譚, EMC *dəm*, 'talk about (trans.)', and *tán* 談, EMC *dam*, 'talk (intrans.); conversation' or *sǐ* 似 EMC *zi*² < *-əɣ² 'resemble' and *shàng* 象 EMC *ziaǎŋ*² < *-ǎŋ² 'image; to imitate' (Pulleyblank 1963, 1965a). I compared it with similar patterns of vowel alternation, associated with a contrast in meaning that can be labelled extrovert/introvert, in Tibetan, as well as in Kabardian, a Northwest Caucasian language, and Indo-European. Further examples from Old Chinese were added in my paper 'Some new hypotheses concerning word families in Chinese' (1973). More recently (1986), in the light of the hypothesis that, throughout the history of Chinese, ə is to be interpreted, not as an underlying vowel, but as a minimal feature of syllabicity inserted, as required, between consonants by rules of syllabification, I have proposed a reinterpretation of this ablaut as the infixation of a morpheme *a. I have also suggested that this same morpheme can be recognized as the prefix, cognate to Tibetan *ha-čhung*, which was responsible for the voicing of initial obstruents in pairs such as 見 *jiàn* 'see', EMC *ken*^h, 現 *xiàn* 'appear', EMC *ɣen*^h. In both types of derivation the 'introvert' meaning of the morpheme *a, changing transitives into intransitives or verbs into nouns, seems to be much the same, derivable from the meaning 'in, inside' which appears in the independent words *yú* 於, 'in, at', EMC **ɣiǎ* < **ɣǎǎ* and *yāng* 央 'inside, middle', EMC **ɣiǎŋ* < **ɣǎŋ*, evidently derived from the same root. This is the hypothesis which I propose to explore further in the present paper.

II. The Old Chinese Vowel System

The proposal to recognize a process of ablaut based on the ə/a opposition has not been much followed up or even discussed by others working in the Sino-Tibetan field, probably because it seems to have far-reaching implications that people find unacceptable on *a priori* grounds. Leaving aside the question of possible prehistoric

connections between the Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European language families, which, in light of some recent theories about the Indo-European homeland, are less implausible than most people have assumed, the ablaut hypothesis is intimately connected with the theory that Old Chinese had only a single, two-way, contrast in rhyme vowels, based on tongue height, which I have also advanced in a series of articles (1963, 1977-78, 1982a, 1982b, etc.). This has been something of a scandal among my colleagues, since it allegedly violates the universality of the *i-a-u* vowel triangle. See, for example, Ting 1975:32. Nevertheless, as Ting admits, citing the authority of the Ching philologist, Jiang Yung 江永 as well as the modern scholar, Fang-kuei Li, '[The] theory of two vowels contrasting in tongue height has very significant meaning, because this contrast occurs through the whole history of the Chinese language... We believe that, as Pulleyblank claims, this contrast may hold true for the basic nuclear vowels of Sino-Tibetan.' Nevertheless, he doubts 'whether [**ə* and **a*] are the *only* vowels in Archaic Chinese' (his emphasis), on the grounds already mentioned, that is, the universality of the *i-a-u* triangle.

There seems to be some confusion of thought here. The concept of basic and non-basic vowels is one that is unfamiliar to me and I do not know what Ting means by it. What needs to be emphasized is that those who, like A. H. Kuipers in his celebrated analysis of Kabardian (1960), have made proposals for two-vowel, one-vowel or no-vowel languages do not in any way deny the significance or the universality of the *i-a-u* triangle. What is at issue is whether, in the languages concerned, these vowels, especially the two high vowels *i* and *u*, which in many languages alternate in phonological processes with the consonantal glides *j* and *w*, are best regarded as belonging to the vowel system as such, or are to be analyzed as syllabic realizations of consonantal features, in the same way that syllabic liquids and nasals can be treated as syllabic realizations of the corresponding consonants and do not require the setting up of separate phonemes. This is why, according to one analysis, *i* and *u* are excluded from the vowel system of proto-Indo-European in spite of the fact that, at the surface level, they are present in all Indo-European languages.

The advent of CV phonology within the generative school, which treats syllabicity, not as an inherent feature of individual segments, but as a function of the place of the segment in the syllable, has provided a convenient way of disposing of the problem of how to show the relationship between vowels and their corresponding glides. In a number of recent papers (1983b, 1986b, 1986c) I have argued that, not only the high vowels *i* and *u* but also the low vowel *a*, have non-syllabic glide counterparts. More will be said about this below. Of more immediate relevance to the question at hand, that is, the naturalness or otherwise of a language with only a two-way contrast in rhyme vowels, is the example of modern Mandarin, a language which probably has more native speakers than any

other in the world and can hardly be thought of as 'unnatural', especially in the context of providing a model for the reconstruction of Old Chinese.

As is well known, the Mandarin finals ending in consonants (-n or -ŋ) or high glides (-j or -w) fall into two rhyming sets each, distinguished by relative tongue height of the nuclear vowel. Thus the four finals -ən, -in, -wən, -yn rhyme together in contrast to the four finals -an, -jen, -wan, -yan. Similarly, -əŋ, -iŋ, -uŋ, -juŋ constitute a single rhyme in contrast to -aŋ, -jaŋ, -waŋ. If, as I argued in my paper for the first Taipei conference in 1980 (Pulleyblank 1981) and in my recent book (1984), one recognizes a low glide -ǎ as the ending of the finals that are normally regarded as ending in mid and low open vowels: -ɛ /ǎǎ/, -ie /iǎ/, -uo /uǎ/, -ye /yǎ/, -a /aǎ/, -ja /jaǎ/, -wa /waǎ/, this pattern extends to all Mandarin finals except the high vowels -i, -u, -y and the finals -ʒ and -ʃ, which alone have no consonantal ending.

This rhyming pattern in Mandarin is sometimes explained by assuming that there is an underlying ə vowel in -in, -yn, -iŋ, -uŋ which is deleted in surface pronunciation, while ɛ in -jen is merely an allophone of /a/. See, for example, M. Chen 1976, who distinguishes between 'the three high vowels (or glides)' and 'two "vowel grades" /ə/ and /a/' in Pekingese phonology. A more economical solution, as I have shown elsewhere, is to say that ə, when it appears, is inserted epenthetically, filling an empty V slot between consonants by rules of syllabification (Pulleyblank 1983b, 1984, 1986b). On this analysis, the high vowels i, u and y are derived from underlyingly glides j, w, and ɥ attached to the second C-node of the invariant C(C)VC template of the Mandarin syllable. If the V-node is empty and the final C-node is filled by one of the possible consonants n, ŋ, r, j, w or the low glide ǎ, syllabification is achieved either by spreading from a preceding glide or by insertion of ə in accordance with a fairly simple set of rules of frontness harmony between the glide and the final consonant. In the case of the final -jen, derived from underlying /jan/, there is also spreading from the glide into the vowel. When the final C-node is empty, the V node is always empty underlyingly. In the absence of a final consonant, ə cannot be inserted and syllabification is only possible through spreading, either from a glide, giving the finals -i, -u and -y, or from a preceding retroflexive or dental sibilant, giving the finals -ʃ and -ʒ (Pulleyblank 1986b).

It is important to note that, however we analyze the Mandarin vowel system, as far as rhyming is concerned the main discriminating features seem to be (a) the final consonant, and (b) the opposition non-low/low in the nuclear vowel, with the features of frontness and rounding in the vowel playing, at most, a secondary role. Moreover this is not based on literary traditions or linguists' theories. In his study of popular children's songs in Peking, Witold Jablonski distinguished thirteen rhymes, as follows (converting his transcriptions into my phonetic

notation): (1) -i, -y, -ɿ, -ʐ, (1a) -u (sometimes rhyming with rhyme (1)), (2) -a, -ja, -wa, (3) -ɛ, -ɔ, -uo, (4) -ie, -ye, (5) -aj, (-jaj), -waj, (6) -ej, -wej, (7) -aw, -jaw, (8) -ow, -jow (sometimes rhyming with rhyme (7)), (9) -an, -jen, -wan, -yan, (10) -ən, -in, -wən, -yn, (11) -aŋ, -jaŋ, -waŋ, (12) -əŋ, -iŋ, -uŋ, -juŋ, (13) -ər — he notes that when this syllable is suffixed to other syllables it reduces the possible rhyme distinctions to six or seven. (1935: 13ff.) This agrees with Chang Hsün-ju, *Bei-ping yin-shi shr-san che* (1937), except that Chang makes (1) and (1a) separate rhymes.¹

If we extend our theory of Mandarin syllable structure to Late Middle Chinese (LMC), we find that the distinction between finals with a and those without corresponds to the 'outer'/'inner' distinction of the rhyme tables and that not only the finals as grouped in the tables but the actual rhyming of poets divided finals with the same consonantal endings into 'inner' and 'outer' rhyming sets. Moreover, this analysis enables us to set up a simple sets of rules for the development of the language from LMC to the Early Mandarin (EM) of the Yuan period, and also to Cantonese and presumably other modern dialects (Pulleyblank 1984, 1986b, 1986c). There are differences, of course. In LMC the syllable template was C(C)V(V)C, not C(C)VC. That is, the 'outer' finals in LMC had the possibility of the vowel clusters aa, ia, ua and ya in addition to a alone. On the other hand, there were fewer open syllables in LMC than in Mandarin. The only syllables that did not end in a stop consonant, nasal or one of the glides j, w and ʃ, were those in -i, -ɿ and -ʐ. The Mandarin finals -u and -y developed out of LMC -uā and -yā, with accretions from -ut, -yt, -əwk, -iwk, -ywk. The LMC finals -ɿ and -ʐ had developed through the loss of -i after initial r and after retroflex and dental sibilants, and could still rhyme with -i, as well as -uj and -yj. The final -i itself seems to have developed through the loss of the final glide in earlier -ij. The theory that Old Chinese allowed no open syllables and that there were, at most, two rhyming sets of finals, one 'inner' and one 'outer' with any one syllable closure thus receives direct typological support from LMC.

It is true that more elaborate systems of rhyming have existed at various stages. The *Jung-yuan yin-yun*, representing Early Mandarin of the Yuan period, has 19 rhymes compared to the 13 of Pekingese. Three of these are rhymes in -m which have since been lost through the merger of -m with -n. There were also rhymes in -ən and -ɔn, as well as -an. As I showed in Pulleyblank 1986b (which modifies the conclusions of Pulleyblank 1984), this resulted from the fusion of

¹ A recent study by Paul Li (1986) on popular rhyming in Taiwanese shows that a number of phonemic distinctions in finals can be ignored—(a) the distinction between nasalized and oral vowels, (b) final glottal stop, (c) the distinction between close [o] and open [ɔ]. With regard to (c) he cautions that there are dialects that merge these two vowels but gives no evidence that their interrhyiming is confined to such dialects. Compare the occasional interrhyiming of [ow] and [ɔw] in Pekingese noted by Jablonski.

the LMC vowel clusters *-ia-* and *-ua-* to *-e-* and *-o-* respectively, creating contrasts between *-jen* and *-jan* and between *-ən* and *-wan* respectively. In Pekingese *-jan* has merged with *-jen* and *-ən* has merged with *-wan*. Although the phonetic distinction remains, *-jen* now rhymes freely with *-an*. Other differences between Early Mandarin and Pekingese rhyming were: (a) there was an *-uŋ* rhyme, including *-juŋ*, separate from *-əŋ*, *-iŋ*, *-yŋ* (though it is clear that *-yŋ* was in the process of shifting to *-juŋ*), (b) the *-ʒ* and *-ʃ* finals were treated as a separate rhyme, (c) *-i* rhymed with *-əj* and *-uj*, (d) *-y* was not treated as rhyming with *-i*, as it normally is in Pekingese, but instead rhymed with *-u*.

The early Tang period, as represented by the *tung-yung* categories of the *Guang yun*, which were canonized in the official examination system and have remained ever since the standard for regulated verse (*liu-shr*), had a more elaborate system of rhyming but it must be remembered that this developed out of the first self-conscious prosodic theories of poetic composition associated especially with the name of Shen Yue 沈約 in the late fifth century. As I suggested in Pulleyblank 1984, it is hardly likely that the sudden increase in rhyme distinctions in poetry that we find at that period really reflects change in the language. For example, it seems that retroflex (Grade II) and nonretroflex vowels were no longer allowed to rhyme together. As far as linguistic reconstruction is concerned, however, I still find it ironic that those who profess to be so strict in interpreting Old Chinese rhyme distinctions remain content with Karlgren's Middle Chinese system, which requires us to believe, for example, that *-ən* and *-uən* could not rhyme with *-jən* and *-juən*, but instead rhymed with *-jən* and *-jwən*, and that *-ien* and *-iwen* could not rhyme with *-jĕn* and *-juĕn*, but instead rhymed with *-jĕn* and *-jwĕn*.

The relation of rhyming in poetry, which is a matter of aesthetic feeling, to the organization of phonology, which is a matter using sounds to make the distinctions needed for encoding meanings, is not necessarily a straightforward one but it presumably has something to tell us about the intuitions of native speakers about their language. At the very least, what we find true for rhyming in present day Mandarin is probably relevant for the interpretation of rhyming at earlier stages of the language. When the naturalness or otherwise of competing reconstructions of Old Chinese is at issue, it is salutary to note that, by the conventions of modern Mandarin, finals such as *-in* and *-ən*, or *-əŋ*, *-iŋ* and *-uŋ*, which have been set up by various scholars as quite separate rhymes for the *Shr jing*, would rhyme freely together. Of course they do not rhyme by the standards of English or other familiar European languages but is this a valid criterion to apply to Old Chinese? With the examples of modern Mandarin and LMC staring us in the face we need not go to the exotic-seeming languages of the Northwest Caucasus, with their huge arrays of consonants apparently compensating for the poverty of their vowel systems, for parallels to support the reconstruction of only

two contrasting rhyme vowels in Old Chinese. It may be worth noting, however, that two-term, vertical vowel systems have also been reported from New Guinea and Australia (Pike 1964; Dixon 1980:131).

What is probably the most popular Old Chinese reconstruction at present, that of Fang-kuei Li (1971), goes along with the idea of a two-way, ə/a opposition, with additional types of final consonant, to the extent of reconstructing labiovelars in addition to the labials, dentals and velars of Karlgren's system. He still has *i* as a rhyme vowel before dentals and velars and *u* before velars, however, which saves the appearance of conforming to the universality of the *i-a-u* vowel triangle but at the expense of giving the two high vowels a very limited and hardly very natural distribution. His reconstruction of final labiovelars, on the other hand, makes sense, not only because it extends the ə/a opposition and extends a type of consonant which one must postulate in syllable initial position to syllable final position as well, but also, as I have shown, because it needs to be extended to Middle Chinese also (Pulleyblank 1983a, 1984). As I have also argued, however, (Pulleyblank 1977-78, 1982b), there is at least as good evidence for adding final palatals to the Old Chinese inventory as final labiovelars. We can thus redefine Li's *-in and *-iŋ (= Karlgren's *-ien and *-ieng) as *-əŋ and *-aŋ, respectively, and so extend the ə/a opposition to ten of the eleven major *Shr jing* rhyme categories. To complete the pattern, we need to add final uvulars, -q and -b, corresponding to Karlgren's -ok -og. A case for distinguishing uvulars from both plain velars and labiovelars in initial position was made in Pulleyblank 1982a on the basis of early Miao-Yao and Kadai loans and Sino-Tibetan comparisons, and further arguments on the basis of internal reconstructions will be made below.

Demonstrating that there is typological support within Chinese itself for the two vowel analysis of Old Chinese rhyming and that it also does not violate cross-linguistic universals does not, of course, prove that it is the correct analysis, though I would claim that the evidence that I have been able to provide for the continuity of palatalized, labialized and pharyngealized velar endings from Old Chinese right through Middle Chinese does create a strong presumption in favour of the theory quite apart from its attractiveness in giving a tidy and symmetrical account of the *Shr jing* rhyme categories.

III. The Bodman-Baxter Vowel System

The most serious difficulty with the two rhyme vowel theory from the point of view of the internal reconstruction of Chinese is that it leaves unexplained an anomaly within the accepted *Shr jing* rhyme categories in the distribution of labialized (*he-kou*) syllables. Before Middle Chinese velar endings one finds such syllables contrastively only after back initials (velars and laryngeals). This is the principal evidence suggesting that Old Chinese had a distinct class of labiovelar

initials. Before dental endings, and also in certain Middle Chinese rhymes that can plausibly be derived from dental endings in Old Chinese, however, one finds *he-kou* syllables in Middle Chinese with dental, retroflex and palatal initials. Since, as traditionally interpreted, there are also no *Shr jing* rhyme categories with rounded vowels and dental endings, this has suggested to some scholars that between Old and Middle Chinese rounded vowels were subject to breaking before dental endings *-un > -wən, *-on > -wan, etc.

The Russian scholar, S. Yakhontov, was the first to use this as the basis for revising Karlgren's Old Chinese reconstruction (1960). He claimed that it was possible to distinguish six previously unrecognized finals, *-un, *-ut, *-ur, *-on, *-ot, *-or, in rhyming and *shie-sheng* series. Before I learned of Yakhontov's article, I had come to a similar idea independently (1962). It was attractive not only because it seemed to account for the distribution of *he-kou* syllables in Middle Chinese but also because it showed promise of bringing the Old Chinese vowel system closer to the five-vowel system of Classical Tibetan. I eventually gave it up (1963), however, when I found that it was very difficult to carry through a clear separation in the rhymes and the phonetic series. Moreover, by itself, adding *u and *o to the repertory of vowels before dentals still leaves an unbalanced distribution of vowels, since according to the conventional analysis of the *Shr jing* rhymes, there have to be not two, but three, back rounded vowels with velars as against two central vowels and one front vowel.

Recently the proposal to extend the distribution of the vowels o and u to dental finals has been taken up and developed further by Nicholas Bodman and, especially, William Baxter. They propose a symmetrical six vowel system, two front, two central and two backrounded, for Old Chinese (Bodman 1980, Baxter 1977 and several other articles including, most recently, 1986a, 1986b). I shall not discuss their proposals in detail here. They involve setting up even finer distinctions within the traditional *Shr jing* rhyme categories that, in some cases, even invade individual *shie-sheng* groups. Moreover, to explain various difficulties, they are led to propose untestable assumptions about Old Chinese dialect differences, a slippery slope that all too easily leads to building houses of cards. The evidence that Baxter has been able to assemble in support of his theory on the basis of rhyming seems to me quite problematical and capable of different interpretation, especially in the light of the kind of evidence about the nature of rhyming in Chinese that I have referred to above.

Another serious weakness in the Bodman-Baxter system, as in that of F.K. Li, is their failure to find a solution, other than a purely notational one, for the phonological distinction underlying the so-called *chung-niou* in the *Chie yun*. This, I believe, is because they insist on adhering to Karlgren's yod, -i- = -j- in IPA, as the determining characteristic of so-called 'Grade III finals' (which does not mean

the actual Grade III of the rhyme tables but, rather, what I call Type B finals, *Chie yun* finals which, for the most part, fall at least partly into Grade III but may also contain Grade II and IV words). For some animadversions on the weakness in trying to reconstruct Old Chinese on the basis of an inadequate reconstruction of Middle Chinese, see Pulleyblank 1985.

Returning to the problem of the distribution of *he-kou* finals with dental endings in Old Chinese, though I have no definitive solution to offer at present, I do not think that it seriously undermines the validity of my hypothesis about the Old Chinese vowel system. Some suggestions for dealing with the problem were made in Pulleyblank 1977-78: 200-204.

IV. Derivation by *a as a Prefix and an Infix

As mentioned above, I posit a morpheme *a in Old Chinese, which could appear as an independent word in the coverb *yú* 於, 'in, at' EMC ?iä < *?äa, with its sandhi variant *hü* 乎, EMC ɣɔ < *Häa, as a non-syllabic prefix *a,² cognate to Tibetan *ha-čhung*, which caused voicing of initial obstruents, and as an infix. In the remainder of this paper I shall discuss some additional sets of cognate words to illustrate these derivational processes.

(1) *chiōu* 丘 EMC k^huw < *k^həɣ < *xəɣ 'hill; grave mound; empty', *shia* 虛 EMC xiä, k^hiä < *xəɣ, 'large hill; grave mound; site of an abandoned city; empty'.

(2) *jiōu* 久 EMC kuw² < *q^wəɣ² < *qəɣ² 'for a long time'; *jiōu* 舊 EMC guw^h < *äq^wəɣ²s < *äqəɣ²s 'old'; *gǔ* 古 EMC kɔ² < qäɣ² 'old times, ancient'; *gù* 故 EMC kɔ^h < *qäɣ²s 'old (friend, acquaintance); precedent; cause, reason, etc.'; *hú* 胡 EMC ɣɔ < *äqäɣ 'long-life, long-lived'.

These two word families are examined together, not because they are semantically related but because they show a similarity in their phonetic make-up. In both cases the 'inner' members of the families, reveal labialized initials through their shift from the Old Chinese *jr* 之 rhyme category to the *you* 幽 category, while the 'outer' members, belonging to the Old Chinese *yu* 魚 category, show unlabialized initials. This would normally exclude them from consideration as cognates. However, the close semantic relationship between the members of set (1), reflected even in the graphs, and the fact that they even appear to be used interchangeably at times, have long led scholars to assume they were closely related words. See, for example, Wang Li 1982: 85, who quotes the *Shuo wen*, along with the Ching dynasty commentary of Shiu Hau 徐灝, and a number of passages

² In the cited article I reconstruct the prefix as *2a-, that is, as (initially) syllabic, even though unstressed. This now seems to me to be unnecessary. If it could become non-syllabic, as we must assume if our interpretation of Tibetan *ha-čhung* is correct, it is surely better to reconstruct it as non-syllabic from the beginning, since this is the form in which it is actually attested in Tibetan.

in the *Yi jing*, *Shr jing* and later works of the classical period.

There is, I believe, a good explanation for the apparent phonetic irregularity. If my assumptions about the final consonants of Old Chinese are correct, at the time of the *Shr jing* uvulars survived as a distinct set only after the vowel *a* in the 'outer' finals, that is, in the *shiau* 宵 category, Karlgren's *-ok*, *-og*, (which, it will be remembered, has no corresponding nasal finals). In the 'inner' finals, after *ə*, they had become labialized, merging with the *you* 幽 category. If we assume that initial uvular stops and fricatives followed the same pattern, becoming labialized in front of *ə* but not in front of *a*, this will account for such cases as (1) and (2).

In (1), for reasons which I will set out more fully elsewhere, I assume that the original initial was a voiceless uvular fricative **χ*. Whether the aspirated stop that we find before the 'inner' final in EMC is just the normal development of this in its particular environment or requires some special explanation is difficult to determine at present. The *Guang yun* gives the alternative reading EMC *khia* for 虛 in the sense of 'mound', as well as an alternative graph enlarged with the 'earth' radical, but the status of this is not quite clear. The current pronunciation is *shia* in all senses. The pronunciation *chia* may be influenced by the pronunciation of 丘. If Shiu Hau is right, 'the meaning 'empty' is merely an extension of the primary meaning 'large hill; grave mound' and not a separate word.

If we may believe the *Shuo wen*, the primary difference between 丘 and 虛 was in terms of size, the latter, with the vowel *a*, being larger than the former. This corresponds to a commonly observed generalization about sound symbolism but is not easy to relate to the specific 'introvert' meaning that I postulate for the morpheme **a* in other contexts. This is not, of course, evidence against the correctness of the hypothesis. All occurrences of **a*, even all alternations between **a* and **ə* (i.e. phonologically zero) do not have to be instances of the morpheme **a* any more than all instances of final *d* in English have to be instances of the past tense marker.

In set (2) above, on the other hand, though there are some obscurities, the semantics seem to fit the introvert/extrovert hypothesis very well. 久 *jiǒu*, presumably representing the simplest form of the root, though given the dictionary meanings 'long, for a long time,' is not an adjective but an active verb, meaning, 'to last a long time'. In the *Shr jing* 37/2 Karlgren translates *hé chí jiǒu yě* 何其久也 appropriately as, 'Why does he tarry?' 舊 *jiǒu*, on the other hand, is an adjective, often used predicatively, meaning 'old' as opposed to 'new'. With departing tone and voiced initial, it shows both the voicing prefix and the **s* suffix, so it is difficult to determine what is the effect of each. Possibly the suffix had a perfective meaning—'having lasted a long time'. Compare the *-s* suffix which is characteristic of the perfect form of the verb in Tibetan. The prefix, on the other hand, may

have had the effect of turning the active verbal meaning into a quality. Compare the adjective *cháng* 長 'long' EMC *dr̥iaǹ*, with voiced initial, and the transitive and intransitive verbs *jāng* 張 EMC *triaǹ* 'stretch' and 長 *jǎng* 'grow' EMC *triaǹ*², with voiceless initials.³

Turning to the 'outer' members of set (2), the first one *gǔ* 古 is commonly rendered as 'old, ancient' in dictionaries. Grammatically, however, there is no doubt that it is really a noun, meaning something like 'olden times', and not an adjective. *gǔ rén* 古人 and *gǔ jī rén* 古之人 mean 'men of old', not 'old men'. Moreover *gǔ* is not found as a predicate adjective like *jiòu*. As we should expect, *jiòu* can take the regular verbal negator *bù* 不, like other adjectives. See *Juang-tz* 20/22, 23/77, 78, 33/18. *bù gǔ*, on the other hand, would seem to be quite impossible. Though, as I have suggested, the adjective *jiòu* had the **ǎ* prefix, it still lacked the **a* nuclear vowel and so was more 'extrovert', that is, in this case, more relational, than the noun *gǔ*.

The most familiar usage of the fourth member of the set, *gù* 故, is as a noun, meaning 'cause, reason'. This is already the most common sense that we find in the *Shr jing*, for example in 36/1, 微子之故 'if not for my lord's sake'. We also find it, however, in the meaning 'old acquaintance, old friend', as in 81/1, 不遑故也 'Do not be brusque to an old friend'. The basic meaning of the word must be 'thing or person of former times', hence 'established fact, precedent, cause, reason,' in its non-personal applications. Thus, it can be clearly seen as a derivative of *gǔ* 古 'former times' in an individuating sense. From the point of view of the present discussion, its substantival character corresponds to the 'introvert' force which we ascribe to the vowel *a*.

The character *hú* 胡 EMC *ɣo* < **ǎqáɣ*, with 古 as phonetic, which most commonly has the meaning of an interrogative pronoun 'why, how', occurs twice, in *Shr jing* 290 and 292, in the combination *hú kǎu* 胡考, translated by Karlgren as 'those of great old age.' The Mau commentary glosses *hú* as *shòu* 壽 'long-life, old age', which is also supported by a passage in the *Yi Jou shu*. It glosses *kǎu* as *chéng* 成 'complete, achieve'. Since *kǎu* often means 'old', Karlgren prefers another interpretation, which takes *hú* as a loan for *shíá* 遐 'distant', hence 'distantly old' (1946 Gloss 1126). It seems likely, however, that *hú* is yet another member of the word family we are discussing. Unfortunately, the evidence is insufficient to determine its meaning and grammatical category precisely.

It will be noted that in discussing the words in this set I have ignored the fact that the 'inner' pair belong to what I call Type B, falling into Grade III in

³ While the Departing Tone plays a very prominent and well recognized role in morphological changes in Old Chinese, the Rising Tone is less commonly met with in such alternations. Could the final glottal stop which we reconstruct as the source of this tone in Middle Chinese represent an old **a* suffix? I leave this question for future investigation.

the Late Middle Chinese rhyme tables, while the 'outer' members belong to Type A, falling into Grade I. This common type of alternation, which I consider to be prosodic rather than reflecting medial *-j-*, as in the system of Karlgren and others, and which I mark with an accent, e. g. *á* (Type A), *à* (Type B), presumably also played a part in the semantic differentiation of the forms but what this was is not clear to me at present.

(3) *hé* 合 EMC *ɣəp* 'close, join, fit, harmonize', also *gě* EMC *kəp*, now only in the sense of a measure of capacity but with the transitive meaning 'bring together' in the *Chie yun*; *hé* 盍 EMC *ɣap* glossed as 覆 'to cover' in the *Shuo wen* and as 合 in the *Er ya*—for the meaning 'gather round (of friends)' see *Yi jing*, Yu 預 hexagram, line 4; *hé* 闔 EMC *ɣap* 'leaf of a door; to close'; *gài* 蓋 EMC *kaj^h* < **káps* 'a cover', also read EMC *kəp* as a surname. Wang Li (1982: 589-91) adds a number of other items, including *hé* 盒 EMC *ɣəp* 'box' (post-classical), *shíá* 洽 EMC *ɣe'p* 'concordant; unite, assemble', *shì* 翕 EMC *xip* 'conform to; united, harmonious' and *shíé* 協 EMC *ɣəp* 'in harmony, together'. The list could undoubtedly be extended even further to include such items as *jǎ* 甲 EMC *ka'p* 'shell' (i. e. 'covering'), *shíá* 匣 EMC *ɣa'p* 'box', etc., some of which have forms that imply infixes *-r- or other prefixes or infixes of undetermined shape.

I have already discussed this 'word family' briefly in 1973: 118 and shall reserve a fuller treatment for another occasion. Here I only wish to add one further item, *huèi* 會 EMC *ɣwaj^h*, for which Karlgren (1957: 321a) gives the meanings 'collect, unite, assemble (Shi); jointly (Shi): combine (Shu); meet, a meeting, encounter (Shi) (meet with:); happen (Shi): (shutter:) lid, cover (of vessel) (Yili); conform to (Li)', also read *guèi* or, more commonly, irregularly as *kuài*, < EMC *kwaj^h* 'to keep accounts', for which Karlgren also gives a reference to *Shr jing* 55/2 in the sense of 'keep together (the hair)'. Note the transitive meanings associated with the voiceless initial. The semantic connection with 合, also shown in the graph, is obvious and it is now possible to explain the phonological connection in the light of the discussion of set (2). I assume that this family also should be reconstructed with initial *q, which would have been labialized in the 'inner' members. Before -p the labialization of the initial would have been lost by dissimilation, though Vietnamese forms like *góp* 'collect' (tone implies voiceless initial) and *gôp* 'combine' (tone implies voiced initial), which must be early borrowings of 合 in both readings, suggest that rounding of the vowel may have survived until quite late. With the suffix *-s, final *-ps would have assimilated to *-ts quite early and the labialization of the initial would not have been lost: *qóps > *q'óps > *q'óts.

There is still an irregularity, in that the Middle Chinese form has the vowel -a-, instead of belonging to the corresponding 'inner' rhyme, like other words, such as *nèi* 內 EMC *nwəj^h*, which must have come from *-óps. Here again there is a parallel we can draw on. The word *huǒ* 火 EMC *xwǎ²* 'fire' rhymes in the 'inner'

jř 脂 category in the *Shr jing* but had shifted to 'outer' *gě* 歌 category by the Han period. I assume that, like *chiōu* 丘, it originally had initial **ʃ*, which labialized to **xʷ* before the non-low final, and that, further, in certain finals there was lowering of the nucleus conditioned by the uvular: **ʃól²* > *ʃwaj²* > EMC *xwaä²*, **qóps* > **qʷóts* > EMC *kwajʰ*.⁴ As it happens there are no examples of *huèi*, or any of its *shie-sheng* derivatives, in *Shr jing* rhymes, so that it is not possible to test whether there was the same chronology in the shift in the vowel in the two cases. Nevertheless the strong semantic association between *huèi* 會 and *hé* 合 makes it very likely that the former is the expected regular *chiü-sheng* derivative of the latter, while *gài* 蓋 is the corresponding formation in the 'outer' set. Note that, though *huèi* has nominal uses, it is primarily verbal, while *gài* is a concrete noun.

(4) *gāng* 工 EMC *koʷŋ* < **káŋʷ* 'work (n.); artisan'; *gāng* 功 EMC *kowŋ* < **káŋʷ* 'achievement, merit'; *gāng* 攻 EMC *kawŋ* < **káŋʷ*, EMC *kowŋ* < **káŋʷ* 'work at, apply oneself to; attack; well-worked'. These three words are now homophones, as far as I know, in all Chinese dialects and have been so for a long time. Semantically, the first two are essentially nominal, while the third is a transitive verb. Its most common meaning in the later language is 'attack' but this is clearly derivative from its primary meaning of 'to work at something, apply oneself to' which is found, for example in *Shr jing* 242/1, also quoted in *Meng-tz* 1A. Moreover the *Chie yun* gives what is clearly its primary entry for the word in the *dāng* 冬 rhyme, implying the first of the two EMC readings listed above. Although this was the 'outer' -*awŋ* rhyme in EMC, in contrast to the 'inner' *dāng* 東 rhyme, EMC -*own*, this was the reverse of the situation in Old Chinese, where the *Chie yun* Grade I rhyme *dāng* 冬 and the Grade III part of the *Chie yun* *dāng* 東 rhyme constituted the 'inner' *-*əŋʷ* category (Pulleyblank 1977-78). The contrast that this implies between the transitive verb **káŋʷ* 'work at', with -*ə*- as its nuclear vowel, and the nouns **káŋʷ* 'work; achievement' is, therefore, just what one expects according to my hypothesis.

The existence of a second reading for 攻 does, of course, create a certain doubt. Unfortunately there is only one case, in *Shr jing* 179/1, where 攻 appears as a rhyme. There it clearly rhymes in -*əŋʷ* but it is not used in its usual verbal sense. It is a predicate adjective meaning 'well-worked.' The rhyme to which the verb would have belonged at that period therefore remains indeterminate. It seems to me very unlikely, however, that the primary reading in the *Chie yun* could have just been arbitrarily invented.

(5) *gùng* 貢 EMC *kowŋʰ* < **káŋʷs* 'tribute'; *gàn* 贛 EMC *kəm²*, *kəmʰ*, place name,

⁴ I reconstruct the *gě* category as *-*al* for the time of the *Shr jing* but it must have shifted to -*aj* before the Han dynasty. The corresponding 'inner' *-*əl* rhyme merged much earlier with *-*əj* and it is sometimes difficult to separate the items that originally belonged in the two groups but it is likely that the word for 'fire' originally belonged in the *-*əl* category.

also *gə̀ng* EMC *kowŋ^h* 'to give, bestow'. The second member of this set, sometimes with the addition of the water radical, is well known as the name of the Gan River and as a name for Kiangsi Province, through which the river flows. It seldom occurs in early texts and is not included in *Grammata Serica* but it is found as a variant of 貢 in *Luen-yu* 1/1 in the name of Confucius' disciple *Tz-gung*. A passage in *Huai-nan-tz* 21 "Yau liue", p. 376, confirms that it was actually used in the sense of 'bestow' attributed to it in the *Shuo wen*. It belongs in the *shie-sheng* series of *jiàng* 降 EMC *ka'wŋ^h* < **krəŋ**s. Thus we might expect to reconstruct it as **kəŋ**s, the 'inner', verbal, counterpart of **káŋ**s 'tribute' but this should have given EMC *ka'wŋ^h*. As I argued in an unpublished paper given at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Seattle in March, 1984, EMC *kəm*² is probably the regular development of Old Chinese **kəŋ**². That is, the labiovelar nasal *ŋ*² was replaced by *m* when it was accompanied by a glottal stop. This will account for the fact that there are no words in rising tone in *-awŋ* in EMC. There are also very few departing tone words with this final. The only initials that are represented in the *Guang yun* *Sung* 宋 rhyme, EMC *-awŋ^h*, are *t^h*, *m*, *ts*, *s* and *ʃ*. This may be because *-awŋ* was already beginning to merge with *-owŋ* at the time of the *Chie yun* and had gone farther in the case of the departing tone than elsewhere. Though the case is not absolutely clear, I think it is most likely that this pair of words can be added to the examples of noun derivation through infixation of **a*.

(6) *tsüen*, *daen* 蹲 EMC *dzwən* 'sit, squat', *tzuo* 坐 EMC *dzwaä²* < **-äl²* 'sit', *dzwaä^h* < **-äl²s* 'seat'. The first word, which has a highly irregular initial in its usual Mandarin pronunciation, is not at all common in classical texts. It does occur twice, however, with different graphs, in *Juang-tz* 26.

任公子……蹲乎會稽。投竿東海

26/11

'Prince Jen...settled himself on top of Mount K'uai-chi and cast with his pole into the eastern sea.' (Watson 1968:296)

帥弟子而踐於寡水

26/47

'...he took his disciples and went off to sit by the K'uian River' (Watson 1968:302)

The point to note here is that in both cases *tsüen* 'sit' is followed by a locative phrase and, moreover, motion is implied before the 'sitting' takes place. That is, *tsüen* appears to be a transitive verb of motion which requires a destination as part of its meaning. The more usual word for 'sit', *tzuo*, is intransitive. It is most commonly found without any accompanying locative phrase and, if there is such a phrase, it merely gives the place where the action of 'sitting' takes place, as in

孔子遊乎緇帷之林。休坐乎杏壇之上

31/1

'Confucius, after strolling through the Black Curtain Forest, sat down to rest on the Apricot Altar,' (Watson 1968:345) — more exactly, because of the Chinese word order, 'rested and sat on the Apricot Altar.' The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs of motion in Classical Chinese needs more ample treatment

but I think the point is sufficiently clear for our present purposes.

(7) *tzuei* 罪 EMC *dzwaǵ* < **l*² 'blame, guilt'; *tzuo* 坐 EMC *dzwaǵ* < **al*² 'be convicted of a crime'. This meaning of *tzuo* as a technical legal term, which appears at least as early as the first century of Former Han (see *Shr ji* 91 p. 2597), seems to have nothing to do with the ordinary meaning 'sit' but makes good sense as a derivative of *tzuei*. Though *tzuei* is most commonly found as a noun, it can be used verbally with the meaning 'accuse, blame' and *tzuo* 'be convicted' can be understood as a derived intransitive verb.

V. Conclusion

In this paper I have offered evidence and arguments to show that the two-rhyme vowel hypothesis for Old Chinese does not violate any typological universals of languages in general and is, further, entirely consistent with the pattern we find throughout the history of the language down to modern Pekingese. I have also discussed a number of additional examples in support of my view that the low vowel **a* played a morphological role in Old Chinese word formation.

An incidental point of interest is that several of the word families discussed show labialized velar initials in the 'inner' members and unlabialized initials in the outer members and I have suggested that this was the regular development of the uvulars **q* and **χ* and provides a means of differentiating them from the plain velars.

Limitations of time in the preparation of this paper have prevented me from discussing other examples of **a* infixation and prefixation. It is not difficult to find possible cases of this kind in which the semantics are not clear but it seems to me important to go beyond dictionary glosses and look at actual linguistic usage. Meanwhile I offer this much as a fragment of work in progress.

Additional Note: Prefix **a* as a Source of Nasalization

One of the arguments that I used in 1973 in proposing that the principal source for the voicing of obstruents in Middle Chinese was a prefix **f*, now revised to **ǎ* (or **h*) cognate to Tibetan *ḥa-čhung* and Burmese ?*a*, was that it would account for the fact that, in Min dialects, both aspirates and nonaspirates are found indiscriminately as reflexes of these Middle Chinese phonemes, without reference, as in Mandarin, to the Middle Chinese tone. This is the phenomenon that has led Jerry Norman to reconstruct two series of voiced stops in proto-Min corresponding to Middle Chinese *b*, *d*, *dz*, *g*, namely **b*, **d*, **dz*, **g* for those give plain voiceless reflexes in the modern dialects and **bh*, **dh*, **dzh*, **gh* for those that give voiceless aspirates. In addition to the segmental contrast, the 'voiced aspirates' show some differences in their tonal behaviour. In Departing Tone their modern reflexes are in the Upper, rather than the Lower, register in

Foochow and there are also differences, which Norman has outlined, in the Shauwu and Jiangle dialects (Norman 1973, 1986).

My proposal was that the prefix, which I now write as **ā*, could be added to words with aspirate as well as nonaspirate initial, leading, in the standard northern language to a loss of distinction. Thus, **āp* and **āp^h* both gave EMC *b*, LMC *p^h*, which split once more in Mandarin into *p^h* in Level Tone and *p* elsewhere without reference to the original distribution of aspirate and nonaspirate. In Min, however, original **p* and **p^h* remained distinct even after the prefix was added and retained this distinctness after the prefix, (which may have caused breathiness rather than voicing in Min) was lost and replaced by the *yin/yang* tonal register distinction. As probable examples of words with Middle Chinese voiced obstruents that had come from voiceless aspirates, I cited: 被 *bèi* EMC *biā²*, *biā^h* 'be covered by; coverlet', Amoy *p^hei⁶*, Foochow *p^huei⁵* — the graph also has the EMC readings *p^hiā* 'cover oneself with' and *p^hiā^h* 'cloak', showing, in the verbal forms, the usual contrast between transitive and intransitive, associated with voiceless and voiced initials; 浮 *fú* EMC *buw* 'float', Amoy, Chaujou, Foochow *p^hu²* — compare 桴 EMC *p^huā* 'raft'; 帆 *fán* EMC *buam* 'sail' — compare 汎 EMC *p^huam^h* 'to float along'.

These are all examples of **āp^h*. It is more difficult to find clear examples at other places of articulation of Middle Chinese voiced stops that correspond to lower register voiceless aspirates in Min and also show etymological contacts with Middle Chinese voiceless aspirates, but we should expect to find examples of **āt^h*, **āts^h* and **āk^h* among the words where Jerry Norman (1986) reconstructs **dh*, **dzh* and **gh*, such as 頭 *tóu* EMC *dow* 'head' Amoy, Chaujou, Foochow *t^hau²*, and 臼 *chióu* EMC *guw* 'mortar' Chaujou *k^hu²*.

As it stands, this evidence from Min is suggestive, but hardly conclusive. There is, however, other evidence from Min that, combined with evidence from Old Chinese *shie-sheng* relationships and early loanwords in Tai languages, very much strengthens the hypothesis. There are a number of words in Southern Min that have *h* corresponding to Middle Chinese nasals. Moreover, in Min generally they have the tonal behaviour of Norman's 'voiced aspirate' stops. Norman reconstructs them as 'voiceless nasals', **ŋh* and **nh*, along with two other 'voiceless sonorants', **lh* and **mh*, which show the same tonal behaviour. 'Aspirated' sonorants would be more appropriate, since it is the 'voiced aspirates', rather than the voiceless initials with which they are analogous. Thus, in Amoy and Foochow which have the Late Middle Chinese Tone Shift Rule, by which words with voiced obstruent initials changed from Rising to Departing Tone, the 'aspirated sonorants', were also affected, while sonorants otherwise went into the Upper Rising category.

Some of the Southern Min words with *h* corresponding to Middle Chinese *ŋ* have cognates with *h* in Tai. Some have *shie-sheng* contacts with voiceless fricatives in Old Chinese which have been explained in the past, by myself as well as others,

as reflecting devoicing of nasals, perhaps the result of some kind of prefixation. This is a process that may well have occurred in some cases. In the particular cases under consideration, however, the Min evidence is easier to explain by a contrary hypothesis, namely that voiceless fricatives were nasalized in standard Chinese by the same prefix **ǎ* which was responsible for creating the Middle Chinese voiced obstruents, but that the process was less complete in Min than elsewhere, so that when voiced aspiration was lost and replaced by the register distinction in the tones, the original fricatives reemerged. Note that, since fricatives and voiceless aspirates have much in common phonetically, this will also account for another parallel in tonal behaviour between **ǎp^h*- and **ǎx*-. Words in original Departing Tone (as opposed to those that shifted to Departing Tone from Rising Tone) with 'voiceless' (read: 'aspirated') sonorant initials, like those with 'voiced aspirate' stops, have Upper, rather than Lower, Departing Tone in modern Foochow.

It is generally agreed that in Tibetan the effect of *ḥa-čhung* as a prefix was to prenasalize a following stop or affricate. It has even been claimed that what was written as *ḥa-čhung* prefix was merely a feature of prenasalization (Chang and Chang 1977). I have argued elsewhere that this is going too far. I believe that, as an alphabetic sign, *ḥa-čhung* had the same meaning in all positions, namely, as Jäschke claimed long ago, smooth voicing, which can be phonologically a consonant (Pulleyblank 1986c). In Chinese, unlike Tibetan, it did not prenasalize stops. Instead these became voiced. In Early Middle Chinese (*Chie yun*) they were fully voiced. In Late Middle Chinese they were voiced aspirates, which then lost their voicing, replacing it by the tone register distinction. Nevertheless the Tibetan parallel shows that nasalization was one possible effect of the prefix **ǎ* and I suggest that this is what actually occurred in Chinese when **ǎ* was followed by uvular **χ* or velar **x*. (I shall not go into the reasons for assuming distinct velar and uvular series of initials in Old Chinese here. See Pulleyblank 1977-78 and 1982a.)

The following is a list of the examples that I have been able to find of Southern Min *h* corresponding to Middle Chinese nasals:

- 魚 *yú* EMC *ŋiǎ* 'fish': A. *hi*², C. *hu*², F. *ŋy*²
 耳 *ěr* EMC *ŋi*² 'ear': A. *hi*⁶, C. *hi*⁴, F. *ŋei*⁶
 蟻 *yǐ* EMC *ŋiǎ*² 'ant': A. *hia*⁶, C. *hia*⁴, F. *ŋie*⁶
 瓦 *wǎ* EMC *ŋwa*² 'tile': C. *hia*⁴, F. *qua*⁶
 艾 *ài* EMC *ŋaj^h* 'artemisia': A., C. *hiǎ*⁶, F. *ŋie*⁵
 岸 *àn* EMC *ŋan^h* 'bank': A. *huǎ*⁶
 硯 *yàn* EMC *ŋen^h* 'inkstone': A. *hi*⁶, C. *i*⁶, F. *ŋien*⁵
 肉 *ròu* EMC *ŋuwk* 'meat': A. *hek*⁸, C. *nek*⁸, F. *ny*⁷⁸
 額 *é* EMC *ŋa'jk* 'forehead': A., C. *hia*⁷⁸

(A.=Amoy, C.=Chaujou, F.=Foochow. Tone categories are indicated by numbers: 1=yīn-píng, 2=yáng-píng, 3=yīn-shǎng, 4=yáng-shǎng, 5=yīn-chiù, 6=yáng-chiù, 7=yīn-rù, 8=yáng-rù.)

The first of these words, *yú* 'fish', does not have any words with Middle Chinese initial *x* among its *shie-sheng* derivatives. It is, however, sometimes written on the bronzes with *hǔ* EMC *xə²* 'tiger' as an additional element, in what can only be a phonetic role. The 'tiger' element appears in other graphs for words with initial *ŋ*, such as 𩚑 EMC *ŋian* 'boiler' (compare also 獻 *shian* EMC *xian^h* 'to present') and 虐 *yue* EMC *ŋiaāk* 'cruel' (compare 謔 *shiuē* EMC *xiaāk* 'to joke, sport', which, in spite of the divergent finals, must be related to 戲 *shì* EMC *xiǎ^h* 'to jest, sport' — note that the latter is also used as a graph for 呼 *ha* EMC *xə* 'call out, shout' and that this, in turn, is also written 呼).

The word *àn* 'bank' has 厂 EMC *xan^h* 'cliff' as phonetic. This is also phonetic in 雁 *yàn* EMC *ŋa'n^h* 'wild goose', which is reconstructed by Li for Common Tai as **haan* B1, the form that it has in Siamese. Similarly the Common Tai word for 'five' is **haa* C1, which is no doubt a borrowing from Chinese 五 *wǔ* EMC *ŋə²*. Though, according to Li (1977), it is generally assumed that these words go back to a voiceless nasal in Tai, they are not spelled with *h_g* in the old orthography, which mostly gave [ŋ], in upper tone register, in Siamese, and the Tai dialect evidence by itself only justifies a reconstruction with **h*. The chief evidence for a velar nasal, apart from the Chinese cognate relationship, seems to be the forms in Kam-Sui such as Sui *ŋə* C2 'five' and *ŋan* B2 'goose'. The regular correspondence for Tai -aa in Kam-Sui is -a, not -o, however (cf. Li 1965), and it seems quite likely that, at least the word 'five', and quite possibly 'goose' as well, have been borrowed separately into Kam-Sui and Tai. The only other word that Li cites to support an initial nasal for Common Tai **h* is **hap* D1S 'to shut', which corresponds to Sui *ŋāp* D2S and also has a form *ŋap* D2S in Siamese. This looks suspiciously like a borrowing from Chinese 合 *hé* EMC *ŋəp* < **āqəp* which was discussed in the first part of this paper. Other probable borrowings from the same root, presumably from the transitive reading **qəp*, are Common Tai **kap* D1S 'to join, together with' and **ʔəp* 'to shut, cover up'. This all goes to suggest that 'five' and 'goose' may never have had a nasal initial in Tai.

For 'five' there is no Southern Min evidence of [h] but the tonal behaviour is like that of 'ear', and 'ant'. That is, in Amoy and Foochow the original Rising Tone has been subject to the rule for voiced obstruents and has shifted to Lower Departing. There is also an indirect connection with the 'fish' graph in Old Chinese, since the word 吾 *wú* EMC *ŋə* 'I, my', which now has 'five' as its phonetic, appears on bronze inscriptions written with the 'fish' graph, sometimes enlarged by 'tiger'.

We can also find indirect evidence for reconstructing **χ* in the word for 'ear'.

This graph is phonetic in 恥 *chr* EMC *tr^{hi}i2* 'be ashamed'. It thus shows a similar pattern to that of 丑 *chǒu* EMC *tr^{hi}w2*, the second of the Earthly Stems, which I take to be a phonogram for **χ*, and which is phonetic in words with nasal initials such as 紐 *niǒu* EMC *nruw2* 'knot', as well as in 𪛗, cited in the *Shuo wen* as a variant of 好 *hǎu* EMC *xaw^h* 'love' in the "Hungfan" section of the *Shu jing* and also found in the *Guang yun* with the two readings, *xaw2* and *xaw^h*. There is also a semantic connection through the words 𪛗 *niù* EMC *nruwk* in the expression 𪛗𪛗 *niù-nǐ* 'ashamed' and 羞 *shǐou* EMC *suw* 'shame'. Though I cannot at present suggest exactly how initial *s* appears in this *shie-sheng* series, it presumably reflects another prefix of some kind, perhaps **s*. From the point of view of the present discussion, there is a parallel in 蘇 *sā* EMC *sə*, which has 'fish', with initial **ŋ*, as phonetic.

The use of 'fish' to write the first person pronoun 吾 *wú* suggests that, not only the number 'five' but also this pronoun and its cognates, including 我 *wǒ* EMC *ŋaǎ2*, originally had **ǣχ*, rather than **ŋ* as their initial. This, in turn, is consistent with the Min evidence of the word for 'ant' which has 我 as its phonetic. Compare also 義 *shī* EMC *xiǎ*, defined in the *Shuo wen* as 氣 'breath', though it only occurs as a proper name. Min colloquial forms of *wǒ*—F. *ŋuai3*, A. *gua3*, C. *ua3*—generally have the Upper Rising Tone, treating the initial as a fully voiced, and not an aspirated, sonorant but the absence of initial [g] in Chaujou is irregular.

Outside the Min region I have not found any traces of *h* corresponding to Middle Chinese *ŋ*. In Yue and Hakka, however, we find colloquial readings for 凝 *ning* EMC *ŋiŋ* 'congeal, freeze' with initial *k^h*, Cant. *k^hiŋ2*, Hakka *h^hen2*. These would be the regular correspondences of EMC *g* < **ǣk*/**ǣk^h* and may imply an Old Chinese alternant with **ǣk^h* instead of **ǣx*. Compare the alternative readings EMC *k^hiǎ* and *xiǎ* for 虛.

Several of these roots—'fish', 'five', 'I, me', 'wild goose'—have widely distributed cognates with initial **ŋ* in Tibeto-Burman. This is not an obstacle to the hypothesis that in Chinese and Tibeto-Burman alike **ŋ* in these cases came from **ǣχ* or **ǣx*. Note that in Written Tibetan *h* is not found as a prefix before nasals or *h*, though it was a formative which one would expect to find before initials of all kinds.

I shall not go into the question of Norman's **lh*, and **mh* here. Clearly the correspondence in tonal behaviour points to the need for a related solution but I leave that question for further investigation.

As a final remark, I would refer to the Indo-European word for 'goose', Sanskrit *hamsaḥ*, Greek *khēn* (Doric *khān*), Latin *anser*, Old Irish *géis* 'swan', Old High German *gans*, Lithuanian *žasls*, Russian *gús* which is reconstructed as **ǵhan-s* and which has long been compared with Chinese *yàn* and its Sino-Tibetan cognates. I have long suspected that the Indo-European voiced aspirates had the same origin as those of Late Middle Chinese, that is, from a prefix **ǣ* in front of voiceless

stops: *āt- → dh-, etc. Voiced aspiration very easily spreads, as a prosody, through a syllable, as one can easily illustrate both from the languages of India and from the Wu dialects of Chinese. Hence, if a syllable with the prefix *ā ended in a voiceless stop, this too was affected: *ātV_k → *dhVgh, *āIV_k → *IVgh, etc. (where V = syllabic nucleus), which accounts for a well-known restriction on Indo-European roots that excludes those of the type *tVgh or *dhV_k. In the case of *ġhans, I posit an underlying form *āxans, corresponding very closely to what I should like to reconstruct for the Chinese form, including, it will be noted, final *-s corresponding to the Middle Chinese Departing Tone. Though Indo-European is not normally reconstructed with a velar fricative *x, the proto-language certainly had at least one velar or post-velar fricative, namely the phoneme that appears in Hittite as h and which, at least in part, corresponds to the 'laryngeal' which was responsible for giving a-colour in Saussure's classic analysis of the Indo-European vowel system. Reconstructing *āxans, therefore, may offer an explanation for the vowel as well as the initial consonant. In fact the only thing that remains unaccounted for in equating the Chinese and Indo-European forms is the retroflex feature in the vowel in EMC ŋa'n^h — which, of course, remains a problem also for the other East Asian forms such as Tibetan *ŋaŋ-pa* Burmese *ŋan*:. In this connection the -r extension found in Latin *ānser* may not be irrelevant, but I shall not go further into this question here.

What I am primarily interested in demonstrating for the present is that, even without this Indo-European comparison, the hypothesis that, in such Chinese words, *ŋ is derived from *āx od *āχ is both phonetically apt and accounts more economically for the various data than the assumption that in all cases where there is an alternation between ŋ and x or h we must assume that an original nasal has been denasalized.

Bibliography

Baxter, William H.

1977 *Old Chinese origins of the Middle Chinese chongniu doublets: a study using multiple character readings*. Ph.D. Thesis. Cornell University.

1986a "Old Chinese *-u and *-iw in the *Shi-jing*," in John McCoy and Timothy Light, eds., *Contributions to Sino-Tibetan studies*, 258-282. Leiden: Brill.

1986b "New rhyme categories for Old Chinese." Paper for the 19th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Columbus, Ohio.

Bodman, Nicholas C.

1980 "Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan," in Frans van Coetsem and Linda Waugh, eds., *Contributions to historical Linguistics*, 34-199. Leiden: Brill.

Chang, Betty Shefts, and Chang, Kun

1977 "The pre-nasalized stop initials of Miao-Yao, Tibeto-Burman, and Chinese: a result of diffusion or evidence of a genetic relationship?" *BIHP* 47: 467-502.

Chang Hsün-ju 張洵如

1937 *Bei-ping yin-shi shr-san che* 北京音系十三轍. Peking: Guo-yu tsei-shing wei-yuan-huei. Reprinted Taipei 1973.

- Chen, Matthew
 1976 "From Middle Chinese to Modern Peking," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 4: 113-277
- Dixon, R. M. W.
 1980 *The languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Er ya 爾雅
 See Harvard-Yenching Index Series.
- Huai-nan-tz 淮南子
 Edition of the Ju-tz ji-cheng. Peking: Jung-hua shu-jiu. 1954.
- Jablonski, Witold
 1935 *Les "siao-ha(i-eu)I-yu" de Pékin: un essai sur la poésie populaire en Chine*. Kraków: Nakladem Polskiej Akademji Umiejetności.
- Juang-tz 莊子
 See Harvard-Yenching Institute Series.
- Karlgren, Bernhard
 1957 *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 29.
 1964 *Glosses on the Book of Odes*. Reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 14 (1942), 16 (1944) and 18 (1946).
- Kuipers, A. H.
 1960 *Phoneme and morpheme in Kabardian*. s'Gravenhage: Mouton.
- Li, Fang-kuei 李方桂
 1965 "The Tai and Kam-Sui languages," in G. B. Milner and E. J. A. Henderson, eds., *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies*, I: 148-179. Reprinted from *Lingua* 14.
 1971 "Shang-gu yin yan-jiou 上古音研究," *Tsing-hua Shiue-bau* n.s. 9: 1-61.
 1977 *Handbook of Comparative Tai*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei
 1986 "Rhyming and phonemic contrast in Southern Min." Paper presented at the XIX International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Columbus, Ohio.
- Luen-yu 論語
 See Harvard-Yenching Index Series.
- Meng-tz 孟子
 See Harvard-Yenching Index Series.
- Norman, Jerry
 1973 "Tonal development in Min," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 1: 222-238.
 1986 "The origin of the proto-Min softened stops," in John McCoy and Timothy Light, eds., *Contributions to Sino-Tibetan Studies*, 375-384. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Pike, Eunice
 1964 "The phonology of New Guinea Highlands languages," *American Anthropologist* 66, No.4, Part 2, Special Publication, 121-132.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G.
 1963 "An interpretation of the vowel systems of Old Chinese and Written Burmese," *Asia Major* 10: 200-221.
 1965a "Close/open ablaut in Sino-Tibetan," *Lingua* 14: 230-240.
 1973 "Some new hypotheses concerning word families in Chinese," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 1: 111-125.
 1977-78 "The final consonants of Old Chinese," *Monumenta Serica* 33: 180-206.
 1981 "Distinctive features of vowels and Pekingese phonology in historical perspective," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography*, 75-94.
 1982a "Loanwords as evidence for Old Chinese uvular initials," *BIHP* 53: 205-212.
 1982b "Some evidence on the reconstruction of the Zhen rhyme category in Old Chinese," *Tsing-hua Shiue-bau* 14:249-255.
 1983a "Middle Chinese reflexes of Old Chinese final palatals, labialvelars and uvulars," *Journal of*

Asian and African Studies 25: 45-60.

1983b "Vowelless Chinese? An application of the three-tiered theory of syllable structure to Pekingese." Paper for the 16th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics. University of Washington.

1984 *Middle Chinese*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

1985 "The reconstruction of Han dynasty Chinese," review article, *JAOS* 105: 303-308.

1986a "The locative particles *yü* 于, *yü* 於 and *hu* 乎," *JAOS* 106: 1-12.

1986b "CV phonology and diachronic change as illustrated in the history of Chinese." Paper for the 19th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Columbus, Ohio.

1986c "Some issues in CV phonology with reference to the history of Chinese," *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 31: 225-226.

Shr ji 史記

See edition of the Jung-hua shu-jiu, Peking, 1972.

Shr jing 詩經

See Harvard-Yenching Index Series.

Ting, Pang-hsin

1975 *Chinese phonology of the Wei-Chin period: reconstruction of the finals as reflected in poetry*. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.

Wang Li 王力

1982 *Tung-yuan tz-dian* 同源字典. Peking: Shang-wu Yin-shu-guan.

Yakhontov, S. E.

1960 "Fonetika kitaiskogo yazyka i tysyacheletiya do n.e." *Problemy Vostokovedeniya* 6: 102-115. Translated by J. Norman in *Unicorn* 6 (1970) 52-75.

Yi jing 易經

See Harvard-Yenching Index Series.

上古漢語 *s- 前綴的構詞功用

梅 祖 麟

康 乃 爾 大 學

一、前 言

康拉第在 1896 年曾經說明藏文 s- 前綴有兩種構詞功用，一種是使動化，一種是名謂化，也就是把名詞變成動詞。本文打算說明，上古漢語的 *s- 前綴也有這兩種功用，而這兩種功用是 *s- 前綴方向化功用的具體表現。

藏文 s- 前綴的使動化功用，很多學者討論過，這裏不贅。下面轉引康拉第 (1896:

3) 舉的名謂化的例證:

名詞		動詞	
grib	影子，蔭影	sgrib-pa	使黯，障蔽
gril	一卷，一團	sgril-ba	卷在一起
nyams	靈魂，思想	snyam-pa	想
nyod-pa	食物	snyod-pa	飼，供給飲食
dam	誓願	sdom-pa, bsdams	等約束，束縛
nad	疾病	snad-pa	傷害
bam-po	蒐集品	sbam-pa	集攏
gong-bu	丸形，圓塊	sgong-ba	揉成丸形

本文用李方桂先生 (1980) 的上古擬音，稍微修改:

李氏

*hm->x-, *hn->th-, *sng->x-

*-h 標去聲

*l->l- 中古來母

*skh->tsh-(?) 中古清母

本文

*sm->*hm->x-, *sn->*hn->th-,

*sng->hng->x-

如果去聲和入聲接觸，則把

*-bh, *-dh, *-gh 改成 *-ps, *-ts, *-ks;

否則只把 *-h 改成 *-s

*C-r->l-

*skh->x- 中古曉母

下面舉的同源詞的例證，每對中的兩個字都是上古韻部相同，而且絕大多數基本詞和派生詞聲符相同，所以韻部不再注出。

二、*s- 的使動化作用

	反切	聲母		反切	聲母
1. 順 *djəns > dźjuən	食閏	船	馴 *sdjən > zjuən	祥邊	邪
2. 食 *djək > dźjək	乘力	船	飢 *sdjəks > zī	祥吏	邪
3. 滅 *mjat > mjät	亡列	明	威 *smjät > xjwät	許劣	曉
4. 叱 (訛) *ngwar > ngwa	五禾	疑	化 *sngwrars > xua	呼霸	曉
5. 麗 *C-rigs > liei	郎計	來	灑 *srjigx > šjě	所綺	生
6. 吏 *C-rjəgs > lī	力置	來	使 *srjəgx > šī	陳士	生
7. 隕 *gwjəns > jwən	于敏	云	損 *skwənx > suən	蘇本	心
8. 桓 *gwan > ɣuǎn	胡官	匣	宣 *skwjən > sjwän	須緣	心

(1) 玄應《一切經音義》引《說文》：「養鳥獸使服謂之馴」。「使服」就是「使順」。(2) 衆所周知，「飢，飼」是「食」的使動式。先秦經典中「食」用作使動，注釋裏就說明「音飼」，和「飢，飼」同音。(3) 「威」字在先秦典籍中只出現過一次：《詩·正月》「燎之方揚，寧或滅之。赫赫宗周，褒姒威之。」兩聯一用「滅」字，一用「威」字，似乎不能都用「滅」字。《春秋左傳》「甲滅乙」這樣的句子很多，「甲」或是將軍、大臣的人名，或是某國的國名，或是某國的軍隊，如「齊師」「虞師」。上引的下聯跟「甲滅乙」的意思不同。褒姒是個女人，不會領兵征戰。孔穎達疏：「以褒姒淫妬，知其必滅周也。」「赫赫宗周，褒姒威之」意思是「褒姒致使宗周滅亡」，「威」是「使滅」。李方桂先生（1945）曾經說明「威」「滅」的聲符是地支「戌 *sm- > s-」字。這個字借入臺語，聲母有的方言作 s-，有的方言作 m-，而《史記·律書》、《白虎通·五行》都用「滅」來作「戌」的聲訓，可證「威」的上古聲母是 *sm-。(4) 《說文》「叱，動也」，《詩·兔爰》「尚寢無叱」，傳「叱，動也」。《詩·無羊》「或寢或訛」，《爾雅》引《毛傳》曰：「訛，動也。」「動」義的「叱，訛」是不及物動詞，「化」是「使動，使變」義的及物動詞，使人或物有所變動。(5) 《說文》「灑，兩耦也，象兩兩相附之形。」《史記·河渠書》「乃斫二渠，以引其河。」《索隱》云：「斫，漢書作灑，《史記》舊本亦作灑，字從水。」韋昭云：「疏決爲灑，字音疏跬反，斫即分其流，泄其怒是也。」張衡《南都賦》「開寶灑流」，注善曰：「《漢書·音義》：灑，分也。」「灑」字是「兩」的使動

式，本義是使水一分爲二。「洒掃」的「洒」字上古脂部，是「洗」的同源詞，跟現在討論的「灑」字無關。(6)《說文》：「使，令也」，如《左傳》僖三十年「使杞子逢孫，楊孫戍之。」「使」是最典型的使動動詞。「吏」字晚出，如《戰國策·齊策》「使吏召諸民當償者，悉來合券。」王國維《觀堂集林·釋史》云：「……其後三者各需專字，於是史、吏、事於小篆中截然有別，持書者謂之史，治人者謂之吏，職事者謂之事，此蓋出於秦漢之際。」「吏」「使」之間的關係是逆構詞，通常是名詞加 *s- 變成動詞或形容詞，這裏是先有動詞「使」字，減去 *s- 變成名詞「吏」字。(7)《說文》「隕，從高下也」，「損，減也」，「減，損也」。(8)《書·禹貢》「因桓是來」，鄭注「桓是隴坂名，其道盤桓曲折而上。」《書·皋謨》「宣三德」，傳「布也」。《爾雅·釋言》「宣，德也。」甲骨文「亘」作𠂔、𠂕、𠂆，象周匝循環之形，「宣」的意思是使語言或事物周遍於四方。

三、*s- 的名謂化作用

名詞>動詞

9. 帚 *tjəgw>tšjəu	之九 章	掃 *stəgw>sâu	蘇老 心
10. 襁 *njang>ńzjang	汝陽 日	襄 *snjang>sjang	息良 心
11. 途，塗 *dag>duo	同都 定	徐 *sdjag>zjwo	似魚 邪
12. 術 *djət>dźjuet	養聿 船	遂 *sdjəts>zjwi	徐醉 邪
13. 廬 *ngjans>ngjən	語堰 疑	獻 *sngjans>xjən	許建 曉
14. 臭 *khrjəgws>tshjəu	尺救 昌	嗅 *skhjəgws>xjəu	許救 曉
15. 爪 *tsrəgw>tšau	側絞 莊	攝 *s-tsəgw>sâu	蘇遭 心

名詞>形容詞

16. 墨 *mək>mək	莫北 明	黑 *smək>xək	呼北 曉
17. 林 *C-rjəm>ljəm	力尋 來	森 *srjəm>şjəm	所今 生
18. 考 *khəgw>khâu	苦浩 溪	孝 *skhrəgw>xau	呼救 曉
19. 墟 *khjag>khjwo	去魚 溪	虛 *skhjag>xjwo	朽居 曉
20. 條 *diəgw>diəu	徒聊 定	修 *stjəgw>sjəu	息流 心
21. 潭 *dəm>dəm	徒含 定	深 *sthjəm>şjəm	式針 書
22. 術 *djət>dźjuet	食聿 船	遂 *stjəts>sjwi	雖遂 心

(10)《說文》「襁，礫襁祀，除癘殃也。」《爾雅·釋言》「襄，除也。」《廣韻》「襁，除殃祭也」，「襄，除也」。(11)甲骨文「途」字作𠂔，從「止」「余」聲。

《說文》「徐，安行也。」「徐」字從「彳」，「途」字從「辵」，「辵」「彳」都和行走有關，也和彡字的「止」旁有關。朱駿聲《說文通訓定聲》列「途」「塗」於「徐」字下，標明「轉注」，已經認為「徐」「途」同源。(12)《說文》「術，邑中道也」，「遂，亡也」。「遂」也有路道的意思。《史記·蘇秦傳》「禽夫差於干遂」，《索隱》「遂者，道也」。字又作「隧」。《詩·桑柔》「大風有隧」，傳「隧，道也」，《左傳》襄十八年「連大車以塞隧」，《釋文》「隧，道也」。(13)《說文》「虜，鬲屬」，「甗，甗也」。「虜」「獻」是古今字，指一種炊器，下部是鬲，上部是透底的甗。用這種炊器當作禮器，上面裝着犬、虎之類的牲品，供奉給神或祖宗，這種動作叫「獻」，傳注中多以「進」釋「獻」。甲骨文已有「虜」字，從「虜」從「鬲」，假爲「獻」字，「虜羌」謂所獻之羌人。金文「甗」「獻」通用，例如子邦父甗寫的是「子邦父獻」，這是把動詞「獻」用作名詞，來指奉獻時用的禮器。「獻」字也指牲品，《說文》「獻，宗廟犬曰羹獻，犬肥者以獻之」。(14)《易·繫辭上》：「其臭如蘭」，虞注「臭，氣也」，《荀子·王霸》「鼻欲綦臭」，注「臭，氣也」。《廣韻》「臭，凡氣之總名」。《說文》「嗅，以鼻就臭也」，字亦作「嗅」，《論語·鄉黨》「三嗅而作」，《玉篇》引作「三嗅而作」。「嗅」字昌母，跟它諧聲的「糗」「嗅」是溪母，所以「臭」字上古聲母李方桂先生(1980: 92)擬作 *khrj-。(15)《說文》「又，手足甲也」，通作「爪」。《說文》「搔，括也」。《禮記·內則》：「疾痛苛癢而敬仰搔之」，注「搔，摩也」。這裏給「搔」字聲母擬構的 *s-ts- > s- 跟李方桂先生(1933: 140)給藏文假設的 *s-tsh- > s- 類似。(17)《說文》「森，多木貌」。《釋名·釋山》「山中叢木曰林。林，森也，森森然也」。(18)殷周人稱老年人爲「考」，特別是父親。《說文》「考，老也」，《爾雅·釋親》「父曰考，母曰妣」。金文「考」「孝」通用，如《詩·六月》「張仲孝友」，曆鼎「考友佳井」；《詩·載見》「以孝以享」，其甬句鐘「台享台考」，□姬鼎「用孝用享」。(19)《說文》「虛，大丘也。昆侖丘謂之昆侖虛」。段注：「〈海內西經〉曰：『海內昆侖之虛在西北，帝之下都』，即〈西山經〉『昆侖之丘，實惟帝之下都也』。……按虛者，今之墟字。……虛本謂大丘，大則空曠，故引申之爲空虛，爲魯少皞之虛……又引伸之爲凡不實之稱」。(20)《詩·汝墳》「代其條枚」，傳「枝曰條」。《詩·椒聊》「遠修且」，傳「條，長也」。《爾雅·釋宮》「陝而修曲曰樓」，注「修，長也」。(21)《廣雅·釋水》「潭，淵也」。王念孫《廣雅疏證》：「潭亦深也」。《管子·侈靡》「潭根之母伐」，注「潭，深也」。《漢書·揚雄傳下》「潭思潭天」，顏師古曰：「潭，深也」。《書》孔安國序：「研精覃思」，《釋文》「覃，深也」。(22)《說文》「術，

邑中道也」，「邃，深遠也」。比較例(12)。

四、*s- 前綴的其他構詞功用

*s- 前綴除了使動化、名謂化以外，是否還有其他的構詞功用？我們認為是有的，下面舉例說明這個前綴的「方向化」作用。

	反切	聲母	詞類
23聽 *thing>thieng	他丁	透	動
聖 *sthjings>śjāng	式正	書	形
24識 *tjəks>tśi	職吏	章	動（記住），名
識 *sthjək>śjək	賞職	書	動（認識）
25易 *lik>jiäk	羊益	以	動（交易）
錫 *slik>*sik>siek	先擊	心	動
賜 *sljiks>sje	斯義	心	動
26義 *ngjars>ngje	宜寄	疑	名
犧 *sngjar>xje	許羈	曉	名
27二 *njids>ńzi	而至	日	數
次 *snjids>tshji	七四	清	數
28亡 *mjang>mjwang	武方	微	動
喪 *smangs>sāng	蘇浪	心	動
29扭 *nrjəkw>ɲjuk	女六	娘	形
羞 *snjəgw>sjeu	息流	心	動
30耳 *njəgx>ńzi	而止	日	名
昵 *nrjid>ɲji	女夷	娘	形
恥 *snrjəgx>*hnr->thi	敕里	徹	動
31匿 *nrjək>ɲjək	女力	娘	動
愿 *snək>*hn->thək	他德	透	名
32妄 *mjangs>mjang	巫放	微	形
謊 *smangx>xwang	呼晃	曉	名
33如 *njag>ńzjwo	人諸	日	動
恕 *snjags>*hnj->śjwo	商署	書	動

(23)「聖」本義是聽覺的敏銳，用法像耳聰目明的「聰」。甲骨文「聖」「聽」同

字，上古通用。秦泰山石刻「皇帝躬聽」，《史記·秦本紀》「聽」作「聖」。《尚書·無逸》「此厥不聽」，魏三體石經「聽」古文作𦉰，𦉰即「聖」字。「聽又用作「聽訟」「聽政」。《書·大傳·周書》「諸侯不同聽」，注：「聽，議獄也」。《荀子·王制》「聽之繩之」，注：「聽，聽政也」。古代君主要聽訟，折獄。善聽曰「聖」，善折曰「哲」。(24)「識(jì)」，記住；《論語·述而》「默而識之」。「識(shì)」是認識，知識。粵語一般的知道叫「知」，更深的認識叫「識 sɿk」。(25)「易」有「交易」一義，可能是「變易」的引申義。《爾雅·釋詁》「錫，賜也」。甲骨文、金文記錄賞賜之事，字作「易」，意思是「錫」或「賜」。「易」字以母，上古來源是 *l-，跟變成中古來母的 *C-r- 不同。聲母關係和「易」「賜」相同的有「逸(以)」「失(心)」這類的同源詞。(26)《說文》「犧，宗廟之牲也」，傳注裏都說「犧」是色純的，毛羽完具的。如《書·微子》「今殷民乃攘竊神祇之犧牲用」，傳「色純曰犧」；《周禮·牧人》「共其犧牲」，注「毛羽完具也」；《詩·閟宮》「享以騂犧」，傳「犧，純也」。色純和毛羽完具是義的象徵，此其一。文字中從「羊」的有兩類，一類是因為羊是古代主要食物之一，而且是美食，如「羨」、「羹」、「羞(饈)」，另一類是因為羊是殷商時代最常用的牲品，殷人尚鬼，道德和宗教不分，所以有此表示道德觀念的字也從「羊」，如「善」、「祥」、「義」，此其二。另外英文 sacrifice「犧牲」本義是「使聖」；跟拉丁文 sacri-, sacer「聖」同源。漢語的「義」「犧」也同源。(27)「二」「次」都是數字。「次」字聲母的音變和「七」相同。n- 受了 s- 的影響，先清化，變成 th-，再和 s- 易位。

*s-n- > *s-hn- > *s-th- > tsh-

次 *snj- > tsh- 七 *snjɿt > tshjet: 藏緬語 *s-nis, 緬文 hnaç < *hnit

景頗語 sənɿt, Kanauri: stis

《方言》十「忸怩，慙澀也，或謂之嗇咨」，《廣雅·釋詁》「忸怩，戚咨也」。我們認為「忸怩」、「嗇咨」、「羞恥」是三個雙雙成對的同源詞：

嗇 *sni- > tshi-

忸 *nrj- > ɲj-

羞 *snj- > sj-

咨 *sni- > tshi-

怩 *nrj- > ɲj-

恥 *snrj- > ʈh-

耳 *nj- > ɳj-

次 *snj- > tshj-

二 *nj- > ɳj-

(28)《說文》「喪，亡也」、「亡，逃也」。

(29)~(30)這六對同源詞中 *s- 的功用都可以解讀成「方向化」。用傳統的術語可以說：「聖，聽之深也；識(shì)，識(jì)之深也」，這種「深」就是更深入，更有

方向性。「交易」的「易」是雙向動詞，有來有往，「錫，賜」是單向動詞，由尊到卑。「虜」「義」都是疑母，「獻」「犧」都是曉母，後者表示供奉的動作或牲品，供奉有方向性。「二」是基數，「次」是序數，序數比基數更有方向性。

「亡，逃也」本身就有方向性，加 *s- 派生出「喪」，語義照舊。跟「亡，喪」同型的還有「墮 (*d->d-)，隋 (*sdj->zj-)」「墜 (*drj->d-)，隊 (*d->d-)，墜 (*sdj->zj-)」。《說文》「墜，落也」，徐鉉曰：「今俗作墮」。字亦作「隋」。
《詩·召南》「摽有梅」，傳：「摽，落也。盛極則墜落者，梅也」。〈衛風·氓〉「其黃而隕」，傳：「隕，墜地也」，《釋文》「墜，字又作墮」。《說文》「墜，墜也」。《公羊傳》文三年「死而墜也」，注：「墜，墜地也。」字本作「隊」；《說文》「隊，從高隊也」。《考工記·輪人》「輪人作蓋，殷斂而馳，不隊」，注：「隊，落也」。字又作「墜」；《淮南子·說山》「愈於一人之墜」，注：「陷也」；《論語·子張》「文武之道未墜於地也」，石經《論語》殘碑作「未墜於地」。「墮」「墜」這樣本身有方向性的動詞，用加 *s- 派生的「隋」「墜」和用沒有 *s- 的「墜」「墮」語義上沒有差別。

(29)~(33)裏帶 *s- 的字是表示心理狀態的動詞，名詞。(29)~(30)「忸怩」指的是外表，如「忸怩作態」。「羞恥」指的是內心。(31)《廣雅·釋詁》「匿，藏也」；《爾雅·釋訓》「崇譏，慝也」，《釋文》「慝言隱匿其情，以飾非」；《周禮·環人》「察軍慝」，注：「慝，陰姦也」。(32)《說文》「妄，亂也」「謊，夢言也」。(33)《論語·衛靈公》「子曰：其恕乎。己所不欲，勿施於人」，這句話就是用待人如己來解釋「恕」字。

這些心理語詞帶 *s- 可能是因為心理狀態往往是以人或物做對象，本身就有方向性。例如羞恥是對某人或某事覺得難為情。「匿其情」曰「慝」，是不要他人知道內心裏的陰姦。一個人對自己無法說謊，行恕道也需要對象。

再回來看使動化和名謂化。這兩種構詞功用其實也是「方向化」的表現。加 *s- 使動化而形成的派生動詞比基本動詞更有方向性。例如「動」義的「叱，訛 (*ng-)」只是本身動，「甲化 (*sng-) 乙」不但甲要做使役性的動作，而這個動作的結果還要使乙有所變動。名謂化的結果是把名詞變成動詞或形容詞。名詞是體，動詞、形容詞是用，前者是靜態的，後者是動態的，比前者更有方向性。

漢語 *s- 的構詞功用跟英語「內」義的 in- 前綴相似。in- 還有若干變體 en-, em-, il-, ir-, im- 等等。

(甲) 使動化：(1) encage 關入籠中，endanger 危害，enslave 奴役，encourage

鼓勵，使有勇氣，encrown 加冕

(2) embitter 結怨，endear 討好

(乙) 名謂化：上面舉的(1)類基本詞是名詞，派生詞是動詞。

(2)類基本詞是形容詞。

(丙) 方向化：income 收入，inroad 侵入，ingather 攏入，inborn 內生，生之謂性。

(丁) 其他：enclothe 給……穿衣，enwrap 包上

以上基本詞有名詞、形容詞、動詞，派生詞也有這三種詞類，搭配關係錯綜複雜，在這方面英語的 in- 也和漢語的 *s- 相似。英語的 in- 所以能有種種構詞功用，是因為這個前綴本身是個方向詞，表示「內，裏」。

同樣地，上古漢語的 *s- 本身表示方向，所以有使動化、名謂化，標誌心理狀態等等功用。烏爾芬登 (1929) 曾經指出藏文的 s- 最初可能是個方向化的詞綴，由此可知漢語的 *s- 和藏文的 s- 同源。

五、結 論

根據上面舉的例證可以得到幾個結論。

第一、李方桂先生給上古漢語擬構的清鼻音 *hN-，更早的階段是 *sN-：

*sm- > *hm- > x- *sn- > *hn- > th- *sng- > *hng- > x-
*snj- > *hnj- > šj- *sngw- > *hngw- > xw-

舉例而言，「林，森」和「墨，黑」這兩對同源詞中基本詞和派生詞的構詞關係相同，「林」「墨」是名詞，「森」「黑」是形容詞。「森」字中古生母，是個捲舌的 š-，上古是 *sr-。「林」字中古來母 l-，上古是 *C-r-；「禁（中古 k-）」字「林」聲，上古「林」字前面可能帶個 *g-。「林／森」上古聲母或者是 *r-/*sr-，或者是 *gr- > l-/*sgr- > *sr- > š-（比較「所」*skrj- > *srj- > šj-），反正聲母的差別是 *s- 之有無。「墨」和「黑」的差別也該是 *C- 和 *sC-。換言之，「黑」是 *sm-。藏文 smag「黑，黑暗」，暹羅語 mīk D2S < *hm-「黑，墨」和漢語「黑」字同源，可證 *sm- > *hm- > x-。

相反地，按照李先生的擬音，「墨」和「黑」的差別是鼻音的清濁。根據我們目前所知，聲母清濁之別，可以分辨及物動詞和不及物動詞，如「見」*k-：「現」*g-；「折」*t-：「折」*d-，也可以分辨動詞和名詞：（甲）「增（動）」ts-：「層（名）」dz-；「拄（動）」t-：「柱（名）」d-。（乙）「背（名）」*p-：「背（動，向偕）」

*b-; 「朝(名)」*t-: 「朝(勝)」*d-, 但不能分辨名詞和形容詞。而且按照這種擬音, 使動化構詞法和名謂化構詞法裏會出個令人費解的現象: 基本詞如果聲母是非鼻音 *C-, 派生詞是 *sC-; 聲母如果是鼻音 *N-; 派生詞是清鼻音 *hN-。兩者性質不類, 分配互補。按照本文的擬音, 無論聲母是不是鼻音, 基本詞和派生詞的差別都是 *C- 和 *sC-。

第二、*skh->tsh-(?) 是李方桂先生(1980: 90)給上古 *skh- 立的音律, 但也打了個問號, 只舉了一個例: 「造」*skhəgwh>tshâu 包擬古(1980: 59-60)假設

*skh->x- *skhw->xw-

證據是這類的同源詞:

藏文 skrag<*skhrag	害怕	漢語 嚇 *skhrak>xrak>xək
比較 khrag	血	赤 *khrjak>tšhjak
skul<*skhul	勵告	訓 *skhwjəns>xjwən
'khul	壓制, 責成	

本文用「臭, 嗅」、「考, 孝」、「墟, 虛」這類的同源詞來支持包氏的音律, 有些例證是俞敏先生(1984: 110-113)提出的。

第三、上面所舉的例證, 很多是前人講過的, 例如章炳麟《文始》中的「術, 遂」, 王力先生《同源字典》(1982)中的「墨, 黑」、「帚, 掃」、「順, 馴」、「食, 飢」、「臭, 嗅」、「爪, 搔」, 王念孫《廣雅疏證》中的「潭, 深」, 蘇聯學者雅洪托夫(1960)提過的「威, 滅」、「叱, 化」。但是章炳麟、王力兩位的上古音裏沒有複聲母, 基本上還是中古的格局。要描寫同源詞裏聲母的關係, 只好借用討論中古音所用的「正紐」、「旁紐」、「鄰紐」。遇到明母和曉母之間的關係(如「墨, 黑」), 或是疑母和曉母之間的關係(如「虜, 獻」、「義, 犧」), 就不免要削足適履。王先生(1982)也注意到「帚, 掃」、「爪, 搔」、「臭, 嗅」這三對名詞和動詞相配的同源詞, 但除了說聲母是「鄰紐」以外, 不能更進一步說明其中聲母的關係。本文用拼音方式標出上古音, 一方面是希望能化繁為簡, 一方面是上古複聲母有很多現象, 目前不能解釋, 特別是為什麼同一個複聲母會有不同的演變, 把擬音標出來, 是爲了提出問題。這還是王念孫《廣雅疏證·自序》「就古音以求古義」的精神。二十世紀末葉的古音, 是有複聲母的上古音, 而本文所求的古義, 是由構詞法產生的語法意義。

第四、上古漢語 *s- 前綴的構詞功用是方向化, 而使動化, 名謂化是方向化的具體表現。

第五、漢語的 *s- 和藏文的 s- 構詞功用相同。漢語從 *-s 變來的去聲，構詞功用和藏文的 -s 後綴相同。這是漢語，藏語同屬一個語系的重要證據。

參 考 書 目

- 包擬古
1980 〈原始漢語和漢藏語〉 N. Bodman, "Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan," in F. Van Coestem & L. Waugh eds, *Contributions to Historical Linguistics*.
- 康拉第
1896 《漢藏語系中使動名謂式之構詞法及其與四聲之關係》 A. Conrady, *Eine indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung und ihr Zusammenhang mit dem Tonaccenten*.
- 龔煌城
1980 〈漢、藏、緬語元音的比較研究〉，《史語所集刊》51,455-90 Gong Hwang-cherng, "A comparative study of the Chinese, Tibetan, and Burmese vowel systems".
- 葉斯柏森
1942 《現代英語的歷史語法》（第四編，〈構詞法〉）O. Jespersen, *A Modern English grammar on historical principles*, Pt. IV, "Morphology".
- 李方桂
1933 〈藏文前綴對語根聲母的幾種影響〉，《史語所集刊》4,135-57 Li Fang-kuei, "Certain phonetic influences of the Tibetan prefixes upon the root initials".
1945 〈臺語中幾個從古漢語借來的字〉。"Some old Chinese loan words in the Tai languages," *HJAS* 8,333-342.
1976 〈幾個上古聲母問題〉，《總統蔣公逝世週年紀念論文集》1143-1150。
1980 《上古音研究》（北平，商務）。
- 李孝定
1965 《甲骨文字集釋》（史語所）。
- 蒲立本
1973 〈關於漢語詞族的幾個新假設〉 E. Pulleyblank, "Some new hypotheses concerning word families in Chinese", *JCL* 1,111-25.
- 董同龢
1948 〈上古音韻表稿〉《史語所集刊》18,1-249.
- 王 力
1982 《同源字典》（北平，商務）。
- 烏爾芬登
1929 《藏緬語系構詞學綱要》 S. Wolfenden, *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Morphology*.
- 雅洪托夫
1960 〈上古漢語裏的複輔音〉 S. E. Yakhontov, "Consonant combinations in Archaic Chinese", *International Congress of Orientalists*.
- 俞 敏
1984 《中國語文學論文選》（東京，光生館）。

THE CAUSATIVE AND DENOMINATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE *S- PREFIX IN OLD CHINESE

Tsu-Lin Mei

Cornell University

In 1896, A. Conrady noted that the prefix *s-* in Written Tibetan has two morphological functions, causative and denominative. He also observed that in order to determine the linguistic affiliation of the languages of East and Southeast Asia, the proof must come from similarities in the morphological system. A. Meillet (1967 (1924): 41), who made the same point, was however more pessimistic about the prospect of finding such a proof:

On the other hand, languages of the Far East like Chinese or Vietnamese, which hardly show special morphological traits, do not even have anything which the linguist who attempts to find languages related to the Chinese or Vietnamese dialects may cling to; and the reconstruction of a "common language" of which Chinese, Tibetan, etc. for example, would be of later forms, come up against obstacles all but insurmountable.

It is incumbent upon Sino-Tibetanists to take up Meillet's challenge, that is, to find morphological traits in Chinese and Tibeto-Burman languages so similar that the existence of the Sino-Tibetan family can be established once for all. The strongest evidence obtained thus far concerns the Sino-Tibetan suffix **-s*. We know, for example, (a) the Departing tone of Chinese was derived from final **-s*, (b) the primary morphological function of the *chiu-sheng* (Departing tone) derivation in the earliest stratum of Old Chinese is to nominalize, (c) the primary derivational function of Written Tibetan *-s* is to nominalize, and therefore (d) OC **-s* and WT *-s* are similar in function and in form (Pulleyblank 1973; Mei 1980). Other morphological features of Chinese and Tibetan have also been studied from the comparative perspective, but the initial findings, though promising, have not been generally accepted (Cf. Pulleyblank 1973; Bodman 1980: 54-55).

The purpose of this paper is to show that the **s-* prefix in Old Chinese has the same functions as the *s-* prefix in Written Tibetan, namely, causative and denominative. Much has been written on the causative function of OC **s-* (Pulleyblank 1973; Bodman 1980); I will only review some old examples and add a few new ones. The main emphasis will be on the denominative function of the OC **s-*. By "the denominative function of the OC **s-*", I mean that the addition

of the **s-* prefix to a noun in OC results in the conversion of that noun into a derived form which is not a noun; that derived form is usually a verb or an adjective—the latter will be called “stative verb”, abbreviated as “SV” below. The following examples, taken from Conrady (1896: 3), illustrate the denominative function of the *s-* prefix in Written Tibetan.

Nominative	Denominative
grib ‘shade, shadow’	sgrib-pa ‘to shade, to darken’
gril ‘a roll’	sgril-ba ‘to roll together, to form into a roll’
nyams ‘soul, mind’	snyam-pa ‘to think’
nyod-pa ‘food’	snyod-pa ‘to feed’
dam ‘oath, vow’	sdom-pa, bsdams, etc. ‘to vow, to make an oath’
nad ‘disease, sickness’	snad-pa ‘to hurt, to harm, to injure’
bam-po ‘a collection’	sbam-pa ‘to collect’
gong-bu ‘a ball’	sgong-ba ‘to roll into a ball’

More examples may be found in Wolfenden (1929: 46-47).

I have adopted Li Fang-kuei’s (1980) system of Old Chinese transcription, with the following modifications:

Li	Mei
(1) <i>*hm->x-</i> , <i>*hn->th-</i> , <i>*sng->x-</i>	<i>*sm->x-</i> , <i>*sn->th-</i> , <i>*sng->x-</i>
(2) <i>*-h</i> for the Departing tone	<i>*-ps</i> , <i>*-ts</i> , <i>*-ks</i> instead of <i>*-bh</i> , <i>*-dh</i> , <i>*-gh</i> if the Departing tone word is cognate to an Entering tone word; otherwise just rewrite <i>*-h</i> as <i>*-s</i>
(3) <i>*l->l-</i>	<i>*C-r->l-</i>

For (1) I have adopted the reconstruction of Yakhontov (1960) and Betty S. and Kun Chang (1976). (2) and (3) have been much discussed in the literature (Pulleyblank 1962; Bodman 1980). An important impetus for the present study is F. K. Li’s 1976 article, included in his 1980 book, which proposes several new rules for the development of **s-C-* initials from OC to MC, and lists examples under each rule. Two questions arising from Li’s list guided our inquiry: (1) If a word has an **s-C-* initial, is it possible to find a cognate which differs from the first word only by the absence of **s-*? (2) If there are two words, essentially similar in other phonological aspects, such that one has an **s-C-* initial and the other a **C-* initial, what is the morphological relation between the two? Insofar as the morphological relation can be interpreted from the Sino-Tibetan comparative perspective, the existence of **C-/*s-C-* pairs would provide supporting evidence for Li’s rules.

The evidence presented below consists of pairs of cognate words. Two claims are involved: (1) in each pair, the two members are cognates, and (2) the two members are related either as non-causative and causative, or as nominative and

denominative. The second claim is mostly new, but self-evident, I believe, in the majority of cases. The first claim—namely, the two members of each pair are cognates—is with a few exceptions based upon the Chinese etymological tradition. The exceptions are Ex. 5 麗/灑 and Ex. 16 術/遂. Wang Li's (1982) etymological dictionary, equipped with two indices, contains a judicious summary of the philological material. In particular, one can find relevant information on the following examples: Ex. 1 順/馴, p. 518; Ex. 2 食/飢, p. 258; Ex. 7 帚/掃, p. 234; Ex. 10 術/遂, p. 460; Ex. 12 墨/黑, p. 253; Ex. 15 潭/深, p. 613. GSR No. 252 provides the basis for Ex. 11 虜/獻; Ju Jiun-sheng (1833), Ex. 8 途/徐, Ex. 9 褻/裏, and Ex. 14 條/修; Liou Shi's *Shr-ming*, Ex. 13 林/森. In the interest of economy, the philological material cited below will be kept to a minimum.

I. Causative

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1 a 順 *djəns>džjuěn | pliant, obedient (GSR 462c) |
| b 馴 *sdjən>zjuěn | to tame, to make (e.g. a horse) obedient (462f) |
| 2 a 食 *djək>džjək | to eat (921a) |
| b 飢, 飼 *sdjəks>zī | to feed (921e) |
| 3 a 滅 *mjiat>mjät | to drown, extinguish, destroy (294b) |
| b 威 *smjiat>xjwät | to cause someone to be extinguished or destroyed (294a) |
| 4 a 叱 (訖) *ngwar>ngwa | to move (19d, e) |
| b 化 *sngwrars>xua | to cause to move, to transform (19a) |
| 5 a 麗 *C-rigs>liei | a pair, a couple (878a) |
| b 灑 *srigx>šäi>ša | to divide, to bifurcate (878i) |
| 6 a 吏 *C-rjəgs>li | clerk, minor official (975g) |
| b 使 *srjəgx>ši | to cause (someone to be an emissary), to send (975n) |

Ex. 1 was first reconstructed in its present form by Hwang-cherng Gong (1980: 475), who also gave the following Tibetan cognates: 'dul 'to tame, to subdue', 'jun<*'djun 'to subdue, make tame', 'chun<*'thjun 'to be tamed, subdued'. Ju Jiun-sheng (1833:732) cites a passage from the *Shuo-wen* no longer extant in the present version but preserved in Shiu-an-ying's (7th C.) *Yi-chie jing yin-yi* (玄應, 一切經音義), which says "養鳥獸使服謂之馴 to keep birds and beasts and make them obedient is the meaning of *shiuun* 馴". The causative sense of Ex. 1b can be clearly seen in the definition.

Ex. 2 has the same pair of initials as Ex. 1. I will discuss this example in section III.

Ex. 3b is a hapax legomenon which co-occurs with Ex. 3a in *Ode* 192, cited below with Karlgren's (1950) translation.

燎之方揚 When the fire is just flaming high,
 寧或滅之 how can anyone extinguish (**mjiat*) it?
 赫赫宗周 The majestic Tsung Chou,
 褒姒威之 (lady) Si of Pao has destroyed (**smjiat*) it.

The word *mie* 滅 (Ex. 3a) occurs frequently in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Tzuo-juan*. The construction is almost invariably

A *mie* (滅 **mjiat* 'destroy') B

where "B" is the name of a place or a state, and "A" is the name of a general, an army, or a state. The formulaic construction "A *mie* B" says either "General X destroyed B", or "the army of the state X destroyed B", or "the state X destroyed B". The last line cited above from *Ode* 192 is different. Lady Sz of Bau is a woman, incapable of leading an army. She is the queen consort of King You, who, according to tradition, led to the downfall of the Western Jou through her debauchery and jealousy. The last line should be read as:

Lady Sz of Bau has caused it to be destroyed
 and Ex. 3b 威 **smjiat* has a causative sense, that is, "cause to be destroyed".

Ex. 4a occurs in *Ode* 70 and in *Ode* 190, again cited below with Karlgren's translation.

Ode 70 尚寢無叱 Would that I could sleep and not move (**ngwar*) (any more)?
Ode 190 或寢或訛 Some [i.e. the sheep] are sleeping, some are moving (**ngwar*).

In the *Shuo-wen* and Mau's *Commentary to the Odes*, Ex. 4a 叱 or 訛 (**ngwar*) is glossed as 'to move': "叱, 動也", "訛, 動也". In the two lines cited above, Ex. 4a is an intransitive verb. In contrast, Ex. 4b **sngwrars* 化, usually translated as "to transform, to change", has a transitive use; its precise meaning is "to cause someone or something to move or to change".

Ex. 5a 𣪠 *li* means 'pair, couple', stilled preserved in compounds such as *kang-li* 伉儷 'married couple' and *pian-li wen* 駢聯文 'parallel prose'. In Han texts, Ex. 5b 灋 *sa* has the meaning 'to divide (a stream)' (Chou Tsu-muo 1966: 133). For example in Jang Heng's *Nan-du fu* (張衡, 南都賦) "開寶灋流 to open a gap to divide the stream", and in the *He-chiu shu* 河渠書 of the *Shr-ji* "乃灋二渠 thereupon divides these two rivers". It is likely that Ex. 5b 灋 **srigx* originally meant "to divide into two, to bifurcate".

Ex. 6b 吏 *li* is later than Ex. 6a 使 *shr*. The graph in the oracle bone inscriptions which looks like 吏 *li*, namely 𠂔 or 𠂕, actually represents 事 *shr* 'affair'. Ex. 6b meaning "clerk, minor official" could only emerge at the time when China's political organization was relatively advanced, roughly during the Late Warring States period. Ex. 6b is therefore a back-formation. Usually, a causative is formed by the addition of **s-*. Here the non-causative Ex. 6b, actually a noun, is formed by the deletion of **s-*.

II. Denominative

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 7 a 帚 *tjəgwx>tšjəu | N, broom (1087a) |
| b 掃 *stəgwx>sâu | V, to sweep (1087g) |
| 8 a 禳 *njang>ńzjang | N, sacrifice to expel evil influence (730g) |
| b 襄 *snjang>sjang | V, to expel, to remove (730a) |
| 9 a 途, 塗 *dag>duo | N, road (82v, d') |
| b 徐 *sdjag>zjwo | V, to walk slowly; ADV, slowly, gently (82p) |
| 10 a 術 *djət>džjuët | N, road, path (497d) |
| b 遂 *sdjəts>zjwi | V, to run away (526d) |
| 11 a 廬 *ngjans>ngjən | N, a kind of boiler (252a) |
| b 獻 *sngjans>xjən | V, to offer, to present; N, the presenting vessel (252e) |
| 12 a 墨 *mək>mək | N, ink (904c) |
| b 黑 *smək>xək | SV, black, dark (904a) |
| 13 a 林 *C-rjəm>ljəm | N, forest, woods (655a) |
| b 森 *srjəm>sjəm | SV, woodsy, well-wooded (664a) |
| 14 a 條 *diəgw>diəu | N, branch, shoot; SV, long (1077f) |
| b 修 *stjəgw>sjəu | SV, long (1077d) |
| 15 a 潭 *dəm>dəm | N, pond (<i>Chu-tsz</i>); SV, deep (646b) |
| a 深 *sthjəm>sjəm | SV, deep (of water) (666c) |
| 16 a 術 *djət>džjuët | N, road, path (497d, Cf. Ex. 10) |
| b 遂 *stjəts>sjwi | SV, deep, distant (526o) |

Ex. 8 is based upon the definitions given in the *Guang-yun*: Ex. 8a “禳 *njang, 除殃祭也 sacrifice to expel evil influence” and Ex. 8b “襄 *snjang, 除也 to expel”. There is also a Written Burmese cognate *hnang* tone A ‘to drive, to drive away’ (Gong 1980: 465), from which we may deduce *sn->hn- in Burmese.

Ex. 9a 途 or 塗 is listed under Ex. 9b 徐 in Ju Jiun-sheng’s (1833: 387) dictionary. Ju regards the former as the derived characters (*juan-ju* 轉注) of the latter, though strictly speaking, the latter is the derived form of the former. The earliest form of Ex. 9a is 𠂔 in the oracle bones (Li Hsiao-ting 1965: 555), with 余 as the phonetic and 止 ‘foot’ as the radical. Differentiation in graphic form eventually yielded 途 and 徐. The fact that the radicals of these two characters are respectively 辵 and 彳, both meaning ‘walk’, shows that the early scribes regard Ex. 9a and 9b as cognates.

Ex. 10b 遂 is defined in the *Shuo-wen* as “亡也, to run away”. This character and its homonymous variant 隧 are also used in the sense of ‘road’, which is the meaning of Ex. 10a 術, for example: “禽夫差於干遂 (He) captured Fu-cha at the Gan road” (“Biography of Su Chin”, *Shr-ji*), “大風有隧 The great wind has its path” (*Ode* 257), “連大車以塞隧 (He) links the wagons to block the road” (*Tzuò-juan*,

Shiang year 18). The glosses invariably define the meaning of 遂 or 隧 in these passages as 道 'road'. Ex. 16 術/遂 is an extension of Ex. 10.

Ex. 11b 獻 is used to write Ex. 11a 虡 or its variant 獻 in the bronze inscriptions. In particular, when a bronze vessel is called "so-and-so's *yan* 虡", the character written is actually 獻. Karlgren (GSR 252e) rightly defines this use of the character 獻 as "Name of a sacrificial vessel (properly: the presenting vessel), the ritual name for a [虡] above (Chou inscriptions)". We can reconstruct the evolution of the meaning of the word 獻 *shian* 'to present' as follows. Animal sacrifices are placed on a kind of boiler, Ex. 11a 虡, to be presented to the gods or ancestors. The denominative derivative of the noun 虡, used in the sense of a sacrificial vessel, is a verb, Ex. 11b 'to offer (sacrifice), to present'. This verb 'to present' is in turn nominalized through metonymy to name the boiler used as a sacrificial vessel.

Ex. 13a 林 'woods' and 13b 森 'woodsy' are already recognized as cognates by the Han philologist Liou Shi, who says in his *Shr-ming*: "山中叢木曰林。林，森也 'woods' refers to the clustered trees in the mountains. Woods are woodsy". It should perhaps be remarked that Ex. 13b 森 is defined in the *Shuo-wen* as "多木貌 the manner of being well wooded", and 貌 *mau*, here translated as "manner", indicates that the word being defined is an adjective or an adverb. As far as can be ascertained, Ex. 13b is never used as a noun or as the nucleus of nominal compound. Karlgren (GSR 655a, 664a) not only failed to recognize Ex. 13a and 13b as cognates, but his definition of Ex. 13b as "dense trees, thicket, grove" also gave the false impression that the word is a noun.

Ex. 14a 條 'long, branch' and 14b 修 'long' are well known cognates (F.K. Li 1980: 25). They are used in the above senses in the *Odes* (GSR 1077f, 1077d).

Ex. 15a 潭 or its variant 覃 is usually glossed as Ex. 15b 深 'deep', for example "潭根之毋伐 In forbidding the cutting of deep roots" (《管子·侈靡》), "潭思潭天 (His) deep thoughts encompass Heaven" ("Biography of Yang Shiung", *Han-shu*). The meaning of "pond" for Ex. 15a was not attested until the *Chu-tsz*, which may indicate that the use of 潭 as a noun was due to back formation. The great Ching philologist Wang Nian-suen had already recognized Ex. 15a and 15b as cognates in his *Guang-ya shu-jeng* 廣雅疏證 (1791?).

III. Discussion

1.

The problem of consonant cluster initials in OC, including that of the *sC- type, arose in the context of the attempt to account for the variety of MC initials in the phonetic series. In previous studies, a proposed reconstruction is usually justified in terms of phonetic plausibility and comparative evidence. A reconstructed OC initial X must plausibly give rise to a MC initial I. Comparative

evidence helps to determine the nature—that is, the place and manner of articulation—of the OC initial. Another type of evidence consists of old loans; for loan words, if they are old, have the same value as Tibeto-Burman cognates.

Experience shows that these two types of considerations—phonetic plausibility and non-Chinese cognates—are insufficient to compel agreement. Not infrequently, two competing OC reconstructions X and Y are proposed for the same MC initial I of the same word. Supporters of the X and Y reconstruction would respectively cite non-Chinese cognates with X' and Y' initial as corroborating evidence. The issue is deadlocked because supporters of the X reconstruction would not accept words with Y' initial as cognates, and vice versa. The result is a proliferation of plausible reconstructions, each attempting to account for the same phenomenon in the phonetic series.

Let us see whether the introduction of morphological considerations can help to constrain the number of possible solutions. From the fact that prefix *s-* has the causative and denominative functions in WT, we may assume that prefix **s-* would probably have the same functions in OC. Under this working hypothesis, it follows that if a pair of OC cognates A and B stand in the causative and denominative relation, then, other things being equal, the reconstruction of **C-* and **sC-* for A and B would be preferred over other reconstructions. I will now illustrate how this principle is applied.

1.1. Example 12	墨 'ink'	黑 'black'
Li	*m->m-	*hm->x-
Yakhontov	*m->m-	*sm->x-

According to Li's reconstruction, the difference between OC "ink" and "black" consists in the opposition between a voiced nasal and a voiceless nasal. However, the voiceless/voiced alternation in the initials is only associated with the transitive/intransitive (stative) opposition, as in (a) (Pulleyblank 1973: 114; Chou Tsunmo 1966: 116-118), or the verb/noun opposition, as in (b) or (b') (Chou Fa-kao 1962: 71&59).

- (a) *k-: *g- 見 'to see': 現 'to be seen, to appear'
 解 'to release': 解 'to be released, be relaxed'
 繫 'to bind': 繫 'to be bound'
- *p-: *b- 敗 'to defeat': 敗 'to be defeated'
 被 'to cover oneself with': 被 'to be covered'
- *t-: *d- 折 'to break': 折 'to be broken'
 張 'to stretch': 長 'long'
- (b) ts-: dz- 增 'to add, to double': 層 'in two stories, double'
 t- : d- 拄 'to prop up, to support': 柱 'a pillar'
- (b') *p-: *b- 背 'the back': 背 'to turn the back on'
 *t-: *d- 朝 'morning': 朝 'to hold a morning audience'

None of these three types fit the N/SV opposition in Ex. 12. Thus, if we adopt Li's reconstruction of **hm-* and **m-* for 黑 'black' and 墨 'ink', it would be difficult, if not impossible, to interpret the morphological relationship between these two words in terms of their phonological form.

The argument can be put in another way. We have seen that there are denominative and causative pairs in OC whose initials show **C-/sC-* opposition, where **C- ≠ *m-, *n-, *ng-, *ngw-*. If we adopt Li's reconstruction, then among the denominative and causative pairs, there would be two sets: for non-nasals, the opposition is between **C-/sC-*; for nasals **N-*, the opposition is between **N-/hN-* (Exs. 3, 4, 11, 14). These two sets are in complementary distribution. Adopting the procedures of internal reconstruction, we may infer **hN- < *sN-*.

We are now in a position to combine the rules of Li and Yakhontov:

**sm- > *hm- > x-, *sn- > *hn- > th-, *sng- > *hng- > x-, *sngw- > *hngw- > xw-*

In our version, the voiceless nasals **hN-* turn out to be a later stage of **sN-*. This accords well with the fact that Min and perhaps other dialects show vestiges of voiceless nasals (Norman 1973). For example, 年 *nian* 'year' Proto-Min **hn-* has a Tibeto-Burman cognate **s-ning* (Mei 1979: 124); 蚊 *wen* 'mosquito' PM **hm-* has a variant graph 𪛗, with MC *x-* for the phonetic 昏, recorded in the *Shuo-wen*. To return to Ex. 12, it may be noted that WT *smag* 'dark, darkness' is an exact cognate of Ex. 12b 黑 **smak* 'black'. Proto-Tai 'ink' Siam. *mik* < **hm-* D1S (Li 1977: 75) corresponds phonologically to Ex. 12b 黑 **hm- < *sm-*, but semantically to Ex. 12a 墨 'ink', whereas Lungchow *mik* D2S and Poai *mak* D2S correspond exactly to Ex. 12a 'ink'.

Internal reconstruction, a method familiar to all Indo-Europeanists, is seldom used in Chinese historical phonology. The difference seems to be traceable to the fact that Indo-European languages have easily detectible morphological paradigms, but Chinese does not. Nevertheless, Meillet notwithstanding, OC did have morphological paradigms. They can be inferred from Tibeto-Burman morphology, and established through evidence internal to Chinese by the usual methods of philology.

To give another example of internal reconstruction, let us review (a):

(a) **k- > k- : *g- > ɣ-*

見 'to see': 現 'to be seen'

解 'to release': 解 'to be released'

繫 'to bind': 繫 'to be bound'

**p- > p- : *b- > b-*

敗 'to defeat': 敗 'to be defeated'

**tj- > tsj- : *dj- > zj-*

折 'to break': 折 'to be broken'

(a') **k- > k- : *ɣ- > ɣ-*

**p- > p- : *b- > b-*

**tj- > tsj- : *dj- > zj-*

For MC ɣ-匣母, some scholars have reconstructed OC **ɣ-* (Wang Li 1957: 66), as shown in (a'), others OC **g-* (F.K. Li 1980: 18), as shown in (a). Under the (a')

hypothesis, we find that in the case of labial and dental initials, the opposition is between voiceless vs. voiced stops, but in the case of velar initials, the opposition is between voiceless stop vs. voiced spirant. Internal reconstruction dictates (a), in particular MC $\gamma < *g-$, a conclusion also justified on distributional grounds.

1.2. Example 2	食 'to eat'	飤 'to feed'
Bodman	*ry->džj- (/žj- /)	*ry->zj-
Pulleyblank	*l->ž-	*sl->z-
Mei	*dj->džj-	*sdj->zj-

Bodman's (1980: 94) reconstruction is based upon an alternative reading for 食 and a purported WT cognate (b) *rgyags* (**ryaks*) 'provisions, victuals, food'. Several questions can be raised. First, WT *rgy-* goes back to **gry-*, as in:

WT <i>rgyam</i> < * <i>gry-</i> 'a kind of salt'	OC 鹽 * <i>grjam</i> > <i>jiam</i> 'salt'
<i>rgyag</i> < * <i>gry-</i> 'throw'	射 * <i>grjiaks</i> > <i>džja</i> 'to shoot'

Whether WT *rgy-* also goes back to **ry-* remains to be shown. Moreover, 饘 **grjæg* > *di* 'provide, prepare' (GSR 961k) seems as satisfactory—or unsatisfactory—a cognate for WT *rgyags* as Ex. 2a 食. Second, Bodman's **ry-* and Pulleyblank's (1973: 17) **l-* for 食 are based upon an alternative reading for this word, which, when occurring as a personal name in the Han, has a MC *ji-* 喻四 initial. We know that this *ji-* initial had the value ž- during the period between the Han and the Tang, as illustrated in the use of 阿育 (where 育 has the MC *ji-* initial) for Aśoka (Pulleyblank 1962: 115). If, as we have proposed, Ex. 2a 食 has the initial **dj-* > *džj-*, then the alternative reading (*džj-* ~) *žj-* > *ji-* for this word can be explained as a dialect variant. Third, Bodman regards Ex. 2a 食 'to eat' as a dialect variant for Ex. 2b 飤 'to feed'. But there are numerous instances in the old commentaries which state that the character 食, when used in the causative sense 'to feed', is to be read as 嗣 MC *zī* (Wang Li 1982: 259). For example, 母能食之, 不能教誨之 'the mother can feed it, but cannot teach it' (*Shiun-tz* 75/19/110), 食以草具 'feed him with coarse fare' (*Jan-guo tse* SBTK 4.36b), and 功以食民 'by means of services he feeds the people' (*Tzuo-juan*, Wen year 18).

Pulleyblank's (1973: 117) reconstruction of 食 and 飤 respectively as **l-* > *z-* and **sl-* > *z-* does reveal the causative relation between these two forms. He rightly regards **l-* as one of the sources of MC *ji-* 喻四. But there is reason to doubt the validity of **sl-* > *z-*. Instances which call for **sl-* have reflexes other than *z-*, for example:

17 a 易 * <i>lik</i> > <i>jiäk</i>	to exchange (850a)
b 錫 * <i>slik</i> > * <i>sik</i> > <i>siek</i>	to give, tin (850n)
c 賜 * <i>sljiks</i> > <i>sjě</i>	to give, gift (850t)
18 a 栞 * <i>lap</i> > <i>jiäp</i>	a thin tablet (633a)
b 屨 * <i>sliaip</i> > <i>sieip</i>	bottom layer in shoe (633p)

Ex. 17a is often used in the bronze inscriptions to write Ex. 17b, which is in turn

used in the sense of Ex. 17c. These three forms are cognates. The prefix **s-* has a directive function (see below); Ex. 17a 'exchange' is bidirectional, Exs. 17b and c 'give' are uni-directional. Ex. 17c **slj->*s-hlj->*sthj->*tshj-* would explain why Peking Mandarin has the irregular *tsz* (/tsh-/) for 賜 (Cf. Baxter 1983). Ex. 18b also seems to have a directive **s-*. Other instances of **sl-* are more doubtful. Parallel to **sN->*hN*, we would expect **slj->*hlj->*śj-* (Cf. Bodman 1980: 102). But in Exs. 19b and 20b, it is possible that **hl-* is an independent phoneme in OC, not derived from **sl-*.

- 19 a 逸 **lit>jiet* to escape, let loose (396a)
 b 失 **sljit>*hljit>*śjit* to lose, let go (402a)
 20 a 葉 **lap>jäp* generation (633d)
 b 世 **sljaps>hljaps>*śjai* generation (339a)

In any case, Pulleyblank's **sl->z-* is unconfirmed, which makes the value of **sl-* for Ex. 2b 飢 doubtful.

According to our reconstruction, Exs. 1 順/馴, 2 食/飢, 10 術/遂 all have the same initials **dj->džj-/sđj->zj-*, or in terms of Chinese traditional phonology 牀三/邪. As to the evidence for the dental nature of the root initial, we may cite 隊 **d->d-* for Ex. 10b, WT 'dul etc. for Ex. 1, and 飭 **thr->th-* (921g) for Ex. 2. Ex. 2 may have a root initial other than **d-*, but whatever that may be, we can be reasonably certain that Ex. 2 is a **C-/sC-* pair.

2.

In the examples given above, the basic form and the derived form differ not only in the presence or absence of **s-*, but also in other aspects as well—in tone, in the absence or presence of the medial **-j-* or **-r-*, and in the voiced/voiceless or aspirated/unaspirated contrasts for the root initials. Two questions can be raised. First, in view of these concomitant variations, how do we know that **s-* alone is responsible for the causative or denominative sense of the derived form? Second, what is the reason for the other alternations? What morphological functions do the other alternations serve?

The first question is relatively easy to answer. There are minimal pairs in the list: Exs 3 滅 **m-/威 *sm-*, 8 襪 **nj-/襄 *snj-*, 11 虞 **ng-/獻 *sng-*, 12 墨 **m-/黑 *sm-*, 13 林 **C-r-/森 *sr-*. The absence or presence of **s-* is systematic. The absence or presence of the other features is not. By the principle of similarity and difference, **s-* is clearly the cause for the causative or denominative sense of the derived form. It should perhaps be noted that WT shows the same type of variation in causative/simplex pairs, for example *skon* 'to cause to wear'/gon 'to wear', *skjon* 'to cause to ride (an animal)'/žon 'to ride', *skur* 'to cause to bring'/'*khur* 'to bring'. The presence of concomitant alternations never casts any doubt on the causative function of WT **s-*. It should not in the OC case either.

The second question is important but cannot be answered at present. For almost a century, Tibetanists and Sinologists have tried to understand the reasons

for the alternations mentioned above. Tibetanists are more successful; Sinologists less so. For example, WT prefix "a-chung", in all probability originally a nasal *N-, has the power to derive intransitives or non-causatives from transitives. Pulleyblank (1973: 114) proposed that the OC counterpart to WT "a-chung" is the cause for the voiceless/voiced opposition associated with transitive/intransitive pairs, e. g.

折 *t- 'to break': 折 *N-t->*N-d->*d- 'to be broken'

By extension, we can account for the voiceless/voiced alternation—for example in Ex. 14—as follows:

14a 條 *N-t->*d- 'branch': 修 *stj- 'long'

But this theory remains unproven. WT *s- has the power to deaspirate the following stop, for example *s-kh->sk-*, *s-th->st-*, *s-ph->sp-* (F.K. Li 1933), but evidently OC *s- does not have the same power. Nor can it devoice the following stop. Obviously further research is needed in this area.

3.

So far we have based our discussion upon Conrady's view that Tibetan *s-* is causative and denominative. Other scholars gave the morphological functions of the Tibeto-Burman *s- a wider interpretation, including not only the causative, but also the directive and intensive functions (Wolfenden 1929: 43ff; Benedict 1972: 105). The question then arises whether OC prefix *s- has functions other than causative and denominative. I will now present three sets of examples, all illustrating what may be called the directive or intensive function of *s- in OC.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 21 a 妄 *mjangs>mjang | false (742g) |
| b 謊 *smangx>xwāng | to lie, lies (742f') |
| 22 a 如 *njag>ńjwo | resemble, like (94g) |
| b 恕 *snjags>hnjags>śjwo | generous, to treat others as oneself (94t) |
| 23 a 匿 *nrjək>ńjək | to hide, to conceal (777 l) |
| b 隱 *snək>*hnək>thək | hidden sin (777o) |
| 24 a 忸 *nrjəkʷ>ńjuk | bashful, shy (1076k) |
| b 羞 *snjəgw>sjəu | ashamed of (1076h) |
| 25 a 耳 *njəgx>ńzi | ear (981a) |
| b 恥 *snrjəgx>hnrjəgx>thi | ashamed of (959a) |

The b forms are uniformly mental words signifying acts or states directed towards external conditions or another person. They are "intentional" in the sense of Husserl and Brentano. To lie is to lie to another person (Ex. 21b). To be generous is to be generous towards someone; Ex. 22b is also defined in the *Analects* as "do not do to others what you would not want others to do to you". Ex. 23b means to hide one's sin away from someone. Exs. 24b and 25b 羞恥 form an alliterative binom *sn-*sn- which has a disyllabic cognate 忸怩 *n-*n-, still current in Modern Chinese. The latter refers to outer behavior, e.g. 這個人忸怩

呢的 'this fellow is bashful', but not *這個人羞羞恥恥的. The former refers to a mental state directed towards an object, e.g. 對某人(某事)羞愧難當 'I feel extremely embarrassed towards someone or something,' but not *對某人忸怩難當. Whether Ex. 25b 'ashamed of' is cognate Ex. 25a 'ear' remains an open question, but it is clear that Exs. 24b and 25b are intentional mental states.

Wolfenden (1929: 46) noted that "verbs descriptive of sentiments or feeling towards external objects or conditions naturally occur here". By this he means that WT mental verbs with the *s-* prefix are "directive towards an indirect object which is external". Among the Tibetan examples he gave are: *skam-pa* 'to long for', *skom-pa* 'to thirst for', *sgom-pa* 'to look upon', *sting-ba* 'to scold, to hurl abuse at', *sten-pa* 'to adhere to', *spro-ba* 'to feel inclination for', *smon-pa* 'to wish, to long for'. Our examples from OC are exactly of the same type.

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 26 a 二 | *njids>ńi | two (564a) |
| b 次 | *snjids>*s-hn->*sth->tshji | second (555a) |
| 27 a 頭 | *dug>dəu | head (118e) |
| b 首 | *sthjəgwx>śjəu | first, head (1102a) |
| 28 a 聽 | *thing>thieng | to listen to (835d') |
| b 聖 | *sthjings>śjäŋ | keen in hearing, sagacious (835z) |
| 29 a 識 | *tjəks>tsi | to remember (920k) |
| b 識 | *sthjək>śjək | to know (920k) |

The phonology of Ex. 26 is parallel to 'seven' WT *s-nis*, 七 MC *tshjet* (Pulleyblank 1962:133-134). The phonology of Ex. 27 is parallel to:

- | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------|
| 豆 | *dugs>dəu | bean (118a) |
| 菽 | *sthjəkw>śjuk | bean (1031g) |

Exs. 26b and 27b, being ordinals, are more "directive" than their respective cognates, Ex. 26a and 27a. Exs. 28a and 28b are often interchanged in old texts and inscriptions. The earliest meaning of Ex. 28b 聖 is similar to 聽 'keen in hearing'; the king hears a lawsuit 聽訟, and insofar as he hears the case well, he is said to be Ex. 28b 聖 'keen in hearing', or 'sagacious'. In Cantonese, there is a distinction between 知, ordinary knowing, and Ex. 29b 識, a deeper kind of knowing. Exs. 28b 'keen in hearing' and 29b 'to know' are the more intensive versions of their respective cognates, Exs. 28a and 29a.

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|---|
| 30 a 越 | *gwjat>jwat | V, to pass (303e) |
| b 歲 | *skwjats>sjwäi | N, year (<passage of time) (346a) |
| 31 a 運 | *gwjəns>juən | V, to revolve (458d) |
| b 旬 | *sgwinx>zjuən | N, a cycle of ten days (392a) |
| 32 a 屯 | *dən>duən | V, to settle (with soldiers), settlement (427a) |
| b 邨 | *sthən>tshuən | N, settlement |
| 33 a 至 | *tjits>tí | V, to arrive (413a) |

- b 室 *sthjit>šjet N, chamber (413j)
 34 a 處 *khrjagx>tšhjwo V, to dwell, stay; N, place (85a)
 b 所 *skrjagx>srjagx>sjwo N, place (91a)

Ex. 30 has been discussed in an earlier paper (Mei 1979). Ex. 31 belongs to a set of cognates which also includes 鈞 *kwjin>kjiuěŋ 'potter's wheel' (391e), and 軍 *kwjən>kjuən 'to form a circle with chariots, to encamp, army' (458a). All these characters, including Ex. 31a 運 and 31b 旬, had 𠂔, 𠂕 as their phonetic-signific in the oracle bones or bronze inscriptions. The core meaning is "to revolve, circle".

In Ex. 30-34, a and b are related as verb and cognate noun, or more precisely a locomotive verb and its terminus of action. WT *s-* seems to mark the noun occasionally, e. g. 'gel, pf. *bkal*, fut. *dgal* 'to load, to lay on a burden', *sgal* 'the load of a beast of burden', but such examples are rare. A causative verb may be regarded as one which causes the object to pass into a terminal state of action named by the verb root itself, e.g. 'to encourage John' is to 'to cause John to be courageous'. If so, the relation exemplified in Ex. 30-34 is similar to that between a simplex verb and a causative verb. But the presence of concomitant variations in this examples obscures the morphological function of **s-*, and it seems best to suspend judgment for the time being.

Finally, there are two examples interesting for phonological reasons.

- 35 a 爪 *tsrəgwx>tšau N, claw (1111a)
 a' 抓 *tsrəgw>tšau V, grasp (1111c)
 b 搔 *s-tsərgw>*səgw>sâu V, to scratch (1112f)
 36 a 節 *tsik>*tsit>tsiet N, knots or joints of bamboo (399e)
 b 膝, 𦍋 *s-tsjit>*sjit>sjēt N, knee (401c)

The OC rule **s-ts->*s-* is similar to the *s-tsh->s-* rule proposed by F. K. Li (1933: 140) for Written Tibetan. Ex. 35b is the denominative of Ex. 35a. Exs. 36a and 36b have been recognized as cognates by Gong Hwang-cherng (1980: 469), among others. The derivation proposed for Ex. 36b seems to make phonological sense, though we are unable to interpret the morphological function of **s-*.

4.

When was the **s-* prefix active in Chinese? Since OC **s-* is similar to WT *s-* both in function and in form, we know that it was present in Sino-Tibetan and Proto-Chinese. What remains to be determined is the latest date of the active use of this prefix.

In the oracle bones, bronze inscriptions, and Pre-Chin texts, frequently the same graph is used to write a **C-* form and an **sC'-* form, where **C-* and **C'-* differ at most in the manner of articulation. A partial list would include:

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 越 *gwj- : 歲 *skwj- | 電 *d- : 申 *sthj- |
| 勻 *gw- : 旬 *sgw- | 墮 *d- : 隋 *sdj- |
| 聽 *th- : 聖 *sthj- | 虞 *ng- : 獻 *sng- |
| 途 *d- : 徐 *sdj- | 易 *l- : 錫 *sl- |

What this shows is that native speakers of OC, when presented with the same graph, is able to supply the **s-* prefix, or withhold it, as the context requires. The implication is that the **s-* prefix was still active at the time of oracle bones and bronze inscriptions. A conservative estimate would put the latest date at Western Jou. It should perhaps be mentioned that Semitic writing uses a similar principle. The script supplies the three-consonant skeleton of the root, and the reader intercalates the vowels which represents inflectional and derivational material (Hockett 1958: 540).

There are some clues indicating an even later date. If, as we have suggested, Ex. 6a 吏 'minor official' is a later back-formation of Ex. 6b 使 'to cause', it means that the causative function was still active up to the Late Warring States period, roughly 4th to 3rd century B. C. Ex. 13b 森 'woodsy' may also be late word. Karlgren (GSR 664) rightly says this word has "only Han time example". There is a graph made up of three 'wood' characters in the oracle bones, duely recorded by Karlgren. But since the fragment containing it provides insufficient context, there is no assurance that the word represented is 森 'woodsy'. Ex. 13b 森 'woodsy' is clearly the denominative of Ex. 13a 林 'woods, forest'. If so, the denominative function also seems to be active up to the Han. Admittedly we are on rather shaky ground here. Absence of attestation does not necessarily mean the word was not in the language. Nevertheless, given the voluminousness of the Pre-Chin written record, total absence of the graph for a word does constitute *prima facie* evidence for its late origin.

Some of the OC **sC-* forms are as old as Sino-Tibetan, for example OC 黑 **smək* 'black': WT *smag* 'dark, darkness'; OC 歲 **skwjats* 'year': WT *skyod-pa* 'to pass, to lapse in time'. Other forms, as we have suggested, are of more recent origin. They are created by adding the **s-* prefix to roots indigenous to Chinese. Even if we make the conservative estimate that **s-* was active up to the end of Western Jou, the conclusion is still inevitable that **s-* was active in Chinese for at least one millennium. This would explain why the same **sC-* cluster often produces different reflexes. For example, in addition to **sm->*hm->x-*, we also have **sm->s-* and **smj->sj-*:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 37 a 亡 <i>*mjang>mjang</i> | to lose, to disappear (742a) |
| b 喪 <i>*smangs>sâng</i> | to lose, to disappear (705a) |
| 38 a 滅 <i>*mjat>mjät (=3a)</i> | to destroy (294b) |
| b 威 <i>*smjät>xjwät (=3b)</i> | to cause to destroy (294a) |
| c 戌 <i>*smjit>sjuët</i> | cyclical character (1257h) |

Ex. 38c is the phonetic of Exs. 38a and 38b. The fact that Ex. 38c has a different vocalism is another indication that it belongs to another stratum. Similarly, we have **snj->sj-* (Exs. 8b 襄, 24b 羞) and **snj->śj-* (Ex. 22b 恕), **sn->th-* (Exs. 23b 愿, 25b 恥) and **sn->tsh-* (Ex. 26b 次). Some of the divergent reflexes may be due

to faulty reconstruction. The more likely explanation, however, is that for a given *C-, initials of the type *sC- were being generated continuously for more than a millennium. The *sC- initial of an earlier period was subject to one phonological rule, and after it was depleted, the later *sC- initial was subject to another rule. Dialect variation may also be a factor.

5.

In the beginning of this paper, we adopted Conrady's view that *s-* in Written Tibetan has two morphological functions, causative and denominative, and tried to show that OC **s-* had the same functions. For the purpose of establishing the affiliation of Chinese to Tibetan, it does not matter which system of morphological analysis we adopt as long as it is the same for the two languages. We started with Conrady's analysis partly because it is simple and well known. Nevertheless, as we saw in III.3, OC **s-* had morphological functions which cannot be subsumed under the rubric of causative-denominative. As we conclude our discussion, let us once again ask the question: "What is the 'real' meaning of the **s-* prefix in OC?"

This question is related to another. According to my earlier view (Mei 1980), the primary function of **-s* is to nominalize. If so, the nominalizing **-s* and the denominative **s-* form a natural pair. Thus my earlier view goes hand in hand with Conrady's analysis. If on the other hand, both **s-* and **-s* can be affixed to a variety of word-classes—and are in this sense "trans-categorical"—, then it is necessary to consider a different system of morphological analysis.

Schuessler (1985) has proposed an attractive interpretation of the *chiu-sheng* (Departing tone) derivation which views the change into Departing tone as a marker for inversion of attention flow. His argument, based on Lu De-ming's glosses on the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents* in the *Jing-dian shr-wen* (583-589 A.D.), is too long to reproduce here. In what follows, I will assume that **-s* is the main source of the Departing tone, restate Schuessler's theory, and extend the same system of morphological analysis to **s-*. The aim is to show that **-s* is an inverse suffix and **s-* is a directive prefix—a prefix which increases the directionality of the basic form.

The attention flow is direct in the unmarked basic form by definition (Cf. DeLancey 1981: 641ff). Inversion, marked by the **-s* suffix, manifests itself as either passive, or ergative, or middle voice; what these manifestations have in common is that attention flow is not direct, but inverted. Thus under the general rubric of inversion, we may recognize several subtypes of the morphological function of the **-s* suffix. Type A, consisting of examples such as 'buy'/'sell' and 'learn'/'teach', is self-explanatory. Type B is nominalization. But notice that the derived noun is invariably the passive recipient of the action represented by the verbal root, but not the active agent; if the basic form is 'to weave', the form derived by adding the **-s* suffix is 'what is woven' but not 'what/who is weaving'. The

same applies to types C and D, though unlike Schuessler, we will not try to demonstrate the inverted sense of the derived forms through their use in context.

39 a V>V

買 *mrigx>mai	buy	賣 *mrigs>mai	sell
受 *djəgwx>žjəu	receive	授 *djəgws>žjəu	give
學 *grəkwx>ʃäk	learn	教 *grəkws>ʃau	teach

b V>N

織 *tjək>tšjək	to weave	織 *tjəks>tši	woven material, what is woven
入 *njəp>ńžjəp	to enter	內 *nəps>nuai	inside, what is entered into
結 *kit>kiet	to knot	髻 *kits>kiei	hair knot, what is tied into a knot

c N>V

家 *krag>ka	house	嫁 *krags>ka	to be married (of girl) to be housed
道 *dəgwx>dau	way	導 *dəgws>dau	to be wayed, to lead
種 *tjungx> tšjwong	seed	種 *tjungs>tšjwong	to be seeded, to sow

d N>N

北 *pək>pək	North	背 *pəks>puai	the back, what is turned north
弟 *didx>diei	younger brother	娣 *dids>diei	who is made a junior, younger secondary wife
兩 *C-rjang>ljang	a pair, two	輜 *C-rjangs>ljang	what is paired (e. g. wheels), carriage

The purpose of these examples is to show that both the basic form and the derived form under *-s derivation can be either noun or verb, and that the morphological function of *-s common to all types is inversion of attention flow.

It should perhaps be mentioned that in WT, the -s suffix marks the derived noun and the perfect of verbs. Wolfenden (1929: 58) has already noted that the two are related. Furthermore, perfect active and present passive are but two modes of looking at the same fact; looking at it actively, we get, for instance "one has filled up something", and at it neutrally (or medio-passively) "something is in the state of being filled up" (Li 1933: 152). In the traditional account, WT -s also marks the instrumental case and the ablative case, but not the accusative, locative, or genitive. In the former two cases, instrumental -*kjis*, -*gis* etc. and ablative -*nas*, -*las* associated with "removal", the noun involved is a passive

patient or a neutral participant, and therefore requires an *-s* to mark the inversion of attention flow. The inverse affix is also present in some European languages, for example German *ver-*, *kaufen* 'buy'/*verkaufen* 'sell', and its English cognate *for-* 'away, from' *get/forget*, *give/forgive*, etc.

If **-s* is a trans-categorical suffix marking inversion of direction, then consistency requires a similar analysis for the **s-* prefix. Such an analysis is already at hand. The causative verb is more directed than the simplex verb. A noun is entirely devoid of directionality. But its denominative derivative, an adjective or a verb, clearly has more directionality. The morpho-semantic difference can also be stated in terms of the traditional categories of 體 *ti* 'substance' and 用 *yung* 'function'; adding the prefix **s-* converts the static substance into its dynamic function. Similarly, the psychological verbs 'to lie', 'to be ashamed of', 'to treat others as oneself' etc. discussed in III.3. belong to the dynamic pole of 情 *ching* 'feeling, emotion' instead of the static pole of 性 *shing* 'human nature'. The same static-dynamic contrast is present in Exs. 26 and 27 where the opposition is between cardinals and ordinals.

Another way of understanding OC **s-* is to compare it with the English prefix *in-* (as in *inside*) and its allomorphs *il-*, *im-*, *ir-* *en-*, *em-* etc. (Jespersen 1942: 490). These two prefixes are remarkably alike. The English prefix has a causative function, for example: N>V: *cage/encage*, *danger/endanger*, *crown/encrown*, *slave/enslave*; Adj.>V: *bitter/embitter*, *dear/endeare*. Insofar as this prefix converts nouns into verbs, it is also denominative. The prefix *in-* in its directive use is trans-categorical: V>N *come/income*, N>N *road/inroad*, V>Adj. *born/inborn*, V>V *gather/ingather*. It also has an intensive function: *clothe/enclothe*, *wrap/enwrap*. The reason why *in-* and its allomorphs can be trans-categorical and multi-functional is that the prefix expresses a directive meaning. Wolfenden (1929) noted long ago that the Tibeto-Burman *s-* is directive. We can now say that OC **s-* is also directive.

The noncausative prefix *a-chung* in WT is usually paired with the causative prefix *s-*. If *s-* is now interpreted as a prefix which indicates more directionality, then *a-chung*, earlier **N-* must be a prefix which indicates less directionality. Thus, pending further study on the identity of the Chinese cognate of Tibetan **N-*, we may tentatively posit a system of derivational affixes for Sino-Tibetan:

- *-s*: inversion of direction
- *s-*: more directed
- *N-*: less directed

IV. Conclusions

- (1) F. K. Li's rules for voiceless nasals are revised to conform to Yakhontov's:
 $*sm- > *hm- > x-$, $*sn- > *hn- > th-$, $*sng- > *hng- > x-$, $*sngw- > *hngw- > xw-$
- (2) The morphological functions of OC prefix **s-* are causative, denominative,

and intensive, all of which are manifestations of its directive function.

(3) OC *s-, *-s and perhaps also *N- belong to a system of derivational affixes which regulates directionality.

(4) The morphological traits common to Old Chinese and Written Tibetan show that these two languages belong to the same family.

References

- Baxter, W. 白一平
1983 〈上古漢語 *sr-的發展〉《語言研究》1983. 1.22-26.
- Benedict, P.
1972 *Sino-Tibetan Conspectus*.
- Bodman, N.
1980 "Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan," in F. Van Coestem & L. Waugh eds., *Contributions to Historical Linguistics* (Leiden, E. J. Brill).
- Chang, Betty S. and Kun
1975 "Chinese *s-Nasal initials," *BIHP* 47. 587-609.
- Chou Fa-kao 周法高
1962 《中國古代語法》(〈構詞編〉).
- Chou Tsu-mo 周祖謨
1966 《問學集》.
- Conrady, A.
1896 *Eine indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung und ihr Zusammenhang mit den Tonaccenten*.
- DeLancey, S.
1981 "An interpretation of split ergative and related patterns," *Language* 57.626-57.
- Gong Hwang-cherng
1980 "A comparative study of the Chinese, Tibetan, and Burmese vowel systems," *BIHP* 51.455-90.
- Hockett, C.
1958 *A Course in Modern Linguistics*.
- Jersperson, O.
1942 *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, Part IV, "Morphology."
- Ju Jiun-sheng 朱駿聲
1833 《說文通訓定聲》(世界文庫,《樸學叢書》).
- Karlgren B.
1950 *The Book of Odes*.
1957 *Grammata Serica Recensa*.
- Li Fang-kuei 李方桂
1933 "Certain phonetic influences of the Tibetan prefixes upon the root initials," *BIHP* 4.135-57.
1976 〈幾個上古聲母問題〉《總統蔣公逝世週年紀念論文集》1143-1150.
1977 *A Handbook of Comparative Tai*.
1980 《上古音研究》(北平,商務).
- Li Hsiao-ting
1965 《甲骨文字集釋》(史語所).
- Mei Tsu-Lin
1979 "Sino-Tibetan 'year', 'month', 'foot' and 'vulva'," *Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 12.1-2.117-33.
1980 〈四聲別義中的時間層次〉《中國語文》1980. 6. 427-443.
- Meillet
1967 (1924): (Ford, G. trans.) *The Comparative Method in Historical Linguistics*.
- Norman, J.
1973 "Tonal development in Min," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 1.222-38.

Pulleyblank, E.

1962 "The consonant system of Old Chinese," *Asia Major* 5.58-144, 206-65.

1973 "Some new hypotheses concerning word families in Chinese," *JCL* 1.111-25.

Schuessler, A.

1985 "The function of *qusheng* in Early Zhou Chinese," in Craham Thurgood, J. Matisoff, D. Bradley eds., *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area* (Pacific Linguistics. Series C; no. 87. Canberra, Australia), 344-62.

Wang Li

1957 《漢語史稿》(上)

1982 《同源字典》(北平, 商務).

Wolfenden, S.

1929 *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Morphology*.

Yakhontov, S. E.

1960 "Consonant combinations in Archaic Chinese," International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow.

論談添盍帖分四部說

陳 新 雄

國立臺灣師範大學

一、撰述之緣起

何九盈、陳復華的〈古韻三十部歸字總論〉一文，¹於「入聲韻的歸字問題」及「陽聲韻的歸字問題」兩節，談到緝部葉部及侵部與談部有幾個聲首，歷來的古韻學家分部有不一致的地方。今按著何文的次第一一照錄于後：²

19. 緝部

乏聲

段玉裁歸第七部（侵緝），朱駿聲歸謙之嗑分部（相當於葉部），江有誥、王力、董同龢、周祖謨歸葉部，黃侃歸入聲帖部（葉），孔廣森、嚴可均歸侵部。

20. 葉部

寔聲

各家多歸葉部，朱駿聲以寔从入得聲，將寔聲字全列緝部（他叫臨之習分部）。

衛聲

段玉裁歸第八部（包括談葉），朱駿聲歸履部，从尔聲，江、周都歸葉部，董同龢歸緝部。

囟聲

朱駿聲歸謙之嗑分部，黃侃歸帖部（葉），林義光歸葉部，董同龢歸緝部。

29. 侵部

召聲

段玉裁召聲歸談部，孔廣森、王念孫、王力歸侵部；朱駿聲、江有誥、黃侃、董同龢、周祖謨召聲歸談。

¹ 見中華書局《音韻學研究》第一輯，頁二〇七～二五二，1984年北京。

² 所錄聲首只限於緝葉或侵談相亂者，非關緝葉或侵談之相涉者不錄。或雖涉緝葉侵談，其聲首之古韻歸屬已有定論者亦不錄。

𠂔聲 𠂔聲

江有誥、朱駿聲、黃侃、董同龢、周祖謨歸談部，孔廣森、嚴可均歸侵部。段玉裁將𠂔聲與𠂔聲分別處理：𠂔聲歸侵，𠂔聲歸談，𠂔聲也歸談。王力《漢語史稿》歸談，《漢語音韻》又改歸侵。注：「𠂔，乎感切。𠂔聲有函，函本作𠂔」。

欠聲

段、江、朱、黃、周歸談部，嚴可均歸侵部。

占聲

江、夏、黃、董、周歸談，段、王（念孫）、孔、嚴歸侵部，王力《漢語史稿》占聲歸談，《漢語音韻》歸侵。

𠂔聲 𠂔字³

朱歸謙部（談）。孔、嚴歸侵部。黃侃歸入聲帖部（葉）。林義光也歸談部。此字既為「𠂔」的異文，應和𠂔一樣歸入侵部。王力《漢語音韻》「𠂔」作為散字歸侵。⁴

𠂔聲

這個字的讀音很複雜，它的歸類也相當成問題。江有誥、朱駿聲、董同龢歸談部。段玉裁《六書音均表》歸七部（侵部），在《說文注》中又歸十五部。嚴可均歸侵部。

30. 談部

𠂔（冉）聲

嚴、朱、江、王（力）、董歸談部，段歸侵部。

閃聲

朱駿聲、黃侃、王力歸談部，段歸侵部。

兼聲

江、朱、黃歸談部，段歸侵部。

僉聲

江、朱、黃歸談部，段歸侵部。

𠂔聲

嚴可均歸侵部，从𠂔聲。陸志韋說：「當从𠂔聲。」段、朱、黃、周歸談部，林義光亦歸談部。

³ 𠂔字何文本置於占聲下討論，今以𠂔為𠂔之異文，故移𠂔字於𠂔聲下。

⁴ 王力《漢語音韻》「𠂔」字歸侵之意見，何文原列占聲下，今移易於此。

以上所錄緝葉部入聲聲首計：乏聲、遑聲、僞聲、囧聲共四個聲首；侵談部陽聲聲首計：呂聲、弓聲、僞聲、欠聲、占聲、導聲、囧聲、𠂔聲、閃聲、兼聲、僉聲、𡗗聲及𠂔字共十一個聲首，兩相合計共十五個聲首，這十五個聲首傳統古音學家緝葉、侵談分合不定，這中間必有緣故。我們知道古音學家的古韻分部多依據詩經押韻、說文諧聲、經籍異文、一字重文、經籍音讀等材料進行判斷，但是這些材料如果音本相近，有時到底應該歸屬於何部，就難以判斷了。舉例來說，兮聲的字，自段玉裁歸入第十六部支部以來，歷來的古音學家也無異說，像王力《漢語史稿》、董同龢《中國語音史》都歸支部。⁵但近年〈阜陽漢簡詩經〉⁶發表，其〈衛風·淇奥〉三章作「□□□臂，𡗗旖綽旖。」今本毛詩作「如圭如璧，寬兮綽兮。」即以「旖」爲「兮」之異文，然「旖」自來即在「歌」部，「兮」在「支」部，可見異文等材料，也不能絕對地作爲分部的依據；因何九盈，陳復華的論斷歸字，每每以此等材料作爲依據，所以提出我一些不同的看法。再者何文所提到的黃侃古韻分部，仍舊是他的古韻廿八部舊說，沒有參考黃氏〈談添壺帖分四部說〉一文的意見，⁷其實上舉的十五個聲首，多數屬於黃氏談添壺帖分部後的添帖部的，所以我認爲有重新提出來討論的必要。

二、舊說之檢討

黃侃的〈談添壺帖分四部說〉一文，以古本韻的理論，把談部從添部分出，壺部從帖部分出。這是中國聲韻學史上第一個提出談葉兩部還應細分的人。他列出了四部的聲首如下：

談部：

炎 弓 弓 呂 甘 獸 甜 𡗗 广 詹 斬 僉 𡗗

添部：

焱 奄 兼 口 欠 占 夾 閃 西 冉 𡗗 僉 𡗗

壺部：

甲 夾 涉 𡗗 妾

帖部：

𡗗 業 陟 𡗗 聶 𡗗 聶 囧 導 瀟 乏

5 王力《漢語史稿》上冊，頁七九，科學出版社出版，1958年，北京；董同龢《中國語音史》，頁一三五，中華文化出版事業委員會出版，民國四十三年，臺北。

6 〈阜陽漢簡詩經〉見《文物》1984年第八期，頁七～一一；又饒宗頤〈讀阜陽漢簡詩經〉，《明報月刊》1984年十二月號；文幸福〈阜陽漢簡詩經研究〉，《國文學報》第十五期，民國七十五年六月。

7 黃侃〈談添壺帖分四部說〉，見《黃侃論學雜著》，頁二九〇～二九八，中華書局出版，1964年，上海。

此外，他體認到《廣韻》自眞至仙十四個收舌尖鼻音 $-n$ 韻尾的韻分成眞、諄、元三個古韻部；自質至薛十三個收舌尖塞音 $-t$ 韻尾的韻也分成質、沒、月三個古韻部。從音韻結構看來，如果收音於 $-m$ 及 $-p$ 韻尾的韻，只分侵談與緝葉四部，則與收 $-n$ 與收 $-t$ 韻尾的六部，在音韻結構上不能夠相配，所以主張談盍從添帖分出來，加上侵緝兩部，則正好與收音於 $-n$ 與 $-t$ 的韻相配，這個理論值得我們重視。不過黃侃談添盍帖四部之分，雖然列出了四部的聲首，但是它們的界限仍有些混淆，怎樣得到這一結果，也沒有清楚的交代，所以相信的人仍不太多。

直到董同龢的《上古音韻表稿》⁸ 出來，對這四部的區分才有一個比較清楚的界限。董氏非常細心地注意到：(1)《廣韻》覃合兩韻的字，除屬上古侵緝部的字外，確有些字要歸屬於談葉部，在《詩經》的韻腳上雖看不出來，但諧聲字上覃合韻的字却與咸、鹽、嚴、凡、業等韻有許多關聯。(2)添帖韻的字只諧咸洽，而不諧銜洽。(3)鹽葉兩韻當分兩類，一諧覃咸添與合洽帖，董氏稱為鹽₂；一諧談銜與盍押，董氏稱為鹽₁。(4)嚴凡與業乏在諧聲一類與覃合諧；一類與談盍諧，所以也應分兩類。董氏的結論，他的分析大體與黃侃的「談，盍」與「添，帖」的內容相當。不過董氏當時以為上古韻部與中古的韻攝相當，雖然韻母系統不同，但仍只分談葉二部而已，董氏談葉的韻母如下：

盍(盍) * $\hat{a}p$	庚(合) * $\hat{e}p$
甲(狎) * $\hat{a}p$	夾(洽) * $\hat{e}p$
擊(葉 ₁) * $\hat{i}ap$ 劫(業) * $\hat{i}äp$ 法(乏) * $\hat{i}wäp$	腌(葉 ₂) * $\hat{i}ep$
	莢(帖) * $\hat{i}ep$
甘(談) * $\hat{a}m$	拊(覃) * $\hat{e}m$
監(銜) * $\hat{a}m$	陷(咸) * $\hat{e}m$
黠(鹽 ₁) * $\hat{i}am$ 欠(嚴) * $\hat{i}äm$ 汜(凡) * $\hat{i}wäm$	檢(鹽 ₂) * $\hat{i}em$
	兼(添) * $\hat{i}em$

9

我在《古音學發微》裏，¹⁰ 曾根據黃侃與董同龢的分析，確定談、添、盍、帖四部的範圍，我認為談部應以談銜兩韻的字為主，另加鹽嚴凡的一部分字；添部應以添咸兩韻的字為主，另加覃鹽嚴的一部分字；盍部以盍狎兩韻的字為主，另加葉業乏的一部分字；帖部以帖洽兩韻的字為主，另加合葉業的一部分字。四部的諧聲表如後：

⁸ 董同龢《上古音韻表稿》，中央研究院歷史語言研究所出版，民國五十六年，臺北。

⁹ 表中韻母系統見董氏《上古音韻表稿》，頁一一二。

¹⁰ 陳新雄《古音學發微》，嘉新水泥公司文化基金會研究論文第一八七種，民國六十一年，臺北。

談部：

𠂔聲 詹聲 獸聲 厭聲 甘聲 炎聲 龜聲 甜聲 芟聲 敢聲 嚴聲 嚴聲
嚴聲 廣聲 斬聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 監聲 豔聲 𠂔聲 已聲

盍部：

曷聲 盍聲 𠂔聲 妄聲 甲聲 壓聲 劫聲 法聲 乏聲 厓聲 業聲 曷聲
盍聲 涉聲

帖部：

冉聲 弇聲 函聲 呂聲 奄聲 𠂔聲 兼聲 占聲 染聲 閃聲 夾聲 欠聲
僉聲 忝聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 貶聲 𠂔聲

帖部：

𠂔聲 𠂔聲 夾聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲
𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲 𠂔聲¹¹

余迺永《上古音系研究》¹² 以爲從脂、微的二分，脂、質眞所屬中古韻居二、三、四等，微物、文卽居一、二、三等。根據現代方言，凡上古不具一等諸部，其元音均屬較低或帶 i 的上升複元音。故李方桂一併以同於脂質眞三部，而只具二、三、四等的支、錫、耕三部均擬上古元音作 *i。帖、添二部上古元音亦當爲高元音一類，應與屬央元音的緝、侵，低元音的盍、談分立。

除此四人之外，言古韻分部的人，很少區分此四部，然則談與添，盍與帖究竟有無分部的可能，有無分部的必要，實值得進一層加以探索。

三、分部的必要

李方桂《上古音研究》¹³ 說：「研究上古的元音系統的時候，我們也有一個嚴格的假設，就是上古同一韻部的字一定只有一種主要元音。」李壬癸〈閩南語的押韻與音韻對比〉¹⁴ 亦說：「大致上主要元音相同才可互押。」如果我們要遵照這麼嚴格的假設，則董同龢《上古音韻表稿》分析談葉兩部明顯的兩套韻母系統，顯然就不可能同部，而得將它分開了，否則在音韻地位上，就很難安排了。

董同龢說：「葉談兩部裏應該有些覃韻與合韻字的地位當無可疑。」我曾經把《廣韻》覃、感、勘、合；咸、賺、陷、洽八韻的諧聲字分析了一下，發現除了應歸古韻

¹¹ 這張諧聲表後來有所修正，見後。

¹² 余迺永《上古音系研究》，中文大學出版社出版，1983年，香港。

¹³ 李方桂《上古音研究》，《清華學報》新九卷一、二期合刊，民國六十年，臺北。

¹⁴ 李壬癸〈閩南語的押韻與音韻對比〉，民國七十五年八月五日清華大學漢語方言學座談會印發綱要。

侵緝部的字外，有些應歸入談葉部的字也還不少，我還對照了全本王仁昫《刊謬補缺切韻》，有許多字也都見於全王，所以這些談葉部的變入廣韻覃、感、勘、合；與咸、賺、陷、洽。應該是前有所承的，不是無端闖入的。今按平上去入四聲之次，將此八韻屬談葉部的字，按其諧聲偏旁逐錄於後。平聲二十二覃韻：

冉聲：𠂔、𠂕、𠂖^{俱見¹⁵全王}、𠂗（那含切）。

弇聲：𠂘（烏含切）、𠂙（古南切）^全。

奄聲：奄、𠂚^全、奄、𠂛（烏含切）。

函聲：函、𠂜、𠂝、𠂞^全、𠂟、函、𠂠（胡男切）𠂡（古南切）^全。

函聲：函、𠂢^全、𠂣、函（胡南切）。

𠂤聲：𠂤（胡南切）。

詹聲：𠂥（丁含切）。此字據去聲五十四勘，𠂥又音都甘切，則當入二十三談，今《廣韻》二十三談都甘切下正有𠂥字，《全王》覃韻無只見談韻。

甘聲：𠂦（口含切）。

炎聲：𠂧、𠂨（火含切）^{見《全王》，此二字得聲不明，《廣韻》聲系系炎聲下。}

上聲四十八感韻：

贛聲：贛、贛、贛、贛^全、贛、贛、贛（古禪切）；贛（苦感切）^全；贛（都感切）^{《廣韻》聲系系贛聲下。}

呂聲：𠂩^全、𠂪、𠂫（徒感切）；𠂬^全、𠂭、𠂮、𠂯、𠂰（苦感切）；𠂱^全、𠂲、𠂳（胡感切）。

炎聲：𠂴（徒感切）。

奄聲：𠂵、𠂶、𠂷、𠂸（烏感切）^全。

弇聲：𠂹（烏感切）^全。

𠂺聲：𠂺（奴感切）。

寔聲：寔（五感切）^全。

欠聲：𠂻（苦感切）^全。

函聲：𠂼、𠂽^全、函、𠂾（胡感切）。

𠂿聲：𠂿（胡感切）

去聲五十三勘韻：

呂聲：𠂿（苦紺切）^全；𠂿^全、𠂿（胡紺切）。

贛聲：贛（苦紺切）；贛^全、贛、贛（古暗切）；贛（徒紺切）

15 後凡見於全本王仁昫《刊謬補缺切韻》者，只注全王二字以省篇幅。

入聲二十七合韻：

厶聲：厶_圭（古沓切）；（口荅切）。

帀聲：帀_圭（徂合切）；帀、帀、帀_圭、迺、沛、迺（子荅切）。

盍聲：盍_圭、殄（口荅切）；殄_圭、匄、盍、盍（烏合切）；歛（呼合切）。

奄聲：奄、跪、奄_圭、庵（烏合切）。

弁聲：弁、翰（烏合切）。

業聲：磔（五合切）

平聲二十六咸韻：

函聲：函_圭（胡讒切）。

兼聲：兼_圭、鯁（胡讒切）；鯁_圭（古咸切）；鯁_圭鯁（五咸切）。

函聲：桶（胡讒切）。

占聲：占_圭（所咸切）；沾、沾_圭、沾（竹咸切）。

鐵聲：鐵、鐵_圭、鐵、鐵（所咸切）；鐵（士銜切）。

召聲：沼（乙咸切）；鵠_圭、鵠（苦咸切）；鵠_圭（竹咸切）。

兔聲：讒、讒、兔、兔、兔_圭、兔、兔、兔（士咸切）。

斬聲：獬、獬_圭（士咸切）。

僉聲：廛（苦咸切）。

上聲五十三賺韻：

兼聲：賺_圭、獬、獬（下斬切）；獬_圭、獬、獬（苦減切）；獬_圭（古斬切）。

監聲：獬_圭（下斬切）。

敢聲：敢_圭（苦減切）；獬_圭（火斬切）。

兔聲：獬_圭（士減切）。

斬聲：獬（士減切）；斬（側減切）；獬（所斬切）。

僉聲：獬_圭、獬（力減切）。

鐵聲：獬_圭、獬（初減切）。

銜聲：獬（女減切）。

召：獬_圭（丑減切）。

去聲五十八陷韻：

召聲：陷、陷、召_圭、陷、陷（戶陷切）；陷_圭（於陷切）、陷_圭（公陷切）。

占聲：占_圭、站（陟陷切）、沾（佇陷切）。

兼聲：歛_圭、獬（口陷切）；獬_圭、獬（佇陷切）；獬（公陷切）。

僂聲：僂_圭、輓（仕陷切）。

詹聲：詹_圭（仕陷切）。

入聲三十一洽韻：

夾聲：狹、陝、陝、峽、硖、戛、齧、映_圭（侯洽切）；夾、邾、筴、袂、鳩、鞅_圭、
瘼（古洽切）；欸_圭（呼洽切）；帙（苦洽切）。

召聲：招、帛_圭、晷（苦洽切）。

逮聲：逮_圭（士洽切）；鼈（楚洽切）；薏_圭、薏（山洽切）。

桀聲：桀_圭、桀（士洽切）。

舌聲：舌_圭、舌、舌（士洽切）；屈、偃_圭、插、馱、誦（側洽切）；插、舌、誦_圭、
插、舌（楚洽切）；舌_圭（呼洽切）；舌_圭、舌（山洽切）。

聶聲：聶（女洽切）。

妾聲：雲_圭、妾、妾（山洽切）。

奄聲：奄_圭（烏洽切）。

盍聲：盍（烏洽切）。

迺聲：迺（五夾切）。

以上的聲首，像單韻詹聲的顛字，既不見於全王，又重出於談韻，又見於全王，談韻詹聲的字，除顛外，尚有澹（徒甘切）；擔、儋、瞻（都甘切）。則詹聲字顯然與談銜爲類，與覃咸非類，當剔除，陷韻詹聲的詹，雖見於全王，然詹聲讀仕陷切，音讀可疑，亦刪；覃韻甘聲的瞿亦重出的談韻，且見於全王，而甘聲字在談韻尚有甘、柑、管、苔、泔（古三切）；柑（苦甘切）；酣、魁、藎、鮎、邯（胡甘切）；酣（武酣切）；酣、酣（呼談切）。則甘聲字自當入談銜一類，覃咸系甘聲字自當剔出。覃韻炎聲的寢、寢二字得聲不明，若如《廣韻聲系》¹⁶所系炎聲，炎聲在談韻有談、鄰、憐、談、淡、痰、淡、談、藟（徒甘切）；談、寢、淡（他酣切），則炎聲字亦當屬談銜系，覃咸系者皆闕入。合韻盍聲的字不少，見於全王者謹盍（口荅切）、盍（烏合切）二字；但盍韻盍聲的字更多，今將兩韻並列於下，以資比較。

合韻	盍韻
影紐：瘡、瘡、瘡（烏合切）	瘡、瘡（安盍切）
曉紐：瘡（呼合切）	瘡（呼盍切）
匣紐：缺	盍、盍、盍、盍、盍（胡臘切）
見紐：缺	盍、盍、盍、盍、盍
溪紐：瘡、瘡（口荅切）	瘡、瘡、瘡（苦盍切）

¹⁶ 見沈兼士《廣韻聲系》，臺北中華書局。

從分配上看來，盍聲字在盍韻才是整齊的，在合韻是間見的，所以盍聲在盍部是無疑問的。因此合洽系的盍聲字都當剔出。臻韻敢聲撮、闕二字雖見於全王，然敢聲的字見於談韻的有慙（呼談切）；見於銜韻的有巖、礪、囁、囁（五銜切）；見於敢韻的有敢、橄、澈（古覽切）；𦵏（口敢切）；見於闕韻的有關、瞰、瞰、𦵏（苦盍切）；𦵏（古盍切）；慙、𦵏、𦵏（下瞰切）；見於檻韻的有撮（胡盍切）；𦵏（於檻切）；𦵏、𦵏（荒檻切）；見於鑑韻的有𦵏（楚鑒切）；𦵏、𦵏、闕（許鑑切）；𦵏（音黯去聲）。顯然敢聲的字應劃入談銜系。臻韻銜聲的𦵏字，不見於全王，則銜聲字自應屬談銜系。¹⁷ 此外尚有盍聲與斬聲的字，在談銜與覃咸之間皆有接觸，應加確定。先說𦵏聲的字，兩系的諧聲關係如下：

談銜系	覃咸系
銜韻：𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏（鋤銜切）；𦵏𦵏（楚銜切）； 𦵏𦵏（所銜切）	咸韻：𦵏 ¹⁸ 𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏（士咸切）。
檻韻：𦵏𦵏（仕檻切）	臻韻：𦵏𦵏（士減切）
鑑韻：𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏（楚鑒切）；𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏（士鑑切）	陷韻：𦵏𦵏𦵏𦵏（仕陷切）。

𦵏聲的字在兩系出現的情形相近，而且都見於全王，此很難定其歸屬。何九盈云：「孔嚴將𦵏涵入侵部，主要以異文、讀若爲據。關於𦵏聲，我們還可以補充幾條通假材料。《戰國策·秦策二》：「穉里疾、公孫衍二人在，爭之王。」「在」，他書作「𦵏」。「𦵏在」既是雙聲，又爲之侵通轉。另外，古書中𦵏又假借爲才，也是之侵通轉。又「針灸」的「針」，在漢代寫作「鍼」，也作「鑱」。《史記·扁鵲倉公列傳》：「鑱石橋引」。索引：鑱音士咸反，謂石針也。這都𦵏聲應當歸侵部的明證。」𦵏聲如果照何九盈說歸侵部，它出現在覃咸系自無問題，可是又出現在談銜系就難解了，我認爲𦵏聲的字應該是介於談侵二部之間的音，那就是從談部分出來的添部。也就是董同龢談葉部的短元音 *ɛ* 系的音。它與侵部的異文假借，只是音近而已，並不是同部。

斬聲的字，董同龢以爲諧聲關係比較亂一點，如：

慙暫（談）：漸暫𦵏（鹽）：斬（咸）

¹⁷ 按《說文》：「銜，馬勒口中也。从金行。銜者所曰行馬也。」段玉裁、朱駿聲、黃侃歸侵部的理由，都以爲「金亦聲」，其實金非聲。

¹⁸ 《廣韻》咸韻𦵏士咸切又士銜切，則銜韻鋤銜切下當有𦵏字，今本《廣韻》無者當爲脫漏，應據咸韻又音增。

那麼我們全面檢討一下斬聲的諧聲分布，看看它究竟是近於談銜系抑是覃咸系。下面是斬聲字的分配

談銜系	覃咸系
談韻：𪔐𪔑𪔒𪔓 𪔔𪔕 (昨甘切)；𪔖𪔗 (作三切)。 敢韻：𪔘𪔙 (子敢切)；𪔚𪔛 (才敢切)。 闕韻：𪔜𪔝𪔞𪔟 (藏檻切)。 銜韻：𪔡𪔢𪔣 (鋤銜切)。 檻韻：𪔥𪔦 (山檻切)。 鑑韻：𪔧𪔨 (楚鑑切)；𪔩𪔪𪔫 (子鑑切)；𪔬 (士 餓切)。	覃韻：無字 感韻：無字。 勘韻：無字。 咸韻：𪔭𪔮𪔯 (士咸切)。 賺韻：𪔱 (士減切)；𪔲 (側減切)；𪔳 (所斬切)。 陷韻：無字。

咸韻斬聲的𪔭字又有士銜切一音，𪔥字又有才三切一音都應入談銜系，賺韻斬聲三字皆不見於全王，不過賺韻反切下字多用斬字而已。從以上分配看來，顯然是應入談銜一系。檻韻斬聲字只山檻切的𪔥字，賺韻士減切的𪔱與側減切的𪔲，可能應併入檻韻，在聲母的分配上正好互補，賺韻所斬切的𪔳字全王既無，顯為增加字，斬聲既入談銜系，則鑑韻斬聲字自應屬鑑類。現在我們可以整理出覃感勘合，咸賺陷洽八韻屬於添帖部的諧聲聲首了。

添部：

𪔱 (冉) 聲 𪔲 聲 𪔳 聲 𪔴 聲 𪔵 聲 𪔶 聲 𪔷 聲 𪔸 聲 𪔹 聲 𪔺 聲 𪔻 聲 𪔼 聲
𪔽 聲 𪔾 聲 𪔿 聲

帖部：

𪔿 聲 𪔿 聲 𪔿 聲 𪔿 聲 𪔿 聲 𪔿 聲 𪔿 聲

凡從以上諧聲的字變入廣韻覃感勘合；咸賺陷洽八韻，都是添部或帖部的字，如果不把添與帖從談與鑑分出來的話，像甘古三切 (談)：𪔱古南切 (覃)；𪔲胡甘切 (談)：𪔳胡男切 (覃)；監古銜切 (銜)：𪔴古咸切 (咸)；銜戶監切 (銜)：𪔵胡讒切 (咸)；𪔶五銜切 (銜)：𪔷五咸切 (咸)……等一類對立的字就不好解釋了。李方桂《上古音研究》於一等韻自談部變來的覃韻字沒有舉例，不知要怎樣書寫，二等變入咸韻的字則以複元音 ia 來解釋。後文我擬從音韻結構上來討論談添鑑帖的分部。

四、分部的解釋

龔煌城談到上古音宵部相配的陽聲，與葉部相配的陰聲，從音韻結構來看是應該有的，不過宵部的陽聲後來變入元部，葉部的陰聲後來變入宵部的陰聲，龔氏的結構

表是這樣表示的：

月 -at 宵 -ak^w 葉 -ap
 歌 -ad 宵 -ag^w ← ○ -ab
 元 -an ← ○ -ang^w 談 -am¹⁹

從音韻結構來看四元音系統或三元音系統各家是怎麼樣安排的，李方桂《上古音研究》東、侯二部的主要元音是 u 外，其他各部都可分屬於 i、ə、a 三個元音系統裏去，他的系統如下：

韻 元	尾	-g	-k	-ng	-d	-t	-n	-r	-b	-p	-m	-gw	-kw	-ngw
i		ig 支陰	ik 支入	ing 耕	id 脂陰	it 脂入	in 真	ir ○	ib ○	ip ○	im ○	igw ○	ikw ○	ingw ○
ə		əg 之陰	ək 之入	əng 蒸	əd 微陰	ət 微入	ən 文	ər 微	əb 緝陰	əp 緝入	əm 侵	əgw 幽陰	ək ^w 幽入	əngw 冬
a		ag 魚陰	ak 魚入	ang 陽	ad 祭陰	at 祭入	an 元	ar 歌	ab 葉陰	ap 葉入	am 談	agw 宵陰	akw 宵入	angw ○

周法高的三元音系統則如下表：²⁰

韻 元	尾	ɣ	k	ng	wɣ	wk	wng	ø	r	t	n	p	m
a		aɣ 魚	ak 鐸	ang 陽	awɣ 宵	awk 藥	awng ○	a 歌	ar 祭	at 月	an 元	ap 葉	am 談
ə		əɣ 之	ək 職	əng 蒸	əwɣ 幽	əwk 覺	əwng 冬	ə ○	ər 微	ət 物	ən 痕	əp 緝	əm 侵
e		eɣ 支	ek 錫	eng 青	ewɣ 侯	ewk 屋	ewng 東	e ○	er 脂	et 質	en 真	ep ○	em ○

從以上兩表元音與韻尾的相配看來，實在有將添帖兩部從談盍分開的必要，像李方桂 i 類元音的韻部就缺少很多，顯得非常不整齊。周法高把東侯屋也劃歸圓脣的舌根音韻尾，他的系統相配起來就整齊多了。但是添帖部沒有從談盍分出來，在 e 元音行 -p、-m 收尾的韻部方面就留下了兩個空檔。事實上添帖部的字，也是較談盍部的字更接近於真質脂、耕錫支六部的，周法高的空檔出現在 e 類元音行是有道理的，如果我們把添帖部從談盍部分出來，這兩個空檔就填起來了，古韻部的音韻結構也就

19 Hwang-cherng Gong (龔煌城) *Die Rekonstruktion des Altchinesischen Unter Berücksichtigung von Wortverwandtschaften*, München 1976.

20 周法高〈論上古音〉，《香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報》第二卷第一期，香港，1969。

相當完整了。我們說添帖與眞脂質、耕支錫相近是有文獻可爲證明的。先說眞添的通轉：

漢王褒的〈四子講德論〉：「若乃美政所施，洪恩所潤，不可究陳。舉孝以篤行，崇能以招賢。去煩蠲苛，以經百姓。祿勤增奉，以厲貞廉。」²¹這裏以陳、賢、姓、廉爲韻，陳、賢眞部字，姓耕部字，廉添部字。《說文》忝（添）从心天（眞）聲。耕添通轉的字，《說文》「耆，老人面如點處，从老省占（添）聲。讀若耿介之耿（耕）。」質帖通轉的字，《說文》「瘞（質），幽薶也。从土疾（帖）聲。」「瘞（質），靜也。从心疾（帖）聲。」《史記·衛世家》「寔伯」，世本作「摯伯」，寔帖部，摯質部。錫帖通轉的例，《莊子·達生》「以臨牢筴」，筴（帖）卽柵（錫）之畧借，冊策（錫）又作筴（帖），涉（帖）訓作歷（錫）。諸如此類皆顯示眞耕添，質錫帖諸部關係之密切，把添帖分出，不但把這兩個空檔填起來了。甚至李方桂的 *ib* 空檔也有了線索，可以想辦法填起來了。荔（帖）聲的瘞（質）在《廣韻》霽韻音郎計切，疾（帖）聲的瘞在《廣韻》霽韻音於計切。與寔（帖）相通的摯（質）《廣韻》至韻脂利切，《詩·關雎》毛傳「雎鳩，王雎也，鳥摯而有別。」鄭箋：「摯之言至也」。以內、對作 -əb，蓋作 -ab 例之，則荔、瘞等字正好填補此一空位。當然空位是否一定要填，那也不一定，但是如果各種資料顯示出來都可以填的話，那爲何不填呢？要填起這空檔，談添，盍帖的分部就有必要。關於這兩部的元音系統，我比較傾向於董同龢《上古音韻表稿》以談盍的元音爲 *a*，添帖的元音爲 *ɐ*，同時根據我研究《詩經》韻的通轉現象，²²當時也認爲有四個元音，所以就依據董同龢說，將添帖二部定爲 *ɐ* 元音的韻部，同時也接受李方桂、王力、²³周法高諸家之說將東屋、冬覺、藥諸部有圓脣的舌根韻尾，寫法上則採用王力、張琨²⁴的說法，寫作 *uŋ*、*uk* 等，相配的陰聲部侯、幽、宵則認爲有 -*u* 韻尾。現在參考王力的說法，把歌部訂爲 -*i* 韻尾，則可節省一元音，成爲三元音系統，與周法高比較接近。今列表表明我的系統如下：

韻尾 元音	ø	k	ŋ	u	uk	uŋ	i	t	n	p	m
ə	ə 之	ək 職	əŋ 蒸	əu 幽	əuk 覺	əuŋ 冬	ei 微	ət 沒	ən 諄	əp 緝	əm 侵
ɐ	ɐ 支	ɐk 錫	ɐŋ 耕	ɐu 宵	ɐuk 藥	ɐuŋ ○	vi 脂	ɐt 質	ɐn 眞	ɐp 帖	ɐm 添
a	a 魚	ak 鐸	aŋ 陽	au 侯	auk 屋	auŋ 東	ai 歌	at 月	an 元	ap 盍	am 談

21 見《昭明文選》。

22 陳新雄〈從詩經的合韻現象看諸家擬音的得失〉，《輔仁學誌》第十一期，七十一年六月，臺北。

23 王力《漢語音韻》，中華書局出版，1963，北京。

24 張琨《古漢語韻母系統與切韻》，中央研究院《歷史語言研究所單刊甲種之二十六》，民國六十五年，臺北。

<p> 嶮 *dz'eam→dʒ'am *-jiam→-jæm (鹽) 詹 *tjiam→tɕjæm 漸 *dz'jiam→dz'jæm 黠 *ɣjiam→g'jæm *-jam→-jem (嚴) 嚴 *ŋjam→ŋjem </p>	<p> 讎 *dz'eem→d'ʒem *-jiem→-jæm (鹽) 占 *tjiem→tɕjæm²⁵ 冉 *njiem→nzjæm 淹 *ʔjiem→ʔjæm *-jem→-jem (嚴) 劍 *kjem→kjem 欠 *k'jem→k'jem *-juem→-juem (凡) 汜 *p'juem→pf'juem *-iem→iem (添) 點 *tiem→tiem 謙 *k'iem→k'iem </p>
<p> 盍部 </p> <p> *-ap→-ap (盍) 蹋 *d'ap→d'ap 盍 *ɣap→ɣap *-eap→-ap (狎) 𪔐 *seap→ʃap 甲 *keap→kap 壓 *ʔeap→ʔap *-jiap→-jæp (業) 𪔐 *ljap→ljæp 接 *tsjiap→tsjæp 𪔐 *ʔjiap→ʔjæp *-jap→-jep (業) 業 *ŋjap→ŋjep </p>	<p> 帖部 </p> <p> *-ep→-Ap (合) 𪔐 *tsep→tsAp 𪔐 *ʔep→ʔAp *-eep→-ep (洽) 插 *ts'eep→tʃ'ep 夾 *keep→kep 𪔐 *neep→nep *-jiep→-jæp (業) 輒 *tjiep→tjæp 捷 *dz'jiep→dz'jæp 𪔐 *ʔjiep→ʔjæp *-jep→-jep (業) 脅 *xjep→xjep 𪔐 *djep→jep *-juep→-juep (乏) 法 *pjuep→pfjuep *-iep→-iep (帖) 帖 *t'iep→t'iep 𪔐 *siep→siep 協 *ɣiep→ɣeip </p>

附記：按中文屬文習慣於師承有關或前輩學者如黃侃、董同龢、王力、李方桂、張琨、周法高理應尊稱為先生，今未加者，因首引何文皆直稱其名，今為統一，亦未加尊稱，特致歉意。

²⁵ 照我的系統，照為 *tj-，知為 *t-，則詹當寫作 *tjjiam→tɕjæm，占作 *tjjiem→tɕjæm；今中古音系採董同龢《中國語音史》所訂系統，三等介音作 -j-，故將 *tj- 之 j 省略，若將 -j- 寫作 -i-，則詹寫作 *tjjiam，占寫作 *tjjiem。

民國七十五年十一月十二日脫稿於臺北市饒不食齋。

中古敷微二字母之音值再擬測

謝 雲 飛

國立政治大學

一、前 言

脣音中雙脣閉塞音及鼻音的弱化 (weakened), 是在一般語言中最為常見的現象,¹ 如古印歐語的 [*p] [*b]、[*t] [*d]、[*k] [g*] 到了日爾曼語裏都因弱化而變成了 [f] [v]、[θ] [ð]、[x] [ɣ] 或 [h] [ɦ], 而我們漢語中古音中的「幫、滂、並、明」[p] [p'] [b] [m] 也因為弱化而變為元明時期語音中的 [f] [v], 這是語音演化歷程中非常自然的一種現象。

在隋唐乃至宋初研究及描寫當時語音的一些語言學家, 他們因沒有音標, 而在漢字中選了若干個與某一聲類漢字同聲母的代表字作為當時語音標音的基準字, 其作用略同於今世的音標, 但終因漢字是象形字, 音標是負專責的符號, 因中國的疆域之廣大, 各地對文字的「音讀」之頗不一致, 兼又沒有確定的標準音, 因此, 以文字代音標, 便會形成「音值」(value) 無法掌握的弊病。

在漢語的歷史上, 聲母之有字母, 應該是源於歸納韻書中反切拼音的「切語上字」而得的結果。字母之名是襲取佛典傳譯的譯名而來的, 較早的時候, 也稱作體文,² 明呂維祺《同文鐸》據釋真空的《篇韻貫珠集·總述來源譜》謂大唐舍利創三十字母, 其後溫首座益以「孃、牀、幫、滂、微、奉」六母, 而為三十六字母。但根據近年敦煌發現的《P. 2012 唐寫本守溫韻學殘卷》來看, 守溫的字母却只有三十個,³ 那就是:

脣音 不芳並明

舌音 端透定泥 是舌頭音

知徹澄 是舌上音

牙音 見(君)溪羣來疑 等字是也

齒音 精清從 是齒頭音

1 參見拙著《語音學大綱》, 頁一三九~一四〇。

2 參見章太炎先生《國故論衡·音理論》及張世祿《中國音韻學史》下冊, 頁五~一二。

3 見《瀛涯敦煌韻輯新編》, 頁六〇六。

審穿禪照 是正齒音
 喉音 心邪曉 是喉中音清
 匣喻影 亦是喉中音濁

三十字母中，脣音尚不分輕重脣，自然談不上什麼「敷」「微」二母的音值擬測問題。

有關三十六字母的傳說，屢見於宋人的著述之中，而且似乎都認定是唐沙門守溫所撰的，計有：

宋鄭樵《通志·藝文略》載：《三十六字母圖》一卷，僧守溫撰。

宋王堯臣《崇文總目》稱：《三十六字母》，唐守溫撰。

宋王應麟《玉海》稱：《三十六字母圖》一卷，唐守溫撰。

《宋史·藝文志》載：《清濁韻鈴》一卷，唐守溫撰。

以上數見的載籍書目，都是有目無書，完全亡佚了，實際內容如何，不可得知。但是根據敦煌發現的《P. 2012 唐寫本守溫韻學殘卷》來看，守溫所訂的字母，實在只有三十個。儘管宋代載籍守溫有三十六字母的說法有數見，但都因書佚人亡，無從可考。至於後世出現的三十六字母，據一般聲韻學家比較可靠的推測，應是後人以守溫的三十字母為基礎，再加增訂之後而產生的。既然三十字母是守溫所撰述的，則後人增訂為三十六字母之後，仍標守溫所撰，也是可能的。

今所見宋元韻圖中所載的三十六字母，其先後次第及「五音」、「清濁」等名稱，各圖略有出入，現在我們根據《韻鏡》的分類，再參酌各家的異同，為之整理如下：⁴

	全清	次清	全濁	次濁	全清	全濁
脣音：重脣	幫	滂	並	明		
輕脣	非	敷	奉	微		
舌音：舌頭	端	透	定	泥		
舌上	知	徹	澄	娘		
齒音：齒頭	精	清	從		心	邪
正齒	照	穿	牀		審	禪
牙音：	見	溪	羣	疑		
喉音：	影	曉	匣	喻		
半舌：				來		
半齒：				日		

⁴ 參見拙著《中國聲韻學大綱》，頁三〇～三四。

三十字母的脣音是「不、芳、並、明」，很明顯地可以看出來，撰訂三十字母是輕重脣尚未區分的時期，換言之，還在全讀重脣音的時期；可是一到三十六字母之產生，便反映出輕重脣音已經區分了。

三十六字母比三十字母所多出的是「非、敷、奉、微」和「牀」「娘」六母。研究中古漢語語音歷史的人，往往都以宋元韻圖字母所注明的「五音」「清濁」，配合以切韻系韻書的切語上字之歸納統計，加上韻圖四等中某等字母易起顎化 (palatalization)，某等字母不起顎化等現象，來擬測中古聲母的音值。而各家所擬測的中古聲母之音值，大體上都遵用瑞典漢學家高本漢的《中國音韻學研究》(Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise) 中的擬音，縱有修正，但出入很少。

高本漢所擬測的中古聲母音值，其中「敷」「微」二母的值是 [f'] [m]，從許多條件看來，這種擬音似乎是合理的，但若能深一層地去推敲，便可發覺這兩個母的音值是無法令人滿意地接受的。因此，本文即爲此而作多方面的探討，重新擬測其新的音值。茲分別諸端分析探討如下文。

二、敷微二字母的來源

很明顯地，我們知道：「敷」「微」二字母是從「重脣音」中變出來的。在中古的重脣音「幫、滂、並、明」四字母當中，基於某些輔音易於弱化 (weakened or delayed-release) 的理由，於是就衍變產生了「非、敷、奉、微」四個字母，單就演變的明顯軌跡來看，它們相互之間的關係是這樣的：

幫——非
滂——敷
並——奉
明——微

但是，語音的變化，實際上並不完全如想像中的那麼整齊，這是我們的老祖先所忽略了的問題，也可以說是沒有音標時期對於音值審辨不夠精細的一種弊病。「幫、滂、並、明」四字母只是類聚諸多同聲母字中所取出來的一個代表字，字母的本身除了聲母之外，還牽附着一個沒辦法去掉的韻母，這對審音不能精慎的人來說，只是含含糊糊地掌握一個大概而已，於是由這一系列的大概又要變出另一系列的「一個大概」，其所產生的新字母之仍然是含含糊糊，想是非常難以避免的毛病。這其中比較方便而合乎理想，且又是一種相當討巧的演變辦法就是：既然「重脣音」是四個字母，那麼，每一個字母都衍變出另一個新字母來；四個「重脣音」的字母，最好的方法就是

變出四個「輕脣音」的字母來。可是，實際的語言是不是如此呢？誰也沒辦法有更深入的審辨方法。不過，無論如何，中古後期（約當唐宋之交）的某些重脣音已明顯地開始變為輕脣音，這却是人人可以感覺得出來的事實。因此，輕脣音的字母也就不得不誕生了。

如何誕生才算合理呢？怎麼樣來訂定新產生的輕脣音字母？究竟用幾個字母才能恰到好處？在那個「發音學」（phonetics）還不夠發達的年代，審音無法十分精慎的時期，最簡便的方法便是採用一對一的衍變原則，既整齊又合乎理想，也不容易被別人挑出多少弊病來，於是「幫、滂、並、明」就產生出「非、敷、奉、微」四個字母來了。

所以，我們可以很簡明地說：「敷」「微」二字母之所以誕生，是因為撰訂字母的音韻學家，在發覺重脣音已有部分衍化為輕脣音的時候，順着重脣四母產生輕脣四母的過程中，以相當近乎「紙上作業」（可能忽略了實際語音的音質變化）的方式，援一個重脣字母必然變出一個輕脣字母的想法而製訂出來的。

三、敷微二字母音的特質

若要探討「敷」「微」二字母音的特質，先須從「滂」「明」二母開始，「滂」「明」二母是「敷」「微」二母的所從誕生之母，其衍化的方式是緣於一般語音演化的自然例則，就是：緊音變鬆，輔音弱化的現象而形成的。

「滂」母所統括的全部漢字，在所有的漢語方言中都發清雙脣閉塞的送氣音 [p']，因此，所有研究漢語歷史的音學家，對「滂」母的音值是 [p']，都無人異議。

「明」母所統括的全部漢字，在閩南語中是發濁雙脣閉塞的不送氣音 [b]，而在閩南語以外的各種漢語方言中則都發濁雙脣鼻音 [m]，以捨少取多的原則推測中古漢語的「明」母字，多數人都遵用高本漢先生的作法，擬定中古「明」母字的聲母音值為 [m] 而不是 [b]；當然，另外還有一個重要的原因是「並」母是 [b]，而且韻圖上註明「明」母是「次濁」而不是「全濁」。

「敷」「微」二字母字音的聲母輔音既然是由「滂」「明」二字母的輔音弱化而來的，則我們就得看一看「滂」「明」二字母的聲母音值 [p'] [m] 弱化後的可能音值是什麼？

(一) 敷母的特質：

「滂」母的音值為 [p']，根據全世界所有各種不同的語言來看，閉塞音弱化之後會變成摩擦音，清音仍變清音，因此 [p'] 弱化後變成的摩擦音有兩種可能，一是

變成雙脣摩擦音 [Φ]，又因 [Φ] 與開口度較大的韻母元音相拼的結果，其雙脣間的摩擦系數會減低到完全消失的程度，而到最後有變成舌根擦音 [x] 或喉擦音 [h] 的。閩南語的重脣音弱化就走的是這一條路線，日本語或高麗語讀輕脣音也往往如此。[p'] 弱化後所變成的另一種摩擦音，就是比較常見的脣齒擦音 [f]，由 [p'] 到 [f] 的變化，在宋元時期以來的北音系漢語，大致上都是如此的。

在討論「滂」母這一音值的特質時，有一件事也許是我們不可忽略的，那就是「滂」母所統括的所有字音都是送氣 (aspirated) 的，而送氣與不送氣 (unaspirated) 在漢語中是區分「音位」(phoneme) 的重要成素之一。⁵現在我們要問的是：當「滂」母字弱化而為「敷」母時，其送氣的成分還能不能再存在？在這裏，我們站在純客觀的語音學立場來看，當「滂」[p'] 衍化為「敷」[f] 時，其中的送氣成分已經無法存在，換言之已無法存在送氣與不送氣的區分之可能性。在理論上說：除了塞音和塞擦音以外，其他輔音的送氣音和不送氣音是無法區別的，如果我們要把 [f] 和 [f'] 分為兩個不同的音位，而且要使用到音節 (syllables) 拼音的辨別意義 (meaning) 上去，這在任何語言學家來看，都必然知道那是不可能的。因此，我們寧願很簡單地說：「滂」[p'] 母弱化之後所衍化出來的「敷」[f] 母，其音值的特質是脣齒擦音，且是無分於送氣與不送氣的。

(二) 微母的特質：

「明」母字依照一般的漢語歷史語音學家的擬測音是 [m]，這從各種現代漢語方言來看，應該是正確無訛的；但「明」母字在現代的閩南語中，却是發雙脣濁塞音 [b] 的。若參照「非、敷、奉」三母字都是由「幫、滂、並」弱化為擦音而產生的例則來看，很明顯的，「微」母字應是由「明」母字弱化為擦音而產生的。可惜的是：從世界各種語言來看，一應的鼻音都沒有弱化為擦音的，因此，高本漢給「微」母字的聲母仍擬測為「鼻音」[m]，說這是一個「脣齒鼻音」。如果我們仍把它擬為鼻音，則由「明」到「微」並未經過「弱化」的過程，只是由雙脣閉塞鼻孔出氣而改變成以脣齒閉塞再由鼻孔出氣而已。如果我們承認高本漢的擬音是完全正確的，那麼「微」母字的聲母就是一個有着十分怪異特質的輔音，是用脣齒閉塞，然後再由鼻孔出氣的一種鼻音，這便是「微」母的特質了。

在這裏，我們必須特別強調說明一下鼻音的特質：所謂鼻音，也就是閉塞音的全鼻化；換言之，即是發閉塞音時，口腔某個部位受阻，若當阻力增強到某一程度時，突然放開阻礙，讓氣流猛烈地從口腔衝出去，這就形成了閉塞音；若受阻的部分始終

⁵ 參見拙著《語音學大綱》，頁二六～二七。

不放開，而軟顎下垂，鼻腔放開，氣流全部由鼻腔衝出去，這就成了全鼻化音，全鼻化音也簡稱為鼻音。所以，鼻音就是閉塞音的氣流改道而從鼻腔出氣所形成的，因此，鼻音也叫鼻閉塞音，同一發音部位的鼻音必各有一個與它相配的清的口閉塞音和濁的口閉塞音，如：

與 [m] 相配的口閉塞音是 [p] [b]

與 [n] 相配的口閉塞音是 [t] [d]

與 [ɲ] 相配的口閉塞音是 [k] [g]

如果要再分得細一點兒的話，則如：

與 [ɲ] 相配的口閉塞音是 [t] [d]

與 [ɲ] 相配的口閉塞音是 [t] [d]

與 [ɲ] 相配的口閉塞音是 [c] [f]

與 [N] 相配的口閉塞音是 [d] [G]

唯獨這個脣齒鼻音 [ɲ] 是沒有相當的塞音和它相配的，講語音學的人爲了遷就高本漢前輩所擬製的這個音標，勉強深入到世界各種語言中去尋找這個音，就說義大利語中的「invento」和「anfora」兩個字中的「n」一般人雖標 [n] 音，實際上精確的發音却是 [ɲ]，不過，這個音很少見，也沒有跟它配對兒的閉塞音。⁶ 又如英語中的「nymph」⁷ 中的「mph」也是 [ɲ] 音。而高本漢先生自己在解說 [ɲ] 這個鼻音時也說只在德文「kampher」中遇到過，在現代漢語中根本沒見過這個音。⁸

關於義大利語「invento」及「anfora」的「n」唸起來有一點點「脣齒」相接的感覺，實際上不是有真確的 [ɲ] 產生，只是前一字「n」受到相接連的「v」之影響，而約略有點兒脣齒近接「n」的感覺，而後一字的「n」則是受相接連的「f」之影響，也同樣地有點兒脣齒近接「n」的感覺。這只是同化作用（assimilation）過程中的過渡前奏的現象，實際上「n」和「v」「f」之間根本沒有完成同化，而且鼻音緊而擦音鬆，鼻音受擦音同化而改變了發音部位，所產生出來的仍然是鼻音，這當中根本沒有弱化，不合「幫、滂、並」弱化為「非、敷、奉」的同等規例。所以這個音可以說是「因近接同化之故，兩音靠得太近而可能產生這種過渡（transition）現象」，但不能視之爲「常音」（constant phoneme）而與其他三十五字母並列出現。換言之，若說有「ɲ」這種音在「正常音位」中出現，是非常可笑的。如果說義大利語這兩個

6 參見董同龢先生《語音學大綱》，頁五一。

7 參見王力先生《漢語音韻學》，頁二〇四。

8 參見趙元任先生等合譯高本漢的《中國音韻學研究》，頁一七三。

字中的「n」都應標「ŋ」音的話，那麼一般英語字典中的「inf.」以下的百餘字（如：infallible、infer、infinite、inflamm、inform 等等）及「inv.」以下的近百字（如：invade、invent、inviabile、invocation 等等）和「anfractuosity」、「anvil」等等，其「f」「v」前的「n」也都應該標「ŋ」才對了。因為他們的發音境況與前舉意大利語是完全一樣的，但是，事實上一般字典的標音並不如此。

再說英語中的「nymph」根本唸的是[nimf]而高本漢自己所舉的唯一德文「kampher」例子，德語的讀音是[kamfer]，這兩字中的[m]和[f]雖極為接近，但並未使兩個音合為一個[ŋ]，最主要的原因是因[f]是擦音，[m]既未受[f]的同化而使自己變為摩擦，[m]也沒法使[f]變成緊音中的[ŋ]。

如此看來，[ŋ]在任何語言當中，只是偶然地出現，是兩個音素交接之間的過渡音，不可能，也沒有例子以「常用音」的姿態出現於當今各類活語言之中，今語如此，古亦猶然，因此筆者認為「明」[m]母弱化以後根本不是變作[ŋ]，「明」母演變的過程似乎比「非、敷、奉」稍多一點兒曲折的道路，它應該說是先由[m]變為閩南語中的[b]，然後再弱化為[v]而與「奉」母的[v]合而為一的。

四、《廣韻》中的敷微二字母字

《廣韻》中的「敷」「微」二母字不多，以韻圖分等來說，只有東、鍾、微、虞、文、元、陽、尤、凡諸韻及與它們四聲相承的上、去、入韻和只有去聲的廢韻的三等屑音，才可能有輕屑音的字，也只有這些有輕屑音的韻才有「敷」「微」二母的字，茲分別抄錄如下：

(一)敷母字：

芳無切：敷𪔐𪔑𪔒𪔓𪔔𪔕𪔖𪔗𪔘𪔙𪔚𪔛𪔜𪔝𪔞𪔟𪔠𪔡𪔢𪔣𪔤𪔥𪔦𪔧𪔨𪔩𪔪𪔫𪔬𪔭𪔮𪔯𪔰𪔱𪔲𪔳𪔴𪔵𪔶𪔷𪔸𪔹𪔺𪔻𪔼𪔽𪔾𪔿𪕀𪕁𪕂𪕃𪕄𪕅𪕆𪕇𪕈𪕉𪕊𪕋𪕌𪕍𪕎𪕏𪕐𪕑𪕒𪕓𪕔𪕕𪕖𪕗𪕘𪕙𪕚𪕛𪕜𪕝𪕞𪕟𪕠𪕡𪕢𪕣𪕤𪕥𪕦𪕧𪕨𪕩𪕪𪕫𪕬𪕭𪕮𪕯𪕰𪕱𪕲𪕳𪕴𪕵𪕶𪕷𪕸𪕹𪕺𪕻𪕼𪕽𪕾𪕿𪖀𪖁𪖂𪖃𪖄𪖅𪖆𪖇𪖈𪖉𪖊𪖋𪖌𪖍𪖎𪖏𪖐𪖑𪖒𪖓𪖔𪖕𪖖𪖗𪖘𪖙𪖚𪖛𪖜𪖝𪖞𪖟𪖠𪖡𪖢𪖣𪖤𪖥𪖦𪖧𪖨𪖩𪖪𪖫𪖬𪖭𪖮𪖯𪖰𪖱𪖲𪖳𪖴𪖵𪖶𪖷𪖸𪖹𪖺𪖻𪖼𪖽𪖾𪖿𪗀𪗁𪗂𪗃𪗄𪗅𪗆𪗇𪗈𪗉𪗊𪗋𪗌𪗍𪗎𪗏𪗐𪗑𪗒𪗓𪗔𪗕𪗖𪗗𪗘𪗙𪗚𪗛𪗜𪗝𪗞𪗟𪗠𪗡𪗢𪗣𪗤𪗥𪗦𪗧𪗨𪗩𪗪𪗫𪗬𪗭𪗮𪗯𪗰𪗱𪗲𪗳𪗴𪗵𪗶𪗷𪗸𪗹𪗺𪗻𪗼𪗽𪗾𪗿𪘀𪘁𪘂𪘃𪘄𪘅𪘆𪘇𪘈𪘉𪘊𪘋𪘌𪘍𪘎𪘏𪘐𪘑𪘒𪘓𪘔𪘕𪘖𪘗𪘘𪘙𪘚𪘛𪘜𪘝𪘞𪘟𪘠𪘡𪘢𪘣𪘤𪘥𪘦𪘧𪘨𪘩𪘪𪘫𪘬𪘭𪘮𪘯𪘰𪘱𪘲𪘳𪘴𪘵𪘶𪘷𪘸𪘹𪘺𪘻𪘼𪘽𪘾𪘿𪙀𪙁𪙂𪙃𪙄𪙅𪙆𪙇𪙈𪙉𪙊𪙋𪙌𪙍𪙎𪙏𪙐𪙑𪙒𪙓𪙔𪙕𪙖𪙗𪙘𪙙𪙚𪙛𪙜𪙝𪙞𪙟𪙠𪙡𪙢𪙣𪙤𪙥𪙦𪙧𪙨𪙩𪙪𪙫𪙬𪙭𪙮𪙯𪙰𪙱𪙲𪙳𪙴𪙵𪙶𪙷𪙸𪙹𪙺𪙻𪙼𪙽𪙾𪙿𪚀𪚁𪚂𪚃𪚄𪚅𪚆𪚇𪚈𪚉𪚊𪚋𪚌𪚍𪚎𪚏𪚐𪚑𪚒𪚓𪚔𪚕𪚖𪚗𪚘𪚙𪚚𪚛𪚜𪚝𪚞𪚟𪚠𪚡𪚢𪚣𪚤𪚥𪚦𪚧𪚨𪚩𪚪𪚫𪚬𪚭𪚮𪚯𪚰𪚱𪚲𪚳𪚴𪚵𪚶𪚷𪚸𪚹𪚺𪚻𪚼𪚽𪚾𪚿𪛀𪛁𪛂𪛃𪛄𪛅𪛆𪛇𪛈𪛉𪛊𪛋𪛌𪛍𪛎𪛏𪛐𪛑𪛒𪛓𪛔𪛕𪛖𪛗𪛘𪛙𪛚𪛛𪛜𪛝𪛞𪛟𪛠𪛡𪛢𪛣𪛤𪛥𪛦𪛧𪛨𪛩𪛪𪛫𪛬𪛭𪛮𪛯𪛰𪛱𪛲𪛳𪛴𪛵𪛶𪛷𪛸𪛹𪛺𪛻𪛼𪛽𪛾𪛿𪜀𪜁𪜂𪜃𪜄𪜅𪜆𪜇𪜈𪜉𪜊𪜋𪜌𪜍𪜎𪜏𪜐𪜑𪜒𪜓𪜔𪜕𪜖𪜗𪜘𪜙𪜚𪜛𪜜𪜝𪜞𪜟𪜠𪜡𪜢𪜣𪜤𪜥𪜦𪜧𪜨𪜩𪜪𪜫𪜬𪜭𪜮𪜯𪜰𪜱𪜲𪜳𪜴𪜵𪜶𪜷𪜸𪜹𪜺𪜻𪜼𪜽𪜾𪜿𪝀𪝁𪝂𪝃𪝄𪝅𪝆𪝇𪝈𪝉𪝊𪝋𪝌𪝍𪝎𪝏𪝐𪝑𪝒𪝓𪝔𪝕𪝖𪝗𪝘𪝙𪝚𪝛𪝜𪝝𪝞𪝟𪝠𪝡𪝢𪝣𪝤𪝥𪝦𪝧𪝨𪝩𪝪𪝫𪝬𪝭𪝮𪝯𪝰𪝱𪝲𪝳𪝴𪝵𪝶𪝷𪝸𪝹𪝺𪝻𪝼𪝽𪝾𪝿𪞀𪞁𪞂𪞃𪞄𪞅𪞆𪞇𪞈𪞉𪞊𪞋𪞌𪞍𪞎𪞏𪞐𪞑𪞒𪞓𪞔𪞕𪞖𪞗𪞘𪞙𪞚𪞛𪞜𪞝𪞞𪞟𪞠𪞡𪞢𪞣𪞤𪞥𪞦𪞧𪞨𪞩𪞪𪞫𪞬𪞭𪞮𪞯𪞰𪞱𪞲𪞳𪞴𪞵𪞶𪞷𪞸𪞹𪞺𪞻𪞼𪞽𪞾𪞿𪟀𪟁𪟂𪟃𪟄𪟅𪟆𪟇𪟈𪟉𪟊𪟋𪟌𪟍𪟎𪟏𪟐𪟑𪟒𪟓𪟔𪟕𪟖𪟗𪟘𪟙𪟚𪟛𪟜𪟝𪟞𪟟𪟠𪟡𪟢𪟣𪟤𪟥𪟦𪟧𪟨𪟩𪟪𪟫𪟬𪟭𪟮𪟯𪟰𪟱𪟲𪟳𪟴𪟵𪟶𪟷𪟸𪟹𪟺𪟻𪟼𪟽𪟾𪟿𪠀𪠁𪠂𪠃𪠄𪠅𪠆𪠇𪠈𪠉𪠊𪠋𪠌𪠍𪠎𪠏𪠐𪠑𪠒𪠓𪠔𪠕𪠖𪠗𪠘𪠙𪠚𪠛𪠜𪠝𪠞𪠟𪠠𪠡𪠢𪠣𪠤𪠥𪠦𪠧𪠨𪠩𪠪𪠫𪠬𪠭𪠮𪠯𪠰𪠱𪠲𪠳𪠴𪠵𪠶𪠷𪠸𪠹𪠺𪠻𪠼𪠽𪠾𪠿𪡀𪡁𪡂𪡃𪡄𪡅𪡆𪡇𪡈𪡉𪡊𪡋𪡌𪡍𪡎𪡏𪡐𪡑𪡒𪡓𪡔𪡕𪡖𪡗𪡘𪡙𪡚𪡛𪡜𪡝𪡞𪡟𪡠𪡡𪡢𪡣𪡤𪡥𪡦𪡧𪡨𪡩𪡪𪡫𪡬𪡭𪡮𪡯𪡰𪡱𪡲𪡳𪡴𪡵𪡶𪡷𪡸𪡹𪡺𪡻𪡼𪡽𪡾𪡿𪢀𪢁𪢂𪢃𪢄𪢅𪢆𪢇𪢈𪢉𪢊𪢋𪢌𪢍𪢎𪢏𪢐𪢑𪢒𪢓𪢔𪢕𪢖𪢗𪢘𪢙𪢚𪢛𪢜𪢝𪢞𪢟𪢠𪢡𪢢𪢣𪢤𪢥𪢦𪢧𪢨𪢩𪢪𪢫𪢬𪢭𪢮𪢯𪢰𪢱𪢲𪢳𪢴𪢵𪢶𪢷𪢸𪢹𪢺𪢻𪢼𪢽𪢾𪢿𪣀𪣁𪣂𪣃𪣄𪣅𪣆𪣇𪣈𪣉𪣊𪣋𪣌𪣍𪣎𪣏𪣐𪣑𪣒𪣓𪣔𪣕𪣖𪣗𪣘𪣙𪣚𪣛𪣜𪣝𪣞𪣟𪣠𪣡𪣢𪣣𪣤𪣥𪣦𪣧𪣨𪣩𪣪𪣫𪣬𪣭𪣮𪣯𪣰𪣱𪣲𪣳𪣴𪣵𪣶𪣷𪣸𪣹𪣺𪣻𪣼𪣽𪣾𪣿𪤀𪤁𪤂𪤃𪤄𪤅𪤆𪤇𪤈𪤉𪤊𪤋𪤌𪤍𪤎𪤏𪤐𪤑𪤒𪤓𪤔𪤕𪤖𪤗𪤘𪤙𪤚𪤛𪤜𪤝𪤞𪤟𪤠𪤡𪤢𪤣𪤤𪤥𪤦𪤧𪤨𪤩𪤪𪤫𪤬𪤭𪤮𪤯𪤰𪤱𪤲𪤳𪤴𪤵𪤶𪤷𪤸𪤹𪤺𪤻𪤼𪤽𪤾𪤿𪥀𪥁𪥂𪥃𪥄𪥅𪥆𪥇𪥈𪥉𪥊𪥋𪥌𪥍𪥎𪥏𪥐𪥑𪥒𪥓𪥔𪥕𪥖𪥗𪥘𪥙𪥚𪥛𪥜𪥝𪥞𪥟𪥠𪥡𪥢𪥣𪥤𪥥𪥦𪥧𪥨𪥩𪥪𪥫𪥬𪥭𪥮𪥯𪥰𪥱𪥲𪥳𪥴𪥵𪥶𪥷𪥸𪥹𪥺𪥻𪥼𪥽𪥾𪥿𪦀𪦁𪦂𪦃𪦄𪦅𪦆𪦇𪦈𪦉𪦊𪦋𪦌𪦍𪦎𪦏𪦐𪦑𪦒𪦓𪦔𪦕𪦖𪦗𪦘𪦙𪦚𪦛𪦜𪦝𪦞𪦟𪦠𪦡𪦢𪦣𪦤𪦥𪦦𪦧𪦨𪦩𪦪𪦫𪦬𪦭𪦮𪦯𪦰𪦱𪦲𪦳𪦴𪦵𪦶𪦷𪦸𪦹𪦺𪦻𪦼𪦽𪦾𪦿𪧀𪧁𪧂𪧃𪧄𪧅𪧆𪧇𪧈𪧉𪧊𪧋𪧌𪧍𪧎𪧏𪧐𪧑𪧒𪧓𪧔𪧕𪧖𪧗𪧘𪧙𪧚𪧛𪧜𪧝𪧞𪧟𪧠𪧡𪧢𪧣𪧤𪧥𪧦𪧧𪧨𪧩𪧪𪧫𪧬𪧭𪧮𪧯𪧰𪧱𪧲𪧳𪧴𪧵𪧶𪧷𪧸𪧹𪧺𪧻𪧼𪧽𪧾𪧿𪨀𪨁𪨂𪨃𪨄𪨅𪨆𪨇𪨈𪨉𪨊𪨋𪨌𪨍𪨎𪨏𪨐𪨑𪨒𪨓𪨔𪨕𪨖𪨗𪨘𪨙𪨚𪨛𪨜𪨝𪨞𪨟𪨠𪨡𪨢𪨣𪨤𪨥𪨦𪨧𪨨𪨩𪨪𪨫𪨬𪨭𪨮𪨯𪨰𪨱𪨲𪨳𪨴𪨵𪨶𪨷𪨸𪨹𪨺𪨻𪨼𪨽𪨾𪨿𪩀𪩁𪩂𪩃𪩄𪩅𪩆𪩇𪩈𪩉𪩊𪩋𪩌𪩍𪩎𪩏𪩐𪩑𪩒𪩓𪩔𪩕𪩖𪩗𪩘𪩙𪩚𪩛𪩜𪩝𪩞𪩟𪩠𪩡𪩢𪩣𪩤𪩥𪩦𪩧𪩨𪩩𪩪𪩫𪩬𪩭𪩮𪩯𪩰𪩱𪩲𪩳𪩴𪩵𪩶𪩷𪩸𪩹𪩺𪩻𪩼𪩽𪩾𪩿𪪀𪪁𪪂𪪃𪪄𪪅𪪆𪪇𪪈𪪉𪪊𪪋𪪌𪪍𪪎𪪏𪪐𪪑𪪒𪪓𪪔𪪕𪪖𪪗𪪘𪪙𪪚𪪛𪪜𪪝𪪞𪪟𪪠𪪡𪪢𪪣𪪤𪪥𪪦𪪧𪪨𪪩𪪪𪪫𪪬𪪭𪪮𪪯𪪰𪪱𪪲𪪳𪪴𪪵𪪶𪪷𪪸𪪹𪪺𪪻𪪼𪪽𪪾𪪿𪫀𪫁𪫂𪫃𪫄𪫅𪫆𪫇𪫈𪫉𪫊𪫋𪫌𪫍𪫎𪫏𪫐𪫑𪫒𪫓𪫔𪫕𪫖𪫗𪫘𪫙𪫚𪫛𪫜𪫝𪫞𪫟𪫠𪫡𪫢𪫣𪫤𪫥𪫦𪫧𪫨𪫩𪫪𪫫𪫬𪫭𪫮𪫯𪫰𪫱𪫲𪫳𪫴𪫵𪫶𪫷𪫸𪫹𪫺𪫻𪫼𪫽𪫾𪫿𪬀𪬁𪬂𪬃𪬄𪬅𪬆𪬇𪬈𪬉𪬊𪬋𪬌𪬍𪬎𪬏𪬐𪬑𪬒𪬓𪬔𪬕𪬖𪬗𪬘𪬙𪬚𪬛𪬜𪬝𪬞𪬟𪬠𪬡𪬢𪬣𪬤𪬥𪬦𪬧𪬨𪬩𪬪𪬫𪬬𪬭𪬮𪬯𪬰𪬱𪬲𪬳𪬴𪬵𪬶𪬷𪬸𪬹𪬺𪬻𪬼𪬽𪬾𪬿𪭀𪭁𪭂𪭃𪭄𪭅𪭆𪭇𪭈𪭉𪭊𪭋𪭌𪭍𪭎𪭏𪭐𪭑𪭒𪭓𪭔𪭕𪭖𪭗𪭘𪭙𪭚𪭛𪭜𪭝𪭞𪭟𪭠𪭡𪭢𪭣𪭤𪭥𪭦𪭧𪭨𪭩𪭪𪭫𪭬𪭭𪭮𪭯𪭰𪭱𪭲𪭳𪭴𪭵𪭶𪭷𪭸𪭹𪭺𪭻𪭼𪭽𪭾𪭿𪮀𪮁𪮂𪮃𪮄𪮅𪮆𪮇𪮈𪮉𪮊𪮋𪮌𪮍𪮎𪮏𪮐𪮑𪮒𪮓𪮔𪮕𪮖𪮗𪮘𪮙𪮚𪮛𪮜𪮝𪮞𪮟𪮠𪮡𪮢𪮣𪮤𪮥𪮦𪮧𪮨𪮩𪮪𪮫𪮬𪮭𪮮𪮯𪮰𪮱𪮲𪮳𪮴𪮵𪮶𪮷𪮸𪮹𪮺𪮻𪮼𪮽𪮾𪮿𪯀𪯁𪯂𪯃𪯄𪯅𪯆𪯇𪯈𪯉𪯊𪯋𪯌𪯍𪯎𪯏𪯐𪯑𪯒𪯓𪯔𪯕𪯖𪯗𪯘𪯙𪯚𪯛𪯜𪯝𪯞𪯟𪯠𪯡𪯢𪯣𪯤𪯥𪯦𪯧𪯨𪯩𪯪𪯫𪯬𪯭𪯮𪯯𪯰𪯱𪯲𪯳𪯴𪯵𪯶𪯷𪯸𪯹𪯺𪯻𪯼𪯽𪯾𪯿𪰀𪰁𪰂𪰃𪰄𪰅𪰆𪰇𪰈𪰉𪰊𪰋𪰌𪰍𪰎𪰏𪰐𪰑𪰒𪰓𪰔𪰕𪰖𪰗𪰘𪰙𪰚𪰛𪰜𪰝𪰞𪰟𪰠𪰡𪰢𪰣𪰤𪰥𪰦𪰧𪰨𪰩𪰪𪰫𪰬𪰭𪰮𪰯𪰰𪰱𪰲𪰳𪰴𪰵𪰶𪰷𪰸𪰹𪰺𪰻𪰼𪰽𪰾𪰿𪱀𪱁𪱂𪱃𪱄𪱅𪱆𪱇𪱈𪱉𪱊𪱋𪱌𪱍𪱎𪱏𪱐𪱑𪱒𪱓𪱔𪱕𪱖𪱗𪱘𪱙𪱚𪱛𪱜𪱝𪱞𪱟𪱠𪱡𪱢𪱣𪱤𪱥𪱦𪱧𪱨𪱩𪱪𪱫𪱬𪱭𪱮𪱯𪱰𪱱𪱲𪱳𪱴𪱵𪱶𪱷𪱸𪱹𪱺𪱻𪱼𪱽𪱾𪱿𪲀𪲁𪲂𪲃𪲄𪲅𪲆𪲇𪲈𪲉𪲊𪲋𪲌𪲍𪲎𪲏𪲐𪲑𪲒𪲓𪲔𪲕𪲖𪲗𪲘𪲙𪲚𪲛𪲜𪲝𪲞𪲟𪲠𪲡𪲢𪲣𪲤𪲥𪲦𪲧𪲨𪲩𪲪𪲫𪲬𪲭𪲮𪲯𪲰𪲱𪲲𪲳𪲴𪲵𪲶𪲷𪲸𪲹𪲺𪲻𪲼𪲽𪲾𪲿𪳀𪳁𪳂𪳃𪳄𪳅𪳆𪳇𪳈𪳉𪳊𪳋𪳌𪳍𪳎𪳏𪳐𪳑𪳒𪳓𪳔𪳕𪳖𪳗𪳘𪳙𪳚𪳛𪳜𪳝𪳞𪳟𪳠𪳡𪳢𪳣𪳤𪳥𪳦𪳧𪳨𪳩𪳪𪳫𪳬𪳭𪳮𪳯𪳰𪳱𪳲𪳳𪳴𪳵𪳶𪳷𪳸𪳹𪳺𪳻𪳼𪳽𪳾𪳿𪴀𪴁𪴂𪴃𪴄𪴅𪴆𪴇𪴈𪴉𪴊𪴋𪴌𪴍𪴎𪴏𪴐𪴑𪴒𪴓𪴔𪴕𪴖𪴗𪴘𪴙𪴚𪴛𪴜𪴝𪴞𪴟𪴠𪴡𪴢𪴣𪴤𪴥𪴦𪴧𪴨𪴩𪴪𪴫𪴬𪴭𪴮𪴯𪴰𪴱𪴲𪴳𪴴𪴵𪴶𪴷𪴸𪴹𪴺𪴻𪴼𪴽𪴾𪴿𪵀𪵁𪵂𪵃𪵄𪵅𪵆𪵇𪵈𪵉𪵊𪵋𪵌𪵍𪵎𪵏𪵐𪵑𪵒𪵓𪵔𪵕𪵖𪵗𪵘𪵙𪵚𪵛𪵜𪵝𪵞𪵟𪵠𪵡𪵢𪵣𪵤𪵥𪵦𪵧𪵨𪵩𪵪𪵫𪵬𪵭𪵮𪵯𪵰𪵱𪵲𪵳𪵴𪵵𪵶𪵷𪵸𪵹𪵺𪵻𪵼𪵽𪵾𪵿𪶀𪶁𪶂𪶃𪶄𪶅𪶆𪶇𪶈𪶉𪶊𪶋𪶌𪶍𪶎𪶏𪶐𪶑𪶒𪶓𪶔𪶕𪶖𪶗𪶘𪶙𪶚𪶛𪶜𪶝𪶞𪶟𪶠𪶡𪶢𪶣𪶤𪶥𪶦𪶧𪶨𪶩𪶪𪶫𪶬𪶭𪶮𪶯𪶰𪶱𪶲𪶳𪶴𪶵𪶶𪶷𪶸𪶹𪶺𪶻𪶼𪶽𪶾𪶿𪷀𪷁𪷂𪷃𪷄𪷅𪷆𪷇𪷈𪷉𪷊𪷋𪷌𪷍𪷎𪷏𪷐𪷑𪷒𪷓𪷔𪷕𪷖𪷗𪷘𪷙𪷚𪷛𪷜𪷝𪷞𪷟𪷠𪷡𪷢𪷣𪷤𪷥𪷦𪷧𪷨𪷩𪷪𪷫𪷬𪷭𪷮𪷯𪷰𪷱𪷲𪷳𪷴𪷵𪷶𪷷𪷸𪷹𪷺𪷻𪷼𪷽𪷾𪷿𪸀𪸁𪸂𪸃𪸄𪸅𪸆𪸇𪸈𪸉𪸊𪸋𪸌𪸍𪸎𪸏𪸐𪸑𪸒𪸓𪸔𪸕𪸖𪸗𪸘𪸙𪸚𪸛𪸜𪸝𪸞𪸟𪸠𪸡𪸢𪸣𪸤𪸥𪸦𪸧𪸨𪸩𪸪𪸫𪸬𪸭𪸮𪸯𪸰𪸱𪸲𪸳𪸴𪸵𪸶𪸷𪸸𪸹𪸺𪸻𪸼𪸽𪸾𪸿𪹀𪹁𪹂𪹃𪹄𪹅𪹆𪹇𪹈𪹉𪹊𪹋𪹌𪹍𪹎𪹏𪹐𪹑𪹒𪹓𪹔𪹕𪹖𪹗𪹘𪹙𪹚𪹛𪹜𪹝𪹞𪹟𪹠𪹡𪹢𪹣𪹤𪹥𪹦𪹧𪹨𪹩𪹪𪹫𪹬𪹭𪹮𪹯𪹰𪹱𪹲𪹳𪹴𪹵𪹶𪹷𪹸𪹹𪹺𪹻𪹼𪹽𪹾𪹿𪺀𪺁𪺂𪺃𪺄𪺅𪺆𪺇𪺈𪺉𪺊𪺋𪺌𪺍𪺎𪺏𪺐𪺑𪺒𪺓𪺔𪺕𪺖𪺗𪺘𪺙𪺚𪺛𪺜𪺝𪺞𪺟𪺠𪺡𪺢𪺣𪺤𪺥𪺦𪺧𪺨𪺩𪺪𪺫𪺬𪺭𪺮𪺯𪺰𪺱𪺲𪺳𪺴𪺵𪺶𪺷𪺸𪺹𪺺𪺻𪺼𪺽𪺾𪺿𪻀𪻁𪻂𪻃𪻄𪻅𪻆𪻇𪻈𪻉𪻊𪻋𪻌𪻍𪻎𪻏𪻐𪻑𪻒𪻓𪻔𪻕𪻖𪻗𪻘𪻙𪻚𪻛𪻜𪻝𪻞𪻟𪻠𪻡𪻢𪻣𪻤𪻥𪻦𪻧𪻨𪻩𪻪𪻫𪻬𪻭𪻮𪻯𪻰𪻱𪻲𪻳𪻴𪻵𪻶𪻷𪻸𪻹𪻺𪻻𪻼𪻽𪻾𪻿𪼀𪼁𪼂𪼃𪼄𪼅𪼆𪼇𪼈𪼉𪼊𪼋𪼌𪼍𪼎𪼏𪼐𪼑𪼒𪼓𪼔𪼕𪼖𪼗𪼘𪼙𪼚𪼛𪼜𪼝𪼞𪼟𪼠𪼡𪼢𪼣𪼤𪼥𪼦𪼧𪼨𪼩𪼪𪼫𪼬𪼭𪼮𪼯𪼰𪼱𪼲𪼳𪼴𪼵𪼶𪼷𪼸𪼹𪼺𪼻𪼼𪼽𪼾𪼿𪽀𪽁𪽂𪽃𪽄𪽅𪽆𪽇𪽈𪽉𪽊𪽋𪽌𪽍𪽎𪽏𪽐𪽑𪽒𪽓𪽔𪽕𪽖𪽗𪽘𪽙𪽚𪽛𪽜𪽝𪽞𪽟𪽠𪽡𪽢𪽣𪽤𪽥𪽦𪽧𪽨𪽩𪽪𪽫𪽬𪽭𪽮𪽯𪽰𪽱𪽲𪽳𪽴𪽵𪽶𪽷𪽸𪽹𪽺𪽻𪽼𪽽𪽾𪽿𪾀𪾁𪾂𪾃𪾄𪾅𪾆𪾇𪾈𪾉𪾊𪾋𪾌𪾍𪾎𪾏𪾐𪾑𪾒𪾓𪾔𪾕𪾖𪾗𪾘𪾙𪾚𪾛𪾜𪾝𪾞𪾟𪾠𪾡𪾢𪾣𪾤𪾥𪾦𪾧𪾨𪾩𪾪𪾫𪾬𪾭𪾮𪾯𪾰𪾱𪾲𪾳𪾴𪾵𪾶𪾷𪾸𪾹𪾺𪾻𪾼𪾽𪾾𪾿𪿀𪿁𪿂𪿃𪿄𪿅𪿆𪿇𪿈𪿉𪿊𪿋𪿌𪿍𪿎𪿏𪿐𪿑𪿒𪿓𪿔𪿕𪿖𪿗𪿘𪿙𪿚𪿛𪿜𪿝𪿞𪿟𪿠𪿡𪿢𪿣𪿤𪿥𪿦𪿧𪿨𪿩𪿪𪿫𪿬𪿭𪿮𪿯𪿰𪿱𪿲𪿳𪿴𪿵𪿶𪿷𪿸𪿹𪿺𪿻𪿼𪿽𪿾𪿿𪿠𪿡𪿢𪿣𪿤𪿥𪿦𪿧𪿨𪿩𪿪𪿫𪿬𪿭𪿮𪿯𪿰𪿱𪿲𪿳𪿴𪿵𪿶𪿷𪿸𪿹𪿺𪿻𪿼𪿽𪿾𪿿𪿠𪿡𪿢𪿣𪿤𪿥𪿦𪿧𪿨𪿩𪿪𪿫𪿬𪿭𪿮𪿯𪿰𪿱𪿲𪿳𪿴𪿵𪿶𪿷𪿸𪿹𪿺𪿻𪿼𪿽𪿾𪿿𪿠𪿡𪿢𪿣𪿤𪿥𪿦𪿧𪿨𪿩𪿪𪿫𪿬𪿭𪿮𪿯𪿰𪿱𪿲𪿳𪿴𪿵𪿶𪿷𪿸𪿹𪿺𪿻𪿼𪿽𪿾𪿿𪿠𪿡𪿢

芳武切：撫攷拊鈞拊殄拊綰拊剖撫髻薊趣。

敷粉切又敷問切：忿鯨。

妃兩切：髣仿紡驚魴。

芳否切：恒杯柔。

芳婦切又孚悲切：𣎵。

峯犯切：釧。

撫鳳切：𥄎麥。𥄎。

芳未切：費𩇑𩇑𩇑𩇑𩇑。

芳遇切：赴𨾏趯踰踰踰踰踰踰踰。

芳廢切：肺柿怵白市。

[illegible]

敷亮切：訪妨邠。

敷救切：副仆鬻覆瘞恒福。

孚梵切：汎泛汎盭盭汜芝。

芳福切：蝮覆覆鬻副瓠窳當。

[illegible]

拂伐切：怖。

孚縛切：霽。

孚法切：𠄎。

(二)微母字：

無非切：微散微薇籬鐵微矚。

武夫切：無母𪔐𪔑𪔒𪔓𪔔𪔕𪔖𪔗𪔘𪔙𪔚𪔛𪔜𪔝𪔞𪔟𪔠𪔡𪔢𪔣𪔤𪔥𪔦𪔧𪔨𪔩𪔪𪔫𪔬𪔭𪔮𪔯𪔰𪔱𪔲𪔳𪔴𪔵𪔶𪔷𪔸𪔹𪔺𪔻𪔼𪔽𪔾𪔿𪕀𪕁𪕂𪕃𪕄𪕅𪕆𪕇𪕈𪕉𪕊𪕋𪕌𪕍𪕎𪕏𪕐𪕑𪕒𪕓𪕔𪕕𪕖𪕗𪕘𪕙𪕚𪕛𪕜𪕝𪕞𪕟𪕠𪕡𪕢𪕣𪕤𪕥𪕦𪕧𪕨𪕩𪕪𪕫𪕬𪕭𪕮𪕯𪕰𪕱𪕲𪕳𪕴𪕵𪕶𪕷𪕸𪕹𪕺𪕻𪕼𪕽𪕾𪕿𪖀𪖁𪖂𪖃𪖄𪖅𪖆𪖇𪖈𪖉𪖊𪖋𪖌𪖍𪖎𪖏𪖐𪖑𪖒𪖓𪖔𪖕𪖖𪖗𪖘𪖙𪖚𪖛𪖜𪖝𪖞𪖟𪖠𪖡𪖢𪖣𪖤𪖥𪖦𪖧𪖨𪖩𪖪𪖫𪖬𪖭𪖮𪖯𪖰𪖱𪖲𪖳𪖴𪖵𪖶𪖷𪖸𪖹𪖺𪖻𪖼𪖽𪖾𪖿𪗀𪗁𪗂𪗃𪗄𪗅𪗆𪗇𪗈𪗉𪗊𪗋𪗌𪗍𪗎𪗏𪗐𪗑𪗒𪗓𪗔𪗕𪗖𪗗𪗘𪗙𪗚𪗛𪗜𪗝𪗞𪗟𪗠𪗡𪗢𪗣𪗤𪗥𪗦𪗧𪗨𪗩𪗪𪗫𪗬𪗭𪗮𪗯𪗰𪗱𪗲𪗳𪗴𪗵𪗶𪗷𪗸𪗹𪗺𪗻𪗼𪗽𪗾𪗿𪘀𪘁𪘂𪘃𪘄𪘅𪘆𪘇𪘈𪘉𪘊𪘋𪘌𪘍𪘎𪘏𪘐𪘑𪘒𪘓𪘔𪘕𪘖𪘗𪘘𪘙𪘚𪘛𪘜𪘝𪘞𪘟𪘠𪘡𪘢𪘣𪘤𪘥𪘦𪘧𪘨𪘩𪘪𪘫𪘬𪘭𪘮𪘯𪘰𪘱𪘲𪘳𪘴𪘵𪘶𪘷𪘸𪘹𪘺𪘻𪘼𪘽𪘾𪘿𪙀𪙁𪙂𪙃𪙄𪙅𪙆𪙇𪙈𪙉𪙊𪙋𪙌𪙍𪙎𪙏𪙐𪙑𪙒𪙓𪙔𪙕𪙖𪙗𪙘𪙙𪙚𪙛𪙜𪙝𪙞𪙟𪙠𪙡𪙢𪙣𪙤𪙥𪙦𪙧𪙨𪙩𪙪𪙫𪙬𪙭𪙮𪙯𪙰𪙱𪙲𪙳𪙴𪙵𪙶𪙷𪙸𪙹𪙺𪙻𪙼𪙽𪙾𪙿𪚀𪚁𪚂𪚃𪚄𪚅𪚆𪚇𪚈𪚉𪚊𪚋𪚌𪚍𪚎𪚏𪚐𪚑𪚒𪚓𪚔𪚕𪚖𪚗𪚘𪚙𪚚𪚛𪚜𪚝𪚞𪚟𪚠𪚡𪚢𪚣𪚤𪚥𪚦𪚧𪚨𪚩𪚪𪚫𪚬𪚭𪚮𪚯𪚰𪚱𪚲𪚳𪚴𪚵𪚶𪚷𪚸𪚹𪚺𪚻𪚼𪚽𪚾𪚿𪛀𪛁𪛂𪛃𪛄𪛅𪛆𪛇𪛈𪛉𪛊𪛋𪛌𪛍𪛎𪛏𪛐𪛑𪛒𪛓𪛔𪛕𪛖𪛗𪛘𪛙𪛚𪛛𪛜𪛝𪛞𪛟𪛠𪛡𪛢𪛣𪛤𪛥𪛦𪛧𪛨𪛩𪛪𪛫𪛬𪛭𪛮𪛯𪛰𪛱𪛲𪛳𪛴𪛵𪛶𪛷𪛸𪛹𪛺𪛻𪛼𪛽𪛾𪛿𪜀𪜁𪜂𪜃𪜄𪜅𪜆𪜇𪜈𪜉𪜊𪜋𪜌𪜍𪜎𪜏𪜐𪜑𪜒𪜓𪜔𪜕𪜖𪜗𪜘𪜙𪜚𪜛𪜜𪜝𪜞𪜟𪜠𪜡𪜢𪜣𪜤𪜥𪜦𪜧𪜨𪜩𪜪𪜫𪜬𪜭𪜮𪜯𪜰𪜱𪜲𪜳𪜴𪜵𪜶𪜷𪜸𪜹𪜺𪜻𪜼𪜽𪜾𪜿𪝀𪝁𪝂𪝃𪝄𪝅𪝆𪝇𪝈𪝉𪝊𪝋𪝌𪝍𪝎𪝏𪝐𪝑𪝒𪝓𪝔𪝕𪝖𪝗𪝘𪝙𪝚𪝛𪝜𪝝𪝞𪝟𪝠𪝡𪝢𪝣𪝤𪝥𪝦𪝧𪝨𪝩𪝪𪝫𪝬𪝭𪝮𪝯𪝰𪝱𪝲𪝳𪝴𪝵𪝶𪝷𪝸𪝹𪝺𪝻𪝼𪝽𪝾𪝿𪞀𪞁𪞂𪞃𪞄𪞅𪞆𪞇𪞈𪞉𪞊𪞋𪞌𪞍𪞎𪞏𪞐𪞑𪞒𪞓𪞔𪞕𪞖𪞗𪞘𪞙𪞚𪞛𪞜𪞝𪞞𪞟𪞠𪞡𪞢𪞣𪞤𪞥𪞦𪞧𪞨𪞩𪞪𪞫𪞬𪞭𪞮𪞯𪞰𪞱𪞲𪞳𪞴𪞵𪞶𪞷𪞸𪞹𪞺𪞻𪞼𪞽𪞾𪞿𪟀𪟁𪟂𪟃𪟄𪟅𪟆𪟇𪟈𪟉𪟊𪟋𪟌𪟍𪟎𪟏𪟐𪟑𪟒𪟓𪟔𪟕𪟖𪟗𪟘𪟙𪟚𪟛𪟜𪟝𪟞𪟟𪟠𪟡𪟢𪟣𪟤𪟥𪟦𪟧𪟨𪟩𪟪𪟫𪟬𪟭𪟮𪟯𪟰𪟱𪟲𪟳𪟴𪟵𪟶𪟷𪟸𪟹𪟺𪟻𪟼𪟽𪟾𪟿𪠀𪠁𪠂𪠃𪠄𪠅𪠆𪠇𪠈𪠉𪠊𪠋𪠌𪠍𪠎𪠏𪠐𪠑𪠒𪠓𪠔𪠕𪠖𪠗𪠘𪠙𪠚𪠛𪠜𪠝𪠞𪠟𪠠𪠡𪠢𪠣𪠤𪠥𪠦𪠧𪠨𪠩𪠪𪠫𪠬𪠭𪠮𪠯𪠰𪠱𪠲𪠳𪠴𪠵𪠶𪠷𪠸𪠹𪠺𪠻𪠼𪠽𪠾𪠿𪡀𪡁𪡂𪡃𪡄𪡅𪡆𪡇𪡈𪡉𪡊𪡋𪡌𪡍𪡎𪡏𪡐𪡑𪡒𪡓𪡔𪡕𪡖𪡗𪡘𪡙𪡚𪡛𪡜𪡝𪡞𪡟𪡠𪡡𪡢𪡣𪡤𪡥𪡦𪡧𪡨𪡩𪡪𪡫𪡬𪡭𪡮𪡯𪡰𪡱𪡲𪡳𪡴𪡵𪡶𪡷𪡸𪡹𪡺𪡻𪡼𪡽𪡾𪡿𪢀𪢁𪢂𪢃𪢄𪢅𪢆𪢇𪢈𪢉𪢊𪢋𪢌𪢍𪢎𪢏𪢐𪢑𪢒𪢓𪢔𪢕𪢖𪢗𪢘𪢙𪢚𪢛𪢜𪢝𪢞𪢟𪢠𪢡𪢢𪢣𪢤𪢥𪢦𪢧𪢨𪢩𪢪𪢫𪢬𪢭𪢮𪢯𪢰𪢱𪢲𪢳𪢴𪢵𪢶𪢷𪢸𪢹𪢺𪢻𪢼𪢽𪢾𪢿𪣀𪣁𪣂𪣃𪣄𪣅𪣆𪣇𪣈𪣉𪣊𪣋𪣌𪣍𪣎𪣏𪣐𪣑𪣒𪣓𪣔𪣕𪣖𪣗𪣘𪣙𪣚𪣛𪣜𪣝𪣞𪣟𪣠𪣡𪣢𪣣𪣤𪣥𪣦𪣧𪣨𪣩𪣪𪣫𪣬𪣭𪣮𪣯𪣰𪣱𪣲𪣳𪣴𪣵𪣶𪣷𪣸𪣹𪣺𪣻𪣼𪣽𪣾𪣿𪤀𪤁𪤂𪤃𪤄𪤅𪤆𪤇𪤈𪤉𪤊𪤋𪤌𪤍

無分切：文聞𣪠𣪡𣪢𣪣𣪤𣪥𣪦𣪧𣪨𣪩𣪪𣪫𣪬𣪭𣪮𣪯𣪰𣪱𣪲𣪳𣪴𣪵𣪶𣪷𣪸𣪹𣪺𣪻𣪼𣪽𣪾𣪿𣫀𣫁𣫂𣫃𣫄𣫅𣫆𣫇𣫈𣫉𣫊𣫋𣫌𣫍𣫎𣫏𣫐𣫑𣫒𣫓𣫔𣫕𣫖𣫗𣫘𣫙𣫚𣫛𣫜𣫝𣫞𣫟𣫠𣫡𣫢𣫣𣫤𣫥𣫦𣫧𣫨𣫩𣫪𣫫𣫬𣫭𣫮𣫯𣫰𣫱𣫲𣫳𣫴𣫵𣫶𣫷𣫸𣫹𣫺𣫻𣫼𣫽𣫾𣫿𣬀𣬁𣬂𣬃𣬄𣬅𣬆𣬇𣬈𣬉𣬊𣬋𣬌𣬍𣬎𣬏𣬐𣬑𣬒𣬓𣬔𣬕𣬖𣬗𣬘𣬙𣬚𣬛𣬜𣬝𣬞𣬟𣬠𣬡𣬢𣬣𣬤𣬥𣬦𣬧𣬨𣬩𣬪𣬫𣬬𣬭𣬮𣬯𣬰𣬱𣬲𣬳𣬴𣬵𣬶𣬷𣬸𣬹𣬺𣬻𣬼𣬽𣬾𣬿𣭀𣭁𣭂𣭃𣭄𣭅𣭆𣭇𣭈𣭉𣭊𣭋𣭌𣭍𣭎𣭏𣭐𣭑𣭒𣭓𣭔𣭕𣭖𣭗𣭘𣭙𣭚𣭛𣭜𣭝𣭞𣭟𣭠𣭡𣭢𣭣𣭤𣭥𣭦𣭧𣭨𣭩𣭪𣭫𣭬𣭭𣭮𣭯𣭰𣭱𣭲𣭳𣭴𣭵𣭶𣭷𣭸𣭹𣭺𣭻𣭼𣭽𣭾𣭿𣮀𣮁𣮂𣮃𣮄𣮅𣮆𣮇𣮈𣮉𣮊𣮋𣮌𣮍𣮎𣮏𣮐𣮑𣮒𣮓𣮔𣮕𣮖𣮗𣮘𣮙𣮚𣮛𣮜𣮝𣮞𣮟𣮠𣮡𣮢𣮣𣮤𣮥𣮦𣮧𣮨𣮩𣮪𣮫𣮬𣮭𣮮𣮯𣮰𣮱𣮲𣮳𣮴𣮵𣮶𣮷𣮸𣮹𣮺𣮻𣮼𣮽𣮾𣮿𣯀𣯁𣯂𣯃𣯄𣯅𣯆𣯇𣯈𣯉𣯊𣯋𣯌𣯍𣯎𣯏𣯐𣯑𣯒𣯓𣯔𣯕𣯖𣯗𣯘𣯙𣯚𣯛𣯜𣯝𣯞𣯟𣯠𣯡𣯢𣯣𣯤𣯥𣯦𣯧𣯨𣯩𣯪𣯫𣯬𣯭𣯮𣯯𣯰𣯱𣯲𣯳𣯴𣯵𣯶𣯷𣯸𣯹𣯺𣯻𣯼𣯽𣯾𣯿𣰀𣰁𣰂𣰃𣰄𣰅𣰆𣰇𣰈𣰉𣰊𣰋𣰌𣰍𣰎𣰏𣰐𣰑𣰒𣰓𣰔𣰕𣰖𣰗𣰘𣰙𣰚𣰛𣰜𣰝𣰞𣰟𣰠𣰡𣰢𣰣𣰤𣰥𣰦𣰧𣰨𣰩𣰪𣰫𣰬𣰭𣰮𣰯𣰰𣰱𣰲𣰳𣰴𣰵𣰶𣰷𣰸𣰹𣰺𣰻𣰼𣰽𣰾𣰿𣱀𣱁𣱂𣱃𣱄𣱅𣱆𣱇𣱈𣱉𣱊𣱋𣱌𣱍𣱎𣱏𣱐𣱑𣱒𣱓𣱔𣱕𣱖𣱗𣱘𣱙𣱚𣱛𣱜𣱝𣱞𣱟𣱠𣱡𣱢𣱣𣱤𣱥𣱦𣱧𣱨𣱩𣱪𣱫𣱬𣱭𣱮𣱯𣱰𣱱𣱲𣱳𣱴𣱵𣱶𣱷𣱸𣱹𣱺𣱻𣱼𣱽𣱾𣱿𣲀𣲁𣲂𣲃𣲄𣲅𣲆𣲇𣲈𣲉𣲊𣲋𣲌𣲍𣲎𣲏𣲐𣲑𣲒𣲓𣲔𣲕𣲖𣲗𣲘𣲙𣲚𣲛𣲜𣲝𣲞𣲟𣲠𣲡𣲢𣲣𣲤𣲥𣲦𣲧𣲨𣲩𣲪𣲫𣲬𣲭𣲮𣲯𣲰𣲱𣲲𣲳𣲴𣲵𣲶𣲷𣲸𣲹𣲺𣲻𣲼𣲽𣲾𣲿𣳀𣳁𣳂𣳃𣳄𣳅𣳆𣳇𣳈𣳉𣳊𣳋𣳌𣳍𣳎𣳏𣳐𣳑𣳒𣳓𣳔𣳕𣳖𣳗𣳘𣳙𣳚𣳛𣳜𣳝𣳞𣳟𣳠𣳡𣳢𣳣𣳤𣳥𣳦𣳧𣳨𣳩𣳪𣳫𣳬𣳭𣳮𣳯𣳰𣳱𣳲𣳳𣳴𣳵𣳶𣳷𣳸𣳹𣳺𣳻𣳼𣳽𣳾𣳿𣴀𣴁𣴂𣴃𣴄𣴅𣴆𣴇𣴈𣴉𣴊𣴋𣴌𣴍𣴎𣴏𣴐𣴑𣴒𣴓𣴔𣴕𣴖𣴗𣴘𣴙𣴚𣴛𣴜𣴝𣴞𣴟𣴠𣴡𣴢𣴣𣴤𣴥𣴦𣴧𣴨𣴩𣴪𣴫𣴬𣴭𣴮𣴯𣴰𣴱𣴲𣴳𣴴𣴵𣴶𣴷𣴸𣴹𣴺𣴻𣴼𣴽𣴾𣴿𣵀𣵁𣵂𣵃𣵄𣵅𣵆𣵇𣵈𣵉𣵊𣵋𣵌𣵍𣵎𣵏𣵐𣵑𣵒𣵓𣵔𣵕𣵖𣵗𣵘𣵙𣵚𣵛𣵜𣵝𣵞𣵟𣵠𣵡𣵢𣵣𣵤𣵥𣵦𣵧𣵨𣵩𣵪𣵫𣵬𣵭𣵮𣵯𣵰𣵱𣵲𣵳𣵴𣵵𣵶𣵷𣵸𣵹𣵺𣵻𣵼𣵽𣵾𣵿𣶀𣶁𣶂𣶃𣶄𣶅𣶆𣶇𣶈𣶉𣶊𣶋𣶌𣶍𣶎𣶏𣶐𣶑𣶒𣶓𣶔𣶕𣶖𣶗𣶘𣶙𣶚𣶛𣶜𣶝𣶞𣶟𣶠𣶡𣶢𣶣𣶤𣶥𣶦𣶧𣶨𣶩𣶪𣶫𣶬𣶭𣶮𣶯𣶰𣶱𣶲𣶳𣶴𣶵𣶶𣶷𣶸𣶹𣶺𣶻𣶼𣶽𣶾𣶿𣷀𣷁𣷂𣷃𣷄𣷅𣷆𣷇𣷈𣷉𣷊𣷋𣷌𣷍𣷎𣷏𣷐𣷑𣷒𣷓𣷔𣷕𣷖𣷗𣷘𣷙𣷚𣷛𣷜𣷝𣷞𣷟𣷠𣷡𣷢𣷣𣷤𣷥𣷦𣷧𣷨𣷩𣷪𣷫𣷬𣷭𣷮𣷯𣷰𣷱𣷲𣷳𣷴𣷵𣷶𣷷𣷸𣷹𣷺𣷻𣷼𣷽𣷾𣷿𣸀𣸁𣸂𣸃𣸄𣸅𣸆𣸇𣸈𣸉𣸊𣸋𣸌𣸍𣸎𣸏𣸐𣸑𣸒𣸓𣸔𣸕𣸖𣸗𣸘𣸙𣸚𣸛𣸜𣸝𣸞𣸟𣸠𣸡𣸢𣸣𣸤𣸥𣸦𣸧𣸨𣸩𣸪𣸫𣸬𣸭𣸮𣸯𣸰𣸱𣸲𣸳𣸴𣸵𣸶𣸷𣸸𣸹𣸺𣸻𣸼𣸽𣸾𣸿𣹀𣹁𣹂𣹃𣹄𣹅𣹆𣹇𣹈𣹉𣹊𣹋𣹌𣹍𣹎𣹏𣹐𣹑𣹒𣹓𣹔𣹕𣹖𣹗𣹘𣹙𣹚𣹛𣹜𣹝𣹞𣹟𣹠𣹡𣹢𣹣𣹤𣹥𣹦𣹧𣹨𣹩𣹪𣹫𣹬𣹭𣹮𣹯𣹰𣹱𣹲𣹳𣹴𣹵𣹶𣹷𣹸𣹹𣹺𣹻𣹼𣹽𣹾𣹿𣺀𣺁𣺂𣺃𣺄𣺅𣺆𣺇𣺈𣺉𣺊𣺋𣺌𣺍𣺎𣺏𣺐𣺑𣺒𣺓𣺔𣺕𣺖𣺗𣺘𣺙𣺚𣺛𣺜𣺝

武方切：亡芒茫鋤茫𦉳𦉴邨邾望鑒。

無匪切：𩇛尾𩇛泥𩇛轔𩇛𩇛。

文甫切：武舞舞嫵侮羈撫無礎礎廡癰鰓漁鵠鵙鵒鵚鵝鵞鵟鵠鵡鵢鵣鵤鵶鵷鵺鵻鵼鵽鵾鵿鵻鵼鵽鵾鵿

武粉切：吻膳刎技吻勾蒇。

無遠切：晚婉挽輓𨔵𨔵晚。

文兩切：网網罔𦉳𦉴𦉵𦉶𦉷𦉸𦉹𦉺𦉻𦉼𦉽𦉾𦉿。

亡范切：鍤麥鉞。

無沸切：未味蔞頰糲洙穌𩚑。

亡遇切：務婺霧霽驚擎菴蜚楚縛帑帑攷驚。

亡運切：問璽絕汶案聞芑晚攷馭媛。

無販切：萬萬輓蔓曼蠓鰻蔓婉獲緇說絕購輓鰻晚巖。

巫放切：妄望望忘汙謹。

亡劍切：菱。

文弗切：物勿旃笏物勿迦吻吻。

望發切：韞韞襪旻僕。

武元切：櫛。

五、前人的敷微二母擬音

大體說來，一般音學家對中古聲母音值的擬測，都以《切韻》系韻書及早期韻圖中的聲母資料作為擬測音值的依據，可是《切韻》系韻書中的資料，自隋開皇年間至宋代的大中祥符年間，綿延五百餘年，其間的語音，不能完全無變，單以脣音而言，近世研究中古語音歷史的音學家，有許多人主張中古脣音，只有重脣四母，有的人則主張有輕重脣八母，所以竺家寧先生認為中古聲母實際應分中古早期和中古晚期兩個時期，輕脣音則是早期無而晚期有。⁹無論輕脣音是起於中古晚期抑或中古中期，只要有了輕脣音之後，便當討論中古聲母中輕脣音的問題，當世諸漢語音學大家中，主張中古無輕脣音者姑無論之，茲抄錄諸前輩大家的「敷」「微」二母擬測音值如下：

(一)高本漢 (Bernhard Karlgren):¹⁰

敷 [f']

微 [m]

(二)錢玄同先生:¹¹

敷 [pf']

微 [m]

(三)王力先生:¹²

敷 [f']

微 [m]

(四)董同龢先生:¹³

⁹ 參見竺家寧《古漢語複聲母研究》，頁四〇〇。

¹⁰ 參見《中國音韻學研究》，頁四〇七～四三六。

¹¹ 轉引自林尹先生《中國聲韻學通論》，頁七六。

¹² 參見王力《漢語音韻學》，頁二〇四之附表。

¹³ 參見董先生《中國語音史》，頁九一。

敷 [f'] 或 [pf']

微 [ɱ] 或 [bv]

(戊)林尹先生:¹⁴

敷 [pf']

微 [ɱ]

(己)陳新雄先生:¹⁵

敷 [pf']

微 [ɱ]

諸家的意見大體上都認為：由「滂」「明」到「敷」「微」是因重脣音受到三等韻特有的輔音性介音 [j] 的顎化而使硬性的音質軟化，形成了

[p'] → [p'j] → [pf'] → [f']

[m] → [mj] → [ɱ]

的變遷型式。這種變遷型式大體上是可以接受的，只是本文認為 [p'] 不是變成 [f']，而 [m] 也不是變 [ɱ]，詳情容後文討論。

六、再擬音的理由

(一)求證於漢語方言音：

從漢語方言音中去看「敷」「微」二母的聲母發音，可藉以推求「敷」「微」二母在中古時的聲母音值，據現有的各種方言調查紀錄資料¹⁶來看，「敷」「微」二母字音的聲母在不同的方言中，有以下各種不同的讀法，即：

敷：[p'-]

[h-] 或 [x-]

[f-]

微：[m-]

[b-]

[w-] 或 [u-]

[v-]

以上「敷」母尚發 [p'-] 音，「微」母尚發 [m-]、[b-] 音的方言，仍保留着重脣

¹⁴ 參見林先生《中國聲韻學通論》，頁七六。

¹⁵ 參見陳先生《廣韻四十一聲紐聲值的擬測》（《木鐸》第八期）。

¹⁶ 於今普及而可見的方言調查資料有高本漢《中國音韻學研究》、王力《漢語音韻學·現代音》、北大中文系的《漢語方言詞彙》《漢語方言字彙》、袁家驊等的《漢語方言概要》及各家的專區方言調查等。

時代的音，根本尚未弱化爲輕脣音，我們不必論它；至於已弱化爲擦音、半元音甚或純元音的，若不在輕脣音範圍內的如「敷」母之弱化爲 [h-] [x-]、「微」母之弱化爲 [w-] [u-]，我們也可以不必論它。因爲我們現在要討論的是輕脣音，這麼說，則「敷」母弱化爲輕脣音後，應該是 [f-]，但不必是 [f'-]，因爲擦音衝出口腔的氣流之強弱是無法計量的，換言之是無法作爲「辨別理性的詞義」的；也就是說，擦音是不分「送氣」與「不送氣」的，事實上，目前我們漢語各方言中，沒有一種方言能把擦音分別爲「送氣音」與「非送氣音」，如此說來，從活語言中的各地方言來看，「敷」母的音值只能是 [f]，而且是與「非」母字合爲一流了。至於「微」母字則除掉了弱化爲非脣齒的 [w-] 或 [u-] 以外，各地方言中都發 [v] 音，我們的設想是：由「明」到「微」的過程是先從雙脣鼻音變爲口腔的濁閉塞音，再由口腔的濁雙脣閉塞音弱化爲濁脣齒擦音，¹⁷ 這是一個非常合理的過程，即 [m] → [b] → [v] 的過程。

(二) 求證於宋元以來的北音轉化：

大約從《集韻》及《壬子禮部韻略》開始，「非」「敷」已合爲一途，「奉」「微」也已合爲一途，我們只消歸納統計這些韻書的切語注音及聲類用字就可得到結果了。此後的《平水韻》、《古今韻會》、《韻府羣玉》，大體都不出這一條衍變的道路，事實上我們沒有理由說「非」與「敷」的區別是送氣與不送氣；更沒理由說「微」母字的聲母是一個「脣齒的閉塞鼻音」，而在重脣四母並列同期弱化的「非、敷、奉」之下，竟還保留了一個沒有弱化的鼻音，那是很難使人信服的。

至於到元周德清的《中原音韻》以下，連同《中原音韻》本身在內，以下如《中州樂府音韻類編》、《洪武正韻》、《中州全韻》、《韻略易通》、《韻略匯通》、《五方元音》等，更是「非」「敷」合一，「奉」母清化，「微」或讀如「奉」或變爲無聲母，或有少數也清化如「非」「敷」，¹⁸ 則更可看出「非」「敷」不能以「送氣」與「不送氣」區分，而應合爲一流，「微」母不宜爲「脣齒鼻音」了。筆者以爲：把「非」「敷」擬爲 [f] [f'] 根本無法區分語詞相互間的詞義；[ɱ] 音則根本只是某些語言中 [f] [v] 與 [n] [m] 鄰接所形成的同化作用，¹⁹ 只是語音接合的一種過渡現象，在「常音」中是沒有 [ɱ] 的。

(三) 從發音學觀點來看：

¹⁷ 參見前文「三」。

¹⁸ 參見陳新雄先生〈廣韻以後韻書簡介〉（《木鐸》第九期）。

¹⁹ 參見前文「三」。

從發音學 (phonetics) 和實驗語音學 (experimental phonetics) 的觀點來看，如果把「敷」母的音值擬成爲 [f'] 的話，是相當不合理的，因爲擦音氣流之強或弱，在任何一種語言當中都是無人去特意區分，而且也是無法特意區分的。所以，當「幫」「滂」共同弱化爲擦音時，它們之間應該是完全同值的一個輔音 [f]，不必也無法區分「送氣」與「不送氣」，至於三十六字母之分「非」「敷」，是因切語上字在傳承上所形成的一脈統緒和自然界限，以實際發音來說，當它們弱化爲擦音之後，就必然只是一個完全相同的 [f]。因此，我們可以說字母「非」「敷」之有區別，是受理論和「紙上作業」的牽絆所形成的結果，實際的語音不可能與想像中的虛空理論和「紙上作業」相吻合。

至於「微」母弱化以後也不可能是 [ɱ]，因爲 [ɱ] 在一般語言中只是 [f] [v] 碰到 [n] [m] 相拼音時，相互結合的偶然現象，²⁰ 因此，我們可以確定 [ɱ] 不是「常音」，只是偶然出現的過渡語音現象，從發音學的觀點來看，「微」母的正常現象應是：當它從「明」母將要弱化時，先經過一個雙唇濁塞音 [b] 的階段，而後再弱化爲唇齒濁擦音，而與「奉」母合爲一流，所以，「奉」「微」的標準值應是完全相同的 [v]。不過，到後世有一個比較有趣的現象是：當北音系統中的濁音開始清化時，與「奉」「微」同值的 [v]，其原本來自於「奉」母的 [v] 都清化爲 [f]，而原本來自於「微」母的 [v] 却仍保留原音值而不變，延續了相當長的一段時間，如果時間再往後推的話，這些來自於「微」母的 [v]，便更進一步地消失了它們的摩擦性，而衍化爲 [w-] 或 [u-] 了。

(四)從音位學觀點來看：

從音位學 (phonemics) 的理論來看，一個音位 (phoneme) 不管你能不能再分析爲更小的音素 (phone) 單位，但是不同的音位之間，必須具備明確地辨別語義的功能。在我們的漢語當中，塞音和塞擦音的送氣與不送氣是必須列爲「辨義」單位的，但擦音、邊音、鼻音和半元音等却是自來沒有把送氣和不送氣列入辨義單位的。不僅漢語如此，其他如印度境內的若干語言，有把濁音的送氣和不送氣列爲辨義單位的，也同樣是不見有把擦音和其它廣義的摩擦音²¹ 的送氣與不送氣列爲辨義單位的。既然如此，則也就可知擦音的送氣與否是無法作爲辨義之依據的，換言之，即擦音的「送氣」與「不送氣」是不可能列爲兩個不同的對立「音位」的。這也正是《廣韻》中一字既音「非」母又音「敷」母的有相當數量的原因了。今考《廣韻》中既音「非」

²⁰ 同註 19。

²¹ 廣義的摩擦音包括「擦音」、「邊音」、「顫音」、「閃音」、「半元音」五種不同發音方法的音。

母又音「敷」母的字如下：

- 郇：芳無切（敷）又方矩切（非）
 誓：芳非切（敷）又方市切（非）
 反：孚袁切（敷）又方晚切（非）
 鉤：芳武切（敷）又方九切（非）
 簠：芳遇切（敷）又甫于、方武二切（非）
 蓄：芳福切（敷）又音富（方副切，非）
 祓：敷勿切（敷）又音廢（方肺切，非）
 駢：甫微切（非）又音非（敷尾切，敷）
 幡：甫煩切（非）又音幡（孚袁切，敷）
 祓：方肺切（非）又敷物切（敷）
 福：方六切（非）又敷救切（敷）
 龔：分勿切（非）又敷勿切（敷）
 駢：甫微切（非）又芳非切（敷）

由以上同一字音切之「非」「敷」互出現象來看，我們認為其所以產生這些一字兩音的原因就是因當時的語音中「非」「敷」已經無法辨義了，而那些「非」「敷」有別的字，則是因受傳統音切源於「幫」與源於「滂」的歷史軌跡所拘制所致，於實際語言而論，在「音位」上已無法發生辨義的作用了，既不能辨義，則「非」「敷」的擬音自當合一而為一個共同的 [f]。

至於「微」母之擬測為 [ɱ]，在音位上來說，也是無法存在的，誠如前文所論，因為 [ɱ] 既是語言行為進行當中 [f] [v] 碰到 [n] [m] 拼音時的一種偶發過渡現象，它不是一個「常音」，則其必不能在音位中佔一席之地是可知的，它既不能佔一個音位的地位，則 [ɱ] 就不必存在，當然，它也沒有「辨義」的功能，因此，本文確認在「明」母弱化為「微」母後的某一階段，於當時語言施用的過程中，一定有相當一段時間是與「奉」母合一而為一個共同的 [v] 的，這在吳語方言中便可很清楚地顯示出來，至於以後再因來源之異，「奉」母又單獨離羣走上「清化」為 [f] 的道路，而獨步前程；「微」母則走上了放鬆摩擦而衍化為 [w-] 或 [u-] 的新路，那是進入近世北音轉化時期的另一現象了。

(ㄅ)從重唇弱化的觀點來看：

一種語言，在社羣中施用久了之後，或者施用者發音技巧圓熟了之後，共同地為求發音省力起見，往往在某些音素中會發生弱化的現象，所以，發音漸趨弱化是一般

運用語言個體的共同情勢，也是一致的要求。音素弱化在元音如 [a] 弱化爲 [ə], [i] 弱化爲 [ɪ], [u] 弱化爲 [ʊ]; 在輔音則大部是閉塞音弱化爲摩擦音，如 [p] [b] 弱化爲 [f] [v], [t] [d] 弱化爲 [θ] [ð], [k] [g] 弱化爲 [x] [ɣ] 或 [h] [ɦ] 等是。

但是，語音的弱化是有其必然的規律的，雙脣音弱化爲脣齒擦音或雙脣擦音是有其可能的，但弱化後既已成爲擦音，而仍保留「送氣」與「不送氣」之區別的可能就完全消失了。我們不能因爲「非」母的來源是「幫」，「敷」母的來源是「滂」，就認定弱化以後的擦音也是一[f] 和一[f']，在一般語言現象上，擦音是不分「送氣」與「不送氣」的，而擦音的「送氣」與「不送氣」也是沒有辨義的功能的。因此，從弱化這個觀點來看，「非」「敷」雖分別來自「幫」「滂」，但形成「非」「敷」以後的音值應是一個共同的 [f] 才對。

至於「明」母弱化爲「微」母之後，其音值應爲 [v]，因爲，縱使「明」母曾經可能在很短的時間內因消失鼻腔氣流而轉變爲 [b]，但弱化以後的「微」母，則應該是 [v]。因爲，如果「明」母弱化後是變爲 [m] 的話，在理論上就說不通，因爲由 [m] 變 [m] 根本沒有弱化，仍然是一個很緊的鼻閉塞音，與「幫、滂、並」之共同弱化爲輕脣音就無法並列而居了，而且，事實上由重脣之變爲輕脣，並不在由雙脣音變爲脣齒音而已，而必定要由塞音和鼻音變爲擦音才算弱化，而「微」母也唯有變爲 [v] 才能與「非、敷、奉」並列而居，若變爲鼻閉塞音 [m]，就不可能與「非、敷、奉」並列而居了。因爲，人家都是擦音，而你卻是一個鼻音，根本就擠不上他們的行列了。所以，從重脣弱化的觀點來看，「明」母弱化後的「微」母，其音值應該是 [v] 才對，是 [m] 就完全不對了。

(六)從要求字母數目的整齊來看：

以擬測中古聲母音值的運用資料來看，三十六字母似乎是一個非常重要的參考資料，但運用之妙，存乎一心，也不可死死地泥於字母的數目，而擬測出一些不可能有的音值出來，如果完全只作理論性的推衍，或流於紙上談兵的作法，而罔顧實際語言中「有」或「沒有」的可能性，則擬測出來的音值，就可能會「無法切合實際」了。高本漢之擬「非、敷、奉、微」爲 [f] [f'] [v] [m]，是因遵循我們的老祖先「紙上談兵」的作業方法，把四個重脣音很整齊地衍化爲四個輕脣音，因爲礙於數目是四個，所以就不敢把「四」縮減爲「二」。可是有一點我們必須留意，我們的老祖先那個年代，在語言的分析和研究上，沒有後世那樣的科學化，沒有那麼深入的分析字音和審辨字音的學術理論和依據，也沒有那麼多的域外語言理論和語音紀錄可資比較和

審辨。在語言知識不夠的局面下，單憑口耳的直覺，把重脣四母很整齊地衍化為輕脣四母，這是「自認最爲精慎」的作法了。但是時在今天的我們，就必須儘可能地運用現有的語言學說去爲擬測音值作更精密的探求：我們探索各種語言及實際的語音運用上，發覺 [f'] [ɱ] 是不存在於一般語言之中的，即使有，也只是在語音施用時偶然出現的過渡音 (transitional phoneme)，不能算爲「常音」(constant phoneme)，實際上，「幫」「滂」弱化以後都是 [f]，「並」「明」弱化以後都是 [v]，「非」「敷」不必分開，「奉」「微」也不必分開，更不必把它們擬測爲 [f] [f'] 和 [v] [ɱ] 了。

事實上，擬測中古音值的人，也並不是死守中古三十六字母而一成不變地擬測出三十六個音值的，有人把「泥」「娘」合併爲一個 [n]，又把「日」母擬爲 [ɳ]，而與「知、徹、澄」同列，更把「照、穿、牀、審、禪」依二三等之異而分爲二等的 [tʃ] [tʃ'] [dʒ] [ʃ] [ʒ] 和三等的 [tɕ] [tɕ'] [dʒ] [ɕ] [ʒ]，也把「喻」母分化爲零聲母 [ø] 和 [ɣ]，²² 這些現象都明示我們，擬測中古音不能死死地拘泥於三十六字母的數目，而必須就活語言中存在的現象去追求它們實際的可能性。

(c)從外國語言的發音來看：

從外國語言的發音來看，我們找不出一種語言的 [f] 和 [f'] 是可以析爲兩個音位的，事實上，就是把塞音和塞擦音用「送氣」和「不送氣」來辨義的語言就非常的少，而 [f] [f'] 有區別的是根本就沒有。從發音的理論上來說，要使廣義的摩擦音和狹義的擦音，把它們的氣流強弱作有標準程度地區分爲「送氣音」和「不送氣音」，在各國的語言當中，似乎從來尚未產生過。以語言發音的習慣來說，摩擦音不分「送氣」與「不送氣」是理所當然的事，至於說以它們來作辨義的區分音位標準，那也是不可能的事。既然如此，則「非」「敷」二母之擬爲相同的一個 [f]，而不分「送氣」與「不送氣」也就是應該的了。

至於「微」母之擬爲 [ɱ]，在各種語言之中，高本漢自己似乎也找不出這麼一個音，他只能不很明確地說：²³

ɱ，濁，齒脣鼻音，是齒脣的 m，我們在德文的「kampher」字中可以遇到的。在現代漢語裏，除去連音變化現象以外，我沒有見過這個音，但是在古代漢語裏，它曾經佔過重要地位的。

董同龢先生舉 [ɱ] 這個音的例子，則說：²⁴

²² 參見董同龢先生《中國語音史》頁八九～九七。王力《漢語音韻學》，頁二〇三～二一五。高本漢《中國音韻學研究》，頁二三九～四二八。

²³ 同註 8。

²⁴ 見董著《語言學大綱》，頁五一。

義大利語 *Invento* 或 *Anfora* 的 *n*，事實上是個脣齒鼻音，可以標作 [ɱ]，在我們說過的塞音中沒有對兒。

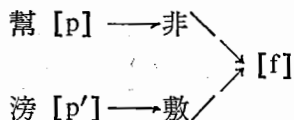
王力先生舉 [ɱ] 這個音的例子，則說：²⁵

[ɱ] 代表「微」母，是脣齒性的鼻閉塞音，例如英語的「Nymph」。

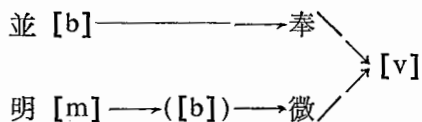
本文也曾舉出許多在英語中的 [f] [v] 和 [n] [m] 拼音的現象，²⁶ 在 [f] [v] 和 [n] [m] 拼音的過程中，偶然會產生類似 [ɱ] 音質的現象，但却不可能在一般語言中出現 [ɱ] 這個音值的常用音位，所以，追根到底推究起來，[ɱ] 這個音是不存在的，它只是在拼音的過渡時際中偶然出現而已，因此，從任何不同種族的語言角度來看，[ɱ] 都不可能存在於一般語言的正常音位當中的，[m] 不弱化則已，要弱化只能變成 [v] 或 [w]，甚至可以變成 [u]，在 [m] 的弱化過程中，不可能只停留在脣齒鼻閉塞音 [ɱ] 這個層次上的。

七、結論——本文的再擬音

根據本文以上各節的探證、分析和綜論的結果，我們可以很有理由地認為：高本漢對中古「敷」「微」二母的音值之擬測為 [f'] 和 [ɱ] 是很有問題的，那麼本文所提出的「敷」「微」二母的音值又是什麼呢？其實，這個結果我們在前文很多處都已很明顯地提到過，我們既認為在「幫」「滂」弱化為「非」「敷」的過程完成之後，它們的音值都應該是 [f]，而這個 [f] 是無法區分為「送氣」和「不送氣」的，那麼它們弱化的音變過程及音值的擬測應如下式：



至於「明」母嘛，也與「奉」母同樣地弱化而為脣齒濁擦音 [v]，因為由 [m] 到 [ɱ] 並未弱化，這不是「明」母與「幫、滂、並」類同衍化的並列趨勢。也許由「明」[m] 到 [v] 之間可能會經過一個不明顯的極短時間的「從 [m] 到 [b] 的過程」，但明顯地出現於語言運用中的實際語音應該還是 [v]，那麼這其中的衍化過程應該如下式：



²⁵ 見王著《漢語音韻學》，頁二〇四。

²⁶ 參見前文「三」之(二)〈微母的特質〉。

因此，本文認為中古輕脣音的「敷」母的音值是與「非」母相同的 [f]，而「微」母則是與「奉」母相同的 [v]。

可能本文的蒐證還不夠完備，而求證的方式也容或不夠周密，但筆者相當主觀地認為：這的確是一個問題，至其不備不密之處，則切望音學界的先進多賜指教。

一九八六年九月二十日于韓國漢城

參 考 書 目

(以文中引用或參考先後為次)

- 謝雲飛
民63 《語音學大綱》 蘭臺書局 臺北
- 章太炎
《國故論衡·音理論》 世界書局 臺北
- 張世祿
民54 《中國音韻學史》 商務印書館 臺北
- 潘重規
民61 《藏涯敦煌韻輯新編》 新亞書院 香港
- 鄭樵
《通志·藝文略》 新興書局 臺北
- 謝雲飛
民60 《中國聲韻學大綱》 蘭臺書局 臺北
- 龍宇純
民49 《韻鏡校注》 藝文印書館 臺北
- 司馬光
《切韻指掌圖》 新興書局 臺北
- 鄭樵等
《等韻五種》 育民出版社 臺北
- 高本漢
(趙元任等譯) 《中國音韻學研究》 商務印書館 臺北
- 董同龢
民53 《語言學大綱》 中華叢書委員會 臺北
- 王 力
1957 《漢語音韻學》 中華書局 上海
- 邱雍等
《廣韻》 聯貫出版社 臺北
- 陳新雄
民71 《聲類新編》 學生書局 臺北
- 竺家寧
民70 《古漢語複聲母研究》 作者自刊 臺北
- 錢玄同
民53 《文字學音篇》 學生書局 臺北
- 林 尹
民71 《中國聲韻學通論》 黎明文化事業公司 臺北
- 董同龢
民47 《中國語音史》 中國文化出版事業委員會 臺北
- 陳新雄
民68 〈廣韻四十一聲紐聲值的擬測〉 《木鐸》雜誌八期 臺北

袁家驊等

1960 《漢語方言概要》 文字改革出版社 北平

北大中文系

1962 《漢語方音字彙》 文字改革出版社 北平

北大中文系

1964 《漢語方言詞彙》 文字改革出版社 北平

丁聲樹·李榮

1966 《古今字音對照手冊》 太平書局 香港

陳新雄

民69 〈廣韻以後韻書簡介〉 《木鐸》雜誌九期 臺北

周德清

《中原音韻》 廣文書局 臺北

隋唐五代宋初重紐反切研究

周 法 高

中央研究院·私立東海大學

前 言

在四十多年前，當我在北京大學文科研究所寫碩士論文《玄應音研究》的時候，其中有一篇〈廣韻重紐的研究〉（民國三十年，1941，在雲南昆明寫成）。後來先後發表於《六同別錄》（《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》外編第三種，民國三十四年，1945，四川南溪李莊）、《史語所集刊》第十四本（民國三十七年，1948，上海）和《中國語言學論文集》（初印於民國五十七年，1968，香港中文大學崇基學院；再印於民國六十四年，1975，臺北聯經出版社）。此外，我還寫了〈三等韻重唇音反切上字研究〉（《史語所集刊》第二十三本，民國四十一年，1952，臺北；重印於《中國語言學論文集》）。該文中列舉了《廣韻》（以《切韻》校勘）、陸德明《經典釋文》、玄應《一切經音義》和慧琳《一切經音義》諸書中的唇音反切，發現重紐A、B類字不互相用作反切上字。不過因為兩者共同以普通三等韻的輕唇音字作反切上字，所以在反切繫聯上看不出區別來。所謂「重紐」，是指《切韻》或《廣韻》中同一三等韻中開口或合口的唇、牙、喉音字，同紐有兩組反切，在早期韻圖《韻鏡》（或《七音略》）中分列在同一行的三、四等。我們管前者叫作重紐B類，後者叫作重紐A類。

民國六十四年（1975），杜其容女士發表了〈三等韻牙喉音反切上字分析〉（臺灣大學《文史哲學報》第二十四期）一文，發現了重紐A、B類牙喉音不互相用作反切上字的情形。不過因為兩者共同以普通三等韻（即我所謂C類）的字作反切上字，所以在反切繫聯上看不出區別來。至於杜文中提出的一些例外現象（蒸韻和陌韻三等用B類字作反切上字），我在〈玄應反切再論〉（《大陸雜誌》第六十九卷第五期，民國七十三年，1984）已經解釋了。

我寫前文的時候所以只發現重紐A、B類唇音字不互相用作反切上字，而沒有發現牙喉音也有類似的現象，是由於重紐A、B類牙喉音字用普通三等韻的字作反切上字的情形比較多的緣故。現在既然經杜女士提出來，我就把《玄應音義》和《慧琳音義》中重紐A、B類牙喉音的反切上字補列出來；加上董忠司對唐初顏師古《漢書音

義》反切研究的結果，並且從五代南唐時朱翱所作徐鍇《說文繫傳》重唇音的反切上字系聯和宋初官修的《集韻》的反切中舉出重紐A、B類唇牙喉音字用重紐A、B類作反切上字的現象，來加以觀察。現在逐一列舉在下面各節。

在拙著〈論上古音和切韻音〉(原載香港中文大學《中國文化研究所學報》第三卷第二期，民國五十九年，1970；重印於《中國音韻學論文集》，民國七十三年，1984)一文中，列出了一個表(見附表一)，把三等韻分爲A、B、C₁類、C₂類，A、B兩類就是所謂重紐出現的地方，不過也有一點小小的例外，需要加以說明。

附 表 一

轉 攝 類	外 轉						內 轉						
	果攝	蟹攝	效攝	咸攝	山攝	宕梗攝	遇攝	止 攝	流攝	深攝	臻攝	曾攝	通 攝
A 類	麻三	祭A	宵A	鹽A	仙A	清		支A脂A	幽A	侵A	真A諄		
B 類		祭B	宵B	鹽B	仙B	庚三		支B脂B	幽B	侵B	真B	蒸B	
C ₁ 類	戈三	廢		嚴凡	元			微			欣文		
C ₂ 類						陽	魚虞	之	尤				東三鍾

1. 所謂三等韻重紐的出現，只要是唇牙喉音下至少有一組重紐出現就行了；例如侵韻和鹽韻就只是影紐有一組重紐。還有清韻和庚韻三等兩韻合成一組A、B類，¹蒸韻沒有重紐，唇牙喉音屬B類。²幽韻在王仁昫《刊謬補缺切韻》切語下字分兩類，曉紐有重紐；可是《廣韻》和《韻鏡》都沒有區別。麻韻三等只有舌齒音和喉音喻以紐字，屬A類，却没有B類。³

2. C₁類和C₂類包括有輕唇音出現的那些韻，C₁類只有唇牙喉音字，C₂類具有唇牙喉音和舌齒音字。

3. 之韻沒有唇音字，在原表中列入A類，現在根據王仁昫《切韻》之韻的「其」字兼用作A類和B類的反切上字(例如「𪚩、其聿反」，隸質韻合口A類；「瘞、其郢反」，隸靜韻，屬A類。「偈、其憩反」，隸祭韻A類；「件、其輦反」，隸獮韻B類；「汲、其立反」，隸緝韻B類；「极、其輒反」，隸葉韻B類)。只有C類字才能兼作A、B兩類的反切上字，所以之韻應屬C₂類。

¹ 在《韻鏡》中，清韻的唇牙喉音列在四等，和庚韻三等列在三等，恰巧配合成一組重紐A、B類。

² 蒸韻有重唇音，可見其不應屬C類；又在漢越音中唇音字讀p不讀t，其唇牙喉音皆在三等，應屬B類，A類唇音字在漢越音中讀t。

³ 宋初的《集韻》，在牙音反切上字方面屬A類(見第六節)，麻韻明紐三等「咩、彌嗟切」，禡韻三等溪紐「𪚩、企夜切」，「彌」和「企」都屬A類。《韻鏡》禡韻三等溪紐有「𪚩」字。

一、陸德明《經典釋文》中的重紐 A、B 類喉牙音字

我在〈三等韻重唇音反切下字研究〉一文中已經把陸德明《經典釋文》⁴中的三等韻重唇音 A、B 類的反切下字列舉出來了，現在再把喉牙音字 A、B 類的反切加以研究。因為《經典釋文》有三十卷之多，所以採取一種簡便的方法，只舉出用 A、B 類字作反切下字的三等韻 A、B 類喉牙音字的反切，而把用 C 類字作反切上字的三等韻 A、B 類喉牙音字的反切加以省略，以省篇幅。又因為潘重規先生主編的《經典釋文韻編》（文建會出版）一書已經把《經典釋文》分條依其音釋參照《集韻》韻次加以編列，並且用影刊通志堂本分條剪貼，可以保證沒有排印方面的錯字，所以就根據該書中的與重紐有關諸韻中喉牙音字的反切，把用 A、B 類字作反切上字諸條抄錄出來，這樣可以節省許多時間。結果因為大多數的 A、B 類喉牙音字都用 C 類字作反切上字，只找到 255 條左右是用 A、B 類字作反切上字的。不過我們仍然可以發現 A、B 類喉牙音字不互用作反切上字的現象，和重唇音 A、B 類字的情形相同。

(一)見紐 A 類 (16 條) (每條下所注阿拉伯字號碼為潘書頁碼)

〔寅開〕玃（申豉反……或吉豉反，1427）〔術合〕橘（均必反，二見；均栗反；均筆反，2005），縞（音橘；均必反，二見，2005）〔綫合〕鄧（本亦作顛，規面反，1751）〔靜開〕頸（吉領反；吉井反，又吉成反；吉井反；吉井反，811）〔勁開〕勁（吉政反，二見；1841）〔黠〕糾（吉黠反，二見，1378）

(二)見紐 B 類 (23 條)

〔紙開〕掎（寄彼反，979）〔寅開〕寄（京義反，1427）〔脂合〕龜（愧悲反，173）〔小〕橋（几小反，1238）〔諄合〕麋（京倫反，418）〔梗開〕景（京領反；如字，一音英領反；曠永反，1336），警（京領反，五見，1337），敬（京領反，三見；敬領反，1338）〔蒸開〕兢（棘冰反，858），矜（徐又棘冰反；棘冰反；几陵反，859）〔沁〕禁（音金，又金鳩反；今鳩反，923）

〔陌開〕擻（京劇反，本亦作戟，2173）

(三)溪紐 A 類 (69 條)

〔紙合〕頰（缺婢反，979），跬（缺氏反，979）；缺婢反，812）〔獮開〕縑（弃善反，1222）〔綫開〕遣（弃戰反，十七見；棄戰反；遣政反，1750），

⁴ 陸德明《經典釋文》序云：「粵以癸卯之歲，承乏上庠，循省舊音，苦其太簡……遂因暇景，救其不逮。研精六籍，采摭九流，搜訪異同，校之《蒼》、《雅》，輒撰集五典。《孝經》、《論語》，及《考》《莊》《爾雅》等音，合為三秩三十卷，號曰《經典釋文》。」清儒考訂，以為德明開始著書，當在陳至德元年癸卯（公元 583），當隋文帝開皇三年。可見《經典釋文》成書，當在隋代，相當於公元六世紀末葉。

譴（遣戰反，八見；棄戰反，四見；弃戰反，六見，1749）〔薛合〕缺（傾雪反；窺悅反，二見，2059）〔清〕傾（窺并反，二見，812），輕（遣政反，二十一見；如字，又遣政反，810），鑿（遣政反，811）

(四)溪紐 B 類（1 條）

〔宵〕喬（向欽消反，614）

(五)羣紐 A 類（8 條）

〔旨合〕揆（葵癸反，七見，1000）〔清合〕熒（岐肩反，813）

(六)羣紐 B 類（1 條）

〔鹽〕鉞（其廉反，又祇廉反，945）

(七)疑紐 B 類（2 條）

〔敬開〕迎（宜敬反；逆敬反，781）

(八)曉紐 B 類（1 條）

〔支合〕搗（毀皮反，152）

(九)影紐 A 類（120 條）

〔寘合〕恚（一瑞反，三見；一遂反；一僞反；一睡反，六見，1427）〔宵〕要（一遙反，八十二見，606）〔笑〕要（因妙反，二見，908）〔黠〕黠（幼糾反，908，1377；伊糾反，1377）〔幼〕幼（伊秀反，1873）〔清〕攖（一營反，又一盈反，811）〔侵〕愔（一心反，920）〔緝〕挹（一入反，二見，2278），揖（一入反，三見；伊入反，2269）〔琰〕厭（一琰反，1884）〔豔〕厭（一豔反，四見；1881）〔葉〕厭（一涉反，五見，1881；一葉反，二見，1881；一妾反，1882）

(十)影紐 B 類（14 條）

〔支開〕猗（乙奇反，116）〔至開〕鸛（《字林》英莅反，1458）〔祭開〕瘞（乙例反；猗例反，1555）〔眞開〕𪔐（《字林》乙巾反，郭央珍反，今人多作因音，415）〔梗開〕景（京領反；如字，一音英領反；暎永反，1336）〔蒸開〕鷹（憶矜反，857）應（憶升反，857）〔證開〕應（抑證反，856）〔寢〕飲（呂錦反，1386）〔緝〕泣（器立反，2276）〔鹽〕淹（英鉗反，945）

以上共 255 條反切，其中 A 類字 213 條，B 類字 42 條，其中 B 類字用 A 類字作反切上字的只有一條，那就是羣紐 B 類的「鉞」字用 A 類的「祇」字作反切上字。其餘都沒有發現例外。

關於羣紐的「岐」字，拙著〈玄應反切考〉一文云：

《顏氏家訓·音辭篇》云：「岐山當音爲奇，江南皆呼爲神祇之祇，江陵陷沒，此音被於關中。」《廣韻》「祇，岐」都是「巨支切」，但有A類一讀。故宮項跋及宋跋本王韻渠羈反下有「岐，山名，又巨支反」；巨支反下有「岐，山名，又渠羈反」。可知顏氏奇祇音讀有別，岐字亦兼有A、B二類之音。（《論文集》頁二〇四）

《經典釋文》「熒，岐肩反」，採用「岐」字A類的一讀，所以不算例外。關於影紐的「駟」字，《切韻》、《廣韻》「駟，於鄰反，又於巾反」，真韻A、B類兩收。「駟」字「《字林》乙巾反」，是採用B類一讀，所以不算例外。

二、顏師古《漢書音義》中的重紐 A、B 類

董忠司《顏師古所作音切之研究》（民國六十七年，1978，國立政治大學中國文學研究所博士論文）第五章第捌節「三等韻喉牙唇音反切上字之分析」云：

（一）三等喉牙唇字以三等喉牙唇爲反切上字者，有

夷（支一）：陂音彼奇反，陂音彼皮反。

履（紙一）：披音丕蟻反，披音丕靡反；被音皮彼反，被音疲彼反；罷音皮彼反。

履（旨一）：𦉑音披美反；否音皮鄙反。

遙（宵）：𦉑（=瀟）音彼驕反。

小（小）：蕭音皮表反。

甚（寢）：稟音彼甚反。

廉（鹽）：砭音彼廉反。

列（薛一）：別音彼列反。

人（真）：玠音彼旻反；彬音彼旻反。

以上計十六反語，皆唇音字。

（二）四等喉牙唇字以四等喉牙唇字爲反切上字者：

夷（支一）：裨音頻移反。

履（紙一）：𦉑音必爾反；𦉑音必爾反。

履（旨一）：𦉑音匹履反；𦉑音匹履反；𦉑（→𦉑）音匹履反。

冀（至一）：比音必寐反；庇音必寐反；痺音必寐反，痺音必二反；界音必寐反；比音頻寐反，比音頻二反。

遙（宵）：森音必遙反；𦉑音必遙反；杓音必遙反；標音必遙反；標音必遙

反；票音匹昭反，票音匹遙反；漂音匹遙反，漂音匹姚反；標音匹遙反；標（→漂）音匹遙反；瓢音頻遙反。

小（小）：菱音頻小反。

妙（笑）：剽音匹妙反，剽音匹照反；標音匹妙反；標音匹妙反；漂音匹妙反。

連（仙一）：扁音匹延反。

踐（獮一）：沔音彌善反。

列（薛一）：瀝音匹列反。

人（眞）：續音匹人反。

忍（軫）：贍音頻忍反；贍音頻忍反。

刃（震）：攢音必刃反。

乙（質）：忒音頻一反。

類（至二）：悸音葵季反。

連（仙一）：甄音吉延反。

出（術）：獮音揆聿反。

遙（宵）：要音一遙反。

妙（笑）：要音一妙反。

林（侵）：愔音一尋反。

冉（琰）：厭音一琰反。

瞻（豔）：厭音一豔反，厭音一瞻反。

涉（葉）：厭音一葉反，厭音一涉反，厭音伊葉反。

以上計五十一反語，其中屑音三十九：牙音三，喉音九。其次，三等喉牙屑音字以四等喉牙屑音字爲反切上字，四等喉牙屑音字以三等喉牙屑音字爲反切上字者，略無所見。除此以外，重紐中三四等喉牙屑音並可用普通三等韻之字爲反切上字。即使所使用之上字非重紐之喉牙屑音之字，三等喉牙屑音字與四等喉牙屑音字，除若干例外情形，其反切上字似亦分用。（頁四八〇～四八四）

並且下結論說：

一、具重紐諸韻之喉牙屑音字，韻圖列於三等者與列於四等者，除共同使用普通三等韻字爲反切上字之外，三等喉牙屑音字必以三等喉牙屑音字爲反切上字；四等喉牙屑音字必以四等喉牙屑音字爲反切上字，二者分用不混。此與周子範先生、杜其容教授之研究三等韻重屑音反切上字、三等韻喉牙音反切上字所得

結論相同，可見此種現象非但韻書如此，恐隋唐時非方音之反切中皆有之，似宜搜集隋唐反語而廣事研討。

二、具重紐諸韻之喉牙脣音字，韻圖列於三等者與列於四等者，若以普通三等韻字爲反切上字，雖未有截然劃分之界，而亦呈分用之趨勢。

三、清韻系之喉牙脣音字，所使用之反切上字皆爲具有重紐諸韻之四等喉牙脣音字，足見清韻系喉牙脣音字韻圖分列於四等地位者，良有以也。而清韻系之非普通三等韻，亦從可知矣！

四、普通三等韻喉牙脣音字，若以具重紐諸韻之喉牙脣音爲反切上字，則皆爲列於三等地位之字，其例雖不多，若與杜其容教授三等韻牙喉音反切上字分析一文之相同結論比較，則不可等閒視之。（頁四八八～九）

關於第四項，董氏舉出普通三等韻喉牙脣音字以具有重紐諸韻之三等喉牙脣音爲反切上字者，有：

秉音彼命反，四見

邴音彼命反，一見

幅音皮逼反，一見（頁四八七）

「秉」、「邴」隸梗韻（庚韻上聲）三等，「幅」隸職韻（蒸韻入聲），都屬於我所謂 B 類，和杜文所舉如出一轍，不能算是例外。關於第三項，董氏舉出普通三等韻喉牙脣音字以具有重紐諸韻之四等喉牙脣音字爲反切上字者，有：

辟音必亦反，四見

辟音頻亦反，三見

慶音一井反，一見

瞿音一政反，一見

「辟」隸昔韻（清韻入聲），「慶」隸靜韻（清韻上聲），「瞿」隸勁韻（清韻去聲），屬於我所謂 A 類。這樣便完全沒有例外了。

三、《玄應音義》中的重紐 A、B 類

《玄應反切字表》中喉牙音用三等韻 A、B 類作反切上字的例子如下。凡 A 類反切上字，在字旁加三角符號；凡 B 類反切上字，在字旁加小圈。

（→）見紐 A 類

〔祭開〕闕（君例反，居例反），猗（昌制居世二反）〔支合〕規（九吹反，二見），槻（居隨反）〔紙開〕枳（居爾反，居紙反，二見）〔幽〕穆（居虬

反)〔黝〕糾(居黝反,二見;居柳反)〔仙開〕甄(居延反)〔線合〕狷(俱面反)〔薛開〕孑(居列反,二見;古折反,居折反,二見),趙(居列居逸二反)〔軫開〕胗(居忍章忍二反)〔質開〕趙(居列居逸二反)〔清合〕垌(公營反)〔靜開〕頸(居井反)〔勁開〕勁(居盛反,七見;居政反)。

(二)見紐B類

〔祭合〕蹶(居月居衛二反,二見;居衛居月二反)〔支開〕羈(居奇反,居猗反,二見),羈(居儀反),鞿(居猗反,二見;居奇反,居宜反,二見),𨾏(居儀反)〔紙合〕詭(居毀反,十二見;俱毀切),𨾏(居毀反)〔眞合〕𨾏(几髮反,几僞反,紀髮反)〔脂開〕飢(几池反,几持反,几治反,二見)𨾏(居梨反)〔旨開〕𨾏(羈雉反,居雉反)〔旨合〕軌(居美反),晷(居美反),宥(居美反,二見)〔至開〕冀(羈致反,居致反)〔小〕矯(飢小反),矯(几小反)〔琰合〕檢(居歛反,居儼反,五見),儼(居儼反,六見;居儼反)〔侵〕襟(居今反),禁(記林居鳩二反,急林居鳩二反)〔緝〕汲(金及反,居及反),伋(居及反),級(羈立反,羈立反,二見;音急,居立反,居及反,三見),伋(居及反)〔仙合〕勸(姜權反)〔彌開〕蹇(居免反,五見,居展反,居免紀偃巨偃三反),蹇(居展反,五見;飢展反)〔線合〕眷(居院反),𨾏(居院反,二見),𨾏(居院反)〔眞開〕筋(居銀居欣二反)〔眞合〕𨾏(居貧反)〔庚三開〕𨾏(居英反)〔梗三開〕警(居影反,五見),𨾏(居影反),景(居影反,二見)〔梗三合〕𨾏(俱永反,二見)〔陌三開〕𨾏(居逆反,五見)𨾏(居逆反),𨾏(居逆反,三見)〔陌三合〕𨾏(九縛居碧二反,二見;居碧九縛二反),𨾏(居縛居碧二反)〔蒸開〕矜(居陵反,三見)。

(三)溪紐A類

〔支合〕闕(邱規反),窺(邱規反,三見)〔眞開〕企(邱豉反,四見;祛豉反,三見;墟豉反,二見;去豉反,三見),𨾏(邱豉反,二見)〔宵〕𨾏(邱消反,二見),𨾏(邱昭反)〔笑〕𨾏(邱照綺驕二反)〔彌開〕𨾏(祛善反)〔線開〕𨾏(去戰反,六見)〔質開〕𨾏(去質反,二見;去一反,邱逸反)〔靜合〕頃(邱穎反)。

(四)溪紐B類

〔祭開〕𨾏(祛例反,却厲反,二見;墟例反)〔支開〕𨾏(去知反),𨾏(去知反,邱知反),𨾏(邱宜反),𨾏(去宜反),𨾏(邱奇邱倚二反,邱

奇反)〔至開〕器(祛冀反,二見),〔至合〕喟(口愧反,口怪口愧二反,口愧口怪二反,三見)〔宵〕趨(邱照綺驕二反)〔侵〕欽(去金反),嶽(綺金反,去銜去吟二反,苦銜反,又音欽),衾(祛金反)〔緝〕瞋(祛及反,二見)〔仙開〕愆(去連反),僊(去連反,三見),褰(邱焉反),褰(起虔反,去焉反,三見)〔仙合〕捲(去權反,去員反)〔軫開〕蟻(羌引反)〔陌三開〕隙(邱逆反,六見;去逆反)。

(四)羣紐A類

〔支開〕岐(渠支反,又音奇,三見,渠支巨宜二反),蚺(渠支反,巨支反)祇(字苑巨兒反),伎(巨支上支二反),軻(巨支反)〔旨合〕揆(渠癸反,三見)〔至合〕悸(渠季反,其季反,七見)〔宵〕翹(祇遙反,二見;巨遙反)〔幽〕蚪(渠周反,渠留反),虬(渠周反,二見)〔獮合〕蝟(渠兗反,狂兗反)〔清合〕瑩(巨營反,二見)。

(六)羣紐B類

〔祭開〕偈(其逝反)〔支開〕岐(渠支反,又音奇,三見;渠支巨宜二反,巨儀反,三見)岐(巨宜反,二見;渠宜反,三見)〔紙合〕跪(其詭反,《字林》邱委反……又音渠委反),趨(求累反)〔寘開〕菱(渠智反,渠寄反),蓼(渠義反,渠寄反),伎(支豉奇寄二反)〔脂開〕耆(巨伊反,巨夷反),祁(巨梨反,渠夷反),〔脂合〕逵(奇龜反)〔旨開〕踞(奇几其矣二反,其止反)〔至開〕𪔐(渠冀反),暨(其器反,四見),泊(渠器反),踞(渠記反)(法高按:廣韻旨韻:「踞,暨几切。」)〔至合〕匱(渠媿反,渠愧反,七見),饋(渠媿反,三見),餽(渠媿反)〔宵〕僑(奇驕反,渠消反),騫(奇驕反,四見;音橋)〔鹽〕鉗(巨炎反,奇廉反),鈗(奇霑反,巨廉反,奇廉反,奇沾反,二見),黔(巨炎反,渠炎反,渠占渠今二反),鈐(其廉反,胡耽渠廉二反)〔琰〕茨(渠儉反)〔侵〕揜(巨今反,二見;渠林反,二見),芩(渠今反),黔(渠占渠今二反)〔寢〕噤(渠錦反,三見;渠錦巨蔭二反),灑(其錦反)〔緝〕笈(奇急反)〔仙開〕乾(巨焉反),健(巨焉反,四見),韃(巨焉反)〔仙合〕權(渠員反),拳(渠員反,二見;渠圓反,二見),卷(奇員反,三見),渠員反),捲(渠員反,二見;渠圓反),蹇(渠員反,二見)〔獮開〕鍵(奇審反,奇蹇反,二見;巨展反)〔薛開〕傑(奇列反,二見;奇哲反,三見),桀(奇列反),碣(渠列反),櫟(渠列反)〔軫合〕窘(渠殞反,奇殞反),菌(奇殞反)

〔震開〕僅（渠鎮反，二見），僅（渠鎮反，三見）〔質開〕媾（其乙反，渠乙反，渠快反），佶（奇乙反）（法高按：《廣韻》「媾」、「佶」並巨乙切，古逸叢書本《韻鏡》「媾」隸三等，「佶」隸四等。《集韻》「佶」，其吉切；「媾」、「佶」並極乙切，「乙」誤作「又」。李榮《切韻音系》「媾」隸A類，非是，當與「佶」並隸B類。玄應「佶」字反切上字作「奇」，《集韻》「佶」字反切上字作「極」，皆B類字，可證。）〔庚三開〕剌（渠京反），鯨（渠京反）〔陌三開〕展（巨逆反，二見；渠戟反），跂（渠逆反）〔蒸開〕旻（渠陵反，渠矜反，其昇反，其升反，渠興反）。

(七)疑紐A類

〔祭開〕窳（牛世反，魚世反，魚祭反，音藝），𪔐（牛例反），𪔐（魚世反）𪔐（相承音藝；相承魚世反）。

(八)疑紐B類

〔真開〕誼（宜寄反，二見）〔至合〕𪔐（魚器反，六見）〔琰〕儼（宜檢反，魚儼反）〔侵〕吟（牛金反，二見），峯（宜金反，語銜宜今二反）〔緝〕岌（依字魚及反）〔線開〕𪔐（宜箭反，五見）〔薛開〕孽（五竭反），𪔐（魚列反，三見），𪔐：五竭反），𪔐（魚列反，四見），𪔐（牛列反，宜列反）〔眞開〕𪔐（魚巾魚佳二反，牛佳牛巾二反），𪔐（魚巾反），𪔐（魚巾反，四見），𪔐（五巾反，語巾反）〔軫開〕𪔐（牛引反）。

(九)曉紐A類

〔脂開〕𪔐（香伊反），𪔐（香伊反，許伊反），𪔐（許伊反，許黎反），𪔐（許伊反，許尸丑一二反），𪔐（虛尼反）〔脂合〕𪔐（許佳反，二見）〔仙開〕𪔐（呼全反，二見），𪔐（許緣反），𪔐（呼全反，呼泉反，二見）〔獮合〕𪔐（香充反）〔昔開〕𪔐（呼赤反）〔昔合〕𪔐（況役反）。

(十)曉紐B類

〔支開〕𪔐（許奇反），𪔐（許宜反），𪔐（虛猗反）𪔐（虛奇反，音義，許宜反）〔支合〕𪔐（呼皮反，四見，許皮反），𪔐（許皮反，虛爲反）〔紙合〕𪔐（𪔐詭反）〔旨開〕𪔐（呼几呼冀二反，三見；呼几反，二見）𪔐（借音虛履反）〔至開〕𪔐（義冀反），𪔐（火利反，虛利反，二見），𪔐（香利反）〔宵〕𪔐（許朝反，二見；許驕反，二見）〔葉〕𪔐（火涉反）〔侵〕𪔐（許今反，許金反，二見；虛音反）〔緝〕𪔐（義及反，二見），𪔐（義及反，四見；希及反，許及反，三見），𪔐（吁及反，呼及反，二見）〔仙開〕

嬌（虛延反，二見），𤑔（火延反）〔震開〕𤑔（義鎮反），𤑔（義鎮反，二見）〔蒸開〕興（借音嬌蠅反）〔職開〕𤑔（許力反）〔職合〕闕（呼域反，五見，許域反，又音域，二見），紉（虛逼反）。

(ㄊ)影紐A類

〔脂開〕啍（於祁反，於祇反，五見）〔至合〕恚（於季反）（法高按：《廣韻》實韻：「恚，於避切。」）〔宵〕要（於遙反），邀（於遙反）〔幽〕啍（於州反，音幽）〔黠〕𤑔（於糾一予二反）〔琰〕厭（於苒反，於冉反，十二見）〔豔〕𤑔（於焰反），𤑔（於驗反），𤑔（於焰反）〔葉〕厭（於冉反……山東音於葉反，三見）〔侵〕愔（於針反）〔緝〕揖（於入反），挹（於入反）〔仙開〕蜎（於全反，一全反，二見；一泉反，二見），惓（於緣反，二見）〔眞開〕茵（於人反，二見；於眞反），禪（於仁反），𤑔（於身於巾二反），湮（於仁反，二見），𤑔（一鄰反），𤑔（於仁反，二見；於鄰反，音湮，又音因），𤑔（於仁反，二見），𤑔（於人反，一仁反，於身反），𤑔（伊人反），𤑔（於仁反）〔震開〕印（於吝反，伊振反，於振反，二見）〔清開〕嬰（於盈反，六見），纓（於精反，於盈反），𤑔（於耕於成二反，二見）〔清合〕縈（一瓊反，二見）〔昔開〕𤑔（於亦反，音益）。

(ㄊ)影紐B類

〔支開〕猗（一奇反，二見），禕（於宜反）〔支合〕逶（於爲反，於危反），痿（於爲反），萎（於危反，五見），痿（於嬌反），委（於危反，於爲反）〔紙合〕委（紆詭反）〔寘合〕𤑔（於僞反，四見），𤑔（奴罪反……又音於僞反）〔至開〕𤑔（於冀反，二見，乙利反），𤑔（於吏反）〔宵開〕妖（於驕反，五見）〔小〕𤑔（於矯反，三見），𤑔（於矯反，三見）〔鹽〕𤑔（猗廉反，於廉反）〔琰〕𤑔（於儉反，四見），𤑔（淹儼反），𤑔（於儼烏感二反）〔侵〕𤑔（於林反，一禁反，於禁反，七見），𤑔（一金反）（法高按：《廣韻》侵韻影紐有重紐，「愔」，挹淫切，隸A類；「音」，於金切，隸B類。「𤑔」、「𤑔」皆隸B類，但據玄應用「一」字作切語上字，則當隸B類。）〔沁〕蔭（於禁反，二見），飲（於禁反，二見；猗鳩反）〔緝〕𤑔（於急反）〔眞開〕𤑔（於身於巾二反）〔庚三開〕英（於京反；椅京反），瑛（於京反，三見），〔蒸開〕膺（於兢反，於凝反，三見），噫（借音於矜反）〔證開〕應（於興反，於甌反）。

以上所列《玄應音義》中三等韻A、B類見、溪、羣、疑、曉、影六紐的反切，

在玄應反切字表中都有原書頁數行數可查。其中大部份都用三等韻C類字作反切上字，但也有用A類字替A類字作反切上字、用B類字替B類字作反切上字的，如：

見紐B類：几（七見）、羈（三見）、羈（二見）、飢（二見）、急（一見）、金（一見）。（「音急」，一見）。

溪紐B類：綺（三見）、（「音欽」，一見）。

羣紐B類：奇（二十八見）、（「音奇」，一見）。（「音橋」，一見）。

疑紐B類：宜（十見）。

曉紐B類：麀（一見）、義（九見）、嬌（一見）、（「音義」，一見）。

影紐B類：乙（一見）、淹（一見）、猗（二見）、椅（一見），法高按：「猗」，隸B類，而用A類「一」字作切，凡二見，爲例外。又「暗」、「瘡」，《廣韻》隸B類，而玄應用A類「一」字作切，可能玄應將「暗」、「瘡」讀作A類，與《廣韻》「挹淫切」之「愔」同音。以上的例外，特別是「猗」字用「一」字作反切上字，可能「一」是「乙」之誤。（叢書集成本《玄應音義》二七九頁七行「啞，字林一句反」，高麗本「一句」作「乙白」，就是一個「乙」誤作「一」的例子。）

見紐A類：無。

溪紐A類：無。

羣紐A類：祇（三見）。

疑紐A類：無（「音藝」，二見）。

曉紐A類：無。

影紐A類：一（八見）、伊（二見）。（「音煙」，一見）；「音、因」一見；（「音益」，一見）。（「音幽」，一見）。

此外，又把三等韻A、B類以外的喉牙音字用A、B類字作反切上字的列在下面，又可分爲「三等韻C類字用A、B類字作反切上字」和「一、二、四等韻字用A、B類字作反切上字」兩項：

（甲）三等韻C類字用A、B類字作反切上字

（1）C類字用A類字作反切上字，只有影紐字，列於下方：

〔虞〕黝（於糾_△予二反），紓（伊于反；衣于反），〔麌〕迺（一禹反），迂（禹俱一禹二反，二見）。

（2）C類字用B類字作反切上字，只有羣紐和影紐。

（a）羣紐

〔之〕旗（渠基反，二見；極基反）

(b)影紐

〔屋二〕噢（於六反，七見；乙六反）

(乙) 一、二、四等韻用A、B類字作反切上字

(1) 一、二、四等韻字用A類字作反切上字，只有影紐字，列於下方：

〔麻二開〕鍾（一加反）〔麻二合〕窠（於瓜反，烏瓜反，一瓜反，二見）
 〔模〕滂（一孤反）〔姥〕隴（一古反，烏古反，三見），鄔（一古反，於古反，烏古反，九見）〔泰合〕憎（烏外反，於外反，一外反）〔齊開〕驚（伊奚反），驚（一奚反，烏奚反，三見），黠（一奚反，烏奚反，一兮反，二見）
 〔霽開〕翳（於計反，二見；一計反，二見；於麗反）瞿（於計反，二見；一計反），噎（一計反，於計反，六見）〔效〕勒（烏豹反，一豹反）〔覃〕庵（一含反，於含反，二見）〔桓〕曉（一九反）〔末〕揜（一活反，烏活反）
 〔先開〕咽（於賢反，二見；一千反，於見於賢二反，二見），啞（一賢反，烏賢反，三見；因賢反，於堅於見二反），咽（一千反）〔霽開〕宴（烏見反，一見反，四見），燕（一見反），驚（一見反，二見），咽（一見反，於見於賢二反，二見）〔屑合〕暗（一決反）〔沒〕臘（一兀反）〔耕合〕泓（一宏反，二見）〔送一〕驪（一弄反，四見）

(2) 一、二、四等韻字用B類字作反切上字（大部分是二等韻字）

(a)疑紐

〔麻二開〕涯（宜加反）〔怪開〕譏（吾戒反，魚戒反，二見；宜戒反，五戒反，三見）〔覺〕渥（猗角反）〔耕開〕葵（乙莖反，《字林》乙莖反，二見）〔陌開〕啞（乙白反，二見；《字林》乙白反；於格反），厄（猗革反）

(b)影紐

〔馬二開〕瘞（於假反，二見；乙下反）〔佳開〕呪（乙佳反）〔怪開〕噫（乙戒反，六見）〔夬開〕喝（乙芥反，二見）〔鑑〕滄（乙鈗反）（法高按：《廣韻》琰韵滄，衣儉切，隸B類）

從上面的例子，我們可以看出：三等韻C類字和一、二、四等韻字用A、B類字作反切上字的以影紐爲最多。特別是影紐類的「一」字用作反切上字的例子最多，計：C類字用「一」字作反切上字的，凡四見；一、二、四等韻字用「一」字作反切上字的，凡三十八見。

總結起來，B類字用B類字作反切上字者，計見紐十六見，溪紐二見，羣紐二十

六見，疑紐十見，曉紐十一見，共六十五見，無例外。A類影紐的「一」字，有時拿來作B類的切語上字。這個情形和《切韻》唇音滂紐A類的「匹」字有時拿來作B類的切語上字一樣，算是一種例外，但並不影響整個的趨勢。

四、《慧琳音義》中的重紐 A、B 類

黃淬伯《慧琳一切經音義反切考》卷二〈聲類考〉說

按《經音義》切音聲類，其每類有分三系者，有分兩系者。若據其系與以一系爲類者合計之，凡六十有七，視《切韻》增多之數，大都爲四等字之聲類也。而《切韻》聲類，惟一喻類，等韻家指爲四等外，更別無四等之聲類。屹然離異有若是者。端系精系諸紐，在《切韻》爲一類，至《經音義》所據韻則一四等盡然分矣。十二齊一先三蕭十五青二十五添諸韻字（仄韻賅此），與佳皆灰咍所謂一二等諸韻部，其反切上字，實同類也；而《經音義》所據韻，則盡改其切爲四等音矣。更就表中第一組古苦二類所列字言之，《切韻》吉讀居質切，吉居類也；詰讀去吉切，傾讀去營切，詰傾與去亦類也，至《經音義》所據韻，吉字切無徵，惟緊字切用吉爲上字（緊字切韻居忍切），詰字改作輕逸切，傾字改作缺營切，凡《切韻》三等字之變爲四等者，胥視乎此。此《切韻》一二等與三等字之孳衍爲四等，乃隋唐間音變之一端也。（三二葉）

現在把喉牙音聲母中屬於三等韻A、B類的被切字和切語上字，都標註出來。凡A類字在字旁加三角，凡B類字在字旁加小圈。

古類

居（三等）窘（薑偃，居偃，捷偃，建偃），矯（居夭，姜夭，驕夭），機（居衣，几衣，幾希，記希，紀希，寄衣，既祈），几（機履，飢履），飢（几希，既希，記宜），幾（几希），羈（几疑，幾宜，記宜，紀宜，寄宜，京奇），京（景英），景（羈影），君廣（〔音君〕，居雲，据雲，軌筠），歸龜（〔音歸〕，鬼爲，軌危，愧達），愧（鬼位，歸畏，軌位），軌（俱章，居洵，歸洵，龜章），詭（居委，俱章，歸毀，愧委，龜毀）

經（四等）堅肩〔音堅〕（吉煙）決（閏悅，癸悅，涓悅）垠（癸營）橘（均聿）

苦類（一二等）

羌（三等）崎（羌宜，綺羈，起基，丘基），欺欵〔音欺〕（起羈，豈宜，綺羈，器宜），綺（欺倚，墟紀，崎崎，欵倚，祛倚），褻（羌言，欺乾），篆

(泣金)，泣(欽立)

缺(四等)窺(犬規，跬規，缺規，苦規，丘規)，跬(窺癸)，闕(犬悅)，
傾(犬營，缺營，頃縈)，頃(犬穎，窺穎，傾穎，丘穎)，牽(啓堅，遣堅，
企堅，挈堅，詰延，丘堅)，詰(輕逸，企吉)，棄(詰利，輕異，企智)
渠類

嶠(渠驕)，奇(巨基，妓宜)，妓(渠綺，奇倚)，岐(渠宜，妓宜，姑宜，
巨移，蚪移)，蚪(祁幽，耆由)，祁(佶伊)，鉗(奇廉，儉炎)，儉(渠
儼)，黔(儉嚴，巨廉)，禽(渠林，及林)，竭(渠徹，虔孽)，虔捷[音
虔](件焉)，捷(虔偃)，健(渠建，件建)，劇(渠戟，擎逆，奇逆，其
逆)，勅(劇京，巨迎，強迎，競迎)，競(擎敬)，擎(競迎)，乾(強
焉)，匱(求貴，達位)，跪(達章，其詭)，達(櫃迫，匱位)，櫃(達
位)，狂(達王，劬王，瞿王，衢王)，倦(達願，拳卷，權眷，狂院)，拳
(達圓，倦員，渠員，巨員)，權(達員，倦員，渠員)

法高按：一、二、四等韻無羣紐，故黃氏渠類下只有一類。其實黃氏將「揆(渠
癸，葵癸)」混入B類中，應將A類自成一小類，而「翹(祇姚，三見；祇
遙，六見)」(見卷五第一二五葉)諸條，均屬此類。

吾類

魚(三等)銀斷[音銀](魚巾，牛斤，帆斤)，岌(魚及，吟立)，吟(岑
今)，原(魚袁，危袁)，危(隗達)彥(言變)

呼類

虛(三等)戲(虛記，喜義，義義，希意)，吸(義及，虛急，歆急，嗽急)，
險(香掩，許檢，希檢，脇檢，杵儼)，脅脇(險業，香業，杵劫，許業，虛
業)，杵(險嚴)，興(香鷹)，毀(揮委，暉委)，揮(許歸，毀違)，暉
(毀韋)，翫(歆邑，呼及)

烏類

於(三等)倚(於蟻，依里，衣矣)，依(倚希，懿希)，懿(於戲，衣記，依
寄，猗器)，猗(於譏，倚知，意宜，懿宜)，應(於矜，憶陵)，憶臆[音
憶](於力，應力，鷹力)，鷹(憶矜，憶矜)郁(氤菊，於六，央六，億
六，憂六)，妖(夭矯，殢驕，於驕)，夭(娛矯)，憶(於力)，掩(於檢，
淹檢)，淹(淹炎，奄尖，於炎)，奄(淹儼)，邑悒[音邑](於汲，陰汲)，
飲(邑錦)，委(於危)，萎(於危，委爲，鬱爲)，熅(委雲，鬱雲)，氤

(鬱雲，威雲，萎雲，迂雲，蘊云，紆文)，威葳(音威]委歸)

伊(四等)噫(伊計，緊計，於計)，煙(宴賢，咽賢，伊賢，薦賢)，湮(一寅，壹陳，伊眞)，挹(湮熠，伊入)，翳(緊麗，煙計，伊計，一計，尹計，嬰計，纓計，於計)，邀(伊澆，幽遙，要堯)，腰(伊遙，一姚，杳消)，要(一叫)，爻(伊遙，杳堯)，幼(幽袖)，嬰(伊盈，癭盈，益盈，於盈)，纓(益盈)，纓(益盈，伊盈)，癭(伊郢，嬰郢，纓郢，纓頂)，歷(伊閭)，恚(一季，於季)，抉(恚悅，縈悅，涓血，淵決，伊血)，縈(恚營，縈營，伊營，於營)，娟(恚緣，一緣)，淵(抉玄，壹玄，一玄，伊玄，於玄，烏玄)，縈(縈隕，伊隕，娟隕)(法高按：《廣韻》縈，烏定切，徑韻〔青韻去聲〕影紐；又永兵切，庚三韻喻云紐。此處當讀烏定切。《廣韻》：隕，莫經切，青韻明紐；《集韻》隕字尚有徑韻「莫定切」一讀。印(因胤)

韋類

韋(三等)違韋[音違](位歸，羽危)，葦(葦鬼，爲鬼，于鬼)，偉(韋委，爲鬼)，爲(葦危)，于孟[音于](羽俱，字俱，禹俱，榮俱)殞(雲窘，筠菌)榮(永平)

以(四等)鹽(余廉，琰占)，琰(鹽冉，閭奄)，閭檐(音閭)(葉兼)，葉(閭接)，衍(延典)，演(延典)，弋(蠅卽)，移(以之)，亦掖[音亦](移益，盈益)，盈楹[音盈](亦征)，郢(盈井)，孕(以證，移證，餘證，翼證，蠅卽)，蠅(孕蒸，翼緝，以緝)，翼(蠅卽，孕職，羊職)，喻(翼注)，焰(翼念，閭瞻)，藥躍[音藥](弋灼，翼灼，陽削，羊略)，遙搖[音遙](羊翹，曜消，翼消)，腴(翼朱，庚珠)，惟維[音惟](翼佳，以惟)，唯(惟癸，維癸，遺癸)，遺(唯癸)，營(惟肩，役瓊)，役疫[音役](營壁)，緣緣[音緣](悅泉)，鉛(悅涓)，悅(緣決)，亮(緣冑)

以上把《慧琳一切經音義·聲類考》中屬於三等韻A、B類的被切字和切語上字都抄錄出來，還沒有看見有何例外。至於那些屬於C類的三等韻字以及四等韻字各條都沒有抄。大概可以看出：三等韻的C類(如東三、鍾、微、魚、虞、廢、文、欣、元、陽、嚴諸韻)和三等韻的B類可以互相用作切語上字；三等韻A類和四等韻可互相用作切語上字。至於A類和B類則不互相用作反切上字。這種現象只有用聲母的區別才能解釋。

五、朱翱所作《說文繫傳》反切中的重紐三、四等重唇音字⁵

清錢大昕跋徐氏《說文繫傳》說：

大徐本用孫愐反切，此本則用朱翱反切，音與孫愐同，而切字多異，孫用類隔者，皆易以音和。翱與小徐同爲秘書省校書郎，姓名之上，皆繫以臣字，當亦南唐人也。（《說文詁林》前編頁二二引）

王鳴盛〈蛾術編〉「說文反切」條說：

徐鍇《繫傳》反切則不用孫愐而用朱翱，翱不知爲何許人，每卷首與鍇竝列銜稱臣，而鍇在前，翱在後，且翱官亦係秘書省校書郎，則其爲與鍇同時同官、同仕南唐無疑。然馬令、陸游南唐書皆無其人，卽吳任臣十國春秋亦無之。

（《說文詁林》前編頁三二九引）

民國三十二年，張世祿先生發表了〈朱翱反切考〉（《說文月刊》第四卷頁一一七～一一七一）；一九八二年，王力先生《龍蟲並雕齋文集》第三冊出版了，其中也有一篇〈朱翱反切考〉（頁二一二～二五八），並且在題目下加了一個小註說：

此文寫成後，看見了張世祿先生的〈朱翱反切考〉（《說文月刊》第四卷），我的結論跟張先生的結論頗有不同。

張文是按照陳澧《切韻考》繫聯切語上下字的方法加以繫聯的，並且註明某一個切語上字或下字出現的次數；王文則是注重朱翱反切和《廣韻》切語聲韻不相符合的地方。我在〈朱翱反切中的重紐重唇音字〉（“The Ch'ong-niu Pairs of the Bilabials in Chu Ao's Fan-ch'eh System”，宣讀於漢藏語學會第十八次會議，1985年八月二十七至二十九日，泰國曼谷）一文中曾根據張文重唇音反切上字表，加註Ⅰ、Ⅱ、Ⅲ、Ⅳ等字樣表示一、二、三、四等，並用阿拉伯數字註明反切上字在朱翱反切中出現的次數；例如「補₄₄^Ⅰ（伯^Ⅱ 普）」表示朱翱反切中用「補」字作反切上字的有34次，「補」字是一等韻的字，「伯」字是二等韻的字。結果發現重紐A、B類唇音不互相用作反切上字。（見附表）

朱翱〈重唇音反切上字表〉

1. 補類（卽幫紐）

補 ₄₄ ^Ⅰ （伯 ^Ⅱ 普）	伯 ₁ ^Ⅱ （不 ^Ⅰ 白）	巴 ₄ ^Ⅰ （不 ^Ⅰ 奢）	通 ₁ ^Ⅰ （不 ^Ⅰ 吾）	不 ₁₇ ^Ⅰ （缺）
本 ₄ ^Ⅰ （補 ^Ⅰ 付）	北 ₁₄ ^Ⅰ （補 ^Ⅰ 或）	貝 ₁ ^Ⅰ （補 ^Ⅰ 每）	邦 ₂ ^Ⅱ （北 ^Ⅰ 江）	八 ₂ ^Ⅱ （北 ^Ⅰ 拔）
彼 ₂₁ ^Ⅲ （邦 ^Ⅱ 是）	博 ₆ ^Ⅰ （本 ^Ⅰ 泊）			

⁵ 我在東海大學中文研究所正指導研究生張慧美撰寫〈朱翱反切新考〉作爲碩士論文，寫成〈朱翱反切中的重紐問題〉，已在《大陸雜誌》七十六卷第四期（民國七十七年四月，1988）發表。

哺 ^I ₇ (缺)	橘 ^I ₁ (哺 ^I 隈)	跛 ^I ₁ (哺 ^I 顆)		
邠 ^B ₁ (布巾)	布 ^I ₇ (奔 ^I 汚)	奔 ^I ₃ (布 ^I 坤)		
鄙 ^B ₇ (博 ^I 美)	筆 ^B ₆ (碑 ^B 乙)	碑 ^B ₁ (彼 ^B 移)	艱 ^B ₁ (彼 ^B 移)	彬 ^B ₁ (彼 ^B 困)
冰 ^B ₂ (彬 ^B 仍)	碧 ^B ₁ (彼 ^B 力)	兵 ^B ₂ (彼 ^B 平)	逼 ^B ₅ (缺)	
邊 ^{IV} ₅ (辟 ^A 涓)	辟 ^A ₉ (界 ^A 僻)	界 ^A ₁₅ (必 ^A 至)	賓 ^A ₇ (必 ^A 人)	扁 ^{IV} ₁ (必 ^A 撚)
必 ^A ₉ (畢 ^A 聿)	畢 ^A ₅ (界 ^A 聿)			
2.匹類 (卽滂紐)				
普 ^I ₂₂ (拍 ^{II} 戶)	溥 ^I ₁ (拍 ^{II} 戶)	浦 ^I ₁₃ (拍 ^{II} 戶)	拍 ^{II} ₁ (普 ^I 百)	坏 ^I ₃ (普 ^I 杯)
潘 ^I ₈ (浦 ^I 漫)	坡 ^I ₃ (浦 ^I 何)	滂 ^I ₁ (坡 ^I 良)	披 ^B ₁₀ (坏 ^I 界)	
鋪 ^I ₁₁ (噴 ^I 模)	噴 ^I ₁ (鋪 ^I 奔)	破 ^I ₁ (鋪 ^I 臥)	判 ^I ₁ (鋪 ^I 喚)	
匹 ^A ₂₆ (篇 ^A 七)	僻 ^A ₉ (篇 ^A 石)	篇 ^A ₇ (僻 ^A 連)	翩 ^A ₁ (僻 ^A 連)	譬 ^A ₁ (匹 ^A 寄)
片 ^{IV} ₁ (譬 ^A 現)				
3.步類 (卽並紐)				
步 ^I ₄₄ (盤 ^I 怖)	部 ^I ₁₁ (盤 ^I 立)	盤 ^I ₁₀ (別 ^B 安)	別 ^B ₁₂ (缺)	陪 ^I ₂ (步 ^I 雷)
盆 ^I ₁₃ (步 ^I 門)	白 ^{II} ₅ (陪 ^I 陌)	彭 ^{II} ₂ (白 ^{II} 亨)	薄 ^I ₃ (盆 ^I 各)	蒲 ^I ₂₁ (盆 ^I 乎)
傍 ^I ₁ (薄 ^I 荒)	旁 ^I ₂ (薄 ^I 茫)			
辨 ^B ₁ (蒲 ^I 寬)	備 ^B ₃ (辨 ^B 利)	平 ^B ₉ (備 ^B 明)	被 ^B ₁ (平 ^B 義)	
疲 ^B ₁ (弼 ^B 悲)	貧 ^B ₃ (弼 ^B 申)	弼 ^B ₃ (皮 ^B 密)	皮 ^B ₁₆ (貧 ^B 知)	
頻 ^A ₃₁ (婢 ^A 民)	便 ^A ₁ (婢 ^A 篇)	婢 ^A ₁₃ (頻 ^A 旨)	萍 ^{IV} ₁ (頻 ^A 寧)	脾 ^A ₁ (頻 ^A 移)
並 ^{IV} ₁ (頻 ^A 靜)	鼻 ^A ₉ (頻 ^A 至)	毗 ^A ₅ (鼻 ^A 宜)	避 ^A ₁ (便 ^A 罽)	
屏 ^A ₂ (比 ^A 郢)	并 ^A ₇ (比 ^A 令)	比 ^A ₁₉ (并 ^A 立)		
4.莫類 (卽明紐)				
莫 ^I ₇₃ (莫 ^I 度)	脈 ^{II} ₂ (莫 ^I 獲)	迷 ^{IV} ₁ (莫 ^I 低)	梅 ^I ₃ (莫 ^I 惟)	牟 ^I ₁ (莫 ^I 浮)
謀 ^I ₁₀ (莫 ^I 浮)	母 ^I ₁₄ (莫 ^I 厚)	門 ^I ₃₁ (莫 ^I 魂)	蒙 ^I ₁ (母 ^I 東)	滿 ^I ₁ (門 ^I 罕)
毛 ^I ₁₆ (門 ^I 高)	木 ^I ₂ (門 ^I 逐)	謨 ^I ₁ (門 ^I 胡)	模 ^I ₁ (門 ^I 胡)	磨 ^I ₂ (模 ^I 臥)
夢 ^I ₄ (木 ^I 空)	沒 ^I ₂₉ (謀 ^I 骨)	摩 ^I ₁ (沒 ^I 訛)	墨 ^I ₁ (沒 ^I 黑)	忙 ^I ₃ (缺)
免 ^B ₁₇ (缺)	悶 ^I ₅ (免 ^B 困)	尨 ^{II} ₂ (克 ^B 江)	美 ^B ₁₃ (免 ^B 鄙)	冕 ^B ₁ (美 ^B 選)
密 ^B ₂ (美 ^B 弼)				
閔 ^B ₁₀ (缺)	眉 ^B ₂₁ (閔 ^B 之)	明 ^B ₂ (眉 ^B 平)		
眠 ^{IV} ₅ (民 ^A 等)	民 ^A ₁₃ (彌 ^A 鄰)	名 ^A ₁₄ (彌 ^A 并)	汚 ^A ₁ (彌 ^A 充)	滅 ^A ₁ (彌 ^A 悅)
彌 ^A ₂₂ (眠 ^{IV} 伊)	米 ^{IV} ₁ (名 ^A 洗)			
面 ^A ₉ (弭 ^A 釧)	弭 ^A ₄ (面 ^A 侈)			

六、《集韻》中的重紐 A、B 類

《集韻》成書於十一世紀初，自宋仁宗景祐元年 (1034 A. D.) 開始，到寶元二年 (1039 A. D.) 書成，距離《切韻》已有四百年了，其架構沿襲《切韻》的後身《廣韻》。《廣韻》頒布於宋真宗景德四年 (1007 A. D.)，只比《集韻》成書早三十二年。《廣韻》幾乎包存了《切韻》原有的間架，而在字數上大加擴充；《集韻》的反切裏

6 「謀」字，《韻鏡》、《七音略》入一等，《四聲等子》、《切韻指南》、《切韻指掌圖》入三等；《切韻》、《廣韻》入尤韻，玄應入侯韻。

却有不少新的改革。它因襲了不少《廣韻》的切語，也改變了不少《廣韻》的切語。從前者，我們看不出它和《廣韻》有什麼不同，從後者，我們就可以看出一些新的趨勢來。以下就從後者中發現《集韻》的特點〔《廣韻》切語放在圓括弧裏。本節的資料，曾參考林英津有關《集韻》的臺大博士論文《集韻之體例及音韻系統中的幾個問題》（民國七十四年，1985）謹致謝忱〕。

(1)三等韻A類（重紐四等）字用四等韻字作反切上字的例子：

- 紙合溪紐：赳，犬紫（丘弭）（「犬」隸銑韻）
- 脂韻曉紐：夷，馨夷（喜夷）（「馨」隸青韻）
- 旨韻並紐：牝，並履（扶履）（「並」隸迥韻）
- 至韻溪紐：弁，磬致（詰利）（「磬」隸徑韻）
- 祭開疑紐：執，倪祭（魚祭）（「倪」隸霽韻）
- 質韻幫紐：必，壁吉（卑吉）（「壁」隸錫韻）
- 明紐：覓，覓畢（彌畢）（「覓」隸錫韻）
- 見紐：吉，激質（居質）（「激」隸錫韻）
- 溪紐：詰，喫吉（去吉）（「喫」隸錫韻）
- 曉紐：畝，闕吉（許吉）（「闕」隸錫韻）
- 術韻見紐：橘，訣律（居律）（「訣」隸屑韻）
- 仙韻見紐：甄，稽延（居延）（「稽」隸齊韻）
- 獮韻曉紐：蠟，馨亮（香亮）（「馨」隸青韻）
- 清韻溪紐：輕，牽盈（去盈）（「牽」隸先韻）
- 靜韻見紐：頸，經郢（居郢）（「經」隸青韻）
- 溪紐：頃，犬穎（去穎）（「犬」隸銑韻）
- 徑韻見紐：勁，堅正（居正）（「堅」隸先韻）
- 溪紐：輕，牽正（墟正）（「牽」隸先韻）
- 曉紐：飲，馨正（許令）（「馨」隸青韻）
- 幽韻疑紐：聾，倪虬（語虬）（「倪」隸齊韻）

(2)四等韻用三等韻A類（重紐四等）作反切上字：

- 齊合溪紐：睽，傾哇（苦圭）
- 明紐：迷，緜批（莫兮）
- 霽開幫紐：閉，必計（博計）
- 滂紐：嬾，匹計（匹詣）

- 明紐：謎，彌計（莫計）
見紐：計，吉詣（古詣）
溪紐：契，詰計（苦計）
影紐：医，壹計（於計）
先開幫紐：邊，卑眠（布玄）
影紐：煙，因蓮（烏前）
先合影紐：淵，縈玄（烏玄）
銑開滂紐：胤，匹典
並紐：辯，婢典（薄沘）
明紐：丐，弥珍（彌珍）
見紐：繭，吉典（古典）
霰開滂紐：片，匹見（普麵）
影紐：宴，伊甸（於甸）
霰合影紐：餽，縈綸（烏縣）
屑開幫紐：彌，必結（方結）
滂紐：擎，匹蔑（普蔑）
見紐：結，吉屑（古屑）
溪紐：狹，詰結（苦結）
影紐：噎，一結（烏結）
屑合影紐：抉，一決（於決）
蕭韻影紐：爰，伊堯（於堯）
筱韻見紐：皎，吉了（古了）
影紐：杳，伊鳥（烏皎）
嘯韻見紐：叫，吉弔（古弔）
溪紐：窳，詰弔（苦弔）
影紐：窵，一叫（烏叫）
迴開溪紐：馨，棄挺（去挺）
徑開溪紐：馨，詰定（苦定）
徑合影紐：鑒，縈定（烏定）
錫開幫紐：壁，必歷（北激）
滂紐：霹，匹歷（普擊）

溪紐：喫，詰歷（苦擊）

栝韵見紐：兼，吉念（古念）

溪紐：儼，詰念（苦念）

帖韵溪紐：篋，詰叶（苦協）

(3)二等韵字用三等韵B類（重紐三等）字作反切上字：

江韵幫紐：邦，悲江（博江）

滂紐：降，披江（匹江）

並紐：龐，皮江（薄江）

覺韵並紐：電，弼角（蒲角）

疑紐：嶽，逆角（五角）

影紐：渥，乙角（於角）

佳開疑紐：厓，宜佳（五佳）

蟹開影紐：矮，倚蟹（烏蟹）

皆開疑紐：霰，宜皆（擬皆）

影紐：挨，英皆（乙諧）

駭開影紐：挨，倚駭（於駭）

怪韵影紐：噫，乙界（烏界）

刪韵滂紐：攀，披班（普班）

黠韵影紐：軋，乙黠（烏黠）

產韵影紐：軋，膺眼

櫛韵並紐：瓣，皮莧（蒲莧）

牽開影紐：鸛，乙轄（乙轄）

爻韵滂紐：胞，披交（匹交）

效韵滂紐：翫，披敎（匹覓）

並紐：咆，皮敎（防敎）

明紐：覓，眉敎（莫敎）

庚開滂紐：磅，披庚（撫庚）

陌開影紐：啞，乙格（烏格）

耕開幫紐：綱，悲萌（北萌）

滂紐：忤，披耕（普耕）

麥開影紐：戛，乙革（於革）

嫌韵影紐：黯，乙減（乙減）

狎韵影紐：狎，乙甲（烏甲）

檻韵影紐：黠，倚檻（於檻）

洽韵影紐：蹠，乙洽（烏洽）

以上有三條《廣韻》也用B類字作切語，那就是皆開影紐、牽開影紐、嫌韵影紐，末一條《集韻》和《廣韻》反切相同。

此外，還有兩個A類（重紐四等）字例外的用作二等韵字的反切上字，那就是幫紐的「必」字和滂紐的「匹」字：

耿韵幫紐：遴，必幸

禡韵：霸，必駕（必駕）

絳韵滂紐：肸，匹降（匹絳）

覺韵：璞，匹角（匹角）

皆韵：巖，匹埋

產韵：盼，匹限（按《集韻》欄韵滂紐：「盼，普覓切」（《廣韻》作「匹覓切」））

麥韵：撓，匹麥（普麥）

我在〈三等韵重唇音反切上字研究〉一文頁二三九已經說明滂紐的「匹」字例外：「霸」字「必駕切」，沿襲《廣韻》，故宮宋跋本王仁昫《切韻》「必」作「博」。

一等韵字有時也偶有用重紐A或B類字作反切上字的，例如：

登開影紐：翰，一憎。「一」隸A類。

登合影紐：泓，乙肱。「乙」隸B類。

德開影紐：簋，乙得。

其餘不及一一列舉。

(4)三等韵B類（重紐三等）用二等韵字作反切上字：

支韵幫紐：陂，班糜（彼爲）（「班」隸刪韵）

滂紐：鉞，攀糜（敷羈）（「攀」隸刪韵）

脂韵滂紐：丕，攀悲（敷悲）

獮韵幫紐：猝，邦免（方免）（「邦」隸江韵）

以上的例子雖然不多，可是却没有例外。

從以上所舉《集韻》的現象看來，《集韻》中已經有若干現象和《切韻》不同了，這大概是由於語音演變的緣故。例如三等韵A類（重紐四等）和四等韵合流，遠在八

世紀末《慧琳音義》時已經發生，黃淬伯說：

仙韻之三等字歸併於元，四等字歸併於先（按《切韻》指掌圖三等仙元同列，四等先仙同列，其排列之法，與此合併之條理相近）。（同上卷三頁七〇）

《集韻》重紐A、B類的區別，和《切韻》、《慧琳音義》同為聲母的區別，是宋初的語音中有此區別；至於韻部則沿襲《切韻》，不能代表宋初的語音。我們看到《集韻》重紐A、B類字互不用作反切上字，而且A類字只和四等韻字通用作反切上字，都可以證明當時的實際語音是有區別的，否則反切上字不會分得如此清楚。再看差不多同時引進越南的漢越音，在唇音方面，三等韻A類（重紐四等）字讀 t, t', B類（重紐三等）字讀 p, f, m；輕唇音則讀 f, v，可見當時實際的語音確有區別。

根據《集韻》三等韻重紐的反切上字，有時可以解決一些問題。例如我把麻三訂為A類，因為它只具有舌齒音和喻以紐；集韻：

麻三開明紐：咩，彌嗟（「彌」隸支韻A類）

禡三開溪紐：歌，企夜（「企」隸寘韻A類）

又如我在〈三等韻重唇音反切上字研究〉p. 257 主張幽韻當據宋跋本王仁昫《切韻》分A、B二類，《集韻》：

幽韻幫紐：彪，悲幽（甫休）（「悲」隸脂韻B類）

並紐：洸，皮虬（皮彪）（「皮」隸支韻B類）

黠韻見紐：糾，吉酉（居黠）（「吉」隸質韻A類）

幼韻羣紐：蚪，祁幼（巨幼）（「祁」隸脂韻B類）

影紐：幼，伊謬（伊謬）（「伊」隸脂韻A類）

以上除「洸」、「幼」二字外，《廣韻》都用C類字作反切上字，都可以根據《集韻》加以分類。

結 論

從以上各節所列陸德明《經典釋文》（六世紀末葉）、顏師古《漢書音義》（七世紀中葉）、玄應《一切經音義》（七世紀中葉）、慧琳《一切經音義》（八世紀末葉）、朱翱《說文繫傳》反切（十世紀末葉）和《集韻》（十一世紀初葉）關於重紐反切的資料，可以看出在五百年左右，以上諸書中重紐A、B類都是有分別的。早期韻圖的構成，大概在唐代晚期。在宋代《韻鏡》、《七音略》中，對於重紐喉牙唇音分列三四等，是有其語音上的根據的。重紐A類放在四等，在反切上字方面，也常和

純四等韻混用；這在《集韻》中還可以看得出來。而重紐B類，則常和三等韻C類相混，這在黃淬伯《慧琳一切經音義反切考》中都可以看得出來。我相信重紐A、B類的分別是在聲母方面。我在近著 *Papers in Chinese Linguistics and Epigraphy* (1986 年香港中文大學出版，以後簡稱 *Papers*)，曾採用日本三根谷徹⁷的說法假定重紐A類的喉牙唇音聲母是顎化的（顎化符號用 j 表示），而B類則否。(p. 84) 這只是一種解決的辦法而已，還需要作深入的探討才行。我將在〈再論隋唐五代宋初重紐反切〉一文中詳加討論。現在先把拙著 *Papers* p. 78 的 Table I 《韻鏡》內轉第四圖（支韻開口）的複印本（加註阿拉伯數字號碼，和 Table II 《切韻》聲母表的數字相應）和 p. 79 的 Table II 〈切韻聲母擬音表〉（把該書勘誤表中增入的唇牙喉音重紐A類的擬音加入本表中），改成本文的表二和表三，附在後面。

表二 《韻鏡》內轉第四圖

	齒音		音 喉		音 齒			音 牙		音 舌		音 唇		
	清 ³⁷	濁 ³⁶	清 ³³	濁 ³²	清 ²¹	濁 ²⁰		清 ¹⁶	濁 ¹⁵	清 ¹⁴	濁 ¹³	清 ¹²	濁 ¹¹	
支	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
兒	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
離	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
移	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
紙	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
爾	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
遷	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
馳	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
宜	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
晉	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
戲	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
易	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
牙	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
次	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
清	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
濁	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
宜	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
奇	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
殺	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
義	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
祇	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
舌	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
次	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
清	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
濁	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
馳	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
擗	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
知	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
摩	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
皮	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
鼓	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
唇	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
次	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
清	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
濁	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
靡	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
被	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
彼	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
彼	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
研	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
婢	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
婢	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
次	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
清	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
濁	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
義	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
艾	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
極	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
寄	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
智	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
全	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	內轉第四開合
駁	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	

7. 見三根谷徹：〈韻鏡の三四等について〉，《言語研究》Vols. 22-23, pp. 56-74.

表三 〈切韻聲母擬音表〉

	全清	次清	全濁	次濁	次濁	全清	全濁	次濁	次濁
唇音 (labials)	¹ 幫 p	² 滂 p'	³ 並 b	⁴ 明 m					
舌頭音 (dentals)		pj	p'j	bj	mj				
(「來」爲半舌音 lateral)	⁵ 端 t	⁶ 透 t'	⁷ 定 d	⁸ 泥 n	³⁶ 來 l				
舌上音 (supra-dental stops)	⁹ 知 t	¹⁰ 徹 t'	¹¹ 澄 d	¹² 娘 nj					
齒頭音 (apical sibilants)	¹⁷ 精 ts	¹⁸ 清 ts'	¹⁹ 從 dz			²⁰ 心 s	²¹ 邪 z		
正齒音二等 (supra-dental sibilants)	²² 照莊 tʂ	²³ 穿初 tʂ'	²⁴ 牀崇 dʒ			²⁵ 審生 ʂ			
正齒音三等 (palatal sibilants) (「日」爲半齒音)	²⁶ 照 ʈtʂ	²⁷ 穿 ʈtʂ'	²⁸ 牀 ʈdʒ	³⁷ 日 nj		²⁹ 審 ʂ	³⁰ 禪 ʐ		
牙音 (velars) (「曉」「匣」「喻云」舊隸喉音)	¹³ 見 k	¹⁴ 溪 k'	¹⁵ 羣 g	¹⁶ 疑 ŋ		³² 曉 x	³³ 匣 ɣ	³⁴ 喻云 ɣ ⁸	
		kj	k'j	gj	ŋj		xj		
喉音 (guttural and semi-vowel)	³¹ 影 ʔ							³⁵ 喻以 j	

⁸ 喻云紐的《切韻》擬音假定和匣紐互補，可是匣紐的上聲字在八世紀末已經混入去聲。因此必須假定在八世紀末以前，喻云紐的聲母已經失落，而成為次濁聲母了，所以不變去聲。例如《廣韻》喻云紐上聲字「有，云久切」，國語仍讀上聲；而匣紐上聲字「厚，胡口切」，國語改讀去聲。

附錄 東京大學平山久雄教授來函

周法高先生尊鑒

中甸拜收賜函，十分感謝。惠贈之大著以及勘誤表均早已收到，沒有及時致謝，一直至今，實是失禮，慚愧之至，只有伏請恕罪而已。

大文〈隋唐五代宋初重紐反切研究〉昨日也收到了。拜讀之下，獲益良多，以爲是一篇內容透徹而又很有用的文章。大文中所提重紐反切用字的現象，就是我一向最感興趣的問題之一。我曾在〈切韻に於ける蒸職韻と之韻の音價〉（東洋學報 49-1, 1966）一文中，在先生〈三等韻重唇音反切上字研究〉的啓發之下，觀察到『切韻』裏唇音重紐A類字和B類字不互爲切上字的原則也可適用於牙喉音，把A類字和B類字分別只能切A類字和B類字，而C類字無此限制這一現象稱作「類相關」，而且把它應用到音值的擬測上去，認爲之韻因爲在「類相關」上明顯地屬於C類，所以應該含有一種中舌元音。至於蒸韻職韻，也適用「類相關」的看法認爲唇音和合口牙喉音屬於B類，開口牙喉音則屬於C類，兩者主要元音有所不同。後來知道上田正先生於1957年已經提出和我的「類相關」同樣的看法，於是再撰了《切韻に於ける蒸職韻開口牙喉音の音價》（東洋學報 55-2, 1972），承認 priority 當歸屬於上田氏，並對蒸職韻的音值也作了一些訂正。還有拙文〈中古音重紐の音聲的表現と聲調との關係〉（東京大學東洋文化研究所紀要 73, 1977）中也述及了「類相關」的問題。後來有人指出，辻本春彥先生早在1954年於〈いわゆる三等重紐の問題〉中已提出一條規律：上字若A類則被切字亦屬A類，上字若B類則被切字亦屬B類。這篇論文再錄於《均社論叢》第五卷第一期（1978）裏。我覺得，在中國先生與杜其容女士，在日本上述三人，分別達到基本上一致的看法，是極有趣味的現象，可謂是學問的一種樂趣，但拿從《經典釋文》到《集韻》的主要音韻資料來全面檢驗這一理論的，則僅先生一人矣。

將另函奉寄上述東洋學報所載兩篇拙文及均社論叢所錄辻本氏論文的複製，想供先生參考。

敬 頌

著 祺。

平 山 久 雄

1987年8月27日

論重紐等韻及其相關問題

龍 宇 純

中央研究院歷史語言研究所·國立臺灣大學

《切韻》系韻書支、¹脂、眞、諄、祭、仙、宵諸韻唇牙喉音，以及侵、鹽諸韻的影母，在同一字母同開合的情況下出現的對立反切，學者謂之「重紐」，已經是接觸過漢語音韻學的人所通知的事。起始重紐被視為同音，漸而為異音說所取代，於是有A類B類之分，而又有兩種截然不同的意見。通常係以韻圖置於四等之字為A類，認為與其同韻之舌、齒音同韻母；韻圖置於三等者為B類，別為一韻母。這種了解主要依據在反切下字的系聯狀態，前者多與舌、齒音系聯，後者則自成一類。我於民國五十九年（一九七〇）五月撰〈廣韻重紐音值試論兼論幽韻及喻母音值〉一文，六十年五月發表於香港中文大學《崇基學報》九卷二期，首先指出此說理論與依據兩方面均不足取，而主張應以韻圖置於三等之字為A類，與其同列之舌、齒音同韻母，韻圖置於四等者為B類，自為一韻母。近年始知在此文發表後的十年，大陸學者亦有人持相同之主張，未見原文，僅從此間學者的引文中獲觀片斷。至今沿用A、B類舊說的學者雖然常見，相信真理終能愈辯愈明，本文所要討論的不在此。A、B兩類反切的音值差別何在，學者意見亦不一致，我採取的是介音的不同，先後有幾篇文章論及此事，並且以三、四等 -j- 與 -i- 的對立，修訂了其先 -j- 與 -ji- 不同的構擬，²當然也不是本文所要申訴的。

本文要指出的是，重紐之名不應該只是上述支、脂諸韻反切的專稱，在《切韻》系韻書中，與上述現象條件完全相同的還有其他反切，應擴大「重紐」一詞的涵蓋層面，將所有條件相同的現象統合起來。至於我之所以要提出此一意見，為的是如此一來，中古音中好幾個重要問題便可獲得肯定答案，包括支、脂諸韻重紐彼此間音值差別何在的問題在內。一個簡單的觀念改變，影響却是不小。

熟悉中古音研究狀況的學者，一定會立即產生反應，這個意見並不新鮮，重紐觀念層面的擴大，不僅前已有之，且還不止一次。起始的「重紐」雖然指的是支、脂諸

1 舉平聲以該其聲調相承諸韻，下文不一一注明。

2 首見於〈論照穿床審四母兩類上字讀音〉一文，見中央研究院《國際漢學會議論文集》，1981。

韻的脣牙喉音，喻三與喻四的對立反切，却並未包含在「喉音」之內。原因是喻三喻四的對立，通常認為是「三等韻」³的慣見現象，並非支、脂諸韻所獨有，已單獨作整體之考慮，是故討論支、脂諸韻脣牙喉音重紐時，原不含喻母；其後支、脂諸韻的喻母雖已合併在重紐中一起討論，諸韻以外其他對立的喻母字仍然處身於重紐的範圍外，至於今皆然。另外又有將庚韻三等及清韻脣牙喉音相合而視為重紐的，是為「重紐」層面在支、脂諸韻喻母納入之後的再次擴大。然而，「重紐」層面當以「同韻」為極限，以其為同一韻內同字母同開合重複出現的反切，所以有重紐之名；若其異韻如庚之與清，元音已自不同，而可以為「重紐」，則是一切異韻之同聲並可以重紐名，所謂重紐直是雙聲，重紐之名便根本沒有創立的意義。是故以同韻喻三喻四的對立字為重紐則是，以庚、清之同紐字為重紐則非。但前者一般僅及於支、脂諸韻而止，是為不及，後者則又過之，都未為有當。

所謂《切韻》系韻書中，還有與支、脂諸韻重紐條件完全相同的其他現象，最容易想到也是第一個要納入重紐範圍的，自然便是前文提到的一切「三等韻」中對立的喻母字。這一觀念的改變，影響所及，因為一個韻中無論有無對立的喻三字，韻圖始終將喻四字排列於四等地位，與支、脂諸韻之重紐B字相同，便可知支、脂諸韻中喻四字所不同於喻三字的韻母型態，當是一切喻四字的韻母型態。也即是說，任何「三等韻」，但須有喻四字，同一開口或合口下便有兩類韻母，而非如時下學者所理解者，喻四字與喻三字以及其餘韻圖位置於三等之字韻母相同。這便是擴大重紐層面後的第一個收穫。

「三等韻」中照二與照三的對立字，也正是同一字母在開合相同的條件下反切的重複出現，自然也應該攝入重紐範疇。只是從陳澧以來，學者並誤認了反切上字不相系聯的意義，以為表示聲母的不同，以致未能與支、脂諸韻的脣牙喉音合併看待。實則如本文所說，只須觀念一改，「三等韻」中同開合的條件下照系字反切的重複出現即是「重紐」，其聲母相同韻母為異的真相，便沒有發生誤解的可能。此為重紐觀念層面擴大後的第二個收穫。有關照二照三的音類與音值問題，我已從多種觀點為文加以討論，⁴本文僅作此補充說明。

東韻與歌韻以一、三等合韻，麻韻與庚韻以二、三等合韻。麻韻除開口部分有兩類照系字外，別無同一字母在開合相同的條件下有重出的反切；兩類照系字屬「重紐」

3 凡三等韻一詞上下加引號者，取一般義，意謂韻圖列三等之字及其同韻韻圖列二、四等之字。其不加引號者，為本文所界定之義，說見於後。

4 〈論照穿床審四母兩類上字讀音〉文中肯定照二與照三聲母相同。其後〈從臻攝兩韻性質的認定到韻圖列二四等字的擬音〉亦有所扶持，見《歷史語言研究所集刊》五十四本第四分，1983。

已包含在前節的說明之中，其餘更無所謂「重紐」問題。東韻及庚韻的開口部分則唇牙喉音一、三等或二、三等並有字，歌韻開口牙音或牙喉音之一、三等，以及庚韻合口喉音之二、三等亦並有字，東韻且有同一字母重複出現的齒頭音字，自然也都應納入「重紐」範圍。

此外顧名思義，同韻同開合不同等第的同紐反切謂之重紐，同韻同等第不同開合的同紐反切自然也可以稱為重紐。（至於《切韻》本不分韻，後人據開合異音分而不能徹底，如《廣韻》眞韻續字匹賓切與諄韻斂字普巾切，又眞韻謹字巨巾切與諄韻趣字渠人切等等，其屬重紐，自更無待說明。）

上述「重紐」觀念層面之一步步延申擴大，有的雖然於其本身的了解不生任何影響，如最後所述東、庚二韻及不同開合者之間的重紐；但這些原本孤立的現象一經統合之後，便能輕易的意識到，支、脂、侵、鹽諸韻之重紐，其彼此間音值的差異必是介音的不同無可疑，而照二照三對立反切的真實意義，自然也非介音的差異莫屬。這正是由於有如東、庚及不同開合之重紐的強烈啓示。至此，自己不禁啞然失笑，雖然我在這些問題上終於沒有迷失方向，但從接受前人的觀念到突破，每一進程都曾經過長時期的摸索；設若能早一些用「重紐」的觀念去聯繫，去貫通，不僅如支、脂諸韻重紐之異在介音的看法，不須在研習聲韻之學約莫二十年後始能悟出，即使如照二照三上字不相系聯的問題，亦無待遲至三十年後方能恍然其聲母原本相同。⁵

重紐觀念的擴大，所影響於中古音的認知，自不止於上述支、脂諸韻重紐或照等字母上字分類本質的了解。《切韻》系韻書整個反切上字之分類背景，至今學者莫能知其究竟，正有待於此「重紐」觀念之形成，然後能洞悉底蘊。今年三月，我完成〈切韻系韻書兩類反切上字之省察〉的初稿，至五月一日修訂定篇，將載於慶祝毛師子水先生九五華誕論文集，以為賀禮，討論到這一問題。當時只能指出現象與三等韻介音為半元音 -j- 之性質有關，仍未能把握問題核心，正由其時尚未形成上述「重紐」觀念。現在則可以用一句話說明：反切上字之分類，是為區別重紐而造成。是故凡有重紐的字母，其上字分類，且相對視其對立之普遍與否，而有或嚴或寬之不同；而凡沒有重紐的字母，其上字沒有分類現象。在進一步說明此意之前，有必要就「等韻」的概念予以澄清。

「等韻」概念的形成，自是源於韻圖而來。韻圖將《切韻》各韻區為四類，以四個「等」來代表，於是我們知道中古音有一等、二等、三等、四等四種不同韻母的類

⁵ 我於民國四十年從先師董同龢先生習聲韻，至五十九年撰〈廣韻重紐音值試論兼論幽韻及喻母音值〉，又至六十九年撰〈論照穿床審四母兩類上字讀音〉。

型。但除去韻圖見於一等及三等的各字屬一等韻及三等韻爲共同認知外，見於二、四等之字，學者所了解的等韻則有兩種不同。有的完全根據韻圖，凡韻圖列一等的爲一等韻，列二等、三等、四等的爲二等韻、三等韻、四等韻，其間更無差異。有的則一面根據韻圖，一面又根據韻書，因爲有時韻圖見於二等、四等之字，於韻書則與見於三等者同屬一韻，於是形成真二等韻、假二等韻及真四等韻、假四等韻的觀念。所謂假二等韻及假四等韻，實際爲三等韻，故又或謂之「三等韻」的二等字及「三等韻」的四等字，即韻圖位置於二等或四等的「三等韻」字，將「等」與「等韻」區分爲二：

「等」指韻圖所在的實際位置，「等韻」則謂其所屬的韻母類型。至於韻圖何以要將「三等韻」字列於二等或四等地位，則說爲三等無處安頓的不得已借地盤行爲。後者自是屈解了韻圖。韻圖既係爲區分韻類而作，理當依實際韻類而設計，而不當有位置不足的情況發生，不容爭議。韻圖作者沒有借位的交代，內轉外轉的標示，如果依照內子杜其容女士所說，⁶自可以使借位觀念得到支持；但《韻鏡》及《七音略》第二十六轉係專爲部分宵韻字所設，其字則不在三等，而見於四等，即此一例，便足以破除借位說的構想。清韻屑牙喉音不與其舌上音及正齒音同轉列於空缺的三等地位，而別置於鄰轉的四等，情況與二十六轉宵韻字正復相同。此外，如《四等重輕例》之以獮韻緬字及昔韻益字表四等；《四聲等子》及《切韻指掌圖》等書之以「三等韻」中四等字與四等韻字並列表四等；等韻門法〈正音憑切門〉之等於說同韻二等齒音字與三等及四等字韻母不同；以及《集韻》反切上字重紐B之與四等韻字爲一類，兩者絕不用於三等韻；《全王》一字四次爲上字之分見於一、二、四等韻，而絕不用於三等韻；陌韻獲字一號反（切）、曷字乙白反（切）反切下字之並屬二等，全賴一、乙兩字以別其二等音與三等音之不同。凡此種種，無論爲韻圖，爲韻書，並可確證韻圖之「等」與「等韻」一無差別，一、二、三、四等順次與一等韻至四等韻完全重疊，等的不同便是韻母類型的不同。所謂「三等韻」的二等字或四等字，正因爲是二等韻或四等韻型態，所以位置於二等或四等，與其同韻韻圖列三等之字韻母皆不相同。這些，我在〈論照穿床審四母兩類上字讀音〉及〈從臻櫛兩韻性質的認定到韻圖列二、四等字的擬音〉兩文中，差不多都已論列，本文僅作此扼要說明。

另一方面，據唐天寶間《韻英》一書所述，《切韻》舊有四百三十九韻（案可能爲四百二十九韻之誤）。⁷因此數明與《切韻》一九三韻乃至其後《廣韻》二〇六韻不

⁶ 內子於民國五十七年發表〈釋內外轉名義〉，主張韻圖列二、四等之字讀三等韻母之轉爲內轉，二、四等之字讀二、四等韻母者爲外轉。文載《歷史語言研究所集刊》第四十本。

⁷ 詳拙著〈陳澧以來幾家反切系聯法商兌並論切韻系韻書反切系聯法的學術價值〉，參註8。

合，知此所謂「韻」，當是據「韻母」而言。但現時學者所了解的《切韻》韻母數，二〇六韻共計才三百二十一，去四三九之數仍然遙遠。然而這正是由於用了假二等韻、假四等韻觀念的結果，如依我的了解，所謂假二等韻、假四等韻與同韻三等韻字韻母皆不相同，《切韻》便適有四百三十餘「韻」，兩者若合符節，尤其顯示過去學者對韻圖認知上的偏差。此則拙文〈陳澧以來幾家反切系聯法商兌並論切韻系韻書反切系聯法的學術價值〉⁸，業已道及。

總結上文，《切韻》實無所謂真二、四等韻與假二、四等韻之別，只有同爲二、四等韻而或獨立爲韻或不獨立爲韻之殊。這種殊異，正包含在整個《切韻》分韻、合韻的大原則之中。案《切韻》分韻合韻的大原則爲：主要元音不同的分韻，⁹主要元音相同而介音不同的可分可合；洪細不同以分韻爲習見，同爲細音則以合韻爲常規。前者如豪、肴、宵、蕭，後者分韻的如冬、鍾，合韻的如鍾之有二、三、四共三等；而東以一等洪音合於細音之二、三、四等，臻、真以同爲細音而分立，則並爲僅見。但不論分合如何，其韻母型態始終與韻圖所在之等表裏如一。即凡在韻圖一等之字無介音（案合口介音成分不在此列），凡在二等、三等、四等之字，順次具前高元音或半元音之介音 -e-、-j-、-i-。¹⁰ 前者爲洪音，後三者並爲細音。這樣的了解，固然與講論中古音一面從韻圖一面又主韻書的學者大異其趣，即使全依韻圖的學者，也都沒有如此清晰的概念。

現在續談上字分類的問題，不難發現與重紐的出現有絕對關係。具體言之，東韻歌韻一、三等合韻，東韻唇牙喉音及來母有重紐，歌韻牙喉音及來母¹¹亦有重紐，是故唇牙喉音及來母一、三等上字有分類現象；庚韻麻韻二、三等合韻，麻韻開合口不同之外雖更無對立反切，庚韻則唇牙喉音並有重紐，是故唇牙喉音二、三等上字有分類現象；支、脂諸韻三、四等合韻，唇牙喉音（喉音含喻母）有重紐，侵、鹽兩韻影母亦三、四等有重紐，是故唇牙喉音三、四等上字有分類現象。三者並是與三等字對立，此所以唇牙喉音上字一、二、四等共爲一類，三等別爲一類；而來母亦一、二、四等與三等兩分（案有說見後）。東韻一、四等合韻，精、清、從、心四母有重紐，是故精、清、從、心四母上字有分類現象。東、鍾、支、脂、之、魚、虞、麻、陽、庚、尤、侵諸韻二、三等合韻，照、穿、床、審四母有重紐，是故照、穿、床、審四母上字有分類現象。對照前文所說，諸「重紐」之中不出現上字分類現象的，僅不同

⁸ 見《清華學報》新一四卷第一二期合刊《慶祝李方桂先生八十歲論文集》，1982。

⁹ 因字少而寄韻者，若齊、哈韻之有移、莖等字不在此限。

¹⁰ 詳見拙著〈論照穿床審四母兩類上字讀音〉。

¹¹ 《廣韻》戈韻增韻字，縷訖切，與落戈切之蘊字對立，落、縷二字分屬一、三等。

開合的一類無有，可見上字之分類確與「重紐」密切關聯；而不同開合之「重紐」所以不見上字分類現象，却並非不可理解。其一，反切係由上下二字構成，屬於韻母的成分本可全部責令反切下字表達，不必要求反切上字參與反映，開合的不同，自不必形成上字的分類現象。其二，在古人的觀念中，開合與洪細的不同並不是等量的，開合的層次乃是居於洪細之上；也就是說，一個「韻」下最大的類別是開合，開合之下始別洪細。這可從兩方面窺見。韻書方面，早期一個真、寒、歌，其後據開合不同分而為真諄、寒桓、歌戈，又有自仙、獮分出為宣、選¹²的，不一而足；却不見有據等第不同將如東、庚、支之韻分析為二的。可見開合的不同，可以與「韻」的不同相當，而等第則否。臻韻但有正齒音字，乃從真韻分出，是為例外，但此自《切韻》已然，與真、諄之分究猶有別。武玄之《韻詮》自侵韻分出岑韻，自是據等第之不同而歧分為二，而不為他家所取，亦與真、諄之分不可同日語。韻圖方面，以開合分轉下統四等，不以等第別圖而下領開合，所表現的較韻書更為顯著。都無異透露出，古人以上字表示韻母成分的不同，只及於低層次的洪細而止；開合不同未形成上字分類，正與古人不因「韻」之不同而形成上字分類情形相同，本不足異。然此不謂開合不同，即不可形成上字之分類，《集韻》一書於此便有明顯的分類現象。¹³《廣韻》真韻開口部分：寄字居義切，駢字居企切，尅字卿義切，企字去智切，議字宜寄切，戲字香義切；其相對合口部分：臍字詭偽切，臍字規恚切，缺字窺瑞切，偽字危睡切，毀字況偽切，臍字呼恚切。見、溪、疑、曉四母共十二字，反切上字無不開合分用，亦不謂全無分類迹象。而蟹韻解字佳買切，𠂔字乖買切，兩者開合之異，全賴上字以為區別，更可見開合不同之重紐所以未形成上字分類，只是《廣韻》以前韻書適無此要求而已，非其本質上根本不可能形成分類。因此如果有人執着於此，而對反切上字分類與重紐的關係發生懷疑，便可以說是不明事理了。

且自另一方面觀察，如所周知，諸反切上字分類現象本有寬嚴之殊。嚴的如照系四母及喻母，至於絕不相系聯；寬的如脣牙喉（除匣喻）音諸母、齒頭音四母及舌齒

12 《四等重輕例》勸下注宣，免下注選。夏英公《進古文四聲表》亦云仙韻後有宣韻，獮韻後有選韻；大徐鉉《說文解字篆韻譜》仙韻下亦有宣韻。

13 以其一等諸韻見母開合相對諸字為例，除痕、很、恨、乾之根、頤、良、挖音古痕、舉很、古很、古乾、魂、混、恩、沒之昆、衰、輪、骨音公渾、古本、古困、吉（疑古之誤）忽，沒有條理外；其餘哈、海、代之該、改、概音柯開、己亥、居代、灰、賄、隊之傀、𠂔、憤音姑同、沽罪、古對；泰韻蓋音居大，倫音古外；唐、蕩、宕、鐸之岡、吭、銅、各音居郎、舉朗、居浪、剛鶴、光、廣、桃、郭音姑黃、古晃、古曠、光鑑；歌、哿、箇之韻目三字音居何、賈我、居賀，戈、果、過之韻目三字音古禾、古火、古臥；登、德之樞、械音居曾、訖得，太、國音姑弘、骨或；寒、旱、翰、曷之干、筭、幹、葛音居寒、古旱、居案、居曷，桓、緩、換、末之官、管、貫、括音古丸、古緩、古玩、古活。其中僅旱字音古旱切不合開合上字分用之例。

音之來母，則不過具分類趨勢。此一現象，亦正與諸重紐出現於各韻之是否普遍，或有無分類之必要¹⁴ 相關。具體而言：精系字出現重紐，僅見於東韻，且無必要分類，故精系四母上字之分類亦最寬。然於東韻言之，平聲菱字子紅切，忽字倉紅切，叢字徂紅切，穠字蘇公切，嵩字息弓切；上聲總字作孔切，歆字先孔切；去聲纓字作弄切，諛字千弄切，敷字徂送切，送字蘇弄切，趨字千仲切；入聲鏃字作木切，癡字千木切，族字昨木切，速字桑谷切，蹙字子六切，竈字七宿切，歆字才六切，肅字息逐切。二十字中與類別不合者，僅菱、歆、諛、癡、歆五字，不可謂無相當明顯界限。¹⁵ 三等屑牙喉音字，既有與一等對立的，又有與二等及四等對立的，現象較精系四母為普遍，但亦並無區別的必要，故其上字分類視精系四母為嚴，而並非不可系聯。照系四母除屬獨立二等韻者外，莊、章兩系普遍對立於東、鍾、支、脂、之、魚、虞、祭、仙、麻、陽、庚、尤、侵諸韻之中，且有上字分類之必要，故照系四母上字之分類亦最嚴。喻母字雖與影、曉二母同屬喉音，喻三喻四的出現對立，則不以支、脂諸韻為限，他如虞、尤、屋、緝諸韻中亦並有兩類喻母字，且即使在但有喻三或但有喻四的韻裏，因為觀念上兩者絕對對立，韻圖始終別等而居，即其證明，故喻母上字的分類，於喉音諸母中獨為嚴謹，全無假借痕迹。然則反切上字之所以出現分類現象，實為區別重紐而起，可斷乎言之的了。

唯來母之字，僅於東韻歌韻出現一、三等之重紐，盧、力二類上字分用於一、二、四等或三等，則有相當清楚界限，現象較為突出。大抵因屑牙喉音字母之四等俱全者皆一、二、四等為一類，三等別為一類，來母雖無二、三等或三、四等之對立反切，其出現之對立反切，亦正係以三等字為對象，而非一、二、四等之間出現對立，故亦從屑牙喉音之成規，形成一、二、四等與三等之間的分類。然力字有用於一等韻者：冬韻墜字之力冬切；有用於二等韻者：皆韻騾字之力懷切，山韻爛字之力閑切，臚字之力頑切，肴韻獮字之力嘲切，麥韻磨字之力摘切，謙韻臉字之力減切；有用於四等韻者：嘯韻賴字之力弔切，迥韻答字之力鼎切，忝韻稂字之力忝切，柝韻稂字之力店切。（幽韻鏐字力幽切，亦屬此類，說詳下）呂字亦二次用於二等韻，即江韻瀧字呂江切，覺韻竿字呂角切。實際狀況充其量可與見等五母比擬，於本文所揭上字分類之背景，自無妨碍。

以下，要討論幾個相關問題。

¹⁴ 所謂有分類之必要者，我在〈切韻系韻書兩類反切上字之省察〉一文指出，如東韻二等僅一崇字，與同韻他字韻母皆不相同，不予上字分類，便將因無適當下字可用而無法造出正確示音的反切。故照系字有上字分類之必要，而其餘字母除喻母外，並無此需要。

¹⁵ 《集韻》此二十字中，僅諛字音千弄切及癡字音千木切為混。

壹、知系字的韻母型態問題 知系字見於韻圖之二、三等，根據前文所說，凡二等字具介音 -e-，凡三等字具介音 -j-，換言之，知系字的韻母型態，一具 -e- 介音，一具 -j- 介音，本無可討論。却由於我對反切上字所以形成分類，曾經有過不切實際的表象了解，以為是介音 -j- 與「非介音 -j-」的對立所造成，凡有介音 -j- 與非介音 -j- 相互對立的字母，其上字形成分類狀態；知系各母上字既不見分類狀態，是其韻母並無 -j- 與非 -j- 之不同型態至明，則無論如一般學者所說，二等知系字無介音，三等知系字具介音 -j-，或如我所修訂，知二字具 -e- 介音，知三字具 -j- 介音，都不能合於其上字不分類的現象。高本漢注意到知系各母上字僅有一類，主張無論為二等，為三等，其韻母型態相同，且偏向於 -j- 化的看法。我因考慮到知、章二系聲母原並為舌音，其後則章系字變為齒音，可能為受不同介音之影響，而提出二、三等知系字同具 -e- 介音的構想。於今看來，當然是由於未能了解反切上字分類的本質，以致使我在中古音研究上處處違信韻圖，而獨於此處不惜與韻圖相違牴，自陷於矛盾，一直無法面對這一問題深入討論。現在悟出了反切上字之分類，係因區別重紐而起，只須知系字於《切韻》不出現重紐，韻圖與反切上字的矛盾，便自然消除。今檢《切韻》系韻書，知系字可能出現重紐的，僅有麻庚二韻。庚韻但有二等知系字，麻韻則除二等知系字外，《廣韻》平聲尚有一參字音陟邪切，似與陟加切參字為重紐。然而無論根據等韻門法的〈麻韻不定門〉，或《韻鏡》、¹⁶《四聲等子》、《切韻指南》的位置措施，以及現代方言的讀音，參字實是麻韻四等的端母字，上字陟是端母的類隔，而邪字正屬於四等，是麻韻亦一無重紐。然則知系字的韻母型態，二等為 -e- 介音，三等為 -j- 介音，終於有了確切的認定。

貳、三等韻有無匣母的問題 匣母但見於一、二、四等韻，不見於三等韻，本是大家熟知的事。如果說 -j- 介音僅見於三等韻，等於說匣母不與 -j- 相配。這樣的了解本來也沒有錯，只是通常學者觀念中的「三等韻」，有時是包括了韻圖二及四等之字，於是如《廣韻》真韻下珍切的儼字，《集韻》獮韻下亮切的蜎字，范韻胡犯切的櫟字，至韻兮肆切的系字，質韻戶橘切的驕字，¹⁷《禮記·月令》「觜觿中」《釋文》觿字戶規反，便突過了上述規律。此外，《廣韻》東韻雄熊二字音羽弓切，《集韻》蒸韻熊字又音矣殄切，表面上雖並是三等韻的喻母字，以今方音推之，二字中古應並屬匣母；《集韻》東韻雄字音胡弓切，皆韻諧字音雄皆切，《禮記·月令》《釋文》

¹⁶ 此據黎氏古逸叢書本，他本俱未列參字，《七音略》亦無。

¹⁷ 《集韻》月韻又有乾、𪔐、𪔐、𪔐、𪔐五字音俱竭切，蓋同沒韻下挖切之音，憑上字定韻母等第，故五字又並見下挖切。

熊字音乎弓反，便是證明。羽弓、矣旡的反切，必是匣母分化爲喻三之前的早期結構，正與知出於端，而前文所述參字《廣韻》音陟邪切的情形相同。這些字對於現時音韻學者而言，是無法處理的；由我看來，當然都是四等字，¹⁸ 而根本沒有三等韻出現匣母字的問題產生。其中除去嫌字胡犯切一音本身沒有證據知其確爲四等字，亦可能爲喻三讀音的「類隔」外，磳字韻圖見於四等固不必說，蜎的下字亮，系的上字兮及下字肄，驕的下字橘，觸的下字規，韻圖並見於四等地位，這些反切也顯然都屬於四等韻的結構；而系字通常讀胡計切，正收在四等霽韻，觸字《釋文》另一音爲戶圭反，韻書亦正收入齊韻，尤不啻爲兮肄、戶規二切屬四等讀音的最佳注脚。¹⁹

叁、羣母是否僅見於三等韻的問題 羣母被認爲僅見於三等韻，一方面固然是由於學者對韻圖的了解發生了偏差，一方面當然更是由於羣母的反切上字僅有一類。

韻圖既有爲數不少的羣母字列在四等，特別是上文所指出，專爲部分宵韻字所設立的第二十六轉，諸字並見於四等，其中平去二聲的翹字便屬羣母，可見羣母是有四等字的。更從反切看，《廣韻》宵韻翹字渠遙切，遙是喻四字；笑韻翹字巨要切，要字韻圖亦列在四等，並合於四等音的反切結構。《集韻》宵韻翹字音祁堯切，則不僅祁是脂韻四等字，²⁰ 可憑以表示翹字的四等讀音，堯字更屬四等蕭韻；而《廣韻》笑韻翹字下云「又巨堯切」，亦以堯爲下字，與《集韻》無獨有偶；更檢《經典釋文》：《詩經·漢廣》「翹翹，祁堯反，沈其堯反」，《左傳·莊公二十二年》「翹翹，祁堯反」，《爾雅·釋草》「莢，祁堯反」，亦與《集韻》、《廣韻》相合，可見翹字必然屬於四等韻的韻母型態。又《詩經·月出篇》「舒窈糾兮」，《釋文》云：「糾，其趙反，又其小反，一音其了反。」根據小字在韻圖中的地位，「其小反」是小韻四等音；「一音其了反」，了是四等篠韻字，疑此謂對「其小反」之音而言，亦可用「其了反」的結構表現，正亦翹字渠遙切或音巨堯切之比。並可見羣母字確有四等韻母型態的讀音。²¹

至於其上字何以但有一類，此實不須執着。反切之法雖初無定型，²² 既以上下二

18 《古今韻會》雄字韻與公字韻及弓字韻分爲三類。雄字韻含傾、瓊、局、焚四字，前二者屬清四，後二者屬青，可見雄是四等字，故與一等之公及三等之弓鼎立。

19 《廣韻》支韻許規切觸下云「角維」；悅吹切觸下云「芻觸」，觸與觸同。亦並韻圖列四等之音。

20 祁字《廣韻》音渠脂切，與毗字音房脂、伊字音於脂同屬重紐B，故《集韻》音渠伊切。又《集韻》宵韻翹字音祁堯切，笑韻翹字音祁要切，祁字又見於支韻，與祇字同音，音翹移切，並祁字屬重紐B之證。《韻鏡》、《七音略》並誤於羣母三等。

21 《集韻》隊韻贗字巨內切，代韻陞字巨代切，很韻頌字其懇切，勸韻斡字其聞切，並見於一等韻；又蟹韻鎬字求買切，怪韻黠字渠介切，刪韻趨字巨班切，諫韻趨字求患切，山韻趨字渠際切，麥韻趨字求獲切，並見於二等韻。《廣韻》蟹韻、山韻亦收鎬或趨字，音求蟹切或跪頑切。此等反切如非以上字定韻母等第，則羣母尚有一、二等的韻母型態。

22 詳拙著〈例外反切的研究〉，見《歷史語言研究所集刊》第三十六本《紀念董作賓董同龢兩先生論文集》，1965。

字分工，韻母的成份即使不必定由下字表示，至少亦不必非由上字表示不可。《切韻》系韻書中各羣母字反切，倘從上字或下字兩方面觀察（案：凡《切韻》中反切，都須如此觀察，不然往往不能得其正讀），無有不能正確表示讀音的。換句話說，羣母上字未分類，並沒有影響到反切的正確表音功能；即使能找出一二不盡精準的反切，亦不足多怪，因為「切韻之疏」的現象本是大家所深知的。舉例而言：旨韻軌字居洵切，癸字居誅切，兩音對立；然而誅字音力軌切，癸軌二字又可以系聯。如非根據韻圖，不僅無從辨其等第差異，即其音究竟有無不同，亦無由決定。旨韻又有否字符鄙切，牝字扶履切，亦兩音對立。根據韻圖，否字與几字同列，韻母相同；然而几字音居履切，履字音力几切，牝否二字亦既系聯為一。實則否字屬三等韻母型態，牝字屬四等韻母型態，韻圖固備列明白。其他如迴韻戶頂切迴字，又胡頂切婢字；獮韻土免切撰字，又土免切棧字，當然也顯示《切韻》系韻書反切並未作到盡善盡美的地步。這一切都要依賴韻圖，然後能切實掌握讀音。換言之，羣母反切上字是否分類，與羣母是否可以在三等以外的等韻中出現，並沒有必然的關連，也一切須要信賴韻圖。

更有進者，《廣韻》一書羣母上字雖似看不出分類迹象，《集韻》却有值得注意的反切：支韻奇字渠羈切，祇字翹移切；獮韻圈字巨卷切，蛎字葵亮切；宵韻喬字渠嬌切，翹字祁堯切；笑韻嶠字渠廟切，翹字祁要切，並兩兩對立。又有虞韻劬字權俱切，廢韻寔字郡羽切，廢韻璽字達穢切，阮韻登字窘遠切，線韻倭字虔彥切，又券字達眷切，陌韻劇字竭戟切，清韻瓊字葵營切，職韻極字竭億切。凡用支、脂諸韻字為上字者，A、B兩類分用，絕無混淆；普通三等韻字雖亦多用於重紐B，如脂韻耆字渠伊切，諄韻鰕字巨²³旬切，甚至在僅以下字別等第的對立反切中，如脂韻樞字渠龜切，及葵字渠惟切，或如術韻屈字其述切，及縞字其律切；但上述兼以上字別等第的對立反切，凡普通三等韻字為上字者，其字必屬A類，亦無一例外。可見羣母字A、B重紐壁壘分明，與《切韻》至《廣韻》羣母以外諸牙喉音各母重紐反切用字習慣相同。²⁴至此更看《廣韻》，羣母字用支、脂諸韻字為上字凡五見：寘韻菱字奇寄切，旨韻踦字暨几切，郇字暨軌切，山韻釐字跪頑切，陌韻劇字奇逆切，並屬重紐A，無屬重紐B者；除跪頑切一音所切之字屬二等韻外，並切重紐A，不一用於重紐B，蓋亦不謂無分類痕迹。

如上所述，羣母只見於三等韻的觀念，誠然是應該修訂的了。

²³ 巨字原誤作旨，據方成珪校正改。

²⁴ 詳內子杜其容女士〈三等韻牙喉音反切上字分析〉，文見國立臺灣大學《文史哲學報》第二十四期，1975。

肆、幽韻屬幾等韻的問題 幽韻通常以爲三等韻，並認爲有重紐：唇音各母及曉母休字一類，重紐A；其餘各字別爲一類，重紐B（案：A、B二字依拙見應互易）。我在〈廣韻重紐音值試論兼論幽韻及喻母音值〉文中，主張一切依據韻圖，幽韻字韻圖既並列在四等，便應無A、B類之分。於今看來，依據韻圖的態度是正確的，但彼時我用的也是「三等韻的四等字」觀念，對幽韻諸小韻的了解亦未盡透徹，所以再次提出討論。

幽韻所以被視爲三等韻，不外兩種理由。其一，反切上字多用普通三等韻字。其二，韻中有羣母。然而普通三等韻字非絕不用於四等韻，²⁵尤多用於重紐B，是其第一理由不成立。羣母字是否僅見於三等韻，前節已有說明，是其第二理由亦不成立。不過根據《切韻》系韻書選用上字的習慣，四等韻（含重紐B）字不用重紐A爲上字，幽韻則澆字《廣韻》音皮彪切，《集韻》音皮虬切；幼韻謬字《廣韻》音靡幼切，《全王》、《王一》、《王二》、《唐韻》同，似乎至少幽韻唇音字應屬三等韻型態。但經過深入了解，知其實亦並不如此。

甲、澆字 此字《廣韻》、《集韻》雖並以皮字爲上字，《全王》、《王一》、《王二》則並音扶彪反，扶字屬普通三等韻。《切三》注文僅「水流彪反」四字，上字如何不詳。疑《切韻》或本不用皮字爲上字，《廣韻》皮字只是偶然間造成，未必有何特殊意義；《集韻》皮字則是有意改作。案《集韻》澆下云：「《說文》水流兒，引《詩》澆沱北流，或作澆。」《詩經·小雅·白華》「澆池北流」《釋文》云：「澆池：符彪、皮流二反。」符彪反即此音，亦以普通韻字爲上字。皮流反原當與尤韻縛謀切浮字同音，各韻書所以浮字紐不收此字，其先蓋偶一失收，其後則因其未變輕唇。《集韻》除音皮虬切外，又見於平幽切瀟字下，以皮、平二字別其音，²⁶儼然幽韻唇音之重紐；實際只是《釋文》中皮流反一音，因其未變輕唇改從幽韻讀音之後變衍出來的反切。故其同音之瀟字亦分見於平幽、皮虬兩切下，一云「瀟瀟，雨雪兒」，一云「雨雪盛兒，《詩》雨雪瀟瀟，徐邈讀」。但《詩經·角弓》《釋文》：「瀟瀟：符驕反，徐符彪反，又方苗反。」與此音相關者僅一符彪反，亦分明一音歧分爲二，正可與澆字互參；並參下文彪字說明。

乙、彪字 此字《廣韻》音甫休切，《切三》、《全王》同，亦以普通三等韻字

²⁵ 除於、許二字用於四等者不計，《廣韻》迴韻聲字去挺切，《切三》、《全王》、《王一》同；《切三》、《全王》、《王二》錫韻燉字去激反；又《廣韻》錫韻蹇字扶歷切，《切三》、《全王》、《王一》同。

²⁶ 《集韻》幽字音於虬切，虬字音渠幽切，是皮虬、平幽二切下字無別，當是以皮、平二字別其音。平字除見於庚韻音蒲兵切，屬三等韻音外，又見於仙韻毗連切，《廣韻》房連切亦有平字，韻圖此音正見於四等，故《集韻》用之，以與皮虬切別等第。

爲上字。《王二》則音補休反，補字屬一等姥韻，不啻爲幽韻屬四等韻之證明。《集韻》則彪字悲幽切，別出蠱字必幽切，悲、必二字分屬脂、質二韻A或B類，是亦以上字分別音讀，與皮虬、平幽二切相同。然而彪、蠱、影三字重見於兩切語之下，蓋亦一音歧出爲二者。

丙、繆繆二字 繆字《廣韻》音武彪切，《切三》、《全王》、《王二》同。《切三》此紐僅一繆字，《王二》增黽字，《廣韻》又增縈字，三字又並見於尤韻謀字紐，音莫浮切。《集韻》三字既與謀字同音，見於侯韻，音迷杼²⁷切，又見於幽韻，音亡幽切，與悲幽切彪字及皮虬切澆字相連爲類。再檢《廣韻》以前韻書，《切三》謀字雖同《廣韻》在尤韻，其反切則同《集韻》音莫侯反。顯然謀、繆、黽、縈等字原當入侯韻，爲一等讀音，蓋自《切韻》誤收於尤韻，至《刊繆補缺切韻》從而改其下字爲尤韻之浮，於是儼然而爲尤韻字，直至《集韻》始據其音改隸侯韻。《廣韻》侯韻韻末增收曄字，注云「慮也」，案曄爲謀字古文，見於《說文》，是爲《廣韻》謀字當入侯韻之本證。《釋文》繆字或音亡侯反，或音莫侯反；與謀字同音之眸、侔、牟、矛、雫、蜚、蠱、莖諸字，亦或音亡侯、或音莫侯，或又音木侯、莫溝；而謀字亦一音亡侯，一音莫浮，莫浮一音當是以上字定其等第，亦《切韻》謀字紐當如《集韻》入侯韻之證。唯繆字又別有尤韻一讀，卽此武彪切之音，《集韻》音亡幽切者同。所以知此音當屬尤韻者，以其去聲繆字《集韻》收在宥韻，音眉救切，而幼韻無明母。眉救切的結構，無論上字或下字，俱爲三等讀音。《王韻》、《唐韻》、《廣韻》繆字音靡幼反（切），上字用靡與《集韻》用眉字相同，並屬重紐A，蓋卽憑上字定爲三等之音。《釋文》繆字除上述平聲讀法外，又多云「音繆」，²⁸義取繆戾，與繆字通用不別。是以知武彪切之音原當屬尤韻。《釋文》繆字無尤或幽韻讀法，繆字則亦同《切韻》音靡幼反。

丁、休蠱二字 《切三》、《全王》、《王二》並分二切，休字音許彪反，蠱字音香幽反。反切下字彪與幽不相系聯，此所以幽韻有A、B類重紐之說；《廣韻》則併休字（案：《廣韻》書作休字，休美休慶的休字古人或書作休）於蠱字紐，《集韻》同。我於〈廣韻重紐音值試論兼論幽韻及喻母音值〉文中，從各書收字的先後順序觀察，疑《切三》休字出於後補，此意或未必然，但休蠱二字同音，《廣韻》、《集韻》的合併措置可以信賴，此點應無可疑。今取《釋文》一書對照，其休美字僅有二音：

²⁷ 杼字原作浮，但浮字見於尤韻，上字迷屬四等，依例不配三等下字；此前爲杼字紐，浮當是杼字之誤。

²⁸ 如《禮記·禮運》之「行而不繆」，〈仲尼燕居〉之「不能詩，於禮繆」，〈中庸〉之「考諸三王而不繆」，《釋文》並云「繆，音繆」。

《易經·否卦》「休否：虛虬反，又許求反」，〈大有〉「休命：虛虬反，徐又許求反」，《詩經·周頌·載見》「休有：許虬反，又許求反」，《禮記·月令》「休其：許收、許虬二反」，《爾雅·釋訓》「休休：虛求反，又虛虬反」，並分別與《切韻》尤韻許尤反及幽韻許彪反同音，一屬三等，一屬四等，後者《釋文》且係以虬字爲下字，虬與幽系聯，明彪、虬韻同一類，亦即香幽、許彪二切音同之證。

此外，《集韻》反切上字尚有足證幽韻屬四等韻母型態者：幽韻聾字倪蚪切，倪字屬四等齊韻；黠韻糾字吉酉切，遽字苦糾切，吉字屬質韻重紐B，苦字屬一等姥韻；幼韻幼字伊謬切，蹠字輕幼切，蚪字祁幼切，赴字古幼切，蹠字火幼切，伊、祁、輕三字分屬脂韻或清韻之四等，古、火二字分屬一等姥或果韻。又《四等重輕例》以繆、繆、澆、然四字表四等，並注明幽韻韻目。其中繆字雖係誤從《切韻》未細分辨，餘三字必有其語音依據；不然，便須認定此例只是根據如《韻鏡》、《七音略》之類的韻圖舉例。然而其字例與韻目不盡與《韻鏡》、《七音略》相同，更從其不成熟的面目看來，此例之出現，應在韻圖之前，這却是時下學者的共同見解。

綜合上文所述，幽韻爲四等韻，中無重紐，殆可謂信而有徵。更從《切韻》將原屬尤、宥二韻的繆、謬等字誤入幽、幼二韻，以及彪、澆等字在《集韻》由一音變爲二音的情況看來，又可知尤、幽二韻必然音近。大抵尤韻韻母二、三、四等分別爲 -eu、-ju、-iu，幽韻韻母爲 -iəu。但自音位觀點，由於幽韻除去山幽切的慘字及子幽切的穢字，在韻圖中地位與尤韻所鳩切及即由切之音衝突外，其餘更無任何排斥；而自《刊謬補缺切韻》以下，慘字又見於尤韻所鳩反（切），穢字《集韻》亦又見於尤韻將由切，故即使將幽韻元音擬與尤韻相同，尤、幽二韻相加但有 -eu、-ju、-iu 三個韻母，視二者之脣牙喉音爲重紐，亦未爲不可（亦可能《切韻》時代幽、尤音略不同，其後則幽亦由 -iəu 變 -iu，故韻圖即與尤韻四等字列於同等；晚出韻書則因仍《切韻》分韻的舊貫而未予合併）。來母劉、繆之不同，自然仍是三、四等介音 -j-、-i- 的差別。至於幽韻脣音何以獨不變輕脣，則如內子杜其容女士所說，重脣音必須在同時兼具 -j- 介音及圓脣元音兩條件的情況下，然後始變爲輕脣音，²⁹ 是亦不必有所顧慮。

至此，我要提出兩個問題，向並世方家請教。在中古音上我所提出的主張，全依韻圖所在之等，以確認各字所屬的四個韻母類型，自信抓住了最重要環節，能貫通許多資料及現象，解決了不少問題，既簡單，亦合理。然而我亦不禁要問：韻圖列於四

²⁹ 見〈輕脣音的演變條件〉，中央研究院《國際漢學會議論文集》，1981。

等之字既同是四等韻母型態，何以羣、喻、邪三母可以出現於支、脂諸韻的重紐 B 韻類，或其他「三等韻的假四等」韻類，而絕不見於齊、先、蕭、青、添等的四等韻？普通三等韻字可以多用於重紐 B 的韻類爲上字，而用於齊、先之韻則絕少，亦不謂全無差別，此中究竟又隱藏了什麼底蘊？我無法肯定答覆這樣的問題，但我相信應該不會動及我對於中古音四個韻母類型的了解。暫時我的看法是，前文曾舉宵韻羣母翹字，《廣韻》笑韻巨要切云「又巨堯切」，《集韻》宵韻即音祁堯切，《釋文》亦翹、莖二字並音祁堯反，又有如「其了反」的反切結構，可見羣母未必不可以配如齊、先韻的韻母。同樣，仙韻邪母鑑字，《全王》線韻辭選反云「又囚玄反」；³⁰ 線韻喻母衍字《全王》音餘見反，獮韻以淺反衍下亦云「又餘見反」，又《全王》、《王一》鹽韻于廉反炎下云「又餘念反」，亦可見邪母喻母爲上字，未必不可配如齊、先韻的下字。可能齊、先、蕭、青、添的韻母因與祭、仙、宵、清、鹽的四等音極爲接近，由於實際語音的化繁就簡，或由於《切韻》作者的整齊畫一，於是齊、先之韻竟不見有羣、喻、邪三母之字。至於普通三等韻字罕用爲齊、先諸韻的上字，可能僅爲一偶然現象，並無道理可言；亦可能齊、先諸韻共一特別元音，於他等他韻俱不見，³¹ 於是形成此種上字的差異。陸法言、劉臻等人討論音韻，商量體例製爲《切韻》，於反切上下字的選用，往往見其深致用心。然而條例之不盡周密，或行之不能貫徹，甚至有要求不可理解者，亦難爲之隱諱。即以支、脂諸韻重紐爲例，前賢所見韻圖置四等之字用三等舌齒音字爲下字的現象，尤其如祇字巨支反、奇字渠羈反，及駟字於眞、於巾二音之例，確乎難予否認；但是如果執着於此，必以四等字爲重紐 A，與三等舌齒音同韻母，則於其他現象俱不可貫通。³² 故論《切韻》音，只能於大處着眼，不可泥其細節；對於上述兩問題，我暫時採取的便是這種態度。

七十五年九月十五日宇純於臺北

³⁰ 此外，《全王》齊韻即黎反銑下云「又似奚反」，《王二》齊韻韻目音「似禮反」或「徐禮反」，實際所涉及者雖是床、邪之間的問題，形式上仍爲邪母上字與四等韻字的相配，應仍有參考價值。

³¹ 如 先師董同龢先生擬齊、先、蕭、青、添之韻母爲 -iei、-ien、-ieu、-ien、-iem、-ien 可以改擬爲 -ien，因爲耕、清的韻母可以改擬爲 -caen、-jaen、-iaen；則五者主要元音並爲 “e”，爲他等他韻所不見。

³² 《左傳·桓公十一年》《釋文》云：「姑：其吉反，又其秩反。」即與駟字之二音相反。餘詳拙著《廣韻重紐音值試論兼論幽韻及喻母音值》。

NOTES ON THE INITIALS OF A NORTHWEST DIALECT OF TANG TIMES*

W. South Coblin

University of Iowa

I. Introduction

1. For over half a century the sound system of the Tang-time language of Shajou 沙州 (roughly the area around and to the west of modern Duenhuang 敦煌; cf. Tan 1982: 63-63, 76-77), has been of considerable interest to students of Chinese historical phonology.¹ This is because several different types of historical data, including rimes from popular poetry, erroneous phonetic loangraph substitutions (*baitz* 白字) in colloquial texts, and transcriptions of Chinese in Tibetan and various other Central Asian scripts intersect here to throw light on the same or similar ancient dialects. These material are of particular importance because their testimony may be viewed as independent of that from such sources as the dictionaries of the *Chieyun* 切韻 (CY) tradition and the charts of the rime tables, sources which have more often than not formed the basis for the study and interpretation of Chinese phonology of the Tang period. The present paper is intended as the first in a series of studies devoted to interpreting the Tang-time Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese and relating them to "internal" material from purely Chinese sources. It deals specifically with the initial system of a hypothetical dialect which is thought to be represented in loangraph data and in one particular transcriptional text. The set of initials reconstructed here is much simpler than that usually posited for the CY language and is, on the contrary, rather similar to that proposed by Gong (1981) for a northwest dialect of the late twelfth century. This suggests that our Tang-time language had innovated considerably in the direction of the early modern and contemporary northwest dialects.

* I wish to take special note of my gratitude to the late Mantaro Hashimoto, through whose kindness I was able to obtain a copy of the *Gansu fangyan gaiyau*. Thanks are also due to the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo, for printing and binding this work. Finally, I am grateful to Tsai-fa Cheng, Hwang-cherng Gong, and Jerry Norman for their help in securing various materials which would not otherwise have been available to me.

¹ Two major works on the subject are Lo (1933) and Csongor (1960). Extensive bibliographical references will be found in Miller (1967).

2. The Data to Be Used in the Present Paper Are of Several Types.

2.1 Loangraph Substitutions. In an important but seldom cited paper, Shao Rongfen 邵榮芬 (1963) has presented the results of a meticulous study of the loangraph substitutions found in a large corpus of Buddhist colloquial literature from Duenhuang. In pursuing his investigation he has taken great pains to exclude all data of an ambiguous nature, such as characters which have been miswritten or confused because of graphic similarity, and to base his conclusions only on cases which represent real phonetic substitutions. In addition, in order to determine the probable degree of phonetic variability inherent in such graphic substitutions, he has conducted a survey of essays written by thirty Pekingese-speaking high school students and has studied in detail the loangraph substitutions in these texts. Using a data-base of 226 phonetic substitutions he found that 184 (81.4%) of these involved perfect homophony, while 42 examples (18.6%) were cases of less than perfect sound substitution. Of the latter type, 36 involved syllables which differed only in tone. Among the remaining six non-homophonous cases, three involved interchanges between the Mandarin finals *-ing/-in* and *-eng/-en*. Confusion of such finals is common in many forms of Mandarin, and these interchanges may therefore represent real subdialectal or idiolectal peculiarities in the speech of certain of Shao's subjects. Shao's conclusions (p. 195), which I consider valid, are that the loangraph data are highly reliable for the study of segmental phonemes but are somewhat less useful for elucidating questions of tonal class and tone development. In the present study I take Shao's loangraph data as a primary basis for reconstructing the syllable initial categories of the hypothetical dialect or dialects underlying the texts he has used.

2.2 Tibetan Transcriptions. In citing Tibetan transcriptional texts, I use the abbreviations adopted by Csongor (1960) and expanded by Takata (1981a, 1981b), as follows:

- | | |
|----|--|
| C | <i>Chiantzwen</i> 千字文 (P. T. 1046) |
| TD | <i>Tiandi bayang shenjoujing</i> 天地八陽神咒經 (P. T. 1258) |
| NT | <i>Nantianjuguo Putidamo chanshr guanmen</i> 南天竺國菩提達磨禪師觀門 (P. T. 1228) |
| DA | <i>Dau-an fashr nianfo tzan</i> 道安法師念佛讚 (P. T. 1253) |
| P | <i>Bore boluomiduo shinjing</i> 般若波羅蜜多心經 (P. T. 448) |
| FP | <i>Fahuajing Pumenpin</i> 法華經普門品 (P. T. 1239) |
| K | <i>Jingangjing</i> 金剛經 (IOL C129) |
| T | <i>Dasheng jungtzung jianjie</i> 大乘中宗見解 (IOL C93) |
| O | <i>Emituojing</i> 阿彌陀經 (IOL C130) |

These texts, like Shao's loangraph materials, clearly originated in the Buddhist community of Shajou. That the two types of texts were written by persons of similar education and background is suggested by the fact that the same sorts of miswritings, graphic variants, and erroneous loangraph substitutions occur in

both bodies of data. Shao (1963: 195) concluded that the colloquial texts from Duenhuang represent materials from more than one Chinese dialect and from a period covering at least 200 years (i.e. mid-eighth to mid-tenth centuries). That the Tibetan transcriptional data must also represent different Chinese dialects has been assumed by Lo (1933) and Csongor (1960), and Takata has now grouped the transcriptional texts into four categories according to their shared characteristics (1981a: 279; 1981b: 42). The third of these categories is occupied exclusively by text T, and it is the transcriptions in this text which I feel most closely coincide with the sound classes deduced by Shao from his loangraph data. The text T materials will therefore be taken as the primary transcriptional corpus in the present paper, with only occasional references to the other texts. The text T data have been published three times, by Thomas, Miyamoto, and Clauson (1929), by Lo (1933), and by Csongor (1960). Csongor's data are the most accurate, having been carefully checked against a microfilm copy of the original manuscript, while Lo's data contain a number of errors carried over from the version of Thomas et al. The name suggested here for the hypothetical dialect represented by Shao's data and the text T transcriptions is "Shajou T" (SJT). This dialect may have existed during or sometime after the Tibetan occupation of Shajou (787-848).

In using Old Tibetan (OT)² transcriptions of Chinese words it is necessary, as pointed out by Miller (1967: 128), to bear in mind that "the literal transcription of a traditional orthography is not the same thing as the phonetic transcription of a language." What the OT spelling system meant in terms of the actual pronunciation of the Tibetan transcribers is a very complex problem which must be approached from a number of different angles, as has been neatly summarized by Róna-Tas (1983: 244, n. 1). The seventh of Róna-Tas' suggested procedures, "comparative-historical analysis of the Tibetan dialects," will be of particular use here. For the large amount of modern Tibetan dialect material which has appeared in print in recent years makes it possible, in my opinion, to begin the reconstruction of a proto-language, called here "Common Tibetan" (CT), which can in turn resolve problematical points in the OT script.

In working with OT transcriptional material it is necessary to carefully consider the problem of OT dialectal diversity, a point which was recognized and pointed out by Takata (1981a: 285). More recently, however, in discussing the Written Tibetan (WT)³ letter ' in transcriptional materials, Pulleyblank (1986: 11) has remarked, "one must assume that the transcriptions of Chinese from the Tang

² Old Tibetan is taken to denote the language of texts dating from before the orthographic and language reforms implemented during the reign of King Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (r. 815-838).

³ Written Tibetan is taken to denote the language of texts written after the reforms mentioned in note 2.

period which use *ha-čhug* to write Chinese prenasalized stops were in the standard dialect of the time." This is in my opinion an unwarranted assumption. Transcriptions found in texts such as the Tibetan version of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription, which is known to have been composed by Tibetan ministers of state and approved in draft form by the king in Lhasa (Li 1980: 123), were surely spelled according to the OT standard or court pronunciation, but transcriptions from the Duenhuang area may well reflect other OT dialects. For example, in text T (were, incidentally, ' is regularly used in the manner alluded to by Pulleyblank) we find variant spellings for certain Chinese words:

眼 *'gen~'gyen*

戒 *ke~kye*

形 *heng~hyeng*

惠 *hwe~hywe*

Now, in various northeast dialects of OT, *-e-* and *-ye-* were in free variation after gutturals, as was noticed and discussed with examples by Thomas (1957: 18). Further cases are not difficult to find; for example, in IOL v. 56, no. 57 (now published in Lo and Huang 1983: 88-91), lines 10, 14, and 19, we find *khe'u-sug-su* for WT *khye'u-sus* "cold or uncooked (sc. food or medicine)". In Thomas (1951) we find expected *dgyes* "feast" alternating with *dges*, etc. Another type of alternation which occurs in the text T data is between the Tibetan vowels *i* and *e*, e. g.

名 *myi~mye*

精 *cing~ceng*

識 *shig~sheng*

This same vowel interchange is observable in OT texts from the Duenhuang area; for example, from Lo and Huang's document (1983: 88) we may again cite

line 2 *bsris*=OT and WT *bsres*, perfective of *sre-ba* "to mix, stir together, admix"
srigste=WT *bsregs-te*, perfective gerundive of *sreg-pa* "to roast"

rtse=OT and WT *rtsi* "juice, medicine" (this word is written *rtsi* in line 12)

line 4 *myeg*=OT *myig*, WT *mig* "eye"

chen-pa=OT and WT *mchin-pa* "liver"

phyer=OT and WT *phyir* "reason; on account of"

Lo and Huang's text teems with such examples, and similar problems involving other sounds could also be cited. Suffice it to say that text T may well reflect OT northeast dialect features and cannot *a priori* be assumed to be written in the standard language of OT times. In my opinion the same considerations and cautions apply to the other Duenhuang Tibetan transcriptional materials. Each text must be carefully examined and considered in the light of numerous intricate OT philological problems.

2.3 Modern Dialect Evidence. If there are direct modern descendents of the Tang-time Chinese dialects of Shajou, they are probably to be found in northwest

China. This idea was exploited to great advantage by Lo (1933), who made maximum use of the northwest dialect data available to him in the 1930's. Today we have at hand the more comprehensive *Gansu fangyan gaiyao* 甘肅方言概要 (1960), and also a number of special studies of individual dialects, the following of which I have been able to utilize in the present study:

Duenhuang:	Zhang (1985)
Lanjou:	Gao (1980)
Jangyi:	Liu (1986)
Shining:	Zhang (1980)

2.4 The reconstructions posited in this paper are in general considered to be backward projections of the modern northwest dialect forms. They are not treated as reflexes of possibly corresponding forms in the CY language, and no theoretical position is taken regarding their historical or dialectal relationship to the CY system. The traditional terminology of the rime tables and Karlgren's well-known CY reconstruction (as modified by F.K. Li) are adopted where feasible for convenience of reference and citation; but the categories of the former and the phonetic values of the latter are not taken as binding or normative. Karlgren's reconstructed system will be referred to here as "*Chieyun* Chinese" (CYC). In order to avoid confusion with the reconstructions to be proposed below, the CYC forms, which are generally familiar and easily recognized, will not be starred.

II. Phonological Reconstructions

1. Manner Groups of Stop and Affricate Series

Stop and affricate series in the various modern dialects have only two manners of articulation, i.e. voiceless plain and voiceless aspirated. This differs from the three-manner system represented in the rime tables and usually posited for the CY system, i.e. *ching* 清 (usually reconstructed as voiceless unaspirated), *tsz-ching* 次清 (usually reconstructed as voiceless aspirated), and *juo* 濁 (usually restored as voiced, or occasionally as voiced aspirated).

In Shao's loangraph data there are a number of cases where *juo*-initial words in the *shang* 上 and *chiu* 去 tones interchange with *ching* initial words. *Juo* initial syllables in the *ping* 平 tone and in the *ru* 入 tone form separate groups and do not participate in such interchanges. Comparing now the text T data, the *tsz-ching* initials are consistently rendered by Tibetan voiceless aspirated consonants, and it seems safe to assume that they were voiceless aspirated in SJT. *Ching* initials in the *shang* and *chiu* tones may be transcribed in text T with Tibetan voiceless non-aspirates or with voiced consonants.⁴ Lo (1933: 28), following a suggestion

⁴ An exception to this is 作 *tsâk*, which, in addition to its regular transcription *tsag*, is also rendered in text T as *tshag* and *zag*.

of F.K. Li (p. 28, n. 1), proposed that this curious phenomenon might be due to the presence of tonal distinctions of some sort in the Tibetan dialect of the text T scribe, i.e. that the transcriber heard features in Chinese *shang* and *chiu* tone words which led him to associate these words with Tibetan syllables written with WT voiced initial consonants. This question was not further pursued until Takata (1981a) demonstrated that nascent tones were indeed probably present in some Tibetan dialects of the Duenhuang area in late Tang times. The explanation proposed by Lo can thus be adopted as a plausible hypothesis, and we can tentatively conclude that all *ching* initials in SJT were actually unaspirated surds.⁵

Juo-initials in *ping*-tone words are represented by Tibetan aspirated voiceless letters in text T. The same is true for *juo* initials in *ru*-tone words, with two possible exceptions.⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that aspiration was present in both classes of words in SJT. That the two types did not interchange with each other in Shao's data is explained by the fact that the *ru*-tone syllables were checked while the *ping*-tone syllables were not. *Ping*-tone words of this type are ordinarily aspirated in the modern northwest dialects, allowing us to assume direct development from SJT. The *ru*-tone words are, however, usually not aspirated in the modern dialects. If we hypothesize that SJT distinguished between upper and lower *ru* tones, then we may guess that aspiration was lost at some time before the modern period in the presence of the lower *ru*-tone.

As regards *juo*-initial syllables in the *shang* and *chiu* tones, we can begin with the labials. Here Shao (1963: 200) found in the loangraph data a number of interchanges between *ching* and *juo* initials. The only pertinent case in text T is 鼻 *bi*- which is transcribed there as Tibetan *phyi* and *pyi*. The latter case, marked as uncertain by Csongor (1960: 122), would nonetheless agree best with Shao's findings, which point to absence of voicing and aspiration. Moving on to the dentals we again find *ching/juo* interchanges in Shao's materials (loc. cit.). In text T all cases of *shang* and *chiu* words having CYC *d*- are spelled with Tibetan *d*-. We can reconcile these with Shao's findings if we assume that the SJT initial was **t*- and that the Tibetans used their *d*- here because they were influenced by the tonal quality of these *shang* and *chiu* tone syllables. Shao's material on the velar interchanges is equivocal. One example: 競 (vulgo 竟) *gjeng*- replaced by 竟 *kjeng*-, may, in my opinion, represent mere graphic substitution or scribal error. The other: 既 *kjei*-

⁵ I shall not attempt to speculate on what actual features may have characterized the tones of SJT or the emerging tone distinctions of the text T Tibetan dialect. Recent studies by A.K. Weidert have shown that tonogenesis in modern Tibetan dialects sometimes involves very complex "mutually redundant interplay of pitch, phonation, register, sonorization, and aspiration contrasts of consonants" in the languages undergoing such changes (Weidert 1986:5).

⁶ One of these exceptions is 着 *djak*. Csongor (1960:103; 108, n. 38; 138) is uncertain about the reading of this transcription and suggests *jag* (?) or *cag* (?). The other case is 別 *bjät*, which is transcribed several different ways in text T, i.e. *phar* (6x), *pyar* (2x), *par* (1x), and *bar* (1x).

—及 *gjəp* is also suspicious, for the final correspondence is troublesome. We are thus left with no firm examples of loangraph interchanges. In text T there are two pertinent transcriptions: 具 *gju-*, rendered as *khu*, and 共 *gjwong-*, transcribed as *khung*. Both examples suggest original aspirated initials. It is perhaps no coincidence that parallelism with the labial or dental series fails at the very point where we lack conclusive loangraph evidence for the absence of aspiration. It would in fact seem justifiable to reconstruct aspiration for SJT and assume that this feature was later lost in the presence of lower register *shang* and *chiu* tones. (At this point it is useful to note Shao's conclusion (p. 216) that the dialect underlying his data probably distinguished between the *ching* and *juo* varieties of both the *shang* and *chiu* tones.) For *juo* initial affricates Shao mentions only one pertinent case: 祝 *tšjuk*—助 *dzjwo-*. However, he himself considers this example doubtful (1963: 198, n. 2), leaving us no choice but to set it aside. In text T, *juo*-initial *shang* and *chiu* tone words with affricate initials are always rendered with Tibetan voiceless aspirate consonants, and it therefore seems best to posit aspiration for SJT here. Since such syllables usually have unaspirated initials in the modern dialects, we can guess that they lost aspiration in the presence of lower register *shang* and *chiu* tones. Here we should take note of the very interesting discovery of Gong (1981: 47-48) that in the twelfth-century northwest dialect he studied all CYC *juo* stop and affricate initials had become aspirated, regardless of tone. This state of affairs differs considerably from that found in the modern northwest dialects, where only *ping*-tone *juo*-initial syllables show aspiration. Comparing the situation in SJT we find what seems to be a hybrid case, where the velars and affricates have developed as in Dr. Gong's dialect, while the labials and dentals bear more, but not complete, resemblance to the modern dialects.⁷ Throughout this section I have adopted the theoretical position that the manner group system found in SJT be viewed as ancestral to that of the modern dialects; but I hasten to add here that I do not insist on this point. On the contrary I feel that the exact relationships between SJT and Gong's twelfth-century language, and between these two and the modern dialects of Kansu, remain to be determined.

2. The Labial Series: **p-*, **ph-*, **m-* [*m*, *mb*]

Initials of this series correspond to the *jungchuen* 重唇 group in the rime tables.

Initial **p-* corresponds to CYC *p-* and to CYC *b-* in *shang* and *chiu* tone syllables. It yields *p-* in the modern dialects.

Initial **ph-* corresponds to CYC *ph-* and to CYC *b-* in *ping* and *ru* tone syllables. Assuming, as suggested in section II.1, that *yinru* 陰入 and *yangru* 陽入 tones were

⁷ And even here we note the intrusion of a pronunciation of the type Gong found, such as *phyi* alternating with *pyi* in the transcription of 鼻 *bi-*.

distinctive in SJT, we may suppose that **ph-* yielded modern *ph-* except in *yangru* tone syllables, where it became *p-*.

Initial **m-* corresponds to CYC *m-*. The text T transcriptions indicate that it had two allophones. In nasal final syllables it is transcribed with Tibetan *m-*, and we may suspect that it was phonetically [m] in this position. Before other finals it is usually transcribed with Tibetan 'b-.⁸ WT 'b- corresponds to CT **nb-*, as reconstructed on the basis of examples such as the following: (data after Jin 1983: 115-17; 140)

1. WT 'bum "100,000"

Central Dialects		Kham Dialects		Amdo Dialects	
Lhasa	<i>pum</i> ʌ	Chamdo	<i>nbum</i> ʌ	Rma-chu	<i>nbəm</i>
Pengbo	<i>pum</i> ʌ	Derge	<i>nbū</i> ʌ	Rong-po	<i>nbəm</i>
Lungtz	<i>npum</i> ʌ	Gam-rtse	<i>nbə</i> ʌ <i>te</i> ʌ	Ledu	<i>nbən</i>
Shigatse	<i>pum</i> ʌ	Shiangcheng	<i>mbū</i> ʌ	Alike	<i>nbəm</i>
Gyantse	<i>pum</i> ʌ	Jungdian	<i>npu</i> ʌ	Rta-bo	<i>nbəm</i>

2. WT 'bu "insect, bug"

Lhasa	<i>pu</i> ʌ	Chamdo	<i>nbə</i> ʌ	Rma-chu	<i>nbə</i>
Pengbo	<i>npu</i> ʌ	Derge	<i>nbu</i> ʌ	Rong-po	<i>nbə</i>
Lungtz	<i>npu</i> ʌ	Gam-rtse	<i>nbə</i> ʌ	Gueinan	<i>nbə</i>
Shigatse	<i>pu</i> ʌ	Shiangcheng	<i>nbə</i> ʌ	Alike	<i>nbə</i>
Gyantse	<i>pu</i> ʌ	Jungdian	<i>nbə</i> ʌ	Rta-bo	<i>nbə</i>

The element *n-* in these forms is said by the source (p. 114) to be a homorganic nasal, and the reconstructed CT initial configuration is thus interpreted here as homorganic nasal **n-* plus voiced bilabial **b*. The corresponding SJT sound, which we can represent as [**mb-*], was presumably similar to the Tibetan one. Prenasalized sounds such as *mb-* do not exist in our modern northwest dialects, where SJT **m-* yields *m-* in all positions. Whether earlier [**mb-*] simply shifted to *m-* or was in later centuries supplanted by *m-* through pressure from more prestigious Mandarin dialects further east is a matter for further study (cf. Takata 1981a: 280, n. 3). Prenasalized initials were noted by Lo (1933: 143) for certain Shānsi dialects and perhaps represent a peripheral survival of what may once have been a more wide-spread distribution of such sounds. It is interesting to note that they were still present as allophones in Gong's twelfth-century northwest dialect (1981: 58-62).

3. The Labiodental Series: **f-*, **v-*

These initials correspond to the *chingchuen* 輕唇 series of the rime-table ter-

⁸ Exceptions occur in 謨 and 沒, both transcribed *ma* in the compounds 甚謨 and 甚沒, corresponding to modern Mandarin 甚麼. Cf. Csongor (1960: 112, n. 58).

minology. In Shao's data the rime table initials *fei* 非, *fu* 敷, and *feng* 奉 interchange freely (1963: 196; 199, #6) and form a single category. They do not interchange with the initials of the Labial series. In text T, words with initials *fei* (CYC *pjw-*) and *fu* (CYC *phjw-*) are always spelled with Tibetan *ph-*. Syllables having initial *feng* (CYC *bjw-*) are usually rendered by Tibetan *ph-*, but in two cases also by *b-*. One of these, 梵 *bjwən-*, is a *chiu*-tone word, suggesting that the same tonal interactions discussed in section II.1 may have been in play here. The other example, 凡 *bjwən*, a *ping*-tone syllable, occurs several times in the compound *fan-fu* 凡夫 "ordinary fellow". I cannot explain why *fan* is transcribed with Tibetan *b-* here. The three rime-table initials all yield *f-* in our modern dialects, and this value can be projected back to SJT. It is not necessary to posit an affricate *pf-* or the like, as was done by Lo (1933: 137, 163-4), because the Tibetans, having no labiodentals in their language, might easily have chosen their *ph-* to represent foreign *f-*. As an illustration, we may cite the modern Lhasa dialect, which, having no *f-* of its own, often renders foreign *f-* as *ph-*, e. g.

phāšisi (from Mandarin *fāshìsī* 法西斯) "fascist" (Goldstein 1978: 702)

phīn (from Mandarin *fēn* 分) "cent" (Goldstein 1984: 65)

phēmli rendering of English "family" (pronunciation of Mr. N. L. Nornang, ca. 1968)

The rime-table initial *wei* 微 (CYC *mjw-*) forms a separate entity in Shao's data and does not interchange with other initials. In all reported Kansu dialects its reflex is realized as *v-*, while in Shining it is reported to be *u-*. In text T it is usually rendered by Tibetan *b-*. An exception is the negative 無~无 *mju*, which is always spelled 'bu in this text. The word 味 *mjwei* is written once as *byi* and once as 'byi. 妄 *mjwang-* is spelled three times as *bong* and twice as 'ong. It is interesting to note that in other Duenhuang transcriptional texts such as C, K, and O, classified by Takata as earlier than text T (1981a: 279), the *wei* initial is consistently spelled as 'b-. Text T is therefore unique and perhaps innovative in preferring *b-* as the transcriptional value. It seems probable that the SJT initial in question was a *v*-like fricative such as is found in the modern dialects. The occasional restricted use of 'b- may indicate residual nasalization of some sort, but what its exact nature was is difficult to determine. Here we may also note that in the transcriptions of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription, a text which tends to use ' in its renderings of the *wei* initial, ' is often subjoined rather than preposed, e. g.

文 *mjuən*

Tib. *b'un*

武 *mju*

Tib. *b'u*

This would seem to indicate that the Chinese initial struck these Tibetan transcribers as peculiar and somehow different from the OT initial configuration written with 'b-.

4. The Dental Series: *t-, *th-, *n- [n, nd], *l-

Except for *l-, initials of this group correspond to the *shetou* 舌頭 series of the rime tables.

Initial *t- corresponds to CYC t- and to CYC d- in *shang* and *chiu* tone syllables.

Initial *th- corresponds to CYC th- and to CYC d- in *ping* and *ru* tone words.

Initial *n- corresponds to CYC n-. The text T materials point to two allophones. The first of these is rendered by Tibetan n- and occurs in nasal final syllables. It was probably phonetically [n]. The second occurs almost exclusively in non-nasal final words and is spelled with Tibetan 'd'.⁹ WT 'd- corresponds to CT *nd-, as can be reconstructed on the basis of data such as the following: (Jin 1983: 115-117)

WT 'di "this"

Central Dialects		Kham Dialects		Amdo Dialects	
Lhasa	ti ʌ	Chamdo	ndə ʌ	Rma-chu	də
Pengbo	nti ʌ	Derge	ndə ʌ	Rong-po	ndə
Lungtz	nti ʌ	Gam-rtse	ndə ʌ	Gueinan	ndə
Shigatse	ni ʌ	Shiangcheng	ndə ʌ	Alike	ndə
Gyantse	ni ʌ	Jungdian	ntu ʌ	Rta-bo	ndE

We can write the allophone in SJT as [*nd-].

Initial *l- corresponds to Karlgren's CYC l- and is consistently rendered by Tibetan l- in the text T data.

5. The Palatal Series: *tś-, *tśh-, ś-, (*ndź- ?)

This series corresponds to two different rime table groups, i.e. the *sheshang* 舌上 initials, reconstructed for CYC as t-, th-, d-, and n-, and the *jengchr* 正齒 initials, reconstructed as tś-, tśh-, dź-, ź-, and ś-. Syllables of these two rime table series interchange freely within corresponding manner groups in the loangraph data, leading Shao (1963: 197-8) to conclude that they had merged in the underlying Chinese dialect. In the text T materials they are all spelled with Tibetan palatal initials, neatly matching the loangraph evidence. Shao is surely correct in his conclusion that we have to deal here with a single initial series in SJT, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this series was palatal.¹⁰

⁹ Exceptionally, 'd is used to write 暖 nuān:, which is spelled 'd(), the manuscript being defective here.

¹⁰ This series of initials is also consistently spelled with Tibetan palatals in other Tibetan transcriptional materials. I know of only one exception to this, which occurs in the South Inscription of the Zhol Rdo-rings, line 63: (see Wang 1982: 79 and Richardson 1985: 14)

Sshem-ci'ur broś-nas "Having fled to Sshem-ci'u..."

Sshem-ci'ur is the terminative form of *Sshem-ci'u*, a Tibetan rendering of the Chinese place-name Shanjou 陕州 (*śjām: tśjəu*), in which s-occupies the radical position on the main line and -sh- is subjoined, a combination which is not normal in OT texts and violates the spelling canons of WT. It perhaps points to a sound which the Tibetan transcribers had difficulty representing. The Zhol texts are the earliest datable OT inscriptions and were probably composed shortly after 763. The Chinese transcriptions in the South Face text may be somewhat earlier than other such transcriptional data and are therefore of some special interest.

In the loangraph data, words having CYC initials *t̥*- and *t̥s̥*- form a single category, which is in turn always represented by *c*- in text T. We can reconstruct it as **t̥s̥*- for SJT.

The second SJT initial, **t̥sh̥*-, includes the CYC initials *t̥h̥*-, *t̥sh̥*-, and *ɕ̥*-, and is rendered by Tibetan *ch*- in text T.

SJT **s̥*- is reconstructed for an initial which in Shao's data comprises the following CYC initials: *s̥*-, *z̥*-, *d̥z̥*-, and also *d̥z̥*- in syllables with finals belonging to the *jr* group 止攝 of the rime tables. This initial is transcribed as *sh*- in text T.

The last initial of this series, which corresponds to CYC *ɲ*-, does not interchange with other initials in Shao's data. It is not attested at all in text T. In texts K, O, TD, and the so-called "Long Scroll" (Simon 1958: 343) it appears exclusively in non-nasal final syllables, where it is always transcribed as Tibetan 'j'. WT 'j'- corresponds to CT **nd̥z̥*-, as can be reconstructed on the basis of examples such as the following: (Jin 1983: 116-117)

WT 'ja' "rainbow"

Central Dialects		Kham Dialects		Amdo Dialects	
Lhasa	<i>t̥ɕa</i> ʌ	Chamdo	<i>n̥jA</i> ʌ	Rma-chu	<i>nd̥za</i>
Pengbo	<i>nt̥ɕa</i> ʌ	Derge	<i>nd̥za</i> ʌ	Rong-po	<i>nd̥za</i>
Lungtz	<i>nt̥ɕa</i> ʌ	Gam-rtse	<i>nd̥za</i> ʌ	Gueinan	<i>nd̥za</i>
Shigatse	<i>t̥ɕa</i> ʌ	Shiangcheng	<i>nd̥zɛ</i> : ʌ	Alike	<i>nd̥zɛ</i>
Gyantse	<i>t̥ɕa</i> ʌ	Jungdian	<i>z̥A</i> ʌ	Rta-bo	<i>nd̥zA</i>

With some uncertainty we can speculate that in non-nasal final words this initial was **nd̥z̥*- in SJT. What it was in nasal final syllables seems very uncertain. In parallel with SJT **m̥*- and **n̥*-, as reconstructed above, we might guess that it was [ɲ] in this environment. Gong has suggested that this was in fact the case in his twelfth century northwest dialect (1918: 62). But in parallel with **ng̥*-, posited in section II.9 below, it might also have been *nd̥z̥*- everywhere. The matter remains indeterminate for all published Tibetan transcriptional materials.

Initial **n̥z̥*-, which should be classed in this series, will be discussed in section II.7 below.

6. The Retroflex(?) Series: **t̥s̥*-, **t̥sh̥*-, **s̥*-

Initials of this group correspond to Karlgren's CYC *t̥s̥*-, *t̥sh̥*-, *d̥z̥*- (in certain environments), and *s̥*-. In the loangraph material this group is kept apart from the Palatal series discussed in section II.5. Shao lists only one possible interchange between them (p. 198): 生 *ʃɛng*-申 *ʃjen*, but he considers this example to be questionable (loc. cit., n. 5). In the end he concludes that these initials must have been distinct from our Palatal series.

In text T this series is usually spelled with the Tibetan palatal initials *c*-, *ch*-, and *sh*-; but in the following example a sibilant is preferred:

差 *tsha*

Tib. *tsha* (3x)

Occasional examples of this also occur in texts K and C:

Text K

莊 *tshjang*

Tib. *tsang* (3x)

'*tsang* (1x)

'*tshang* (1x)

所 *sjwo:*

Tib. *se'i* (4x)

se (1x)

cf. also: *she* (1x)

Text C

策 *tshək*

Tib. *tsheg* (1x)

Tibetan sibilants are not normally used in the transcriptions to spell initials of our Palatal series.¹¹ Shao (loc. cit., n. 6) feels that their appearance here indicates a response by the Tibetans to the difference between the present series and the Palatals. This conclusion seems plausible, but what this difference was is a more difficult question. Shao suggests that the present series was alveopalatal, presumably because it is so often rendered by Tibetan palatals. Another possibility is that it was retroflex, the value ascribed to these initials by Karlgren and many others for CYC. The early Tibetans sometimes rendered foreign retroflexes with their palatal letters. For example, in P. T. 126 we find OT *byig-shu*, a loan for Sanskrit *bhikṣu*, where Tibetan *sh* transcribes Skt. *ṣ*.¹² The retroflex value is tentatively chosen here.

Our initial **tṣ*- corresponds to CYC *tṣ*-.

In Shao's data our *tṣh*- includes Karlgren's CYC *tṣh*- initial words and also those syllables with CYC *dṣ*- whose finals belong to rime table categories other than the *jr* rime group 止攝. In text T there is only one word of the latter type: 狀 *dṣjang*, spelled as *chong* (1x) and () *ong* (1x).¹³

Initial **ṣ*- corresponds to Karlgren's CYC *ṣ*-.

¹¹ A possible example is the following case from text T:

眞 *tṣjen*, (*tṣjen*)

Tib. *tsin* (?) (1x)

CY reads *tṣjen* for 眞, and this reading is also given in the table of contents to *Guangyun*. The main *Guangyun* text entry reads *tṣjen*, and this reading is followed by Csongor (1960). Csongor considers the Tibetan spelling to be uncertain, but he does not indicate why. We may guess that the reading of the initial letter is unclear and may be either *ts*- or *c*-, a frequent problem in Tibetan manuscripts. Two further examples have been discovered by Takata (1983a: 31-32) in a fragmentary poem in P.T. 1230:

傳 *djwän* "to pass down"

Tib. *dzywan*

春 *tshjuen*

Tib. *chun*, var. *tsun*

¹² See Macdonald (1971: 370-4) and Stein (1981:272). OT *byig-shu* has not survived in WT, having been entirely supplanted by *dge-slong* "a *bhikṣu*", the equivalent prescribed by the language reforms of the ninth century. Cf. note 2 above.

¹³ *Chong* here was mistranscribed as *tshong* by Thomas et al. (1929:46), who were followed by Lo (1933:21). This has been corrected by Csongor (1960:108, n. 40), who unfortunately misprints 狀 as 莊 in his note. He remarks that () *ong* may be *shong*. The manuscript is unclear. Cf. Csongor 1960:131, #459.

7. Initial *n̄z*-

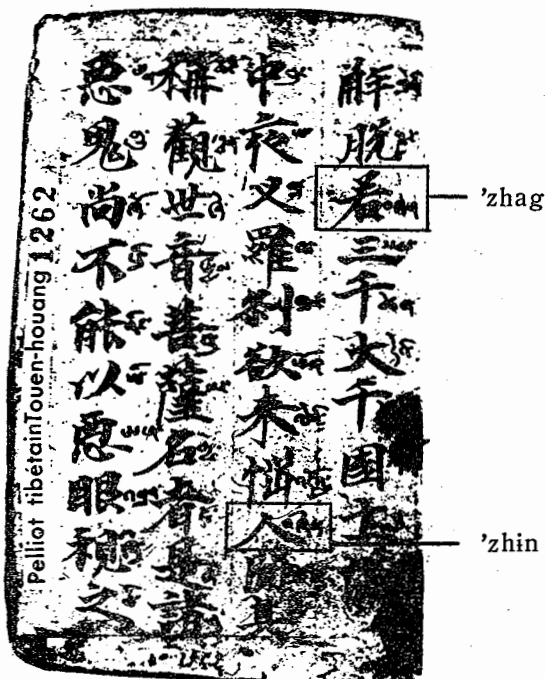
This initial corresponds to the *r* 日 initial of the rime tables. In text T it is always spelled with Tibetan *zh*-. Its reflexes in the modern dialects are complex (*Gansu fangyan gaiyau*, Table I): (Alternate forms are conditioned by vowels of the syllable finals in the various dialects.)

- (1) *z*- (20 points, including Duenhuang)
- (2) *z*- (1 polint)
- (3) *z*-~*z̄*- (13 points)
- (4) *z*-~*z*- (4 points)
- (5) *z*-~*ɣ*- (4 points)
- (6) *z*-~*ɣ*- (1 point)

The appearance of *ɣ*- here has been discussed by Liu (1986). It is surely a late phenomenon and is not reflected in the Tibetan transcriptions at all. In choosing among the values *z*-, *z̄*-, and *z*-, we may reject *z*- at the outset because the Tibetans would surely have represented such a sound with their *z*- rather than with *zh*-. How to choose between *z*- and *z̄*- is a more difficult problem. Since the initial is always rendered by Tibetan *zh*- rather than *z*- in the data, it would seem to pattern with the Palatals (II.5) rather than with the Retroflexes (II.6), and I consequently class it with the former.

A word in text T which has this initial is 二 *n̄zi* "two," which occurs several times in the numeral 十二 *z̄jəp n̄zi* "twelve". In a number of cases this numeral is transcribed as *shib-zhi*, which parallels other numbers such as 十八 *z̄jəp pwat* "eighteen", Tibetan *shib-par*. But in two instances (Thomas et al. 1929: 43) we find not *shib-zhi* but *shim-zhi*. Csongor (1960: 112, n. 62) remarks "...this alternation in the final [of + *shib*, WSC] cannot be attributed to sandhi only, it can be explained merely by the nasalizing effect of the *z̄*. This means that ACh. *n̄z*, though oralized in MCh., preserved still a faint nasal prothesis like other oralized nasal initials." Csongor's reasoning brings to mind the so-called "Multiplication Table" (P. T. 1256; Spanien and Imaeda 1979, plate 509, recto) of which Simon (1958: 342) published a three-line sample.¹⁴ In this text + is transcribed as *shib* except in the combinations 十五 *z̄jəp nguo* "fifteen" and 十二 *z̄jəp n̄zi*. For the former we find only *shim-'gu* and for the latter only *zhim-zhi* in the Table. The change from *shib-'gu* to *shim-'gu* is clearly due to the influence of the prenasalized element of 五 *'gu*, and that of *shib-zhi* to *shim-zhi* must have occurred for the same reason. Csongor's argument for a "faint nasal prothesis" would seem to be confirmed. Pulleyblank (1970:229), arguing that the *r* initial had no nasalization in late Tang times, does not mention Csongor's note or Simon's text but simply says, "Tibetan has *z̄* [for the *r* initial, WSC], with no indication of nasality through prefixed *n̄* [*n̄*=our *ʔ*, WCS]

¹⁴ This text has recently been transcribed and discussed by Zhang (1986). Cf. also Takata (1983b).



PLATE

..." A similar but more abbreviated assertion appears in Pulleyblank (1984: 66). These statements are incorrect. The *r* initial is transcribed as Tibetan 'zh- in texts NT, DA, in the "Long Scroll", and in certain other Duenhuang texts, of which Simon (1958) has published selections and fragments. The following are some examples:

P. T. 1662 (Spanien and Imaeda 1979, Plate 524)

line 1	若 <i>ñzjak</i>	Tib. 'zhag
line 2	人 <i>ñzjen</i>	Tib. 'zhin

(A facsimile of this text is given in the appended plate.)

P. T. 1228 (Spanien and Imaeda 1979, Plate 494)

line 3	然 <i>ñzjān</i>	Tib. 'zhan
--------	----------------	------------

P. T. 1253 (Spanien and Imaeda 1979, Plate 507)

line 14	肉 <i>ñzjuk</i>	Tib. 'zhug
---------	----------------	------------

Such cases may represent a prenasalized element in the initial. Pulleyblank was perhaps misled by the fact that 'zh- occurs less often in the transcriptional texts than 'b-, 'd-, and 'g-; but the reason for this paucity of examples can be explained. The combination 'zh- violates the canons of WT spelling and does not, to my knowledge, occur in any "native" (i.e. non-transcriptional) OT text for which

glossaries and indexes are available. In WT morphology, whenever the prefix ' combines with a stem in *zh-*, the "surface form" is realized as 'j- (Li 1933: 148). All of this strongly suggests that no prenasalized *ž-* existed in any OT dialects for which texts are known. If confronted with such a sound the Tibetan scribe would first have had to overcome the patterns imposed by his own sound system (he could presumably easily have mistaken a foreign *nž-* for his own *ž-*) and then violate the spelling rules of his script in order to record it. (It must always be remembered that the Tibetan transcribers were not phoneticians utilizing an accurate and versatile notation system but rather ordinary scribes working within the confines of their own alphabet and aural capabilities.) Given such obstacles as these, it is perhaps remarkable that 'zh- appears in the texts at all:

In summary, Csongor's position is surely the correct one. Our problematical initial should be reconstructed with nasalization for SJT, and we can represent it as **nž-*.

8. The Sibilant Series: **ts-*, **tsh-*, **s-*

This series corresponds to the initials *ts-*, *tsh-*, *dz-*, *s-*, and *z-* of the CYC reconstruction.

Initial **ts-* corresponds directly to Karlgren's *ts-*.

Initial **tsh* comprises all words having CYC *tsh-* and *dz-*.

Initial **s-* includes Karlgren's *s-* and *z-* initials, which interchange freely in Shao's data and which are transcribed with Tibetan *s-* in text T.

9. The Guttural Series: **k-*, **kh-*, **ng-*, **h-*, **ʔ-*

Initial **k-* corresponds directly to CYC *k-*.

As has been argued in section II.1, initial **kh-* is held to correspond to CYC *kh-* and *g-* in all environments.

Initial **ng-* is rendered in text T as 'g-, regardless of the presence or absence of nasality in the finals before which it occurs. In this respect the Tibetan representation of **ng-* is rather different from that of **m-* and **n-* in the text. WT 'g- corresponds to CT **ṅ-* (where raised *n* is a homorganic nasal) as can be reconstructed on the basis of data such as the following: (data after Qu and Tan 1983: 358-9) WT 'gor "to loiter, tarry, dilly-dally"

Lhasa	<i>ko:</i> ʌ
Sgar	<i>nko:r</i> ʌ
Ru-thog	<i>nko:r</i> ʌ
Spu-hreng	<i>nko:r</i> ʌ
Rtsa-mda'	* <i>go:s</i> ʌ
Dge-rgyas	<i>nko:r</i> ʌ
Mtsho-chen	<i>nko:r</i> ʌ
Sger-rtse	* <i>go:r</i> ʌ

The SJT initial was phonetically perhaps [ŋg], which we shall continue to write as *ng-.

Initial *h- includes Karlgren's x- and ɣ-, which are not distinguished in Shao's data. This initial is spelled with Tibetan h- in text T, as is usual for the transcriptional texts. An interesting exception to this general rule is found in the South Inscription of the Zhol Rdo-rings, a text which was mentioned earlier (see note 10 above). In this inscription the Chinese word *huang-di* 皇帝 (*ɣwāng tiei*) "emperor", which is usually transcribed in Tibetan as *hwang-te*, is instead rendered as 'wang-te (lines 46-47 and 50). The word 皇, spelled 'wang, is in fact treated the same way as wang 王 in this text; cf. line 61-62 *kwang-peng* 'wang, a transcription of Guangping Wang 廣平王 (*kuāng bjeng jwang*) "Prince of Guangping". As has been shown by Uray (1955) the transcriptional and manuscript combination 'w- is actually the ancestral form of WT w-. This initial is of rather rare occurrence in native WT words, and what it corresponds to in CT is a problem. The example usually cited in connection with it is WT *wa* (-mo) "fox" for which the following dialect forms are available to me.

Lhasa	<i>wa</i> ɿ mo ʅ	} Qu and Tan (1983: 292-293)
Ru-thog	<i>a</i> ɿ mo ʅ	
Mtsho-chen	<i>a</i> ɿ	
Sger-rtse	<i>a</i> ɿ mo ʅ	
Batang	<i>wa</i>	Gesang (1985: 17)

Amdo Sherpa *wa* (High Tone) Nagano (1980: 155)

These forms point to an initial semivowel *w- as the CT form. However, Róna-Tas (1962: 339; 1966: 132, n. 155) cites older sources on various eastern dialects which indicate the presence of an earlier velar or laryngeal fricative initial in "fox". I do not have access to up-to-date material on the eastern dialect forms of this word, but I can cite from the Shiahe 夏河 Amdo dialect readings for several meaningless spelling syllables beginning with WT w-, which were elicited from literate speakers by (Zhou 1982), i.e.

WT	Shiahe reading pronunciation	Lhasa reading pronunciation
<i>wu</i>	<i>ɸwə</i>	<i>wu</i> ɿ
<i>wi</i>	<i>ɸwə</i>	<i>wi</i> ɿ
<i>wen</i>	<i>ɸwən</i>	<i>wē</i> ɿ

It would seem that the uvular *ɸ* recorded by Zhou corresponds to the sound or sounds noted in Róna-Tas' older sources. Róna-Tas strongly believes that this initial element is the reflex of an earlier consonant such as *ɣ. An alternative view is that it arose secondarily. While I favor the latter possibility, especially because of the use of w- to write the zero initial in text T (see section II.10 below), I believe that only detailed study of reliable descriptive dialect data can enable

us to decide conclusively between these alternatives. If the presence of *ʋ* in the Amdo dialects turns out to be entirely predictable in terms of the environments in which it occurs, then there will be no need to posit its existence for CT. It can be considered secondary and the conditions under which it arose can be stated. If such environments are not predictable, then we must consider it original since we would have no way to account for where it arose and where it did not. Only careful internal and comparative analysis of the data can resolve this problem. But whether the CT sound corresponding to WT *w-* (=OT *'w-*) turns out to be **w-* or something like **ɾw-* or **ʋw-*, it seems clear that the mid-eighth century Tibetans who composed the Zhol texts heard something other than simple voiceless *hw-* in the word *hwang*. Now it is widely thought that this word had a voiced velar or laryngeal fricative initial in CYC, and the transcription of *huang* as Tibetan *'wang* may indicate that such a sound was still present in the Chinese source dialect when the Zhol transcriptions were formulated. But by the time of of SJT it must have merged with its voiceless counterpart.

Initial **ʔ-* is normally transcribed with the Tibetan letter *a* (often called *a-chen* by Western Tibetologists). Syllables spelled with this letter usually have high tone and/or glottal stop initial in the dialects.

10. The Zero Initial: *ϕ*

This initial includes the rime table *yu* 喻 initials of both third and fourth divisions (i.e. *yusan* 喻三 and *yusz* 喻四). These two are not distinguished at all in Shao's data (1963: 200). In text T, syllables with this initial begin in Tibetan *y*, *yy* (sic!), *'*, *w*, *'u*, or *yw* depending on the nature of the finals. I believe that these syllables can be viewed as having the zero initial and that evaluation of the different Tibetan spellings is best deferred to a discussion of the finals.

In Shao's data syllables with the zero initial have a small number of contacts with words having initials **ng-*, **ʔ-*, **v-*, and even with **nʒ-* (1963: 201, 202). These examples are rather scant, and Shao prefers to view them as peripheral phenomena. In a sense they are important, since all except the **nʒ-* contacts seem to presage developments which actually occurred in the modern northwest dialects in later times. They may be the first hints of things to come. But they are not clearly reflected in text T and for our purposes are perhaps best set aside as exceptional.¹⁵

III. Conclusions

The system of initials proposed here for the hypothetical "Shajou T dialect" is as follows:

¹⁵ Two cases from text T may be cited in this connection:

忘 *mjwang*

Tib. *bong* (3x)

'ong (2x)

要 *ʔjiäu*

Tib. *ʔe'u* (?) ~ *ye'u* (?)

Examples of this sort are seen much more frequently in Takata's type IV texts.

*p	*ph	*m		
*f		*v		
*t	*th	*n	*l	
*tś	*tśh	(*ndž?)	*ś	*nž
*tş	*tşh		*ş	
*ts	*tsh		*s	
*k	*kh	*ng	*h	*?
*φ				

This system is considerably simpler than those usually set up for CYC and at various points has a good deal in common with the modern dialects of the Duen-huang area. It seems clear that SJT was well on its way to becoming a sort of "Early Mandarin" of the sort described by Gong (1981). It is interesting that Tibetan transcriptional materials other than those in text T, especially those placed by Takata (1981a and b) in his first and second categories, have a rather more archaic appearance. All of these Tibetan sources must be studied separately and in detail in order to determine what they can tell us about the different ancient northwest dialects of Shajou. In pursuing such studies we as Sinologists must not only maintain a rigorous and careful approach to our Chinese materials but must also remain ever mindful of the subtle and complex problems of Old Tibetan philology.

Abbreviations

(For abbreviations of text titles, see section I.2.2)

AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
BIHP	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>
CLAO	<i>Cahiers de linguistique asie orientale</i>
CT	Common Tibetan
CY	Chieyun 切韻
CYC	Chieyun Chinese
FY	<i>Fangyan</i> 方言, a journal of Chinese dialectology
IOL	India Office Library
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JGYW	<i>Jungguo yuwen</i> 中國語文
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
MS	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
MTYW	<i>Mintzu yuwen</i> 民族語文
OT	Old Tibetan
P. T.	Fonds Pelliot tibétain

- SJT "Shajou T", the hypothetical dialect represented in the Tibetan transcriptions of the *Dasheng jungtzung jianjie* and the loangraph data of Shao (1963)
- WT Written Tibetan

References

- Anon.
1960 *Gansu fangyan gaiyao* 甘肅方言概要. Lanjou.
- Csongor, B.
1960 "Some Chinese Texts in Tibetan Script from Tunhuang". *AOH* 10.97-140.
- Gao Baotai 高葆泰
1980. "Lanjou yinshi liueshuo" 蘭州音系略說. *FY* 1980. 224-231.
- Gesang, Jumian 格桑居冕
1985 "Tzangyu Batanghuade yuyin fenshi" 藏語巴塘話的語音分析. *MTYW* 1985. 2.16-27.
- Goldstein, Melvyn
1978 *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*. Kathmandu.
1984 *English-Tibetan Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*. Berkeley.
- Gong, Hwang-cherng 龔煌城
1981 "Shrer shrji mo Hanyude shibei fangyin (shengmu bufen)" 十二世紀末漢語的西北方音 (聲母部分). *BIHP* 52.1.37-78.
- Jin, Peng 金鵬
1983 *Tzangyu jianjr* 藏語簡志. Peking.
- Li, F. K.
1933 "Certain Phonetic Influences of the Tibetan Prefixes upon the Root Initials". *BIHP* 4.135-157.
1980 "A Problem in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription". *AOH* 34.121-124.
- Liu, Ling 劉伶
1986 "Gansu Jangyi fangyan shengmu ts ts' s z yu k k' fv de fenlie" 甘肅張掖方言聲母 ts ts' s z 與 k k' fv 的分合. *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages* 26.75-84.
- Lo, Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培
1933 *Tang-Wudai shibei fangyin* 唐五代西北方音. Shanghai.
- Luo, Bingfen 羅秉芬 and Huang Bufan 黃布凡
1983 *Tong-hong-nas thon-pa'i Bod-kyi gso-rigs yig-cha bdam-bsgrigs*. Peking.
- Macdonald, Ariane
1971 "Une lecture des Pelliot Tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290". *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*. Paris. pp. 190-391.
- Macdonald and Imaeda
see Spanien and Imaeda.
- Miller, Roy A.
1967 "Some Problems in Tibetan Transcriptions of Chinese from Tun-huang". *MS* 26.123-148.
- Nagano, Yasuhiko
1980 *Amdo Sherpa Dialect. Monumenta Serindia* #7. Tokyo.
- Pulleyblank, E. G.
1970 "Late Middle Chinese: Part I". *Asia Major* 15.197-239.
1984 *Middle Chinese*. Vancouver.
1986 "The Locative Particles yü 于, yü 於, and hu 乎". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.1-12.
- Qu, Aitang 瞿竊堂 and Tan Kerang 譚克讓
1983 *Ali Tzangyu* 阿里藏語. Peking.
- Richardson, H. E.
1985 *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*. Royal Asiatic Society. Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd, Hertford.

Róna-Tas, A.

1962 Review of G. Roerich, "Tibetskii Yazyk". *AOH* 14.337-340.

1966 *Tibeto-Mongolica*. The Hague.

1983 "Linguistic Notes on an Amdowa Text". *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History, and Culture*, vol. 1. Wien. pp. 243-280.

Shao, Rongfen 邵榮芬

1963 "Duenhuang suwenshiuejungde bietz yiwen he Tang-Wudai shibei fangyin". 敦煌俗文學中的別字異文和唐五代西北方音. *JGYW* 3.193-217.

Simon, Walter

1958 "A Note on Chinese Texts in Tibetan Transcription". *BSOAS* 21.334-343.

Spanien, Ariane and Yoshiro Imaeda

1978-79 *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*. 2 vols. Paris.

Stein, R.

1981 "'Saint et Divin', un titre tibétain et chinois des rois tibétains". *JA* 269.231-275.

Takata, Tokio

1981a "Sur la naissance des tons du tibétain". *JA* 269.277-285.

1981b "Distinctions des deux mediales de la division III de l'ancien chinois dans les documents en écriture tibétaine". *CLAO* 9.35-44.

1983a "Tzangwen yinyi 'Hanshr shr' tsanpian" 藏文音譯《寒食詩》殘片. *Yinyunshiue yanjiou tungshiun* 音韻學研究通訊 1983.2.29-36.

1983b "Zasshō to kukuhyō—Tonkō ni okeru Chibetto moji shiyō no ichimen." 雜抄と九九表—敦煌におけるチバツト文字使用の一面 *Kinsha ronsō* 均社論叢 14.1-4.

Tan, Qixiang 譚其驤

1982 *Jungguo lishr ditu* 中國歷史地圖, vol. 5. Shanghai.

Thomas, F. W.

1951 *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, vol. II. London.

1957 *Ancient Folk-Literature from North-eastern Tibet*. Berlin.

Thomas, F. W., S. Miyamoto, and G.L.M. Clauson

1929 "A Chinese Mahāyāna Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters". *JRAS* 1929. 37-76.

Uray, Géza

1955 "On the Tibetan Letters *BA* and *WA*". *AOH* 5.101-122.

Wang, Yao 王堯

1982 *Tufan (~Tubo) jinshrlu* 吐蕃金石錄. Peking.

Weidert, Alfons K.

1986 "Tonogenesis in the Tibetan Dialects of Bhutan". (Paper presented at the 19th Annual Meeting of the International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Columbus, Ohio, Sept., 1986).

Zhang, Chengcai 張成才

1980 "Shining fangyan jiliue" 西寧方言記略. *FY* 1980. 282-302.

Zhang, Liansheng

1986 "A Preliminary Attempt to Reconstruct Middle-Old Tibetan Consonants". (Paper presented at the 19th Annual Meeting of the International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Columbus, Ohio, Sept., 1986).

Zhang, Shengyu 張盛裕

1985 "Duenhuang yinshi jiliue" 敦煌音系記略. *FY* 1985. 134-139.

Zhou, Jiwen 周季文

1982 "Tzangyi Hanyinde 'Bore boluomidu shinjing' jiauju". 藏譯漢音的《般若波羅蜜多心經》校注. *Yuyan yanjiou* 語言研究 1982. 1.228-248.

十二世紀末漢語的西北方音（韻尾問題）

龔 煌 城

中央研究院歷史語言研究所

目 錄

- 一、引言
- 二、入聲韻尾的消失
 - A. -k 韻尾的消失
 - B. -t 韻尾的消失
 - C. -p 韻尾的消失
- 三、鼻音韻尾的消失
 - A. -ŋ 韻尾的消失
 - B. -n 韻尾的消失
 - C. -m 韻尾的消失
- 四、鼻音韻尾的消失與元音的鼻音化
 - A. 出現於《掌中珠》對譯部分的漢語鼻音韻尾字
 - B. 出現於《掌中珠》注音部分的漢語鼻音韻尾字
 - C. 元音鼻音化的證據
- 五、從漢語西北方音的歷史演變看十二世紀末的韻尾問題
- 六、結語

一、 引 言

利用《番漢合時掌中珠》（以下簡稱《掌中珠》）裏的漢夏對音資料研究十二世紀末漢語西北方音，首先遭遇到的困難是如何解釋資料的問題。《掌中珠》是公元一一九〇年西夏人骨勒所作的漢夏對譯語詞與短句的彙集，在西夏字旁有漢字注音，漢字旁有西夏字注音。西夏字與漢字一樣，都是表意文字，並不直接標示語音，如何根據這樣的資料來判斷當時的漢語與西夏語的聲韻，便牽涉到方法上的問題，所以在本文的開頭有先加以說明的必要。

表面看來，我們原先既然對西夏語一無所知，便只能根據漢語來研究西夏語，而且要先預想十二世紀末西夏故地的語音狀況來立論，似乎是不可能倒過來利用西夏語來研究當時的漢語方音的。但是實際情形並不如此。原因是對音資料並非全是一個西夏字對一個漢字，常有幾個不同的漢字用同一個西夏字注音，或幾個不同的西夏字用

同一個漢字注音的情形，使我們可作各種推論。同時由於我們另外有西夏語的韻書《文海》，使我們了解其語言的內部組織，使我們知道哪些語詞是同韻字，哪些甚至是同音字。此外還有一種稱為《同音》的字書，是把西夏字按聲母類別分成九大類，依次為 I、雙唇音，II、輕唇音，III、舌頭音，IV、舌上音，V、牙音，VI、齒頭音，VII、正齒音，VIII、喉音，IX、舌齒音等，在各類聲母下，把同音的字放在一起，稱為小類，各小類間用小圓圈隔開（本文依索孚洛諾夫 (Sofronov, 1968: I, 136-138) 擬音表，用阿拉伯數字表示小類，例如 I 36 表示雙唇音第 36 小類，同一號碼表示同音字），有些西夏字沒有與其同音的字，自成一類，這些字便收在各大類的篇末，稱為獨字（本文依索氏以連字號表示，例如 I-3 表示雙唇音獨字第三字）。

西夏語有平上兩個聲調，平聲有九十七韻，上聲有八十六韻。上面所提的索氏擬音所根據的新版《同音》是把平上聲分別看待，同音另有一種版本是把平上聲放在一起，聲韻母相同便視為同音，根據這個舊版，歷來有許多研究西夏語的學者考訂平上聲相配的關係，共得綜合韻 105 韻。本文中以 R 表示綜合韻，1、2 表示平、上聲，例如：R37 2.33 表示綜合韻第三十七韻，上聲第三十三韻。由於這部字書，我們可以跨過西夏語平上聲的界限，擴大利用漢夏對音資料。

上文提到對音資料並不一定是一對一的關係，常有幾個漢字用同一個西夏字注音的情形，例如《掌中珠》裏「官、觀、冠、管、鑑」五字都用同一個西夏字「𐵑」來注音，「人、仁、壬」三字也用同一個西夏字「𐵑」來注音。前五字依漢語中古音只有聲調之不同，聲母韻母都完全一樣（現在國語也是如此），五字以同一個西夏字注音只顯示對音完全不管聲調而已，此外不能提供任何證言，但是後三字情形便不同了，「人、仁」二字在中古音屬真韻，收 -n 尾，高本漢 (B. Karlgren) 擬音為 *ńziɛn*，「壬」在中古音則屬侵韻，收 -m 尾，高氏擬音為 *ńziɛm*。由於兩個在中古漢語截然不同的音節，在《掌中珠》裏用同一個西夏字注音，便提供給我們重要的資訊。但如何解釋這個對音資料，便產生見仁見智的看法。王靜如 (1930: 175) 認為「宋末西北方音已經把所謂閉口韻的 -m 尾完全失掉，漸演成今日的半鼻音」，但是對此同一個資料，伯希和 (P. Pelliot) 却在《通報》(1932: 490) 書評裏提出另一種看法，他說：「我不相信 -m 在十二世紀末北方漢語中『完全』變成了 -n；十三、四世紀的對音可作反證」，他認為產生這種對音的原因是在西夏語那邊，乃是由於西夏語有鼻化元者 (la nasalisation de la voyelle) 使然；他繼續說：「就是這個不真正把鼻音韻尾發音的鼻化元音，解釋了何以同一個西夏字 *ziⁿ (*zi) 由「人」*ńziɛn 及「壬」*ńziɛm 來注音，而不必認為在十二世紀北方漢語發生了 -m > -n 的變化」。

王靜如（1933）對伯希和的批評有所答覆，但主要是針對西夏語有「鼻化元音」的說法（他稱為「口鼻共鳴」）提出反證，所討論的只是西夏語音部分，並未涉及漢語。從他文中引用漢字 -ŋ 韻尾時寫成 -^{ng}（表示鼻化元音）而引用 -n 韻尾時則寫成 -n（p. 295）一事看來，他似乎是接受了伯希和的意見，認為只有 -ŋ 韻尾是在引起元音鼻化後消失，而 -m、-n 韻尾則保持不變。

關於西夏語音的問題，王靜如（1982）後來對他自己先前的主張作了一些修正，認為在西夏晚期還有弱鼻化元音存在（pp. 7-8）。

本文的研究結果實際上是支持王靜如早期的主張，即漢語鼻音韻尾都在使元音鼻化後消失，而西夏語音韻系統內則並沒有鼻化元音存在。至於西夏一〇五韻中僅有的六個鼻化元音的韻，實際上是代表漢語的借韻。這是爲了要寫漢語人名、地名而專設的韻，其中當然也包含西夏語言中大量吸收的漢語借詞。

本文認為西夏語中有鼻化元音的韻都是借自漢語，共有六個，其中五個正是橋本（1962）所認定的鼻化韻，可惜橋本（1965: 131）却接受服部四郎的批評（服部以爲：①西夏一〇五韻中只有五韻有鼻化元音，從語音體系的觀點來看，十分不均齊；②鼻化元音的韻設定太少的結果，須把其他各韻的區別求之於元音組織，如此一來勢必假設實際語言所不可能有的複雜的元音體系）而放棄這一看法，改採大量擬測鼻化元音的方向。其實西夏語一〇五韻中必須把專屬於漢語的六韻排除，而西夏韻中有一些韻實際上可以合併，體系可以循其他途徑加以簡化。

由作者看來，以上王靜如與橋本的例子都是經由權威的批評而放棄了原先正確的看法，也許在探索真理的過程中常常不得不走一些冤枉的回頭路。本文所提出的看法，看似十分淺顯易明，然而實際上也是作者幾經波折後才達到的結論，願把它寫出來，以供批評與討論。

二、入聲韻尾的消失

《掌中珠》裏的漢夏對音，通常不分漢字是開音節字（-ø）或入聲字（-p, -t, -k），都與同一個西夏字或幾個同音的西夏字對音，以 -k 尾入聲字爲例，其情形大約如下：

1. 該 pu¹ (R1 1.1 I 48 S. 2876)

布 (245), 北 (113)

-ø	布	puo°	遇合一去暮幫
-k	北	pək.	曾開一入德幫

2. 蓀 phu¹ (R1 1.1 I 46 S. 3701)

菩 (362, 366), 蒲 (142), 鋪 (255), 薄 (145), 泊 (122), 葡 (146), 葡 (151)

諷 phu¹ (R1 1.1 I 46 S. 2879)

普 (102), 部 (115)

-ø	菩蒲	。buo	遇合一平模並
	普	°phuo	遇合一上姥滂
	部	°buo	遇合一上姥並
	鋪	phuo°	遇合一去暮滂
	薄	buâ°	果合一去遇並
-k	泊	bâk。	宕開一入鐸並
	葡萄	bək。	曾開一入德並 (蘿 <u>葡</u> , 葫蘿 <u>葡</u>)

3. 𣎵 bu¹ (R5 1.5 I -119 S. 4826)

母 (202), 墓 (065), 木 (223), 莫 (292)

-ø	母	°m̥u	流開一上厚明
	墓	muo°	遇合一去暮明
-k	木	muk。	通合一入屋明
	莫	mâk。	宕開一入鐸明

4. 𣎵 thu¹ (R1 1.1 III 37 S. 2960)

塗 (361), 土 (122), 肚 (336), 兔 (162), 禡 (265)

-ø	塗	。duo	遇合一平模定
	土	°thuo	遇合一上姥透
	肚	°duo	遇合一上姥定
	兔	thuo°	遇合一去暮透
-k	禡	duok。	通合一入沃定

5. 𣎵 thi² (R11 2.10 III 139 S. 4024)

體 (193), 弟 (203), 涕 (193), 地 (115), 笛 (325)

-ø	體	°thiei	蟹開四上齊透
	弟	°diei	蟹開四上齊定
	涕	。thiei	蟹開四去霽透
-ø	地	di°	止開三去至定

- k 笛 diek。 梗開四入錫定
6. a. 𪛗 ko³ (R52 2.43 V108 S.1929)
 交 (242), 教 (323, 335), 覺 (362)
- b. 𪛗 kô¹ (R52 1.50 V-140 S.1432)
 角 (334)
 -ø 交教 .kau 效開二平肴見
 -k 覺角 kâk。 江開二入覺見 (等覺妙覺)
7. 𪛗 tshwu¹ (R1 1.1 VI-156 S.5234)
 𪛗 (173), 𪛗 (225)
 -ø 𪛗 .tshjwo 遇合三平魚清 (𪛗蟲)
 -k 𪛗 dzâk。 宕開一入鐸從 (𪛗鋸)
8. 𪛗 tšju¹ (R2 1.2 VII34 S.4344)
 猪 (163), 諸 (322, 343), 蛛 (173), 珠 (126, 211), 殊 (226),
 主 (275), 帚 (265), 竹 (136), 粥 (332)
 -ø 猪 .tjwo 遇合三平魚知
 諸 .tšjwo 遇合三平魚章
 蛛 .tju 遇合三平虞知
 珠殊 .tšju 遇合三平虞章
 主 °tšju 遇合三上麌章
 帚 °tšjəu 流開三上有章
 -k 竹 tjuk。 通合三入屋知
 粥 tšjuk。 通合三入屋章
9. 𪛗 xu¹ (R1 1.1 VIII67 S.3552)
 斧 (225), 父 (202, 213), 富 (322, 355), 福 (095), 腹 (191),
 服 (243), 伏 (321), 𪛗 (221, 222), 縛 (354)
 -ø 斧 °pju 遇合三上麌非
 父 °bjju 遇合三上麌奉
 富 pjəu° 流開三去宥非
 福腹 pjuk。 通合三入屋非
 服伏𪛗 bjuk。 通合三入屋奉
 縛 bjwak。 宕合三入藥奉

上面的例子都是以西夏字注漢字音的情形。以西夏字注漢字音時，不管漢字（依其中古音）有無入聲韻尾 *-k*，都以同一個西夏字來注音，這種情形是否可以證明在十二世紀末漢語韻尾 *-k* 已經消失了呢？答案是否定的，因為無法排除下面的可能性，即：由於西夏語音系統中沒有收 *-k* 尾的音節，無法轉寫漢字 *-k* 尾字，只好以開音節字代替，例如以西夏 *tshi* 音同時注漢字 *tshi* 與 *tshik* 音的情形。由此看來，若要證明漢語 *-k* 韻尾已消失，非另找更有力的證據不可。

A. *-k* 韻尾的消失

要證明漢語 *-k* 韻尾在十二世紀末西北方音中已經消失，最好的方法是證明中古音 *-k* 韻尾字與開音節字在《掌中珠》裏已變成同音。這樣的證據並不難找到。在《掌中珠》裏同一個西夏字或同音的西夏字，時而以漢字 *-k* 韻尾字注音，時而以漢字開音節字注音，顯示這兩類字實際上已沒有區別，*-k* 韻尾已經消失了。以下是一些例子（方括弧表示漢字注西夏字的例子）：

10. a. 繡 *bu¹* (R1 1.1 I 38 S. 3235) [謀] (161)
 b. 緌 *bu¹* (R1 1.1 I 38 S. 3457) [沐] (104)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------|--------|
| <i>-ø</i> | 謀 | <i>ˌmjəu</i> | 流開三平尤明 |
| <i>-k > -ø</i> | 沐 | <i>muk</i> | 通合一入屋明 |
11. 疑 *bi²* (R11 2.10 I 1 S. 0488) [迷] (301), [覓] (311)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------|--------|
| <i>-ø</i> | 迷 | <i>ˌmjie</i> | 蟹開四平齊明 |
| <i>-k > -ø</i> | 覓 | <i>miek</i> | 梗開四入錫明 |
12. a. 義 *gi²* (R11 2.10 V 54 S. 1131) [宜] (181)
 b. 緹 *gi²* (R11 2.10 V 54 S. 3897) [義] (204), [逆] (343)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---------------|--------|
| <i>-ø</i> | 宜 | <i>ˌngjie</i> | 止開三平支疑 |
| | 義 | <i>ngjieˆ</i> | 止開三去寘疑 |
| <i>-k > -ø</i> | 逆 | <i>ngjɔk</i> | 梗開三入陌疑 |
13. a. 西 *si²* (R11 2.10 VI 30 S. 2018) [西] (064)
 b. 息 *si²* (R11 2.10 VI 30 S. 1168) [息] (344)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------------|--------|
| <i>-ø</i> | 西 | <i>ˌsiei</i> | 蟹開四平齊心 |
| <i>-k > -ø</i> | 息 | <i>sjɛk</i> | 曾開三入職心 |

以漢語「謀、迷、宜、義、西」等陰聲字注音的西夏字顯然是開音節字，這樣的字居然又可以用漢語「沐、覓、逆、息」等入聲字注音，唯一的解釋是：在這些漢字中，*-k* 韻尾已經消失了。這樣的推論還可以擴大適用於西夏同一韻中各字的漢字對

音。因為依韻書的性質，同一韻的字應該具有相同的韻母，同一韻內的西夏字如果時而以漢語陰聲字注音，時而以漢語入聲字注音，則顯然可見，漢語入聲韻尾是已經消失了。例如：

14. a. 𪛗 *kêi¹* (R35 1.34 V22 S.0411) [皆] (165)
 b. 𪛗 *kêi¹* (R35 1.34 V22 S.1472) [介] (242)
 c. 𪛗 *khêi¹* (R35 1.34 V-96 S.1328) [客] (085)
- | | | | |
|---------|---|-------------|--------|
| -ø | 皆 | <i>ḡai</i> | 蟹開二平皆見 |
| -ø | 介 | <i>ḡai°</i> | 蟹開二去怪見 |
| -k > -ø | 客 | <i>khøk</i> | 梗開二入陌溪 |

上面 13a 與 13b 是同音字，以漢字「皆」、「介」等陰聲字注音，13c 是與 13a、13b 同韻的字，却以漢字入聲「客」字注音，由此可以推知「客」字的 -k 韻尾也已消失了。

15. a. 𪛗 *tshje²* (R10 2.9 VII46 S.3109)
 癡 (355)，持 (311)，齒 (346)，治 (293)，滯 (353)，尺 (244)，
 [赤] (133)
 b. 𪛗 *tshje¹* (R10 1.10 VII45 S.1582)
 赤 (226)，[直] (192)
- | | | | |
|---------|----|---------------|--------|
| -ø | 癡 | <i>ḡhi</i> | 止開三平之徹 |
| | 持 | <i>ḡi</i> | 止開三平之澄 |
| | 齒 | <i>°tshī</i> | 止開三上止昌 |
| | 治 | <i>ḡi°</i> | 止開三去志澄 |
| | 滯 | <i>ḡjāi°</i> | 蟹開三去祭澄 |
| | 尺赤 | <i>tshjäk</i> | 梗開三入昔昌 |
| -k > -ø | 直 | <i>ḡjək</i> | 曾開三入職澄 |

15a「𪛗」字用於注漢字「癡、持、齒、治、滯」等陰聲字及入聲字「尺」，而以另一個入聲字「赤」注其音，與 15a 同音但不同調的字（15b 𪛗）則用於注漢字「赤」音，而另以漢字「直」字注其音，這些事實顯示「赤」與「直」在當時已成爲同音字（聲調不詳），入聲 -k 尾顯然已經消失了。

B. -t 韻尾的消失

入聲 -t 韻尾的情形，也與 -k 韻尾一樣，在十二世紀末漢語西北方音裏已經消失了，以下把例子限於以漢字注西夏音時的情形：

16. 𪛗 mɿu² (R7 2.6 I 142 S. 0183)

〔麼輕〕(055), 〔沒輕〕(096)

-ø 麼 °muâ

-t > -ø 沒 muət. 臻合一入沒明

「麼」、「沒」二字右下方的「輕」字是一種輔助符號，表示明母字，讀爲鼻音 m-，與其相對的「重」字則表示讀濁塞音 mb-。「麼」與「沒」一個是開音節字，一個是 -t 韻尾字，顯示 -t 韻尾已經消失，二字已變成同音。

17. 𪛗 tha¹ (R17 1.17 III 28 S. 3464)

〔他〕(363), 〔達〕(205, 206)

-ø 他 .thâ 果開一平歌透

-t > -ø 達 dât. 山開一入曷定

18. a. 𪛗 tshweu¹ (R44 1.43 VI 82 S. 1026) 〔妻婁合〕(371)

b. 𪛗 tshweu¹ (R44 1.43 VI 82 S. 2014) 〔漆合〕(213)

-ø 婁 .lju 流開一平侯來

-t > -ø 漆 tshjět. 臻開三入質清

18a 與 18b 是同音字，以漢字注音時前者用反切「妻婁」，後者用直音「漆」。注音字右下方「合」字是輔助符號，表示把該字音修正爲「合口音」。輔助符號在用於討論西夏字音時雖然很重要，但是在目前的討論中可以不必考慮。

以上三組對音的例子顯示，以漢字注西夏字音時，開音節字與 -t 韻尾字合併使用，證明 -t 韻尾是已經消失了。在上一節中我們證明了 -k 韻尾已經消失，由此出發，還可進一步推知下例中 -t 韻尾也已消失。

19. a. 𪛗 be² (R8 2.7 I 51 S. 5728) 〔墨〕(104)

b. 𪛗 be² (R8 2.7 I 51 S. 5434) 〔末〕(p. 262)

-k > -ø 墨 mək. 曾開一入德明

-t > -ø 末 muât. 山合一入末明

20. a. 𪛗 be² (R12 2.11 I 93 S. 0155) 〔墨〕(185)

b. 𪛗 be² (R12 2.11 I -146 S. 0720) 〔沒〕(141)

-k > -ø 墨 mək. 曾開一入德明

-t > -ø 沒 muət. 臻合一入沒明

19 與 20 的西夏字韻類不同，應該有所區別才對，然而因爲漢字對音相同，索孚洛諾夫便擬爲同音，西夏擬音妥當與否，是另一個問題，與本文討論的問題無關。

無論如何，由 19、20 可以確認，「墨」、「末」、「沒」三字在十二世紀末西北方言中已成為同音了，-k 韻尾與 -t 韻尾都已消失。

21. a. 𦵑 tshɿə¹ (R33 1. 32 VI143 S. 5333)

〔賊〕(325)，〔七〕(215)，〔疾〕(284)

b. 𦵑 tshɿə¹ (R33 1. 32 VI143 S. 5330)

〔疾〕(092)

-k > -∅ 賊 dzjək。 曾開一入德從

-t > -∅ 七 tshjət。 臻開三入質清

疾 dzjət。 臻開三入質從

21a 與 21b 是西夏同音字，以漢字 -k 韻尾字（賊）及 -t 韻尾字（七、疾）注音，這種情形只有漢語 -k 韻尾與 -t 韻尾都消失時才有可能。

22. a. 𦵑 tshɿə² (R30 2. 27 VII151, 113 S. 2303)

〔赤〕(194)

b. 𦵑 tshɿə² (R30 2. 27 VII151, 113 S. 5532)

〔赤〕(306)

c. 𦵑 tshɿə¹ (R30 1. 29 VII150, 113 S. 5540)

〔姪〕(371)

d. 𦵑 tshɿə¹ (R30 1. 29 VII150, 113 S. 1620)

〔姪〕(p. 262)

e. 𦵑 tshɿə¹ (R30 1. 29 VII152 S. 2928)

〔只〕(302)，只 (302)

f. 𦵑 šɿə¹ (R30 1. 29 VII103 S. 4594)

〔使〕(342)

-∅ 只 tšie 止開三上紙章

使 °šī 止開三上止生

-k > -∅ 赤 tshjək。 梗開三入昔昌

-t > -∅ 姪 djət。 臻開三入質澄

22 的例子都是以漢字注西夏音的情形（22e 則另外兼有西夏字注漢字例子）。22a、22b 是同音字，都以漢字 -k 韻尾字（赤）注音，22c 與 22d 也是同音字，都以漢字 -t 韻尾字（姪）注音，此二組字聲母、韻母俱同，只有聲調之分。而聲調在對音中是從來不扮演任何角色的，現在却一以 -k 韻尾字注其音，一以 -t 韻尾字注

其音，可見韻尾都已消失了。22e 與 22f 是同韻的西夏字，都以漢字開音節字（只、使）注音，這是該韻（R30）爲開音節的直接證據（按西夏語音系統只有開音節字，但本文研究漢語聲韻，對西夏語音系統先不作任何假設）。

C. -p 韻尾的消失

在《掌中珠》對音資料中，漢字 -p, -t, -k 韻尾及開音節字混合使用的例子不少，可惜大半都是以西夏字注漢字音的例子，這些例子無法作漢語入聲韻尾消失的決定性的證據。以下是 -p 與 -t, -p 與 -k, 及 -p, -t, -k 接觸的例子。

I) -p 與 -t 的接觸

23. 𪛗 liə² (R30 2.27 IX S.3865)

栗 (141), 簾 (325), 立 (273), 笠 (252)

-t > -∅ 栗簾 liə²t. 臻開三入質來

-p > -∅ 立笠 liə²p. 深開三入緝來

24. 𪛗 xa¹ (R17 1.17 VIII-127 S.4227)

褐 (244), 合 (061)

-t > -∅ 褐 xa¹t. 山開一入曷匣

-p > -∅ 合 xa¹p. 咸開一入合匣

25. a. 𪛗 ka¹ (R17 1.17 V2 S.5389)

[割] (362)

b. 𪛗 ka¹ (R17 1.17 V2 S.2680)

閣 (284)

-t > -∅ 割 ka¹t. 山開一入曷見

-p > -∅ 閣 ka¹p. 咸開一入合見

II) -p 與 -k 的接觸（兼有與開音節字及鼻韻尾字接觸者）

26. 𪛗 ki¹ (R11 1.11 V-146 S.2644)

箕 (265), 雞 (135, 172), 己 (096, 352), 蟻 (174), 計 (326),

擊 (326), 急 (234)

-∅ 箕 .kji > ki 止開三平之見

雞 .kiei > ki 蟹開四平齊見

己 °kji > ki 止開三上止見

蟻 °kjei > ki 止開三上尾見

計 kiei° > ki 蟹開四去霽見

-k>-ø 擊 kiek_o>ki 梗開四入錫見

-p>-ø 急 kjəp_o>ki 深開三入緝見

27. 該 si² (R31 2. 28 VI41 S. 2058)

習 (273)

該 si² (R31 2. 28 VI41 S. 1108)

昔 (364), 新 (p. 262), 辛 (096), 信 (201), 心 (186, 346),

尋 (272)

-k>-ø 昔 sjäk_o 梗開三入昔心

-p>-ø 習 zjəp_o 深開三入緝邪

-n>-ø 新辛 sjěn 臻開三平真心

信 sjěn° 臻開三去震心

-m>-ø 心 sjəm 深開三平侵心

尋 zjəm 深開三平侵邪

關於鼻韻尾部分的討論詳下文第三節。

III) -p, -t, -k 的接觸

28. 𪛗 tshɪ¹ (R31 1. 30 VI114, 101 S. 1387)

[賊] (164), 七 (351), 集 (345)

𪛗 tshɪ¹ (R31 1. 30 VI114, 101 S. 5693)

[賊] (083)

𪛗 tshɪ¹ (R31 1. 30 VI114, 101 S. 1386)

[賊] (164)

𪛗 tshɪ² (R31 2. 28 VI115, 101 S. 2826)

[七] (153)

-k>ø 賊 dzək_o 曾開一入德從

-t>ø 七 tshjēt_o 臻開三入質清

-p>ø 集 dzjəp_o 深開三入緝從

29. 𪛗 si¹ (R31 1. 30 VI40 S. 0849)

塞 (184), 錫 (126), [悉] (144), 習 (196)

-k>-ø 塞 sək_o 曾開一入德心

錫 siek_o 梗開四入錫心

-t>-ø 悉 sjēt_o 臻開三入質心

- p>-ø 習 zjəp。 深開三入緝邪
30. 𪛗 kâ² (R18 2.15 V7 S.4152)
 交 (366), [假] (166), 甲 (095)
 -ø 交 ˩kau 效開二平肴見
 假 ka° 假開二上馬見
 -p>-ø 甲 kap。 咸開二入狎見
31. 𪛗 nau² (R22 2.19 III-114 S.2170)
 瑙 (131), 腦 (183), 惱 (354), 納 (285)
 -ø 瑙腦惱 °nâu 效開一上皓泥
 -p>-ø 納 nâp。 咸開一入合泥

28、29、30 雖然也有以漢字注西夏音的例子，但是都是 -k 韻尾（賊）-t 韻尾（七、悉）及開音節（假）字，雖然 28 與 29 可以證明漢語 -k 韻尾及 -t 韻尾之消失，但是因為漢語 -p 韻尾字（集、習、甲、納）都是以西夏字注其音，如果漢語有 -p 韻尾，如 tship, sip, kap, nap 之類，而西夏字却只有開音節字，則在不得已的情形下，仍有以西夏 tshi, si, ka, na 來代替的可能。

《掌中珠》漢字部分 -p 尾字很少（在比例上 -p 尾字本來就很少，所以這一點在對音上並無特殊意義），證明 -p 韻尾消失決定性的證據只找到如下二例：

- 32.a. 𪛗 khâ² (R18 2.15 V60 S.2573)
 [其賈] (271)
- b. 𪛗 khâ² (R18 2.15 V60 S.2203)
 [恰] (171)
 -ø 賈 °ka(ka°) 假開二上馬見（假開二去禡見）
 -p>-ø 恰 khap。 咸開二入洽溪

32a、32b 是西夏同音字，前者以漢字反切注音，後者以漢字直音方法注音。兩者應該代表同一個讀音，正如下面 33 𪛗字所注漢字「魚骨」與「兀」代表同一個讀音一樣。

33. 𪛗 ŋu² (R1 2.1 V1 S.0279)
 [魚骨] (132), [兀] (251, 305)
 骨 kuət。 臻合一入沒見
 兀 ŋuət。 臻合一入沒疑
 魚 ˩ŋwo + 骨 kuət = ŋuət。
 兀 ŋuət。

從 32 的例子來推斷，如果「恰」字當時還保持 -p 尾，便不能用來注 32a 的音，而非用反切（其賈切）以求精確不可，在有選擇可能時，任意選擇 -p 韻尾字及開音節字注音，正表示 -p 韻尾已像 -k, -t 韻尾一樣消失了。

34. a. 𪛗 $d\dot{z}jaw^2$ (R24 2. 21 VII113 S. 5812)

鐸 (225), 礪 (271)

b. 𪛗 $d\dot{z}jaw^2$ (R24 2. 21 VII113 S. 4211)

〔聶〕 (115)

-p > -∅ 聶鐸 njäp. 咸開三入葉泥

-n > -∅ 礪 °njän 山開三上獮泥

34a 與 34b 是西夏同音字，前者用於注中古 -p 韻尾的「鐸」與 -n 韻尾的「礪」。後者以漢字 -p 韻尾的「聶」注其音。假定我們對西夏音韻一無所知，而對十二世紀末的漢語音韻也毫無所悉，只知漢語中古音「鐸」字收 -p 韻尾，「礪」字收 -n 韻尾，我們將作如何的推論呢？從語言的演變來看，有四種可能的組合，即：

1. 鐸 (-p) , 礪 (-n)
2. 鐸 (-p > -∅), 礪 (-n)
3. 鐸 (-p) , 礪 (-n > -∅)
4. 鐸 (-p > -∅), 礪 (-n > -∅)

無論是哪一種情形，都必須假設使用於注這些音的西夏字是開音節的，這是由於西夏語言沒有閉音節，不能精確注漢語閉音節字，才可能出現的情形。但是如果認為西夏字是開音節字，我們便沒有理由以漢字 -p 尾字（聶）字注其音，於是不得不認為 -p > -∅，上面第 1 與第 3 的假設勢將無法成立，從第三章的討論中，我們將發現只有第四種假設才符合實際的演變。

三、鼻音韻尾的消失

A. -ŋ 韻尾的消失

《掌中珠》裏有許多對音不管漢字中古音是陽聲字、入聲字或陰聲字，均以同一個西夏字或幾個同音的西夏字來注音，以 -ŋ 韻尾字、-k 韻尾字及開音節字接觸的情形來說，有如下的例子：

35. 𪛗 thon¹ (R56 1. 54 III6 S. 1584)

他 (363), 馳 (163), 大 (154), 堂 (221), 棠 (134)

-∅ 他 .thâ 果開一平歌透

- 駝 ˩.dā 果開一平歌定 (駱駝)
 大 ˩.dā° 果開一去箇定
 -ŋ 堂堂 ˩.dāŋ 宕開一平唐定
36. 𪛗 kôn² (R57 2.48 V152 S.4043)
 角 (053), 江 (121), 降 (105)
 -k > -ø 角 kāk. 江開二入覺見
 -ŋ 江 ˩.kāŋ 江開二平江見
 降 kāk° 江開二去絳見
37. 𪛗 tshō¹ (R52 1.50 VII9 S.5170)
 濁 (115), 窳 (232), 幢 (211), 瘡 (194), 床 (242), 狀 (302)
 -k > -ø 濁 ˩.dāk. 江開二入覺澄
 -ŋ > -ø 窳 ˩.tshāŋ 江開二平江初
 幢 ˩.dāŋ 江開二平江澄
 瘡 ˩.tshjang 宕開三平陽初
 床 ˩.dzjang 宕開三平陽崇
 狀 dzjang° 宕開三去漾崇
38. 𪛗 šō¹ (R52 1.50 VII-155 S.0008)
 朔 (085), 霜 (091)
 -k > -ø 朔 šāk. 江開二入覺生
 -ŋ 霜 ˩.šjang 宕開三平陽生
39. 𪛗 xwā¹ (R18 1.18 VIII-6 S.3620)
 花 (133), 鐸 (271), 話 (304), 學 (196), 項 (185)
 -ø 花 ˩.xwa 假合二平麻曉
 鐸 ˩.ɣwa 假合二平麻匣
 話 ɣwai° 蟹合二去夬匣
 -k > -ø 學 ɣāk. 江開二入覺匣
 -ŋ 項 °ɣāŋ 江開二上講匣
40. 𪛗 xwo² (R.51 2.42 VIII-54 S.2839)
 河 (074), 和 (084, 196), 火 (081), 禍 (095), 荷 (145), 皇 (043),
 黃 (164), 凰 (165)
 -ø 河 ˩.ɣā 果開一平歌匣

和	。xuâ	果合一平戈匣（和風）
火	°xuâ	果合一上果曉
禍	°xuâ	果合一上果匣
荷	°xâ	果開一去箇曉（薄荷）
-ŋ	皇黃凰 。	宕合一平唐匣

上面這些例子尚難以證明當時漢語韻尾 -ŋ 已經消失，而與開音節字合流，因為如果西夏語音系統中沒有 -ŋ 韻尾的字，它便無法給漢字中像 -aŋ, -oŋ 等音節注音，如此一來便很可能把 xwoŋ, xwo 都注音為 xwo。要證明中古漢語 -ŋ 韻尾在十二世紀末西北方音中已消失（但先使前面的元音鼻化），不可僅靠「以西夏字注漢音」部分的資料，而必須兼及漢字注西夏音部分的資料。以下是兩種資料合併使用時的情形。

41. 𪛗 pho¹ (R51 1. 49 I 164, 68 S. 4297) [破] (122)

𪛗 pho¹ (R51 1. 49 I 88, 68 S. 3729) 𪛗

-ø 破 phuâ° 果合一去過滂

-ŋ 𪛗 。

42. 𪛗 no¹ (R51 1. 49 III 88 S. 1403)

[那] (186), 囊 (264)

-ø 那 nâ° 果開一去箇泥

-ŋ 囊 °nâŋ 宕開一平唐泥

43. a. 𪛗 ko¹ (R51 1. 49 V 91 S. 0683) [果] (271)

b. 𪛗 ko¹ (R51 1. 49 V 91 S. 1590)

[哥] (203), 哥 (203), 果 (361), 菓 (133), 剛 (213), 薑 (154)

-ø 哥 。

果菓 °kuâ 果合一上果見

-ŋ > -ø 剛 。

薑 。

44. a. 𪛗 kêi¹ (R35 1. 34 V 22 S. 2001)

皆 (201), 芥 (145), 界 (356), 耕 (271), 更 (264), 庚 (096), 粳 (155)

b. 𪛗 kêi¹ (R35 1. 34 V 22 S. 1472) [介] (242)

c. 𪛗 kêi¹ (R35 1. 34 V 22 S. 0411) [皆] (105)

-ø	皆	。kai	蟹開二平皆見
	介芥界	kai°	蟹開二去怪見
-ŋ	耕	。keng	梗開二平耕見
	更庚梗	。kɔŋ	梗開二平庚見 (更賣田地)

45. 𪛗 khu¹ (R1 1.1 V9 S. 0225)

[枯] (126), 庫 (216), 孔 (166)

-ø	枯	。khuo	遇合一平模溪
	庫	khuo°	遇合一去暮溪
-ŋ	孔	°khung	通合一上董溪

46. a. 𪛗 lu² (R1 2.1 IX45 S. 3593)

爐 (236), 露 (091), 鹿 (162), 碌 (265), 祿 (062), 籠 (235), 農 (265)

b. 𪛗 lu² (R1 2.1 IX45 S. 5771) [路] (093)

-ø	爐	。luo	遇合一平模來
	路露	luo°	遇合一去暮來
-k>-ø	鹿碌祿	luk。	通合一入屋來
-ŋ	籠	。lung	通合一平東來
	農	。nuong	通合一平冬泥

41 到 46 的例子都包含以西夏字注漢字音及以漢字注西夏字音兩種情形，但是在這些例子當中，凡是以漢字注西夏字音時用的都是開音節字，如果漢夏對音情形都是如此，就反而證明了漢語是有 -ŋ 尾的，而西夏語才的確是沒有這個音。這種現象所代表的事實，以上面 45 為例來說明就是漢語有 khu (庫) 與 khun (孔) 的音節，而西夏因為沒有 khun 音節就通通以 khu (𪛗) 音來注音。現在反過來要以漢字注西夏 khu 音節時，因為是開音節音，所以便只能用開音節的「枯」(khu) 字來注，而不能再用 khun (孔) 來注音了。但是實際的情形並不都是這樣，有很多相反的例子，例如：

47. a. 𪛗 phon¹ (R56 1.54 I 90 S. 3689) 坡 (122)

b. 𪛗 phon¹ (R56 1.54 I 90 S. 3688) [旁] (251)

c. 𪛗 phon¹ (R56 1.54 I 90 S. 3324) [傍] (112)

-ø	坡	。phuâ	果合一平戈滂
-ŋ>-ø	旁傍	。bâng	宕開一平唐並

48. a. 庖 phô² (R52 2. 43 I 134 S. 1242) 庖 (221), 電 (092)

b. 𩚑 phô² (R52 2. 43 I 134 S. 0078) [瘡] (066)

c. 𩚑 phô² (R52 2. 43 I 134 S. 3428) [瘡] (232)

-ø 庖 ɔ.bau 效開二平肴並

-k > -ø 電 bāk. 江開二入覺並

-ŋ > -ø 瘡(龐) ɔ.bāŋ 江開二平江並

49. a. 𩚑 tho² (R51 2. 42 III 4 S. 0758) 唾 (193)

b. 𩚑 tho² (R51 2. 42 III 4 S. 2996) [湯] (251)

-ø 唾 thuâ° 果合一去過透

-ŋ > -ø 湯 ɔ.thāŋ 宕開一平唐透

50. 𩚑 gâi¹ (R39 1. 38 V 95 S. 4883)

矮 (242), 𩚑 (251), 𩚑 (141), [硬] (226)

-ø 矮 °ai 蟹開二上蟹影

𩚑 au° 效開二去效影

-ŋ > -ø 𩚑 ɔ.ɛŋ 梗開二平耕影

硬 ngeng° 梗開二去映疑

51. 𩚑 tshon¹ (R56 1. 54 VI 10 S. 1018) 坐 (275), [蒼] (323)

-ø 坐 °dzuâ 果合一上果從

-ŋ > -ø 蒼 ɔ.tshāŋ 宕開一平唐清

52. a. 𩚑 tsêi¹ (R35 1. 34 VII-146 S. 3387)

[爭] (252), 爭 (371), 𩚑 (324)

b. 𩚑 tsêi² (R35 2. 31 VII-72 S. 4028)

𩚑 (254), 𩚑 (165), 𩚑 (234)

c. 𩚑 dzêi² (R35 2. 31 VII-87 S. 4100) [尼爭] (201)

d. 𩚑 dzêi² (R35 2. 31 S. 0468) [°擰] (371)

-ø 𩚑 ɔ.tshai 蟹開二平佳初

𩚑 ɔ.dzai 蟹開二平皆崇

-ŋ > -ø 𩚑 ɔ.tshoŋ 梗開二平庚初

爭 ɔ.tɕɛŋ 梗開二平耕莊

𩚑 ɔ.noŋ 梗開二平庚泥

53. a. 𩚑 xai² (R42 2. 36 VIII 83 S. 1307)

鞋 (252), 蟹 (071), 行 (273), 杏 (141)

b. 𪛗 xai² (R42 2.36 VIII83 S.0730) [杏] (141)

-ø	鞋	。ɣai	蟹開二平佳匣
	蟹	°ɣai	蟹開二上蟹匣
-ŋ>-ø	行	。ɣɒŋ	梗開二平庚匣
	杏	°ɣɒŋ	梗開二上梗匣

54. a. 𪛗 lo¹ (R51 1.49 IX21 S.1873)

羅 (091, 256), 饌 (334), 騾 (164), 螺 (212), 蘿 (146, 151),
糯 (155), 樂 (323), 珞 (211), 駱 (163), 狼 (164, 165),
廊 (221)

b. 𪛗 lo¹ (R51 1.49 IX21 S.0160) [郎] (233)

c. 𪛗 lo¹ (R51 1.49 XI21 S.0804) [郎] (271)

-ø	羅饌	。lâ	果開一平歌來
	騾螺	。luâ	果合一平戈來
	蘿	。luo	遇合一平模來 (蘿葡)
	糯	nuâ°	果合一去過泥
-k>-ø	樂珞駱	lâk。	宕開一入鐸來
-ŋ>-ø	狼廊郎	。lâŋ	宕開一平唐來

上面 47 到 54 的例子中, 凡是以漢字注西夏字音時, 漢字部分都是中古 -ŋ 尾字 (如: 旁、癆、湯、硬、蒼、爭、獐、杏、郎等), 而以西夏字注漢字音時所涉及的漢字則開音節字與 -ŋ 尾字都有。如果所有的漢夏對音的情形都是如此, 便證明了西夏語只有 -ŋ 尾字而無開音節字, 而漢語則兩者都有。以 54 為例來說明, 情形是這樣的: 漢語有 lo (如: 羅、饌、騾等) 音, 也有 loŋ (如: 狼、廊、郎等) 音, 但西夏却只有 loŋ 音, 而無 lo 音 (假定 54 的西夏字都讀 loŋ), 在這種情形下, 以西夏字注漢字音便只能以西夏 loŋ 音注漢字 loŋ 音, 至於漢字 lo 音則因為西夏沒有相對應的 lo 音, 只好以 loŋ 音代替。

從上面 41 到 46 及 47 到 54 的例子, 我們可以看到, 要從漢夏對音情形來判斷漢夏的音韻結構, 必須嚴格分開「以西夏字注漢字音」及「以漢字注西夏音」兩種情形, 因為兩種情形所提供的證言價值不一樣, 可能導致完全不同的結論。現在把 41 到 54 全部合併來作綜合判斷, 當然的結論是漢夏兩種語言都只有開音節而無 -ŋ 韻尾了。顯然漢語中古音的 -ŋ 韻尾在十二世紀西北方音中已經失去了。

漢語聲韻發生 $-ŋ > -\emptyset$ 的變化最直接的證據是，在以漢字注西夏字時，實際上有兩種音節（中古的 $-ŋ$ 尾及 $-\emptyset$ 尾）可供自由選擇，而注音者却時而選擇 $-ŋ$ 尾，時而選擇 $-\emptyset$ 尾，這是證明 $-ŋ$ 尾已經消失，兩種在中古時代不同的音節已變成同音了。例如：

55. a. 𦉑 ni^2 (R11 2.10 III 54 S. 3605) [你] (293), [寧] (312)

b. 𦉑 ni^1 (R40 1.39 III 10 S. 3769) [你] (315), [寧] (186)

$-\emptyset$ 你 $^{\circ}ni$ 止開三上止泥

$-ŋ > -\emptyset$ 寧 $^{\circ}nieng$ 梗開四平青泥 (又讀去聲)

56. 𦉑 kei^1 (R69 1.66 V-46 S. 0226)

[庚] (046), [皆] (073, 081, 085, 125, 135)

庚 $^{\circ}keng$ 梗開二平庚見

皆 $^{\circ}kai$ 蟹開二平皆見

57. a. 𦉑 si^2 (R40 2.35 VI-120 S. 5662) [斜] (315), [星] (314)

b. 𦉑 sin^2 (R37 2.33 VI 87 S. 2329) [斜] (293)

c. 𦉑 sin^2 (R37 2.33 VI 87 S. 4173) [寫] (173)

d. 𦉑 sin^2 (R37 2.33 VI 87 S. 0815) [星] (266)

$-\emptyset$ 斜 $^{\circ}zja$ 假開三平麻邪

寫 $^{\circ}sja$ 假開三上馬心

$-ŋ > -\emptyset$ 星 $^{\circ}sieng$ 梗開四平青心

58. a. 𦉑 $siwe^2$ (R43 2.37 VI-145, 105 S. 2991) [斜合] (192)

b. 𦉑 $siwe^1$ (R43 1.42 VI-144, 105 S. 1320) [西傾] (356)

$-\emptyset$ 斜 $^{\circ}zja$ 假開三平麻邪

$-ŋ > -\emptyset$ 傾 $^{\circ}khjwäng$ 梗合三平清溪

59. a. 𦉑 $šie^2$ (R43 2.37 VII 104 S. 3301) 聖 (176), [聖] (176)

b. 𦉑 $šie^2$ (R43 2.37 VII 104 S. 0675) [捨] (223)

c. 𦉑 $šiei^1$ (R36 1.35 VII 3 S. 1175) [成] (202)

d. 𦉑 $šiei^1$ (R36 1.35 VII 3 S. 3232) [捨] (154)

$-ŋ$ 捨 $^{\circ}sja$ 假開三上馬書

$-ŋ > -\emptyset$ 成 $^{\circ}zjäng$ 梗開三平清禪

聖 $^{\circ}sjäng^{\circ}$ 梗開三去勁書

60. a. 𦉑 in^1 (R37 1.36 VIII 5 S. 5283) [耶] (296), [盈] (344)

b. 𦉰 .In¹ (R37 1. 36 VIII 5 S. 3664) 𦉰 (211)

-ø	耶	.ja	假開三平麻以
-ŋ > -ø	盈	.jäŋ	梗開三平清以
	𦉰	.jäŋ	梗開三平清影

61. a. 𦉰 lwon² (R56 2. 47 IX 47 S. 0398) [羅]

b. 𦉰 lwon² (R56 2. 47 IX 47 S. 0254) [浪] (245)

-ø	羅	.lâ	果開一平歌來
-ŋ > -ø	浪	lâŋ°	宕開一去宕來

上面 55 到 61 的對音中，有些部分是爲了節省篇幅才加以合併的，例如 55a 與 55b 的西夏字並非同音字，但各以漢字開音節的「你」與 -ŋ 韻尾的「寧」注音，顯然 R11 韻 (55a) 與 R40 韻 (55b) 韻母不同，而以漢字注音時，却無法加以區別。但這是西夏韻母擬測的問題，與本文所討論的問題無關。57 與 59 的情形也一樣。58 是平上同音字，因爲聲調在對音上不具有任何作用，所以也視爲同音。

由本節的討論，可見十二世紀末漢語西北方音所發生的語音變化 -ŋ > -ø 已經沒有可疑的了。從上面 36 到 61 的例子可以看出這種變化是全面發生的，並不限於特定元音之後。至於 -ŋ 尾消失以前，曾否使前面元音鼻化而成爲鼻化元音問題，將留待第四章討論。

B. -n 韻尾的消失

《掌中珠》漢夏對音資料中有很多漢字中古音 -n 韻尾與開音節或 -ŋ 韻尾字用同一個西夏字或同音的西夏字注音的例子，例如：

62. 𦉰 pŋe¹ (R43 1. 42 I -127 S. 3583)

丙 (096)，餅 (332, 333)，并 (345)，鞭 (336)，邊 (353)，變 (033)

-ŋ > -ø	丙	°pŋŋ	梗開三上梗幫
	餅	°pjäŋ	梗開三上靜幫
	并	pjäŋ°	梗開三去勁幫
-n	鞭	.pjiän	山開三平仙幫 (重紐四等)
	邊	.pien	山開四平先幫
	變	pjwän°	山開三去線幫

63. 𦉰 bâw² (R23 2. 20 I 158 S. 4130)

麻 (161)，馬 (152)，瑪 (131)，𦉰 (211)

-ø	麻	.ma	假開三平麻明
----	---	-----	--------

- 馬瑪 °ma 假開二上馬明
-n 𪛗 山開二平刪明
64. 𪛗 men¹ (R15 1.15 I -8 S.1932) 蒙 (312), 門 (232)
-ŋ > -ø 蒙 .mung 通合一平東明
-n 門 .muən 臻合一平魂明
65. 𪛗 tie¹ (R43 1.42 III108 S.4159)
爹 (202), 丁 (096), 頂 (223), 鼎 (234), 典 (273)
-ø 爹 .tja 假開三平麻知
-ŋ > -ø 丁 .tieng 梗開四平青端
頂鼎 °tieng 梗開四上廻端
-n 典 °tien 山開四上銑端
66. 𪛗 tshie² (R43 2.37 VI-45 S.1229)
清 (316, 322), 情 (291), 淨 (212), [青] (082), 前 (112, 281)
-ŋ > -ø 清 .tshjāng 梗開三平清清
情 .dzjāng 梗開三平清從
淨 dzjāng° 梗開三去勁從
青 .tshieng 梗開四平青清
-n 前 .dzien 山開四平先從
67. 𪛗 swen¹ (R15 1.15 VI83 S.2095)
松 (144), 送 (341, 344), 巡 (282), 巽 (102)
-ŋ > -ø 松 .zjwong 通合三平鍾心
送 sung° 通合一去送心
-n 巡 .zjuən 臻合三平諄邪
巽 suən° 臻合一去慇心
68. 𪛗 tsâ¹ (R18 1.18 VII153 S.4945)
爪 (192), 笊 (233), 盞 (235)
-ø 爪 °tʂau 效開二上巧莊
笊 tʂau° 效開二去效莊
-n 盞 °tʂan 山開三上產莊
69. 𪛗 xwên¹ (R16 1.16 II-20 S.0822)
風 (075, 105, 084), 鳳 (165), 蜂 (173), 縫 (244), 奉 (286, 301),

粉 (255)

-ŋ > -ø	風	。pjung	通合三平東非
	鳳	bjung°	通合三去送奉
	蜂	。phjwong	通合三平鍾敷
	縫	。bjwong	通合三平鍾奉
	奉	°bjwong	通合三上腫奉
-n	分	。pjuən	臻合三平文非
	粉	°pjuən	臻合三上吻非

62 到 69 都是以西夏字注漢字音的例子（只有 66 的「青」字是例外）。我們不能以此便立刻斷定漢語 -ŋ 韻尾字與 -n 韻尾字已成為同音，但是我們在前面已經看到漢語 -ŋ 韻尾已經消失，所以在此只須要知道 -n 韻尾是否也同樣消失就可以了。如果漢語 -n 韻尾也像 -ŋ 韻尾一樣已經消失了，則上面 62 到 69 的例子便表示在中古時代，不同的漢語音節，在此時已經變成同音節字，所以才以同一個西夏字來注音，而不是由於漢語中的區別無法以西夏字來表示，才造成這樣的結果。關於漢語 -n 韻尾已經消失的確鑿的證據，可以從下面兩組對音中看出：

70. a. 𐵓 pa¹ (R20 1.20 I 60 S.0646) [板] (172)

b. 𐵓 pa¹ (R20 1.20 I 60 S.3090) [芭] (203)

-ø 芭 。pa 假開二平麻幫

-n > -ø 板 °pwan 山開二上滑幫

71. a. 𐵓 dzân³ (R26 2.23 VII 33 S.1769) [尼盞] (362), [拏] (206)

b. 𐵓 dzân³ (R26 2.23 VII 33 S.2888) [拏] (083)

-ø 拏 。na 假開二平麻泥

-n > -ø 盞 °tʂan 山開二上產莊

70 與 71 顯示，對着同一個或同音的兩個西夏字以漢字注音時，時而用 -n 韻尾字（如板、盞等），時而用開音節字（如芭、拏等），表示這兩組漢字完全同音，才允許自由選擇，由此二例可以確定中古的 -n 韻尾到了此時已消失了。

C. -m 韻尾的消失

《掌中珠》的對音資料中有很多中古音收 -m 韻尾的字與中古音的開音節字或收 -n 韻尾、收 -ŋ 韻尾的字都用同一個西夏字或幾個同音的西夏字注音的例子，例如：

I) -m 與 -ø 的接觸

72. a. 𐵓 na¹ (R17 1.17 III 2 S.2055) [那] (124)

b. 縵 na¹ (R17 1.17 III2 S.4012) 南 (113), 男 (204, 342)

-ø 那 nã° 果開一去箇泥

-m 南男 ˩.nâm 咸開一平覃泥

73. 𪛗 tshã¹ (R18 1.18 VII44 S.4002)

差 (304), 叉 (265), 茶 (235), 炒 (155), 韃 (336)

-ø 差叉 ˩.tsha 假開二平麻初

茶 ˩.da 假開二平麻澄

炒 ˩.tshau 效開二上巧初

-m 韃 dʒam° (dʒam°) 咸開二去鑑崇 (咸開二去陷崇)

II) -m 與 -n 的接觸

74. 禪 pên¹ (R16 1.16 I-53 S.0130) 賓 (341), 稟 (274)

-n>-ø 賓 ˩.pjĕn 臻開三平眞幫

-m>-ø 稟 ˩.pjəm 深開三上寢幫

75. 𪛗 tan¹ (R25 1.24 III95 S.5193)

丹 (133), 膽 (186), 檐 (222)

-n>-ø 丹 ˩.tân 山開一平寒端

-m>-ø 膽 ˩.tâm 咸開一上敢端

檐 ˩.tâm° 咸開一去闕端 (據《集韻》)

76. 𪛗 thĕ¹ (R43 1.42 III98 S.4775)

天 (063), 田 (132), [田] (216, 224), 珣 (126), 電 (092), 殿 (281), 甜 (334)

-n>-ø 天 ˩.thien 山開四平先透

田珣 ˩.dien 山開四平先定 (珣又讀去聲)

電殿 ˩.dien° 山開四去霰定 (殿前司)

-m>-ø 甜 ˩.diem 咸開四平添定

77. 𪛗 kan¹ (R25 1.24 V97 S.4503)

干 (304), 肝 (186), 乾 (154), 甘 (075, 143), 敢 (293)

-n>-ø 干肝乾 ˩.kân 山開一平寒見

-m>-ø 甘 ˩.kâm 咸開一平談見

敢 ˩.kâm 咸開一上敢見

78. 𪛗 kĕn¹ (R16 1.16 V167 S.0355)

斤 (225), 筋 (193), 緊 (105, 256), 今 (106, 111), 金 (046, 073),
襟 (251), 錦 (256)

-n>-ø 斤筋 ˩.kjən 臻開三平殷見
緊 ˩.kjiěn 臻開三上軫見 (重紐四等)
-m>-ø 今金襟 ˩.kjəm 深開三平侵見
錦 ˩.kjəm 深開三上寢見

79. 幘 khan¹ (R25 1. 24 V-1 S. 1373)

看 (303), 堪 (275, 283), 坎 (102)

-n>-ø 看 khân° 山開一去翰溪
-m>-ø 堪 ˩.khəm 咸開一平覃溪
坎 ˩.khəm 咸開一上感溪

80. 𦉳 khian² (R27 2. 24 V 49 S. 3759)

乾 (102), 遣 (342), 鈐 (225)

-n>-ø 乾 ˩.gjān 山開三平仙羣
遣 ˩.khjän 山開三上獮溪
-m>-ø 鈐 ˩.gjäm 咸開三平鹽羣

81. 𦉳 ngên¹ (R16 1. 16 V-16 S. 0369)

言 (316), [彥] (303), 硯 (272), 銀 (125), 驗 (303)

-n>-ø 言 ˩.ngjən 山開三平元疑
彥 ngjän° 山開三去線疑
硯 ngien° 山開四去霰疑
銀 ˩.ngjěn 臻開三平眞疑
-m>-ø 驗 ngjäm° 咸開三去豔疑

82. 𦉳 san¹ (R25 1. 24 VI 148 S. 3010) 珊 (126), 三 (064)

-n>-ø 珊 ˩.sân 山開一平寒心
-m>-ø 三 ˩.sām 咸開一平談心

83. 𦉳 xian¹ (R27 1. 26 VII-128 S. 2402)

軒 (211), 賢 (176), 絃 (323), 見 (303), 杗 (241), 嶮 (124)

-n>-ø 軒 ˩.xjən 山開三平元曉
賢絃 ˩.xien 山開四平先匣
見 xien° 山開四去霰匣

-m>-ø 杵 .xjəm 咸開三平嚴曉
嶮 °xjäm 咸開三上琰曉

84. 禱 .an¹ (R25 1. 24 VII-113 S. 1863)

安 (214), 鞍 (335), 案 (285), 鵠 (172)

-n>-ø 安鞍 .ân 山開一平寒影

案 .ân° 山開一去翰影

-m>-ø 鵠 .âm 咸開一平覃影

85. 𪔐 .ian¹ (R27 1. 26 VIII-112 S. 0575)

筵 (335), 演 (365), 烟 (254), 鷺 (172), 鹽 (153), 餞 (075)

-n>-ø 筵 .jiän 山開三平仙以

演 °jiän 山開三上獮以

烟 .ien 山開四平先影 (烟焰)

鷺 .ien° 山開四去霰影 (鷺子)

-m>-ø 塩 .jiäm 咸開三平鹽以

餞 jiäm° 咸開三去豔以

86. 𪔐 .ên¹ (R16 1. 16 IX S. 4389)

人 (072) 仁 (201) 壬 (096)

-n>-ø 人仁 .ńźjen 臻開三平眞日

-m>-ø 壬 .ńźjəm 深開三平侵日

III) -m, -n 與 -ø 的接觸

87. 𪔐 kâ¹ (R18 1. 18 V 6 S. 5469)

家 (342), 加 (275), 枷 (305), 嫁 (344), 間 (273), 監 (284, 286)

𪔐 kâ¹ (R18 1. 18 V 6 S. 3019) [賈] (232)

𪔐 kâ¹ (R18 1. 18 V 6 S. 1433) [賈] (304)

-ø 家加枷 .ka 假開二平麻見

嫁賈 ka° 假開二去禡見

-n>-ø 間 .kən 山開二平山見

-m 監 .kam 咸開二平銜見

88. 𪔐 šâ¹ (R18 1. 18 VII 84 S. 4161)

沙 (122), 紗 (235), 產 (264), 衫 (244, 245)

-ø 沙紗 .ša 假開二平麻生

-n>-ø	產	°sən	山開二上產生
-m>-ø	衫	°səm	咸開二平銜生

IV) -m、-n 與 -ŋ 的接觸

89. 𦵏 tšen¹ (R16 1.16 VII-71 S.1804)

蒸 (155), 證 (303), 眞 (176), 震 (102), 針 (254), 枕 (243)

-ŋ>-ø	蒸	°tsjəŋ	曾開三平蒸章
	證	tsjəŋ°	曾開三去證章
-n>-ø	眞	°tsjěn	臻開三平眞章
	震	tsjěn°	臻開三去震章
-m>-ø	針	°tsjəm	深開三平侵章
	枕	tsjəm°	深開三上寢章

90. 𦵏 tshên¹ (R16 1.16 VII139 S.1213)

秤 (072), 嗔 (301), 塵 (131), 陳 (283), 蘗 (145), 沉 (214)

-ŋ>-ø	秤	tshjəŋ°	曾開三去證昌
-n>-ø	嗔	°tshjěn	臻開三平眞昌
	塵陳蘗	djěn	臻開三平眞澄 (茵蘗)
-m>-ø	沉	djəm	深開三平侵澄

91. 𦵏 šên¹ (R16 1.16 VII64 S.3810)

繩 (246), 身 (196), 申 (101), 神 (064), 辰 (101), 腎 (186), 深 (124), 審 (283)

-ŋ>-ø	繩	džjəŋ	曾開三平蒸船
-n>-ø	身申	šjěn	臻開三平眞書
	神	džjěn	臻開三平眞船
	辰	žjěn	臻開三平眞禪
	腎	°žjěn	臻開三上軫禪
-m>-ø	深	šjəm	深開三平侵書
	審	°šjəm	深開三上寢書

92. 𦵏 ien¹ (R16 1.16 VIII-21 S.4354)

蠅 (173), 因 (275), 茵 (145), 寅 (101), 咽 (184), 陰 (105), 飲 (323)

-ŋ>-ø	蠅	jiəŋ	曾開三平蒸以
-------	---	------	--------

-n > -ø	因茵	·jiěn	臻開三平眞影（重紐四等）
	寅	·jiěn	臻開三平眞以
	咽	·ien	山開四平先影（咽喉）
-m > -ø	陰	·jəm	深開三平侵影（重紐三等）
	飲	°jəm	深開三上寢影（重紐三等）

93. 𦵏 liē¹ (R43 1. 42 IX125 S. 2339)

凌 (311), 蔭 (145), 綾 (256), 令 (305), 連 (304), 蓮 (136),
鎌 (266), 簾 (232)

-ŋ > -ø	凌蔭綾	·ljəŋ	曾開三平蒸來（菠蔭）
	令	ljəŋ°	梗開三去勁來
-n > -ø	連	·ljän	山開三平仙來
	蓮	·lien	山開四平先來
-m > -ø	鎌簾	·ljäm	咸開三平鹽來

V) -m, -n 與入聲字的接觸

94. 𦵏 ngâu² (R23 2. 20 V-93 S. 5722)

〔牙〕 (166), 牙 (183), 芽 (152), 鴨 (166), 眼 (185), 鴈 (166)
崑 (122)

-ø	牙芽	·nga	假開二平麻疑
-p > -ø	鴨	·ap	咸開二入狎影
-n > -ø	眼	°ngan	山開二上產疑
	鴈	ngan°	山開二去諫疑
-m > -ø	崑	·ngam	咸開二平咸疑

95. 𦵏 si² (R31 2. 28 VI41, 30 S. 1108)

昔 (364), 辛 (096), 新 (p. 262), 信 (201), 心 (346), 尋 (272)

𦵏 si² (R31 2. 28 VI4, 30 S. 2058) 習 (273)

𦵏 si¹ (R31 1. 30 VI40, 30 S. 0849)

塞 (184), 錫 (126), 〔悉〕 (144), 習 (196)

𦵏 si¹ (R31 1. 30 VI40, 30 S. 5480) 〔悉〕 (194)

-k > -ø	昔	sjäk	梗開三入昔心
	錫	siek	梗開四入錫心
	塞	sək	曾開一入德心（耳塞）（例外）

-t>-ø	悉	sjət.	臻開三入質心
-p>-ø	習	zjəp.	深開三入緝邪
-n>-ø	新辛	sjən	臻開三平真心
	信	sjən°	臻開三去震心
-m>-ø	心	sjəm	深開三平侵心
	尋	zjəm	深開三平侵邪

96. 𦉰 xā¹ (R18 1.18 VIII 106 S. 4748)

下 (105), 夏 (093), 孝 (312), 匣 (242), 狹 (p. 262), 限 (094), 檻 (226), 醕 (334)

-ø	下夏	ɣa°	假開二去禡匣 (下雪, 春夏)
	孝	ɣau°	效開二去效曉
-p>-ø	匣	ɣap.	咸開二入狎匣
	狹	ɣap.	咸開二入洽匣
-n>-ø	限	°ɣan	山開二上產匣
-m>-ø	檻	°ɣam	咸開二上檻匣
	醕	ɣam°	咸開二去陷匣

97. 𦉰 xwân¹ (R26 1.25 VIII-55 S. 3126)

髮 (184), 𦉰 (253), 患 (193), 幡 (211), 煩 (354), 凡 (351)

-t>-ø	髮	pjwɔt.	山合三入月非
-n>-ø	𦉰	°ɣwan	山合二平刪匣
	患	ɣwan°	山合二去諫匣
	幡	°phjwɔn	山合三平元敷
	煩	°bjwɔn	山合三平元奉
-m>-ø	凡	°bjwɔn	咸合三平凡奉

從以上的例子我們已經看到, 中古漢語 -p、-t、-k、-m、-n、-ŋ 等各種韻尾在十二世紀末西北方音中都已消失, 結果不同攝的陰聲韻、陽聲韻及入聲韻都併而爲一了。

本節主要的目的在於證明漢語 -m 韻尾的消失, 然而所用的資料却都是西夏字注漢字的例子, 沒有以漢字 -m 韻尾字注西夏字的例子。然而如上文所一再強調, 西夏字注漢字的資料, 並不足以證明漢字 -m 韻尾的消失, 我們仍然必須考慮在西夏語沒有 -m 韻尾字的情形下, 以西夏開音節字 (如 ta) 注漢字鼻韻尾字 (如 tam) 的可

能。所以應該找些漢字中古 -m 韻尾字注西夏開音節字的例子，才能決定性地證明漢語 -m 韻尾確已消失。然而不幸的是這樣的例子並不存在。實際上在《掌中珠》的對音資料中，以漢字注西夏字的部分竟然一個中古 -m 尾字也沒有，難道這不是反證當時漢語仍然有 -m 尾字的證據麼？難道我們不能說，因為西夏語中沒有 -m 韻尾的音節，所以才不能用漢語 -m 韻尾字來注西夏字音嗎？爲了進一步探索這個問題，有必要將《掌中珠》中以漢字注西夏字所用鼻音韻尾的情形作全面的調查。

四、鼻音韻尾的消失與元音的鼻音化

本文開頭便已提過，《掌中珠》是漢夏對譯的語詞與短句的彙集，其中漢語部分所用的詞彙，究竟含有多少 -m、-n、-ŋ 韻尾的字完全取決於漢語中這些音節的字所佔的比例及其使用的頻率。在另一方面，《掌中珠》裏的西夏字旁也有漢字注音，其數目究竟有多少，則取決於西夏語音系統內有無類似漢語 -m、-n、-ŋ 韻尾字所代表的語音及其多寡而定。分別研究這兩部分漢字的數目、性質及其分佈狀況，是全面了解漢夏音韻系統的重要關鍵。下面就這兩類漢字分別作統計、分析與討論。《掌中珠》內出現於對譯部分的漢字依 -m、-n、-ŋ 的次序及與其對應的西夏字的韻次列表如下：

A. 出現於《掌中珠》對譯部分的漢語鼻音韻尾字

I) -m 韻尾字

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| R 15 -en | 參 (083) |
| R 16 -ên | 稟 (274), 今 (106), 金 (046), 錦 (256), 襟 (251),
檣 (141), 禽 (165), 琴 (324), 驗 (303), 針 (254),
枕 (243), 沉 (214), 深 (124), 審 (283), 陰 (082),
飲 (323) |
| R 17 -a | 貪 (355), 毯 (341), 南 (113), 男 (204) |
| R 18 -â | 監 (284), 鞮 (336), 衫 (244), 醅 (334), 檻 (226) |
| R 19 -ja | 茈 (243), 拈 (246), 閃 (092) |
| R 23 -âw | 崑 (122) |
| R 25 -an | 檐 (222), 膽 (186), 甘 (075), 敢 (293), 堪 (275)
坎 (102), 銜 (336), 三 (064), 鶴 (172) |
| R 26 -ân | 凡 (351) |
| R 27 -jan | 鈐 (225), 杵 (241), 嶮 (124), 餞 (075), 塩 (153) |
| R 31 -i | 心 (346), 尋 (272) |

- R 37 -In 念 (346), 檢 (282), 杓 (266)
 R 43 -ie 甜 (334), 鎌 (266), 簾 (232)
 R 85 -a 敢 (313)
 R 91 -ê 參 (304)

共 14 韻, 55 字

II) -n 韻尾字

- R 15 -en 本 (341), 門 (232), 根 (192), 艮 (102), 文 (196),
 問 (306), 聞 (316), 譚 (331), 巡 (282), 巽 (102),
 婚 (343)
 R 16 -ên 賓 (341), 貧 (356), 分 (286), 粉 (255), 民 (293),
 旻 (043), 君 (181), 軍 (281), 斤 (225), 筋 (193),
 緊 (105), 言 (312), 銀 (125), 硯 (272), 寸 (263),
 親 (202), 盡 (201), 眞 (176), 震 (102), 春 (093),
 陳 (066), 蕮 (145), 塵 (131), 嗔 (301), 申 (101),
 身 (193), 腎 (186), 辰 (084), 神 (061), 審 (283),
 因 (275), 茵 (145), 咽 (184), 寅 (101), 雲 (086),
 運 (224), 櫟 (222), 輪 (371), 人 (036), 仁 (201)
 R 17 -a 蔓 (146), 饅 (334), 炭 (132), 嘆 (275), 攢 (083)
 R 18 -â 攀 (062), 間 (094), 盞 (235), 饌 (331), 產 (264),
 限 (094)
 R 19 -ia 氈 (231), 纏 (354), 然 (353)
 R 20 -iauw 綿 (253), 干 (364), 淺 (124), 錢 (135), 賤 (194),
 線 (254), 宣 (281), 璇 (244)
 R 23 -âuw 鰻 (211), 眼 (142), 鴈 (166)
 R 24 -iauw 碾 (271)
 R 25 -an 半 (151), 判 (292), 盤 (233), 丹 (133), 短 (251),
 檀 (213), 斷 (321), 煖 (252), 干 (304), 肝 (186),
 乾 (154), 觀 (372), 官 (275), 冠 (135), 管 (324),
 鐘 (226), 看 (303), 酸 (334), 蒜 (152), 珊 (126),
 安 (214), 鞍 (062), 案 (285), 漢 (151), 汗 (245),
 欄 (222), 欄 (244), 琬 (=碗) (156), 椀 (=碗) (232),

- 腕 (=腕) (253)
- R 26 -ân 板 (326), 攀 (336), 關 (302), 山 (121), 晚 (095),
萬 (274), 幡 (211), 煩 (354), 患 (193), 鑲 (253),
頑 (164)
- R 27 -ian 鵬 (171), 絹 (256), 眷 (343), 裙 (246), 群 (285),
乾 (043), 遣 (293), 泉 (121), 金 (201), 旋 (075),
轉 (356), 椽 (222), 釧 (253), 唇 (183), 鶉 (172),
順 (202), 閏 (113), 遜 (074), 原 (121), 園 (133),
鴛 (171), 院 (282), 沿 (344) (沿房 = 圓房), 圓 (352),
遠 (361), 願 (364), 賢 (176), 軒 (211), 絃 (323),
見 (303), 玄 (071), 萱 (136), 煙 (086), 鸞 (126),
烟 (254), 筵 (335), 演 (365)
- R 29 -â 襯 (245)
- R 31 -i 新 (p. 262), 辛 (096), 信 (201)
- R 33 -iə 准 (331), 準 (222), 肯 (311)
- R 37 -in 晃 (211), 面 (184), 麵 (156), 肩 (185), 年 (094),
剪 (243)
- R 43 -ie 邊 (353), 鞭 (336), 變 (033), 典 (273), 天 (032),
田 (132), 珣 (126), 電 (092), 殿 (281), 前 (112),
連 (264), 蓮 (136)
- R 57 -ôn 坤 (102)
- R 58 -ion 糞 (132)
- R 64 -iɛ 便 (306)
- R 65 -i 圈 (223)
- R 92 -iə 熨 (244) (熨斗)
- R 104 -on 尊 (295)

共 22 韻, 186 字

III) -ŋ 韻尾字

- R 1 -u 孔 (166), 農 (265), 籠 (235)
- R 15 -en 蒙 (312), 燈 (236), 鞞 (336), 等 (362), 通 (284),
統 (276), 桶 (226), 同 (306), 銅 (125), 騰 (066),

- 動 (124), 能 (352), 葱 (152), 松 (132)
- R 16 -ên 憑 (292), 送 (341), 風 (075), 峯 (086), 蜂 (173),
縫 (244), 奉 (341), 鳳 (165), 蒸 (155), 證 (303),
秤 (072), 繩 (246), 蠅 (173), 甌 (234)
- R 18 -â 項 (185)
- R 31 -i 恒 (283)
- R 35 -êi 棚 (221), 更 (264), 庚 (096), 粳 (155), 耕 (271),
爭 (295), 箏 (324), 鎗 (234)
- R 36 -j̄ei 正 (176), 程 (132)
- R 37 -in 平 (221), 瓶 (212), 病 (193), 明 (104), 名 (273),
頂 (183), 聽 (284), 定 (215), 經 (276), 敬 (274),
輕 (p. 262), 檠 (233), 罄 (211), 井 (121), 菁 (146),
星 (046), 性 (205), 刑 (064), 脛 (191), 嚶 (211),
鈴 (213), 領 (251)
- R 39 -âi 櫻 (141)
- R 40 -j̄e 皿 (232), 命 (186), 青 (066)
- R 42 -âi 生 (194), 笙 (325), 甥 (204), 行 (095), 杏 (141)
- R 43 -j̄e 餅 (332), 丙 (096), 并 (345), 丁 (096), 頂 (223),
鼎 (234), 清 (316), 情 (291), 淨 (212), 正 (正月 112),
正 (清正 322), 聖 (176), 凌 (296), 蔭 (145), 綾 (256),
令 (305)
- R 46 -j̄eu 長 (長勒 251), 場 (271), 丈 (326)
- R 50 -j̄o 掌 (031), 漲 (125), 帳 (231), 長 (長大 342)
- R 51 -o 鎊 (226), 網 (066), 囊 (264), 剛 (213), 薑 (154),
皇 (043), 黃 (164), 凰 (165), 狼 (164), 廊 (221)
- R 52 -ô 瘡 (194), 憲 (232), 床 (235), 幢 (211), 狀 (301),
霜 (091)
- R 53 -j̄o 強 (296), 將 (062), 匠 (224), 牆 (223), 相 (033),
誦 (215)
- R 55 -j̄ow 雙 (072)
- R 56 -on 亡 (064), 忘 (354), 堂 (221), 棠 (134), 工 (225),

- 翁（親家翁=公 344）
- R 57 -ôn 江 (121), 降 (105), 空 (044), 筌 (324), 亢 (053),
 眶 (185), 鷹 (166), 養 (213), 用 (035)
- R 58 -ïon 宮 (102), 供 (213), 拱 (223), 中 (312), 忠 (201),
 鍾 (211), 熊 (162), 鑾 (162), 帳 (216), 蟲 (173),
 重 (221), 常 (152), 承 (285), 傷 (313), 上 (033),
 房 (054), 方 (113), 香 (144), 胃 (185), 向 (361),
 羊 (073), 陽 (075), 揚 (273), 鴛 (171), 龍 (066),
 涼 (252), 糧 (361)
- R 64 -ië 瓶 (071), 經 (312), 成 (196), 城 (281), 榮 (194),
 嶺 (122)
- R 65 -i 頃 (264), 兄 (203)
- R 75 -ïon 將 (342), 蹤 (303), 象 (162)
- R 103 -iö 娘 (202), 孃 (203)
- R 104 -on 東 (113), 冬 (093), 紅 (135), 虹 (092), 洪 (125)

共 26 韻, 180 字

B. 出現於《掌中珠》注音部分的漢語鼻音韻尾字

I) -m 韻尾字 無

II) -n 韻尾字

- R 15 -en 彥 (303)
- R 20 -a 板 (172)
- R 25 -an 盤 (366), 管 (226)
- R 26 -ân 關 (302), 盞 (尼盞 362)
- R 27 -ïan 專 (尼專 222), 准 (尼准 222), 煙 (254), 全 (嚙全 146)
- R 33 -iö 軫 (256)
- R 87 -ia 圈 (223)

共 7 韻, 12 字

III) -ŋ 韻尾字

- R 3 -ïu 莽 (355)
- R 9 -ê 更 (292)
- R 11 -i 名 (205), 寧 (312)

- R14 -_Aie 名 (216), 酩 (293)
- R15 -en 崩 (132)
- R17 -a 郎 (204), 浪 (163)
- R28 -ə 能 (303), 夢 (173)
- R30 -_Aiə 能 (246)
- R31 -i 能 (291)
- R32 - 能 (112)
- R33 -_Aiə 能 (354)
- R35 -ei 爭 (252), 寧 (371)
- R36 -_Aiei 征 (165), 正 (尼正 294), 肩 (力肩 083), 成 (202),
頃 (尼頃 093), 永 (204)
- R37 -In 慶 (156), 迎 (101), 精 (363), 青 (314), 星 (295),
盈 (352), 丁 (236), 頂 (頂合 334), 寧 (213), 寧 (106),
頃 (西頃 293), 名 (366), 酩 (332), 京 (276),
命 (喻 204), 井 (235), 令 (094)
- R39 -ai 硬 (226)
- R40 -_Aie 命 (喻 292), 名 (336), 寧 (186), 請 (304), 青 (066),
酩 (354), 星 (314), 令 (291), 領 (313)
- R42 -ai 寧 (115), 杏 (141)
- R43 -_Aie 正 (276), 成 (196), 丁 (366), 寧 (124), 寧 (215),
頃 (西頃 356), 精 (尼精 135, 精 031), 井 (尼井 113),
聖 (273), 盈 (252), 令 (212), 青 (082), 領 (256)
- R45 -êu 更 (304)
- R50 -_Aio 丈 (346), 常 (355), 梁 (341)
- R51 -o 郎 (271), 黨 (104), 當 (201), 湯 (251), 桑 (172),
岡 (201)
- R52 -o 癰 (232)
- R53 -_Aio 良 (095), 相 (相合 272), 長 (尼長 251), 尙 (245),
浪 (203), 娘 (364)
- R56 -on 旁 (251), 傍 (112), 黨 (172), 蒼 (323), 藏 (264),
倉 (234), 郎 (186), 浪 (333)

- R 57 -on 癭 (071), 娘 (296), 丈 (226), 養 (275),
樣 (046 又作樣 171)
- R 58 -ion 康 (296), 張 (112), 尙 (126), 長 (尼長 211), 梁 (134)
- R 59 -iuo 娘 (264)
- R 63 -ai 冷 (332), 耿 (356)
- R 64 -ie 命 (225), 名 (203), 迎 (295), 領 (301), 令 (095),
精 (053), 正 (尼正 215), 永、頃 (力頃 122)
- R 65 -i 兵 (053), 丁 (256), 肩 (272), 西 (241), 頂 (274),
寧 (091), 領 (075)
- R 66 -a 郎 (166)
- R 69 -ei 庚 (046)
- R 71 -ə 能 (283)
- R 72 -iə 冷 (冷 311), 能 (213)
- R 73 -o 桑 (064), 郎 (161), 浪 (341), 唐 (342), 蒼 (044)
- R 74 -on 黨 (271)
- R 75 -ion 相 (284), 張 (356), 亡 (065), 浪 (泥浪 215),
將 (嘮將 351), 長 (尼長 272)
- R 77 -ai 冷 (冷 113), 令 (291)
- R 79 -ie 領 (領 071), 醕 (102), 名 (306)
- R 80 -u 娘 (366), 莽 (092)
- R 82 -e 冷 (冷 323), 能 (142)
- R 84 -iə 領 (306)
- R 87 -ia 盈 (365)
- R 90 -ə 冷 (冷 244), 能 (192)
- R 92 -iə 冷 (冷 192)
- R 95 -uo 光 (184)
- R 96 -iuo 莽 (莽經 231), 莊 (224), 亡 (222)
- R 97 -uo 浪 (333)
- R 101 -i 精 (205)
- R 102 -o 量 (量。324)

R103 -iə 娘 (102)

共 51 韻，106 字次（同一韻中經常以同一漢字注幾個西夏同音字，但都以一字計算）。

C. 元音鼻音化的證據

根據上面 A 節的調查，出現於《掌中珠》對譯部分的漢語鼻韻尾字，其字數與分佈（指用於注這些漢字音的西夏字分佈在西夏各韻的情形）呈如下狀態：

〔表 1〕

	-m 韻 尾 字	-n 韻 尾 字	-ŋ 韻 尾 字
字 數	55 字	186 字	180 字
分 佈	14 韻	22 韻	26 韻

根據上面 B 節的調查，出現於注音部分的（即用於注西夏字音的）漢語鼻韻尾字，其字數與分佈情形如下：

〔表 2〕

	-m 韻 尾 字	-n 韻 尾 字	-ŋ 韻 尾 字
字 數	0	12 字	160 字
分 佈	0	7 韻	51 韻

從上面兩個表來看，有幾點奇怪的現象，令人難以索解：

1. 以漢字注西夏字音部分（表 2），竟然一個中古音 -m 韻尾字也沒有，這件事之所以奇怪，是因為依我們的了解，漢語 -m 韻尾已經消失，變成開音節字了，為什麼仍然不能用來注西夏開音節字呢？難道真的如伯希和所主張，十二世紀末漢語西北方音中，-m 韻尾還未消失嗎？

2. 以漢字注西夏字音部分（表 2），中古音 -n 韻尾字也仍然太少（只有 12 字，而 -ŋ 韻尾字則有 160 字），漢夏對譯部分，漢語 -n 韻尾字（186 字）與 -m 韻尾字（180 字）數目大約相等，為什麼用以注西夏字音時都要用 -ŋ 韻尾字，而不用 -n 韻尾字呢？-n 韻尾與 -ŋ 韻尾不是都已消失，都變成開音節了麼？而且這些少數的 -n 韻尾字（十二字）中，已確知有八字是用於注漢字借詞的字音，如「彥」注「𦵏」（=驗）音，「盤」注「𦵏」（=盤）音，「管」注「𦵏」（=鐘）音，「關」注「𦵏」（=關）音，「尼專」「尼准」注「𦵏」（=攄）「𦵏」（=攄）音，

「煙」注「𩇛」（=烟）音，「°圈」注「𩇛」（=圈）音。難道這是由於漢語 -n 韻尾仍然保存，故只能注像漢語借詞中的 -n 韻尾音，而不能用於注西夏開音節音嗎？

3. 以漢字注西夏字音部分（表 2），-ŋ 韻尾字有 160 字，而所注西夏字竟分佈在西夏五十一韻中，遠超過表 1 中以西夏字注漢字 -ŋ 韻尾字的二十六韻，情形與 -m 韻尾及 -n 韻尾剛剛相反，為什麼會有這種情形呢？

爲了解答上面三個疑問，我們唯一可能的假設是漢語 -m、-n、-ŋ 三個韻尾雖然都已消失，但是在 -m、-n 韻尾前却引起元音的鼻音化，而西夏語因爲只有純元音而無鼻化元音，故注西夏字音時，不能使用漢語鼻化元音的字（即 -m、-n 韻尾字），只有偶然的疏失，才會以漢語像 pā（板）的音來注西夏「𩇛」pa¹ 的音，這樣假設便可以了解何以漢語 -m、-n 韻尾字不會出現（或很少出現）在西夏字的注音裏。至於漢語 -ŋ 韻尾則必須假設 -ŋ 韻尾前面的元音鼻化成分已經消失，完成變成純元音，才可以用來注西夏許多純元音字，而且由於漢字別無更恰當的字可以注西夏字音，不得不大量利用漢語由 -ŋ 韻尾演變成的開音節字。

上面所作的假設還可以解釋西夏語言文字內部許多難解的現象，例如不規則的對音，例外的諧聲與假借字的使用等等，這些因不屬本文範圍，不在此討論。在目前的情形，我們只要根據兩種對音資料（即漢字注西夏字音及西夏字注漢字音），同時研究漢語與西夏語的語音，從各種可能的結合中尋找最好的解釋。依本文的解釋，漢夏對音的情形如下：以 a 代表任意的韻母，t 代表任意的聲母，則漢夏對音只有下列兩種可能：

	西夏字	漢 字
1.	ta	ta
2.	ta	tā

如果這是以西夏字注漢字的話，1 當然是完美無缺，2 則是不得已的情形，因爲西夏語沒有鼻化元音，無法注漢語 tā 音。如果這是以漢字注西夏字的情形，則 1 當然仍然是完美無缺，但 2 則是不可能、不當有的對音，除非是誤讀或誤注才會發生，而誤讀或誤注也是有時難免，事實上不但無害，反而常常幫助我們了解漢夏的語音關係。

經過上面的解釋，對音上的問題應該都已解決，可是由此達成的結論（即認爲 -ŋ 韻尾已消失，而元音並不鼻化），却仍然有無法克服的困難，因爲依我們的假設，像漢語 tun（東）、xun（紅）、tsung（宗）這樣的音節，應該已經變成 tu、xu、tsu 了，可是很奇怪的是西夏韻書平聲九十六韻（即綜合韻 R 104，此韻無相對的上聲韻）

只含三個字，而且正是「東」、「紅」、「宗」三字的漢語借詞。

R 104	1. 96	𪛗	tɔŋ ¹	Ⅲ-34	S. 4171	冬 (093), 東 (113)
		𪛗	tɕɔŋ ¹	Ⅵ-57	S. 0773	尊 (295), 宗(《孫子》、《類林》)
		𪛗	xɔŋ ¹	Ⅷ-96	S. 1217	紅 (135), 虹 (092)
洪 (125), 和 (《七佛》)						

此事之所以不尋常是因為：一、西夏韻書文海竟然爲了三個漢語借詞而專設一韻。二、依我們的看法，-ŋ 韻尾已經消失了，已變成極普通的 u (或 o) 元音了，應該併入相當的西夏韻裏才對，不該單獨成立一韻。但這也不是孤立的現象，與此相關的是《掌中珠》裏有七個這一類型的漢字，特別用西夏反切來注音，如：

通 (284)、統 (276, 281)、桶 (226)、同 (091, 295, 306)

銅 (125, 212)、動 (124, 323, 355)

注音 𪛗𪛗 thu+men (土、兔、塗、肚、礪) + (門、蒙)

葱 (152)

注音 𪛗𪛗 tshi+swen (妻、威、寂) + (松、送、巡、巽)

值得注意的是：一、這一現象所牽涉到的漢字「冬、東、宗、紅、虹、洪、通、統、桶、同、銅、動、葱、松、送」等，都是通攝的字；二、與這些字發生關聯的「尊、門、巡、巽」等，都是 -n 尾字，依我們的觀點應該是有鼻化元音才對。(至於把「紅」讀成「和」則應屬於誤讀情形)。

爲了解釋這些現象，我們不得不修改我們的假設，認爲 -ŋ 韻尾是消失了，但是東韻字元音却保存鼻化元音。現在修改了我們先前的假設，自須檢討這樣的修正是否與原先的推論發生衝突。

我們原先的假設是，所有的 -ŋ 韻尾都消失，而前面的元音都不鼻化，所以才能夠用於注各種西夏語的韻母。現在修改爲除了東攝字以外的元音都不鼻化，而東攝字是例外。當然必須檢查全部用以注西夏字的 -ŋ 韻尾字，看看是否包含東攝字。

檢查上一節所調查的 -ŋ 韻尾字，除去重複出現的字，共得七十一字，調查其分佈狀態，發現其情形如下 (韻目舉平以該上去)：

宕攝一等	唐	旁傍當湯唐康蒼倉藏桑郎莽黨浪光
三等	陽	張長常莊將相嫁良梁量丈養尙樣亡岡
梗攝二等	庚	更庚硬杏寧冷永
	耕	爭耿
三等	庚	兵丙命京慶迎

清	傾頃精井請名正征成聖盈冷領
四等 青	酪丁頂寧寧青星局
江攝二等 江	瘡
曾攝一等 登	崩能
通攝三等 東	夢

上表中宕攝與梗攝都有許多字，這些字用於注沒有鼻化元音而且是開音節結構的西夏字，所以我們假定屬於這兩攝的漢字韻尾 $-ŋ$ 已丟掉，而且元音不鼻化，這是我們推論的大前提，不成問題的。通攝只有一個「夢」字，我們既已假定上表中不該有鼻化元音的字，又假定通攝字帶鼻化元音，則通攝字本不該出現在上表中，現在出現了一個「夢」必須有什麼原因。最合理的解釋是，「夢」字雖然帶有鼻化元音，却被當作沒有鼻化元音看待，鼻化成分 \tilde{o} 被當作是聲母 $m-$ 的成分。

我們原先假定所有 $-ŋ$ 韻尾字都不帶鼻化元音，現在修正為通攝是例外。那麼接著應該問的問題是：還有其他例外嗎？

可能的例外候補是曾攝的字，表中它只有二字，且當中「能」字因為聲母是鼻音 $n-$ ，可以認為它有鼻化元音也可以認為它沒有。最重要的是研究「崩」字。「崩」字用於注 R15, R15 (1.15~2.13) 是爲了收容漢語鼻化元音而特設的韻，所對的音包含咸攝、深攝、山攝、臻攝、通攝及曾攝的鼻韻尾字。前兩攝收 $-m$ 韻尾；中間兩韻收 $-n$ 韻尾，我們已認定元音是鼻化的；通攝我們也認為鼻化；那麼最後一個曾攝被包含在全是鼻化元音的韻中，也一定是鼻化元音的韻。曾攝因為用於對 R15 鼻化元音的韻，本來在整理的階段應該加以去除。

總結起來說，十二世紀末漢語西北方音所經歷的過程可重建如下：所有的鼻音韻尾都在使前面的元音變成鼻化元音後消失，後來這鼻化元音在宕攝、梗攝與江攝中，也隨之失去其鼻化成分，在其他原有鼻尾的各韻中，則仍然保持鼻化元音。

五、從漢語西北方音的歷史演變看十二世紀末的韻尾問題

從本文的研究，我們已確知十二世紀末漢語的西北方音已丟掉所有的入聲韻尾與鼻音韻尾。這樣的結論在漢語西北方言的演變上是否有其脈絡可尋呢？有兩種資料可用來作比較的支點，一是《千字文》的藏音對音所顯示的唐五代西北方音，另一是公元九二九年《開蒙要訓》漢字注音所顯示的西北方音情況。二種資料都引自羅常培 (1933)。

先說《千字文》的藏音對音：

入聲韻尾

- k 韻尾 伯 peg, 百 peg, 逼 pig, 漠 'bag, 邈 'byag, 陸 'bug,
牧 'bug, 默 'bug, 目 'bug, 的 tig, 嫡 tig, 獨 dog,
讀 dog, 落 lag, 祿 log, 燭 cwag
- t 韻尾 弗 p'ur, 蜜 'bir, 滅 'byar, 勿 'bur, 達 dar, 設 çar,
節 tser, 切 ts'er, 厥 kwar, 絜 kyar, 鬱 gur, 逸 yir
- p 韻尾 法 p'ab, 納 'dab, 內 'dei, 接 tseb, 妾 tsyab, 集 dzib,
甲 kab, 給 keb, 葉 yab, 俠 hyab

鼻音韻尾

- n 韻尾 本 pon, 礪 ban, 弁 byan, 煩 ban, 飯 ban, 墳 bun,
分 bun, 門 'bun, 晚 'ban, 眠 myan, 面 myan, 綿 myen,
敦 ton, 頓 ton, 丹 tan, 顛 tyan, 典 tyan
- m 韻尾 耽 tam, 南 nam, 籃 lam, 簾 lem, 林 lim, 箴 cim,
心 sim, 尋 syim, 謙 k'yam, 禽 gim, 巖 'gam, 厭 ·em,
音 ·im

-ŋ 韻尾

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 宕攝一等 | 唐 | 傍 bo, 邛 mo, 囊 no, 抗 k'o, 煌 ho, 曠 k'o
(糠 k'aŋ, 康 k'aŋ) |
| 三等 | 陽 | 床 c'o, 腸 jo, 觴 só, 嘗 só, 賞 só, 頤 so,
唱 c'o'o, 紡 p'o'o, 糧 lyo, 墻 dzyo, 廂 syo,
兩 lyo, 象 syo'o, 將 tso, 相 syo (帳 coŋ) |
| 梗攝二等 | 庚 | 烹 p'e, 笙 še (更 keŋ, 孟 meŋ) |
| 三等 | 庚 | 兵 pe, 京 ke, 英 ·e, 秉 pye, 橫 hwe'e (明 meŋ,
盟 meŋ, 驚 keŋ) |
| 三等 | 清 | 情 dze, 纓 ·e, 精 tsye, 輕 k'ye, 并 pye,
傾 k'we, 營 'we (楹 yeŋ) |
| 四等 | 青 | 銘 me, 庭 de, 寧 ne, 聆 lye, 星 sye, 刑 hye |
| 江攝二等 | 江 | 絳 gaŋ |
| 曾攝一等 | 登 | 增 tseŋ, 恒 heŋ |
| 三等 | 蒸 | 凌 leŋ, 蒸 ceŋ, 昇 šeŋ, 承 šeŋ |
| 通攝一等 | 東 | 東 toŋ, 功 koŋ, 公 koŋ, 動 doŋ, 孔 k'oŋ, |

	洞	don	貢	kon
一等 冬	農	non	宗	tson
三等 東	充	c'un		
	鍾	cuŋ	寵	c'un
			用	yun

把上面所引《千字文》藏音對音所顯示的唐五代西北方音拿來與《掌中珠》所顯示的十二世紀末西北方音比較，有下列幾點值得一提：

1. 唐五代西北方音還保存全部入聲韻尾及 -m、-n 兩個鼻音韻尾，但是十二世紀末的西北方音則所有的入聲韻尾與鼻音韻尾都消失，鼻音韻尾 -m、-n 在消失後留下鼻化元音。

2. 關於 -ŋ 韻尾的演變，在唐五代西北方音與十二世紀末西北方音間有顯著的互應之處：

- a. 唐五代西北方音 -ŋ 韻尾在宕、梗二攝中已消失，據羅常培 (1933: 39f) 的看法，在這些韻中保存著鼻化元音。在十二世紀末的西北方音中，這二攝中的字不但丟掉韻尾，連鼻化元音也已清化，顯示這是一路發展下來的結果。
- b. 唐五代西北方音中，曾、通二攝保存著 -ŋ 韻尾；在十二世紀末西北方音中，這二攝的 -ŋ 韻尾已經消失，但卻留下鼻化元音，其鼻化成分尚未消失。

上面 a、b 顯示 -ŋ 韻尾在宕、梗二攝與曾、通二攝中，分別處於不同的發展階段，唐五代西北方音與十二世紀末西北方音一脈相承，前後銜接，強烈暗示它們是同一方言在不同時代的面貌。

3. 江攝字在《千字文》藏音對音中只有一例（絳），在《掌中珠》漢字注西夏字中也只有一例（瘡），例子太少，無法作可靠的推論。《千字文》藏音對音中絳字讀 gaŋ，有 -ŋ 韻尾，但《掌中珠》中瘡字應該是不鼻化的，它用來注 R52 韻的𪛗 phô² 字 (232)，及 R57 韻的𪛗 phôn¹ 字 (073)，此二字據索氏擬音，一個鼻化，一個不鼻化，依筆者的看法，此二韻都是不鼻化的。即使索氏的擬音正確，R52 韻的 phô² 也不鼻化，故也不能用漢字鼻化音來注音。如此看來，《掌中珠》的「瘡」應該是不鼻化的。藏文對音中所出現的「絳」字，在西夏譯《孫子兵法》中是以西夏字 R57 的𪛗 kôn² (S. 4043) 譯音，此一西夏字在《掌中珠》裏用於注漢字「角」(053)「江」(121)，「降」(105) 等字，兼注 -ŋ 韻尾字及 -k 韻尾字。依我們在上文所作的基本假設，只能以非鼻化元音注鼻化元音，而不能反過來注，則西夏 R57 韻的𪛗 kôn² 應該不鼻化，R57 韻當然屬於不鼻化的韻。江攝字與 R57 韻對音，江攝字應推定是不鼻化的。

以下我們再看看《開蒙要訓》的注音所代表的五代、敦煌方音其韻尾的發展如何。據羅常培 (1933: 13) 該書注音一共有四百三十七對，除去同音字互注的，訛誤不可識的、誤讀的、音理難通的，只剩兩百四十一對可供我們研究當時的方音狀況。依我們的目的來說，只有鼻韻尾字及入聲字與本文有關，當中以鼻韻尾字注鼻韻尾字及以入聲字注入聲字的，也提供不了什麼有關韻尾脫落與否的訊息。扣除這一切，只剩下列幾條注音是有關的（以下均引自羅常培 1933，括弧中頁數指其書中頁數）：

a. 梗攝跟齊祭韻的混合共有四例 (pp. 98-99), $-ŋ > -\emptyset$

(1) 以庚注齊例：

本文		注音	
翳	iei	霽影開四	映 ien 映影開三
鯢	iei	齊疑開四	迎 ŋien 庚疑開三
髻	iei	霽見開四	敬 kien 映見開三

(2) 以庚注祭例：

戇	k'jæi	祭溪開三	慶 k'jien 映溪開三
---	-------	------	---------------

(3) 以清注齊例：

犁	liei	齊來開四	令 liæn 勁來開四
薺	dziei	齊從開四	精 tsien 清精開四

(4) 青齊互注例：

提	diei	齊定開四	亭 dien 青定開四
睇	t'iei	霽透開四	聽 t'ien 徑透開四
梯	t'iei	齊透開四	聽 t'ien 青透開四
晷	tien	廻端開四	帝 tiei 霽端開四

(5) 脂韻的脣聲字以庚韻字注音：

鉍	bi	脂並開四	兵 pjen 庚幫開三
脰	bi	至並開四	病 bjen 映並開三

羅常培 (1933: 99) 認為「據此可知庚耕清青四韻的 $-ŋ$ 收聲當然也消變成 $[\emptyset]$ 了」，依我們看來，這些例子顯示 $-ŋ$ 韻尾消失，元音不鼻化，梗攝字已丟掉鼻化成分，情形與《掌中珠》對音相同。

b. 侵、庚互通的例：(p. 110) $-m > -\emptyset$, $-ŋ > -\emptyset$

本文		注音	
禁	kjæm	沁見開三	敬 kjen 映見開三

羅氏認為「-m 收聲無疑已然露了消變的痕迹了。可惜我們所得的例子太少，還不能下確定的斷案」。從西北方音演變的歷史看來，在公元九二九年的敦煌方音，-m>-ø 的語音變化已初露兆痕，到了公元一一九〇年的方音中，已走完了變化的歷程。

c. 以線韵合口注戈韵的例 (p. 112) -n>-ø

戀 ljiua 戈來合三 戀 ljiwæn 線來合三

羅氏認為「這個現象有兩個合理的解釋：第一是「戀」字本來的 -n 收聲還沒有消變；第二是「戀」的 -n 收聲也露了消變的兆端；可惜牠們兩個是同聲符號，很有類推讀音的嫌疑，單靠這一個孤證是不能決定什麼的」。羅氏論調謹慎，但此例放在整個語音演變的歷史脈絡來看，視為 -n>-ø 變化的開端並不顯得太唐突，因為在其後二百年，我們已看到 -n 尾全面消失了。

d. 以覺注江的例 (p. 114) -k>-ø, -ŋ>-ø

瘞 tɕ'əŋ 江穿開二 濁 d'ək 覺澄開二

羅氏認為這是他假設唐代西北入聲收 -g 聲的一個旁證。他說「因為照藏文注音的例，「瘞」應作“c'ah”，「濁」應作“c'ag”或“jag”，惟其濁的收聲是 -g，所以才能用來注 -n 收聲的「瘞」，這跟《毛詩·鄭風·女曰雞鳴》以「來」[*læŋ]「贈」[*dz'əŋ] 押韻是一樣的道理，如果「濁」的收聲是 -k，就不會有這樣現象了。」

我把羅氏的話整個引用下來是有目的的。這是說明不同的人面對同一個現象常常會由於不同的智識背景，而作出完全不同的判斷最好的例子。在本文中我們看到王靜如與伯希和面對同一現象（即漢字「人」與「壬」用同一西夏字「𐵇」注音），却作出截然不同的判斷，其情形完全一樣。王靜如從現代西北方音鼻韻尾消失的角度看此問題，而伯希和則以十三、四世紀的對音還保存 -m 尾，作為他判斷的根據。羅氏以藏文對音 -g 對漢語 -k 及《詩經》押韻作為他作此判斷的基礎是可以了解的。可是現在我們如果以《掌中珠》的對音作背景來看上面 d 的注音，所看到的景觀便呈現另一個風貌了。我們知道上面「瘞」字在《掌中珠》時代，不但韻尾已消失，元音且不鼻化，而「濁」字入聲韻尾也已消失，在十二世紀末的西北方音中，「瘞」「濁」二字已變成完全同音了（聲母部分參看拙作龔 1981：52，二字聲母都讀 tʃh-）。如果在十二世紀末二字已變成完全同音，則說此現象在十世紀末已見其兆端就一點也不意外了。我們現在把 d 例放在西北方音歷史演變的脈絡中重新加以評估，得到與羅氏不同的解釋。

e. 以侵注緝的例 (p. 116) $-m > -\emptyset$, $-p > -\emptyset$

澁 ɕiəp 緝審開二 參 ɕiəm 侵審開二

羅氏說明：「這同『瘞：濁』的注音例頗爲近似，也可據此證明「澁」的收聲在五代敦煌方音讀 $-b$ 而不讀 $-p$ 。」依我們的觀點，這是證明 $-p$ 韻尾與 $-m$ 韻尾的脫落。

f. 以薛注齊的例 (p. 117) $-t > -\emptyset$

栖 siei 齊心開四 薛 siet 薛心開四

羅氏說明：「這必得兩音都變成 $*se$ 或 $*sye$ 才有相通的可能呢。由這一個例子很可使我們推想「山攝」入聲的 $-t$ 收聲，在此時候已然逐漸從 $t > d > r > 0$ 了。」羅氏認爲此時 $-t$ 韻尾已消失，與我們的觀點一致。

g. 陌韵三等有一個跟魚韵合用的例 (p. 119) $-k > -\emptyset$

展 g'jɛk 陌羣開三 巨 g'jɔ 語羣開三

羅氏認爲「『巨』字應讀爲“ki”……現在既然用牠來注『展』字，那末『展』字的讀音，很可表現『展』的 $-g$ 收聲，已然有了消失的朕兆。」我們完全同意羅氏的觀點。

h. 以鐸注暮的例 (p. 121) $-k > -\emptyset$

賂 lo 暮來開一 洛 lak 鐸來合一

羅氏說：「這顯然是由聲符類推的讀音」，但依《掌中珠》的注音情形來判斷《掌中珠》以「落」(065)注西夏開音節字 R17，按「落」與「洛」是切韻同音字，更可能的解釋是 $-k$ 韻尾已脫落了。

羅氏總結他對《開蒙要訓》韻母部分的研究，說它「大體上跟《千字文》的藏音是很相近的，然而假使「禁：敬」、「栖：薛」、「展：巨」幾對注音可以代表當時的實際音變，那末，不單鼻收尾的消變漸漸擴大了範圍（從 $-n$ 到 $-m$ ），甚至於入聲的收聲（ $-r$, $-g$ ）也露了消變的朕兆了。照我看這正是從唐代西北方音演變到西北方音的一個過渡的現象。」羅氏把中唐《千字文》的藏音，五代《開蒙要訓》的漢字注音與現代西北方音的演變放在歷史的脈絡中，作了非常正確的闡釋，本文提供緊接在五代之後的宋代《掌中珠》的對音資料，並以此爲根據，對他所保留的少數對音例作出有利於代表音變現象的解釋。

六、結 語

本文利用《番漢合時掌中珠》(1190)的漢夏對音資料，研究十二世紀末漢語西

北方音的韻尾問題，所得的結果顯示中古音入聲韻尾 -p, -t, -k 此時已完全消失，鼻音韻尾 -m, -n, -ŋ 也在引起其前面的元音鼻化後消失，宕、梗、江三攝的鼻化元音隨後也失去其鼻化成分，成為普通元音。

十二世紀末西北方音這一演變，在漢語西北方言音韻發展的歷史中，佔據一個非常重要的地位，整個演變的過程可以重建如下：在中唐首先發生變化的是 -ŋ 韻尾，特別是在梗、宕二攝中先開始，這一發展隨後擴及全部 -ŋ 韻尾音節及 -m, -n 韻尾，-m, -n 韻尾的消失，與 -p, -t, -k 韻尾的消失，在五代十世紀末開其端，一路發展的結果，到了十二世紀末都已達到完成的階段，只留下鼻化元音，成為其歷史來源的痕跡。《掌中珠》所保存的資料，誠如橋本（1961: 13）所預期，對漢語韻尾消失的情形，提供了極為寶貴的資料。

引 用 書 目

- 丁聲樹編錄 李榮參訂
1966 《古今字音對照手冊》 香港 太平書局
- 王靜如
1930 〈西夏文漢藏譯音釋略〉 《集刊》 第二本第二分 pp. 171-184
1933 〈再論西夏語音及國名〉 《西夏研究》 第二輯 pp. 289-305
1982 〈西夏語音系導言〉 《民族語文》 一九八二年第二期（總第十四期） pp. 1-13
- 西田龍雄
1964, 1966 《西夏語の研究》 第一卷 1964 第二卷 1966 東京：座右寶刊行會
- 李方桂
1971 〈上古音研究〉 《清華學報》 新九卷第一、二期合刊 pp. 1-61
- 骨 勒
1190 《番漢合時掌中珠》 羅福成手抄石印本 1924 天津：貽安堂經籍鋪刊行
- 劉楚人署
1132 《西夏國書字典音同一卷》 羅福成手抄石印本 1935 旅順：庫籍整理處印
- 橋本萬太郎
1961 〈掌中珠のタングート・漢對音研究の方法〉 《中國語學》 109: 131-116
1962 〈文海の韻の音韻組織について，タングート語音韻論(1)〉 《言語研究》 No. 41, pp. 90-94
1965 〈文海の韻の音韻組織について〉 《東方學》 No. 30, pp. 1-42
- 羅常培
1933 《唐五代西北方音》 中央研究院《史語所單刊甲種之十二》
- 龔煌城
1981 〈十二世紀末漢語的西北方音（聲母部分）〉 《集刊》 第五十二本第一分 pp. 37-78
- Gorbāceva, Z. I. and E. I. Kyčanov
1963 *Tangutskie Rukopisi i Ksilografy*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury.
- Hashimoto, Mantaro J.
1978, 1979 *Phonology of Ancient Chinese*. 2 Vols. Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Monograph Series No. 11.
- Karlgren, Bernhard
1957 "Grammata Serica Recensa", BMFEA29, pp. 1-332.
- Kwanten, Luc
1982 *The Timely Pearl: A 12th Century Tangut-Chinese Glossary*. Vol. I, *The Chinese Glosses*. Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies. Indiana U., Bloomington.
- Pelliot, P.
1932 "Review", *Toung Pao*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 490-491.
- Sofronov, M. V.
1968 *Grammatika Tangutskogo Jazyka*. 2 vols., Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Nauka.

<p>蕭錫 有鐵</p>	<p>賁 賁</p>	<p>水 張</p>	<p>地 動</p>	<p>入 貝</p>	<p>波 嶺</p>	<p>浪 嶺</p>	<p>入 貝</p>
<p>紅 玉</p>	<p>碧 珠</p>	<p>水 張</p>	<p>山 動</p>	<p>四 類</p>	<p>谷 嶺</p>	<p>姑 嶺</p>	<p>海 類</p>
<p>形 玉</p>	<p>率 度</p>	<p>寶 物</p>	<p>高 下</p>	<p>泉 原</p>	<p>溝 嶺</p>	<p>寒 嶺</p>	<p>泉 原</p>
<p>形 玉</p>	<p>勒 恩</p>	<p>金 銀</p>	<p>淺 深</p>	<p>江 原</p>	<p>水 嶺</p>	<p>破 嶺</p>	<p>江 原</p>
<p>形 玉</p>	<p>其 祥</p>	<p>銅 鑄</p>	<p>峻 險</p>	<p>渠 井</p>	<p>土 嶺</p>	<p>墨 嶺</p>	<p>渠 井</p>



THE PORTUGUESE-CHINESE DICTIONARY OF MATTEO RICCI: A HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION*

Paul Fu-mien Yang, S. J.

Georgetown University

Contents

- I. General Background
- II. Ricci's Chinese Language Proficiency
- III. Ricci's Chinese Dialect Variety
- IV. Ricci's Historical and Linguistic Scholarship
- V. Discovery and Contents of Ricci's *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary*
- VI. Layout of the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary*
- VII. Ricci's *Chinese-Portuguese Dictionary*
- VIII. Ricci's Early Romanization System
- IX. Phonetic System of the Mandarin Dialect of the Ming Dynasty
- X. Some Phonological Features of the Mandarin Dialect of the Ming Dynasty
- XI. Some Lexical and Grammatical Features of the Mandarin Dialect of the Ming Dynasty
- XII. Concluding Remarks
- Bibliography

I. General Background

Alessandro Valignano, S. J. (范禮安, 1539-1606), superior of the Jesuit missions in the East Indies from 1573 to 1606, came to Macao in 1577 and spent a considerable amount of time there familiarizing himself with Chinese culture and language. As he realized that missionary work in China would be impossible unless all missionaries both adapted themselves to Chinese culture and customs and also learned to speak, read, and write Chinese, he initiated a policy of cultural accommodation which for the first time opened Ming China to Christian evangelization. Michele Ruggieri, S. J. (羅明堅, 1543-1607) and Matteo Ricci, S. J. (利馬竇, 1552-1610) were the first two Jesuit missionaries to implement this policy (Dunne, 1960: 17-21; Harris, 1966: 37-38).

Ruggieri was sent to Macao in 1579. There, he applied himself to Chinese

* Research for this paper was supported by a grant from the Fellowship Program in Chinese Studies, Wang Institute of Graduate Studies which the author gratefully acknowledges. All English translations from Ricci's *Opere storiche* and *Fonti Ricciane* as well as Varo's *Arte de la lengua Mandarina* are mine. The aspiration mark (') for phonetic transcriptions will be replaced by (') except for the examples given on pp. 209 and 221.

studies for several years. Ricci joined him in 1582 in the study of Chinese culture and language. In 1583, they succeeded in entering China and immediately established themselves west of Canton 廣州 in Chaoking 肇慶. They then proceeded to build a house and a chapel from which they conducted missionary work among the Chinese.

In 1588, Ruggieri was sent back to Rome by his superior to report on the situation at the China mission, especially to petition the pope to send an embassy to the emperor of China to request imperial sanction for full freedom to preach the Christian Gospel. However, the death of four popes in rapid succession made it impossible to accomplish much in Rome. Meanwhile, Ricci, having come to a better understanding of the realities in China, convinced Valignano that the embassy project was not wisely conceived. Ruggieri, who had struggled with poor health in China, remained in Italy until his death at Salerno in 1607 (Dunne, 1960: 30).

Once in China, Ricci spent the remainder of his life there. During that time, he traveled to many cities, founded many churches and mission stations, and converted a number of Chinese literati and mandarins to the Catholic faith. In 1599, he moved from Chaoking to Shaochow 韶州. During the period 1595-1598, he stayed in Nanchang 南昌. Upon leaving there, he proceeded to Nanking 南京, finally settling there in 1599. Then in 1601, he entered Peking. Under imperial patronage, he worked there among the mandarins and literati until his death in 1610.

In China, Ricci mastered the Chinese language both in its spoken and written forms. Specifically, he learned to speak the Mandarin dialect and to write in the literary or classical style. As a matter of fact, he published more than twenty religious and scientific books in Chinese which have been circulating among Chinese Christians and literati since the late Ming dynasty (Ku, 1982; Chang, 1983: 48-105).

In addition to his missionary activities, Ricci is well-known in the learned world for his introduction into China of branches of Western science such as geography, astronomy, mathematics, etc. He also is famous for his initiation of the science of Chinese studies in Europe that came to be referred to as 'Sinology'.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of published studies concerning Ricci's religious and scientific contributions have appeared in the academic world; however, as of now, very little work has been done concerning his contributions to the study of the Chinese language and linguistics. This has probably been due to both the paucity of qualified and interested experts and also to the scarcity of linguistic materials with which to work. Fortunately during the past fifty years, relevant historical and linguistic works of Ricci have been discovered. Among these, the unpublished *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary* compiled by Ricci and Ruggieri deserves special attention. This paper intends to make a preliminary historical and linguistic analysis of this dictionary as a part of an

ongoing study on Matteo Ricci's contributions to the study of the Chinese language and linguistics.

II. Ricci's Chinese Language Proficiency

As stated in the previous section Ricci mastered the Chinese language both in its spoken and written forms. It would be interesting to trace the progress that Ricci made in his study of the Chinese language from the time of his arrival in Macao until the time when he really 'mastered' it. For this, we have ample historical data both from Ricci's own account and from the evaluation of his contemporaries, especially from the Chinese literati who had made his acquaintance or lived close to him.

Ricci's account is based on his personal letters (for details, see below). Here, I will point out the progress he made in chronological order. Ricci started his study of the Chinese language in 1582 at Macao. From there on February 13, 1583 in his letter to Fr. Martino de Fornari, S. J. in Padova (?), he reported:

"...As soon as disembarking from the ship, my health was restored; I immediately started to learn Chinese... At present, I have already learned several Chinese characters... Within about a month [actually in July 1583], I shall go to China with Fr. Ruggieri. We must further our studies in the Chinese language and literature." (OS II: 27-28)

On the same date, Ricci also sent a letter to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, in which he said:

"Father Ruggieri left two or three men to assist me in learning the [Chinese] language. With the help of the Lord, I have already made some progress in my study." (OS II: 34)

Ricci and Ruggieri entered China in the summer of 1583 and settled in Chao-king in September 10 of that year. After a year's study of Chinese, Ricci and Ruggieri with the help of Chinese teachers were able to publish the *Tian-ju shr-lu* 天主實錄 'The true account of the Lord of Heaven' and to translate the *Ten Commandments*, *Our Father*, and *Hail Mary* into Chinese. Ricci also completed his first world map *Shan hai yu di tu* 山海輿地圖 'A map of the mountains, seas, and the earth.' In his letter dated November 30, 1584 that was sent from Canton to Fr. Acquaviva in Rome, he reported on his progress made in the study of Chinese:

"In the study of the language, we are much advanced and I can hear confessions and preach, and I hope, with the grace of the Lord to make some [spiritual] profit." (OS II: 52)

The next year when Ricci reported to Fr. Acquaviva on October 20 from Chao-king, he said:

"By the grace of the Lord, I always have been healthy, and now I can

“speak to all [Chinese] without an interpreter and can read their books fairly well.” (OS II: 60)

In the same year on November 10, Ricci sent a letter from Chaoking to Fr. Ludovico Maselli, S. J. at Naples in which he said:

“...because now I speak the language fluently and started to preach to the Christians in our church, we from now on have opened the door to the gentiles who desire to come. I also can read and write their characters, which are some ten thousand in number. I intend to read many books by myself and all their books with whatever help that I can get.” (OS II: 65)

After Ricci acquired fluency in the spoken language and fair proficiency in the written language, he continued to advance in the latter with incessant efforts. Ten years after his initial entry into China he wrote a letter from Shaochow on December 10, 1593 to Fr. Acquaviva in which he mentioned his project of translation of the Four Books into Latin that he had started in 1591:

“This year, Fr. Visitor [Valignano] wants me to translate the Four Books into Latin... with the help of God, I have already finished the first three books [i. e., *Da-shiue*, *Jung-yung*, *Luen-yu*]; the fourth [i. e., *Meng-tz*] is in progress.... This year, Fr. Visitor also wishes me to devote more time to Chinese literature, and by the grace of God, I have already acquired the basics....” [OS II: 117-118]

Ricci finished the translation in 1594 and sent a copy to Fr. Acquaviva in 1595. This was the first translation of Confucian texts into a European language. After this, many books were translated from Chinese and written on Chinese culture. It is a matter of history that the ultimate effect of this movement on European thought and arts was profound and prolonged (Chan, 1982: 391).

On October 12, 1594 while in Shaochow, he wrote a letter to Fr. Girolamo Costa, S. J. in Siena saying:

“And this year, I also decided to hire a teacher, not having had one for the past seven or eight [years] during which time I have been occupied with other things. I wanted to see if I could begin to compose something [in Chinese], and I succeeded quite well. Every day, I have two lessons with my teacher and write something all by myself. I am encouraged that starting from now I will be able to write a book presenting our faith according to natural reason. It is to be distributed throughout China when printed.” (OS II: 122)

The ‘book representing our faith’ refers to his famous catechism *Tian-ju shr-yi* 天主實義 ‘The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven’ which was begun in 1593. It was in preliminary draft by 1595; but, it underwent extensive revision and long interruption in the work delayed its printing until 1603 (FR I: 295, fn. 1).

We can say for sure that after about eleven years of uninterrupted study and

practice of Chinese, Ricci finally had mastered spoken and written Chinese. From then on, he began his extensive writing in Chinese on religious and scientific subjects either by himself or with the help of Chinese literati. On October 28 of 1595, Ricci sent another letter from Nanchang to Fr. Costa telling him how he was enthusiastically visited and accepted by Chinese literati and mandarins:

"I can not count the extraordinary concourse of visitors that I have had in this city. There are five reasons for this crowd. First, not only do they see that I am from a foreign land, one of which they have rarely seen before, but especially because I know their language, science, customs, and manners. Second, as there was a wide-spread rumor that I know how to turn quick silver into real silver, many came to learn this art which they respect very much. The more I told them that I knew nothing about it, the less they believed what I said. Third, they knew that I have such a good memory that after reading four or five hundred characters only once, I could recite them both forward and backward with great facility. Fourth, as they were impressed by my knowledge of mathematics, they regarded me as Ptolemy the second.... Fifth, many of them had shown interest in hearing things concerning their salvation...." (OS II: 184-185)

One of the reasons Ricci was able to master the Chinese language was his extraordinary memory. Although he preferred not to display his talents to others, nevertheless, in order to attract people and win their respect, Ricci felt sometimes it would be necessary to demonstrate his unusual power of memory. There was one event that twice was reported by Ricci himself. The first was in his letter of August 29, 1595 to Fr. Duarte de Sande, S.J. in Macao; and the second in his memoirs. The report in his letter is as follows:

"One day, when I was invited to a party by some holders of the first-level literary degree (*sinçais* [秀才]), something happened that gave me a great reputation among them and among all the other literati in the city. The thing was that I had constructed a Memory Place System for many of the Chinese ideographs, and being in good relations with these literati and desiring to gain among them some credit, and give some evidence of what I knew of Chinese letters, understanding how much this mattered to the service and glory of Our Lord and to that which we were intending, I told them that they should write down a large number of Chinese letters in any manner they chose on a sheet of paper, without there being any order among them, because after reading them only once, I would be able to say them all by heart in the same way and order in which they had been written. They did so, writing many letters without any order, all of which I, after reading them once, was able to repeat by memory in the manner in which they were written: such that they were all astonished, it seeming to them a great

matter. And I, in order to increase their wonder, began to recite them all by memory backward in the same manner, beginning with the very last until reaching the first. By which they all became utterly astounded and as if beside themselves. And at once they began to beg me to consent to teach them this divine rule by which such a memory was made. And immediately my fame began to spread so swiftly among the literati that I couldn't even keep a counting of all the degree holders and other important people who came to ask me if I would be willing to teach this science and took me as their master, and paid me courtesies as they would to a master, and also offered me money as they would their masters." (OS I: 155; Tr. by Spence, 1984: 138-139)

The same event he recorded in his memoirs in a shorter form as follows:

"Such meetings of the upper classes were not the only means used in the endeavor to open a new station. At times, in an effort to win over the many inhabitants of the place, who came to visit him, Ricci would explain to them certain mathematical problems, and this seemed to please them more than a little. Sometimes he would amuse them by putting together a sundial, and showing them how it counted the hours. Nothing, however, seemed to please them more than an exhibition of his extraordinary memory, which he had developed by a certain technique and practice. This was particularly interesting to the more learned among them, because the Chinese, more than any other people, labor incessantly to commit whole volumes to memory. In fact, one might say that the first years of their studies are given over entirely to this accomplishment. Sometimes they would paint out a considerable number of their Chinese written characters in no particular order, and Father Matthew would read them over once or twice and then, from memory, repeat them as written. That was surprising, but they were simply at a loss to understand it, when he immediately repeated the whole line again from memory, but backwards. Many of them were eager to learn how he did this, and he taught the art to some few of them but not without considerable difficulty. So it was, that he sought to make himself all things to all men, in order to win them all to Christ." (FR I: 359-360; Gallagher, 1953: 276-277)

Many Chinese literati including the governor of Kiangsi, Lu Wan-gai 陸萬垓 asked Ricci to teach them the art of memory. Responding to these requests, in 1595 Ricci completed his *Shi guo ji fa* 西國記法 'The art of memory in the West' which he presented to the governor to be used by his three sons as an aid in taking the Chinese civil service examinations (FR I: 363).

From the evaluation of Ricci's contemporaries, we also have abundant data as to Ricci's mastery of Chinese.

Li Jr (李贊, 1527-1602), the most independent and courageous thinker of his day, met Ricci at Nanking in 1599. He was favorably impressed by the stranger's brilliance. In a letter to a friend, he gave the following characterization of Ricci:

"Ricci lived nearly twenty years at Chaoking in Nanhai and has read the whole literature of our country. He asked scholars to read and explain to him [the meaning of the texts] and requested those understanding the doctrine of human nature and of reason in the Four Books to explain the main principles therein. He furthermore asked those familiar with the interpretation of the six Canonical Writings to pass on their explanations. Now, he can speak our language fluently, write our script, and act according to our rules of conduct. He is an extremely impressive man..." (*Shiu fen shu* 續焚書, cited by Goodrich in *DMB*: 1140)

Concerning Ricci, another Chinese scholar named Li R-hua (李日華, 1565-1635) said:

"He lived in Kwangtung about twenty years. He mastered the Chinese language and writing.... When he saw people, he bowed according to the [Chinese] rules of conduct. People also loved him. They believed that he was a good man." (*Tz tau-shiuan tza juei* 紫桃軒雜綴, cited by Fang, 1970: 74)

Shie Jau-je (謝肇淛, 1567-1624), an official, poet, and scholar praised Ricci as follows:

"Italy is to the west of France. Its people know literature and arts; they are graceful and refined like Chinese. Matteo Ricci came from that country. He traveled four years to reach the border of Kwangtung.... When he talks with people he is very polite; his argument is rich and inexhaustive. It can be said that even in foreign countries there are very talented persons." (*Wu tza tzu* 五雜俎 cited by Fang, 1970: 75)

After Ricci's death, many more Chinese scholars evaluated him. Among them was Jang Er-chi (張爾岐, 1611-1677), a philosopher and commentator. He said:

"I heard also that when Matteo Ricci first arrived in Kwangtung, he disembarking from the ship with shaved head and bared shoulder. As a result, people thought that he was a Buddhist monk from the West and introduced him to a Buddhist temple. Shaking his head and refusing to bow he said through an interpreter: 'I am a Confucian scholar'. Later in a small house, he hired a teacher to help him with the study of the Confucian Classics. And only after one or two years, he could already understand the basic meanings of the Four Philosophers and Five Classics." (*Gau-an shian-hua* 蒿庵閒話, *Jiuan* 1, 9a).

Not only those who were friendly to Ricci praised his linguistic and literary achievements, even his anti-Christian opponents recognized his talents. Among them was Ying Huei-chian (應撝謙, 1615-1683) who said:

"His [Ricci's] countrymen often came to China. Most of them were intelligent and talented; many were excellent scholars. When Ricci entered China, he did not know a single character. But after several years, he was able to grasp the main points of the Classics and history." (cited by Fang, 1970: 74)

Another anti-Christian of the early Ching dynasty by the name of Yu Yung-he (郁永河) criticized Ricci in his *Hai shang ji liue* 海上紀略 saying:

"There was a man called Li Ma-dou [Matteo Ricci]. After reading something once, he could recite it and would not forget it for the rest of his life. At the end of the Ming dynasty, he came to China and made friends with all the literati. There was no Chinese book that he did not read. He bought many classical books and taught [these to] his countrymen. He understood thoroughly the meaning of the Classics.... What he talked about was filial piety, kindness and humility; but, in reality, it was only seemingly true...." (cited by Fang, 1970: 77)

Here we may briefly summarize the progress made by Ricci in his study of the Chinese language by giving the year, location, and results:

- 1582—Macao: Began his study with Ruggieri.
- 1583—Chaoking: Continued his study with Ruggieri making great progress.
- 1584—Chaoking: Became fluent in spoken Chinese and attained fair proficiency in written Chinese.
- 1591—Shaochow: Became proficient in written language and began Latin translation of the Four Books.
- 1594—Shaochow: Finished Latin translation of the Four Books and began to write the *Tian-ju shr-yi* and other Chinese books.
- 1595—Nanchang: Reached high proficiency both in spoken and written Chinese.

III. Ricci's Chinese Dialect Variety

There is no doubt that the spoken language Ricci and Ruggieri learned was the official common language used by the mandarins and literati at that time. In fact, it can be seen that Valignano, Ruggieri, and Ricci in their writings specifically mentioned it as the Mandarin language or dialect. In his *Historia*, Valignano called it 'language of the mandarins and of the court' or 'Mandarin language.' He described it as follows:

"The Chinese have different languages in different provinces, to such an extent that they can not understand each other.... The Chinese also have another language which is like a universal and common language; this is the official language of the mandarins and of the court (*el propio lenguaje de los mandarines y de la corte*); it is among them like Latin among ourselves.... Two of our Fathers [Ruggieri and Ricci] have been learning this mandarin

language (*lingua mandarina*) there [in Macao] for several years; they are making good progress....” (Wicki, 1944: 254-256)

In 1582, Valignano's ammanuensis reported the great progress made by Ruggieri and Ricci in the study of the Mandarin language saying:

“Two of our Fathers [Ruggieri and Ricci] already are here [in Macao] studying this [Mandarin] language and making very great progress...” (Wicki, 1944: 256, n. 31)

In a letter of February 7, 1583 sent from Chaoking to Fr. Acquaviva in Rome, Ruggieri reported his missionary activities by saying:

“The Portuguese stay in this port [Macao] doing business with Chinese. Some of their servants serve as their interpreters. Therefore, from the beginning, I have had great difficulty in finding a teacher who could teach me the Chinese language of the court (*la lingua cina della corte*) and its letters which will be necessary for my work.” (OS II: 411)

And later in the same letter, he continued:

“... I have to learn the court language (*lingua cortegiana*) that they [the Chinese] call mandarin (*mandarina*). But, in the port of Macao, I did not have the convenience. Therefore, it is necessary for me to try to enter China and live with the Chinese in order to be able to learn it perfectly.” (OS II: 412)

In a letter of November 12, 1592 that was sent from Shaochow to Fr. Fabio de' Fabj, S. J. in Rome, Ricci in describing different dialects of each province of China and their common writing system pointed out a universal language. He called this language which he and other missionaries were learning the language of the forensic court. Concerning it, he said:

“The letters are common in all fifteen provinces of China. However, the language in each of the provinces is different. There is also a universal language (*una lingua universale*). We can call it the language of the forensic court (*la lingua della corte forense*). Because this [language] is used in all the tribunals by all magistrates coming from different provinces, it is the one that we are learning.” (OS II: 91)

Later, in his *Storia*, Ricci probably first introduced to his European readers the Chinese term *guan-hua* 官話 (spelled *cuonhoa* [kuən xua], being based on the Mandarin pronunciation during the Ming dynasty). Specifically, he said:

“With all the varieties of languages, there is one that we call *cuonhoa*, that is to say, the forensic language (*lingua forense*); it is used in audiences and tribunals; and, if one learns this, he could use it in all the provinces; in addition, even the children and women know enough of it to be able to communicate with all the people of another province.” (FR I: 38)

It would be quite challenging to find out the specific nature of the Mandarin dialect which Ruggieri, Ricci, and other missionaries learned. In other words: Was

the dialect they learned the Northern Peking Mandarin dialect or a Southern (Lower-Yangtze or Jiang-Huai 江淮方言) Mandarin dialect? In order to answer this question, we need both historical and linguistic evidence. As once stated, Ricci also left behind several historical and linguistic documents. These will enable us to analyze and compare the varieties of the Mandarin dialects of the Ming dynasty, and thus, to draw some possible conclusions.

IV. Ricci's Historical and Linguistic Scholarship

The most important historical works of Ricci are his memoirs and personal letters. The memoirs solely were drafted in Italian by Ricci during the last two years of his life (1608-1610) in Peking. Its original title was *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina* 'On the entry of the Society of Jesus and the Christianity into China.' It begins with a succinct account of China which included its name, geographical position, natural products, arts, language, literature, government, customs, superstitions, religions, etc. That is then followed by a detailed record, autobiographical in nature, of the founding and progress of the Jesuit mission in China from the time of Ruggieri's and Ricci's first entering of China until shortly before Ricci's death in 1610. Ricci's description of the Chinese language and writing is given in Chapter Five of Book One of this work. The romanized Chinese place and personal names that are found in this work are based on Italian orthography; they are also important for the study of Ricci's early romanization system.

The manuscript of this work was brought back to Rome by Nicolas Trigault, S. J. (金尼閣, 1577-1628). During his journey from China to Europe in 1613-1614, Trigault put it into Latin and entitled it *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas ab Societate Jesu suscepta. Ex P. Matthaei Riccii ejusdem Societatis Commentarijs*. It was published in 1615 in Rome. This, however, is not a faithful literal translation, but rather a free amplification, with some omissions, additions, and misreadings. Therefore, one should double check with the original text whenever reference is for the purposes of obtaining historical evidence. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, Trigault's work after publication attracted almost immediate attention. It was translated successively into French, German, Spanish, Italian, and English (Ricci/Trigault, 1953). Recently, it was done so into Japanese (Ricci/Trigault, 1982-83) and Chinese (Ricci/Trigault, 1983).

Ricci's personal letters were his correspondence which were sent from Macao and China to his superiors, confreres, relatives, and friends in Europe. They date from 1580 to 1609. In these letters, Ricci reported on his personal life and missionary activities in China carried out by himself and other Jesuits of his time. His accounts included his study of the Chinese language and literature (some of which were cited above) and other related subjects. Many of the events and activities

found in these letters were later incorporated in his memoirs.

For more than three centuries, the original Italian text of Ricci's memoirs and his personal letters (which were preserved in several libraries in Italy) was not accessible to the public until the Jesuit historian Pietro Tacchi-Venturi (1861-1956) collected, edited and published both the memoirs and personal letters in 1911 and 1913 in two volumes under the title *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci, S. J.* 'Historical works of Fr. Matteo Ricci, S. J.' Volume One is Ricci's memoirs, subtitled *Commentarj della Cina* 'Commentaries on China.' Volume Two is Ricci's personal letters, subtitled *Lettere dalla Cina* 'Letters from China.' In the latter, besides Ricci's letters which date from 1580 to 1609, there is also an appendix of letters of Ruggieri and other Jesuits that relate to Ricci which date from 1578 to 1617 (Tacchi-Venturi, 1911-1913).

The lack of knowledge of Chinese by Tacchi-Venturi made it necessary for Pasquale D'Elia, S. J. (德禮賢, 1890-1963) to produce a new edition of Ricci's memoirs in three volumes with full critical apparatus entitled *Fonti Ricciane* 'Riccian sources' (D'Elia, 1942-49). The first two volumes of this work contain Ricci's memoirs, entitled *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina* 'History of the introduction of Christianity into China' (cited as *Storia* in this article); the third volume contains appendices and indexes. D'Elia's projected volume for a critical edition of Ricci's letters was never realized.

Recently, both Ricci's *Storia* and letters were translated into Chinese from the original Italian texts as parts of a collection entitled *Li Ma-dou chiuan ji* 'Complete works of Matteo Ricci' (see Liu & Wang, 1986; Lo, 1986).

The main linguistic works of Ricci are his published *Shi tz chi ji* 西字奇蹟 'The miracle of Western letters' and his unpublished *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary*.

Shi tz chi ji was published in Peking in the year 1605. It is a booklet of only six folios containing three articles handwritten in Chinese characters by Matteo Ricci with romanization. The articles involve Biblical stories. The first is entitled "Believing, he [St. Peter] walks on the sea; doubting, he sinks forthwith"; the second is entitled "Two disciples [from Emmaus] on hearing the truth [from Jesus Christ] forthwith reject what is vain"; and, the third is entitled "Sensuality and impurity [of Sodom and Gomorrah] themselves attract fire from Heaven." Later in 1606, Ricci gave copies of these articles and four paintings (three were related to the Biblical stories; the other was Madonna and Child) with an additional article entitled "Transmission by writing presented to Master Cheng You-bo" to Cheng Da-yue (程大約 *Tz* 幼博, 1541-1616?). The latter engraved and published the materials in his book *Cheng shr mo yuan* 程氏墨苑 'Mr. Cheng's ink garden'. This was the only reproduction of Ricci's original work that was known to the learned world for several centuries. In fact, it was not until 1983 that a copy of the original edition of *Shi tz chi ji* which was part of the holdings of the Vatican

Library was discovered and identified by Ignatius Ku Pao-ku, S. J. (顧保鵠). He also made a photocopy of it for the Taipei exhibition on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of Matteo Ricci's arrival to China (see Ku, 1983). Now, we are certain that the contents of *Shi tz chi ji* are identical with the first three romanized articles that Ricci gave to Cheng Da-yue. The only difference between the two works is that the latter contains the fourth article and religious paintings (see Plate 5 and 6; note the different titles on the Chinese style folded pages).

The romanization in these articles was the final or revised version of an earlier system invented by Ricci and first used in his *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary*. The final system was completed by Ricci with the help of Fr. Lazzaro Cattaneo, S. J. (郭居靜, 1560-1640) who as a fine musician was able to assist in determining the pitches of the five tones of the Mandarin dialect of the late Ming dynasty (for details, see below, p. 209). Ricci's final romanization system was later adopted by Trigault with some modifications and used in his romanized Chinese character dictionary *Shi-ru er-mu tz* 西儒耳目資 'An audio-visual aid to Western scholars', published in Hangchow in 1626 (see Plate 7).

The unpublished *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary* was probably the first European-Chinese (Mandarin) bilingual dictionary. By 'bilingual dictionary,' I mean a bilingual dictionary in the strict sense, that is a book of alphabetically or 'radically' listed words in a language with their equivalents in another language. I am not referring to a book of words classified under different semantic categories. This kind of word list or glossary had already appeared during the early Ming dynasty. One of the best known of such glossaries was the *Hua-yi yi-yu* 華夷譯語 'Chinese-foreign translated words.' The work was commissioned by the first Ming emperor Tai-tzu 明太祖 (1368-1398). It was compiled by Qoninči 火源潔 and Mašāih Muḥammad 馬沙亦黑馬哈馬, both Mongol ethnics. The compilation began in 1382 and completed in 1388. It was a Chinese-Mongolian bilingual glossary topically arranged in seventeen semantic categories. Later, there were several similar works for other languages including Chinese-Japanese, Chinese-Jurchen, Chinese-Tibetan, etc. All these, however, were not bilingual dictionaries in the strict sense (Miller, 1976).

The linguistic value of this dictionary lies in several areas: first, it contains both words and phrases of the Mandarin dialect spoken during the late Ming dynasty; second, the first romanization system invented by Ricci occurring therein enables us to observe and determine the nature of the phonetic and phonological characteristics of Ming dynasty Mandarin; third, some of the phonetic transcriptions of the Chinese characters therein reflect certain dialectal pronunciations of that period. This last aspect will enable us to trace the features of the native dialects of the language teachers of Ruggieri and Ricci and explain certain unusual phonetic transcriptions found in the dictionary.

V. Discovery and Contents of Ricci's *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary*

In 1934, while working in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (ARSI) 'The Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus,' Pasquale D'Elia, S.J. discovered the manuscript. It was classified under Jap.-Sin. I, 198. It consists of 189 folios written on Chinese paper (size 23×16.5 cm). The dictionary proper, however, is only from fol. 32 to 156. It is preceded and followed by a number of folios containing miscellaneous linguistic, religious, and scientific notes handwritten by Ricci or Ruggieri. Chinese texts are written by their teacher(s). These notes were probably brought back to Rome by Ruggieri himself and much later were put together with the manuscript of the dictionary and pagination added by an archivist. The order of arrangement is rather arbitrary. Sometimes, there was no systematic order of sequence within the texts. Although the majority of these notes seem not to have direct bearing on the dictionary itself, nevertheless, they are very important both for the dating of the manuscript and for certain historical facts concerning Ricci's and Ruggieri's missionary activities. Those which precede the dictionary are as follows:

Fol. 3a-7a is a nine-page booklet of dialogue written only in romanization. The romanization system is identical with that found in the dictionary. The text was handwritten probably by Ricci. There were neither marks for aspirated initials nor for tones. Occasionally, a grave accent was added on certain vowels; however, its function is still unknown to us. The title of this booklet is *Pin ciu ven tà ssi gni* (see Plate 1). In *Fonti Ricciane*, D'Elia incorrectly copied the second syllable as *ciã* and reconstructed the Chinese title as 平常問答詞意. He translated it as *Frasi ordinarii di conversazione* 'Phrases of ordinary conversation'. Yet, after a careful study, I have concluded that the first syllable *pin* should be 賓 'guest', the second syllable *ciu* should be 主 'host', and the last two syllables should be 詞義 instead of 詞意; in other words, the whole title should be 賓主問答詞義 and translated as 'The meanings of words and phrases for questions and answers between a guest and a host.' I base the latter on the fact that in the dictionary the pronunciation of the character 意 was *i* and that of the character 義 was *gni*. The phrase 詞義 means 'the meanings of words and phrases.' In the dialogue, the 'host' *ciu* means a foreign missionary; the 'guest' *che* 客 means a Chinese visitor. In the conversation, there is a third person, namely, a Chinese servant or a boy *tum* 僮. The contents of the dialogue deal with the first visit of a Chinese scholar to a missionary and a conversation between a missionary and a visitor on matters concerning family life, missionary life, religion, fasting, travel, etc. The missionary was addressed as *si fu* 師父 'Master', a polite form of address to a monk. The guest was addressed as *siã cū* 相公 'Sir', a polite form of address to a gentleman or a literatus. The missionary addressed himself as *siau sen* 小僧 'small bonze', a humble term used by Buddhist monks. The date of this manuscript was 1585, for

on page 5 of the dialogue, a guest asked the missionary [Ruggieri or Ricci]: "Master, how long have you been here [i.e., in Chaoking]?" The missionary answered: "I have been here only two years." Since Ruggieri and Ricci went to Chaoking on September 10, 1583, two years from that date should be sometime in the fall of 1585.

Fol. 12a-16b contain a Chinese character text which is a summarized explanation of the basics of the Catholic faith and the Sacrament of Baptism by a missionary to a Chinese literatus. The text which was written by a Chinese hand said: "Three years ago we [Ruggieri and Ricci] arrived in Chaoking, Kwangtung." (僧...三年前到廣東肇慶府). We know that Ruggieri and Ricci arrived in Chaoking in 1583. Therefore, the text can be dated 1586, for three years from that date would be that year. It also said: "We reverently translated the prayer book into Chinese and compiled the *Shr-lu*." (僧敬將經本譯成華語, 兼撰實錄). The 'prayer book' was probably referring to the Chinese translation of *Our Father*, *Hail Mary*, and the *Ten Commandments* that Ricci mentioned in his letter dated November 30, 1584 which was sent from Canton to Fr. Acquaviva in Rome (*OS* II: 51); the '*Shr-lu*' was referring to the (*Shin bian*) *Tian-ju shr-lu* (新編) 天主實錄 '(A revised edition of) the faithful record of the Lord of Heaven' which he co-authored with Ruggieri and had published in 1584. At the time Ruggieri and Ricci were to Chaoking, the missionaries addressed themselves as *seng* 僧 'bonze.' Later, when Ricci was in Shaochow in 1591, it was substituted by the term 道人 'a Taoist priest'. The transliteration of Biblical personal names also shows the antiquity of the text. For example, Adam was translated as 亞當 *ia tam*; Eve (Latin *Eva*) was translated as 也物 *ie ve*, later changed to 厄娃 *e va*; Mary (Latin *Maria*) was translated as 媽里呀 *ma li ia*, later changed to 瑪利亞 *ma li ia*; Jesus (Latin *Jesus*, Italian *Giesù*) was translated as 嗽所 *ge' so*, later changed to 耶穌 *ie su*. These early transliterations go back to the early years of Ruggieri's and Ricci's stay in Chaoking. In the 1584 edition of the *Tian-ju shr-lu*, Adam was translated as 亞當 or 亞當, *Eva* as 也囉 *ie va*, *Maria* as 媽利呀, and *Jesus* as 嗽所. This is the same as in these folios. The changed forms were later modifications probably made after 1588 (cf. *FR* II: 95, fn. 2.).

Fol. 17a-23b is an explanation of celestial and terrestrial globes.

Fol. 24a-26b is a list of Chinese characters representing Chinese initials and finals. The characters for initials are 339 in number; many of them represent the same initial. The characters for finals are 39 in number; they are identical with those of the *Jung-yuan yin-yun* 中原音韻 (by Jou De-ching 周德清, published in 1324). The writer of this list was probably one of Ricci's language teachers who was familiar with Chinese phonetics and phonology. The characters probably were used by Ricci and Ruggieri for practicing the pronunciations of Chinese initials and finals.

Fol. 27a-31b contain several lists: one list of disyllabic antonymous words that

are occasionally romanized with Latin equivalents; one list of disyllabic synonymous words indicating the four directions, four seasons, four professions, five elements, five colors, etc.; one list of 49 measure words or classifiers used in the Mardarin dialect; one list of the Ten Celestial Stems 天干 and the Twelve Terrestrial Branches 地支, several radicals, the Twenty-four Seasonal Periods 節氣; one list of China's fifteen provinces (of the Ming dynasty), and one list of terms indicating the time, day, and the year. All these were probably linguistic notes made by Ricci and Ruggieri when they were studying Chinese in Chaoking. They most likely were some of the materials that Ricci later incorporated in his *Chinese-Portuguese dictionary* that was compiled during his trip from Peking to Nanking in 1598 (see below, p. 208).

After the main body of the dictionary, we find the following notes:

Fol. 157a is one page of twenty-one Portuguese words arranged alphabetically without Chinese equivalents that start with *parar* and end with *parte*. It seems this was an additional page that was to be inserted in the dictionary fol. 127a after the word *parar cavahlo*, for after this word somebody drew a symbol for insertion (┌─). On fol. 159a, we find the word *appendiz* 'appendix' with only three Portuguese words belonging to section A.

Fol. 158a, 160a-169b, 172a-185b are short lists of Portuguese words arranged alphabetically with Chinese equivalents but without romanization. Items include Chinese local products, official titles, scientific terms, and geographical names; for example, *cha* 茶 for 'tea', *licjia* 荔枝 for 'litchi nut', *paco* 茴香 for 'fennel', *misso* 醬 for 'soybean sauce', *mandarim da letrās* 文官 for 'civil official', *mandarim d'armada* 武官 for 'military official', *eclipse da lua* 月蝕 for 'lunar eclipse', *eclipse do sol* 日蝕 for 'solar eclipse', *Xaoquim* 肇慶 for 'Chaoking', and *Cantaō* 廣東 for 'Kwangtung', etc.

Fol. 170a-171b contain an explanation of the sundial. On fol. 173a, there is a sundial diagram. At the end of the explanation on fol. 170a, there is a list of Latinized names of the fifteen provinces of China with their relative latitudes:

Paquinus [北京] gr. 48	Honanus [河南] gr. 36	Fuchienus [福建] gr. 28
Nāquinus [南京] gr. 33	Ciecianus [浙江] gr. 31	Quātunus [廣東] gr. 23
Santonus [山東] gr. 49	Chiansinus [江西] gr. 29	Quāsinus [廣西] gr. 24
Sansinus [山西] gr. 48	Huquanus [湖廣] gr. 32	Junnannus [雲南] gr. 26
Siensinus [陝西] gr. 37	Sicionus [四川] gr. 31	Queicius [貴州] gr. 28

Fol. 186a-188b contain the verdict against Tsai Yi-lung 蔡一龍 (Martin), a neophyte who deceived Ruggieri and falsely accused him of adultery with the wife of Luo Hung 羅洪. The judge severely punished Tsai. Afterwards, he died of wounds. The incident happened in October 1587 at Chaoking. It was recorded by Ricci in his *Storia* (see *FR* I: 240-243).

Fol. 189a-190a are short lists of Chinese words and phrases. The first which has the heading 人門 'Human section' consists of only five words. One is 野僧

which means 'foreign bonze,' in other words, 'Catholic priest'. The second with the heading 地門 'Earth section' includes place names like 長沙 'Changsha' and 長安 'Chang-an' and phrases for the description of mountains and waters, etc. On fol. 189b, there are the five Chinese characters 德阿多尼阿 [te-o-to-ni-o]. Apparently, it was the Chinese transliteration of (St.) Theotonius (Italian *Teotónio*, 1086-1166), one of the founders at Holy Cross of Coimbra of the Congregation of Canons of Regular to which St. Anthony of Padua at one time belonged. On the second half of fol. 189b, there are two short paragraphs that are Latin prayers. The first starts with *De profundis* and the second with *Oremus, Fidelis Deus omnium conditor et redemptor*, etc.; these probably were written by Ricci. The miscellaneous notes end with this page.

The dictionary has no title, no author, and no date. D'Elia called it *Dizionario portoghese-cinese* 'Portuguese-Chinese dictionary'. He ascribed its authorship to Ricci and Ruggieri. From its contents, we have already determined the dates of the miscellaneous notes. The dictionary should have been compiled during the same period, that is, when Ricci and Ruggieri were together in Chaoking. Thus, the time of the compilation was probably between 1583 and 1588, this being the time stretching from the beginning of their settlement in Chaoking until the time Ruggieri left China for Europe in November 1588.

VI. Layout of the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary

The dictionary consists of three columns with a fourth one added only on fol. 33a-34b. The first column is the Portuguese entry written by a European hand, being either Ricci or Ruggieri. It was arranged alphabetically from *Aba da vestidura* 'the brim of a skirt' to *Zunir a orelha* 'to ring to the ears,' but not from *Abitar* 'to dwell' as D'Elia incorrectly asserted in 1935 and 1949 (D'Elia, 1938a & 1942-49). *Aba da vestidura* is found on fol. 32a, while *Abitar* on fol. 33a (see Plate 2-4). Apparently, D'Elia inadvertently missed the first folio of the dictionary. The Portuguese entries consist of simple words, phrases, and sometimes short sentences. It seems that these entries were not randomly copied from a Portuguese dictionary, but rather carefully selected with regard to common usage of spoken Chinese. For example, we have the the following words and phrases for the entry *Agua* 'water':

Portuguese	Romanization	Chinese
Agua	scioj	水
Agua de fres	zen sciã scioj	甌香水
Agua de poso	çin scioj	井水
Agua de fonte	yuō [sic!] scioj (yuō should be çiuō)	泉水
Agua do rio	ho scioj	河水
Agua da chuva	yu scioj	雨水

Agua salgada	yen scioj	鹽水
Agua salobra, cozida	chiu [sic!] quo scioj (<i>chiu</i> should be <i>ciu</i>)	煮過水
Agua...(6 Portuguese entries without Chinese equivalents)		
Agua clara	çin scioj	清水
Agua da fazer	tau scioj	挑水
Aguar	(no Rom.)	灌水
Aguar o vinho	zã scioj	渗水 (酒中掺水)

The second column is the romanization or phonetic transcription of Chinese characters. According to D'Elia, this was written by Ricci. It should be noted that not all Chinese characters were romanized. Generally speaking, however, if there was only one Chinese equivalent, it was always romanized; if there were more than one equivalent, the first one was always romanized and the rest were either romanized or not (for examples see the third column discussed below).

The third column is the Chinese entry. It was written by a Chinese hand, undoubtedly, by a language teacher or a Chinese scholar. Once in a while, there are additional characters by a foreign hand. The Chinese entries contain words, phrases, and short sentences taken mainly from the colloquial form. This is significant as until then Chinese dictionaries contained only single characters as lexical items exclusively from the literary or Classical Chinese. A Portuguese entry may have more than one corresponding Chinese entry. Usually, the first one represents the colloquial form; it may be followed by one or more synonyms in colloquial and/or literary forms; for example:

Portugueses	Chinese
Bom parecer	<i>piau ci</i> 嫵致, 美貌, 嘉
Escarnar	<i>co gio</i> 割肉, 切肉, 剖肉
Espantadiço	<i>chijn pa</i> 驚怕, 駭然, 驚駭
Esperar, confiar	<i>van, cau, sin</i> 望, 靠, 信
Estudar	<i>to sciu</i> 讀書, 看書, 觀書
Fallar	<i>chiã cua, sciuo cua</i> 講話, 說話
Fallar Mādarin	<i>cuō cua, cin yin</i> 官話, 正音
Falecer	<i>ssi, uan, cu</i> 死, 亡, 故, 歿

A fourth column is Italian equivalents. It appears only on fol. 32a-34a. Judging from the handwriting, it was written by Ruggieri. At the end of the dictionary, a Latin sentence was added: *Laus Deo Virginique Matri, Divis Gervasio et Protasio. Amen. Jesus.* 'Praise be to God and Virgin Mother, to Saint Gervase and Protase. Amen. Jesus.' The feast of Saint Gervase and Protase was on June 19. The citation of their names there could be an indication of that day as the date of completion of the draft.

The dictionary is incomplete; consequently, it was never ready for publication.

According to a rough estimation, there are 6,000 Portuguese entries; however, only 5,461 of them have corresponding Chinese entries. Therefore, there are considerable entries without Chinese equivalents. In addition to this, the folios 66b-71a, 85a-86b, 96b, 138b, 143a, 146a, 149a-b, and 151b are totally blank. This also proves that this dictionary was different from the one mentioned in Ricci's *Storia* as discussed below.

Besides Ricci's works, I also referred to the *Shi-ru er-mu tz* which was compiled by Trigault with the help of several Chinese scholars. The book was first published in Hangchow in 1626. It was intended to help missionaries learn pronunciations of individual characters of written and spoken Chinese. Its romanization system was essentially based on Ricci's final system with some modifications. In 1930, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培 wrote a detailed article on Ricci's and Trigault's system which he entitled "The contributions of the Jesuits to the study of Chinese phonology" (see Lo, 1930). Later in 1951, he published a "Supplement" to this article in which he briefly summarized his first article and went further on to make a phonological study of the romanization appearing in the *Innocentia Victrix, sive Sententia Comitiorum Imperij Sinici pro Innocentia Christianae Religionis Lata Juridice per Annum 1669* as edited by Antonio de Gouvea, S. J. (何大化, 1592-1677) and published in Canton in 1671 (see Lo, 1951). As Lo pointed out, although published 46 years after Trigault's work, Gouvea's system was closer to Ricci's system. This was due to the fact that Trigault's work was more systematic and standardized as he had the help of his Chinese friends, while Ricci's and Gouvea's romanizations were free transcriptions of speech sounds that were not reduced to a unified phonological system.

Another important work I have consulted is the *Arte de la lengua mandarina* 'The art (i. e., grammar) of the Mandarin dialect' (see Plate 8). It was written by Francisco Varo, O. P. (1627-1687) in 1682, edited by Pedro Piñuela, O. F. M., and published in Canton in 1703. It is a concise grammar of the Mandarin dialect spoken during the late Ming and early Ching periods. Varo provides us with a detailed non-professional description of the five tones comparing them with examples of Castilian Spanish intonation. He also adopts the same tone marks used by Ricci and Trigault (for details, see below, p. 219).

VII. Ricci's Chinese-Portuguese Dictionary

So far, I described the discovery of the *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary* and its general contents. Before going on to describe other features of this dictionary, I would like to clarify a very important point; that is, besides the dictionary being discussed, there was another completely different dictionary, namely, a *Chinese-Portuguese dictionary* which was also compiled by Ricci. In his *Storia*, Ricci gave us a brief account of the compilation of this dictionary. It happened when Ricci and his companions were traveling from Peking to Nanking during the winter of 1598.

From Peking, it took them a whole month to reach Linching 臨清, Shantung. With the help of Brother Sebastian Fernandes, S.J. (鍾鳴仁, 1562-1621) and Fr. Lazzaro Cattaneo, S.J., Ricci started the work. Here is his account:

"And so they spent one month [on the road] before they arrived in Lincin. In order to avoid the wasting of time during this journey, those who were older in the mission with the help of Brother Sebastian who knows very well the language of China compiled a beautiful dictionary (*fecero un bello vocabulario*) and dealt with all things concerning this language according to rule and order so that from now on one could easily learn the language. Since this language is composed of monosyllabic words or characters, it will be very much necessary to listen and pronounce the accent [i.e., tone] and the aspiration whenever these occur in each of the words; with this kind of pronunciation, they distinguish and understand many characters and words; without this, they appear to be identical; this is what makes this language more difficult to learn. And, to distinguish well the words which are aspirated, they devised five types of different accent marks; in this matter, Fr. Cattaneo helped very much with the knowledge he has of music. He observed and distinguished [tones] very well. For this, they decided to use five marks of accent and one mark of aspiration. And they used these marks in writing the sound of a character along with our [roman] letters. They wrote everything in this way so that all were in uniformity. And, Fr. Matteo [Ricci] ordered that from then on all [the Jesuit missionaries] should observe these rules and did not allow any person to write as he pleased; otherwise, there would be great confusion. In this way, one can communicate with this dictionary. Others that they later will compile will be very well understood by everybody; and, in the same way, one could serve another with his own writings and notes with much fruit and usefulness of this science among us." (FR II: 23-33)

The marks for the five tones that Ricci mentioned are: ¯ for *ching-ping* 清平 or *yin-ping* 陰平, ^ for *juo-ping* 濁平 or *yang-ping* 陽平, ` for *shang-sheng* 上聲, ' for *chiu-sheng* 去聲, ~ for *ru-sheng* 入聲. The aspiration mark is an apostrophe ' ; for example, 天 *t'ien*, 沈 *ch'in*, 海 *hai*, 步 *pú*, 卽 *ciě*. These marks were borrowed by Ricci from the diacritical marks reputedly invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257-c. 180 B.C.), Greek scholar and librarian at Alexandria, and Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 217-c. 145 B.C.), the former's pupil and successor (Weingartner, 1975: 225). For a detailed discussion of tones, see below (p. 218).

D'Elia thought that this dictionary was the same as the one Ricci and Ruggieri compiled when they were in Chaoking. He said in 1935:

"I could also find the first European-Chinese dictionary made by Europeans. This is the first Sinological work done in fraternal collaboration between

Ruggieri and Ricci. This certainly must be the dictionary that Kircher referred to in 1667 in these terms: '[Regarding] the Chinese dictionary for the use of us [i.e. the Jesuits], a copy of which is in my possession. I shall be willing to publish it, if the funds to do so are supplied.' (D'Elia, 1938b: 695)

But this seems not to be the case. Daniello Bartoli, S.J. (1608-1685) in his *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Gesù* 'On the history of the Society of Jesus' (first published in 1665) referred to the dictionary as *Vocabulario Sinicoeuropeo* 'Chinese-European dictionary' and described it as such (Bartoli, 1825, v. 16:196-200). Furthermore, Kircher called it *Dictionarium sinicum* 'Chinese dictionary.' Also, that it was ready for publication indicated the dictionary was complete with tone and aspiration marks, etc. We also could conclude from Ricci's description that it was a *Chinese-Portuguese dictionary*. In addition, he was dealing with the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language and ordered all Jesuits to use the same tone and aspiration marks for writing and mutual communication. All these facts suggest the principal language of the dictionary was Chinese and not Portuguese.

Another scholar also maintains that there were two dictionaries. He compared the co-authors and time and location of the compilation of each as follows (Weingartner, 1975: 225):

Characteristics	1st Dictionary	2nd Dictionary
Co-author:	Ruggieri (1543-1609)	Cattaneo (1560-1640)
Time of compilation	1583-1588	1598-1599
Location	Chaoking	Linching
Diacritic marks	No	Yes

So far, scholars have been unable to locate the *Chinese-Portuguese dictionary*. Nevertheless, we can still try to trace it through certain references. In the 1934 edition of Pfister's *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, the editor (probably Henri Boucher, S.J.) added *Catalogue MS. de Pékin* to the *Bibliographie* section at the end of Vol. II (p. 996). According to a footnote (1), it was discovered by Fr. Henri Bernard, S.J. (1889-1975) and Fr. Van der Brand, C.M. in 1933 at the National Peking Library. It was a handwritten list of 77 Jesuit missionaries in China that started with St. Francis Xavier (1552) and ended with Christian Henriques (i.e., Herdtricht, 1660). This list was appended to the end of a *Chinese-Portuguese dictionary*. The dictionary consists of 8+624+34 p. classified under MS. 22.658. Neither title, author, nor date of publication were given. The editor added the note in parentheses "*se serait 1660-1661?*" 'this should be 1660-1661?' as the possible date of its publication. However, it also could be dated earlier and might well be a revised version of Ricci's *Chinese-Portuguese dictionary*.

During the period from 1604 to 1658, there were several Portuguese Jesuits who worked in China. Among them were Fr. Gaspar Ferreira, S.J. (費奇觀, 1571-1649)

and Alvarez Semedo, S.J. (魯德照, 1585-1658). In his *Notices* (p. 80), Pfister said that Fr. de Magalhães in his *Nouvelle relation de la Chine* (Paris, 1688, p. 101) mentioned that Fr. Ferreira compiled a Chinese-Portuguese dictionary. Streit give its Portuguese title as *Diccionario da lingua Chinesa e Portuguesa* and indicated that it was in manuscript form (Streit, 5, 1964: 296). Pfister also mentioned that Fr. Semedo compiled *Tz Kau* 字考 'Studies on characters' and two dictionaries; one was Chinese-Portuguese; the other was Portuguese-Chinese. However, he said: "We do not know if these dictionaries have been printed." (Pfister, 1934: 146). The Peking Library manuscript might be one of the works of these two Portuguese Jesuits. However, since we as of now have no further detailed report on the manuscript and actually do not know whether it is still kept in the Peking Library, we are unable to make any further comment. We, then, need a chance to inspect the copy itself and compare it with Ricci's *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary*.

VIII. Ricci's Early Romanization System

The romanization system used in the dictionary seems to be the earliest attempt made by Ricci to transcribe Chinese monosyllables into roman letters. We shall call this the 'early system' the one used later in his *Shi tz chi ji* the 'final system'.

Ricci's phonetic spellings were mainly based on the orthography of sixteenth century Italian and Portuguese; for example:

A. Italian orthography for Chinese initials

c = [tʃ] or [tʃ'] before e and i: 戰 *cen*, 臭 *ceu*, 丈 *ciam*, 出 *cio*

= [k] or [k'] before a, o or u: 該 *cai*, 看 *can*, 過 *co*, 寬 *cuon*, 苦 *cu*

= [x] (sometimes) before u: 花 *cua*, 歡 *cuon*

sc = [ʃ] before i: 是 *sci*, 水 *scioi*, 十 *scie'*

z = [ts] or [ts']: 子 *zi*, 菜 *zai*, 做 *zo*, 從 *zum*

B. Portuguese orthography for Chinese initials and finals

ç = [ts] or [ts']: 節 *çie'*, 酒 *çiu*, 草 *çau*, 村 *çiun*

g = [ʒ] before e and i: 入 *ge'*, 日 *gi*, 肉 *gio*

-m = [-ŋ]: 當 *tam*, 光 *quam*

-v̄ = [-ŋ] (interchangeable with -m): 東 *tum* or *tū*, 常 *ciam* or *ciā*

= [-n] (interchangeable with -n): 天 *tien* or *tiē*, 先 *sien* or *siē*

Since this system was still in its preliminary or trial stage, one can find many variant spellings for the same initials or finals which often are seemingly inconsistent. But if we look at it as a whole and compare it with Ricci's final system, we still are able to deduce a fairly consistent scheme, for it did follow certain essential phonetic rules.

A striking feature of this system is that there were neither marks for the aspiration of initials nor for tones. For example, there was the use of *pá* for both

巴 [pa] and 帕 [p'a], *ta* for both 大 [ta] and 他 [t'a], *cai* for both 該 [kai] and 開 [k'ai], *zau* for both 早 [tsau] and 草 [ts'au], etc. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Ricci was unaware of those distinctions, but simply that he at the time had not yet devised a method to indicate such. As a matter of fact, it was as early as 1583 when he began to study the Chinese language in Macao that he clearly pointed out the existence of tonal differences in Chinese. Specifically, in a letter of February 13, 1583 sent from Macao to Fr. Martino Fornari, S.J. he said:

"I immediately applied myself to the study of the Chinese language. I assure your Reverence that it is a different thing than either Greek or German. As far as speaking goes, it is so ambiguous that it has many words that mean more than a thousand things. At times, there is no other difference in pronunciation of one word from another than higher or lower [pitch of] voice in [one of] four different tones." (OS II: 27)

The most obvious reason for the omission of those marks was that there were neither an aspirated/unaspirated distinction of initial consonants nor tonal differences in the Romance languages like Italian and Portuguese. Although the missionaries were aware of their distinctive importance, they simply omitted those marks when transliterating Chinese names and terms. It is quite noteworthy that even after Ricci had completed the final system of his romanization sometime before 1599 as exemplified in the *Shi tz chi ji* he used the old system that lacked aspiration or tone marks for transliterating Chinese names in his *Storia* which was completed shortly before his death in 1610.

As already stated, another striking feature of this system is the use of free variant and often seemingly inconsistent spellings for the same character. Here we shall point out some of the more significant ones.

1. Same letter for homorganic initials. *c* for both [k] and [x]: *cua* for 瓜 [kua] and 花 [xua], *can* for 看 [k'an] and 漢 [xan], etc. Such free variants occurred more often before *he-kou* 合口 finals. Before *kai-kou* 開口 finals, the letter *h* usually was used for [x]; for example, 海 *hai*, 好 *hau*, 黑 *he'* and 後 *heu*. In Ricci's final system, the letter *h* was used for [x] in all cases.

2. Homorganic letters for the same initial. *c* [k] and *g* [g] for [x]: *cum* and *gum* for 紅; *ch* [k] and *gh* [g] (before *e* and *i*) for [k]: *chin* and *ghin* for 緊, etc.

3. Different initials and finals for the same word. Sometimes, besides the homorganic transcriptions, the same word had another completely different spelling; for example: 火, besides homorganic spellings *cuo* and *guo*, had *fo*; 還, besides *cuan* and *guan*, had *fan*; 法, besides *fa*, had *cua*; 費, besides *fi*, had *cuei*, etc. These are not free variants. They are completely different readings of the same characters which are not standard Mandarin pronunciations, but rather dialectal readings. In the modern dialects, the initial [f] corresponding to the [x] of Northern Peking (PK) Mandarin when occurring before the *he-kou* finals is found in certain southern

dialects such as Changsha (CS) of the Shiang dialects, Nanchang (NC) of the Gan dialects, Meih sien (MH) of the Hakka dialect and Kwangchow (or Canton, KC) of the Yue dialects. The following table shows the standard readings (S.R.) and the different readings (D.R.) of the characters with initials *f* as compared with modern dialect pronunciations.

Char.	S. R.	D. R.	PK	CS	NC	MH	KC
花	cua [xua]	fa	ɛxua	ɛfa	ɛfa	ɛfa	ɛfa
火	cuo [xuo]	fo	ɛxuo	ɛxo	ɛfo	ɛfo	ɛfo
戶	cu [xu]	fu	xu ²	fu ²	fu ²	fu ²	wu ²
婚	cun [xun]	fun	ɛxun	ɛfan	ɛfun	ɛfun	ɛfen
還	cuan [xuan]	fan	ɛxuan	ɛfan	ɛfan	ɛfan	ɛwan

From this table, we can see that the different readings for *f* initials perfectly agree with modern Hakka dialect pronunciations. This leads us to conjecture that at least one of Ricci's teachers was a Hakka dialect speaker. The reverse case of standard *f* and different readings *c* [x] reflects the pronunciation of the Min dialects. The following table shows the modern Min dialect pronunciations of Amoy (AM), Chaochow (CC), and Foochow (FC) for the characters with *c* initials which appeared in the dictionary.

Char.	S. R.	D. R.	PK	AM	CC	FC
法	fa	cua [xua]	ɛfa	huat ₂	huap ₂	xua ₂
費	fi	cuei [xuei]	fei ²	hui ²	hui ²	xie ²
伏	fu	cuo [xuo]	ɛfu	hok ₂	hok ₂	xu ₂
服	fu	cuo [xuo]	ɛfu	hok ₂	hok ₂	xu ₂

These readings also show that at least one of Ricci's teachers was from Fukien. Although we can not pinpoint the exact locations in Fukien of those teachers, we can presume that not only were they not native speakers of the Northern Peking dialects, but also that they occasionally 'mispronounced' those characters with their own dialect pronunciations. Ricci, on the other hand, as a new student of the Mandarin dialect just jotted down whatever he heard his teachers say without noticing these 'wrong pronunciations' and never went back to make any corrections to the manuscript. This proves that Ricci's phonetic transcriptions are quite objective and accurate.

4. Variants with or without initials. Several characters which belonged to Ancient *ŋ initial were recorded by Ricci with or without a palatal nasal *gn* [n]; thus, *gnie'* and *ie'* for 業, *gni* and *y* (or *i*) for 義, etc. These variants could be an indication of the beginning of the disappearance of the older initial *gn* in the late Ming Mandarin dialect. In Ricci's final system, the Italian spelling *gn* was changed to Portuguese spelling *nh*; thus, 義 and 業 were spelled *nhí* and *nhie'*, respectively. Trigault also gave two readings for each character: as *ní*, *i* and *niě*, *iě*.

These agree with the variants found in the dictionary (see p. 223).

5. Variants with single or double consonants. Sometimes, a single or double consonant was used for the same initial; for example, *ç* and *çc* for [ts]: 齧 *çi*, *çci*; *s* and *ss* for [s]: 色 *se*', *sse*'; *c* and *cc* for [tʃ]: 知 *ci*, *cci*. We are not sure about the reason for the use of double consonants; it may indicate 'strong' and 'clear' consonants. In his final system, Ricci used only single consonants.

6. Phonemically identical variant finals. There are quite a few such variants; for example, *-i*, *-ij*, *-y* as in *chi*, *chij* for 起; *-io* and *-yo* as in *gio*, *gyo* for 肉; *-ioi*, *-ioj*, *-iuj* as in *scioi*, *scioj* for 水, *gioj* and *giuj* for 乳; *-uo*, *-o* as in *cuo*, *co* for 過; *-(i)uon*, *(i)on* as in *luon*, *lon* for 亂, *ciuon*, *cion* for 船, etc. Such variants again indicate that Ricci made a faithful phonetic transcription of all the sounds as he initially encountered them.

7. Phonetically identical variant finals. According to the Portuguese orthography in Ricci's day, *-am* and *-ā*, *-um* and *-ū*, *-en* and *-ē*, and *-on* and *-ō* were phonetically identical; for example, *tam*, *tā* for 當; *tum*, *tū* for 東; *tien*, *tiē* for 天; *ngon*, *ngō* for 安, etc. In Ricci's system, sometimes the *-ā* and *-ū* also could serve as *-an* and *-un*; for example, 單 *tan* also could be spelled *tā*; 頓 *tun* also could be spelled *tū*, etc. Such variants could lead to the confusion of two different finals. We shall discuss this problem later on when we talk about the *-an/-aŋ* distinctions (see below, p. 226).

8. Phonemically identical initials with different finals. There are a few cases of identical initials with different finals; for example, 貓 *mau*, *meau*, *miau*; 子 *zi*, *çi*, *zai*; 序 *su*, *si*, *ssi*, *sciu*. The first readings of these characters were the standard pronunciations. *Meau* and *miau* are phonetically different but phonemically identical; it was an older reading of *mau* derived from Ancient Chinese *mīeu*. Trigault gave two readings: first *miào* and second *mão*. *Zi* and *çi* are free phonetic variants. *Zai* is used for 'young (animal)'; its modern form is 崽. *Si*, and *ssi* are free variants, probably reflecting the Hakka reading *si²*. *Sciu* [ʃu] could be an incorrect spelling for *siu* [sy] which is the standard reading or it could be a reflection of the Fukien (Amoy) dialect reading *su²*.

The regular *ai* final sometimes had an alternate spelling *oi*; for example, 蓋 *cai*, *coy*, 該 *cai*, *coi*, 海 *hai*, *hoi*, *hoy*, 在 *zai*, *zoi*, etc. Apparently, the second reading was an influence of the Cantonese dialect final *oi*. Modern KC pronunciations for these characters are 該 *koi*, 海 *hoi*, and 在 *tsoi²*.

There were no marks for tones in this system, but there was one apostrophe-like mark ['] often added to the final consonant *-e* as *-e'*. It occurred more often with Ancient *ju* tone finals such as *ge'* 入, *te'* 得, *me'* 墨, *se'* 色, *lie'* 裂, *cie'* 節, 疾, 七, 妻, *scie'* 舌, 瑟, 十, 釋, etc. This mark could be an indication of the vocalic quality of the *-e* or it might represent a *ru* tone glottal stop [ʔ] as it exists in certain Mandarin dialects of Shansi and in most of the Jiang-Huai dialects, such as Nanking

and Yangchow. These finals were later written by Ricci and Trigault as *-ê* and *-iê*. They were used exclusively for the *ru* tone finals (see below, p. 228).

IX. Phonetic System of the Mandarin Dialect of the Ming Dynasty

The phonetic system as shown in the following tables is for the most part deduced from the romanized materials of Ricci's dictionary. Some additional data from his *Storia*, being his early system, and his *Shi tz chi ji*, being his final system, are also provided. Examples for his final system (in parentheses) basically are taken from Ricci's own materials. When these were not available, data from Trigault's *Shi-ru er-mu tz* are given in italics for illustration. Since Trigault's system was in effect Ricci's final system with some modifications, it of course could not affect Ricci's overall system. Under IPA are my tentative reconstructions of a broad phonetic or phonemic system of the Mandarin phonology of the Ming dynasty.

Table I. Initials

IPA	Early	Final	Examples
/p/	p	p	邦 pam (pām), 不 po (pǒ), 貝 poi (poéi)
/p'/	p	p'	怕 pa (p'á), 破 po (p'ó), 僻 pie' (p'iě)
/m/	m	m	瑪 ma (mà), 門 men (mên), 明 mìn (mīm)
/f/	f	f	方 fam (fām), 非 fi (fī), 法 fa (fǎ)
/v/	v, u	v	萬 van (ván), 無 uu (vû), 問 vén (vuén)
/t/	t	t	大 ta (tá), 道 tau (táo), 東 tum (tūm)
/t'/	t	t'	他 ta (t'ā), 桃 tau (t'áo), 通 tum (t'ūm)
/n/	n	n	難 nan (nân), 能 nen (nēm), 內 nui (núi)
/l/	l	l	賴 lai (lái), 流 leu (liêu), 雷 lui (lúi), 鑑 lan (<i>kién</i>)
/ts/	c, ç, çc	ç(e, i)	則 çe (çě), 自 ci (çû), 姊 çci (çû), 卽 çie' (çiě)
	z	ç(a, o, u)	子 zi (çû), 早 zau (çào), 哉 zai (çāi), 助 zu (çú)
/ts'/	c, ç, çc	ç'(e, i)	竊 ce ('ciě), 慈 çci ('çû), 前 çien (ç'iên)
	z	ç'(a, o, u)	草 zau (ç'áo), 菜 zai (ç'ái), 粗 zu (ç'û)
/s/	s, ss	s	死 sí (sǔ), 事 ssi (sú), 三 san (sǎn), 山 san (xǎn)
/tʃ/	c, cc(e, i)	ch	戰 cen (chén), 知 ci, ccy (cī), 正 cin (chím)
/tʃ'/	c, cc(e, i)	ch'	臭 ceu (ch'éu), 齒 ci, ccy ('chì), 城 cin (ch'ím)
/ʃ/	sc(i)	x	是 sci (xí), 手 scieu (xèu), 辰 scin (xín)
/ʒ/	g(e, i)	g(e, i)	入 ge' (jǒ), 日 ge' (jě), 人 gin (gín), 二 gi (lín)
		j(o, u)	肉 gio (jǒ), 如 giu (jû), 冗 gium (jùm)
/k/	c(a, o, u)	c(a, o, u)	改 cai (cài), 過 co (<i>cáo</i>), 故 cu (cú)
	ch(e, i)	k(i)	狗 cheu (<i>kèu</i>), 家 chia (kiā), 鋸 chiu (<i>kiú</i>)
	q(u)	q(u)	怪 quai (quái), 鬼 quei (quèi), 廣 quam (quàm)
/k'/	c(a, o, u)	c'(a, o, u)	開 cǎi (c'ái), 可 co (c'ò), 堪 can (c'ǎn)
	ch(e, i)	k'(i)	口 cheu ('kèu), 巧 chiau (k'iào), 去 chiu ('kiú)
	q(u)	q'(u)	快 quai ('kuái), 睽 quei (q'uēi), 曠 quam (q'uám)

Table I. Initials (continued)

IPA	Early	Final	Examples
/ŋ/	ng(a, o, u) ngh(e)	ng	愛 ngai (ngái), 傲 ngau (gáo), 我 ngo (ngò) 額 nghe (gě), 恩 nghen (gēn), 硬 nghen (gém)
/ɲ/	gn	nh(i)	義 gni (ní), 業 gnie' (nhiě), 濃 gnium (nâm)
/x/	h(a, e, o) c(u) g(u) sch(i)	h	好 hau (hào), 後 heu (héu), 何 ho (hò) 花 cua (hōa), 火 cuo (hùo), 玩 cuon (uôn) 湖 gu (hû), 滑 gua (hoă), 灰 guei (hōei) 喜 schi (hî), 下 schia (hiá), 學 schio (hiō)
/ʔ/	g(u)	g, ø	瓦 gua (uà), 臥 guo (guó), 爲 guei (guéi), 艾 gai (gái), 吾 gu (gû), 王 guam (uâm), 外 guai (vái)

Table II. Finals

IPA	Early	Final	Examples
/ɿ/	i, y	ù	思 ssi (sǔ), 死 si (sǔ), 四 si (sú)
/ʌ/	i, y	i, y	之 ci (chỹ), 時 sci (xí), 是 sci (xí)
/i/	i, ij, y	i, y	欺 chij (k'í), 其 chi (k'í), 肥 fi (fí), 利 li (lý)
/u/	u	u	都 tu (tū), 徒 tu (t'ú), 主 ciu (chù), 樹 sciu (xú)
/y/	u iu	iu	女 nu, gnu (niù), 驢 lu (liú), 序 sciu (siú) 居 chiu (kiū), 去 chiú (k'íú), 許 schiu (hiũ), 於 iu (yô)
/a/	a	a	他 ta (t'ā), 拿 na (nā), 馬 ma (mà), 怕 pa (p'á)
/aʔ/	a	ǎ	法 fa (fǎ), 拉 la (lǎ), 殺 sa (xǎ)
/ia/	ia	ia, ya	家 chia (kiā), 牙 ia (yā), 雅 ia (yà), 下 schia (hiá)
/iaʔ/	ia	iǎ	甲 chia (kiǎ), 瞎 schia (hiǎ), 壓 ia (iǎ)
/ua/	ua	oa	花 cua (hoā), 化 cua (hóa), 瓜 cua (koā)
/uaʔ/	ua	oǎ, uǎ	滑 gua (hoă), 刷 sciua (xoă), 刮 cua (kuǎ)
/ɛ/	e	e	車 cie (ch'ě), 者 cie (chè), 這 cie (ché)
/ie/	ie	ie, ye	些 sie (siě), 也 ie (yě), 夜 ie (yé)
/ieʔ/	ie'	iě, yě	別 pie' (piě), 裂 lie' (liě), 節 cie' (çiě)
/əʔ/	e'	ě	墨 me' (mě), 得 te' (tě), 肋 le' (lě), 色 se' (sě)
/iəʔ/	ie'	iě', yě'	筆 pie' (piě'), 力 lie' (lyě'), 釋 scie' (xiě')
/ɔ/	o	o	破 po (p'ó), 多 to (tō), 我 ngo (ngò), 何 ho (hò)
/ɔʔ/	o	ō	博 po (pō), 落 lo (lō), 索 so (sō)
/io/	io	iue (?)	痴 chi(u)o ('kiuē), 靴 schio (hiuē)
/ioʔ/	io	iō	略 lio (liō), 學 schio (hiō), 雀 çio (çiō)
/oʔ/	o	ō'	不 po (pō'), 逐 cio (chō'), 肉 gio (jō')
/ioʔ/	io	iō', yō'	欲 io (yō'), 曲 chio ('kiō'), 蓄 hio (hiō')
/uo/	uo	uo, oo	火 cuo (huò), 臥 guo (guó), 座 zuo (çóo)
/uoʔ/	uo	oě	說 sciuo (xoě), 國 cuo (quoě)
/yoʔ/	iuo	iuě	月 iuo (iuě), 蹶 chiuo (kiuě), 絕 z(i)uo (çiue)
/uʔ/	u	ũ	沒 mu (mũ), 祝 ciu (chũ)

Table II. Finals (continued)

IPA	Early	Final	Examples
/ai/	ai, ay	ai	開 cai (k'ái), 來 lai, lay (lái), 海 hai (hài), 代 tai (tái), 菜 zai ('cái), 敗 pay (pái)
/iai/	iai, yai	iai	鞋 schiai (hiái), 解 chiai (kiài), 街 chiai (kiái)
/uai/	uai	oai, uai	乖 quai (kuái), 淮 guai (hoái), 快 quai ('kuái)
/uei/	uei, uej	oei, uei, uey	灰 guei (hōei), 爲 guei (guêy), 鬼 quei (kuèi), 窺 quey ('kuéi)
	oi	oei	陪 poi ('poéi), 貝 poi (poéi), 妹 moi (moéi, múi)
		ui	衰 soi (súi), 碎 soi (súi), 水 scioi (xúi)
/ui/	ui, uj	ui	對 tui (túi), 內 núi (núi), 淚 lui (lúi), 錐 ciui (chúi), 吹 ciui (ch'úi), 睡 sciui (xúi)
		(ү)	乳 giuj (jü)
/au/	au	ao	包 pau (pāo), 好 hau (hào), 少 sciau (xào)
/iau/	iau	eao, iao	燎 liau (leāo), 了 liau (leào), 小 siau (siào)
/əu/	eu	eu	州 ceu (chēu), 臭 ceu (ch'eu), 手 scieu (xèu), 流 leu (liēu), 硫 leu (liēu), 劉 leu (liēu)
/iəu/	ieu	ieu	求 chieu ('kiēu), 九 chieu (kiēu), 救 chieu (kiēu)
/an/	an	an	山 san (xān), 談 tan (t'ān), 感 can (càn)
/ien/	ian	ien	間 chian (kiēn), 閒 schian (hiēn), 眼 yan (iēn)
	ien	ien	天 tien (t'iēn), 焉 ien (iēn), 點 tiēn (tiēn)
/uan/	uan, oan	uan, uon	翫 guan (uán), 關 cuan (kuān), 寬 quon (k'uōn)
/ɔn/	on	an, uon	半 pon (puón), 團 ton ('tuón), 短 ton (tuón), 亂 luon (luón), 觀 cuon (quón), 歡 cuon (huón)
/uon/	uon	un	鈍 tuon (tún), 吞 tuon (t'un), 順 sciun (xún)
		uen	滾 cuon (kuén), 困 cuon ('kuen)
/yɔn/	iuon	iuon	捲 chiuon (kiuén), 全 çiuon (ç'iuén), 冤 yuon (iuén)
		un	尊 çiuon (çūn), 村 çiuon ('çūn)
/ɛn/	en	en	根 chen (kēn), 恩 nghen (gēn) 珍 cen (chēn), 善 scien (xén), 然 gen (gēn)
(/əŋ/)		em	燈 ten (tēm), 曾 çen ('çēm), 生 sen (sēm)
/uɛn/	uen	uen	分 fuen (fuēn), 問 vuen (vuén), 瘟 guen (uēn)
/in/	in	in	林 lin (lín), 謹 chin (kln), 沉 cin (ch'in), 身 scin (xín), 人 gin (gín), 壺 çin (çín), 心 sin (sín)
(/iŋ/)	in	im, ym	命 mìn (mím), 鼎 tin (tīm), 經 chin (kīm), 形 schin (hīm), 整 cìn (chlm), 證 cin (chým), 城 cìn (ch'ím), 淨 çin (çím), 請 çin ('çim)
/un/	un	un, uen	蕘 fun (fuén), 頓 tun (tún)
/yn/	iun	iun	君 chiun (kiūn), 裙 chiun ('kiūn), 雲 iun (iān)
/aŋ/	am	am	方 fam (fām), 藏 zam (ç'ām), 倘 tam (t'ām), 浪 lam (lām), 上 sciam (xām), 常 ciam ('chām)

Table II. Finals (continued)

IPA	Early	Final	Examples
/iaŋ/	iam	iam, eam	將 ciam (ciām), 量 liam (leām), 想 siam (siām), 像 siam (siām), 降 chiam (kiām), 講 chiam (kiām)
/uaŋ/	uam	uam, oam	荒 guam (hōam), 黃 guam (hōam), 廣 quam (quām), 曠 quam ('kuām), 往 uam (vām)
/uŋ/	um	um, om	中 cium (chūm), 蟲 cium (ch'ūm), 腫 cium (chùm), 衆 cium (chúm), 工 cum (cūm, cōm), 風 fum (fūm)
/yŋ/	ium	ium	兄 schium (hiūm), 容 yum (yūm), 勇 yum (yùm), 用 yum (yúm), 窮 chium ('kiām), 熊 schium (hiām)
(/ər/)	i	lh	而 gi (lh), 耳 gi (lh), 二 gi (lh)

Table III. Tones

Tone Category	Marks	Tentative Description	Pitch	Graph	Examples
Ching-ping 清平	ā	Mid-Even	33	┐	天 t'ien 聲 xīm
Juo-ping 濁平	â	Low-Falling	21	┘	人 gîn 言 yên
Shang-sheng 上聲	ǎ	Mid-Falling	42	↘	雨 yù 水 xùi
Chiu-sheng 去聲	ǎ	High-Rising	35	┐	萬 vān 歲 súi
Ru-sheng 入聲	ǎ	High-Rising (staccato)	45	┐	百 pě 業 nhiě

As mentioned before, there were neither description of tone nor tone marks in Ricci's early romanization system. The tone categories and tone marks of Table III were based on Ricci's final romanization system and Trigault's *Shi-ru er-mu tz*. Since I will compare the tones found in Ricci's and Trigault's works with those of the modern Jiang-Huai (Lower-Yangtze Mandarin) dialects, it will be useful to show the tones of some of the dialects, especially those of the cities of Nanking and Yangchow and their nearby environs. *Jiang-su sheng he Shang-hai shr fang-yan gai-kuang* (1960: 2) listed the pitches of the five tones in thirteen localities of the Jiang-Huai dialects spoken in Kiangsu province as compared with the tones of the Peking dialect as follows:

			Yin	Yang	Shang	Chiu	Ru
			陰平	陽平	上聲	去聲	入聲
			天飛青	甜肥來	酒草米	稻菜飯	百麥白
Peking	北 京	7 55	┐ 35	┘ 214	┘ 51	—	
Shin Hailian	新 海 連	┘ 313	┐ 35	┘ 42	7 55	┐ 13	
Guanyun	灌 雲	┘ 213	┐ 24	┘ 31	7 55	┐ 4	
Huaiyin	淮 陰	┘ 42	┐ 24	┘ 212	7 55	┐ 4	
Lianshuei	漣 水	┘ 31	┐ 35	┘ 213	7 55	┐ 4	
Sheyang	射 陽	┘ 52	┘ 213	┘ 21	┐ 45	┐ 4	
Szhung	泗 洪	┘ 213	7 55	┐ 24	┘ 51	┐ 4	

Yancheng	鹽 城	↘ 31	↘ 213	↘ 53	↗ 35	↗ 5
Gauyou	高 郵	↗ 44	↘ 213	↘ 21	↘ 53	↗ 4
Yijeng	儀 徵	↘ 31	↗ 24	↘ 324	↘ 53	↗ 5
Yangchow	揚 州	↘ 31	↗ 34	↘ 42	↗ 55	↗ 4
Jiangpu	江 浦	↘ 31	↗ 24	↘ 22	↗ 44	↗ 5
Nanking	南 京	↘ 31	↗ 13	↘ 22	↗ 44	↗ 5
Jiurung	句 容	↘ 31	↗ 24	↘ 213	↗ 55	↗ 5

As we do not know whether the curves of the marks in Ricci's final system were meant to indicate the starting and ending points of the pitch of each tone listed, we are uncertain as to the exact pitch contours of the five tones. Fortunately, however, we have Francisco Varo's popular description of the five tones of the Mandarin dialect spoken at the end of the seventeenth century which would be very close to the Mandarin dialect as described by Ricci. So, we can presume that the pitch contours were the same too. Varo states:

"The first tone is pronounced with equally prolonged voice without rising or lowering or anything. It is like when a person having some pain and moaning says: *ai!* and saying it equally; for example, *goēi fang* [威風] 'awe-inspiring, ostentatious', *sī kaa* [西瓜] 'water melon'. The Chinese call this tone *p'ing ch'ing* [平清]. It means even, clear, and pure. They also call it *xáng p'ing* [上平]." (Varo, 1703: 5a).

From this description, we are sure that the first tone was an even tone, but we are uncertain as to whether it was a high-even, mid-even, or low-even one. Nevertheless, since Varo said that this tone is pronounced "without rising or lowering," we may presume that it was a mid-even tone 33. The Chinese term *p'ing ch'ing* [平清] was a reversed misprint of *ch'ing p'ing* [清平].

"The second tone is pronounced by lowering the voice a little bit on the second syllable if the word has two syllables; if it has only one, like *ŷ*, one should prolong the voice with certain mora and pronounce it as if it had two; this should be done like we Castilians [do when for example,] in saying *No* to a person who told me that John committed a theft [would] disagree with him and answer: *No diga esso, pues Juan avia de hazer tal cosa* 'No, don't say that John has done such a thing.' In this manner, one says the *No* to that person by detaining and lowering the voice a little bit; like this, one makes the second tone; for example, *iuen ieu* [緣由] 'origin', *gô l'ing* [鵝翎] 'feather, pinfeather of goose'. The Chinese call this tone *ch'ō p'ing* [濁平]. It means even, muddy, and confused. They also call it *hiá p'ing* [下平]." (Varo, 1703: 5a-5b).

This description suggests that the second tone was a falling tone. As he contrasted it with the simple vowel *ŷ*, Varo's 'two syllables' meant a diphthong like *ai*, *ao*, etc. His 'lowering voice' probably meant falling in pitch in the second

half of the syllable. However, we are uncertain about the pitch of the first half. It could be a mid-low pitch. Then, the tone might be a low-falling tone 21. The *yang-ping* tone of Yancheng and Gaoyou is 213; among the Jiang-Huai dialects, those in Shin Hailian, Lianshuei have high-rising tone 35; those in Guanyun, Huaiyin, Yijeng, Yangchow, Jiangpu and Jiurung have mid-rising tone 24; and, those in Nanking have low-rising tone 13.

"The third tone is pronounced by taking a point in the vowel (*tomando un punto en la vocal*) and then lowering one-third of the voice with certain disgust or anger; it is like when I am speaking to a person whom I have ordered to do something, but he did it badly or unwillingly: *No, no quiero que hagas* 'No, I don't like what you did'. It is in this manner that one says the *No*; like this, one makes the third tone; for example, *ièu kàn* [誘惑] 'temptation', *mì fuèn* [米粉] 'rice flour'. The Chinese call this tone *xáng xīng* [上聲]. It means high tone or pronounced loudly." (Varo, 1703: 5b).

The sentence 'by taking a point in the vowel' is ambiguous. Probably, he meant it was 'to start with a high pitch' which then fell by one-third of the pitch. He most likely meant a mid-falling tone 42 like the *shang-sheng* of Yangchow and Shin Hailian and relatively similar to the falling tones 53 and 31 of Yancheng and of Guanyun, respectively.

"The fourth tone is pronounced by taking a point in the first syllable and raising it to one-third; and, it has to be the same way. If the word is only one syllable, it is made by prolonging the voice at the end of the pronunciation or the accent. It is in the manner that we make an affirmative interrogation; for example, when I am determined to do something and someone says to me (as if he wants to stop me): 'You shouldn't do it,' I answer him with a kind of boldness: *Como no?* 'Why not?' Then, it is in this manner that we prolong the voice of the *No* at the end; like this, one makes the fourth tone; for example, *lǐ hái* [勵害] 'pernicious, harmful', *piàn lún* [辯論] 'to dispute, to argue'. The Chinese call this tone *k'íu xīng* [去聲]. It means sound which goes or runs." (Varo, 1703: 5b)

This above description is contrary to the third tone in that although both start by taking a point of the pitch the third one lowers one-third and the fourth raises one-third. If the third was a mid-falling tone, the fourth should be a highrising tone 35 like the *chiu-sheng* of the modern Yancheng dialect.

"The fifth tone is in reality the same as the fourth, only at the end [of the pronunciation] a kind of effort is made with the chest (*algun ahinco con el pecho*). It is like when with smoothness one among us wants to frighten another, he makes a frightening sound saying: *a*. Then, in this way, the end of the voice is shortened. It is in this manner that the fifth tone is made; for example, *pǒ hiǒ* [博學] 'famous in letters, learned', *hē mǐ* [黑墨] 'ink,

blackness'. The Chinese call this tone *jě xīng* [入聲] 'introduced sound, or sound which is pronounced inside' (Varo, 1730: 5b-6a)

Varo said that this tone is 'in reality the same as the fourth'; then, it should be a high-rising tone 35. However, the *ru* tone of the modern Jiang-Huai dialects like Yancheng, Yijeng, Jiangpu, Nanking, and Jiurung have high staccato tone 5 and those like Guanyun, Huaiyin, Lianshuei, Sheyang, Szhung, Gauyou and Yangchow have mid-high staccato tone 4. All end with a glottal stop. The only exception is Shin Hailian which has a low-rising legato tone 13. We could reasonably presume that the fifth tone here was a high-rising staccato tone 35. Or we could presume it is more likely a high-rising staccato tone 45 with a glottal stop ending as a high-rising tone is closer to the modern Jiang-Huai dialect *ru* tones 4 and 5. Varo's 'a kind of effort with the chest' beyond any doubt was describing a glottal stop.

The five tone marks invented by Ricci and Cattaneo were adopted both by their confrères and by later missionaries and scholars. Here we list some of them with examples in chronological order:

1665—Martino Martini, S. J. (衛匡國, 1614-1661) in his *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (Amsterdam: Blaeu), Appendix *De Regno Catayo* by Jacobus Golius, p. vij: 開 *c'ai*, 除 *c'hû*, 滿 *muôn*, 定 *tíng*, 執 *chě*.

1667—Athanasius Kircher, S. J. (1602-1680) in his *China...illustrata* (Amsterdam), pp. 121-127: 天 *t'ien*, 人 *gín*, 主 *chû*, 問 *uén*, 或 *hõe*.

1669—Antonio de Gouvea, S. J. (1602-1677) in his *Innocentia Victrix* (Canton), p. 267: 天 *t'ien*, 人 *gín*, 主 *chû*, 教 *kiáo*, 物 *vě*.

1703—Francisco Varo, O. P. (1627-1687) in his *Arte de la lengua mandarina* (Canton).

1728—Joseph Henri-Marie de Prémare, S. J. (馬若瑟, 1666-1736) in his *Notitia linguae Sinicae* (completed at Canton in 1728, published in Malacca: Cura Academiae Anglo-Sinensis, 1831, and Hong Kong: Nazareth, 1893), pp. 23-30: 天 *t'ien*, 人 *gín*, 滿 *muôn*, 定 *tíng*, 或 *houě*.

The use of the *ru* tone mark in these works suggests that the *ru* tone existed in the Mandarin dialect learned by missionaries until the middle of the eighteenth century. Such marks were used as late as 1892 by Séraphin Couvreur, S. J. (顧賽芬, 1835-1919) in his *Dictionarium Sinicum et Latinum* 'Chinese-Latin dictionary'. But, the *ru* tone mark here was in reference to the literary readings of Chinese characters found in Classical or literary works, not those in the spoken language.

X. Some Phonological Features of the Mandarin Dialect of the Ming Dynasty

From the tables of initials, finals, and tones as presented above, one can already see the overall phonological features of the Ming dynasty Mandarin dialect learned by Ricci. In effect, they are to be seen in two stages as reflected

in his early (RES) and final (RFS) systems of romanizations. These two stages basically reflected the same spoken language with a few minor yet significant differences. This was also the language that later Trigault learned and recorded in his book. There are certain phonological features which are instrumental in determining the characteristics of Ricci's Mandarin dialect. Since some of the phonological features were either identical with or even older than those of *Jung-yuan yin-yun* (JYYY), it will be cited for comparison. The reconstructions of JYYY are based on Tung T'ung-ho's work (Tung, 1968: 57-70). Relevant dialects cited include the Mandarin dialects of Peking (PK), Luoyang 洛陽 (LY), Lingbau 靈寶 (LB) and Chengdu 成都 (CD), the Jiang-Huai dialects of Nanking (NK), Yangchow (YC), Taichow 泰州 (TC), Anching 安慶 (AC) and Hefei 合肥 (HF), the Wu dialect of Soochow 蘇州 (SC), the Shiang dialects of Changsha 長沙 (CS) and Shuangfeng 雙峯 (SF), the Hakka dialect of Meihsien 梅縣 (MH), the Yue dialect of Kwangchow 廣州 (KC), and the Min dialects of Amoy 廈門 (AM), Chaochow 潮州 (CC) and Foochow 福州 (FC).

A. Initials

(1) The palatal initials /tʃ, tʃ', ʃ, ʒ/ of RES and RFS generally agree with those of JYYY. In RES, however, there were certain characters that had dental sibilant initials /ts, ts', s/ instead of palatal initials /tʃ, tʃ', ʃ/. Later in RFS, the palatal initials of these characters were restored. The reason for this exception was probably due to the influence of the personal dialect pronunciations of Ricci's language teachers who more than likely were from the South (Kwangtung or Fukien) rather than the North. Here is a list of those characters with RES and RFS pronunciations as compared with JYYY and the modern dialects.

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	YC	MH	KC	AM
渣	za	chā	cʃa	cʃa	cʃa	cʃa	cʃa	cʃa
詐	za	chá	tʃa ²	tʃa ²	cʃa	tʃa ²	tʃa ²	tʃa ²
站	zan	chán	tʃan ²	tʃan ²	tsē ²	tsan ²	tsam ²	tsam ²
狀	zan	chóam	tʃuaŋ ²	tʃuaŋ ²	tsuaŋ ²	tsɔŋ ²	tsɔŋ ²	tsɔŋ ² , tsŋ ²
柴	zai	c'hái	cʃ'ai	cʃ'ai	cʃ'e	cʃ'ai	cʃ'ai	cʃ'ai
抄	zau	c'háo	cʃ'au	cʃ'au	cʃ'ɔ	cʃ'au	cʃ'au	cʃ'au
窠	zau	c'háo	cʃ'au	cʃ'au	cʃ'ɔ	cʃ'au	cʃ'au	cʃ'au
愁	zeu	'çêu	cʃ'ou	cʃ'ou	cʃ'əu	cseu	csau	csiu
憲	zan	c'hōam	cʃ'uaŋ	cʃ'uaŋ	cʃ'uaŋ	cʃ'uŋ	cʃ'oŋ	cʃ'ɔŋ, cʃ'ŋ
施	ssi	xī	cʃī	cʃī	cʃī	cʃī	cʃī	cʃī
獅	ssi	sū, xī	cʃī	cʃī	cʃī	cʃī	si ²	cʃu, cʃai
事	ssi	sū, xī	fī ²	ʃī ²	sī ²	sī ²	si ²	su ² , (tai)
殺	sa	xǎ	cʃa	cʃa	sa ²	sat ²	sat ²	sat ²
晒	sai	xái	fai ²	ʃai ²	se ²	sai ²	sai ²	sai ²
山	san	xān	cʃan	cʃan	cʃē	cʃan	cʃan	cʃan, cʃuā
生	sen	sēm	cʃəŋ	cʃəŋ	cʃən	cʃen, cʃaŋ	cʃaŋ	cʃiŋ, cʃī

RES agrees with JYYY except in four cases, namely, 愁, 獅, 事, and 生. On the other hand, RES completely agrees with YC and MH and with AM except in the case of 愁. The second readings for 獅 and 事 *xi* [ʃi] were probably influenced by Northern Mandarin. Therefore, we might interpret the RES *ts*, *ts'*, *s* as reflecting a phonological feature of the Southern Mandarin dialect of the Ming dynasty. This feature is also found among the modern Jiang-Huai dialects such as YC. It might also be a reflection of the dialect features of MH and AM.

(2) RES had several characters with *sc* [ʃ] initials corresponding to JYYY *tʃ'* and PK *tʃ'* initials:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	YC	MH	KC	AM
辰	scin	<i>xin</i>	ɕtʃ'ən	ɕtʃ'ən	ɕts'ən	ɕsən	ɕsan	ɕsin
嘗	sciam	<i>xâm, c'hâm</i>	ɕtʃ'aŋ	ɕtʃ'aŋ	ɕts'aŋ	ɕsəŋ	ɕsoeŋ	ɕsioŋ

Here, RES and RFS both have ʃ initial for 辰, but RES had a second reading for 嘗 which corresponds to *tʃ'* of the PK dialect. This shows that the second reading for 嘗 (*c'hâm*) reflects a feature of the Northern Mandarin dialect of a later stage. The ʃ initial here must have been an original Southern Mandarin feature.

(3) The dental sibilant initials /*ts*, *ts'* *s*/ and the velar initials /*k*, *k'*, *x*/ were not yet palatalized before high front vowels *i* and *y*; for example, 蕉 *ziau* [tsiau], 前 *cien* [ts'ien], 小 *siau* [siau], 取 *çiu* [ts'y]; 叫 *chiau* [kiau], 欠 *chien* [k'ien], 曉 *schiau* [xiau], 去 *chiu* [k'y], etc. The RES reading for the characters 監 and 鑑 was *lan* (RFS *kien*). This probably reflects a feature of the Yue dialect. The modern reading of the homophonous character 鑑 in KC is *lam*².

(4) Ancient Chinese velar nasal initial *ŋ remained as *ng* or *ngɰ* (before *e*) before the *kai-kou* finals; for example, 我 *ngo* [ŋo], 傲 *ngau* [ŋau], 硬 *ngɰen* [ŋɰen], etc. It became *g* [ʔ] before the *he-kou* finals; for example, 瓦 *gua* [ʔua], 臥 *guo* [ʔuo], etc. Before high front vowel *i*, it fluctuates between a palatal *gn* [ɲ] and zero initials. This suggests that the initial *gn* was in the process of disappearing near the end of the Ming dynasty. For example:

Char.	RES	RFS
疑, 宜	gni, i, y	nhî (<i>nî, î</i>)
義	gni, i	nhí (<i>ní, í</i>)
業	gnie'	nhiě (<i>niě, iě</i>)

(5) The readings for the character 玩 and 完 in most of the Mandarin dialects have *uan* reading with zero initial. JYYY had *on* for both, but in different tones. In RES, these two characters were transcribed as *cuon*, *cuoã* [xuon] or *guan* [xuan]; however, in RFS, they were transcribed as *uon* and *huon*, respectively, but the first one was without the initial *h* [x]. Some modern dialect pronunciations of these two characters are as follows:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	CD	CS	MH	KC	AM	FC
玩	cuon, cuoã, guan	uón	ˊon	ɛuan	ɛuan	ɛõ	ˊguan	ɛwan	ˊguan	ɣuaŋ²
完	cuon	huón	ɛon	ɛuan	ɛxuan	ɛxõ	ɛvan	ɛjyn	ɛuan	ɛuoŋ

CD and CS have *x* initials for 完, but not for 玩. Hakka and Min dialects kept Ancient initial *ɣ* (Am *g* from **ɣ*). The RES readings *cuon* and *guan* with *x* initial may be an Old Mandarin feature, or they might be a result of Hakka and Min dialect influence.

(6) Alternate readings reflecting dialect influence. When discussing the variant initials used in Ricci's early romanization system, I mentioned the influence of the Hakka dialect regarding the second reading of 花 *cua* as *fa* and the influence of the Min dialect regarding the second reading of 法 *fa* as *cua*, etc. (see p. 213). Here, I shall give some more examples of *n* and *l* initials. For words with *n* initial having a second reading with *l* initial, we have:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	NK	YC	AM	FC
腦	nau, lo	nào	ˊnau	ˊnau	ˊlou	ˊlo	ˊlo	ˊno
內	nui, lui	núi	nuei²	nei²	luəi²	luəi²	lue², lai²	nøy²
紐	niu, liu	nièu	ˊniou	ˊniu	ˊliəu	ˊliɤu	ˊliu	ˊlieu
粘	lien	nièn	ɛniem	ɛnian	ɛlē	ɛliĩ	ɛliam, ɛni	ɛlieŋ
輦	lien	lièn	ˊlien	ˊnian	ˊlē	ˊliĩ	ˊlian	ˊlieŋ

All the second readings of RES agree with NK, YC, and several varieties of the modern Jiang-Huai dialects. They also agree with the AM dialect except for the character 輦 which reflects the standard reading (with *l* initial) in JYYY. The second readings, therefore, may reflect NK dialect feature, or they might be a result of Min dialect influence.

For words with *l* initial having a second reading with *n* initial, we have:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	AM	FC
賴	lai, nai	lái	lai²	lai²	lua², nai²	lai²
撈	lau, nau	láo	ɛlau	ɛlau	ɛlo	ɛlo

The second reading of *lai~nai* was probably influenced by the colloquial reading of AM, namely, *nai*². The second reading of *lau~nau* could reflect influence by another dialect, but we do not know which one. We know that in the South-western Mandarin dialects there is no *n/l* distinction. In Chengdu, all these characters have *n* as initial. But, we have no evidence to prove their influence on Ricci's pronunciation.

B. Finals

(1) The *i* final. When occurring after initials /ts, ts', s/ and /tʃ, tʃ', ʃ, ʒ/, Modern Northern Mandarin dialects have the three phonetically distinctive finals [ɿ], [ʊ], and [ər]. These are represented in Ricci's early system by only the letter *i* (or free variant *y*). In his final system, he replaced it with three phonetic

symbols *ü*, *i* (or *y*), and *lh*. The first one was used only after dental sibilants *ts*, *ts'*, *s*; the second was used only after palatals *tʃ*, *tʃ'*, *ʃ*, *ʒ*; and, the last was used only for the modern retroflex [ər] ending. For example:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	MH	KC	AM
子	zi [tsɿ]	çü	ˈtsĩ	ˈtsɿ	ˈtsɿ	ˈtsi	ˈtsu, ˈtsi
次	çi [ts'ɿ]	ç'ü	ts'ĩ˦	ts'ɿ˦	ts'ɿ˦	ts'i˦	ts'u˦
死	si [sɿ]	sü	ˈsĩ	ˈsɿ	ˈsi	ˈsi	ˈsu, ˈsi
之	ci [tʃɿ]	chĩ, chȳ	ˈtʃĩ	ˈtʃɿ	ˈtsɿ	ˈtsi	ˈtsi
齒	ci [tʃ'ɿ]	ch'ĩ	ˈtʃ'ĩ	ˈtʃ'ɿ	ˈts'ɿ	ˈts'i	ˈts'i, ˈk'i
是	sci [ʃɿ]	xȳ, xĩ	ʃĩ˦	ʃɿ˦	sɿ˦	si˦	si˦
日	gi [ʒɿ]	gĩ	ʒĩ˦	ʒɿ˦	nĩt˦	jət˦	dzit˦
兒	gi [ʒɿ]	lĩ (ul)	ɛʒĩ	ɛər	ɛnĩ	ɛji	ɛdzi
二	gi [ʒɿ]	lĩ (ul)	ʒĩ˦	ər˦	nĩ˦	ji˦	dzi˦

In comparing the above, it seems that in Ricci's early system there were only two phonetically distinctive finals: one occurred after the sibilants *i* [ɿ]; another occurred after the palatals *i* [ɿ]. In other words, there was no retroflex [ər] final, but, instead, there was only *gi* [ʒɿ] which agrees with JYYY. In Ricci's final system, however, his speech seems to have been influenced by the Northern Peking dialect, for he added *lh* (Trigault's *ul*) as [ər] final.

(2) The merging of *ən/əŋ* and *in/iŋ* finals. Ricci's early system clearly shows such merging. This also is the case with romanization used in his *Storia*. In Ricci's final system, the *ən/əŋ* and *in/iŋ* distinction was restored as *en/em* and *in/im*. Many modern dialects have these finals merged one way (all in *ən* and *in*) or another (all in *əŋ* and *iŋ*). Here are some more examples as compared with other dialects:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	YC	MH	KC	AM	FC
賓	pin	pĩn	ɛpiən	ɛpin	ɛpi	ɛpin	ɛpan	ɛpin	ɛpiŋ
兵	pin	pĩm	ɛpiəŋ	ɛpiŋ	ɛpi	ɛpin	ɛpiŋ	ɛpiŋ	ɛpiŋ
等	ten	tèm	ˈtəŋ	ˈtəŋ	ˈten	ˈten	ˈtaŋ	ˈtan	ˈteiŋ
能	nen	nēm	ɛnəŋ	ɛnəŋ	ɛnən	ɛnən	ɛnaŋ	ɛliŋ	ɛneiŋ
冷	len	lèm	ˈləŋ	ˈləŋ	ˈlən	ˈlən	ˈlaŋ	ˈliŋ	ˈleiŋ
林	lin	lĩn	ɛliəm	ɛlin	ɛli	ɛlim	ɛlam	ɛlim	ɛliŋ
靈	lin	lĩm	ɛliəŋ	ɛliŋ	ɛli	ɛlin	ɛliŋ	ɛliŋ	ɛliŋ
增	çen	çēm	ɛtsəŋ	ɛtsəŋ	ɛtsən	ɛtsən	ɛtsaŋ	ɛtsiŋ	ɛtseiŋ
親	çin	çĩn	ɛts'ian	ɛtɕ'in	ɛtɕ'i	ɛts'in	ɛts'an	ɛts'in	ɛts'iŋ
清	çin	çĩm	ɛts'iaŋ	ɛtɕ'iŋ	ɛtɕ'i	ɛts'in	ɛts'iŋ	ɛts'iŋ	ɛts'iŋ
鎮	cin	chĩn	tʃiən˦	tʃən˦	tsən˦	tsən˦	tsan˦	tin˦, tsun˦	teiŋ˦
政	cin	chĩm	tʃiəŋ˦	tʃəŋ˦	tsən˦	tsən˦	tsiŋ˦	tsiŋ˦	tseiŋ˦
身	scin	xĩn	ɛʃiən	ɛʃən	ɛsən	ɛsən	ɛsan	ɛsin	ɛsiŋ
升	scin	xĩm	ɛʃiəŋ	ɛʃəŋ	ɛsən	ɛsən	ɛsiŋ	ɛsiŋ	ɛsiŋ
根	chen	kēn	ɛkən	ɛkən	ɛkən	ɛken	ɛkan	ɛkun	ɛkouŋ

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	YC	MH	KC	AM	FC
更	chen	kēm	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ, ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ
今	chin	kīn	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ
經	chin	kīm	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ, ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ
因	in	īn	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ
英	in	īm	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ	ㄘㄢˊ

Both YC and MH have the two above described finals merged into one. The merging is also one of the phonological characteristics of the modern Jiang-Huai dialects. Ricci's pronunciation may indicate that the merging already existed in the Ming dynasty Mandarin, or it may reflect the influence of a Hakka dialect speaker.

(3) The *an/ay* finals. At the beginning of this study, I thought that in Ricci's early system the *an* and *ay* finals were also merged, which is also a phonological feature of the modern Nanking dialect. However, after both taking a more careful look at the materials as a whole and also comparing words with *an* and *ay* finals with those of *ən/əy* and *in/iy* finals, I have come to the conclusion that although his transcriptions were a bit confusing Ricci did keep *an* and *ay* finals separate. The reason that I initially thought that these two finals were merged together was that he often used the same spelling for words with final *an* and *ay*; for example, 單 *tan, tā*; 當 *tan, tā*; 甘 *can, cā*; 鋼 *can, cā*; 間 *chian, chiā*; 講 *chian, chiā*. Later, though, I found out that he also spelled the characters 當, 鋼, and 講 as *tam*, *cam*, and *chiam*, respectively, but he never or very rarely ever spelled 單, 甘, and 間 as *tam*, *cam*, and *chiam*. Since *am* later was used exclusively for *ay* finals both in Ricci's final system and in Trigault's system, therefore, the variants *an* and *ā* were only meant to be alternate or abbreviated spellings for *am* in the case of 當, 鋼, and 講. This is also true with the final *un* and *um*, both of which share the same alternate spelling *ū*. Here, I give a few examples for illustration:

<i>an</i> finals:	<i>am</i> finals:	<i>un</i> finals:	<i>um</i> finals:
單 <i>tan, tā</i>	當 <i>tam, tan, tā</i>	頓 <i>tun, tū</i>	東 <i>tum, tun, tū</i>
甘 <i>can, cā</i>	鋼 <i>cam, can, cā</i>	春 <i>ciun, ciū</i>	蟲 <i>cium, ciun, ciū</i>
間 <i>chian, chiā</i>	講 <i>chiam, chian, chiā</i>	裙 <i>chiun, chiū</i>	窮 <i>chium, chiun, chiū</i>
關 <i>cuan, cuā</i>	光 <i>quam, quan, quā</i>	雲 <i>iun, iū</i>	用 <i>ium, iun, iū</i>

(4) The *ay* and *uay* finals. We find a few words in Ricci's early system with the *kai-kou* final *ay* instead of the *he-kou* final *uay* as was found in both his final system and in that of Trigault. The reason probably involves the influence of dialect pronunciations. Here are a few examples:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	YC	MH	SF
撞	zam [tsaŋ]	<i>chiām, choām, chuām</i>	tʃuaŋ ²	tʃuaŋ ²	tsuaŋ ²	tsɔŋ ²	dzaŋ ²
狀	ciam [tʃaŋ]	<i>choām, chuām</i>	tʃuaŋ ²	tʃuaŋ ²	tsuaŋ ²	tsɔŋ ²	dzaŋ ²
瘡	zam [ts'aŋ]	<i>c'hōām, c'huām, c'hām</i>	ㄘㄢˊ'uaŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'uaŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'uaŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'ɔŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'aŋ
憲	zam [ts'aŋ]	<i>c'hōām, c'huām</i>	ㄘㄢˊ'uaŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'uaŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'uaŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'ɔŋ	ㄘㄢˊ'aŋ

We are not sure which dialect pronunciations influenced Ricci's early system. From this table, we can see that relative to all dialects, SF finals *aj* are the closest to RES; MH would be next. It is possible that one of Ricci's teachers was from Hunan. This is quite improbable, however, for there is no other data to indicate that. Yet, there is evidence to show that one of Ricci's teachers was a Hakka dialect speaker as MH (Hakka) final *aj* is phonetically quite close to the final *aj*.

(5) The *eu* final. In the early system and in the *Storia* the *eu* final also included some characters later in the final system were transcribed with a medial *i* and *ieu*; for example, 流, 劉, 留 first was *leu* and later *liêu*. The early pronunciations probably reflect influences of Yue and Min dialects. The pronunciations of these characters in PK, KC and AM are as follows:

Char.	PK	KC	AM
流	ɛliu	ɛleu	ɛliu
劉	ɛliu	ɛleu	ɛliu, ɛlau
留	ɛliu	ɛleu	ɛliu, ɛlau

Phonetically the KC *leu* is quite close to *leu* [ləu]. AM *lau* is the colloquial reading.

(6) The *an/uan* and *on/uon* finals. Both RES and RFS kept these two sets of finals distinct. This is a phonological feature of the Old Mandarin recorded in JYYY. It is still one of the important features among the modern Jiang-Huai dialects. In modern Northern Mandarin dialects, however, they were merged into one set of finals *an/uan*. The following examples will show this feature:

Char.	RES	RFS	JYYY	PK	AC	YC	HF	TC
搬	pon	(puõn)	ɛpon	ɛpan	ɛpon	ɛpõ	ɛpõ	ɛpũ
班	pan	pãn	ɛpan	ɛpan	ɛpan	ɛpæ	ɛpæ	ɛpẽ
官	cuon	(kuõn)	ɛkon	ɛkuan	ɛkon	ɛkõ	ɛkõ	ɛkũ
關	cuan	(kuãn)	ɛkuan	ɛkuan	ɛkuan	ɛkuæ	ɛkuæ	ɛkuẽ

(7) The *uon/iuon* and *un/iun* finals. From the data listed on Table II (p. 217), one can see that in RES, the finals *uon/un* and *iuon/iun* were sometimes confused and the transcriptions fluctuated between these two. For example, 君, 裙, and 群 were spelled sometimes as *chiun* and sometimes as *chiuon*. In addition, some of the RES *uon/iuon* became *un/iun* in the RFS. Some examples are:

Char.	RES	RFS	Char.	RES	RFS
	<i>uon/iuon</i> →	<i>un/iun</i>		<i>uon/iuon</i> →	<i>uen/iuen</i>
寸	ɕuon	ɕ'ún	滾	cuon	kuèn
君	chiuon, chiun	kiũn	勸	chiuon	k'iuén
裙	chiuon, chiun	k'iuén	全	ɕiuon	ɕ'iuén
雲	iuon, iun	iũn	圓	yuon	yuén

Ricci's fluctuation and apparent confusion of these finals probably was due to the dialectal pronunciations of his teacher or to inaccuracy in transcription.

(8) The *ru* tone finals. As I mentioned before (p. 214), Ricci's apostrophe-like marks occurring after finals *e* and *ie*: *e'*, *ie'* led me to reconstruct the *ru* tone finals *a'*, *ia'*, *ua'*, *a'*, *ie'*, *ɔ'*, *io'*, *uo'*, *yo'*, etc. I added a glottal stop after the final vowels, for the diacritical tone mark /*ǣ*/ suggest a short and abrupt ending. Varo's description of the *ru* tone also confirmed this hypothesis (see p. 221). This kind of glottal stop still exists among many modern dialects such as the Jin (Shansi) dialects, the Wu dialects, and the Jiang-Huai dialects. The existence of *ru* tone finals implies that Ricci's Mandarin dialect was not based on the Northern Peking dialect, but rather on a Southern Mandarin dialect, most probably the Mandarin dialect spoken in the Nanking area of the Ming dynasty.

During the early Ming dynasty, specifically from 1356 to 1421, Nanking was the capital city of China; therefore, it is reasonable to presume that the commonly used Mandarin dialect at that time was based on the dialect of the Nanking area. In Ricci's *Storia*, there is an account concerning the study of the Mandarin dialect by Fr. Diego de Pantoja, S. J. (龐迪我 1571-1618) and a boy from Nanking. The event happened during Ricci's journey from Nanking to Peking in 1600. During that trip, Ricci and Pantoja stopped over in Linching, Shantung. A eunuch by the name of Leupusie helped Ricci during the trip. Before his departure from Linching, he left a boy whom he had bought at Nanking as a present to the missionaries since the boy who spoke Chinese very well could assist Fr. Pantoja in learning the language. The original text reads like this:

"L'eunuco Leupusie se ne fu molto allegro e diede in dono ai Padri, alla sua dipartenza, un putto che gli aveva comprato in Nanchino, che parlava molto bene [la] lingua cina, per insegnare al Padre Pantoja, che veniva imparando con esso." (FR II: 111)

The English translation of this paragraph could be rendered as follows:

"Before his departure, the eunuch Leupusie was very happy and as a present he gave to the Fathers a boy whom he had bought at Nanking. The boy who speaks very good Chinese, can teach Fr. Pantoja who is going to study [Chinese] with him."

Trigault's adapted version of this paragraph reads as follows:

"The eunuch who had been in charge of the expedition, sailed away joyfully, and as a present to the Fathers he left them a boy, whom he had bought at Nankin. He said he was giving them this boy because he spoke so distinctly, and he could teach Father Didaco the purity of the Nanchinese tongue." (Gallagher, 1953: 362)

Notice that Trigault added the term 'Nanchinese tongue' not 'Pekinese tongue.' This proves that the standard Mandarin dialect of the Ming dynasty was based

on Nanking pronunciation and that the Chinese mandarins and literati as well as the Jesuit missionaries all learned that dialect (Lu, 1985: 51).

Here, however, one should notice, that the modern dialect of the city of Nanking has undergone extensive changes. This is due to the drastic population shift caused by war and devastation of the city during the past four hundred years. Therefore, many Ming Mandarin phonological features might not be found in Nanking, but in neighboring cities like Yijeng, Yangchow, and other modern Jiang-Huai dialect areas (Pao, 1986: 381-383).

XI. Some Lexical and Grammatical Features of the Mandarin Dialect of the Ming Dynasty

The basic vocabulary and grammatical structure (as seen from certain short sentences) recorded in this dictionary definitely belong to the Mandarin dialects. However, a sizable number of words and phrases are either special usages of Ming dynasty Mandarin, or are borrowed from Southern dialects—either Mandarin or non-Mandarin. Some of the more significant vocabulary and phrases will be given below according to the grammatical categories of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and sentences. The abbreviations in parentheses (see p. 222) indicate dialects having the same words, phrases, or sentences.

(1) Nouns without any suffix

- 火房 *cuo fam* 'kitchen' (LY)
- 所在 *so zai* 'place' (AM)
- 坐所在 *zo so zai* 'sitting place, seat'
- 自家 *zi chia* 'oneself' (MH)
- 後生 *heu sen* 'young person' (MH, KC, FC)
- 口涎 *cheu yen* 'saliva' (MH: 口澆 *'k'eu lan*)
- 天曉 *tien schiau* 'dawn' (KC)
- 要夜 *yau ye* 'evening'

(2) Nouns with suffix *zi* and *teu*

- 梨子 *li zi* 'pear' (YC, CS)
- 棗子 *zau zi* 'jujube' (YC, CS, NC)
- 衫子 *san zi* 'shirt, jacket' (HF)
- 杖子 *ciam zi* 'stick'
- 斧頭 *fu teu* 'ax' (NK, YC, MH, KC)
- 柱頭 *ciu teu* 'pillar'
- 鋤頭 *zu teu* 'hoe' (YC, CS, NC, MH, KC, AM, FC)

(3) Compound words with different morphemic order

- 歡喜 *cuon schi* 'joyful, glad' (NK, MH, KC, AM)
- 鬧熱 *nau ge* 'lively' (MH, AM)
- 人客 *gin chie* 'guest' (MH, KC)

(4) Verbs

講話 *chiam cua* 'to speak, to talk' (NK, CS, NC, MH, KC, AM)

講價 *chiam chia* 'to bargain' (NK, KC)

曉得 *schiau te* 'to know' (NK, YC, MH)

備辦 *pi pan* 'to prepare' (AM)

下屎 *schia sci* 'to ease nature, to empty the bowels'

屙尿 *o niau* 'to urinate' (YC, MH, KC) (屙尿)

逆氣 *gnie' chi* 'to belch'

倒身 *tau scin* 'to lie down' (AM, FC)

倦了 *chiuon liau* 'to be tired'

磨利 *mo li* 'to sharpen' (MH, KC, AM)

起房子 *chi fam zi* 'to build a house' (NK; KC: 起屋 'hei uk₂)

整乾淨 *cin con cin* 'to clean up' (KC: 整 'tsig 'to repair')

整嫵致 *cin piau ci* 'to beautify'

(5) Interrogatives

幾多 *chi to* 'how many, how much' (MH, KC)

幾久 *chi chieu* 'how long (time)' (MH, KC)

甚麼子 *scin mo zi* 'what (thing)' (LB)

(6) Adjectives and adverbs

利 *li* 'sharp' (MH, KC, AM)

嫵致 *piau ci* 'beautiful' (SC)

牢固 *han cu* 'solid, strong' (CS, NC: 牢固 'lau ku')

不得閒 *po te' schian* 'busy' (NK, KC)

不曾 *po çen* 'not yet' (NK, MH, KC)

煮不曾熟 *cio po çen scio* 'not yet well cooked'

(7) Comparative sentences

大過他 *ta co ta* 'bigger than him' (KC)

近過他 *chin co ta* 'closer than him' (KC)

做强過他 *zo chiam co ta* 'better than him'

好得緊 *hau te' chin* 'very good, best'

多得緊 *to te' chin* 'very much, most'

要財得緊 *yau zai te' chin* 'to crave for fortune'

(8) The uses of *pa* (把)

a) as a causative verb:

把他歡喜 *pa ta cuon schi* 'to make him happy'

把他進來 *pa ta cin lai* 'to let him come in'

把他憔悴 *pa ta ziau zau* 'to make him careworn'

b) as a benefactive verb:

把他食 *pa ta cie'* 'to give him food to eat, to feed him'

把他草食 *pa ta zau cie'* 'to give him grass to eat' (TC)

說把衆人 *sciuo pa cium gin* 'to make it known to all, to tell everybody'
c) as a 'passive' verb:

把工夫 *pa cum fu* 'to be occupied'

把辛苦 *pa sin cu* 'to suffer'

把愁事 *pa zeu ssi* 'to be worried'

Words for 'pear', 'jujube', 'shirt', 'ax', 'hoe', 'joyful', 'to speak', 'to bargain', 'to know', 'to urinate', 'to build a house', 'busy', and 'not yet' are those typical of the Jiang-Huai or Southern dialects, not the Northern Mandarin dialect.

Words for 'oneself', 'young person', 'lively', 'guest', 'sharp', 'to sharpen', 'how many', 'how long', etc. are those of the Hakka or Yue dialect.

Words for 'place', 'prepare', 'to lie down', etc. are exclusively those of the Min (Amoy) dialect.

Words for 'dawn', 'to clean up', and the comparative sentences 'bigger than him', 'closer than him', etc. are exclusively those of the Cantonese dialect.

The comparative sentences 'very good', 'very much', and 'to crave for fortune' are Ming dynasty Mandarin constructions with a suffix-like *chin* 緊. It was included in Varo's *Arte de la lengua mandarina* (p. 16a) as a 'superlative' particle. It also is included in Lung's *Sung Yuan yu-yan tsz-dian* (Lung, 1985: 735) as indicating the same function; therefore, this particle was current during the late Yuan and late Ming periods. The sentence with *pa* 把 also probably reflect grammatical devices used in Ming dynasty Mandarin dialects. Modern TC dialect still has a construction identical to that of *pa ta zau cie* 'to give him grass to eat'; the only difference is that the *pa* is replaced by *ma* which was probably derived from *pa*.

XII. Concluding Remarks

From this preliminary historical and linguistic introduction to Matteo Ricci's *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary*, we may make a few concluding remarks.

1. This dictionary probably was the first European-Chinese (Mandarin) bilingual dictionary that was compiled for missionaries to learn spoken Chinese, that is, the Mandarin dialect of the Ming dynasty. The model of subsequent bilingual dictionaries tend to be of very similar design.

2. The romanization system occurring with this dictionary was the first attempt ever made by a European to systematize the speech sounds of the Mandarin dialect by transcribing Chinese syllables using roman letters. It was the beginning and forerunner of all subsequent systems.

3. The phonological and lexical data recorded in the dictionary are precious linguistic materials for the study of the Mandarin dialect used by the mandarins and literati of the late Ming dynasty. These materials reveal the phonological and lexical characteristics of the spoken language that Ricci and his companions learned and used.

4. By comparing the phonological and lexical features of the Mandarin dialect described by Ricci with those of the Northern Mandarin dialect, we are able to prove that the official or standard Mandarin dialect of the late Ming dynasty was not based on the Northern Peking dialect, but most probably on a commonly accepted Southern variety of Mandarin, specifically, the dialect of Nanking and its vicinities.

5. From historical records, we also can prove the prestige of the Nanking dialect. There is evidence lying in the fact that the eunuch gave Fr. Pantoja a boy who was a native of Nanking in order that he teach the Father to speak the Nankinese tongue. There is also evidence in that although Matteo Ricci spent about ten years in Peking, documents show he never replaced his Southern Mandarin speech with the local Peking dialect. Furthermore, the fact that Southern Mandarin dialect pronunciations such as the *ru* tone as occurring in Ricci's works were then defunct in the Peking dialect, yet, they were well accepted by contemporary Chinese mandarins and literati suggests that the standard Mandarin dialect of the time of Matteo Ricci was based on the pronunciation of the Nanking dialect.

6. From the variant spellings which more often reflected Hakka, Cantonese, and Fukien (Amoy) dialect influences, we are on safe ground in presuming that Ricci's early language teachers were either from Kwangtung or Fukien. At least one of them was a Hakka dialect speaker; another was a Fukien (probably Amoy) dialect speaker. At any rate, we can say for sure, that Ricci's first teachers were not native speakers of the Northern Peking Mandarin dialect.

7. Matteo Ricci's *Portuguese-Chinese dictionary* is a very rich source for the study of the Mandarin dialect of the Ming dynasty. This paper is but a preliminary and general introduction to some of the linguistic aspects of its contents. Further detailed research on its phonological, lexical, grammatical, and lexicographical data certainly will provide us with deeper knowledge of the linguistic features of the spoken language that Ricci and his companions learned and used for communication.

Bibliography

Ai, Ru-liue [Aleni, Giulio, S. J.]

1630 *Da-shi Shi-tai Li shian-sheng shing-ji*. Peking, 1919, repr.

艾儒略：大西西泰利先生行蹟

Bartoli, Daniello, S. J.

1665 *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesù. La Cina*. Torino, 1825, repr.

Bei-jing da-shiue

1962 *Han-yu fang-yin tz-huei*. Peking: Wen-tz gai-ge.

北京大學中文系：漢語方音字匯

1964 *Han-yu fang-yan tsz-huei*. Peking: Wen-tz gai-ge.

北京大學中文系：漢語方言詞匯

Chan, Albert, S. J.

1982 *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

- Chan, Po-hui
1981 *Shian-dai Han-yu fang-yan*. Wuhan: Hu-bei ren-min.
詹伯慧: 現代漢語方言
- Chang, Feng-chen
1982 *Li Ma-dou jian-liue nian-pu*. Tainan: Wen-dau.
張奉箴: 利瑪竇簡略年譜
- 1983 *Li Ma-dou tzai Jung-guo*. Tainan: Wen-dau.
張奉箴: 利瑪竇在中國
- Cheng, Da-yue
1609 *Cheng shr mo yuan*. Ming edition.
程大約: 程氏墨苑
- Dehergne, Joseph, S. J.
1973 *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. Rome: Institutum Historicum S. J.; Paris: Letouzey & Ané.
- D'Elia, Pasquale M., S. J.
1938a "Il primo dizionario Europeo-Cinese e la fonetizzazione Italiana del Cinese." *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*. Rome, 172-178,
1938b "Découverte de nombreux et importants documents relatifs à l'histoire des missions catholiques en Chine de 1580 à 1610." *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*. Rome, 693-698.
1942-49 *Fonti Ricciane. Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina*. 3 vols. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato.
- DMB. *Dictionary of Ming Biography*
See Goodrich & Fang.
- Dunne, George H., S. J.
1960 *Generations of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Late Decades of the Ming Dynasty*. Notre Dame: U. of Notre Dame Press, 1962, 2nd print.
- Fang, Hao
1970 *Tian-ju-jiau-shr ren-wu juan*. 3 vols. Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society. Vol. I.
方豪: 天主教史人物傳
- Fei, Lai-chih [Pfister, Louis, S. J.]. Tr. by Feng, Ch'eng-chün
1937 *Ru Hua Ye-su-huei-shr lie juan*. Changsha: Shang-wu, 1938. Taipei: Shang-wu, reprint.
費賴之著, 馮承鈞譯: 入華耶穌會士列傳
- FR. *Fonti Ricciane*
1942-1949 See D'Elia.
- Franke, Wolfgang
1976 "Matteo Ricci (October 6, 1552-May 11, 1610)." *DMB*, 1137-1144.
- Gallagher
1953 See Ricci/Trigault.
- Goodrich, L. Carrington
1976 "Trigault, Nicolas." *DMB*, 1294-1296.
- Goodrich, L. Carrington & Fang, Chao-ying ed.
1976 *Dictionary of Ming Biography*. 2 vols., New York: Columbia U. Press.
- Gouvea, Antonio de, S. J.
1671 *Innocentia Victrix, sive Sententia Comitiorum Imperij Sinici pro Innocentia Christianae Religionis Lata Juridice per Annum 1669*. Canton.
- Harris, George L.
1966 "The Mission of Matteo Ricci, S. J.: A Case Study of an Effort at a Guided Culture Change in The Sixteenth Century." *Monumenta Serica*, 25, 1-168.
- Jang, Er-chi
ca. 1670 *Gau an shian hua*. Taipei: Shang-wu, 1976, repr.
張爾岐: 蒿庵閒話
- Jiang-su-sheng he Shang-hai-shr fang-yan diau-cha jr-dau tzu ed.
1960 *Jiang-su-sheng he Shang-hai-shr fang-yan gai-kuang*. Shanghai: Jiang-su ren-min.
江蘇省和上海市方言調查指導組: 江蘇省和上海市方言概況

- Jin, Ni-ge [Trigault, Nicolas, S. J.]
1626 *Shi-ru er-mu tz.* Hangchow; reprinted in Peking: Wen-tz gai-ge, 1957, 3 vols.
金尼閣: 西儒耳目資
- Jou, De-ching
1324 *Jung-yuan yin-yun.* Taipei: Yi-wen yin-shu-guan, 1970, repr.
周德清: 中原音韻
- Jou, De-ching. Hsü Shih-ying (ed.), Liu Te-chih (IPA)
1969 *Yin-ju Jung-yuan yin-yun.* Taipei: Guang-wen.
周德清著, 許世英校訂, 劉德智注音: 音注中原音韻
- Kircher, Athanasius, S. J.
1667 *China illustrata.* Amstelodami: Apud Joannem Janssonium a Waesberge & Elizeum Weyerstraet.
- Ku, Pao-ku
1970 *Jung-guo Tian-chu-jiau da-shr nian-biau.* Taichung: Guang-chi Press.
顧保鵬: 中國天主教大事年表
1982-83 "Li Ma-dou de Jung-wen ju shu." *Heng-yi*, 32: 5, 3-6; 6, 2-4; 7, 11-14; 8, 4-6; 9, 7-9; 10, 2-4.
顧保鵬: 利瑪竇的中文著述 (恒毅)
1983 "Shi jian Li Ma-dou shen-fu de Shi tz chi ji." *Jiau-yu sheng-huo jou-kan* 1529, November 10, 6.
顧保鵬: 喜見利瑪竇神父的《西字奇蹟》(教友生活週刊)
- Li, Ma-dou [Ricci, Matteo, S. J.]
1606 *Shi tz chi ji.* From the Vatican Library, Racc. g. Orientale, 231, 12.
利瑪竇: 西字奇蹟
1957 *Ming ji jr Ou-hua mei-shu ji Luo-ma-tz ju-yin.* Reprinted by the Fugen University in 1927; reprinted again by the Wen-tz gai-ge chu-ban she (Peking), 1957, with the title *Ming-mo Luo-ma-tz ju-yin wen-jang.*
利瑪竇: 明季之歐化美術及羅馬字注音
明末羅馬字注音文章
- Liu, Chün-yü & Wang, Yü-ch'uan
1987 See Ricci/D'Elia.
- Lo, Ch'ang-p'ei
1930 "Ye-su-huei-shr tzai yin-yun-shiue shang de gung-shian." *BIHP* 1: 3, 267-388.
羅常培: 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻
1951 "Ye-su-huei-shr tzai yin-yun-shiue shang de gung-shian bu." *Guo-shiue ji-kan*, 211-330./Article was printed but not published in the journal.
羅常培: 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻補 (國學季刊; 印而未刊)
- Lo, Yü
1986. See Ricci/Tacchi-Venturi.
- Lu, Kuo-yao
1985 "Ming-dai guan-hua ji chi ji-chu fang-yan wen-ti." *Nan-jing da-shiue shiue-bau* 1985: 4, 47-52./A review of *Li Ma-dou Jung-guo ja-ji.*
魯國堯: 明代官話及其基礎方言問題 (南京大學學報)
- Lung, Ch'ien-an
1985 *Sung Yuan yu-yan tsz-dian.* Shanghai: Shang-hai tsz-shu.
龍潛庵: 宋元語言詞典
- Martini, Martino, S. J.
1655 *Novus Atlas Sinensis.* Amsterdam: Blaeu; Trento: Museo Tridentino di Scienze Naturali, 1981, repr.
- Miller, Roy Andrew
1976 "Qoninči." *DMB*, 1125-1127.
- OS. *Opere storiche*
See Tacchi-Venturi.
- Pao, Ming-wei
1986 "Nan-jing fang-yan li-shr yan-bian chu-tan." *Yu-yan yan-jiou ji-kan*, I, 375-393.
鮑明輝: 南京方言歷史演變初探 (語言研究集刊)

Pfister, Louis, S. J.

1932-34 *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773*. 2 vols. *Variétés Sinologiques*, 59. Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.

Ricci, Matteo, S. J. & Ruggieri, Michele, S. J.

ca. 1585-9 *Dizionario portoghese-cinese* (title given by D'Elia, 1942-49). Unpubl. Ms. *ARSI*, Jap.-Sin., I, 198, 189 fol., cm 23×16.5.

Ricci, Matteo, S. J. Ed. by D'Elia, Pasquale, S. J. Tr. by Liu, Chün-yü & Wang, Yü-ch'uan

1987 *Li Ma-dou Jung-guo chuan-jiau shr.* (*Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina*). Taipei: Guang-chi, 2 vols. See D'Elia, 1942-49.

利瑪竇著，劉俊餘、王玉川譯：利瑪竇中國傳教史

Ricci, Matteo, S. J. Ed. by Tacchi-Venturi, Pietro, S. J. Tr. by Lo, Yü

1986 *Li Ma-dou shu-shin ji* (*Le lettere dalla Cina*). Taipei: Guang-chi, 2 vols. See Tacchi-Venturi, 1911-13.

利瑪竇著，羅漁譯：利瑪竇書信集

Ricci, Matteo, S. J. Ed. by Trigault, Nicolas, S. J.

1615 *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas ab Societate Jesu suscepta*. Ausburg.

Tr. by Gallagher, Louis J., S. J.

1953 *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*. New York: Random House.

Tr. by Kawana, Kōhei & Yazawa, Toshihiko.

1982-1983 *Chagoku Kirisutokyo fukyōshi*. Tokyo: Iwanami, 2 vols., with Jap. tr. of Alvaro Semmedo, S. J. *Imperio de la China, i cultura evangelica en el por los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus*.

川名公平、矢澤利彦譯：中國キリスト教布教史

Tr. by Ho, Kao-chi, Wang, Tsun-chung & Li, Shen.

1983 *Li Ma-dou Jung-guo ja-ji*. 2 vols. Peking: Jung-hua.

利瑪竇著，金尼閣增訂；何高濟、王遵仲、李申譯：利瑪竇中國札記

Spence, Jonathan D.

1984 *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. New York: Viking.

Streit, Robert, O. M. I.

1928-1964 *Bibliotheca Missionum*. Rome, Freiburg, Vienna: Herder. 2nd printing.

Tacchi-Venturi, Pietro, S. J.

1911-13 *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci, S. J.* 2 vols. I. *Commentarij della Cina* (1911); II. *Le lettere dalla Cina* (1913).

Tung, T'ung-ho

1968 *Han-yu yin-yun-shiue*. Taipei: Guang-wen.

董同龢：漢語音韻學

Valignano, Alessandro, S. J. Ed. by Joseph Wicki, S. J.

1944 *Historia del Principio y progreso de la Compañia de Jesus en las Indias Orientales (1542-1564)*.

Rome: Institutum Historicum S. J.

Varo, Francisco, O. P. Ed. by Pedro Piñuela, O. F. M.

1703 *Arte de la lengua Mandarin*. Canton.

Weingartner, Fredric F.

1975 "El primero diccionario Europeo-Chino." *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 11, 223-227.

Wu, K. T.

1976 "Ch'eng Ta-yüeh." *DMB*, 212-215.

Yang, Fu-mien [Yang, Paul Fu-mien, S. J.]

1983 "Li Ma-dou duei Jung-guo yu-yan-shiue de gung-shian." *Gung-jiau bau* January 7: 24, January 14: 20.

楊福綿：利瑪竇對中國語言學的貢獻（公教報）

Yang, Shih-feng & Ching, Yün-ching

1971 "Ling-bau fang-yan." *Ching-hua shiue-bau* (n. s.) 9, 106-147.

楊時逢、荊允敬：靈寶方言（清華學報【新】）

A. m.^a

Pin ciu ven ta ssi gni
 Che iuo Te lai pai ni si fu, si fu zai chia li mo.
 Dum iuo zai chia li sum chin pui chia'
 che iuo ngo su meu ciu sia' cu ngo pai sui' si fu lo
 Tu iuo chi' cum sia' cum lai
 te che iuo gi si fu zai chia pui' ni
 Tu iuo zai chia
 che iuo tin gi si fu ciu lai
 Du iuo guai mien lieu ie' guai sia' cu lai pai si fu
 cin si fu ciu chia' sia' guai.
 ledor ciu che sia' guai' chia' sia' zay' che cin zay'
 yeu' sion pui', cin gin zai zopien zay' si.
 che cin kin gin cuo yeu', cin gin si iuo. che guai
 pu can
 che cin cin nai cuo yeu' zay' leai
 Ciu gin zai cin che' che' yeu' zay' pui' leai
 cin che zo tuo gi che' sia' mie' cin iai
 yun pan sia mo ciu cin zo tin.
 Ciu gin u' iuo sia' cu' guai lei
 Ta iuo mo lei.
 Ciu gin u' iuo guai fu guai chia'
 Ta iuo meu fu meu chia'.

Plate 1. First page of the *Pin ciu ven ta ssi gni* 賓主問答詞義

Abitar	cu	住 吾 在	habitar
Abitador	gin cu	人 住	habitador
Abitador	chin	家 房 子 屋 宇	habitação
Abitador	cu la	歌 歌	soçio
Abitador	tao	一 吞	incorporar
Abitador	yan	吞	incorporar
Abitador	pa lin - cu chin	咬	mordicava
Abitador	san si ci	怕 聆 - 幸 娘	obediente
Abitador	fan cu	好 時 節	oportuno
Abitador	pan	牢 固	seguro
Abitador	fu quai	保	proteger
Abitador	ci cin fu gung	富 貴	rico
Abitador	se chin	自 稱 富 貴	far-se rico
Abitador	se chin	許多	seu
Abitador	se chin	女 兒	filha
Abitador	se chin	富	uma porta
Abitador	se chin	柳 組	grupo
Abitador	se chin	相 額 - 相 抱	abraçar
Abitador	se chin	抱 一 下	abraçar
Abitador	se chin	燒	queimar
Abitador	se chin	熱 氣	calor
Abitador	se chin	到	chegar
Abitador	se chin	教 善 教 軟 - 善 軟	educar
Abitador	se chin	為 善 積 善 修 善	educar
Abitador	se chin	成	educar

Universo
Universal

le pio -
le
tan. vi Co
Shi paieu
Cun. Co!

一通一四
車一個得專祖受
御中研無又
外集俱

X
Zorgo calçoi de pella

Z

Zenro
Zaga' ias
Zarabatana
Zambar

Zi' ze
fi' an
cia in?
sch. Co!
Zu' chian
le chian
gi' to' dia'

羊眼
粉女
吹筒
戲弄
蜂叫

Zambar guilich the
Zu' vas, d' alro -
Zurir a cella

Zu' vas, d' alro -
Zurir a cella
Zu' vas, d' alro -
Zurir a cella

Plate 4. Last page (fol. 156) of the Portuguese-Chinese dictionary



Plate 5. From M. Ricci's 3rd romanized article, taken from *Cheng shr mo yuan* 程氏墨苑



Plate 6. The same article, taken from M. Ricci's *Shi tz chi ji* 西字奇蹟

同鳴字父		則	測	者	搭	格	克	百	魄	德	忒	日	物	弗	額	勒	麥	務	色	石	黑
○清	○ā	嗟		檀	差			巴	葩	他											沙
第濁	○ā			茶				芭	葩							麻	罕				
一上	○ā			鮮	槌			把	打							馬	拿	酒			
母去	○ā			詐	託			霸	把	大						碼	那	嘜			
○入	○ā	維	蔡	札	察			八	八	達	闊	襪	法			蠟	帳	銷	撒	殺	
○清	○ē			遮	車																奢
第濁	○ē																				蛇
二上	○ē			者	捨					惹											拾
母去	○ē			蔑																	舍
○入	○ē	宅	冊	營	撒	格	客	白	拍	德	忒	日	然		元	勒	而	撈	寒	話	植

同鳴字父		則	測	者	搭	格	克	百	魄	德	忒	日	物	弗	額	勒	麥	務	色	石	黑
○清	○ī	箭	妻	知	賜	機	欺	碑	披	隄	捺			非					西	詩	窺
第濁	○ī		齊	馳	奇	皮	題						微	肥	離	糜	泥		時	奚	
三上	○ī	涕	縷	止	恥	已	起	彼	庀	底	體		尾	斐	里	米	徐	徒	矢	喜	
母去	○ī	祭	砌	致	垣	記	企	避	譬	地	替		未	費	晉	寐	詣	細	侍	係	
○入	○ī																				
○清	○ō		礎		歌	朝	波	坡	多	佗									梭		訶
第濁	○ō		產				婆	駝							裁	羅	摩	儺			荷
四上	○ō	左	瑤		蜀	可	播	頗	朵	採					我	邏	麼	娜	鎖		火
母去	○ō	佐	挫		個	課	骸	破	墮	拖			伏	餓	撰	磨	奈	婆			賀
○入	○ō	族	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥	夥

Plate 7. Fol. 16b & 17a of vol. II of Shi-ru er-mu 12 西儒耳目資



Plate 8. Front page of Varo's *Arte de la lengua mandarina*

韓國漢字音內的舌音系字音變化

姜 信 沆

成均館大學

目 錄

- I. 序言
- II. 韓國漢字音內的舌音系字音變化
 - 1. 中韓漢字音的舌音變化差異
 - 2. 文獻資料上看舌音變化
 - 3. 歷代學者的證言
- III. 結論

I. 序 言

韓國約於二千年前自中國傳入漢字來使用。並在新羅時代派遣大批留學生到唐朝留學；高麗時代又爲了圓滿做好與中國的外交，特設通文館¹擔任漢語的口頭翻譯工作。朝鮮王朝時則自開國初期便設立司譯院，²依然擔任口頭翻譯與學習漢語的角色。此外又編纂《老乞大》、《朴通事》、《直解小學》等漢語學習教材，³以便利漢語的學習。

與中國如是交往、學習的同時，早自高麗光宗起實施了考試韻書爲不可或缺的科舉項目。⁴因此，當時韓國的知識階層都通曉中國字音或韓國的漢字音。

不過韓國知識階層開始關心漢字音，留下有關漢字音的記錄，則是一四四三年（朝鮮王朝世宗二十五年）創制了韓國固有文字——《訓民正音》以後的事。故此以前的韓國漢字音仍無法確知。

十五世紀中葉，以世宗大王爲首腦創制《訓民正音》的學者們在韓語文字化過程

1 通文館設於 1276 年（忠烈王二年），後改稱爲司譯院。

2 朝鮮王朝司譯院設於 1393 年（太祖二年），除學習漢語外，尙有女真語、蒙古語、倭語等，並擔任口頭翻譯工作。女真語自滿清肇建後改稱爲清語。

有關司譯院方面，請參照拙著：《李朝時代の 譯學政策と 譯學者》（1978，塔出版社，漢城）。

3 朝鮮王朝初期，用做漢語教材的有《老乞大》、《朴通事》（以上兩書之編纂年代未詳）以及《直解小學》（世宗時人僕長壽所著）。請參照拙著：《李朝時代の 譯學政策と 譯學者》（1978，塔出版社，漢城）。

4 科舉制度始於新羅元聖王四年（788 年），設有讀書三品科。但高麗光宗九年（958 年），依歸化的華裔雙冀之建議，實施詩、賦科舉，當時韻書必用爲作詩的「審音用」。

上，⁵韓語語彙裏多達半數以上的漢字音爲根基，縝密地檢討韓國漢字音的實態。當時的學者在這檢討的過程中，明白了韓國漢字音和中國本土字音在音系上有著懸殊的差異。於是他們把這兩個音系間的乖離視爲韓國漢字音的一種混亂，下決心給予糾正。

一四四四年（世宗二十六年）二月廿日，集賢殿副提學崔萬理等呈〈訓民正音創制反對上疏文〉，世宗告諸大臣曰：

「汝知韻書乎？四聲七音字母有幾乎？若非予正其韻書，則伊誰正之乎？」明顯地表露出要藉編纂韻書糾正韓國漢字音的意志。⁶盼以如此的意志表示理想的音系，並加以編纂的標準韓國漢字音用韻書便是《東國正韻》（一四四七年，世宗廿九年）。此韻書的序文對十五世紀的韓國漢字音聲母做如下說明⁷：

「且字母之作 諸於聲耳 如舌頭舌上 唇重唇輕 齒頭正齒之類 於我國字音 未可分辨 亦當因其自然 何必泥於三十六字乎」

此乃立足於所謂「未可分辨」與「何必泥於三十六字乎」的原則。《東國正韻》的聲母體系和《訓民正音》二十三字母體系一樣，由二十三聲母體系編纂成的，而且舌頭音與舌上音以此體系爲根柢，依照同一的《訓民正音》舌音字（舌端音＝齒莖音）ㄷ／t／、ㄷ／t'／、ㄴ／n／表記。

可是，由《洪武正韻譯訓》（一四五五年，端宗三年）的索引格編纂成的〈四聲通攷凡例〉（一四五五年），却證實了十三世紀中國字音的舌上音已變爲正齒音。

「凡舌上聲 以舌腰點腭 故其聲難而自歸於正齒 故韻會 以知徹澄孃 歸照穿牀禪 而中國時音 獨以孃歸泥 且本韻混泥孃而不別 今以知徹澄 歸照穿牀 以孃歸泥」

此所謂的「韻會」是指《古今韻會舉要》（一二九七年），而「本韻」是指《洪武正韻》（一三七五年）。在編纂兩韻書的十三、十四世紀，已將中國三十六字母中的舌上音知徹澄三母所屬的字與正齒音照穿牀三母所屬的字歸爲同音；舌上音娘母所

5 韓國語文字化時，學者們所擁有的語言學知識主要是中國音韻學。但中國音韻學以字音爲中心，通曉音節分析法、語頭子音（聲母）抽出法，以及依照等韻圖的主要元音分類法等。因此《訓民正音》創制時代的學者們早已由韓語化的韓國漢字音分析發展向韓國語的文字化。

請參照河野六郎：〈再び東國正韻について〉（《朝鮮學報》14, 1959, 朝鮮學會，天理）。

6 《東國正韻》序文（1447年，申叔舟著）也有論及當時的韓國漢字音，其言如下：

若不一大正之 則愈久愈甚 將有不可救之弊矣。

7 除今所引用之說明外，尚有《東國正韻》序文所闡釋的十五世紀韓國漢字音實態，茲抄錄如下：

若以牙音言之 溪母之字 大半入於見母 此字母之變也。

溪母之字 或入於曉母 此七音之變也。

我國語音 其清濁之辨 與中國無異 而於字音 獨無濁聲 豈有此理 此清濁之變也。

語音則四聲甚明 字音則上去無別 質勿諸韻 宜以端母爲終聲 而俗用來母 其聲徐緩 不宜入聲 此四聲之變也。

屬的字與舌頭音泥母所屬的字歸爲同音。（有一說法認爲舌上音的正齒音化係始於八世紀。羅常培：《唐五代西北方音》）

一四五五年（端宗三年）編纂完畢的《洪武正韻譯訓》幾乎與《東國正韻》同時展開編纂工作。此書爲了分別表記中國本土字音所區分的重唇音與輕唇音、齒頭音與正齒音，特別利用於《訓民正音》二十三字母而制定的訓民正音字。⁸但舌上音的表記包含在正齒音。

三國時代以來，既繼續與中國的密切關係，又屢屢敏感地接納中國字音的變遷。倘說有將變遷反映到韓國漢字音，就是中國字音的舌上音系所屬字的音變成與正齒音系所屬字的音相同的現象。十五世紀左右起，舌頭音系字音與舌上音系字音須得分別表記的，然自十五世紀《訓民正音》創制以後到十七世紀末，除一些例子（方言資料等）以外，韓國漢字音的舌頭音系與舌上音系同發為舌端音（齒莖音），到了十八世紀才開始區分。也就是舌頭音系仍照常發為舌端音，而舌上音系則破擦音化，發為硬口蓋破擦音。不過幾十年間，與 i、j 結合的舌頭音系字音也變為硬口蓋破擦音，於是兩系列又趨於相同。

本文將考察韓國漢字音內舌音的上述變化，究竟是祇來自中國字音的影響？或是韓語本身的變化而來？抑或兩者兼之等問題。

II. 韓國漢字音內的舌音系字音變化

1. 中韓漢字音的舌音變化差異

本文主要考察的對象是韓國漢字音內的舌音系字音如何的變化。然而中韓兩國漢字音在舌音系字音的變化上是有差異的。

先談中國字音的情形，在上古音時期並沒有舌頭音與舌上音的區分，中古音時期才有舌頭音與舌上音的區分。到十三世紀左右，舌上音系字音與正齒音系字音如序言所述已合而爲一。

中古音時期的正齒音再區分為正齒音二等字與正齒音三等字，其推定音各為 $tʃ$ $tʃ'$ $dʒ$ $ʃ$ $ʒ$ 與 $tʃ$ $tʃ'$ $dʒ'$ $ʃ$ $ʒ$ ，而這些又合為 $tʃ$ $tʃ'$ $dʒ$ $ʃ$ $ʒ$ ，後來一部份化為 ts ts' (dz') s z ，其餘的捲舌音化為 $tʃ$ $tʃ'$ (dz') $ʃ$ $(ʒ)$ ⁹。

由此可知中國字音的舌上音變化和我們一般所認為的口蓋音化（顎化）不同，是

8 《訓民正音》解例本的本文有重唇音字 ㅃㅍㅍ 與輕唇音字 ㅍㅍㅍㅍ 之區分。《訓民正音》國譯本則有齒頭音字 ㅆㅆㅆㅆ 與正齒音字 ㅈㅈㅈㅈ 之區分。

9 參照董同龢：《漢語音韻學》（1968，廣文書局，臺北）頁一四九；以及王力：《漢語史稿》上（1958，北京）頁一一六～一一七。

指變成在上齒莖與舌尖之間的捲舌音。又中國字音所說的顎化乃指原先是破擦音的齒音破擦音（齒頭音） $ts\ ts'\ s$ 與牙喉音系破裂音 $k\ k'\ x$ 音變成硬口蓋音的 $tɕ\ tɕ'\ ɕ$ 音。這種現象到十六、十七世紀才發生。¹⁰

比起中國，韓語的口蓋音化是指中世韓國語的子音裏，齒莖音 $c\ /t\ / \ ɕ\ /t'\ /$ 變為硬口蓋破擦音 $s\ /tʃ\ / \ ɬ\ /tʃ'\ /$ 。嚴格地說， $[tʃ]\ [tʃ']$ 用於表記的音是硬口蓋音或硬口蓋齒莖音應該有所區分，本文為方便起見，一概稱為硬口蓋破擦音。不過也有主張硬口蓋破擦音 $s\ ɬ$ 音在十五世紀的中世韓國語是齒音（舌端音）的破擦音。¹¹ 倘涵蓋此一主張，則可將韓語的口蓋音化整理如下：

	十五世紀	朝鮮王朝後期
齒音破擦音	$s\ /ts\ / \ ɬ\ /ts'\ /$	$s\ /tʃ\ / \ ɬ\ /tʃ'\ /$
齒音破裂音	$c\ /t\ / \ ɕ\ /t'\ /$	$s\ /tʃ\ / \ ɬ\ /tʃ'\ /$

韓國漢字音可說變成如上的兩系列。齒音（齒頭音）的情況，無論發生變化前或後，都一樣表記為 $s\ ɬ$ 字，不易把握其變化過程。但舌音系字音的情況，在發音為舌端破裂音（齒莖音）的舌頭音與舌上音之中，舌上音系字音先變為破擦音的硬口蓋音，接著與母音 $/i\ /$ 或半母音 $/j\ /$ 結合的舌頭音系字音也發生同樣變化。在現代的韓國漢字音發音都一樣。

其次針對如此的變化過程，分為文獻資料、諸位學者的證言等與韓語音韻變化的關係來考察。

2. 文獻資料上看舌音變化

(1) 《訓民正音》創制以前的資料

十五世紀《訓民正音》創制後，韓民族擁有自己固有的文字才開始記錄韓語的語音。在此之前，韓民族的祖先也留下了不少的記錄，却是用漢字、漢文記錄的。這些記錄當中，記錄十世紀以前古代韓語語音者是把漢字當做表音文字似的「漢字音訓借表記法」。這種表記法主以一對一的對音原則，著重表記人名、地名、官名等固有名

10 屬於本例者如下：

齒頭音 3 等字	$ts > tɕ$	祭 酒
	$s > ɕ$	姓
齒頭音 4 等字	$ts' > tɕ'$	千
	$s > ɕ$	西 星
牙喉音	$k > tɕ$	家 加
	$k' > tɕ'$	去 屈
	$x > ɕ$	虛 希

11 有關這方面的研究成果請參照曹圭太：《古代國語音韻研究》（1986，螢雪出版社，大邱），俞昌均：《韓國古代漢字音의 研究 I》（1980，螢雪出版社，大邱），俞昌均：《韓國古代漢字音의 研究 II》（1983，螢雪出版社，大邱）等。

詞。因此雖極力要藉此資料推敲出古代韓語的音韻體系，却無法在此表記法使用的漢字裏，確認是否區分成舌頭音系漢字與舌上音系漢字使用的。

十二世紀隨宋朝使臣到高麗的孫穆仍如表音文字似地使用漢字，著述了《鷄林類事》（一一〇三年）。此書採用了十二世紀宋代音記錄高麗時代的中世韓語音，却幾乎無法由這資料探討出十二世紀韓國漢字音的舌音音值。該資料在表音方面所用的舌音系漢字是五十多字，大部份係舌頭音系所屬的字；舌上音系的漢字僅朝、耻、茶三字而已。若將此三字與中世韓語的語音做個比照，¹² 則三者的對應是朝 tiau: ㅈ tjo, 耻 t'i: ㅊ ti, 茶 t'a: ㅊ ta。由此可知舌上音仍停留在舌端音的階段。

《朝鮮館譯語》比一四四三年《訓民正音》創制早數年。明朝譯官仍使用漢字如表音文字，而《朝鮮館譯語》便是採用明初十五世紀的中國字音記錄十五世紀的韓語語音的資料。但由於採用中國字音記錄中世韓語語音，所以想利用該資料推敲十五世紀韓國漢字音的舌音音值為何，其可靠性將大打折扣。茲僅以參考性質來看《朝鮮館譯語》的表音關係如下：

例字	15、16世紀韓國漢字音	朝鮮館譯語表音	表音字的韻略易通音
天（透）	t'jən	忝（透）	t'iem
長（知）	tjaŋ	掌（章）	tɕiaŋ
田（定）	tjən	點（端）	tiem
中（知）	tjuŋ	董（端）	tuŋ
地（定）	ti	底（端）	ti
低（端）	tjə	底（端）	ti
頂（端）	tjəŋ	丁（端）	tiŋ
柱（澄）	tju	主（章）	tɕu
朝（知）	tjo	朶（端）	to

長表音爲掌（章）、柱表音爲主（章），但這很難看做是十五、六世紀韓國漢字音的照實反映，而可說是牽繫於中國本土音的表音。

(2) 《訓民正音》創制以後的資料

① 《東國正韻》

韓國漢字音開始按表音文字的《訓民正音》記錄，是始於一四四七年（世宗二十

¹² 有關《鷄林類事》的內容與對音關係，請參照拙著：《鷄林類事高麗方言研究》（1980，成均館大出版部，漢城）。

¹³ 有關《朝鮮館譯語》的內容與對音關係，請參照拙著：《朝鮮館譯語研究》（1974，光文社，漢城）。

九年) 編纂完成的《東國正韻》。不過這本為表現韓國漢字音系而編纂的韻書, 並不按十五世紀的韓國現行漢字音表示音系, 而以《古今韻會舉要》(一二九七年) 的「字母韻」為基礎, 傳承的韓國漢字音體系也供做參考, 設定了九十一韻。在平、上、去、入四聲調上, 聲母與《訓民正音》的二十三字母體系一模一樣, 字母名稱也按照《訓民正音》的字母名稱表記。而且同其他韻書見得到的字釋也全無, 純是祇希望表現新字音體系而編纂的韻書。

按〈東國正韻序文〉說明「如舌頭舌上……於我國字音未可分辨」, 則舌音系漢字音也僅以《訓民正音》的舌音字(舌端音, 齒莖音) 做有規則的表音。¹⁴

茲列幾個字例, 但祇舉出與口蓋音化有關的齊齒字(撮口字) 說明。

《東國正韻》內舌音字

韻	字母	例字	音	三十六字母	韻	字母	例字	音	三十六字母
撫	斗	微	tiŋ	知	撫	斗	丁	tʰjŋ	端
	吞	敕	tʰik	徹		舌	宅	tʰʌjk	澄
	覃	澄	diŋ	澄		覃	擇	dʌjk	澄
公	斗	冢	tjoŋ	知	江	斗	張	tjaŋ	知
	吞	寵	tʰjoŋ	徹		吞	悵	tʰjaŋ	徹
	覃	躑	djok	澄		覃	長	djaŋ	知
弓	斗	中	tjuŋ	知	京	斗	貞	tjəŋ	知
	吞	蓄	tʰjuk			吞	聽	tʰjəŋ	透
	覃	蟲	djuŋ	澄		覃	庭	djəŋ	定

中國學者中也有將十五世紀韓國現行漢字音無法區分為舌頭音與舌上音一事, 解釋說是反映沒有這種區分的中國上古音。¹⁵ 但根據俞昌均: 《東國正韻研究——研究篇——》(1966, 螢雪出版社, 大邱) 頁 445, 說明《東國正韻》不區分舌頭音與舌

¹⁴ 本文按照下列之對應原則, 代替《訓民正音》(韓字) 的音韻記號表記漢字音。

ㄱ k	ㄷ t	ㅍ p	ㅅ ts	ㅇ ?
ㅋ kʰ	ㅌ tʰ	ㅍʰ pʰ	ㅆ tsʰ	ㅎ h
ㄲ g	ㄸ d	ㅂ b	ㅈ dz	ㅍ f
ㅇ ŋ	ㄴ n	ㅁ m		ㅇ zero

ㅅ s

ㅆ z

ㅅ ʌ	ㅈ ɪ	ㅊ ɪ	ㅌ ɔ	ㅍ ʌ	ㅈ ʌ	ㅈ ʌ
ㅈ jo	ㅈ ja	ㅈ ju	ㅈ jə	ㅈ wa	ㅈ wə	ㅈ waj
ㅈ wəj						

視全濁音並書為有聲音, 乃因《東國正韻》式的漢字音並不表示十五世紀的韓國現行漢字音, 而看做是人為表示復古的音系。

¹⁵ 參照張清常: 〈古音無輕唇舌上八紐再證〉。(《語言研究論叢》, 南開大學中文系語言教研室編著)。

上音的理由如下：

「倘說《東國正韻》無視我具體的漢字音體系，惟全致力於坦實反映《古今韻會舉要》之字母體系，則『端』母所屬字對譯爲／ㄷ／；「知」母所屬字合於『精』母，對譯爲／ㅈ／。但其實不然，以反切上字爲中心，隨切韻系韻圖的體系將『知』母與『端』母一同合併爲／ㄷ／。此視爲與我現行音符合，且也與古韻的體系一致。」

由此看來，結果幾與中國學者的見解大同小異。

②十五、十六世紀的韓國現行漢字音資料

記錄十五世紀末韓國現行漢字音¹⁶的《六祖法寶壇經諺解》（一四九六年，燕山君二年），與《東國正韻》之類人爲表示規範音體系的資料不相同。觀其表記的舌音系字音如后。茲仍僅列舉與口蓋音化有關的字音說明，且在例字前表示三十六字母。惟照₃表示爲章，穿₃表示爲昌。

《六祖法寶壇經諺解》內舌音系字音

t- (ㄷ-)

終聲\中聲	-ja	-jə	-jo	-ju	-i	-jəj
			澄-朝	澄-株，住	定-地	端-帝
					知-知智	定-第
					澄-持	
-φ						
-n		端-殿典顛店			知-鎮玢	
		定-田			澄-塵陳陣	
		澄-傳				
-ŋ	知-長張	端-頂		知-中		
	澄-丈	定-定庭		澄-重		
		知-貞				
		澄-呈				

參考 齒音系字音

ts- (ㅈ-)

¹⁶ 依照安秉禧教授的調查，認爲：《東國正韻》編纂之後，最先記錄韓國現行漢字音的文獻始於1476年（成宗七年，明成化十二年）刊記的《千手千眼觀自在菩薩大悲心陀羅尼經》。請參照安秉禧：〈十五世紀의 漢字音 한글表記에 대하여〉（《金亨奎博士頌壽紀念論叢》，1971，漢城）。

終聲\中聲	-ja	-jə	-jo	-ju	-i	-jəj
-φ	章-者		章-照	章-州主	章-志至旨誌 止支指	精-濟 章-諸
-k		昌-赤	精-足			
-n		從-前			章-眞 昌-噴	
-l		精-節				
-m		從-漸				
-p					章-執	
-ŋ	精-將 章-障掌	從-靜淨情 章-正	章-種	章-衆		

《洪武正韻譯訓》等書記錄中國字音時，區分、表記爲齒頭音和正齒音，但記錄韓國現行漢字音時，並不區分而表記爲同《訓民正音》的齒音字스/ts/。舌音系字音的情況，也皆以同《訓民正音》的舌音字ㄷ/t/表記舌頭音與舌上音。這種的表記原則在次清的情況也一樣。

t' - (ㄷ -)

終聲\中聲	-ja	-jə	-jo	-ju	-i	-jəj	-juj
-φ				泥-紐	徹-痴	透-體	
-k	澄-着			知-竺			
				徹-畜			
-n		透-天					
-ŋ				知-忠			

參考

ts' - (ㄷ -)

-φ	精-借	昌-處			清-切	清-取 從-聚
-k			章-囑 昌-觸			
-n			清-千遷 從-泉 昌-闡	昌-春	清-親	

-l 昌-出 清-七

-ŋ 清-青清請

下列仍是十六世紀資料——改刊《法華經諺解》（一五〇〇年，燕山君六年，明弘治十三年）的字音

t- (ㄷ-)

終聲\中聲 -ja -jə -jo -ju -i -jəj -jujə

-ϕ 澄-除 端-鵬 澄-住 定-地 端-帝諦
定-調 知-知智 定-弟第提
澄-持稚

-k 澄-着 知-竺

-n 端-典殿 知-琰 澄-傳
澄-陳

-ŋ 知-長帳 端-頂 知-中
澄-丈場 定-定 澄-重

參考

ts- (ㅈ-)

終聲\中聲 -ja -jə -jo -ju -i -jəj

-ϕ 章-者 從-驚 精-濟
章-周主珠 章-諸祇支至

-k 精-積 精-足

從-寂

-n 章-旃栴 精-晉進

從-秦

章-震眞

-l 知-質

-ŋ 章-掌 精-井精 章-種 章-衆 章-證

從-淨

章-正

t'- (ㅌ-)

終聲\中聲	-ja	-jə	-ju	-i	-jəj	-juj
-φ				-絛		
-k	澄-著		澄-軸			
-n		透-天				

參考

ts' - (ㄙ -)

-φ	-琿	清-妻	清-取	昌-鷗	清-切	清-趣
		昌-處	從-聚			透-推
-k	清-鵲					
-n		清-千		清-親		
-l			昌-出	清-七		
-p		清-妾				
-ŋ		清-青清請		昌-清		

以上資料也在舌頭音系字音與舌上音系字音之間沒有什麼區分。屬於透母的「推」字歸入齒音系字音中，而「推」字音又有不同的音，反映做齒音的。

《訓蒙字會》（一五二七年）以十六世紀的韓國現行漢字音為根基，收錄三千三百六十字，並採用表音文字的《訓民正音》記錄字音。此書仍不分舌頭音和舌上音，同樣表音做舌端音（齒莖音）。¹⁷

《訓蒙字會》內舌音系字音

字母	例字	字會音	字母	例字	字會音
端	嬌	tjək	知	帳	tjaŋ
端	顛	tjən	知	張	tjaŋ
端	典	tjən	知	轉	tjən
端	頂	tjəŋ	徹	貞	tjəŋ
透	天	t'jən	徹	樗	tjə
透	鐵	t'jəl	徹	楮	tjə
透	添	t'jəm	徹	諂	t'jəm
定	敵	tjək	徹	寵	t'joŋ
定	電	tjən	澄	着	t'jak

¹⁷ 《訓蒙字會》的資料節錄自李敦柱：《訓蒙字會漢字音研究》（1979，全南大大學院博士論文，光州）。

定	田	tjən	澄	場	tjaŋ
定	弟	tjəj	澄	丈	tjaŋ
定	地	ti	澄	呈	tjəŋ

《訓蒙字會》的作者崔世珍是朝鮮王朝時人，繼世宗時的申叔舟之後為優秀的中國語學者。他是韓人第一位編纂中國本土字音用韻書《四聲通解》，以這種程度而言對中韓漢字音是無不通曉。¹⁸ 尤在附於《四聲通解》的〈四聲通攷之凡例〉（一四五五年）中指出《古今韻會舉要》（一二九七年）裏的舌上音已變為正齒音。所以萬一崔世珍根據一部份論者的主張，與十八世紀編纂韓國韻書¹⁹ 的朴性源、洪啓禧等一樣，受到中國本土字音的影響，將變為正齒音的舌上音表記做口蓋音（破擦音），則他所編纂的《訓蒙字會》（一五二七年）裏或多或少也會將舌上音系字音記錄為破擦音。但其實不然，《訓蒙字會》的韓國漢字音將舌頭音系字音與舌上音系字音皆祇記錄做舌端音（齒莖音）。如此一來，歷史上不斷敏感地接納中國本土字音的變化形態，而且人為、規範地加以記錄韓國漢字音的說法便難成立了。

約十七世紀末以舌端音一色表記的舌音系字音，到了十八世紀分別表記為舌端破裂音與硬口蓋破擦音。到了二十世紀連那也具有和舌上音相同聲音條件的舌頭音（亦即與 i、j 結合的舌頭音系字音）也都硬口蓋破擦音化。此點應看做是韓語的口蓋音化，以及受此影響的韓國漢字音本身的變化。

舌頭音系字音與舌上音系字音在現代韓國漢字音中所有舌上音系字音、以及與 i、j 結合的舌頭音系字音皆發音為硬口蓋破擦音。

現代韓國漢字音內的舌音

字母	例字	現代韓國字音	cf. 現代中國字音
端	嬌	tʃək	ti
端	典	tʃən	tien
端	頂	tʃəŋ	tiŋ
透	天	tʃʰən	tʰien
透	鐵	tʃʰəl	tʰie
透	添	tʃʰəm	tʰien
定	敵	tʃək	ti

¹⁸ 事實上《四聲通解》應是以申叔舟等編纂的《洪武正韻譯訓》（1445 年）為根柢。不過崔世珍參考了《中原音韻》、《蒙古韻略》等中國韻書，且用心表現當時記錄做現行中國北方音的新音系。請參照拙著：《四聲通解研究》（1973，新雅社，漢城）。

¹⁹ 所謂韓國韻書乃為了便於與表示中國本土字音的《四聲通解》等韻書有所區別起見，而附記的名詞。

定	電	tʃən	tien
定	田	tʃən	t'ien
定	弟	tʃe ²⁰	ti
知	帳	tʃaŋ	tʃaŋ
知	謫	tʃək	tʃə
徹	楮	tʃə	tʃ'u
徹	寵	tʃ'oŋ	tʃ'uŋ
徹	黜	tʃ'ul	tʃ'u
澄	着	tʃ'ak	tʃ'ao
澄	呈	tʃəŋ	tʃ'əŋ

韓國漢字音裏始終發音爲舌端破裂音的舌音系字音，皆與韓語進行口蓋音化的同時變爲口蓋破擦。到十九世紀左右，介音 -j- (-i-) 脫落，變爲與現代字音相同的「破擦音+主母音型」字音。

接下來探討受舌音系字音變化影響的韓語與韓國漢字音的口蓋音化過程。

(3)韓語與韓國漢字音的口蓋音化

口蓋音化一般是指像 $t \rightarrow tʃ / -i$, $t \rightarrow tʃ / j$ (t' 的情況亦然) 的變化，但韓語 t 口蓋音化經由中央語與地方語，有的見解認爲從十六世紀末開始，十七世紀完成的；又有的見解則將時間提前一個世紀，認爲從十五世紀末開始的；另外也有見解認爲往後挪一個世紀，從十七世紀中期開始的。²¹ 這些見解上的差異全來自各研究學者調查資料的不同，但根據最近的發表報告，以更縝密的研究進行韓語 t 口蓋音化的過程研究，其內容也就是指十六世紀後半期咸鏡方言進行口蓋音化，慶尙方言是十七世紀中期；²² 中央語則始於十七世紀末葉，到十八世紀的三十年代才達完成階段。其順序是在與 tj 相同的聲音環境下優先，進行到與 ti 相同的環境先從非語頭音節位置發生，

²⁰ 在十八世紀，弟的變化發生了與韓語的 $əj > e$ 相似的現象。其變化如下：

弟 $tjəj > tʃje > tʃe$

²¹ 有關這方面的研究成果很可觀。最近的成果如下：

宋敏：《前期近代國語音韻論研究》（1986，《國語學叢書》8，國語學會，漢城）。

洪允杓：〈口蓋音化에 대한 歷史的研究〉（《震檀學報》60，1985，漢城，頁一四三～一五七）。

金周弼：〈口蓋音化에 대한 通時論的研究〉（《國語研究》68，1985，國語研究會，漢城）。

本文僅討論 t 口蓋音化，不討論 k 口蓋音化。洪允杓教授等認爲中央語的 t 口蓋音化是始於十五世紀末。

²² 參照安秉禧：〈村家救急方의 鄉名에 대하여〉（《言語學》3，1978，韓國言語學會，漢城），以及〈壬辰亂直前 國語史資料에 관한 二三의 問題에 대하여〉（《震檀學報》33，1972，震檀學會，漢城）。

而後逐漸擴及語頭音節的位置，²³ 供做應證這些說明的資料如下：

韓國的 t 口蓋音化例子

方言的情況

《小學諺解》（一五八七年，陶山書院本）

진실로 바식 건 도홀 적이면……

스스로 몬져 조티 몬 한 줄을……

《捷解新語》（一六六七年，校書館刊）

天氣 조홀 까 시브다 ㅎ니 (VI, 16a)

cf. 天氣도 도하 (II, 3b)

가 루치 시과 자 (IX, 19a)

cf. 프르시리 과 다 (I, 30a)

非語頭音節的 t 口蓋音化（中央語）

《伍倫全備諺解》（十八世紀初）

千金이라도 옴기 진 못 ㅎ다 (七, 6b)

흔들 과 자 ㅎ 시 니 잇고 (八, 13b)

《女四書諺解》（一七三六年）

齊 치 못 ㅎ 이 (御製序 4a)

《御製內訓諺解》（一七三六年）

셔 진 아 니 ㅎ 리 라 (序 3b)

《御製常訓諺解》（一七四五年）

의심 ㅎ 야 란 맛 디 말고 맛 전 란 의심 디 말라 ㅎ 니 (35b)

《同文類解》（一七四八年）

믈 터 진 다 (上 8a)

펼 치 다 (下 55a)

《大學栗谷諺解》（一七四九年）

救 코 저 홀 진 댄 (10b~11a)

²³ 上述說明係將下列論文扼要。

安秉禧：〈壬辰亂直前 國語史資料에 관한 二三의 問題에 대하여〉（《震檀學報》33, 1972, 震檀學會，漢城，頁八一～一〇二）。

宋敏：《前期近代國語音韻論研究》（《國語學叢書》8, 1986, 國語學會，漢城）。

洪允杓：〈口蓋音化에 대한 歷史的研究〉（《震檀學報》60, 1985, 漢城，頁一四三～一五七）。

金周弼：〈口蓋音化에 대한 通時論的研究〉（《國語研究》68, 1985, 國語研究會，漢城）。

因此提示 t 口蓋音化的資料也再度引用上述論著。

잇지아님이 업고 (11a)

語頭音節的 ㄷ 蓋音化

《同文類解》(一七四八年)

지나다 (上 27a)

접시 (下 13)

적르다 (短, 下 54a)

《朴通事新譯諺解》(一七六五年)

지내지 못하리라 (一 3a)

적기 (一 41b)

치리라 (三 1b)

韓國漢字音也可說受到這種變化的影響，從十六世紀的文獻便逐漸有變化的例子出現。

韓語漢字音的 t 蓋音化是從發生自舌上音系字音的。今仍再引用各種已有的研究成果裏之例字如后：

《村家救急方》(1519-1538 刊, 1571-1573 咸興重刊)

例字 字母 音 用例

竹 · 知 족 石竹花 석족화

指 章 디 指南石 디남석

逆

《四法語》(1577, 全羅松廣寺刊)

天 透 천 인과 천과를 (人天)

25b

《蒙山和尚法語略錄諺解》(1577, 松廣寺刊)

智 知 지 智慧 지혜

42b

디 디혜

55a

《練兵指南》(1612, 咸鏡道刊)

陣 澄 진 習陣 습진

轉 知 전 轉身 전신

《勸念要錄》(1637, 全羅華嚴寺刊)

勅 徹 칙 勅令 칙령

4b

틱 틱령

4a

《松江歌辭》李選本 (1690)

朝 澄 조 朝夕 조석

續美人曲

衆 章 등 衆香城 등향성 關東別曲 逆
直 澄 직 下直 하직 關東別曲

《珍本青丘永言》(1728)

笛 定 저 젓소리 聾岩漁父歌

《全一道》(1729)

直 澄 직 直事 직수
嫡 嫡 직 嫡母 적모
滌 滌 직 滌 척
天 透 천 天性 천성
上天 상천
詔 詔 도 詔書 도서 逆
足 精 독 及足 급독 逆

《女四書諺解》(1736)

厨 澄 주 厨房 주방 二, 10b
筵 筵 두 筵 두방
請 清 텅 宴請 연텅 二, 24b 逆
酒 精 두 酒將 두당 二, 29a 逆
酒 酒 두 酒脯 두포 二, 25b 逆
酒 酒 주 酒脯 주포 二, 24b 逆
主 章 두 主人 두인 二, 8a 逆
主 章 주 主人 주인 二, 32a
漸 從 덩 漸漸 점덩 御製序 逆

《松江歌辭》星州本(1748)

竹 知 죽 竹林 죽림 關東別曲
從 從 동 從容 동용 關東別曲 逆
朝 澄 조 朝夕變 조석변 短歌
陳 澄 진 陳跡 진적 短歌

《同文類解》(1748)

傳 澄 전 傳喝 전갈 上 42
直 澄 직 下直 하직 上 52
痔 澄 치 痔疾 치질 上 52

楫	定	접	접시	下 13	cf. 三韻	덩
敵	定	적	對敵 뒤적	上 45	cf. 三韻	덕
杖	澄	장	昆杖 곤장	下 30		

《三譯總解》(1774)

定	定	정	定 정	cf. 三韻	딩
體	透	체	體 체	cf. 三韻	테

依照以上各資料，韓國漢字音的情況也是從方言資料開始顯示 t 口蓋音化 (t'-的情況亦同)，漸而中央語的資料也顯示進行的過程。按資料顯示舌頭音的變化很少，而關於 t 口蓋音化的逆口蓋音化 (depalatalization) 例子為數可觀，表示連原本是硬口蓋破擦音的齒音系字音也記錄做 t 音的例子。這是指在十八世紀已進行了相當的 t 口蓋音化。

其次探討千字文資料²⁴裏的舌音系字音變化。千字文雖是中國編纂的，但在朝鮮王朝時代以韓字表記音、訓，自壬辰倭亂前的十六世紀起，已經多次按時代區分行刊，也因此反映了不少各時代的漢字音。當然其中也有刊行年代較晚，顯示保守性的音系，今顧慮到這一點，僅從幾種裏列舉出舌音系漢字來說明。各刊行本的簡稱如后：大東急本（十六世紀中期左右，日本大東記念文庫所藏）、壬申本（一七五二年，奎章閣所藏）、甲子本（一八〇四年，奎章閣本）、書陵部本（十八世紀後期至十九世紀初）、壬戌本（一八六二年，高麗大學中央圖書館所藏）。

舌頭音系

字母	例字	大東急本 16c 中期	甲子本 1804	書陵部本 18c後期~19c初	壬戌本 1862	現用
透	天	t'jən	t'jən	tʃ'jən	tʃ'jən	tʃ'ən
定	地	ti	ti	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi
定	調	tjo	tjo	tʃjo	tʃjo	tʃo
端	鳥	tjo	tjo	tʃo	tʃjo	tʃo
端	弔	tjo	tjo	tjo	tjo	tʃo
透	體	t'jəj	t'je	tʃ'je	tʃ'je	tʃ'e
透	聽	t'jən	t'jən	tʃ'jən	tʃ'jən	tʃ'ən
定	定	tjən	tjən	tjən	tjən	tʃən
定	弟	tjəj	tje	tje	tʃje	tʃe

²⁴ 有關千字文的資料係參考孫熙河：〈千字文字釋研究〉（全南大碩士論文，1984，光州）；藤本幸夫：〈朝鮮版千字文の系統 其一〉（《朝鮮學報》94，1980，天理，頁六三～一一七）。

端	顛	tjən	tjən	tjən	tʃjən	tʃən
端	殿	tjən	tjən	tjən	tʃjən	tʃən
	丁	tjəŋ	tjəŋ	tjəŋ	tjəŋ	tʃəŋ
定	亭	tjəŋ	tjəŋ	tjəŋ	tʃjəŋ	tʃəŋ
定	田	tjən	tjən	tjən	tʃjən	tʃən
端	的	tjək	tjək	tjək	tʃjək	tʃək
定	條	tjo	tjo	tjo	tʃjo	tʃo
端	凋	tjo	tjo	tjo	tʃjo	tʃo
端	嬌	tjək	tjək	tjək	tʃjək	tʃək
定	牒	tʃjəp	tʃjəp	tʃjəp	tʃʹjəp	tʃʹəp

也有類似「弔」「丁」「定」字到較後仍維持著舌端音的字音。但舌頭音的情況，在十八世紀後期與十九世紀中期的刊本裏表示出變成硬口蓋破擦音的例字。這些舌頭音系的字音在現代中國北方音依舊維持著舌端音。從這一點來看，韓國漢字音的 t 口蓋音化被認為與韓語本身的音韻變化有密切的關係。

舌上音系

字母	例字	大東急本 16c 中期	壬申本 1752	甲子本 1804	書陵部本 18c後期~19c初	現用
澄	宙	tju	tʃju	tʃju	tʃju	tʃu
知	張	tjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃaŋ	tʃaŋ
知	珍	tin	tʃin	tʃin	tʃin	tʃin
澄	重	tjuŋ	tʃjuŋ	tʃjuŋ	tʃuŋ	tʃuŋ
澄	朝	tjo	tʃjo	tʃjo	tʃjo	tʃo
澄	場	tjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃaŋ
知	貞	tjəŋ	tʃjəŋ	tʃjəŋ	tʃjəŋ	tʃəŋ
知	知	ti	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi
知	長	tjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃaŋ
澄	傳	tjən	tʃjən	tʃjən	tʃjən	tʃən
澄	逐	tʃjuk	tʃʹjuk	tʃʹjuk	tʃʹjuk	tʃʹuk
澄	持	ti	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi
知	帳	tjaŋ		tʃjaŋ	tʃjaŋ	tʃaŋ
知	轉	tjən	tʃjən	tʃjən	tʃjən	tʃən

	趙	tjo		tʃjo	tʃjo	tʃo
澄	池	ti	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi	tʃi
徹	黜	tʃul	tʃʼjul	tʃʼjul	tʃʼjul	tʃʼul
	陟	tʃæk	tʃʼjæk	tʃʼjæk	tʃʼjæk	tʃʼæk
澄	直	tik	tʃik	tʃik	tʃik	tʃik
知	中	tjuŋ	tʃjuŋ	tʃjuŋ	tʃjuŋ	tʃuŋ
徹	勅	tʃik	tʃʼik	tʃʼik	tʃʼik	tʃʼik
徹	恥	tʃi	tʃʼi	tʃʼi	tʃʼi	tʃʼi
澄	沉	tʃim	tʃʼim	tʃʼim	sim	tʃʼim
徹	抽	tʃu	tʃʼju	tʃʼju	tʃʼju	tʃʼu
知	晝	tju	tʃju	tʃju	tʃju	tʃu
徹	超	tʃo	tʃʼjo	tʃʼjo	tʃʼo	tʃʼo
知	誅	tju	tʃju	tʃju	tʃju	tʃu

舌頭音系字音與舌上音系字音的差異在後者較前者晚約半世紀反映了硬口蓋破擦音化。前者從十八世紀末的文獻「書陵部本」開始反映，而後者幾乎從一七五二年刊行的壬甲本《註解千字文》便開始反映。

3. 歷代學者的證言

一到了十八世紀，韓國學者中便開始出現關心漢字音，並且留下研究成果的。茲於這些研究成果中，僅檢討與舌音有關的部份。

(1) 朴性源（一六九七～一七六八，肅宗 23～英祖 43）

朴性源繼十六世紀《訓蒙字會》（一五二七年）編纂以後，第一位以十八世紀的韓國現行漢字音為根柢，並參考當時傳入的《四聲通解》與《三韻通考》，編纂了同時表示當時韓國漢字音與中國字音的韓國韻書《華東正音通釋韻考》（一七四七年，英祖二十三年）。該韻書雖以韓國現行漢字音為根柢，却表示有包含規範性的音系。舌音的情況，也明確區分為舌頭音系字音與舌上音系字音，且一概表音為舌端音與硬口蓋破擦音。

按該韻書的凡例，有云：

「我音初聲 本與華同 不同者中聲而我者又多變訛 並與初聲而不同者 間亦有之」

認定了韓國漢字音的變化。又同條凡例末有言：「一從初聲之同華者 定音之」，表示韓國與中國的初聲都以相同的為基準。

由該凡例的字句來看，可以了解他編纂的韻書音系似乎是以中國本土音為基準的。不過仔細品味，則可發現到許多問題。

同條凡例中，對舌音與齒音的混淆不清做如下說明：

「我音不知五音清濁之別

故字書反切之讀混雜

商宮之스ㄱ 誤作徵宮之ㄷㅁ

假如直當切之直 作以딕

丑他切之丑 축 作以툑

直當之切 本臚장而讀以당

丑他之切 本叱차而讀以타

五音相失 故此等之類 一依五音所屬之宮而釋之。餘皆倣此」

以上的說明，所謂「我音不知五音清濁之別」並不是不知「清」與「濁」之區分，而是說不知照實區分舌音與齒音，故得區分才行的。因此將該發音做直（澄）직、丑（徹）축的發音倣像딕、툑，這是一種錯誤，才有「一依五音所屬之宮而釋之」，係指非發音倣原屬音的商宮（스ㄱ）不可。這是反映當時舌上音（徹，澄母等）已變成硬口蓋破擦音（스ㄱ）的說明，但從原來連破擦音的「臚（章）장」也發音倣「당」一則來看，意味著十八世紀初漢字音的t口蓋音化進行到相當程度。

朴性源在糾正「五音相失」方面並不依照中國本土字音，而以十八世紀的韓國漢字音為根柢，編纂了韓國的韻書。當然儘管他有意依照中國本土字音將舌上音表記為正齒音（捲舌音），却因韓字的齒音字中並無可正確表記正齒音的字，故迫不得已祇好表記倣韓字的齒音字（硬口蓋破擦音字），不過韻尾或韻腹音可依照中國本土字音表記的。另外，朴性源在該同凡例的其他條項中有云：

「華音有古有俗 我音從古則違於俗 從俗則違於古」

使我們認識到韓國漢字音與中國的古代音或當代音（俗音）也有不同的。因此很難從朴性源編纂的《華東正音通釋韻考》體會到以「人爲的」「規範的」照實表記中國本土字音的說明。

韓語本身的音韻變遷也影響到韓國漢字音，而這應可視為舌音系字音進行t口蓋音化。

(2)申景潛(1712-1781, 肅宗 39-正祖 5)

申景潛在其著書《韻解訓民正音》(一七五〇年, 英祖二十六年)的〈字母分屬〉項中有云：

「知・徹・澄・娘 我國西方人多用之 在京中泮村人 亦或用之」
又〈辨似〉項中有云：

「東方則於舌・齒音之得齊齒・撮口中聲者多不能分 而關西・嶺南多用舌音
湖南・湖西多用齒音」

以上的說明可了解到下列幾項：

①申景濬認為惟有全然保存三十六字母才能正確記錄漢字音，因此這裏所謂「知・徹・澄・娘」是指仍未與正齒音合流的 ti- tʰi- 等，而西北（關西人）到當時為止也還使用這種音的。

②他認為東方（即指韓國）人無法區分與 i、j 結合的舌音與齒音，所以說十八世紀已完成了與 i、j 結合的舌音硬口蓋破擦音化。又由「湖南・湖西多用齒音」一語可知這種現象首先發生在湖南、湖西地方。²⁵

(3)鄭東愈（1774-1808，英祖 20-純祖 8）

鄭東愈在他的著書《晝永編》（一八〇六年，純祖六年）的〈正音聞見記略條〉項目中有云：

「蓋舌音端母之於齒音精母 다與자 더與저 도與조 두與주 드與즈 本無相混 而若其為雙聲則다더두디與자저조쥬 지易混 而透定兩母之於清從兩母 亦然」

證明與 i、j 結合的ㄷ（端母）、ㅌ（透母）、ㄸ（定母）²⁶ 等容易混淆做ㅈ（精母）、ㅊ（清母）、ㅉ（從母）音。這是說在鄭東愈生存的十八世紀後半期，漢字音也進行相當程度的 t 口蓋音化（舌頭音系字音的硬口蓋破擦音化）。²⁷

(4)柳僖（1773-1837，英祖 49-憲宗 3）

承繼鄭東愈學問的柳僖在其著書《誌文志》（一八二四年，純祖二十四年）中也記有類似的內容：

「如東俗다더呼同자저 탁터呼同차쳐 不過按頤之此難彼易也 今唯關西之人 呼天不與千同 呼地不與至同

又聞鄭丈言 其高祖昆弟 一名知和 一名至和 當時未嘗疑呼 可見디지之混 未是久遠也 知本音디者」

上述內容說明了下列三件事。

²⁵ 有關《韻解訓民正音》的內容，請參照拙著：《韻解訓民正音研究》（韓國研究院，1967，漢城）。

²⁶ 十五世紀以來定母的現行音是ㄷ，所以此將定母視為ㄷ音。從母視為ㅈ音也是同樣的理由。

²⁷ 《字類註釋》中，訓與音顯示出不少逆口蓋音化的表記。

室 달실 烙 지달락 堦 언덕달

①在柳僖生存的十八世紀後半期與十九世紀初，完成了韓語和漢字音的 t 口蓋音化，因此 다더 與 자저，타터 與 차쳐 發音相同。

②祇有關西人仍區分舌頭音的天、地，齒頭音的干以及正齒音的至等音的發音。

③鄭丈（即東愈）的高祖知和（1613-1688，光海 5-肅宗 14）時代，兄弟姓名間區分知音（知母）與至音（章母）。由此看來，韓國漢字音的 t 口蓋音化在十七世紀上半期尚未完成。

(5)鄭允容（1792-1865，正祖 16-高宗 2）

鄭允容係《字類註釋》（一八五六年）作者，在該書〈總論〉中的「字音」項有云：

「字音之難辨 最在 사자 차 行及 다타 차 行（中略） 다타 二行本行內無相混而 다더 混於 자저 也 타터 混於 차쳐 也 比皆微而難辨易 以相混而字音則本自不同也」

證明字音也完成了 c 與 ɕ 的口蓋音化。

II、結 論

以上所考察，韓國漢字音內的舌音系字音約到十七世紀上半期，無舌頭音系與舌上音系的區分，皆一概發音爲舌端音（齒莖音）。

另外十六世紀左右起，以方言爲首進行韓語本身的 t 口蓋音化。舌音系字音也於十八世紀上半期先舌上音系字音變爲硬口蓋破擦音化（t 及 t' 口蓋音化），接著與 i、j 結合的舌頭音系字音依然變爲硬口蓋破擦音。表記上，兩系列的字音都維持著 j，而後開始逐漸顯出混淆，到二十世紀 j 便完全脫落。一九三三年制定的韓語綴字法（韓語綴字法統一案）依據現行音，在表記法上規定 j 脫落，一直延用至今。

可是尊重規範音的韓國韻書《華東正音通釋韻考》（一七四七年）與《三韻聲彙》（一七五一年）等，一律將舌頭音系字音表音做舌端音，舌上音系字音表音做硬口蓋音（破擦音）。

一向對這些表音的見解，有認爲是反映中國本土字音的舌上音系變爲正齒音的。但是以至今推勘考察的結果來看，這種見解缺乏妥當性的。而且即使是全都與 i、j 結合的舌頭音系字音，在中國本土字音裏不發生硬口蓋破擦音化，和中古音一樣發爲舌端音（齒莖音）。比起這，韓國漢字音內的舌頭音系字音中，與 i、j 結合的字音却變爲硬口蓋破擦音。這種差異恰如一樣的軟口蓋音之牙喉音系字音，在中國本土字音變爲硬口蓋音，而韓國漢字音內的牙喉音系字音則如同中古音，仍還照樣發音做軟口

蓋音。至於這些現象是否來自兩國語言中母音調音位置不同的差異呢？對於這個問題有待日後做更精闢的考察。

參考書目

姜信沆

- 1967 《韻解訓民正音研究》（韓國研究院，漢城）
- 1973 《四聲通解研究》（新雅社，漢城）
- 1974 《朝鮮館譯語研究》（光文社，漢城）
- 1978 《李朝時代の譯學政策과 譯學者》（塔出版社，漢城）
- 1980 《鷄林類事高麗方言研究》（成均館大出版部，漢城）
- 1983 〈齒音과 한글表記〉（《國語學》12，國語學會，漢城）

金周弼

- 1985 〈口蓋音化에 대한 通時論的研究〉（《國語研究》68，國語研究會，漢城）

孫熙河

- 1984 〈千字文字釋研究〉（全南大碩士論文，漢城）

南廣祐

- 1969 《朝鮮（李朝）漢字音研究——壬亂前 現實漢字音을 中心으로——》（東亞出版社，漢城）

宋 敏

- 1975 〈十八世紀前期韓國語의 母音體系〉（《聖心女子大學論文集》6，漢城）
- 1986 《前期近代國語音韻論研究》（《國語學叢書》8，國語學會，漢城）

安秉禧

- 1971 〈十五世紀의 漢字音 한글表記에 대하여〉（《金亨奎博士頌壽紀念論叢》，漢城）
- 1972 〈壬辰亂直前 國語史資料에 관한 二三問題에 대하여〉（《震檀學報》33，震檀學會，漢城）
- 1978 〈村家救急方의 鄉名에 대하여〉（《言語學》3，韓國言語學會，漢城）

俞昌均

- 1969 《東國正韻研究》（螢雪出版社，大邱）
- 1980 《韓國古代漢字音의 研究 I》（螢雪出版社，大邱）
- 1983 《韓國古代漢字音의 研究 II》（螢雪出版社，大邱）

李敦柱

- 1979 《訓蒙字會漢字音研究》（全南大大學院，光州）
- 1980 〈韓國漢字音의 特徵考——訓蒙字會漢字音을 中心으로——〉（《延宕玄平孝博士同甲紀念論叢》，漢城）。
- 1980 〈舌音系漢字의 口蓋音化問題〉（《藏菴池憲英先生古稀紀念論叢》，漢城）

曹圭太

- 1986 《古代國語音韻研究》（螢雪出版社，大邱）

崔世和

- 1966 〈五倫行實圖의 國語史的考察〉（《清州大學論文集》5，清州）

洪允杓

- 1985 〈口蓋音化에 대한 歷史的研究〉（《震檀學報》60，震檀學會，漢城）

Karlgren 著 崔玲愛譯

- 1985 《古代漢語音韻學概要》（民音社，漢城）

董同龢

- 1968 《漢語音韻學》（廣文書局，臺北）

鄭錦全

- 〈明清韻書字母的介音與北音顎化源流的探討〉（《書目季刊》臺灣學生書局，臺北）

張清常

- 〈古音無輕唇舌上八紐再證〉（《語言研究論叢》，南開大學中文系語言教研室編著。）

聶鴻音

- 1984 〈切韻重紐三四等字的朝鮮讀音〉（《民族語文》，1984年3期，北京）

王 力

- 1958 《漢語史稿》上（科學出版社，北京）

河野六郎

1968 《朝鮮漢字音の研究》（天理時報社，天理）

1959 〈再び東國正韻について〉（《朝鮮學報》14，朝鮮學會，天理）

尾崎雄二郎

1980 《中國語音韻史の研究》（《東洋學叢書》，創文社，東京）

藤本幸夫

1980 〈朝鮮版千字文の系統〉（《朝鮮學報》94，朝鮮學會，天理）

論音韻闡微的入聲字

林慶勳

國立高雄師範學院

目錄

- 一、編者的保守觀念
- 二、入聲反切分析
- 三、入聲的實際語音現象
- 四、結語

基本上個人認為《音韻闡微》的反切，必定是依據當時北方官話的讀書音做基礎而修訂的。祇不過外表被包裝得太過保守，以致於一般人都誤認了它的真面貌。本文擬從編者及反切的結構來探討它的外表與內在的差異，進而分析它所表現當時語音的實況。本文撰寫的主要意義，在探討中古到清初語音發展的情況，以便使我們能真確的明瞭二百多年前的語音真相。

一、編者的保守觀念

《音韻闡微》是李光地（1642-1718）與王蘭生（1680-1737）奉康熙帝（1654-1722）詔命纂修。從康熙五十四年（1715）到雍正四年（1726）編輯完成。編纂的經過，羅常培（1963：131-140）有極詳盡的介紹。其實在整個編修過程中，除王、李外，康熙也實在的參加討論。

此書分韻譜與韻書兩部分。韻譜略仿劉鑑《切韻指南》編成，共三十八圖，內容大致與後面的韻書相應。韻書則有十八卷，依平、上、去、入分 106 韻¹排列；每韻之中再分開、齊、合、撮四呼，並且以字母、等第歸字。顯然這種編次是稍變《五音集韻》與《韻會》的形式而來（見《音韻闡微》凡例 1881：9）。不論是韻譜或韻書，處處都表現傳統的痕跡。36 字母、106 韻的編排；入聲、等第依然殘留等。與實際

¹ 其實還有殷、隱、焮、迄、拯、證六韻，《音韻闡微》都獨立成韻，不在 106 韻之中。王力（1957：513）說：「文與殷、吻與隱、問與焮、物與迄、迥與拯、徑與證，都稍隔開，因為這些韻在《廣韻》裏本來是不能同用的。」

十八世紀的北方官話恐有出入。如此刻意的經營，實在與當時學術尊古的風氣有關，當然更重要的是編者受存古觀念的影響所致。

「合聲」是《音韻闡微》表現改良反切精神的所在，我（1987）曾經將全書 497 個標為「合聲」的反切做一觀察。得到結論是除少數特別現象，絕大多數可以看出反切用字減到最低程度，拼切的上下字條件盡量與被切字一致，也就是說由上下字急讀，像「姑翁」很容易切出「公」字；「基因」切「巾」、「朱甞」切「鍾」、「咨哀」切「哉」，都是拼音簡易的反切，頗有今日注音符號的功能。而當時編書的李、王等人，必定是善識音韻的高手，應無庸置疑，否則如何能創造那種既便利又實用的拼音形式呢？如果他們能將革新反切的精神，也投注到《音韻闡微》全書的編排，那麼它在中國音韻學史的地位必定更可觀。何以它有條件表現得更好却不做，最後竟然還是回到傳統的窠臼去。說穿了其實是編者處處受制於傳統的影響，隨時無不留意崇古的安排，因為如此做，被責難的機會相對也最少。就在這樣的依違之間，忽略了表達當時語音的面貌。

曾國藩在《國朝先正事略》序說，康熙年輕時就讀書過勞，至於咯血尚不肯休息，因此對天象、地輿、曆算、醫藥……無不通曉，而於滿、蒙、西域、外洋之文書字母，無一不通。由此可見康熙有過人的才智與識見，所以能徵集翰苑名儒纂修羣籍，達三十餘種之多。趙蔭棠（1931：113）說康熙注意音韻的事，多未為世人周知。因此抄錄兩條上諭，證明康熙也是對音韻有修養的人。其中一條極有意思，不但說明康熙究心音韻多有年所，而且肯定王蘭生的音韻造詣。康熙五十八年（1719）冬十月壬子給內閣學士長壽的上諭²說：

朕於聲音之學，究心二十餘年，雖未能親至鄉里，而鄉里人的聲音，無不悉知。有如清字之音，有漢字所無者；漢字之音，亦有清字所未備者。朕將此〈聲音圖〉，討論多日，欲該括各國聲音，斷乎不能。朕以為《性理精義》內邵子〈聲音圖〉，宜仍用漢字，其清字圖可以不用。蒙養齋修書舉人王蘭生諳曉音韻之學，爾與之商酌，觀其意見如何？

王蘭生，直隸交河人。李光地督學直隸時，因賞識他能背誦朱子《易本義》和《小學》，乃選入縣學為諸生，得暇便親自督課。王氏從康熙三十七年（1698）起追隨李光地，前後凡十三年，甚至他的音韻學知識，最初也是受自李氏（見羅常培 1963：127、132）。全祖望為王氏所撰的〈清通奉大夫刑部右侍郎管禮部侍郎事坦齋王公神

² 趙蔭棠此條上諭未標時間，祇加一個「又」字，使人容易與上面所引四十四年條相混。今按：蔣良騏原纂、王先謙改修《十二朝東華錄》（大東書局影印）卷二一列此條於康熙五十八年為是。

道碑銘》說：「音韻則公得之〔李〕文貞〔光地〕之教者，大略與崑山顧氏同而較密。」師徒二人在音韻學上的因緣，於此可以窺知。

王蘭生《交河集》卷五有〈再啓安溪相國〉說：

蘭生近日得觀內廷各種韻書，始見鄭樵之《七音略》。其書在《通志》內，與《廣韻》甚合，實《切韻指南》之所自出也。又蒙恩命，考高麗、喇嘛、回回諸韻，其與等韻最近者惟喇嘛韻。可見字母之說，原來自梵僧也。回回韻以「埃衣烏」三韻爲首，亦得生字之本也。惟四呼之法，向來總不得其根，皇上謂其根出自高麗韻。及觀其字，果以「噶加歌皆鍋覺各基姑居」等字爲首，與四呼之說極合，實四呼之所自來也。凡此皆近日所得，亦老師之所願聞者，故並達之。（葉三十八）

有時皇上也能指導王氏之所不知，可見康熙與李、王三人在音韻學上常有切磋討論的機會。編書體例的取決，最後雖然是皇帝的意思，但是他們往返的討論，從摺子、上諭及書信的內容看（羅常培 1963：131-140），倒是三人都全力以赴的參予。

在纂修《音韻闡微》的過程中，李、王師徒二人，頗有表現當時語音現象的識見。王蘭生〈與李世兄書〉說：

愚意修《廣韻》，須先別以鄭氏之譜，使字皆歸母，再逐字定其反切，一仍其舊。此外依前發去式樣另爲一書，以爲按音取字之用。然視舊韻變動處甚多，須費斟酌也。（《交河集》、卷五、葉三十九 b）

李光地〈覆發閱韻譜式樣劄子〉也說：

今若修《唐韻》，自應且仍其舊，不必更張。至修今韻，似應以本朝字書爲根柢，一如發下韻譜次第，匪獨昭我文明，誠爲與古符契。（《榕村集》、卷二十九、葉二十一 b、二十二 a）

「按音取字之用」與「以本朝字書爲根柢」的今韻，都是與修《唐韻》、《廣韻》不同的韻書。最後都因「視舊韻變動處甚多」而作罷。此外羅常培（1963：139）以爲，「帝政時代比不得現在，在沒摸著皇帝的準主意以前是不敢違旨的」，極有道理。

至於康熙的「準主意」是什麼呢？我們看看李光地〈覆發閱王蘭生所纂韻書劄子〉的幾條內容，再對照修成的《音韻闡微》，就可以思過半矣。李氏的劄子說：

今應否仍依一東、二冬之舊，以存不遽變古之意，獨於凡例中特發明本朝韻部之精當，使後人知唐虞三代之絕學，實嗣音於聖世。是否相合，乞聖裁。（《榕村集》、卷二十九、葉二十四 b）

影、喻雖爲諸音母之本，然古法列之於後，而以見溪羣疑當先。今反切取聲，

雖以影、喻爲重，至於每韻中列母，應否仍先以見溪羣疑，存不輕變古之意，乞聖裁。（同上葉二十六 a）

等韻書分列四等者，以聲有開口、齊齒、合口、撮口四呼。凡同此四呼之中者，其音皆可通用，此三代秦漢之古音也。唐人又細別之爲東、冬以下諸韻，此則律詩所用，唐家一代之音也。今仍用唐人部分，則每韻之中四呼不能悉備。然亦有備二呼至三呼者，如東備合口、撮口；支備齊齒、合口；麻與陽備開口、齊齒、合口之類是也。今似應存而不廢，以見一韻之中讀法不同而皆相叶，則古音亦因可想而得矣。是否相合，乞聖裁。（同上葉二十六 b）

古今音不同，如韻部中江字，古音讀與東、冬爲類，今讀與陽爲類。字母中知、徹、澄古讀與端、透、定爲類，今讀與照、穿、床爲類；敷字古音與非字異讀，今亦讀爲一類。此等近代元明韻書多混而一之，似非存古之意。故音雖從時而其部伍則猶仍舊。是否相合，乞聖裁。（同上葉二十七 a）

韻書所收字樣，必須煩簡得中，以便學者考究。凡經史子集中用過之字皆應收采。臣與王蘭生等學皆狹陋不能淹博，仰候皇上，選擇臣下中有博涉經史，兼曉六書本末者，公同採摭。使之備而不冗，約而不漏，庶幾成書，仰副皇上詔修之意。是否相合，乞聖裁。（同上葉二十七 b）

從韻部排列順序、字母先後、呼等之存廢、古今讀音差異，以至於字樣的選擇，處處無不以「存不遽變古之意」或「古音亦因可想而得矣」爲考慮。最後編就的《音韻闡微》誠如王蘭生所說：「按鄭樵之譜，列《廣韻》之字，其字之前後依等韻三十六字母次第。」（〈啓安溪相國〉）所以然者，究其因，不過是「存古」的觀念籠罩而已。設若康熙當初勇於表現十八世紀初的語音實況，必然批駁李光地的存古建議，但是最後顯然地他和他的大臣們一樣的保守，不敢輕易的更張。在韻譜、韻書之外，祇能於凡例或零星注釋中見到有關當時語音的記載。

《音韻闡微》纂修的年代，距離《廣韻》已有七百年以上的歷史，其間各項語音的變化極大。據鄭再發（1966）列表考察《切韻》以後語音演變的程度，其音變的項目有十七點之多，包括聲母、韻母及聲調各項。據我個人對《音韻闡微》全書的觀察，它的改良反切，像合聲、今從舊切、今用等，多少能反映十八世紀初北方官話的實況，與鄭表所列音變情況甚多相符。聲母方面如非、敷合流，知、照系合併，影、喻、疑、微零聲母化、濁聲母清化；韻母方面如四等變四呼，入聲韻尾消失，-m 韻尾與 -n 韻尾的合併；聲調方面如平聲的分化，濁上變去，入聲變成其他各調等。都可以從全書或其他資料找到證據加以說明。然而在形式上，該書受到傳統色彩的影響

太大，保守的表現，幾乎湮沒反切等所能傳達的語音真相。

本文所以選擇入聲做研究對象，實在是它在語音發展上，較其它聲調明顯。比如十八世紀初，北方官話已無入聲尾、入聲字已經混同其他聲調的陰聲字。但是該書韻譜仍然如同《韻鏡》般拿入聲配陽聲；韻書則獨立入聲十七個韻部為後四卷，每個韻部都一一注明某陽聲的入聲，更甚者某些反切上下字還特別選用兩個入聲字等等。此種安排極易使人產生錯覺。本文即針對此點，試從入聲的反切及其所代表的語音現象去探討，看看那些入聲字究竟能告訴我們多少當時的語音訊息。

二、入聲反切分析

《音韻闡微》的反切，與傳統韻書如《廣韻》、《集韻》不同。每一個反切都是經過編者細心考量斟酌而得，它的考慮條件，包括合不合乎古今音、有無違背南北方音的差異等。像佔全書 12.5%（見林慶勳、1987）的「合聲」，選用反切用字時，必須切語上字與被切字同聲紐、同開合、屬支、微、魚、虞、齊、歌、麻及其相承諸韻的字；切語下字與被切字同韻部、同開合、清聲用影母字濁聲用喻母字。

這些用字的決定，對古今、南北語音的差異因素都做了考慮，儘管最後的結果未必面面俱到，至少在表面上不悖古，內在裏存有當時語音的特性。如：

A. 「劣」：《廣韻》力輟切；《集韻》龍輟切；合聲律悅切。

B. 「獵」：《廣韻》良涉切；《集韻》力涉切；合聲力葉切。

A的劣字在《音韻闡微》收入屑韻（《廣韻》、《集韻》都在薛韻）屬撮口呼，B的獵字在葉韻（《廣韻》、《集韻》同）屬齊齒呼。如果由上面所列的條件觀察，兩組的合聲切上下字全用入聲，以入聲切入聲，使入聲字可以有別於其他聲調的字。其實以當時讀音來說，劣、律、悅、獵、力、葉，《諸聲韻學》全置於去聲³，以去聲字切去聲，同時也照顧了當時的語音。此外《廣韻》、《集韻》的反切在切音上都有缺點。A的力是齊齒字，不適合切撮口呼的劣字；A的龍、B的良都屬陽聲字，有鼻音韻尾做切語上字不適合；A的輟、B的涉兩字都有聲母，取之做切語下字也不妥當。顯然A B兩組的合聲反切頗能符合上述的條件，切語二字急讀很自然能拼出所要切的音，這就是合聲改良傳統反切高明處。

合聲之外的「今從《廣韻》」、「今從《集韻》」、「今用」、「借用」、「協

3 《諸聲韻學》據趙蔭棠（1932：58-59）的考證，成書在康熙四十年左右，而且表現了當時的近似語音。此外本書祇列二十一個聲母，入聲字與陰聲字混同。聲調以「調、理、韻、音」代表陽平、上、去、陰平四聲。此處的力、律分別收入及攝齊、攝的「來韻」；葉、悅收入傑攝齊、攝的「影韻」；獵、劣亦收入傑攝齊、攝的「來韻」。因此假設六字當時讀為去聲。有關《諸聲韻學》的內容，以下另有討論。

用」，不論是承襲舊韻書的反切，或者另造新切語，它們的結構條件及改良精神，都與合聲一致。也就是反切上下字裏，溶合有古今、南北語音差異的成份，其中最重要的，自然是當時十八世紀初的北方官話。王蘭生奉旨修韻書時，給李光地的信中說韻書宜分《唐韻》、《今韻》二部，今韻的體例他主張：

用南北現有之音，依六門、四呼之法，一母分爲若干呼，每呼貫以三十六母，一如發去式樣，以爲按音查字之用，此仿《五音集韻》而兼並之者也。（〈啓安溪相國〉見《交河集》卷五、葉三十七b）

此書最後雖然未編成，但某些觀念則見於《音韻闡微》一書中。尤其持與擬修的《唐韻》體例相對照，所謂：「按鄭樵之譜，別《廣韻》之字，其字之前後，依等韻三十六母次第。反切有不合者，改用合聲切法。」（〈啓安溪相國〉）足證今日修成之《音韻闡微》，實際是揉合王氏擬定的《唐韻》、《今韻》二書的體例而成。其中所謂「反切有不合者」，自然是指與「南北現有之音」不合者。而王氏是北方人，並且奉旨編書，能忽略當時的北方官話讀音嗎？所以我們可以說，《音韻闡微》一書的反切，的確考慮了古今或者方音差異的因素而撰成，其中當然以十八世紀初的北方官話爲基礎，再做其間差異性的修正。

《音韻闡微》的入聲分十七個韻，始屋終洽，大體上與詩韻一致，唯把迄韻從物韻中獨立出來。此書是略倣《五音集韻》及《古今韻會》按音編次（見《音韻闡微》、凡例 1881：9），因此按照字母、等呼區分的音節計算，入聲總計有 614 個反切。這些反切或者標「合聲」、或者標「今從《廣韻》」、「今從《集韻》」，多數是標「今用」。以上四種反切都是「合聲」性質的切語，其中某些條件稍微不符，因此標「今從」或「今用」，其實可以「合聲」的內容視之。而「借用」、「協用」祇在說明音理的關係，它們從來不單獨存在。以上反切的標音現象，是全書體例一致的，並不僅限於入聲字。至於各反切的定義，《音韻闡微》書前凡例有簡要的說明，王力（1957：518-519）也有詳細的分析。但是拿這些說明來分析全部的入聲字，則可以發現許多問題，以下分析檢討這些問題，並試作解釋及批評。

（一）齊韻亦可做切語上字

《音韻闡微》的凡例說：「凡翻切之上一字，皆取支、微、魚、虞、歌、麻數韻中字，辨其等母、呼法，其音自合。以此數韻能生諸部之音，在國書十二字頭與支、微、魚、虞、歌、麻數韻對音者，原爲第一部也。」各種版本都無異文。國書是指滿文，十二字頭之第一部都屬無韻尾的字，凡例中論古韻說：「歌、麻、支、微、齊、魚、虞爲一部，皆直收本字之喉音，凡諸韻之聲皆從此出，與十二字頭阿厄衣一部之

音相對。」（見《音韻闡微》1881：10）可見《音韻闡微》取支、微……等韻的字做反切上字，正是它們無韻尾，不致與反切的下字糾葛不清，此法極為高明。

除支、微……諸韻外，入聲的反切上字也出現在「齊齊霽」三韻，它們也是無韻尾的陰聲字，而且全出現在齊齒呼，如：⁴

弼、陸逸切（質韻、上字屬齊韻）

蜜、迷逸切（質韻、上字屬齊韻）

七、砌一切（質韻、上字屬霽韻）

可見「齊齊霽」也適合做反切的上字，祇不過凡例中兩處都漏列，祇見於論古韻的凡例（見上引文）。李光地《榕村集》兩處都提到「齊」韻，可證凡例的確是漏列「齊」字：

支、微、齊、魚、虞、歌、麻七韻，乃首攝之字，生天下之萬音者，故可以切他部，而他部不能切七部。蓋七部之字皆天然獨音，非兩聲合成故也。（〈翻切法〉卷二十、葉二十a）

惟本朝字書第一頭所對者，乃歌、麻、支、微、齊、魚、虞七韻之音。此七韻者，實聲氣之元，萬籟之所從出。能生諸部，而不為諸部之所生；能切諸部，而不為諸部之所切。是此七韻，允宜列為韻部之首。（〈覆發閱王蘭生所纂韻書劄子〉卷二十九、葉二十四a）

齊齊霽的字，不但在入聲反切出現，同時在其他聲調也有類似情形（見林慶勳 1987：35-36）。足證齊等做切語上字是事實，凡例疏忽而遺漏了。

（二）以陽聲字做切語上字

陽聲字有鼻音韻尾，所以持以做反切上字極不妥。在《音韻闡微》講就二字急讀以成音的條件下，尤其不適合，然在入聲的反切中出現了下列幾個字：

贖、屑欲切（沃、牀三、撮口呼；上字屬真韻）

日、仁逸切（質、日三、齊齒呼；上字屬真韻）

穴、懸律切（質、匣四、撮口呼；上字屬先韻）

穴、懸決切（屑、匣四、撮口呼；上字屬先韻）

其他聲調也多有陽聲字做切語上字的現象，此處不必一一舉證。至於上述四個反切三個上字，倒是編者莫可奈何的安排。穴字兩見，都屬於匣紐四等撮口呼，入聲字裏除

⁴ 用「齊」韻做切語上字的有：學（覺韻、匣紐）、悉（質、心）、蜜（質、明）、剔（陌、透）、鑄（陌、泥）、昔（陌、心）、的（錫、端）、楊（錫、透）、溺（錫、泥）、覓（錫、明）、息（職、心）；用「霽」韻做切語上字的有：弼（質、並）、穉（陌、並）；用「齊」韻做切語上字的有：黠、轄（黠、匣）、籍（陌、從）、荻（錫、定）、檄（錫、匣）。以上全屬於齊齒呼的字。

穴字外，根本沒有別字；平、上、去的陰聲韻也沒有條件符合的反切上字。因此祇好選用懸這個陽聲字做切語上字。

與「日」字條件相符的陰聲字，祇在上聲出現「耳」，唯音理與日字有異，不能擇用。入聲中條件同是齊齒呼有：弱（藥）、熱（屑）、入（緝）、譟（葉）。其中入與日當時已同音，《諸聲韻學》同收入及攝齊齒呼可證，因此不能用同音字相切；熱、譟當時亦同音，收入《諸聲韻學》傑攝齊齒呼，弱收入高攝齊齒呼。在音理上弱、熱、譟三字皆與日字差異太大，不得已乃選用有鼻音尾的仁字。

符合「贖」字條件的撮口呼，陰聲韻無字。入聲有：塾（屋）、術（質）二字。而此二字與贖，同在《諸聲韻學》及攝章合口呼，可見當時三字已同音，不宜取之做反切上字，祇得選用陽聲的屑字代替。至於《諸聲韻學》將三字歸入合口呼，與《音韻闡微》列做撮口呼有異，屬於兩書的不同，此處暫不討論。

由上述的分析，可見《音韻闡微》的編者選用切語時，是頗費一番功夫，明知陽聲有韻尾不宜做反切上字，然而在整個系統上，不能不做例外的安排，這也是情非得已的。

(三) 影喻以外的切語下字

《音韻闡微》的反切所以選用影、喻做下字，是它們沒有聲母的負擔，在拼音時容易與上字結合。凡例說：「影、喻二母聲有清濁，乃本韻之喉音。天下之聲皆出於喉而收於喉，故翻切之下一字用影、喻二母中字，收歸喉音，其聲自合也。」（《音韻闡微》1881：7-8）正是此義。全書多數的反切都守此規則選用影、喻做下字，如遇影、喻不是常用常見者，祇好另擇其他有聲母的字替代。又影、喻本字不能以本字切，如屑韻撮口呼喻四「悅、欲劣切」，不能改成「悅、欲悅切」，祇好以來紐的劣字權代，這也是不能不如此。此外如本韻適缺影或喻紐字，則以其他聲母來當下字。

入聲的反切，除了上述一般性的例外，也有一些極特殊的情況，分述如下：

1. 疑紐也應視同零聲母

覺韻齊齒呼收 19 個音切，有影無喻，其中用疑紐「嶽」的同音字「岳」當下字者有 7 個，用「嶽」者 1 個，這 8 個字在全部反切中算是多數。疑紐在當時北方官話的讀音也是零聲母，《諸聲韻學》革攝齊齒呼「影、韻」列「藥、渥、岳」同音可證。岳既然與喻紐藥、影紐渥同音，取之做反切下字當然沒有聲母的障礙。而嶽用「學」（匣）、渥（影）用見紐「角」做下字，自然應視作一般性的情況。倒是確（溪）與嘶（知）分別用有聲母的覺、角（都是見母）做切語下字，則不得其解。

2. 有影紐而不用

月韻合口呼有影紐頤字；合韻開口呼有影紐始、鱸兩字；葉韻齊齒呼亦有影紐魔、臙兩字。以其皆非常見常用字，各韻反切下字改用其他聲紐的字，實無可厚非。然而迄韻齊齒呼有乙字、曷韻開口呼有遏字、曷韻合口呼有幹字、黠韻齊齒呼有堰字、陌韻齊齒呼有益字、職韻齊齒呼有億字，全屬於影紐字的常用常見字，各韻中却部份的選用有聲紐的見、溪、曉、匣不等的字，棄各影紐字於不顧，不知是疏忽抑或另有用意，不得而知。

3. 有喻紐而不用

同樣的情況，質韻撮口呼有聿、屑韻撮口呼有悅、陌韻齊齒呼有釋、職韻齊齒呼有弋、緝韻齊齒呼有熠及煜，都屬喻紐常用字。但是各韻也有部份字不選為下字，而擇用某些有聲母字，拼音上當然有困難，祇是編者是否另有解釋或者無心的錯誤，實在費解。

4. 避免混同而改用曉紐

藥韻開口呼收 19 個字，有影紐惡字，然而全韻清聲 9 個字全用曉紐郝做下字。考其原因，可能是惡在平聲虞韻、去聲遇韻已二見，此處若任其出現，也許會有聲調上的困擾，祇好割愛。至於惡、郝兩字用見紐各字切，應視作普通的情況。本韻因無喻紐字，全部 7 個濁聲字都用疑紐𦵏做下字。

5. 形訛的有聲母字

緝韻齊齒呼有「入、日力切」，淮南書局重刊本（1881）及商務國學基本叢書本（1968）都同。唯力字在職韻齊齒呼，借不同韻的字做反切下字，這是《音韻闡微》全書絕無僅有的現象。然而《四庫全書》文淵閣本，力字作「力」。恐是謄抄者先將「及」字寫成「力」於前，然後刻書者誤成「力」字。及在本韻羣紐，所論若不誤則及字屬有聲母字，其實本韻有喻紐煜或熠不用，竟選及字做切語頗難理解。又本韻邪紐「習、邪集切」，集是從紐字也是有聲母字。

由以上所論，可知影、喻、疑的零聲母都可以做切語下字，疑紐所以被排除於凡例之外，可能是編者認為某些方言或中古還有讀鼻音成份者，因此略而不提。至於有常用常見的影、喻字，寧缺而不用，則不知編者有何用意？難道真是疏忽所致嗎？

四 切語下字清濁相混

切語下字的清濁，《音韻闡微》分幾種態度處理：凡是合聲切一定遵守清濁不混；⁵平聲字也是清切清、濁切濁，至於上去入則可以不拘。凡例說：「平聲諸韻清濁之辨

⁵ 合聲切清濁相混者，僅出現一個「歆、出悅切」（屑韻），是濁切清的例外。詳見林慶勳（1987:38）的說明。

甚顯，故收聲之字必分清濁。至上、去、入聲其字較少，而清濁之辨甚微，但據出切之字以定其母，而收聲之字或不拘清濁。」（《音韻闡微》1881、8）可見入聲字容許清濁相混，至於相混的情況除少數特例外，其餘都有不得已的苦衷，分析如下：

1. 清聲切濁聲

此類現象多數是該韻無喻紐或疑紐，即使有字也非常見字，祇得取清聲字代替。如質開口呼、職合口呼都是喻、疑無字，祇得借清聲字切濁聲。有本韻無喻紐而疑紐非常用者，如沃合口呼有穉，迄齊齒呼有乞，月齊齒呼有鐮，黠齊齒呼有鑿，黠合口呼有刖、韃，藥合口呼有獲，合開口呼有偃、鏖，洽齊齒呼有諫，它們都是疑紐的非常用字，不便做切語下字。亦有本韻的喻、疑兩字都不常用，如物撮口呼的囁（疑）、颯（喻），也是不宜當下字。屋撮口呼「砒、魚菊切」，是「今從《廣韻》」的舊切；葉齊齒呼「業、逆怯切」也是「今從《集韻》」的舊切，雖然兩韻各有常見的喻紐字，究竟舊切的清聲字也可以不必計較。至於喻紐本字用清聲切的，像錫撮口呼「械、于具切」、質撮口呼「聿、紆橘切」，恰巧本韻都無疑紐字，祇得以清聲字取代。至於屑撮口呼「穴、懸決切」，本韻中有喻紐悅字不用，而代以見紐的決字，則可能有某種理由的安排，因為該字「協用」正是「懸悅切」。

2. 濁聲切清聲

此類現象主要視影紐之有無及是否常用而定。如質合口呼、撮口呼，物合口呼，月合口呼、開口呼，錫撮口呼，職合口呼，陌撮口呼等都是缺影紐字，因此祇好取濁聲切清聲。又如黠合口呼有娵，藥撮口呼有獲，合開口呼有始、鱸，葉齊齒呼有麗、脆，洽齊齒呼有跪，它們都是不常用的影紐字，如果做切語下字不適合。至於覺齊齒呼有影紐渥，已見於切部份清聲母字，唯見紐覺字用疑紐嶽字切，是否有某種用意？抑或清濁相切在入聲本就可以通融。此外職齊齒呼亦有「識、詩弋切」（識審三、弋喻母），本韻已有影紐億字，已做部份清聲的下字，何以識字不用億切而以弋切，也不容易得到圓滿的解釋，除非我們相信那也是清濁之辨甚微，所以可以不拘清濁。

影、喻、疑字的有無及常用與否，每每關係該韻反切下字清濁的擇用，此在入聲字中可以成立，平聲則涇渭分明。因為平聲由於清濁的分別，使聲調變為陰平、陽平，故不得不嚴分清濁的界線，至於入聲無此必要，自然對清濁的畛域也就稍微寬鬆。

(四) 開合差異的問題

《音韻闡微》對反切上下字，皆嚴格要求其開合與被切字一致，然而有衆多的例外產生。所以有例外，實在是無適當的字可用，祇好推而求其次，選擇一稍近而開合

不同的字來充任，其間當然也考慮古今南北之間的語音差異，儘量不使開合的相異太大。入聲字凡因開合有異者，都是在入聲無適當字的情況下，依次選用平聲、上聲及去聲（理由見次節）。今依上下字不同分述如下：

1. 上字與被切字開合差異者

此類字有幾種情況，第一，無字可用，借他字者：如屋合口呼「木、莫祿切」、質齊齒呼「筆、卑乙切」，莫、卑都是開口呼；覺開口呼「謫、忽渥切」、黠齊齒呼「𣎵、卜瞎切」、屑撮口呼「𣎵、𣎵噉切」，忽、卜、𣎵都是合口呼；覺合口呼「濁、直岳切」、屋撮口呼「塾、食育切」，直、食都是齊齒呼；覺合口呼「𣎵、竹角切」、藥齊齒呼「𣎵、女藥切」、竹、女都是撮口呼。第二，照系二等特殊情况：如屑開口呼牀紐「𣎵、乍孽切」、審紐「𣎵、色浙切」，葉開口呼牀紐「𣎵、乍業切」，緝開口呼照紐「𣎵、札揖切」、穿紐「𣎵、測揖切」、牀紐「𣎵、乍熠切」、審紐「𣎵、煞揖切」，𣎵、色、札、測等都是齊齒呼。上列各字（𣎵、𣎵……）收入屑、葉、緝的齊齒呼，但是各韻之後的小注都說，此類照系二等字今讀開口呼。因此造成齊齒呼切開口呼的現象。又黠齊齒呼照紐「𣎵、𣎵握切」、穿紐「𣎵、差握切」「𣎵、差瞎切」、審紐「𣎵、師瞎切」，職齊齒呼審紐「𣎵、師側切」，洽齊齒呼「𣎵、師夾切」，𣎵、差、師都是開口呼，取之切照系二等的齊齒字。又藥合口呼照紐有「𣎵、𣎵約切」，𣎵也是齊齒呼切合口字。此類祇發生在照系二等特有的情況，因此獨立歸爲一類。第三，類隔的音切：黠齊齒呼徹紐有「𣎵、他瞎切」，是全書中唯一的類隔切。此字《廣韻》是「他轄切」、《集韻》是「𣎵轄切」，都是透紐字；《韻鏡》（外轉二十一開）、《切韻指南》（山攝外四開口呼）都列在徹紐；《中原音韻》則列在家麻韻入聲作上聲，與「塔、榻、塌」同音，可見是透紐；《諸聲韻學》則收入𣎵攝開口副韻床音，注他轄切。由此可見，除韻圖外，都是透紐字，尤其是《中原音韻》以下已讀與塔等字同音。但是此字的切語上字「他」，屬歌韻開口呼，於是形成了與被切字的開合差異。

2. 下字與被切字開合差異者

此類也有兩種情況，第一，當時語音改變所致：《音韻圖微》在每韻之後都有小注，其中有注等呼一項，與中古頗有不同，當然是當時語音的實錄。如質齊齒呼一類收穿紐二等「𣎵、差乙切」，唯小注說居二等者今讀開口呼，因此下字乙仍爲齊齒呼遂造成開合差異。此類情況多數見於照系二等字，亦見於非系等聲紐。如質合口呼審紐「率、疏聿切」，聿原爲撮口呼；屑開口呼牀紐「𣎵、乍孽切」、審紐「𣎵、色浙切」，孽、浙都是齊齒呼；屑合口呼照紐「𣎵、捉噉切」、審紐「𣎵、朔噉切」，噉

是撮口呼；藥合口呼照紐「斲、仄約切」、非紐「轉、福約切」、敷紐「霽、拂約切」、奉紐「縛、伏藥切」，約、藥都是齊齒呼；緝開口呼照紐「戢、札揖切」、穿紐「屈、測揖切」、牀紐「囁、乍熠切」、審紐「澀、煞揖切」，揖、熠都是齊齒呼；葉開口呼照紐「窟、蓄攝切」、穿紐「插、差攝切」、牀紐「磔、乍業切」，攝、業都是齊齒呼；洽齊齒呼溪紐「鴉、乞法切」、娘紐「獮、匿乏切」、徹紐「獮、敕法切」，法、乏是輕唇合口呼。第二，本韻字少或非常用字所致：如月開口呼一共收「拏、鴉、齏」三個字，匣紐「齏、何沒切」無法以非常用的另二字切，祇好借合口的沒字切；藥撮口呼全韻六個字「獵、獵、躍、獵、獵、獵」，既非常用字又少，所以六個字都借合口的縛做切語下字；陌合口呼有十個字，八個清聲字都非常用，所餘匣紐「畫、胡麥切」、「獲、胡陌切」，不能用同韻的清聲非常用字切，祇好借開口呼麥、陌做下字；陌韻撮口呼有五個字，除喻紐「役、余石切」外，其餘四字「鵠、蛄、曼、瞋」都非常用字，役祇得借齊齒呼的石做下字。

以上不論上字或下字，其所以造成與被字開合不諧，其實不外乎語音改變及本韻字少字僻所致。這些現象是不得已的措施，編者除了任其不合外，實在別無良策。

(六)入聲反切上字的聲調差異

反切上下字的聲調與被切字相同，也是《音韻闡微》的理想。事實上除平聲字及絕大多數合聲切達到此種要求外，其他字實有困難。比如要所有入聲字全用入聲上下字做反切，固然有其特色，但是有關配合的用字恐非易事。

王蘭生對反切用字，有其獨到的見解。一方面要表現《音韻闡微》的用字特色，一方面則注意古今南北語音的差異。我們若仔細觀察《音韻闡微》全書的反切，的確正是王氏主張的用字法。他在〈與李世兄書〉中說：

反切之法，以平切平，以仄切仄，固屬甚當。然上一字但取其歸母之清，平仄亦可參用；下一字但取其聲音之叶，鄰韻亦可借用，或借本韻他母字亦好。然舊法亦多有借鄰韻用者，似亦不妨也。愚謂出切之上一字，須用平入二聲，若用上去則北人全不能辨其清濁矣。又切上去二聲，宜用入聲字出切，蓋平聲濁母下字人多錯讀，以之出切，恐不能得本字之音也。又濁聲上字人皆讀作去聲，愚意反切之第二字，皆用清上以矯之，使人能辨。至其清濁之分，原有出切之字以管之，似亦不棄。（《交河集》、卷五、葉四十）

反切上字用平入二聲，是音理配合的考慮，否則北人對上去不能辨清濁，用之徒增困擾而已。然而《音韻闡微》入聲全部反切上字，不但有平入，也有不少的上去，是否王氏自違其例？這是本節討論的重點所在。

據我個人的分析，入聲反切上字的用字，它是依照入聲、平聲及上、去聲的順序選擇，前者無字或選字有困難再考慮後者，這種做法自然會產生許多上去聲的上字如：

- A. 賊、字効切（職、開口呼；字屬寘韻）
- B. 及、忌熠切（緝、齊齒呼；忌屬寘韻）
- C. 獨、杜斛切（屋、合口呼；杜屬麌韻）
- D. 局、巨欲切（沃、撮口呼；巨屬語韻）

A組的賊是從紐開口呼，但是入聲從紐無適當的開口呼反切上字，甚至平上去都無字，祇好選擇一個音理稍近的去聲「字」字，仍不違支、微……等的無韻尾陰聲字及其相承上去聲。B組及屬羣紐齊齒呼，本來入聲有一個「極」很適合做它的切語上字，但是及、極在當時北方官話同音（《諸聲韻學》同列及攝開口副韻「見、調」下可證），以同音字做切語等於用本字切本字。平聲也有一個條件很好的「奇」字，但它是送氣，取之切不送氣的「及」不妥，祇好選用去聲寘韻的忌字。C組獨則是定紐合口呼，符合條件的入聲無字，平聲有一「徒」字，也是送氣不宜切獨字，祇好取條件適合的上聲麌韻杜字。D組局是羣紐撮口呼，入聲唯一適合條件的是「局」字，在本字不宜切本字，平聲的「渠」又是送氣的情況下，祇能選用上聲語韻的「巨」字充任。由此可見入聲反切上字，在聲調選用考慮上，不能不注意它的現實情況。全部以入聲切入聲，固然能表現某種特色，不過那僅僅是理想而已。

一般正常的情况，也就是可以找到適合的入聲反切上字時，它們的確能符合切語與被切字聲調一致的整齊感，而這種現象不僅出現在「合聲」反切，甚至「今用」、「今從舊切」都可能出現，如：

閤、葛合切（合、開口呼；葛在曷韻；今從《集韻》）

脚、吉約切（藥、齊齒呼；吉在質韻；合聲）

毓、谷獲切（陌、合口呼；谷在屋韻；今用）

全部入聲反切中，用入聲做切語上字的不過 228 個，連總數 614 的一半都不到，可見以入聲做上字實在有困難。至於反切下字，都是取用本韻字，絕對是入聲字毫無例外，因此不致產生聲調的相異問題。

(七) 反切用字問題

反切用字的難易，雖然不會直接影響讀音，但是生僻或讀音困難的反切，倒是會影響拼讀的不便。《音韻闡微》的凡例規定切語用字的原則說：

凡翻切用字，須擇其常見、常用者。若遇險僻之字、或讀法差訛、南北古今互異者，其音雖近，不如借用也。（1881：8）

常見常用者，就是比較通俗的用字，有別於古體或不經見的異體字，對拼讀反切有直接的益處。至於什麼是險僻之字？什麼是讀法差訛、南北古今互異者？都未做具體而客觀的說明。

依一般韻書編排的原則，都是取各小韻領頭的字做標準，以之做為切語用字，如果實在不常見不常用，才選用同音的其他字替代。《音韻闡微》全書多數以此方法選字，入聲當然也遵循其例，可是不免有些例外，上下字都有，分述如下。

1. 上字用同音者

黠合口呼見紐有「刮、谷刷切」、「刮、谷滑切」兩字，它們的上字用谷，谷在屋是紐首「穀」的同音字，也許編者以為谷較穀簡易些。此類情況又見於藥齊齒呼審紐「鑠、式約切」，式在職與紐首「識」屬同音；藥合口呼照紐有「斲、仄約切」，仄在職與紐首「側」屬同音；屑齊齒呼定紐有「埵、迪齧切」，迪在錫與紐首「荻」同音；合開口呼溪紐有「磕、克盍切」、疑紐有「傑、鄂合切」，克在職與紐首「刻」同音，鄂在藥與紐首「鄂」同音。其實這些常用常見的標準，有時不免流於主觀的採用。

2. 上字用重文者

緝開口呼審紐有「澀、煞揖切」，黠審紐二等紐首「殺」下注說：「《集韻》或作煞。」可見煞是殺的重文，既屬同音當可借為切語上字。但是煞與殺何者較常見常用，應該是後者為是。何以編者寧取重文的煞而不用紐首的殺，實在費解。

3. 下字用同音者

覺見紐有「覺、吉獄切」、娘紐有「搨、尼岳切」、溪紐有「確、乞覺切」、影紐有「渥、烏角切」。岳是疑紐紐首嶽的同音字；角是見紐紐首覺的同音字。同韻中出現兩組同音字，在求簡的要求下，這是極不經濟的作法。全部入聲此例不多，可見編者未能留意及此。又月開口呼見紐有「挖、歌紇切」、疑紐有「鴛、莪紇切」，紇字其實是匣紐紐首斂的同音字；屑齊齒呼來紐有「列、力藥切」，藥是疑紐紐首孽的同音字。其實「力藥切」是「今從《集韻》」的舊切，因此用字是承襲《集韻》而來。又合開口呼端紐有「答、德塔切」、影紐有「始、阿闔切」，塔是透紐紐首鎔的同音字，闔是匣紐紐首盍的同音字，本韻也是下字闔、盍並見。洽齊齒呼見紐有「甲、吉鴨切」，鴨與影紐紐首押同音，本韻也是下字鴨、押並用，可見編者的疏忽。

4. 下字用重文者

月合口呼非紐有「髮、福襍切」、奉紐「伐、伏襍切」，敷紐文淵閣本作「怖、拂襍切」，其他本子則作「拂襍切」。襍是微紐紐首職的重文，比較上襍自然是常見

些。屑齊齒呼疑紐有「齧、逆截切」，截係舌尖前從紐字，不見於本韻。《廣韻》十六屑有「截」，下注：「或作截。」截雖是齧的重文，但不見於《音韻闡微》本書，此種用字極不妥。此外曷合口呼有用「𪛗」爲下字者七見、用「𪛗」爲下字者二見，《音韻闡微》曷韻有𪛗無𪛗。《廣韻》十三末紐首有𪛗，列𪛗爲重文，可見《音韻闡微》曷韻的𪛗字是據《廣韻》來的，足見編者疏忽實在不小。

《音韻闡微》的反切用字，儘量減至最低，這是該書一大進步。但是由以上的分析，可見因編者的某些大意，不但用字不能經濟，甚至增添了某些不必要的累贅。此外在同音字或重文的選擇上，都是以主觀爲取捨標準，很難讓人掌握。這也許是用漢字當拼音工具，先天性無法克服的一項障礙。

綜合以上所論，齊韻字當做切語上字是事實，凡例疏忽而未列；以陽聲字做切語上字，雖然有韻尾的累贅，可是在無字可選的情況下，祇好照用不誤；影、喻當反切下字，拼音上很理想，可是有許多因素造成不能不選其他紐的字；切語下字與被切字清濁相混，一方面字少不得不混，一方面則是入聲不必擔心清濁對聲調會有影響，因此它們的相混倒也不是嚴重的問題；至於切語與被切字的開合差異、聲調差異，都是不能不如此的做法，因爲限制在一定範圍選字，總免不了會有例外產生；至於反切用字的標準不一，則是編者的疏忽。除了少數是疏忽造成外，多數都不是編者能克服的問題。至少由入聲反切的分析與檢討，我們可以肯定李、王等人的努力是可觀的。

三、入聲的實際語音現象

《音韻闡微》的聲母系統或韻母系統，應該經由全書的觀察及分析，才能得一完整的面貌。本文僅以入聲做爲探討的對象，似乎有所偏失。然而本文志不在討論全書的系統，祇就入聲部分所能反映的情形，做一客觀的分析而已。也就是將極端保守的入聲反切，參照其他相關的資料，一探當時編書時的真相如何？到底以什麼語音爲基礎？當古今南北語音有差異時，如何折衷調和？然後更進一步去觀察幾個演化的問題。

《音韻闡微》對實際語音與傳統語音或方音的差異，做過明白說明的，祇見於書中凡例：

韻部爲經，字母爲緯，等第呼法以別其音，今於能別者悉爲剖析註釋，其不能辨者則仍舊以示存古之意。又如江韻之字，古音與東、冬韻近，今音與陽韻近；殷韻之字，唐人多與真同用，宋以後乃與文同用。此聲音部分之隨韻而異者，皆詳於各韻按語中。若疑、微、喻三母，南音各異，北音相同；知、徹、

澄三母，古音與端、透、定相近，今音與照、穿、牀相近；又泥母與娘母，非母⁶與敷母，古音異讀，今音同讀。此聲音部分之隨母而異者，皆按舊譜列之。

而古今南北之別，庶按母可辨，不敢意爲離合也。(1881: 10-11)

韻母之異詳於各韻按語中，聲母之異却不交代，仍按舊譜羅列。此種詳於韻略於聲的安排，其實是聲母差異較少，以時音讀之可辨的必然結果。

如果想對入聲所反映的語音做一認識，而僅借助於反切的話，結果一定讓人極度的失望。《四庫提要》說該書音切的選擇是：「備載諸家之異同，協者從之，不有心以立異；不協者改用合聲，亦不遷就以求同。」因此不如求助其他同時的相關韻書，助益可能較大。《諸聲韻學》正是一部有價值的材料。

《諸聲韻學》今藏臺北故宮博物院圖書館，爲上下二函十八冊的稿本，係清宮南書房的舊藏。我在該書第五卷的夾頁中見到一張小紙籤，上有「辦理清室善後委員會」的橢圓印記，可見是由該委員會轉移故宮收藏的。書的前後都無序跋等文字說明，不知編於何人之手？倒是每本都夾有數量極夥的「浮簽」，或校正內容、或增刪某字某段等等，字跡工整，似出於一人之手。全書以《五音集韻》剪貼而成，亦有硃筆、墨筆塗乙等痕跡，可見該書係一未定的稿本。

根據趙蔭棠(1932)的研究，該書是依據清初題名阿摩利諦的《三教經書文字根本》編纂而成，由於書中「玄」字或從玄之字，以硃筆塗去末一筆，胤字稭字則無此情形，趙氏因定成書在康熙四十年左右。此書聲母數爲二十一，濁音清化及語音合併的痕跡極爲明顯。韻母則分「及、干、庚、罡、根、該、傑、高、句、械、革、忒」十二攝，每攝又依實際情況分開口正韻、開口副韻、合口正韻、合口副韻，依次代表開、齊、合、撮四呼。在字母下各列「調、理、韻、音」四字，代表陽平、上、去及陰平，至於入聲字則分配於平上去三聲內。由內容所見，趙氏說《諸聲韻學》是表現當時近似語音的一部書，而且是清初音韻學史上的重要材料(趙蔭棠 1932: 57、59)。

李光地有〈覆駁諸聲韻學劄子〉一文說：

臣李光地謹奏，南書房奉旨發下《諸聲韻學》五冊，交臣看閱，欽此。臣看得等韻原有三十六字母，今此書刪去其十五，只存二十一母，蓋等韻備清濁之聲，而此書不分清濁故也。聲有清濁，自古已然，故宋藝祖《中原雅韻》、明太祖《洪武正韻》，雖韻部有歸併，而清濁不改；邵子《皇極經世》，又增多

6 非母淮南書局重刊本做「牀」母，今據文淵閣本改正。李光地〈覆發閱王蘭生所纂韻書劄子〉（《榕村全集》，卷二十九，葉二十七a）有「數字古音與非字異讀，今亦讀爲一類」可證（此段凡例實際是由王文改寫而成）。王力（1957: 531）則認爲此處有脫文，當做「牀母與禪母，非母與敷母」。應裕康（1971: 153）直接改牀母爲非母。

至四十八母，雖并有音無字者，而兼收之略與等韻同異，然於清濁之辨，亦未嘗稍渾也。此書清濁不分，可否通行，伏候聖裁。又每字母中所收平聲多是入聲，入聲多是平聲，蓋此二聲北人多不能辨，故有此誤。若編為成書，似須用古今韻書參對，庶幾平上去入不至譌錯。又字樣多係生造，似亦當用六書所有之字乃可行遠，至有音無字，則倣邵子之法，直空其位可也。統候聖裁。

（《榕村集》、卷二十九、葉二十九、三十）

李氏所詆兩點：第一，字母不分清濁只存二十一；第二，平入聲相混，乃因北人多不能辨故有此誤。正是此書的特點，也是此書勇於反映當時北方官話的地方。此點亦可證趙蔭棠所說，該書是表現當時近似語音應該可信。此外李氏此文時間雖不可考，然李氏卒於康熙五十七年（1718）五月二十八日，此書編纂當不能晚於李氏卒年。則其時代與《音韻闡微》最為接近，持以做為《音韻闡微》編纂時的北方官話依據，是最恰當不過。

我曾經將《音韻闡微》的歸字，去核對《諧聲韻學》的字母、聲調、開合、韻攝等，多數條件都有對應關係存在，其相異部分，應該是《音韻闡微》根據其他因素而修改，自然有異於表現當時北方官話的《諧聲韻學》。也由此可證王蘭生等人編書時，是以十八世紀初的北方官話做基礎，加上所謂古今南北的差異然後折衷完成。而代表改良精神的合聲、今用等反切，自然具有當時北方官話的內容，祇不過因為保守精神的影響，把《音韻闡微》一書包裝得刻意仿古，因此毀譽隨之而來。

（一）聲母合併

《音韻闡微》對聲母的安排極端保守，不論韻譜或韻書都謹守三十六字母的格局，甚至於反切上字的系統，也不敢逾越三十六字母的藩籬，一板一眼的忠實表現傳統的架構。此種安排與編者的保守觀念不無關係，此外借此方式可以忠實保留傳統韻書的系統。全書唯一能看出編者對聲母實際現象說明的，祇有前引凡例所說的四點：第一，疑、微、喻北音相同；第二，知、徹、澄今音與照、穿、牀相近；第三，泥紐與娘紐今音同讀；第四，非紐與敷紐今音亦同讀。以上四點，入聲字的反切祇能見到第一點的現象。

1. 影疑微喻同音

用影、喻二紐做反切下字，是《音韻闡微》的特色。然而影、喻紐的字，無法以本字切本字，祇得借他紐的字替代。屋撮口呼有：

囿、余肉切（喻紐；肉屬日紐）

郁、紆菊切（影紐；菊屬見紐）

囿借日紐、郁借見紐做下字，都是不得已的辦法。但是在入聲字不甚嚴格要求下字的清濁時，囿可以用郁切、郁可以用囿切。編者所以未如此做，乃是當時囿、郁已經同音，《諧聲韻學》列兩字在及攝合口副韻影韻（去聲）及影音（陰平）下可證。此例極多，如藥齊齒呼喻「藥、逸略切」、影「約、乙卻切」，藥、約並未互做切語，因為兩字當時同音，不能做切語，《諧聲韻學》高攝開口副韻影韻收有這兩字可證。又職齊齒呼喻紐的弋、影紐的億等，都是類此情況。由此可證影與喻當時已同音，都讀成零聲母。此外，又如質撮口呼喻紐有「聿、紆橋切」，《音韻闡微》各版本都無異文。「紆」是影紐字，以影切喻，顯示編者是把影、喻相混看待所造成。

此外李光地在〈覆填寫經世聲音圖滿文劄子〉中說：

等韻有三十六母，邵（雍）韻有四十八行，以今音對之，則今音所缺者多。卽如疑、微兩母必不可缺者，而今京音無之，故滿字亦無之，則此兩字無音可對。（《榕村集》、卷二十九、葉十三 a）

今京音無疑與微，實際上是二紐都已發展成零聲母，綜上所述，影、疑、微、喻四紐在《音韻闡微》時代的北方官話，都已零聲母化而趨於混同了。

2. 知徹澄讀與照穿牀相近，泥與娘，非與敷同讀

這三組讀音相同，在反切中找不到任何線索，倒是李光地〈南北方音及古今字音之異〉中透露了這種現象：

知徹澄娘之爲舌音，今存者娘字耳，餘三字則皆入齒音，不知自何時而變，惟閩、廣人則尚有之。考邵康節《經世》以知徹二字列於齒音之後，而以娘字暗對日字，則意其時已略如今人音，但不知輕重齒之外，當作如何取此聲也。又敷字今人讀之，只是非奉一類，不與微字同類。在古音必當別，故風字爲方馮切、豐字則敷馮切，則是非、敷有兩讀，而風與豐爲兩音也。此類與世推移，皆有不可以時音概者。（《榕村集》、卷二十、葉二十一 a）

此文大意與李氏承修《性理精義》卷三〈經世聲音圖〉的案語大致相同（見吳聖雄 1985：203-204）。又前引〈覆填寫經世聲音圖滿文劄子〉之下也說：

知徹澄娘四母原抵舌音，而近代俱以知徹澄三字混入齒音，與照穿牀三字無別。若以時音對上，則失古人之意，似只應註明緣由而闕其音。（《榕村集》、卷二十九、葉十三 b）

李氏時時憂慮者，恐違古人之意。其實那些他所擔心處，正是證明「時音」真象最好的所在。《音韻闡微》的入聲，在《諧聲韻學》是合知徹澄於照穿牀，合泥於娘，合非於敷，亦可旁證此時北方官話中，這些音已經合併。

3. 濁音清化

近代音全濁聲母消失變成清音的事實，已在《中原音韻》(1324)至熊士伯《等切元聲》(1709)等十八家的書中見到（見鄭再發 1966: 643-644），可見在《音韻闡微》(1726)之前，濁聲清化早已完成。然而在《音韻闡微》的入聲中，對全濁的反切並無特別安排。

字母中屬於全濁的有：羣、定、澄、牀、禪、從、邪、並、奉、匣十個。我將《音韻闡微》屬於上列全濁聲母的入聲字，一一核對《諧聲韻學》，發現它們的對應規律是：

A. 開口呼（左邊字母是《音韻闡微》，右邊是《諧聲韻學》。下同）

定——端 澄、牀——照 並——邦

從——精 匣——曉

B. 齊齒呼

羣——見 定——端 澄、牀——照

禪——審 並——邦 從——精

邪——邪 匣——曉

C. 合口呼

定——端 牀——照 並——邦

奉——奉 從——精 匣——曉

D. 撮口呼

羣——見 澄、牀——照 禪——審

從——精 邪——邪 匣——曉

《諧聲韻學》的邪讀 [ç] 或 [s]、奉讀 [f]，它們都是符合當時的讀音，屬清擦聲送氣而不是濁聲。除少數例外，因為都是入聲字，所以塞聲和塞擦聲在《諧聲韻學》中不讀成送氣。可見《音韻闡微》當時的語音，全濁已經消失。

綜合以上所論，由入聲的反切，《諧聲韻學》的記載，或者李光地的論述，都可以直接、間接地反映《音韻闡微》的聲母有單純化的趨向，與現代國語的讀音有某些地方已經很相近了。

(二) 入聲韻尾消失

對於韻母的古今差異，《音韻闡微》凡例雖然說詳於各韻按語中，其實極為有限。它的目的既在「存古之意」，自然所敢表現的當時語音狀況就極少。

除在書前凡例各條，處處可見不敢違古的闡述外，它也有不得已的苦衷，三江韻小注說：

後人讀江如姜，詞曲家遂爲江陽韻，而《洪武正韻》因之，乃時音非古也。今於協用翻切，如按時音，須用央陽汪王等字作切脚，其聲方協。然恐與古韻相悖，故寧缺之也。(1881: 42)

在存古的大前提下，不能自由表現時音，又不願祇是古音的翻版，於是祇好「協者從之不協者改用合聲」。我們若想從它的反切中找線索來瞭解「時音」的確很困難。因此對於韻母的瞭解，祇好借助其他材料的記載，以及語音發展的某些演變現象來說明。

從入聲字的反切，看不出任何線索足以證明「時音」是什麼現象？但是入聲的 [-p]、[-t]、[-k] 塞聲韻尾，在當時的確已經消失而無疑。前引李光地〈覆駁諸聲韻學劄子〉一文說：平入多相混，蓋此二聲北人多不能辨故有此誤。正因為塞聲韻尾消失了，才會與陰聲字相混。李氏站在存古的立場，因為沒有獨立入聲，所以認爲有誤。

李氏〈覆填寫經世聲音圖滿文劄子〉中說：

古人有閉口音，乃今詩韻侵、覃、塩、咸四部。……浙江、江西、閩、廣間此音尙存，直隸及他省皆無之。邵子七聲中後兩行，即是侵覃塩咸之韻。如對以京音則與眞、寒、刪、先等相複。（《榕村集》、卷二十九、葉十三b）

[-m] 既然與 [-n] 相複，當然是北方官話的 [-m] 已然消失的明證。從韻尾的發展看，[-m] 在北方話裏變爲 [-n]，比韻尾 [-p]、[-t]、[-k] 的消失晚些（王力 1958: 135）。由此推論，也可證明當時北方官話的入聲韻尾 [-p]、[-t]、[-k] 的確是完全消失了。

《諸聲韻學》的入聲字，已經散入陰聲字裏，它的時代又與《音韻闡微》最接近，因此我將《音韻闡微》的全部入聲仔細觀察它在《諸聲韻學》的分佈狀況，發現到某些很有意思的情形，以下就《音韻闡微》所列開齊合撮四呼，依照《諸聲韻學》讀音相同者列爲一組，各舉若干例看看：

A. 開口呼

見：葛（曷）、各（藥）、格（陌）、閤（合）、歌（歌）、戈（歌、合口呼）

《諸聲韻學》革攝、見、音、下同]

溪：渴（曷）、恪（藥）、客（陌）、磕（合）、科（歌、合口呼）[革攝、羣、音]

疑：嶺（曷）、罈（藥）、額（陌）、儼（合）[革攝、疑、音]

邦：博（藥）、伯（陌）、波（歌、合口呼）[革攝、邦、音]

滂：粕（藥）、拍（陌）、坡（歌、合口呼）、頗（歌、合口呼）[革攝、滂、音]

並：泊（藥）、白（陌）〔革攝、邦、調〕

明：莫（藥）、陌（陌）、磨（箇、合口呼）〔革攝、明、韻〕

曷中古是 [-t]，藥、陌是 [-k]，合是 [-p]。見溪疑三組的字，三個清塞聲尾都相混，正代表它們的消失。見紐字與陰聲歌、戈同音，溪紐字與科同音。雖然戈、科在《音韻闡微》屬歌合口呼，那是謹守中古的傳統而歸類，《諸聲韻學》是代表當時北方的語音，所以都已讀成開口呼。邦系四組，代表 [-k] 已消失，與陰聲讀法無別，而《音韻闡微》把陰聲字都依傳統歸入合口呼，其實不但《諸聲韻學》是開口字，連現代國語也沒有「u」介音。

B. 齊齒呼

見：暨（質）、訖（迄）、戟（陌）、激（錫）、亟（職）、急（緝）、雞（齊）、機（微）、飢（支）〔及攝、見、音〕

溪：詰（質）、乞（迄）、隙（陌）、輒（職）、泣（緝）、谿（齊）、敝（支）〔及攝、羣、音〕

羣：姑（質）、趋（迄）、劇（陌）、極（職）、及（緝）〔及攝、見、調〕

疑：耶（質）、乞（迄）、逆（陌）、鷁（錫）、嶷（職）、岌（緝）、藝（霽）、毅（未）、𪔐（寘）〔及攝、疑、韻〕

曉：歇（月）、𪔐（屑）、脅（葉）〔傑攝、曉、音〕

匣：紇（月）、頤（屑）、協（葉）〔傑攝、曉、調〕

影：謁（月）、噎（屑）、臆（葉）〔傑攝、影、音〕

喻：拙（屑）、葉（葉）〔傑攝、影、韻〕

質、迄、月、屑在中古收 [-t]；陌、錫、職收 [-k]；緝、葉收 [-p]。此三類收音已混同，證明它們的塞音尾已經消失才可能相同。見、溪、疑三組，甚至與陰聲的平聲支、微、齊，去聲寘、未、霽的字讀音相同。《音韻闡微》因為保守，仍然讓當時北方官話已經相同的字，有板有眼的各自獨立。其實《音韻闡微》某些字下，偶而也注有同音的訊息，如前舉見紐錫「激、吉錫切」，下注協用「吉益切」；陌「戟、基隙切」，下注協用「基益切」。錫、陌不同韻的兩字，同用「益」做反切下字，而且聲母相同，可見編者認定它們是同音。祇不過這類注釋太少，不足以說明整個系統的現象，殊為可惜。

C. 合口呼

見：穀（屋）、枯（沃）、骨（月）、孤（虞）〔及攝、見、音〕

溪：哭（屋）、酷（沃）、窟（月）、枯（虞）〔及攝、羣、音〕

端：黻（屋）、篤（沃）、咄（月）、都（虞）〔及攝、端、音〕

透：禿（屋）、突（月）、琮（虞）〔及攝、透、音〕

定：獨（屋）、毒（沃）、揆（月）〔及攝、端、調〕

泥：桴（沃）、訥（月）、怒（遇）〔及攝、娘、韻〕

屋、沃收 [-k]、月收 [-t]。因為塞聲韻尾已經消失，所以它們讀音相同。見、溪、端、透甚至與平聲陰聲虞的字同音；泥則與去聲陰聲遇的字同音。這些都足以證明《音韻闡微》的時代，北方官話的入聲韻尾已經消失。

D. 撮口呼

見：菊（屋）、葦（沃）、橘（質）、具（錫）、居（魚）〔及攝、見、音〕

溪：麴（屋）、曲（沃）、屈（物）、謁（陌）、闕（錫）、渠（魚、羣）〔及攝、羣、音〕

羣：局（沃）、縞（質）、掘（物）〔及攝、見、調〕

疑：砭（屋）、玉（沃）、嶮（物）、御（御）、遇（遇）〔及攝、疑、韻〕

曉：畜（屋）、旭（沃）、獮（質）、欸（物）、睽（陌）、殢（錫）、洫（職）、虛（魚）〔及攝、曉、音〕

影：郁（屋）、鬱（物）。喻：囿（屋）、欲（沃）、聿（質）、役（陌）、械（錫）、域（職）、豫（御）、御（御）〔及攝、影、韻〕

屋、沃、陌、錫、職收 [-k]，質、物收 [-t]。上述各組可證兩者已無區別，而且與陰聲平聲魚（見、溪、曉）、去聲御、遇（疑、喻）讀音也相同，這都是入聲韻尾消失的最好證明。此中影與喻，《諸聲韻學》讀音全同。「御」字兩收於疑與喻（《諸聲韻學》歸入疑與影），代表讀 [o-] 或 [ŋ-]，後者也許受某種方音影響所致。雖有此區別，清初北方官話入聲韻尾消失是不成問題的。此外在《音韻闡微》中，沃的葦、曲、旭三字，都注有「協用」，反切下字同用屋韻的「郁」字。陌的謁、睽；錫的具、闕、殢；職的洫等字，都注「借用」，下字也是「郁」。陌的役、錫的械、職的域三字，也注「借用」，下字則是沃的「局」字。以上都可證明它們之間已無入聲韻尾的藩籬，而應該是同音的意思。

由以上所論，我們當然可以說《音韻闡微》所根據的當初北方官話，的確是沒有塞聲韻尾的。祇因為傳統保守觀念的影響，使王蘭生等人不敢遽於更張，因此十七個獨立的入聲韻部依然存在，讓人誤以為它在當時北方官話中仍有塞聲韻尾而已。

(三) 入聲調演化

十四世紀的《中原音韻》入聲調，已經分別演化成陽平、上聲及去聲。經過三百年以後的《音韻闡微》又是怎樣呢？因為書中仍列十七個入聲韻部，似乎不是當時北

方官話的真正面貌。祇得求助於《諧聲韻學》。將《音韻闡微》全部 614 個入聲字，觀察它們在《諧聲韻學》聲調演化的情況，得到如下的情形：

表一 開口呼

韻 紐	曷	藥	陌	合	月	職	屑	葉	質	緝
見	1	1.3	1.2	1	1	1				
溪	1	1	1	1		1				
疑	1	1.3	1	1	1.4					
端	1	1		1		1				
透	1	1		1		1				
定	2	2		2		2				
泥	4	4		1.4		4				
娘			1							
照 ^知			1.4					唐	1	1
穿 ^徹			1					1	1	1
牀 ^澄			2				閏	礪	2	2
審			1				檢	1	1	1
邦		1	1.4			1.3				
滂		1	1.4			1				
並		2	2			2				
明		1.4	4			1				
精	1	4		1		1				
清	1	4		1		1				
從	2	2		2		2				
心	1	1		1		1				
曉	1	1	1	1		1				
匣	2	2	2	2		2				
影	1	1	1	1.2	2	1				
來	1	1.4	4	1.4		1.4				

表二 齊齒呼

韻 紐	質	迄	陌	錫	職	緝	月	屑	葉	黠	洽	覺	藥
見	1.2.4	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1.3	2.3	1
溪	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.4	3
羣	2	2	2		2	2	2	2	2				2
疑	1.4	1.4	4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	4	4

端		1				1	1		
透		1	1			1	1		
定			2			2	2		
泥		1.4	1.4			1.4	1		
娘	1			1.4	1.4		1.4	4	1.4
								1	1
照 _知	1	1		1	1	1.2	1	1	1
穿 _徹	1	1		1	1	1.4	1	1	1
牀 _澄	1.2	2		2	2	2	2	1.2	2
審	1	1		1	1	1.4	1.4	1	1
禪		2		2	2	2	1.4		2
邦	1	1.4	1.4	1	1	1	1	1	
滂	1.3	1.4	1	1		1	1	1	
並	2	2.4	4	2	2	2		2	
明	1.4		1.4	1.4		1.4		1	4
精	1.2	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
清	1	1	1		1	1.3	1		1
從	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	2	2		1.2
心	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
邪		1.2			2				
曉	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
匣			1.2			2	2	2	2
影	1	1	1		1.4	1	1	1	1
喻	1.4	1.4		1.4	1.4	4	1.4		4
來	1.4	4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	4
日	1.4			1.4	1.4	1.4	4		4

表三 合 口 呼

韻 紐	屋	沃	月	質	物	曷	藥	陌	職	黠	屑	洽
見	1	1	1			1	1	1	3	2		
溪	1	1	1			1	1	1		1		
疑		4	4			4	4			1.4		
端	1	1	1			1						
透	1		1			1						
定	2	2	2			2						
泥		1.4	1.4									
娘										1.4		

照 _知	1			1			1	1	
穿 _徹	1	1		1			1		
牀 _澄	炭	2							
審	1	1.3		4		撼	1	1	
邦	1	1			1		1		
滂	1	1	1		1		1		
並	2	2	2		2		2		
明	1.4	1.4	1.4		1		1.4		
非	1	1	1	1	1				1
敷	1		1	1	1				
奉	2	2	2	2	2				2
微			4	1.4					
精	1	1	1		1	4			
清	1		1		1				
從	2	2	2		2				
心	1	1	1		1				
曉	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	
匣	2	2	2		2	2	2	2	
影	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	
來	1.4	1.4	1		4	1			

表四 撮 口 呼

韻 紐	屋	沃	質	物	陌	錫	職	月	屑	葉
見	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
溪	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1
羣	2	2	2	2				2	2	2
疑	1.4	1.4		1.4				1.4		
娘	1.4	1.4	1.4						1.4	
照 _知	1	1	1						1	
穿 _徹	1	1	1						1	
牀 _澄	2	2	1.2							
審	2	1							1	
禪		1								

精	1	1	1						1	
清	1	1	1		1				1	
從	2		2						1.2	
溪	1	1	1						1	
邪		4							2	
曉	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
匣			2						2	
影	1.4			1.4					3	3
喻	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	4	4	1.4		1.4	4
來	4	4	1.4						1.4	
日	4	4							1.4	

上列各表所記數字，1、2、3、4 分別代表陰平、陽平、上聲、去聲，也就是《諸聲韻學》的「音、調、理、韻」四種標目。凡是一字在不同攝兩見，或一字在同攝出現不止一次，祇看是否聲調不同，不同者照實記上，如「1、3」，代表有陰平、上聲兩讀。若《音韻闡微》與《諸聲韻學》各音節的韻字相異，則從同音字的關係尋出；凡無法找到的，祇好將該字記在相關位置。聲紐中的照、穿、牀，包含有知徹澄與照穿牀兩組的字，因為兩書它們都屬同音。韻目以線隔開，代表不同音，另見以下說明。

表一開口呼，曷、藥、陌、合等韻，《諸聲韻學》列為同音，多數在革攝、采攝開口呼，亦有部份字在該攝、械攝開口呼，甚至也有少數字在革攝合口呼、齊齒呼以及該攝齊齒呼；月、職同音列革攝、械攝開口呼；屑、葉、質、緝在《音韻闡微》都是照系二等字，小注則說它們應該讀開口呼。而這些字質與緝同列及攝齊齒呼，可見當時已同音；葉在采攝齊齒呼；屑全韻兩字「閤、櫟」，《諸聲韻學》都不收。

表二齊齒呼，質、迄、陌、錫、職、緝，《諸聲韻學》列為同音，它們都在及攝齊齒呼。月、屑、葉也是同音，收在傑攝齊齒呼，少數在及攝齊齒呼。點與洽部份同音，而同收在采攝齊齒呼，也有少數在采攝開口呼。覺、藥則是有同音有不同音，覺韻分散在革攝開、齊、合、撮及高攝開、齊、撮，與《音韻闡微》覺韻小注所說：「例屬開口呼，或為合口呼，今多讀作齊齒呼。」相應。藥則分佈在革攝齊齒呼與高攝開口呼、齊齒呼。

表三合口呼，屋、沃、質、物、月，《諸聲韻學》的讀音也是相同，收在及攝合口呼，少數在采攝合口呼，亦有在及攝、革攝撮口呼的字。曷、藥、陌、職也是同音，多數在革攝合口呼，少數在械攝合口呼、革攝和及攝撮口呼。點與屑同音，收入采攝合口呼，少數在開口呼與齊齒呼。洽韻兩個字都在采攝合口呼。

表四撮口呼，屋、沃、質、物、陌、錫、職，《諧聲韻學》同音，《音韻闡微》都注有協用、借用，下字同是屋的郁字，可見同音。屋等韻在及攝撮口呼，少數在及攝合口呼與傑攝撮口呼。月、屑同音，收在傑攝撮口呼，《音韻闡微》屑注有協用，下字是月的噉字。葉則收在革攝撮口呼。

表 五

調 紐	陰	平	陽	平	上	去	不	明
見	32		4		4	2		
溪	31				2	1		
羣			16					
疑	20					23		
端	11							
透	11							
定			11					
泥	6					9		
娘	13					10		
照 ^知	21		1			1		1
穿 ^徹	21					1		
牀 ^澄	4		16					3
審	20		1		1	3		2
禪	2		5			1		
邦	16				1	3		
滂	15				1	2		
並			14			2		
明	12					11		
非	6							
敷	4							
奉			6					
微	1					2		
精	19		1			2		
清	18				1	1		
從	7		19					
心	20							
邪	1		3			1		
曉	36							
匣	11		12					
影	25		2		2	5		
喻	11					16		

來 日	17 5			21 9	
合 計	416	111	12	126	6

如果我們認為《音韻闡微》的確是根據十八世紀北方官話做基礎編訂的，那麼《諸聲韻學》在時代上、在聲母、韻母的合併或安排上，與《音韻闡微》相契合的地方相當多，也就最有資格說明《音韻闡微》的真面貌，前面所述已多毋須再重複。如果這個假設可以成立，那麼儘管《音韻闡微》載有入聲調，我們也可借助《諸聲韻學》來瞭解入聲字的真正情況。上列表五就是根據前面所列四個表統計而成。

由於表一到表四的統計，有時一字有兩個聲調，因此表五的總數與全部入聲字不符。表五有幾個特點值得一提：

- ①全濁的聲紐，絕大多數讀陽平，也有讀成陰平，與白滌洲（1931：22-42）利用康熙年間熊士伯《等切元聲》、王祚禎《音韻清濁鑑》兩書所考不盡相同。或許與熊、王二書承襲《中原音韻》的入派三聲不同有關。其實全濁照樣有讀去聲，如齊齒呼陌並紐「構」、錫並紐「髡」、撮口呼沃邪紐「續」都讀去聲。
- ②全清與次清的字，多數讀成陰平，其次讀去聲、再其次是上聲與陽平。讀陽平的如齊齒呼質見紐的「吉」。次濁則讀陰平與去聲，讀陽平與上聲的全無。
- ③全部的入聲調演化中，以讀成陰平的最多，其次是去聲與陽平，上聲最少祇有十二個字。與白滌洲利用現代國語所統計（1931：14-16），祇有陰平一項差異很大，其餘全相似。

由③所述，與《中原音韻》祇讀陽平有極大不同，或許四百餘年來，陰平字大量出現亦未可知。然而這些陰平字，若以現代國語讀它，也有許多差異。總之距今二百多年前《音韻闡微》的入聲字，與之前的《中原音韻》、之後的現代國語，聲調都有極大的區別。但是《音韻闡微》爲了傳統的原因，把入聲字安排得很緊密，如果我們不借助《諸聲韻學》去探測它，恐怕會把真相湮沒了。

四、結 語

趙蔭棠《等韻源流》將明清等韻分存濁系統與化濁入清的北音系統，其實它也適合韻書的分類。《音韻闡微》的背景是十八世紀的北方，明明全濁已經清化，入聲韻尾和聲調早已消失，可是編者保守的作風，把這部附有韻圖的韻書，表現出「存濁系

統」的面貌。過去研究近代韻書者，以其時間接近現代，都好以外觀來評述，甚至取現代音做比較而已。固然《音韻闡微》的音系與今國語甚多相似，但它終究是距今二百多年前的韻書，必定有某些大小不等的差異。本文選取該書六百多個入聲字，做徹底的分析與研究，結果發現，編者的保守觀念固然可議，但是他們煞費苦心的安排，令人同情，他們如此做，也是有不得已的苦衷。

《音韻闡微》在音韻學史上的意義，是合聲切的改良精神。其實不僅合聲，今從舊切、今用等精神都是一致的。本文選擇入聲做研究，就是在保守的間架中，尋出實際的語言真相。雖然所得的成績極有限，但是徹底的分析，然後論斷它的是非優劣，應該是正確的途徑。

引用書目

- 王 力
 1957 《漢語音韻學》 (1969 泰順書局影印本)
 1958 《漢語史稿》科學出版社 (1970 泰順書局影印本)
- 王蘭生
 《交河集》 道光十六年(1836) 刊本 藏史語所
- 白蔭洲
 1931 〈北音入聲演變考〉 女師大 《學術季刊》 二卷二期 頁一~四二
- 李光地
 《榕村集》 欽定四庫全書 文淵閣本 (商務印書館影印本)
- 李光地 王蘭生等
 《音韻闡微》 欽定四庫全書 文淵閣本 (商務印書館影印本) 又光緒七年(1881) 淮南書局重刊本 (學生書局影印本) 又國學基本叢書本 商務印書館 1968 臺一版
- 吳聖雄
 1985 〈康熙字典字母切韻要法探索〉 師大國文研究所碩士論文
- 林慶勳
 1987 〈試論合聲切法〉 《漢學研究》五卷一期 頁二九~五一
- 趙蔭棠
 1931 〈康熙字典字母切韻要法考證〉 中央研究院 《歷史語言研究所集刊》 三本一分 頁九三~一二〇
 1932 〈諸聲韻學跋〉 《中法月刊》 一卷三期 頁四九~五九
- 鄭再發
 1966 〈漢語音韻史的分期問題〉 中央研究院 《歷史語言研究所集刊》 三十六本 頁六三五~六四八
- 鄭錦全
 1980 〈明清韻書字母的介音與北音類化源流的探討〉 《中國書目季刊》 一四卷二期 頁七七~八七
- 應裕康
 1971 〈論音韻闡微〉 《淡江學報》 十期 頁一三九~一五四
- 羅常培
 1963 〈王蘭生與音韻闡微〉 《羅常培語言學論文選集》 中華書局 頁一二二~一四一
- 撰人不詳
 《諸聲韻學》 稿本 藏臺北故宮博物院

THE PHONOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF CERTAIN VOWEL-OBSCURED SYLLABLES IN MANDARIN: AN AUTOSEGMENTAL APPROACH*

Yi-Chin Fu

Fu Jen University

I. Introduction

It is well-known that there are in Mandarin two consonant series, namely, (a) [tʂ, tʂʰ, ʂ, ʐ], and (b) [ts, tʰs, s], which constitute the initial sounds of monosyllables such as [tʂV] 'paper', [tʰʂV] 'eat', [ʂV] 'ten', [ʐV] 'sun', and [tsV] 'seed', [tʰsV] 'thorn', [sV] 'silk', respectively. As for the syllabic nuclei of these morpheme-syllables, although it is generally believed to be some kind of a high vowel with a quality to be determined by the characteristic features of the preceding consonants, the question remains as to how the exact quality of this vowel is to be determined in a principled way, and furthermore, how its surface phonetic form—which actually may sound so 'exotic' to a European that it had led Karlgren to invent two special non-IPA symbols to handle it—is to be systematically accounted for.

Recently there appeared the autosegmental theory (Goldsmith 1979) with a 'multi-tiered' device for phonological representations which was found very promising toward finding out a solution to this problem.¹ The primary aim of this paper is to show that, by assigning constituent features of segments to separate tiers and by the 'spreading' and 'restructuring' of certain segment features at certain tiers, the external and internal relations of the vocalic part of the above-mentioned monosyllabic words can be accounted for in a straightforward way.

The multi-tiered phonological representation was originally designed to handle certain tonal phenomena of tone languages. In this new approach, tones and

* I should like to thank Professors Edwin Pulleyblank, William Wang, James Huang, and Paul Li for critical comments and helpful suggestions made at the Conference.

1 A word about the meaning of the term 'autosegmental' may be in order. According to Goldsmith, this term was proposed as a direct reaction to the ambiguous and even misleading term 'suprasegmental' of the structuralist school. In the structuralist theory, by 'suprasegmental' is simply meant those prosodic features (e.g., pitch, stress, etc.) which are spoken along with the 'segments', but they themselves do not consist of segmentable units. In Goldsmith's view, however, 'suprasegmentals' and 'segmentals' form "parallel sequences of segments, none of which 'depend' or 'ride on' the others. Each is independent in its own right; hence the name; *autosegmental* level. (Goldsmith, 1979: 20)"

phonetic segments are represented on two separate and autonomous levels, called 'tiers', such that tone levels and phonetic segments may not be restricted to a one-to-one relationship. Take, for example, the Ewe language of Africa, where [tɔ] spoken with a high tone means 'mountain'; spoken with a rising tone, it means 'mortar', and with a low tone, 'buffalo'. In the traditional tone-marking system, these words are commonly represented as in (1):

- (1) tɔ 'mountain'
 tɔ̌ 'mortar'
 tɔ̋ 'buffalo'

In terms of autosegmental tiers, these will be represented as in (2):

- (2) segment tier: to to to
 | ^ |
 tonal tier: H LH L

It is interesting to note that, in Ewe, in the case of [tɔ̌] 'mortar', its tone configuration occupies two tone/timing slots in contrast with either [tɔ] 'mountain' or [tɔ̋] 'buffalo', whose tone feature occupies only one tone/timing slot. In terms of traditional tone-marking devices, as in (1), this fact cannot be easily expressed, but the fact can be clearly represented if we posit a separate parallel 'tier' for tone distribution, with the tone entities on the tone-tier being related to their corresponding vowels on the segment-tier by proper 'association' lines, as shown in (2) above.

Impressed by the initial success of this autosegmental framework, phonologists began to try to apply the 'multi-tiered' concept also to non-tonal phenomena. This shift of attention has opened a new horizon in the treatment of certain old problems in phonological representation.

An example of such old problems from English phonology is provided in Halle and Clements (1983: 14), which concerns the phonological structure of the initial sounds of *ship* and *chip*. As many phoneticians have pointed out, the initial sounds of English words like *chip* and *job* consist of two components: a stop followed by a fricative, each of which is similar to phonemes that occur independently in English (compare the initial sound of *chip* with the initial sounds of *tip* and *ship*). Nevertheless, we cannot consider the initial sounds of *chip* as consisting simply of the two independent phonemes [t] and [s], since elsewhere in English no word may begin with a sequence consisting of a stop followed by a fricative (Cf. *tʃip, *ksip, *dzip). One way of expressing the fact that these sounds behave as single phonemes with regard to the distributional rules of English even though they are phonetically complex is to represent the feature 'continuant', which distinguishes stops from fricatives, on a separate tier. Given this assumption, the words *ship* and *chip* differ only in respect to their representation on the continuant-tier,

not on the remaining tiers:

(3)	continuant-tier:	+c+c-c	-c+c+c-c
			V
	CV-tier:	C V C	C V C
	other features:	Ṣ I P	Ṣ I P
		(ship)	(chip)

(Lower-case *c* on top tier = continuant; upper-case *CV* on mid tier = syllable structure; upper-case letters on bottom tier = bundles of features not including the feature 'continuant').

II. The Problem

Let us now turn to the problematic vowels of Mandarin monosyllables that begin with one of the consonants of the retroflex/dental series. Based on manner of articulation, the two consonant series may be cross-classified into affricates and fricatives:

(4)		<i>Affricate</i>	<i>Fricative</i>
	Retroflex:	tʂ tʂʰ	ʂ ʐ
	Dental:	ts tʰs	s (z)

1. The Fricatives

Since affricates are phonetically complex segments, we will take up the fricatives first. Underlying our treatment of the whole problem are the following basic assumptions:

(5)a ASSUMPTION 1:

All vowels consist of two sets of features: (i) base features (i.e. [+voice], [+syllabic], [+continuant]) and (ii) classificatory features (i.e. [±high], [±back], and [±round]); and an 'unclassified' vowel may receive consonantal features from neighboring fricatives or frictionless continuants, including liquids and nasals,² to fill up the vowel position of a syllable.

(5)b ASSUMPTION 2:

A fricative or a liquid or nasal may 'spread' its consonantal features over a neighboring vowel and form a homorganic syllabic with it if and only if the vowel is 'unclassified' with respect to highness ([±high]), backness ([±back]), and roundness ([±round]).

To put it more succinctly, all fricatives or frictionless continuants will automatically become 'syllabic' in case they are assigned the position of a vowel in

² Nasals are classified as 'stops' by some phonologists, from a different point of view. Here we adopt the more traditional treatment, emphasizing their 'continuant' quality.

the CV-structure. The simplest and well-established cases are the so-called syllabic nasals [m, ɱ] which may occur as monosyllables, as in South Min dialect:³

- (6) [m] 'not'
[ɱ] (surname)⁴

In terms of the autosegmental theory, this phenomenon can be seen as a 'spreading' of the 'nasal' feature of the nasal consonant over a neighboring 'unclassified' vowel—which may conveniently be expressed in a multi-tiered representation such as the following:

- (7) nasal-tier:⁵ [m] [ɱ]
CV-tier: C V C V
output: [m ɱ] [ɱ ɱ]

The syllabic liquids [ɾ, ɭ] in English are also a case in point. Consider the second syllable of *center*, which is often given a phonetic representation like [tɾ], with a syllabic [ɾ]. Similarly, the second syllable of *turtle* is often represented as [tɭ], with a syllabic [ɭ]. In the form of multi-tiered representation, with a leftward 'spreading' of the respective features of the liquid consonants, these would be:

- (8) segment-tier: [tV ɾ] [tV ɭ]
CV-tier: C V C V
output: [t ɾ] [t ɭ]

On the basis of the foregoing observations, the vowel status of the Mandarin monosyllables [tɕV] 'paper', [tʰɕV] 'eat', [ɕV] 'ten', [ʒV] 'sun', and [tsV] 'seed', [tʰsV] 'thorn', [sV] 'silk', can of course be given a similar treatment. Let us start with a simpler case, [ʒV] 'sun', where the 'obscured' vowel V can be seen as the result of a rightward spreading of the 'retroflex' feature of the preceding consonant [ʒ] over a vowel that is 'unclassified' with reference to [±high], [±back], and [±round]—resulting in a 'syllabic' [ʒ]. This whole process of spreading and restructuring of the 'retroflex' feature, in autosegmental multi-tiered representation, would look like this:

- (9) retroflex-tier: [ʒ]
CV-tier: C V
output: [ʒ ʒ]
'sun'

³ English examples that are supposed to contain the syllabic nasals [m, ɱ], in unstressed syllables, are *happen* (with [n] assimilated to [m] after [p]), and *bacon* (with [n] assimilated to [ɱ] after [k]). (See Jones 1962: 223).

⁴ It is reported that a Westerner once commented on this Chinese surname as "being a surname without a vowel."

⁵ For simplicity, other features required to complete a phonetic characterization of the relevant segments but not relevant to our discussion here are omitted.

Given this framework of analysis, the monosyllables [ʃV] 'ten' and [ʒV] 'sun' would differ only on the voice-tier for the initial consonant slot, but share all the features on the remaining tiers for the vowel slot, yielding a syllabic [ʒ] in both forms:

- (10) retroflex-tier: [ʃ] [ʒ]
 | |
 -v+v +v+v
 | |
 C C V
 | |
 [ʃ ʒ] [ʒ ʒ]
 'ten' 'sun'

In this connection, it is interesting to note that, accidentally, the voiced counterpart [ʒV], a 'possible' word corresponding to [ʃV] 'silk' does not exist in Mandarin, though it does occur in some dialects of Chinese.⁶ On the other hand, if we compare [ʃV] 'ten' with the non-retroflex [ʃV] 'silk', the difference would be on the retroflex-tier. This difference of retroflexion will run throughout the entire spreading and restructuring process—hence, a 'retroflex vs. non-retroflex' contrast between the two words in output form:

- (11) continuant-tier: [ʃ] [ʃ]
 | |
 +r -r
 | |
 C C V
 | |
 [ʃ ʒ] [ʃ ʒ]
 'ten' 'silk'

2. The Affricates

If the problematic vowels of words of the fricative sets are resolved, as was shown in section II.1, those of the affricate sets are automatically resolved because all words of the retroflex series, as in (12a), share the same syllabic [ʒ], whereas all the words of the dental series, as in (12b), share the same syllabic [ʒ].

- (12) *With initial affricates* *With initial fricatives*
- a. [tʃʒ] 'paper' [ʃʒ] 'ten'
 [tʃʒ] 'eat' [ʒʒ] 'sun'
- b. [tsʒ] 'seed' [sʒ] 'silk'
 [tʃʒ] 'thorn'

Let us now turn to the initial affricates. The phonological status of the Mandarin affricates [tʃ] and [ts] is comparable to that of the English [tʃ], as in

⁶ In Shanghai dialect, for instance, the word equivalent to Mandarin [ʃʒ] 'be' is pronounced [ʒʒ].

⁷ The feature [-retroflex] here should be interpreted as [+sibilant] in order to account for its exact phonetic realization.

chip. That is to say, though on the one hand, these affricates may be analyzed into a stop followed by a fricative, thus forming a consonant cluster of a sort, on the other hand, however, there are no consonant clusters at all elsewhere found in Mandarin, and so, the Mandarin affricates [tʂ] and [ts] must likewise be treated as single phonemes in the phonological system in spite of their phonetic complexity. But an important difference to be noted here is that, in the Mandarin affricates, the fricative part [ʂ] or [s] still functions like an independent [ʂ] or [s] in forming syllabics with a following ‘unclassified’ vowel, as in [tʂʐ] ‘paper’ vs. [ʂʐ] ‘ten’ or [tsʐ] ‘seed’ vs. [sʐ] ‘silk’. However, in terms of autosegmental tiers, both of these facts can be taken care of in one representation, where distinct feature specifications are entered for [t] and [ʂ] or [s] on the retroflex-tier, but then a ‘restructuring’ (a merger of [t] and [ʂ] or [s]) takes place on the CV-tier, yielding a ‘single’ segment for the C-slot. Simultaneously, for the V-slot, a homorganic syllabic [ʐ] is formed of [ʂ], and a [z] is formed of [s] (Cf. (11)):

(13)	segment-tier:	[t ʂ]	[t s]
	retroflex-tier: ⁸	$\begin{array}{c} \\ \\ +r \\ \\ C \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \\ \\ -r \\ \\ C \end{array}$
	CV-tier:	$\begin{array}{c} \\ \\ / \\ C \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \\ \\ / \\ C \end{array}$
	output:	[tʂ ʐ]	[ts z]
		‘paper’	‘seed’

The aspirated affricates in [tʂV] ‘eat’ and [tʂV] ‘thorn’ contrast with those in [tʂV] ‘paper’ and [tsV] ‘seed’ merely in the presence or absence of ‘aspiration’ in the initial stop. As for the fricative part, [tʂV] ‘paper’ and [tʂV] ‘eat’ share the same retroflex [ʂ], and [tsV] ‘seed’ and [tʂV] ‘thorn’ share the same dental [s]. And that these fricative components of affricates behave just like the independent phonemes [ʂ] and [s] in forming homorganic syllabics with the next following ‘unclassified’ vowel—we have shown in (13) above.

III. Summary and Conclusion

To sum up, we have established a theoretical basis—following the autosegmental model—for representing the seemingly ‘obscured’ vowels of Mandarin monosyllables beginning with consonants of the retroflex/dental series. In particular, a retroflex syllabic [ʐ] is identified next to the retroflex consonants [tʂ, tʂʰ, ʂ, ʐ], and a dental syllabic [z] is identified next to the dental consonants [ts, tʂʰ, s].⁹ So, the

⁸ See Note 7.

⁹ A similar observation about the vowel identity of Mandarin words like [fu] ‘husband’ is made in Dow (1972: 28): “/u/ is realized as [v-syllabic] (= [ɤ]) after /f/,” as quoted in *Handbook of the Stanford Phonology Archive*, Vol. 1, p. 455. This means that the phonemic representation /fu/ is in fact pronounced as [fɤ]—a sequence of a fricative plus a homorganic consonantal syllabic, which is in the same vein as our analysis of [sʐ] ‘silk’ and [ʂʐ] ‘wet’ in this paper.

seven illustrative words given in the opening paragraph of this paper may now be represented as follows:¹⁰

(14)	<i>Retroflex Series</i>	<i>Dental Series</i>
	[tʂʑ] 'paper'	[tʂʑ] 'seed'
	[tʂʑ] 'eat'	[tʂʑ] 'thorn'
	[ʂʑ] 'ten'	[ʂʑ] 'silk'
	[ʂʑ] 'sun'	

At the same time, we also provided a plausible account for the generation of 'consonantal syllabics' on the basis of the principle of differentiating between 'base features' and 'classificatory features' in a vowel. A consonantal syllabic contains only the 'base features' of a vowel and, therefore, it is by definition an 'unclassified' vowel, which, phonetically, is of course not on the same order as the more common 'classified' vowels. Thus, there is no surprise that one cannot find a proper position for 'unclassified' vowels in the conventional vowel chart, which was designed primarily in terms of highness, backness, and roundness—the classificatory features only.¹¹

References

- Crothers, John H., James P. Lorentz, Donald Sherman, and Marilyn M. Vihman, Eds.
 1979 *Handbook of Phonological Data from a Sample of the World's Languages: A Report of the Stanford Phonology Archive*. Vol. 1: Phonetic Inventories. Department of Linguistics, Stanford University.
- Dow, Frances D. M.
 1972 *An Outline of Mandarin Phonetics*. (Oriental Monograph Series, 10) Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies.
- Fu, Y. C.
 1979 "The /r/ Suffixation and the Phonologizal Structure of Mandarin Finals." Paper read at the Ninth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Copenhagen, 1979.
 1981 "Some Problems in the Phonology of Mandarin Finals." *Proceedings of An International Conference on Sinology, Academia Sinica* (Taipei, 1980): 285-291.
- Goldsmith, John
 1976 "An Overview of Autosegmental Phonology." *Linguistic Analysis* 2.1: 23-68.
 1979 *Autosegmental Phonology*. New York: Garland Publishing Company.
- Halle, M., and G.N. Clements
 1983 *Problem Book in Phonology*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

¹⁰ It turns out that our analysis gives theoretical support to the Yale system of Romanization, which employs the consonantal symbols [r] and [ʂ] to spell the vowels of words having initial retroflexives and dentals, respectively.

¹¹ As a matter of fact, even though he had invented two special symbols for the syllabics [ʂʑ] and [ʂʑ], Karlgren still could not find them a proper location in the conventional vowel chart. (See Karlgren 1940: 217 for his general vowel chart.)

Jones, Daniel

1962 *An Outline of English Phonetics*. 9th Ed. Cambridge: Heffer & Sons.

Karlgren, B.

1940 *Études sur la Phonologie Chinoise*. (Chinese translation, rep. 1966. Taiwan Commercial Press.)

Tung, T. H.

1953 *A History of Chinese Phonetics*. (In Chinese; rep. 1973). Taipei: Huagang Press.

重疊詞的聲調變化及其影響

陳 重 瑜

新加坡國立大學

1. 導 言

大陸出版的字典裏的標準音與臺灣出版的字典裏的標準音有很大的差異。原因是大陸在 1957 到 1962 年之間公佈了三次審音結果（1963 年輯錄成《普通話異讀詞三次審音總表初稿》）。1985 年 12 月又公佈了《普通話異讀詞審音表》。標準音不停地改變，字典教科書也得跟着改，不但勞民傷財，也使人們無所適從。

臺灣 1981 年出版的《重編國語辭典》(P. XXXVI) 字音是以 1932 年政府公佈之標準國音（即北平音系）為準。這樣的注音當然不能確切地反映今日之臺灣或北平的語音。

大陸詞典的多變與臺灣詞典的不變可以說是牽涉到同一個問題，那就是國語標準的定位問題。本文檢視臺灣與大陸字典裏一些重疊詞的聲調變化，尋找出一條變化的途徑，探究出聲調變化的一個原因。從而再檢討國語應如何定位。

2. 重疊詞的變調現象：原調→「輕聲」→變調

在國語裏，XYY 與 XXYY 形式重疊詞的 YY 二字聲調有時會轉變為第一聲。而不同的詞典裏有時又有不同的記錄或規定。從一個詞的不同注音中我們或可找出變化的途徑及原因。

2.1. 資料與方法

2.1.1. 資料

本文比較了四本詞典的注音：

A. 《國語辭典》（1947 年版）：實際上翻閱引用的字典是 1957 年出版的《漢語詞典》（簡本）。由於該書是《國語辭典》（1947 年版）的刪節本，故採取原始資料之名稱。其注音是根據 1932 年的標準國音。大陸出版。以下或稱資料 A。

B. 《重編國語辭典》：1981 年臺灣出版。注音根據亦是 1932 年之標準國音。

重疊詞之讀音與《國語辭典》偶有出入。以下簡稱《重編國語》或稱資料 B。

C. 《現代漢語辭典》：1978 年大陸出版。注音根據是 1963 年的〈普通話異讀詞三次審音總表初稿〉。以下簡稱《現代漢語》或稱資料 C。

D. 《漢英詞典》：1978 年大陸出版。注音根據如上。重疊詞之注音與《現代漢語》偶有出入。以下簡稱《漢英》或稱資料 D。

除此之外，還有一些輔助資料：

E. 《現代漢語八百詞》，1980，大陸出版。

F. 《常用構詞字典》，1982，大陸出版。

G. 《閩南語國語對照常用詞典》，1969，臺灣出版。

H. 《國語日報辭典》，1974，臺灣出版。

2.1.2. 方法

本文比較了四本詞典中 XYY 與 XXYY 兩種形式的重疊詞的注音。YY 二音節的聲調在四份資料中但有一份有變化者即收錄表中。由於所涉聲調變化為由非第一聲變為第一聲，Y 字原調為第一聲者自然無由比較。Y 字原調有二讀者，仍在討論範圍之內。數目字 1, 2, 3, 4, 0 分別代表第一，二，三，四聲及所謂的「輕聲」（參看陳重瑜 1984）。在討論聲調時，字母 X 與 Y 亦代表單字之原調。

XYY 形式詞例與注音曾由 X 與 YY 兩部份分頭查證。這是因為偶爾同一詞條先後有不同之注音。例如，《現代漢語》裏，

濕淋淋：注 11 聲一讀，

淋淋：注 22 聲，例濕～～，汗～～。

《重編國語辭典》裏，

慢騰騰：注 00 聲一讀，

騰騰：注 22 聲，例慢～～。

此等情形在文中視為二讀。此外，有少數詞在同一出處就注為二讀。有許多詞條在詞典中有字例而無注音。此等詞條可視為不變調。但為求審慎，其讀音不列入表中。沒有登錄的詞條可能是不變調，也可能是被視為方言詞而不錄。四份資料中皆無變調的詞不在討論範圍之內。事實上不變調的重疊詞數量大大超出變調的重疊詞。

2.2. XYY 重疊詞聲調變化之比較

四份資料中，A B 皆以 1932 年公佈之標準國音為根據。C D 則以大陸 1963 年公佈之〈審音總表初稿〉為根據。C D 間之差別較 A B 間之差別為大。比較重點在於 1932 年至 1963 年間之變化。表 1. a. 列出 53 個合乎比較條件的 XYY 詞條之讀音。

表 1. a. : XYY 重疊詞 YY 音節之聲調比較

詞	條	Y 字 原 調	1932 系 統		1963 系 統		
			A	B	C	D	
笑	微	微	1, 2: A, B 1: C, D	22	22	11	11
顫	巍	巍	2: A, B 1: C, D	22	22	11	11
羞	答	答	1, 2	11	11	11	11
濕	答	答	1, 2	11	11	—	—
赤	條	條	2	22	22	11, 22	22
濕	淋	淋	2	—	—	11, 22	22
血	淋	淋	2	00	00	11	22
孤	零	零	2	22	22	11	22
懶	洋	洋	2	20	20	11	11
喜	洋	洋	2	—	22	11	11
軟	綿	綿	2	—	—	11	22
笑	吟	吟	2	22	22	11	—
亮	堂	堂	2	00	00	11	11
亂	蓬	蓬	2	—	—	11	11
亂	麻	麻	2	—	—	11	—
亂	騰	騰	2	—	—	11	11
慢	騰	騰	2	00	22, 00	11	11
清	冷	冷	2	—	—	11	—
毛	茸	茸	2	—	—	11	—
綠	茸	茸	2	—	—	11	11
綠	瑩	瑩	2	—	—	11	—
藍	瑩	瑩	2	—	—	11	—
藍	盈	盈	2	—	—	11	—
綠	油	油	2	00	22	11	—
黑	油	油	2	—	—	11	11
黑	黝	黝	2	—	—	11	11
黑	沉	沉	2	—	—	11	—
黑	糊	糊	2	—	—	11	11
白	茫	茫	2	22	22	11	22
白	蒙	蒙	2	—	—	11	—
紅	彤	彤	2	—	—	11	—
金	煌	煌	2	—	—	11	—
靜	悄	悄	3: A, B 3, 1: C, D	33	33	11	11
雄	起	起	3: A, B 1: C, D	33	33	11	11
赤	裸	裸	3	33	33	11, 33	33
直	挺	挺	3	33	33	11, 33	33

惡	狠	狠	3	33	33	11, 33	33
鬧	嚷	嚷	1, 3	11	—	11	11
賣	嚷	嚷	1, 3	10	10	—	—
白	晃	晃	3	33	33	11	—
明	晃	晃	3	00	00	11	33
空	落	落	4: A, B, D 1, 4: C	44	44	11	—
靜	落	落	4: A, B, D 1, 4: C	00	00	—	—
空	蕩	蕩	4	—	—	11, 44	44
濕	漉	漉	4	44	44	11	44
香	馥	馥	4	44	44	11	11
黑	洞	洞	4	44	44	11	11
沉	甸	甸	4	44	44	11	11
火	辣	辣	4	—	—	11	11
熱	辣	辣	4	—	—	11	11
粗	刺	刺	4	00, 11	11	—	—
稀	刺	刺	4	11	11	—	—
文	綳	綳	4	—	—	11	11
文	謫	謫	1	11	11	—	—

2.2.1. 差異的形式與幅度

在 53 個詞條中，1932 年與 1963 年兩系統同時都有注音，而可以比較的有 26 個，其中 25 個詞讀音不全然相同。也就是有跡可考的差異幅度為 25/26，即 96.2%。

讀音之差異有下列五種形式：YY, Y0, 00, 10, 11。同一詞條在同一資料中有二讀者有 8；同一詞條在四份資料中最多有三種不同讀音。表 1. b. 列出個別詞典中 YY 音節聲調差異之統計，表 1. c. 分析其差異。

表 1. b. : XYY 重疊詞 YY 音節聲調差異之統計

資 料 讀 音	1932 系 統		1963 系 統	
	A	B	C	D
YY	17	19	—	12
YY, 00	—	1	—	—
Y0	1	1	—	—
00	6	4	—	—
10	1	1	—	—
00, 11	1	—	—	—
YY, 11	—	—	6	—
11	4	4	42	22
總 計	30	30	48	34

表 1. c. : XYY 重疊詞 YY 音節聲調差異之分析

資料 計算法 讀音	1932 系 統						1963 系 統								發展 階段
	A	B	A B 合 計				C				D				
			一		二		一		二		一		二		
YY	17	19	36	60%	82	77.4%	—		5	9.4%	12	35.3%	31	58.5%	一
YY, 00	—	1					—		—		—		—		二
Y0	1	1					—		—		—		—		
00	6	4	16	26.7%	16	15.1%	—		—		—		—		
10	1	1					—		—		—		—		
00, 11	1	—					—		—		—		—		三
YY, 11	—	—	—		—		6	12.5%	6	11.3%	—		—		
11	4	4	8	13.3%	8	7.5%	42	87.5%	42	79.2%	22	64.7%	22	41.5%	
總 計	30	30	60		106		48		53		34		53		

計算法：一、個別詞典中無注音無登錄之詞條不計算在內。

二、假定無注音或無登錄表示聲調不變（即讀作 YY）。

2.2.2. 變化之軌跡：原調→「輕聲」→變調

表 1. b. 裏，1932 年與 1963 年兩個系統的數字清楚地表現出 XYY 詞聲調變化的途徑：原調→「輕聲」→變調（第一聲）。重疊詞由本調歷經一段不穩定狀態最後歸依第一聲。

1932 年系統的讀音顯示出三個不同的發展階段。根據表 1. c. 的統計，60%的詞條還是讀原調，這是第一個階段。第二個階段由原調與「輕聲」二讀開始，至「輕聲」與第一聲二讀為止。（其間之變化與調值參看第 4 節。）第三個階段是原調與第一聲二讀或只第一聲一讀。A B 兩份資料中，只有 13.3%的詞條進入第三階段。若假定詞典中無注音的詞即是聲調不變的詞，那麼只有 7.5%的詞條進入此階段。

1963 年系統的兩份資料與 1932 年系統有一個很大的差別，那就是全然沒有第二階段的讀音。而在資料 C（《現代漢語》）中，有一個 1932 系統裏沒有的變化，那就是原調與第一聲自由變易，也就是直接由原調跨入第一聲（參看第 4 節）。此外，C 與 D 兩份資料也有很大的差別。資料 C 中有 87.5%的詞讀第一聲，12.5%的詞正在轉變中，原調一讀的已經沒有了（這是指表 1. a. 中的 53 個詞條而言）。資料 D 却只有 64.7%的詞讀第一聲，35.3%的詞只有原調一讀。CD 兩份資料的差異大致可說是

反映了北平話與普通話的差別。這一點可由 XXYY 重疊詞的讀音中得到證明（參看表 2.1. b.）。

2.3. XXYY 重疊詞聲調變化之比較

合乎比較條件的 XXYY 詞條只有 21 個；絕大多數的詞條不變調。

2.3.1. 差異的形式與幅度

表 2.1. a. 列出此 21 詞條在四份資料中的讀音。1932 系統中共有八種不同讀法：XXYY, X0YY, XXY1, X0Y1, XX00, X000, XX11, X011。此外，資料 A 有

表 2.1. a. : XXYY 重疊詞之聲調比較

詞 條	單字原調	XY 詞聲調	1932 系 統		1963 系 統	
			A	B	C	D
巴 巴 結 結	1-2	10	1000	1000	1011 〈方〉	—
溜 溜 達 達	1-2	10	1022 1011	1022	—	—
乾 乾 淨 淨	1-4	14	1144 1044 1011	1144	—	—
白 白 淨 淨	2-4	20	2200 2000兒	2000兒	—	—
和 和 氣 氣	2-4	20	2000	2000	—	—
迷 迷 瞪 瞪	2-4	20	2211	2211	—	—
齊 齊 結 結	2-2	20	2221兒	2221兒	—	—
模 模 糊 糊	2-2	20	2000	2000	—	—
迷 迷 糊 糊	2-2	20	2200 2000	2000	—	—
毛 毛 騰 騰	2-2	—	2000	2000	2011 〈方〉	—
鼓 鼓 囊 囊	3-1	—	3000	3000	3011	3011
穩 穩 當 當	3-4, 1	30	3311	3311	—	—
快 快 當 當	4-4, 1	40	4411兒	4411兒	—	—
痛 痛 快 快	4-4	40	4000	4000	—	—
大 大 落 落	4-4	—	4041兒 4011	4044兒	4011 〈方〉	—
大 大 咧 咧	4-2, 1	—	4011	—	4011 〈方〉	4011
顛 顛 巍 巍	4-2, 1	—	4011	4011	—	—
忸 忸 志 志	4-3	—	4000	4000	—	—
惡 惡 實 實	4-3	—	4422 4022 4411	4422 4022	4011 〈方〉	—
亂 亂 騰 騰	4-2	—	4011	4011	—	—
慢 慢 騰 騰	4-2	—	4000	—	4011	—

二讀甚至三讀的詞條，資料 B 亦有二讀的詞條。資料 C 與 D 裏的讀音很規則地僅是 X011 一讀，不過詞條數目很小。

表 2.1. a. 裏的八種讀法中，XX 與 X0 之間的差異應當是一種「過度分析」(over-differentiation)，而絕不可能是音位性 (phonemic) 的差異。也就是說，此處的「0」不是輕聲 (neutral tone) 而是輕音 (weak stress)；X0 與 XX 之間的差別不在聲調而在輕重音。此點可由表 3 的十六個例子中，X₂ 讀音的混亂得到證明。此外三聲字重疊後，X₁ 變調為第二聲 (例如表 3 中，「老老實實」，「冷冷清清」) 更證明 X₂ 不是輕聲，只是輕音 (參看第 4 節)。清除了過度分析的差異後，表 2.1. a. 就可簡化為表 2.1. b.。表 2.1. c. 分析其間差異。

表 2.1. b. 的例子中有詞典裏就注明為方言的詞，也有 XY 原形是注為方言的。

表 2.1. b. : XXYY 重疊詞，YY 音節聲調比較**

詞 條	A	B	C	D	注
巴巴結結	00	00	11〈方〉	—	
溜溜達達	YY, 11*	YY	—	—	* 北平語音亦讀
乾乾淨淨	YY, 11	YY	—	—	E: 北平口語常作 11
白白淨淨	00(-兒)	00(-兒)	—	—	
和和氣氣	00	00	—	—	
迷迷瞪瞪	11	11	—	—	C: 「迷瞪」: 〈方〉
齊齊結結	Y1(-兒)	Y1(-兒)	—	—	B: 「齊截」亦作「齊結」 C: 「齊截」: 〈方〉
模模糊糊	00	00	—	—	
迷迷糊糊	00	00	—	—	
毛毛騰騰	00	00	11〈方〉	—	
鼓鼓囊囊	00	00	11	11	
穩穩當當	11	11	—	—	穩當: F:1 聲; G:4 聲
快快當當	11(-兒)	11(-兒)	—	—	快當: F:4 聲
痛痛快快	00	00	—	—	
大大落落	Y1(-兒) 11(-兒)	YY(-兒)	11〈方〉	—	
大大咧咧	11	—	11〈方〉	11	
顛顛巍巍	11	11	—	—	
忱忱志志	00	00	—	—	
惡惡實實	YY, 11*	YY	11〈方〉	—	* 北平語音
亂亂騰騰	11	11	—	—	
慢慢騰騰	00	—	11	—	E: 北平口語常作 11

** 表 2.1. a 中“XX”與“X0”之差異視為過度分析，不予分辨 (參看表 3)。

E: 《現代漢語八百詞》；F: 《常用構詞字典》；G: 《閩南語國語對照常用詞典》

表 2.1.c.: XXYY 重疊詞, YY 音節聲調分析

資料 計算法 讀音	1932 系 統						1963 系 統						發展階段
	A			B			C			D			
	一	二		一	二		一	二		一	二		
YY	—	0	0%	4	6	28.6%	—	14	66.7%	—	19	90.5%	一
00	10			9			—			—			二
Y1	1			1			—			—			
Y1, 11	1			—			—			—			
YY, 11	3			—			—			—			三
11	6			5			7			2			
總 計	21	21		19	21		7	21		2	21		

計算法：一、個別詞典中無注音或無登錄之詞不計算在內。

二：假定無注音或無登錄之詞聲調不變（即讀作 YY）。

若 XY 是方言，則 XXYY 亦當視為方言詞條。此外還有詞典或其他資料裏注明為北平口語亦讀的詞，詞典裏帶兒化韻尾的詞。這些都是方音或土話。方音土話應該排除於國語讀音之外。因此表 2.1.b. 應當進一步裁剪修正，清除方言詞及北平口語讀音，然後簡化為表 2.2.a.。這才是比較純正的國語。雖則其中「鼓鼓囊囊」，「亂亂騰騰」其實還是北方方言的詞條。表 2.2.b. 分析國語中 XXYY 詞的讀法。「鼓

表 2.2.a.: 國語中 XXYY 重疊詞 YY 音節聲調表

詞 條	“XY”形式之注音	1932 系 統		1963 系 統	
		A	B	C	D
溜 溜 達 達	10	YY	YY	—	—
乾 乾 淨 淨	14	YY	YY	—	—
和 和 氣 氣	20	00	00	—	—
模 模 糊 糊	20	00	00	—	—
迷 迷 糊 糊	20	00	00	—	—
鼓 鼓 囊 囊	—	00	00	11	11
穩 穩 當 當	30	11	11	—	—
痛 痛 快 快	40	00	00	—	—
顫 顫 巍 巍	—	11	11	—	—
忪 忪 志 志	—	00	00	—	—
亂 亂 騰 騰	—	11	11	—	—
慢 慢 騰 騰	—	—	—	—	—

表 2.1.b. 裏，注為方言之詞條刪略；注為北京話口語之讀音亦刪略；帶兒化韻尾之讀音亦刪略。

表 2.2. b. : 國語中 XXYY 重疊詞 YY 聲調讀法分析

資料 計算法 讀音	1932系 統						1963系 統						發展階段
	A			B			C			D			
	一	二		一	二		一	二		一	二		
YY	2	2	16.7%	2	3	25%	—	11	91.7%	—	11	91.7%	一
00	7			6			—			—			二
11	3			3			1*			1*			三
總 計	12	12		11	12		1	12		1	12		

計算法：一、個別詞典中無注音或無登錄之詞不計算在內。

二、假定無注音或無登錄之詞聲調不變（即讀作 YY）。

* 若將「鼓鼓囊囊」一詞視為方言詞，則 1963 系統中全無變調現象。

表 3：XXYY 詞中 X₂ 音節讀音舉例

詞 條	資 料	1932 系 統		1963 系 統	
		A	B	C	D
乾	乾	淨	淨	X, 0	X
白	白	淨	淨	X, 0	0
迷	迷	糊	糊	X, 0	0
惡	惡	實	實	X, 0	X, 0
老	老	實	實	0	0
冷	冷	清	清	0	0
瘋	瘋	癩	癩	0	0
偷	偷	摸	摸	0	0
推	推	揀	揀	X	X
跌	跌	撞	撞	0	0
哭	哭	啼	啼	X	X
坑	坑	窪	窪	X	X
磕	磕	絆	絆	X	—
密	密	層	層	X	X
密	密	麻	麻	—	—
密	密	匝	匝	—	—

X：原調

O：「輕聲」

YY 讀音：詞條 1~4，見表 2. a.

詞條 5~16，讀原調。

鼓囊囊」在多份資料中皆無登錄。¹若是刪去此一詞條，那麼 1963 系統中就完全沒有變調現象了。

2.3.2. 變化的軌跡：原調→「輕聲」→變調

不論是在表 2.1.c. 或表 2.2.b. 裏，討論中的重疊詞在 1963 系統中，YY 音節都作“11”讀，而沒有“Y1”或“00”的讀法。換句話說，已經完全渡過了 1932 系統中出現的第二階段（參看第 4 節）。

2.4. XYY 與 XXYY 兩類重詞讀音變化之比較

大部份的 XYY 重疊詞與絕大部份的 XXYY 重疊詞都讀原調（包括 X₂ 音節）。在少數 YY 音節聲調有所變化的詞條中，XYY 與 XXYY 兩種類型有相同之點，也有相異之處。

1. 兩種重疊詞新讀音經歷的軌跡相同：二者都是由原調經歷一個包含了所謂的「輕聲」的紛爭時期，最後塵埃落定，定於第一聲。在 1963 的系統中，新音變直接由原調跨入第一聲。（參看第 4 節）

2. 兩類重疊詞新讀音在詞典中的地位不同：在 1963 系統中，YY 音節讀作第一聲的詞，在 XXYY 類型的重疊詞中不是注為方言則是北平口語又讀，而在 XYY 式的重疊詞中却是以正統讀音的姿態出現；沒有注為方言或口語。

3. 兩類重疊詞新讀音未來的前景不同：XXYY 重疊詞讀音脫離原調的，在 1932 系統的資料 A 裏有 21 個詞；而在 1963 系統的資料 C 與 D 裏，只有 7 個與 2 個不等，且有 5 個注為方言詞。由表 2.2.b. 的分析來看 XXYY 重疊詞的聲調改變只存在於北平話口語中，在普通話裏可說是已經停止，不復存在了。反觀 XYY 式詞條，在 1932 系統中第一聲的只有 4 個詞條而在 1963 系統中，詞典 C 裏有 42 個詞僅有第一聲一讀，另外有 6 個詞是處於由原調過渡至第一聲的二讀時期，可見第一聲的變化還在進行中。

值得注意的一點是，1963 系統的兩份資料可以說是在「態度」上有相當大的差別。表 1.b. 與表 2.1.b. 的資料清楚地顯示出資料 C 所含的北平口語成份較大，而資料 D 則是較為純正的國語（或普通話）。

¹ 「鼓鼓囊囊」一詞在下列詞典中皆無登錄，可視為方言詞：(1)梁實秋，《最新實用漢英詞典》，1972，臺北；(2)《常用構詞字典》；(3)《閩南語國語對照常用詞典》；(4)《新法編排漢語辭典》1982，大陸；(5)《新華詞典》，1985，大陸；(6)《現代漢英詞典》，1978，香港；(7)林語堂，《當代漢英詞典》，1972，香港。

3. 重疊詞變調的影響

3.1. 單字變調

大陸上 1963 年審音後的讀音與 1932 年的讀音在聲母，韻母，聲調三方面都有改變，而其中以聲調的變化為最大。聲調變化當然有多種原因，例如，方言的影響，由字形相近的常用字類推 (analogy) 等。然而 XYY 與 XXYY 兩類重疊詞的讀音變化也可能是原因之一。在重疊情況下的變調有時固定下來變成該字的本調了。有跡可尋的例子在表 1. a. 中有「微，巍，悄，趄，嚶，」六個字，² 其中「巍，落」二字也出現於表 2. 1. a.。

上述的六個單字中，除了「嚶」是一個「年資」很淺的字，³ 無法比較以外，其餘五個字由中古音至古官話，乃至 1932，1963 兩系統的調類都列於表 4. a.。「嚶」字則只列詞典中調類。六個字中有三個，「嚶，悄，落」，讀作第一聲時，都是重疊成雙時。此外「趄」字幾乎也總是成雙出現的。1932 系統中，「趄」字雖然在重疊時仍是第三聲，但是，「雄趄趄同雄糾糾」(「糾」，第一聲)⁴ 的注釋顯示出「趄趄」的讀音已在轉變中，果然在 1963 系統中，單字「趄」變成第一聲了。表 4. a. 裏，不

表 4. a. : 單字聲調在個別詞典中之記錄

單 字	中古音擬音 ¹	中古音至古官話 ² : 條件及規律	北 平 語 音 系 統				注
			1932		1963		
			A	B	C	D	
微	.mjwɛi	次濁→陽平	2, 1		1		A, B : 1 聲——口語又讀
巍	.ngjwɛi		2		1		
悄	°ts'jǝu	清→上	3		3, 1		C, D : 1 聲——見「悄悄」
趄	°kiɿu		3		1		A, B: 「雄趄趄」同「雄糾糾(11)」
落	lwâk.	次濁→促去	4		4, 1		C : 1 聲——見「大大落落」
嚶	—	—	3, 1				1 聲: 見「嚶嚶」

1. 《廣韻聲系》。

2. Hsueh, *Phonology of Old Mandarin*.
Cheng, *Ancient Chinese and Early Mandarin*.

2 另一字「答」也十分可疑，但是由於此字牽涉的問題較廣，此處暫不討論。

3 「嚶」字《廣韻聲系》中無，《辭源》(臺北商務印書館，1968 修訂本)亦無收錄。《正中形音義綜合大字典》(臺北，1977 增訂二版)舉出《紅樓夢》與《老殘遊記》中之例句。

4 「糾」字在古音裏即有平，上二讀二義；上聲通「趄」。「趄」字中古音裏則僅有上聲一讀。

同詞典的注音可說是表現出不同的發展階段（見表 4. b.）。這是重疊情況下的變調在語言中固定下來，或是在詞典裏被記錄下來而成為單字本調的幾個例證。

表 4. b.：單字聲調：發展階段及個別詞典中的記錄

單 字	發 展 階 段	一	二	三
		原 調	原 調，第 一 聲	第 一 聲
微			A, B	C, D
巍		A, B		C, D
悄		A, B	C, D	
趲		A, B		C, D
落		A, B, D	C	
嚷			A, B, C, D	

1932 系統——A：《國語辭典》

B：《重編國語辭典》

1963 系統——C：《現代漢語詞典》

D：《漢英詞典》

3. 2. 詞形的改變

重疊詞變調另有一可能的影響是詞形的改變或混淆。例如：⁵

(1)「穩當」的『當』在四本資料中皆注為所謂的「輕聲」，在資料 G（1969）中為第四聲，而在資料 F（1982）中，「穩當」歸入一聲「當」之下。

(2)資料 B 注「迷迷瞪瞪」亦作「迷迷登登」。

(3)資料 A，B 裏的「文謔謔 (tzu)」在資料 C，D 中作「文綢綢 (11)」(綢：jòu)，在資料 H（1974）中是「文綢綢 (44, 11)」，亦作「文謔謔」。

(4)「刺」為四聲字，資料 A 與 B 中「稀刺刺」與「粗刺刺」皆讀為一聲。而資料 C 中則作「稀拉拉」與「粗拉」。

4. 重疊詞變調原因推測

重疊詞的聲調變化由原調至第一聲之間經歷的讀音形式堪稱繁多複雜。其語音的真實性 (phonological reality) 究竟如何？此外，是否有特別的因素促使或影響此一音變趨向於第一聲？這是下文的討論要點。

⁵ 其他的例子還有（參看表 1. a.）：

(1)資料 C，D 中有「黑糊糊」；A，B 中有「黑忽忽」無「黑糊糊」。

(2)資料 C 中「紅彤彤」亦作「紅通通」。

(3)資料 B 中「沉甸甸」亦作「沉顛顛」（《兒女英雄傳》），「沉點點」（《元曲》）。

此類重疊詞可能是來自口語；先有語音，後選字形。

4.1. YY 音節的調值分析

在 1932 系統中，XYY 重疊詞 YY 音節的讀音有五種形式：YY, Y0, 00, 10, 11；其間還有二讀的情形。XXYY 詞的讀音有八種形式：XXYY, X0YY, XX00, X000, XXY1, X0Y1, XX11, X011；其間也有二讀，甚至三讀的例子。在上文中已指出 XX 與 X0 之間的差異應該是有聲調音節輕重音之間的差異，而非原調與輕聲之間的差異。因此上述八種形式實際上只代表四種差別：YY, 00, Y1, 11。若是將兩類重疊詞一視同仁，合併討論，則 YY 音節共有“YY, Y0, 00, Y1, 10, 11”六種讀法。這樣的複雜性是否或可曾真實存在於我們的語言中？

或許 A B C 形式的三音節詞速讀變調的現象可以給我們一些啓示。在 A B C 形式的三音節詞裏，如果 A 是第一聲或第二聲，B 是第二聲（包括由第三聲變調而成的二聲），C 是四聲中任何一聲，那麼在正常的說話速度（“conversational speed”）下，B 音節可能變為第一聲。在稍慢的速度下則不變（趙 1968：27-8）。例如：

西洋蓼 121 111→111

梅蘭芳 221 111←111

寒暑表 233 111→111→111

此種三音節詞的聲調變化是速讀與慢讀間的差異。這個變化給我們一個啓示，那就是上述的重疊詞 YY 音節在 1932 系統中的六種形式是否也包含了速讀與慢讀的差別在內？而在 1963 系統的詞典中 YY 音節的讀音只有本調（YY）與第一聲（11）兩種形式了，更顯得其餘的四種形式（Y0, 00, Y1, 10）的可疑。

這四種特殊形式中“Y1”牽涉到兩個詞，“10”牽涉到一個詞：

聲 調	資 料 詞 條	A	B	C	D	注
Y1	大 大 落 落	41 11-兒	44-兒	11〈方〉	—	
	齊 齊 結 結	21-兒	21-兒	—	—	B: 齊結亦作齊載 C: 齊載: 〈方〉
10	賣 嚷 嚷	10-兒	10-兒	—	—	C, D: 無此條

由資料 A, B 中的兒化韻尾及資料 C, D 中的〈方〉注釋或不予登錄來看, “Y1”與“10”兩種形式牽涉的都是方言詞條。既是方言詞, 則此處無須討論其調值。(參看 4.2. 節)

“00”形式牽涉的詞條雖多(參看表 1.b. 與 2.1.c.), 但其「身分」十分可疑。

真是兩個輕聲嗎？詞語的重疊就是爲了加強語氣。加強語氣就不可能讀作輕聲，一定是有聲調的。不過一個音節被重複時，發音的速度就可能加快，音節長度縮短。這時重音有可能減弱，也就是有可能帶的是輕音 (weak stress)，但絕對有聲調。重音在漢語裏牽涉的主要是音長，其次才是音強 (趙 1968: 35)。北平話中輕音特多，但幾乎都被誤認爲輕聲 (參看陳重瑜 1984)。從全部資料中的“YY, 00”，“11, 00”，“YY, 11”的二讀情況來看，“00”應該就是“YY”或“11”的速讀／輕讀而已。至於“Y0”的形式只牽涉到一個詞條，此處的“0”當也是“Y”的輕讀罷了。表 5 中，同一重疊音節在不同詞條裏的不同讀音是上述分析的有力證據。

表 5：YY 音節在不同詞條中之讀音比較

資 料 詞 條	1932 系 統		1963 系 統		注
	A	B	C	D	
血 淋 淋	00	00	11	22	C: 粗拉 <口> C: 稀稀拉拉
汗 淋 淋	—	22	—	22	
濕 淋 淋	—	—	11, 22	22	
亂 亂 騰 騰	11	11	—	—	
亂 騰 騰	—	—	22	22	
慢 騰 騰	00	00, 22	11	11	
熱 騰 騰	11	11	11	11	
熱 氣 騰 騰	—	—	22	22	
殺 氣 騰 騰	—	—	22	22	
懶 洋 洋	20	20	11	11	
喜 洋 洋	—	22	11	11	
喜 氣 洋 洋	—	—	22	22	
大 刺 刺	44	44	—	—	
粗 刺 刺	00, 11	11	—	—	
稀 刺 刺	11	11	—	—	
大 大 落 落	41, 11	11	11	—	
大 落 落	44	—	—	—	

總結本小節的討論：(1) YY 音節的六種形式實際上可能只是“YY”與“11”兩種調類的輕重讀形式罷了。(2) “11”調類的產生可能是速讀變調在語言中固定下來，或是在詞典中被當做慢讀的音調記錄下來。

4.2. 速讀變調作第一聲的猜測

A B C 形式的三音節詞，B 字速讀變爲第一聲的原因可能是 A 音節不論是第一聲

或第二聲，聲調終點是音高點 5。而第一聲起點正是音高點 5。其次，第一聲是一個平調，幅度 (range) 較調形為 51 的第四聲短，適於速讀。然而變調的重疊詞中，X 音節四種聲調都有，音高終點各異，為何 YY 音節變調也都趨向第一聲？

(一) 方言重疊詞的影響：上一節的一些例子與討論已顯示方音土話是重疊詞變調的原因之一。此處舉出大陸出版的《現代漢語難詞詞典》(1985) 裏的一些詞例及其讀音以證明方言重疊詞的調值對國語重疊詞的影響。所謂難詞，其實絕大多數都是方言詞；下列的詞條，資料 A, B, C, D 四本詞典都沒有收錄。

紅堂堂：211	縷縷行行：1011
軟侷侷：311	妖妖道道：1011
笑默默：411	麻麻格格：2011
腥號號：111	煞煞辣辣：4011
齊查查：211 (查：ch-)	虎虎勢勢：3011
彊拐拐：430	麻麻虎虎：2011

方言詞條有時是先有音後選近音字。單字的聲調於是趨於不穩定。

(二) 口語象聲詞的影響：中文書面語的象聲詞以第一聲居多，然而也有不少是其他聲調的。⁶ 可是口語中的象聲詞就絕大多數是第一聲。例如

嘟嘟	乒乒乓乓	咕咚	叮鈴噹噹
嗚嗚	噤噤咕咕	咯吱	溜哩搭啦
呱呱	叮叮噹噹	哐啷	噤哩呱啦
呵呵	滴滴答答	咔嚓	唏哩呼嚕
嘿嘿	嘻嘻哈哈	撲哧	劈哩啪啦
嘩喇喇	噉噉喳喳	撲通	噤哩咕嚕
轟隆隆	噤噤嘎嘎	啪嗒	噤哩噹嚕
呼嚕嚕	噉噉咕咕	咕唧	乒鈴兵啷

口語象聲詞的聲調很可能對一般的重疊詞變作第一聲有所影響，尤其是變調的重疊詞以口語詞條為多。語意負擔 (semantic load) 輕微的重疊 Y 字如「濕答答」，「粗

6 書面語象聲詞舉例：

蕭蕭：11	瑟瑟：11	淙淙：22
轟轟：11	颼颼：11	朗朗：33
淅淅：11	啾啾：11	簌簌：44
琤琤：11	砰砰：11	颼颼：44
錚錚：11	啾啾：11	淅瀝：14
窸窣：11	鏗鏘：11	琮琤：12

刺刺」，「慢騰騰」等，更容易被象聲詞影響，脫離本調，轉變為第一聲。

除此之外，第一聲是四聲中最響亮的聲調。重疊既為強調，而速讀却又縮短了音節長度與聲調幅度（參看第 4.1. 節），因此響亮的第一聲或許有其補償的作用。

4.3. 詞典裏輕聲注音所起的作用

因速讀而產生的輕音被誤認為輕聲，在詞典中固定下來，人們就避開本調。但是實際上它並非真是輕聲，還是有聲調的，無法虛懸空中，必須有所依附。口語象聲詞及方言重疊詞的調值於是趁虛而入。

另有一可能是先受口語象聲詞與方言重疊詞的影響，使 YY 音節調值變得不穩定且弱化，而後詞典裏把輕音誤為輕聲，推波助瀾，促成它脫離本調，並趁勢依附第一聲。

口語象聲詞與方言重疊詞的調值與詞典誤將速讀產生的輕音注為輕聲，這兩個因素的作用，孰先孰後已難追究。然而二者相輔相成是無須置疑的。

5. 國語標準音如何定位？

國語是以北平的語音系統為標準音，這一點無庸置疑。然而在此一前提下有幾個觀念還須澄清：

(1) 所謂的「北平的語音系統」不應包括北平或北方的土話方音。（從本文第 2、3 節的資料與討論來看，重疊詞的變調可謂源於方音。）

(2) 速讀而產生的輕音或變調不應當在詞典裏當做慢讀的語音記錄下來，從而規定及改變了語音。「西洋蓼（ㄟㄟㄟ）」與「梅蘭芳（ㄟㄟㄟ）」之類的速讀變調沒有在詞典裏留下記錄，「血淋淋（ㄟㄟ）」之類的讀音也不該登錄在詞典裏。同樣的，雙音節的「輕聲詞」實際上也是速讀時的輕音，詞典裏注為輕聲是一項錯誤。應當改注原調。⁷

(3) 「以北平的語音系統為標準音」應當只是國語的一個起點而不是一條永遠的軌道。一個地大人多的國家的國語不能永遠跟著一個城市的地方語音而改變；美國英文與英國英文的標準音都已不是某一個特定城市的語音。⁸

隨著教育的普及，教學媒介語的統一，大眾傳播的發達，人口流動量的增加，在

⁷ 《國語日報辭典》裏的注音方法比本文中的資料 A, B, C, D, 四本詞典都優越。那就是所謂的輕聲詞條都注原調，然後再加註某字輕讀。此處用「輕讀」而不用「輕聲」（而提及後綴「子」，如「桌子」時，則用「輕聲」）顯示編者對此已有所區分。然而輕重讀是會隨着某些因素而改變的。所以也不應在詞典中作此規定。

⁸ 參看陳重瑜（1986）。

專業人士（如播音員、語文教師）及年輕學生的口語裏，一個超越城市或地區限制⁹的共通標準當會自動顯影。雖然在其他一般人的語音裏地方性的差異仍不可免，標準還是應當定於一。任何語音或詞彙的變化必須是通行於多數地區，詞典上才可予以承認。北平一地的改變與共通的標準無涉。¹⁰

目前臺灣與大陸的詞典裏都有一些北方的方音土話，因此在語音與詞彙兩方面都有一些「正本清源」的工作待做。然而在北平要區分國語與北平話之間的界線，有時難免有「身在此山中」的困難。

在臺灣各省籍的人都有；各種方言的影響都要經過競爭與選擇，地方性的特徵大多沉澱下去了。而這樣的多種方言間的制衡作用與競爭後沉澱的『淨化』作用是其他地區都沒有的。國語在臺灣已經有了一個相當清晰的面貌。修訂標準音與清除方言詞的時機已經成熟，條件已然具備。

參 考 書 目

（僅在注釋中提及的資料不列。作者之名列，編者之名不列。）

- Chao, Yuen Ren
1968 *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*, University of California Press.
- Chen, Chung-yu
1984 Neutral Tone in Mandarin: Phonotactic Description and the Issue of Norm: *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 12.2: 299-333.
- Cheng, Tsai Fa
1985 *Ancient Chinese and Early Mandarin*, Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series No. 2.
- Hsueh, Feng Sheng
1975 *Phonology of Old Mandarin*, Mouton.
- 陳重瑜
1986 〈華語（普通話，國語）與北京話〉 《中教學報》 12: 24-30 新加坡
《常用構詞字典》
1982 中國人民大學出版社 大陸
《廣韻聲系》
1969 壹版 中華書局 臺北
《國語日報辭典》
1974 國語日報社 臺北
《漢英詞典》
1978 商務印書館 香港
《閩南語國語對照常用詞典》
1969 正中書店 臺北
《現代漢語八百詞》
1980 商務印書館 大陸
《現代漢語詞典》
1978 商務印書館 大陸
《現代漢語難詞詞典》
1985 延邊教育出版社 大陸
《重編國語辭典》
1982 商務印書館 臺北

⁹ 在目前情況下當然還不可能超越海峽的阻隔。

¹⁰ 例如，北平話裏的兩個新音變：(1)合口的半元音聲母 [w] 分化為二，當韻母含有一個 [-u-] 的韻頭時，這個半元音就變成了一個沒有摩擦的唇齒音 [ʋ] (non-frictional dentilabial)。

WHAT IS A KĒJIĀ DIALECT?*

Jerry Norman

University of Washington

The Kĕjiā dialects have been discussed numerous times in works dealing with Chinese dialect classification.¹ In this paper, I will examine the various features that have been proposed as classificatory criteria for this dialect group and attempt to establish a more rigorous framework for distinguishing the Kĕjiā dialects from some of the surrounding groups.

In searching for classificatory criteria, it is highly desirable to find features that are both necessary and sufficient. Wú dialects, for example, are often said to be characterized by the possession of voiced obstruent initials. This may be viewed as a necessary condition for defining a Wú 吳 dialect, but it is not a sufficient condition since other dialects (those of the Shīāng group) also possess such initials. In attempting to establish major dialect groups, one should try if at all possible to find criteria that will serve to characterize dialect groups in a unique fashion. Ideally, one would like to find a single criterion of this type, but this may not be possible in every case. An attempt should be made, nonetheless, to find the smallest number of criteria on which to establish the major dialect groups. Another useful distinction to keep in mind is that between diachronic and synchronic criteria. A diachronic criterion refers to an earlier stage of the same language and is stated in terms of some sort of evolutionary development: e. g., "in dialect X, earlier velars palatalize before high front vowels" is an example of a diachronic criterion. A synchronic feature, on the other hand, makes no reference to earlier historical stages of the language or dialect: "dialect X lacks high front rounded vowels" is an example of this kind of criterion. Such a feature might also be called typological. Clearly a genetic classification (one that purports to be based on historical descent) must be based on diachronic criteria.

I take it as evident that all Chinese dialect classifications, at least implicitly, are intended to be genetic; that is, the groups arrived at in each classification are in some sense to be considered as groups of dialects sharing a common origin. Wú dialects, for example, are viewed as being descended from a common

* Work on this paper was supported in part by a grant from the Committee on Scholarly Communication of the National Academy of Science.

¹ See, for example, Li (1937), Forrest (1948), T'üing (1953), Yuán (1960), Yang (1967), Zhān (1981), Hashimoto (1973), O'Connor (1976), and Ting (1982).

ancestral form which can be called proto-Wú. Such a view is certainly implicit in Y. R. Chao's 1928 monograph, *Studies in the modern Wú dialects*, in which he sets up an "abstract" or general Wú phonological system which is in fact a sort of proto-Wú (1928: vi). It is by analogy with the biological sciences that such classifications are called genetic. In fact since the most ancient times, biological genealogies have been taken as the exemplar of all classification; this can be seen in the very term *genus* (from Greek *genos* 'race, descent') and even in English where a class is often called a *kind* and objects considered to be related in a single class are said to be *akin* (Jevons 1905: 718). Languages and dialects, to be sure, are not the same thing as living organisms, but genetic descent is undeniably one of the most important aspects of linguistic development.² A classification that purports to be genetic represents a theory about the origins of the things being classified. A careful classification of Chinese dialects is consequently an important preliminary to understand how the diversification of an original linguistic unity in China has come about. To serve this end, it cannot be arbitrary or purely utilitarian, a kind of placing things in convenient cubby holes for easy retrieval, but should be constructed on the basis of well-defined principles.

It is important that Chinese dialect classification be based on the actual spoken forms of dialects and not on lists of character readings. Such lists, although they can reveal important features of a given dialect, especially if they are extensive and incorporate so-called colloquial readings, almost always omit important forms of the everyday spoken language, some of which are etymologically obscure, at least at first sight. The danger of what one might call the "character approach" is that one frequently misses the most critical forms for establishing the proper classification of the dialect being studied. It seems to me that it is useful to make a distinction between *colloquial* and *popular* forms in studying Chinese dialects. Colloquial should be reserved for characterizing current usage and popular should be used to describe a word's historical status. In the Peking dialect, for example, the word *dé* 'obtain' is a free verb of high frequency in the everyday spoken language and could thus be described as 'colloquial', nonetheless, looked at from a historical point of view, *dé* is actually a literary borrowing; the older "popular" form, that is, the form that, so to speak, has always been in the dialect and is hence native to it, is *dǎi* 'catch, capture'. When attempting to establish the proper classificatory position of the Peking dialect among the other

² See William S-Y. Wang's (1982) remarks on the application of biological analogies to linguistics; as he points out, genetic descent is only one of several paths of language transmission; peer to peer, teacher to pupil and other paths of transmission are equally important. The well known tree diagrams of historical and comparative linguists undoubtedly do represent one important aspect of linguistics development and are useful as long as one keeps in mind the other factors that may lead to formation of languages and dialects.

Mandarin dialects, the form *dǎi* is the more valuable and relevant one. This distinction is perhaps even clearer in the case of the Mǐn 閩 dialects; in the current dialect of Fóochōw 福州, the “colloquial” word for ‘rain’ is *y³*, but when we compare other Mǐn forms for ‘rain’ Shiàmén 廈門 *hɔ³*, Cháochōw 潮州 *hou⁴*, Jiànyáng 建陽 *xy⁵*, etc., we can see that this is not the real local development of the ancient Chinese word for ‘rain’ brought to Fúkièn 福建 in the earliest times, but a “colloquialization” of the literary readings for the character. 雨 in Fóochōw (cf. the literary readings for ‘rain’ in Shiàmén, *u³*, and Cháochōw, *u³*). That is so can be seen from the fact that the genuine popular form *huo⁶* survives in Fóochōw in the special sense of ‘summer shower’ and in the phrase *huo⁶ lau² teik⁷* 雨流淌 ‘rainwater leaks from the eaves’ (MacLay and Baldwin 1870: 1011; Chén and Li 1983: 77, note 26).³

In earlier articles (Norman 1973, 1986), I have defined the Mǐn dialects in a very precise manner on the basis of the patterning of aspirated and unaspirated initials in lower register tone words as well as by a set of unique lexical items. On the basis of these criteria (and others as well), I have placed the Shàuwǔ 邵武 dialect, which some scholars have classified as Kèjiā, in the Mǐn group (Norman 1982). It seems to me that the Mǐn group, looked in the way I have proposed, is a perfectly delimited group; any Chinese dialect can unambiguously be classified as Mǐn or non-Mǐn. Since I was initially led to this conclusion by a rigorous consideration of the affinity of the Shàuwǔ dialect, which some had considered a variety of Kèjiā, I would now like to turn my attention to this latter group and attempt to determine whether it can be classified as neatly as the Mǐn group can be. To do this, I will first examine the traits that have been proposed hitherto as classificatory criteria and present in some detail the characteristics which I consider to be the best for identifying a Kèjiā dialect. To do this I will use material from the following dialects:

1. Méishàn 梅縣. This dialect is often considered to be the type which defines the group as a whole. It has been described by Hashimoto (1972, 1973); it is included in both the *Hànyǔ fāngyán tǐzhuì* (Běijīng Dàshìuè 1962) and the *Hànyǔ fāngyán tǐzhuì* (Běijīng Dàshìuè 1964). It is well documented lexicographically (MacIver 1926).

2. Hǎilù 海陸. This Kèjiā variety, in its Táiwan 臺灣 form, has been described by S. F. Yang (1957). In origin Hǎilù is a Kwǎngtūng 廣東 dialect spoken in the counties of Hǎifēng 海豐 and Lùfēng 陸豐.

3. Chángtíng 長汀. This Fúkièn dialect is described in *Fújiànshěng hànyǔ fāngyán*

³ The reason for this replacement is interesting; in the Fóochōw dialect, *huo⁶* ‘rain’ became homophonous with 禍 *huo⁶* ‘disaster’ as a result of regular phonological processes; *taun⁶* *huo⁶* ‘rain falls, it is raining’ then became homophonous with ‘disaster is falling’, a homophonic clash unacceptable to most Fóochōw speakers.

diàuchátzǔ (1962).

4. Yǔngdǐng 永定. This dialect, spoken in southwestern Fúkién like Chángting, has been described by Huáng Xuězhēn (1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c).

While there exists a considerable body of information on other Kèjiā dialects, I believe the present four dialects represent a sufficiently varied sample to test adequately any theory of Kèjiā classification. The Kèjiā dialects of Kwángtūng are particularly close to one another and little is gained by citing numerous forms from dialects so intimately related. Note, however, that the Hǎilù dialect possesses a special importance because it retains a distinction between the upper and lower *chiù* 去 tones (a distinction otherwise rare in the Kèjiā dialects of Kwángtūng and Táiwan); this feature is critical to some of the arguments presented below.

Zhān Bóhuì (1981: 152-53) in his book *Shiàndài hànǚ fāngyán* lists 10 features which he considers typical of Kèjiā dialects; while he does not explicitly give them as classificatory criteria, they can be taken as a rather typical characterization of this group. I would like to examine each of these features and comment on them in terms of their usefulness as classificatory criteria.⁴

1. In Kèjiā dialects, the *chiuánjuó* 全濁 initials (voiced stops and affricates) of the *Chièyùn* 切韻 system become voiceless aspirates in all tonal categories. This is undoubtedly the most widely cited feature of Kèjiā, but as I pointed out in Norman (1974), this feature, while it can be considered a necessary condition for identifying a Kèjiā dialect, is not a sufficient condition. This means that all Kèjiā dialects possess this feature but since it also appears in dialects which are not considered to be members of this group, it is not a unique trait of Kèjiā. As Hashimoto (1973: 439) has pointed out, the shift of the old voiced stops and affricated to voiceless aspirates in all four tonal categories is a feature found in a wide range of dialects. In addition to Bóbái 博白 (Yuè 粵) and Shàuwǔ (Mǐn) cited by Hashimoto, reference can also be made to the following dialects:

Húngtúng 洪洞 (Shānsī 山西) (Qíáo 1983)

Wànrúng 萬榮 (Shānsī) (Wú 1984)

Língbǎu 靈寶 (Hónán 河南) (Yang and Ching 1971)

Tàijōu 泰州 (Kiāngsū 江蘇) (Jiāngsūshěng hé Shànghǎishì fāngyán diàuchá jǐdǎutzǔ 1960)

Rúgāu 如皋 (Kiāngsū) (ibid.)

Nántūng 南通 (Kiāngsū) (ibid.)

Jishī 績溪 (Ānhwēi 安徽) (Chao and Yang 1965)

In addition to these dialects, it is well known that a great majority of the dialects of Kiāngsī 江西 as well as a number of dialects of Eastern Húnán 湖南 also exhibit this feature. This has led some to place the Kèjiā and Gàn 贛 dialects

⁴ These features are somewhat paraphrased for the sake of simplicity.

together in a larger Gàn-Kèjiā group (Lǐ 1937; Ló 1958). This is a question I will return to later.

One might well ask why not place all the dialects that exhibit this particular feature into one large group. The difficulty with such a procedure would be that this feature does not correlate strongly with any other set of classificatory criteria including those that will be discussed below. It is better to view the uniform and unconditional shift of older voiced stops and affricates to voiceless aspirates in various regions of China as cases of parallel development lacking any strong diagnostic value in the classification of Chinese dialects. I would even go so far as to say that the development of the old voiced stops in Chinese dialects is in general a weak classificatory criterion and that its main value is as a secondary corroborative trait which can be used in the case of some dialect groups but not others. In the case of the Kèjiā dialects, the most one can say is that the aspiration feature is found in all the dialects of the group, but since it is also found commonly elsewhere it is not a sufficient criterion for placing a dialect in the Kèjiā group.

2. In general *ts*, *ts'*, *s* and *tʃ*, *tʃ'* and *ʃ* are not distinguished. This represents an example of describing one variety of a dialect group (albeit a major variety) as the ideal type of the group as a whole. Such statements, while perhaps useful in popular characterizations, have no value as classificatory criteria. In the present case, for example, two of the dialects which I am employing in this paper (Hǎilù and Chángtīng) do distinguish these two series of sounds.

3. The old velar fricatives *shǎu* 曉 and *shíá* 匣 become *f* when they occur in *hékǒu* 合口 words. Again, this feature is by no means limited to Kèjiā dialects; it is found in Yuè, Gàn, Far Western Mǐn (Shàuwǔ, Jiānglè 將樂) Shīāng 湘, and Southwestern Mandarin. It has no diagnostic value in distinguishing major groups.

4. Kèjiā preserves a number of bilabial initials in words which had *chīngchuén* 輕唇 initials in the earlier language. This feature is also found in all Mǐn dialects. It is not a sufficient criterion for identifying a Kèjiā dialect, but it is important in distinguishing Kèjiā from certain other groups.

5. Velars in many Kèjiā dialects are preserved before high front vowels. This is also true of Mǐn and Yuè dialects; moreover, velars do palatalize before high front vowels in Chángtīng; this phenomenon also appears to be widespread in Kiāngsī Kèjiā dialects (Yán 1986). Obviously this cannot be used as a classificatory criterion for Kèjiā.

6. Almost all Kèjiā dialects have voiced labiodental fricative *v*. This is true, but initial *v* is by no means limited to Kèjiā dialects; it can also be found in Wú and some Mandarin dialects.

7. Nasal initials are numerous; in addition to *m-*, *n-* and *ŋ-*, a palatal *ɲ-* is

also found. A number of other dialects also have four nasal initials including a palatal nasal: Jī-nán 濟南, Shī-ān 西安, Chéngdū 成都, Sōochōw 蘇州 (Běijīng Dàshíué 1962). Clearly this is not a sufficient condition for identifying a Kèjiā dialect.

8. Finals do not contain high, front rounded medials. Such a situation can be observed in many areas of South China outside the Kèjiā region: Canton 廣州, Cháochōw, Shiàmén.

9. The old final stops -p, -t and -k are preserved intact. This is true only of some Kèjiā dialects such as those of Méishìàn and Hǎilù. It is not true of Chángtīng in Fúkièn or Liángshuēijǐng 涼水井 in Szèchwān 四川 (Tǔng 1948). Furthermore, this is found in Mìn, Yuè and the Gàn dialects as well.

10. Most Kèjiā dialects have six tones. While six tone systems are common, Kèjiā dialects with seven tones (Hǎilù) and five tones (Shíchéng 石城 in Kiāngsi) are also reported.

It is quite clear that none of the characteristics given Zhān is sufficient in and of itself to serve as a classificatory feature for Kèjiā. Clearly there is a need to reexamine the Kèjiā dialects in order to determine which feature or features can be used to distinguish this dialect group from other groups unambiguously.

Hashimoto (1973: 440), after reviewing a number of alleged Kèjiā features (some of which were examined above), concluded that the shift of the *yángshǎng* 陽上 tonal category to the *yīnpíng* 陰平 category is the only feature of Kèjiā that is unique to this group. This feature can be used to differentiate Kèjiā from Mìn (Norman 1982) and Yuè and several other dialect groups. Whether it serves to distinguish Kèjiā from Gàn will be examined later in this paper.

Below I will list and discuss a number of features which I consider to be critical to the determination of the classificatory status of the Kèjiā dialects. These features are the following: 1) retention of bilabials where most other dialects have developed labiodentals, 2) retention of stops for the *Chièyùn shéshàngyīn* 舌上音 (reconstructed by Karlgren as palatal stops but as retroflexes by Ló Ch'áng-p'ei), 3) the development of the *yángshǎng* tonal category, 4) evidence for two contrasting sets of sonorants, and 5) the Kèjiā lexicon.

As Zhān Bóhuì (1981) and others have pointed out, Kèjiā dialects have preserved a significant number of words of the *chīngchuén* type (labiodentals) as bilabials. The following list, while not exhaustive, gives a good idea of the situation in Kèjiā.

	Chièyùn	Méishìàn	Hǎilù	Chángtīng	Yǔngdìng
扶	bju	phu ²	—	—	—
符	bju	phu ²	phu ²	phu ²	—
斧	pju:	pu ³	pu ³	phu ³	—
脯	pju:	phu ³	phu ³	—	—

	Chièyùn	Méishìàn	Hǎilù	Chángtíng	Yǔngdìng
殆	phju:	phu ³	—	—	phi ³
肺	phjwēi-	phui ⁵	—	—	phei ³
柿	phjwēi-	phui ⁵	—	—	—
吠	bjwēi-	phoi ⁵	—	—	—
飛	pjwei	pui ¹	pui ¹	pe ¹	—
肥	bjwei	phui ²	phui ²	phe ²	phei ²
癩	pjwei-	pui ⁵	—	pe ⁵	pei ³
沸	pjwei-	pui ⁵	—	—	—
浮	bjəu	pho ²	—	—	—
伏	bjəu-	phu ⁵	phu ⁶	—	phi ⁶
翻	phjwən	phon ¹	—	—	—
飯	bjwən	—	—	phū ⁶	phɔn ⁶
髮	pjwet	—	—	pue ²	—
發	pjwet	pot ⁷	pot ⁷	pue ²	pot ⁷
分	pjuən	pun ¹	pun ¹	peŋ ¹	pun ¹
墳	bjuən	phun ²	—	—	—
糞	pjuən-	pun ⁵	pun ⁵	peŋ ⁵	pun ³
坊	pjwang	—	—	piɔŋ ¹	—
枋	pjwang	pion ¹	pion ¹	—	piɔŋ ¹
紡	phjwang:	phion ³	phion ²	—	—
放	pjwang-	pion ⁵	pion ⁵	piɔŋ ⁵	piɔŋ ³
縛	bjwak	phiok ⁸	—	phio ⁶	phioʔ ⁸
楓	pjung	—	—	—	pun ¹
腹	pjuk	puk ⁷	puk ⁷	pu ²	puʔ ⁷
複	pjuk	puk ⁷	—	—	—
伏	bjuk	phuk ⁸	phuk ⁷	—	—
蜂	phjwong	phuŋ ¹	phuŋ ¹	—	phuŋ ¹
縫	bjwong	phuŋ ²	—	phon ²	—
縫	bjwong-	phuŋ ⁵	phuŋ ⁵	—	—

Less well preserved in Kèjiā dialects are cases where dental stops are attested for the *shéshàngyīn* of the *Chièyùn* system. The pronunciation ti¹ for 知 (CY tje) is universal in this dialect group but a few other scattered cases should also be noted:

	Chièyùn	Méishìàn	Hǎilù	Chángtíng	Yǔngdìng
知	tje	ti ¹	ti ¹	ti ¹	ti ¹
翫	thje	thi ¹	—	—	—
追	twi	tui ¹	tui ¹	—	—
野	ʔák	tok ⁷	tok ⁷	—	toʔ ⁷

	Chièyùn	Méishiàn	Hǎilù	Chángtǐng	Yǔngdǐng
啄	ták	tuk ⁷	tuk ⁷	—	tu ⁷
琢	ták	tok ⁷	—	—	—
擇	dek	thok ⁸	thok ⁸	—	—
中	tjung	—	tuj ¹	—	tuj ¹

O'Connor in his 1976 article on Proto-Kèjiā (51 ff.) correctly stressed that the tonal correspondences found among the dialects of this group require the recognition of two sets of Proto-Kèjiā sonorants, one of which conditions upper register tones and the other lower register tones. This phenomenon is strikingly similar to the situation found in the Min dialects (Norman 1973, 1982) where one must also recognize the earlier existence of two contrasting series of sonorants.⁵ Even more striking is the fact that for the most part, the distinction in Kèjiā and Min pertains to the same set of lexical items. Below are listed example of words having sonorant initials in the upper *píng* 平, *chiù* and *rù* 入 tones; for the sake of contrast, two examples of common words with lower register words with sonorant initials for each tonal category are given. Shǎng 上 tone words present a special problem and will be discussed below.⁶

Píng tone words

	Chièyùn	Méishiàn	Hǎilù	Chángtǐng	Yǔngdǐng
毛	mâu	mau ¹	mo ¹	mo ¹	mou ¹
籃	lâm	lam ¹	lam ¹	(laŋ ²)	(laŋ ²)
鱗	ljen	lin ¹	lin ¹	—	lin ¹
蚊	mjuən	mun ¹	mun ¹	meŋ ¹	mun ¹
壘	lung	luŋ ¹	luŋ ¹	(loŋ ²)	luŋ ¹
籠	lung	luŋ ¹	luŋ ¹	(loŋ ²)	(luŋ ²)
□ ⁷	—	ma ²	ma ²	ma ²	ma ²
來	lài	loi ²	loi ²	lai ²	loi ²

Chiù tone words⁸

	Chièyùn	Méishiàn	Hǎilù	Chángtǐng	Yǔngdǐng
罵	ma-	ma ⁵	ma ⁵	ma ⁵	ma ³
露	luo-	lu ⁵	lu ⁵	—	li ³

⁵ For further elucidation of the situation in Mǐn, see the excellent article by Nicholas Bodman, "The reflexes of initial nasals in Proto-Southern Min-Hinghua" (1985). For examples of comparable forms in Mǐn, I refer the reader to my 1973 and 1982 articles as well as to the Bodman article just cited.

⁶ Words with tonal disagreements are placed in parentheses; such forms are undoubtedly from the learned stratum of the lexicon.

⁷ This is a suffix for female creatures: Méishiàn tsu¹ ma² 'sow'.

⁸ Méishiàn has merged the upper and lower *chiù* tones; here the merged category is designated as tone 5. In Yǔngdǐng the upper *shǎng* and upper *chiù* have merged into a single category 3.

	Chièyùn	Méishiàn	Hǎilù	Chàngtīng	Yǔngdìng
墓	muo-	mu ⁵	mu ⁵	mu ⁵	mu ³
奶	nai:	nen ⁵	nen ⁵	nen ⁵	len ³
妹	muəi-	mui ⁵	moi ⁵	mue ⁵	moi ³
艾	ngāi-	ŋioi ⁵	—	ŋai ⁵	ŋei ³
面	mjän-	mien ⁵	mian ⁵	miē ⁵	miēn ³
夢	mjung-	mun ⁵	mun ⁵	mon ⁵	mun ³
健	ljän-	lon ⁵	(lon ⁶)	—	lon ³
問	mjuən-	mun ⁵	mün ⁵	meŋ ⁵	mun ³
賣	mai-	mai ⁵	mai ⁶	me ⁶	mei ⁶
路	luo-	lu ⁵	lu ⁶	lu ⁶	li ⁶

Rù tone words⁹

笠	ljəp	lip ⁷	(lip ⁸)	(ti ⁶)	—
襪	muât	mat ⁷	mat ⁷	mai ²	mat ⁷
日	nǎjet	nit ⁷	nit ⁷	ni ²	ni ⁷
物 ¹⁰	mjuət	mak ⁷	(mak ⁸)	—	ma ⁷
麥	mək	mak ⁷	—	(ma ⁶)	mat ⁷
箸	nzjak	niak ⁷	(niak ⁸)	—	—
額	ngək	niak ⁷	niak ⁷	—	nia ⁷
目	mjuk	muk ⁷	muk ⁷	mu ²	mu ⁷
木	muk	muk ⁷	muk ⁷	mu ²	mu ⁷
六	ljuk	liuk ⁷	liuk ⁷	təw ²	liu ⁷
肉	nǎjuk	niuk ⁷	niuk ⁷	niəw ²	niu ⁷
□	—	mut ⁷	mut ⁷	—	mut ⁷

'rotten'

入	nǎjəp	nip ⁸	nip ⁸	ne ⁶	ni ⁸
落	lāk	lok ⁸	lok ⁸	lo ⁶	lo ⁸

As O'Connor (1976) has already pointed out, on the basis of forms like these, it is necessary to recognize two contrasting series of sonorants at the Proto-Kĕjiā level, one giving rise to upper register tones, the other to lower register tones. The most obvious explanation for this situation would be that the series that conditions upper register tones was in some way voiceless and the other series voiced. The remarkable thing about this state of affairs is the degree to which it agrees with the comparable situation in the Mǐn dialects. Just to take one example, all the words in the list which have an upper register tone with initial

⁹ In Chàngtīng, the *ylnrù* merges with the *yángpíng* tone and the *yángù* with the *yángchiù* category.

¹⁰ This morpheme occurs in the Kĕjiā word for 'what': Méishiàn mak⁷ kai⁵ 物個; mak⁷ undoubtedly goes back to an earlier *mat⁷, the present final -k being due to assimilation. For the etymology, cf. Zhāng (1982).

l-, have s- in the Western Mǐn dialects; it is precisely on the basis of this reflex in Western Mǐn that I have proposed that Proto-Mǐn had a contrast of *l- (giving l- or n- in all Mǐn dialects) and *lh- (giving s- or š- in Western Mǐn but l- or n- in the Eastern group). The following forms illustrate this phenomenon:

	Proto-Mǐn	Méishàn	Yǔngdìng	Jiànyáng	Shàuwǔ	Shiàmén
籃	*lh	lam ¹	(lan ²)	saŋ ²	san ⁷	nā ²
鱗	*lh	lin ¹	lin ¹	saŋ ²	sen ⁷	lan ²
鯉	*lh	luŋ ¹	luŋ ¹	soŋ ²	suŋ ⁷	laŋ ²
籠	*lh	luŋ ¹	(loŋ ²)	— ¹¹	—	laŋ ²
露	*lh	lu ⁵	li ³	so ⁶	so ⁵	lo ⁶
健	*lh	lon ⁵	lon ³	—	son ⁵	nuā ⁶
笠	*lh	lip ⁷	—	se ⁸	sen ⁷	lue ⁷ ⁸
六	*lh	liuk ⁷	liu ⁷ ⁷	so ⁸	su ⁷	lak ⁸
來	*l	loi ²	loi ²	le ²	li ²	lai ²
路	*l	lu ⁵	li ⁶	—	—	lo ⁶
落	*l	lok ⁸	lo ⁷ ⁸	lo ⁸	lo ⁶	lo ⁷ ⁸

The same holds true for the other initials. For example, Proto-Mǐn *mh give rise to upper register tones in the Shàuwǔ and Jiānglè dialects; moreover, in certain Mǐnnán 閩南 dialects, in words originally lacking a nasal ending as a component of the final, an “irregular” nasalization is found.¹² The following examples illustrate this.

	Proto-Mǐn	Méishàn	Yǔngdìng	Shàuwǔ	Cháoohōw (Jiěyáng)
毛	*mh	mau ¹	mou ¹	mau ⁷	mō ²
罵	*mh	ma ⁵	ma ³	ma ⁵	mē ⁶
墓	*mh	mu ⁵	mu ³	mio ⁵	— ¹³
妹	*mh	mui ⁵	moi ³	mei ⁵	muē ⁶
物	*mh	mak ⁷	ma ⁷ ⁷	—	muē ⁷ ⁸
目	*mh	muk ⁷	mu ⁷ ⁷	mu ⁷	māk ⁸

In the case of the other nasals a similar convergence can also be observed. In Southern Mǐn dialects, *nh- and *ŋh- become h- before palatal vowels: Proto-Mǐn

¹¹ Cf. Yǔng-ān 永安 saŋ²; the form is from Lǐ (1983: 270).

¹² For details, see Norman (1973) and Bodman (1985). Note that one dialect may provide evidence for a voiceless sonorant without there being corroborating evidence in the other areas. This is generally caused by the infiltration of heterogeneous lexical material from later strata or by borrowing from neighboring dialects. For example 襪 ‘stockings’ has an upper register tone in Kèjiā and Shàuwǔ and Jiānglè but fails to show the expected irregular nasalization in any Southern Mǐn dialect. From this, we much conclude that there were two competing forms for this word, one with initial *mh, the other with *m; one or the other of the forms finally prevailed in different regions.

¹³ Cf. Shiàmén boŋ⁶ where the irregular final nasal is a reflex of the original voiceless nasal.

*ŋhian 硯 'inkstone', Shiàmén hī⁶. The correlation between this feature and KĒjiā words having upper register tones with the initials n- and ŋ- is high as the following forms demonstrate:

	Proto-Mǐn	Méishàn	Yǔngdìng	Shàuwǔ	Cháochōw (Jiēyáng)
艾	*ŋh	ŋioi ⁵	ŋei ³	ni ⁵	hiā ⁶
箸	*nh	niak ⁷	—	nio ⁷	hio? ⁸
額	*ŋh	niak ⁷	nia? ⁷	nia ⁷	hia? ⁸
肉 ¹⁴	*nh	niuk ⁷	niu? ⁷	ny ⁷	nēk ⁸

The shift of words in the *yángshǎng* tone category to the *yīnpíng* category is a very distinctive KĒjiā trait which sets these dialects off sharply from the neighboring Mǐn and Yuè dialects. The following list contains some of the most common words exhibiting this feature:

	Chièyùn	Méishàn	Hǎilù	Chángtíng	Yǔngdìng
坐	dzuā:	tsho ¹	tsho ¹	tsho ¹	tshou ¹
簿	buo:	phu ¹	phu ¹	—	—
苧	djwo:	tshu ¹	—	tšhu ¹	—
柱	dju:	tshu ¹	—	tšhu ¹	—
弟	diei:	thai ¹	thai ¹	the ¹	thei ¹
被	bje:	phi ¹	phi ¹	phi ¹	phi ¹
舐	džje:	se ¹	se ¹	—	sei ¹
倚	gje:	khi ¹	khi ¹	tšhi ¹	khi ¹
舅	gjəu:	khiu ¹	khiu ¹	khiu ¹	—
淡	dâm:	tham ¹	tham ¹	—	thaŋ ¹
旱	ʃan:	hon ¹	hon ¹	—	hɔn ¹
鱔	zjăn:	sen ¹	—	—	sen ¹
斷	duân:	thon ¹	thon ¹	thū ¹	thon ¹
吮	džjuən:	tshion ¹	tshion ¹	—	tshien ¹
近	gjən:	khiun ¹	khiun ¹	kheŋ ¹	khun ¹
体 ¹⁵	buən:	phun ¹	phun ¹	—	phun ¹
動	dung:	thuŋ ¹	thuŋ ¹	—	thuŋ ¹
重	djung:	tshuŋ ¹	tšhuŋ ¹	tšhoŋ ¹	tshuŋ ¹

In addition to this development, which is characteristic of popular words, a shift of *yángshǎng* words to the *yángchiù* can be observed in all the KĒjiā dialects cited here; this change is clearly to be attributed to a late reading tradition that

¹⁴ Jiēyáng shows an irregular nasalization in this form; the Dìng-ān 定安 dialect of Hǎinán 海南 has hiuk⁸; for further comments on Southern Mǐn forms for 'meat', see Bodman (1985: 18—note 24).

¹⁵ 体 蒲本切粗也. This is the word for 'thick' in Méishàn and Hǎilù.

penetrated the Kèjiā region after the shift described above had taken root. In the above list all the forms cited originally had stop or affricate initials. What about words with sonorant initials? Just as in the case of sonorant initials in the other three categories, a split can be observed in the *shǎng* category as well. The question naturally arises as to whether this split is also caused by the earlier distinction of sonorant initials into two types, one voiced and one voiceless. Unfortunately, in the case of the Mǐn dialects, it is impossible to establish this distinction with any certainty on the basis of tonal behavior in the *shǎng* category. In the case of the contrast between *1- and *lh-, however, the initials themselves evolve in a very different way irrespective of which tonal category they belong to. This gives us a useful way to test whether the Kèjiā tonal split in the *shǎng* category is in any way determined by the voiced/voiceless distinction. In all four of the Kèjiā dialects examined in this paper, *shǎng* tone words with sonorant initials are either in the *yīnpíng* category or in the *yīnshǎng* category.

Of all the words reconstructed with initial *lh- in Mǐn, four belong to the *shǎng* category: 李 'plum', 老 'old', 卵 'egg', and 兩 'two'. We can compare this list of forms to a list of words which definitely did not have voiceless initials in Proto-Mǐn, i. e., words with initial *1-. The following four words are common popular words employed both in Mǐn and Kèjiā: 鯉 'carp', 滷 'brine', 瀾 'saliva', 懶 'lazy'. As the chart below shows, the words which had initial *lh in Proto-Mǐn all have tone three (*yīnshǎng*) and those with initial *1- all have tone one (*yīnpíng*). This suggests that in Kèjiā the pattern found in the *píng*, *chiù* and *rù* tones is also present in the case of the *shǎng* tone and those with voiced sonorant initials follow the other *yángshǎng* words into the upper *píng* tone. This hypothesis can be checked in still another way. As indicated above, Proto-Mǐn words with the initials *nh- and ɲh- develop an initial h- in Southern Mǐn dialects when they occur before a high front vowel. The two words in my material that fall into this category both have tone 3 in Kèjiā. The relevant forms are shown in the following list:¹⁶

Proto-Mǐn *lh

	MS	HL	CT	YD	JY	JO	FC	SM
李	li ³	li ³	ti ³	li ³	se ⁵	se ⁶	li ³	li ³
老	lau ³	lo ³	lo ³	lou ³	seu ⁵	se ⁶	lau ⁶	lau ⁶
卵	lon ³	lon ³	lu ³	lon ³	suŋ ⁵	soŋ ⁶	lauŋ ⁶	ŋŋ ⁶
兩	lion ³	lion ³	tiŋ ³	liŋ ³	sŋŋ ⁵	(lion ⁴)	laŋ ⁶	ŋŋ ⁶

¹⁶ The following abbreviations are used: MS=Méishìàn, HL=Hǎilù, CT=Chángtǐng, YD=Yǔngdìng, JY=Jiànyáng, JO=Jiànōu, FC=Fóochōw, SM=Shiàmén, CYS=Chìyùn system.

Proto-Mĭn *l

	MS	HL	CT	YD	JY	JO	FC	SM
鯉	li ¹	li ¹	—	li ¹	loi ⁵	ti ⁴	li ³	li ³
滸	lu ¹	lu ¹	—	—	lo ³	lu ³	lou ⁶	lɔ ⁶
瀾	lan ¹	lan ¹	—	lan ¹	lueŋ ⁵	lueŋ ⁴	laŋ ³	nuā ⁶
懶	lan ¹	nan ¹	laŋ ¹	lan ¹	lyeŋ ⁵	tyeŋ ⁴	tiaŋ ⁶	tuā ⁶

Proto-Mĭn *nh

耳	ni ³	ni ³	ni ³	hn ³	noiŋ ⁵	neŋ ⁴	nei ⁶	hi ⁶
---	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	-------------------	------------------	------------------	-----------------

Proto-Mĭn *ŋh

瓦	ŋa ³	ŋua ³	ŋua ³	ŋua ³	ua ⁵	ua ⁴	ua ⁶	hia ⁶
---	-----------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------	------------------

On the basis of this evidence, I would like to propose that in Kèjĭā words of popular origin, *shǎng* words with Proto-Kèjĭā voiced sonorant initials followed other *yángshǎng* words into the upper *píng* tone; words with voiceless sonorant initials, on the other hand, went into the *yínshǎng* category. The general Kèjĭā tonal development then is as follows:

	<i>píng</i>	<i>shǎng</i>	<i>chiù</i>	<i>rù</i>
voiceless initials	1	3	5	7
voiced initials	2	1	6	8

In looking at this chart, one must remember that the voiced/voiceless opposition applies to sonorants as well as to obstruents. It is also important to note that when the sonorant initials are included, this pattern of development is uniquely Kèjĭā since in the Gàn dialects there is no evidence for a separate set of voiceless sonorant initials; in Gàn sonorant initials in the *shǎng* tonal category uniformly become *yínshǎng*.

The Kèjĭā lexicon, hitherto little studied, provides a very rich area for comparative work. Perhaps the most interesting thing about the lexicon of these dialects is that there are very few lexical items that can be considered purely Kèjĭā. This is in part to be explained by the fact that Kèjĭā is surrounded on all sides by dialects of other groups and that it has lived in a symbiotic relationship with these dialects for many centuries. Two words that, as far as I have been able to determine, are uniquely Kèjĭā are the words for 'son' and 'mother':

	Méishiàn	Hǎilù	Chángtǐng	Yǔngdìng
'son'	lai ⁵	lai ⁶	lai ⁵	lai ³
'mother'	oi ¹	oi ¹	ue ¹	oi ¹

Both words are of uncertain etymology. To this short list one might add a verb meaning 'to carry on the shoulder': MS *khia*², HL *khia*², YD *khia*². All three of these words appear to have rather high diagnostic value.

When one looks at the Kèjiā lexicon in general, he discovers that it falls into two basic categories. One of these represents an archaic stratum that shows significant links to forms found in the Mǐn dialects. This body of words is not large; the larger part of the Kèjiā lexicon belongs to a later and more general variety exhibiting strong bonds to the popular lexicon of the other non-Mǐn dialects of the Southeast. The following list of forms reflects the older, archaic stratum. For the sake of convenience, Méishìàn forms are compared with forms from several Mǐn dialects, chiefly from Northern Fúkièn.¹⁷

1. ☐ MS khem⁵ 'boxes with lids, a lid'. FC khai⁵ 'to cover'; FA khem⁵ 'id.'.
2. ☐ MS khiu⁵ 'rainbow' (Běijīng Dàshuó 1965: 7). FC khi⁶ 'id.'; FA khi⁶ 'id.'. Cf. SM khi⁶ 'id.'.
3. ☐ MS khuan⁵ 'carry in the hand'. FC kuan⁶ 'id.'; FA kuan⁶ 'id.'; SM kuā⁶ 'id.'.
4. 瀾¹⁸ MS lan¹ 'saliva'. FC lan³ 'id.'; FA lan³ 'id.'; JY lue⁵ 'id.'.
5. 健¹⁹ MS lon⁵ 'young hen'. SM nuā⁶, Jiēyáng 揭陽 (Cháochōw) nuā⁵, Jiānglè 江陵 suāi⁵.
6. ☐ MS mi⁵ 'dive'. FC mei⁶ 'id.'; FA mei⁶ 'id.'; JY me⁶ 'id.'.
7. ☐ MS mian¹ 'to cover over', mian² 'to cover over'. FC man² 'id.'; FA man¹ (Ibañez 1941-43: 335) 'id.'; JY man² 'id.'.
8. 芒 MS mion² 'grass cut on the hills for cow's food, thatch, etc'. FC mōi² 'rush or straw'; FA mōe² 'id.'. Cf. SM ban² 'stalk of grass'.
9. ☐ MS mok⁷ 'to calculate, reckon, guess'. FC mo⁷ 'to say at a venture, to guess'.
10. 目珠 MS muk⁷ tsu¹ 'eye'. FC mōik⁸ tsiu¹ 'id.'; FA mōek⁸ tsiu¹ 'id.'. Cf. SM bak⁸ tsiu¹ 'id.'. Note that only Kèjiā and Mǐn retain the old word for 'eye'; it is also noteworthy that in both dialect groups, a second syllable meaning 'sphere, pearl' is suffixed to the base morpheme.
11. ☐ MS mut⁷ 'rotten'. FC mauk⁷ 'soft, tender, rotten, decayed'; FA mōk⁷ 'id.'.
12. ☐ MS nan⁵ 'a small boil or pimple'. FC nei¹ 'hard lump in the skin'; FA nen¹ 'id.'; JY nue⁶ 'bump'.
13. ☐ MS nim⁵ 'the lobes of oranges'. FC lei⁵ 'id.'; FA lem⁵ 'id.'.

¹⁷ Méishìàn forms are cited from MacIver (1926); Fúochōw forms are chiefly from MacIver and Baldwin (1870); Shìàmén forms are from Douglas (1899). Fúān and Jiānyáng are from my fieldnotes. Note the abbreviations: FC=Fúochōw, FA=Fúān, JY=Jiānyáng, SM=Shìàmén.

¹⁸ 瀾, Jyàn 魯早切潘也. The character 潘 means 'water in which rice has been washed'; it is metaphorically applied to 'saliva' in Mǐn and Kèjiā.

¹⁹ For discussion of this word, see Norman (1983: 206).

14. ☐ MS thiam³ 'press down, with the forearm'. FC thiaŋ³ 'push with the hand'.
15. ☐ MS tsaŋ¹ 'heel, elbow'. FC taŋ¹ 'id.'; JY tiaŋ¹ 'id.'. Cf. SM ti¹ 'id.'.
16. ☐ MS tshaŋ² 'to shine on'. FC taŋ² 'id.'; FA taŋ² 'id.'.
17. ☐ MS tshi² 'chicken louse, small destructive insect'. FC tai² 'id.'; FA tai² 'id.'; JY loi⁹ 'id.'. Cf. Shàuwǔ (Western Fùkièn) thu² 'id.'.
18. ☐ MS tshut⁸ 'to wipe away'. FC souk⁸ 'rub with the hand'; JY tsui⁸ 'wipe'. Cf. SM tsut⁸ 'wipe up'.
19. ☐ MS tsin¹ 'thin, watery'. FA tsen¹ 'id.'; JY loiŋ⁹ 'id.'.
20. ☐ MS tsun¹ 'shiver' (Běijīng Dàshíuè 1965: 327). FA tson¹ 'id.'. Cf. SM tsun¹ 'shiver, shake, as with cold'.

When the Kĕjiā and Mǐn lexicons are compared on a large scale, one discovers that where Mǐn dialects employ a very distinctive set of forms for some of the most common everyday objects, Kĕjiā dialects tend to use more general, wide-spread designations. The forms given below illustrate this situation:

1. For 'cooking pot', Mǐn dialects employ the word 鼎 (CYS tieng:): FC tiaŋ³, JY tiaŋ³, SM tiā³. Kĕjiā dialects use the more general Southern word 鑊 (CYS ŭwāk): MS vok⁸ theu² (～頭), YD vɔʔ⁸ theu^{2.20}.
2. 'House' in Mǐn is 戌 (CYS śju-): FC tshio⁵, JY tshio⁵, SM tshu⁵. Kĕjiā dialects employ 屋: MS vuk⁷, YD vuʔ⁷.
3. For 'to wear (clothing)' the Mǐn dialects use a distinctive set of forms: FC sɕiŋ⁶, JY tseŋ⁶, SM tshen⁶ (? < 用 CYS jiung-). Kĕjiā uses the more general term 著 (CYS tjak): MS tsok⁷, YD tsɔʔ⁷.
4. The general Mǐn word for 'leaf' is 簍 (CYS nǝjak): FC nioʔ⁸, JY nio⁸, SM hioʔ⁸. Kĕjiā uses 葉 (CYS jiāp): MS jap⁸, YD iaʔ⁸. (簍 survives in Méishìàn in the word 簍笠 niak⁷ lip⁷ 'rainhat'—see MacIver 1926: 562).
5. For the word 'mouth', Mǐn dialects have a *chiù* tone word with an aspirated initial: FC tshui⁵, JY tshy⁵, SM tshui⁵. Kĕjiā has the widespread word 嘴: MS tsoi³, CT tsei³.
6. Mǐn dialects employ 解 (CYS ǝai:) as an auxiliary verb meaning 'can, able to': FC a⁶, JY hai⁵, SM ue⁶. Kĕjiā dialects use 會 (CYS ǝuài-): MS voi⁵, YD voi⁶.

Even from this rather cursory examination it can be seen that the Kĕjiā lexicon falls into two distinct types, one a more archaic type showing links to the Mǐn dialects and another later type, having links to Gàn, Wú and Yuè. These two types of vocabulary can be viewed as two different lexical strata. For

²⁰ In this list Kĕjiā forms are cited from the Méishìàn and Yǔngdīng dialects because the lexical sources for these two dialects are more extensive than those for Hǎilù and Chángtīng.

convenience, let us call the older, archaic type stratum A, and the later (and more general) type stratum B. As I have proposed elsewhere (Norman 1983: 209-210), the older stratum A goes back to the Chín-Hàn era and represents an ancient popular form of Chinese spread by the first imperial conquests. Stratum B, I believe, owes its origin to a later wave of Chinese, historically connected with the massive immigration of northerners into the region south of the Yangtze in the Eastern Jin period. Mǐn and Kèjiā differ from one another essentially in the degree to which they have retained elements from each of these strata. Whereas in Mǐn, stratum A material predominates and forms the very core of the various dialects, in Kèjiā stratum A elements for the most part are vestigial and restricted to a narrow sphere of familiar, everyday vocabulary.

In light of this dichotomy revealed in the lexicon, let us reexamine the phonological features discussed above. The retention of bilabial initials in a large number of words having labiodental initials in northern and central dialects is a feature shared with Mǐn. From the point of view of comparative dialectology, it definitely seems that this feature belongs to stratum A and that the development of labiodentals belongs to stratum B (and a still later stratum of northern origin reflected in the modern Mandarin dialects). Against this view, one could argue that the *Chiyùn* system, thought by many to reflect the literary text reading tradition of the late Nánběicháo period, lacks evidence for a separate series of labiodentals; consequently, while stratum A words clearly lack labiodentals, the mere presence of an unshifted bilabial does not necessarily mean that a given word should be assigned to this stratum since stratum B most likely had also not developed labiodentals. The solution to this impasse depends on when labiodentals began to appear. This change is usually placed relatively late; Shào Róngfēn (1979: 61) says that the first documentary evidence of such a change dates to the mid-eight century *fānchiè* of Jāng Shēn's 張參 *Wǔjīng wénzì* 五經文字. Zhōu Zǔmó (1966: 305) has argued that the original *fānchiè* of the *Yùpiān* 玉篇 (as preserved in fragments and in the *fānchiè* of Kūnghǎi 空海 *Wànshàng míngyì* 萬象名義) show that this distinction had already begun to develop in the sixth century. It must also be remembered that developments in the vernacular normally precede the appearance in written records of the same developments; in my opinion, it is quite possible that the development of labiodentals began already in the Southern dynasties and that the retention of bilabials in words of the *chīngchuán* category should be considered a feature of stratum A. The same would hold true of the retention of stops for the *shéshàngyīn*.²¹

²¹ Zhōu Zǔmó (1966: 307) also maintains that the distinction between the *shétóuyīn* and *shéshàngyīn* was found in the *fānchiè* of the original *Yùpiān*. Shào Róngfēn (1982: 10 ff), who generally takes a very critical view of Zhōu's analysis of the *Yùpiān fānchiè*, does not believe that the *shétóu* and *shéshàng* initials had already split at the time of the original *Yùpiān*.

I believe that if we view the dialects of Southeastern China as the end product of several major waves of sinicity, the classificatory position of the Kèjiā dialects will begin to fall into place. The first wave was due to the extensive conquests of the Chín and Western Hàn. The language of this wave was a popular spoken language, perhaps a sort of military koine, that was implanted in many newly conquered areas especially in the South of China.²² The core vocabulary of the Mǐn dialects derives for the most part from this earlier stratum. I believe that Kèjiā originally also belonged to this early dialectal milieu.

The second major wave of sinicity is associated with the mass migration to the South at the end of the Western Jìn dynasty. This migration brought in its trail a new, more evolved variety of Chinese, closely associated with the educated upper levels of society; its geographical base was almost certainly the area of Lòyáng where the capital city of Eastern Hàn, Wèi and Western Jìn was located. This language subsequently became the most prestigious form of Chinese in the Southern dynasties period; it replaced or profoundly influenced many of the older dialects of the South. In more remote and inaccessible areas of the South, the older dialects dating back to the Chín-Hàn period retained a great deal of vitality and were able to resist being thoroughly inundated by this powerful new linguistic wave from the north. But even these dialects were not able to resist this new pressure altogether. At present the Mǐn dialects are the major witness to the older sinicity, but traces of it live on in other dialect groups. As I have shown above, the Kèjiā dialects agree with Mǐn in a number of important respects; this is due to their early common origin. Of the features discussed in this paper, the retention of bilabials for words in the *chingchuén* category, the retention of stops for words with *shéshàng* initials, and the presence of large numbers of words having sonorant initials in upper register tones can be attributed to this early wave of Chinese.

While the Mǐn area was able to offer strong resistance to the second wave of sinicity, Kèjiā proved to be much weaker and absorbed new elements on a massive scale. In later ages it participated in a number of wide-ranging innovations issuing from eastern Kiāngsī. The chief of these new innovations was the devoicing and aspiration of the old voiced stops and affricates in all tones. This change subsequently spread even to some Mǐn dialects like those of Shàuwǔ and Jiānglè. Another important feature acquired by diffusion from eastern Kiāngsī was the shift of the *yángshǎng* to the *yínpíng*; in this case, however, the innovation was more local in nature, being found only in a circumscribed zone in east central

²² A similar dialect also seems to be at the root of the earliest Chinese loans in Korean, Vietnamese, Miao-Yao and Tai. I earlier (Norman 1983) referred to this language as Old Southern Chinese; I now think it was not limited to South China but may have been carried to other conquered areas as well.

Kiāngsī.²³ In the area of lexicon, Kèjiā dialects preserve a considerable stock of items going back to the earliest stratum, but, when compared to dialects of the Mǐn group, it is seen very clearly to have suffered profound inroads from the later wave of sinicity, bringing it close to the typical lexical pattern found in Gàn and Wú and to some extent in Yuè as well. This mixed nature of Kèjiā is what ultimately distinguishes it from dialects of the Gàn group.

Let us now return to the central problem of this paper: is there any criterion by which Kèjiā dialects can be uniquely characterized? Hashimoto's claim that the shift of *yángshǎng* words to the *yīnpíng* category is such a unique criterion, appears to be endangered by the discovery of dialects in eastern Kiāngsī exhibiting the same feature. A careful examination of the situation, however, shows that this criterion can still be salvaged. In the Kiāngsī dialects in which one finds the *yīnpíng* tone in words which belong to the traditional *yángshǎng* category, it turns out that they are limited to words with voiced obstruent initials (*chiuánjuó* in the traditional terminology); words with sonorant initials (*tszjuó*) initials always appear in the *yīnshǎng* tone in the Gàn dialects in question. In Kèjiā dialects, on the other hand, words with sonorant initials split into two types: one type becomes *yīnpíng* like the other words with voiced initials; a second type behaves like words with voiceless initials and become *yīnshǎng*. As was shown above, this split depends upon a very important feature of Proto-Kèjiā, namely, the presence of two contrasting series of sonorants, one voiced and the other voiceless.

To determine whether a dialect is Kèjiā or not, one should examine *shǎng* tone words having sonorant (nasal and lateral) initials. If the dialect is truly Kèjiā, such words will fall into two groups, one in the *yīnpíng* category, and the other in the *yīnshǎng* category; the incidence of one tone or the other will be determined lexically; for example, 懶 'lazy' and 尾 'tail' will be *yīnpíng*, but 老 'old' and 網 'net' will be *yīnshǎng*. The following list give a diagnostic sampling of such words; for the sake of comparison a number of words from the *shǎng* tone with *chiuánjuó* initials are also given. To demonstrate that Gàn dialects behave differently from Kèjiā forms from two typical Gàn dialects, Línchuān 臨川 (Ló 1958) and Nánchéng 南城 (Wàn 1985) are given; in addition, Shàuwǔ forms are given to show that it does not participate in this crucial Kèjiā development.

	MS	HL	YD	LC	NC	SW
坐	tsho ¹	tsho ¹	tshou ¹	tsho ⁶	tho ¹	tshoi ³
簿	phu ¹	phu ¹	—	phu ¹	phu ¹	phu ⁶

²³ The zone includes such *shìàn* as Nánchéng 南城, Jīnshíán 進賢, Líchūān 黎川, and Chīānshān 鉛山. It includes most of Yán Sēn's Fǔ-Guǎng 撫廣 area and the southeastern part of his Yīng-Yī 鷹弋 area. See Yán's map (1986) on page 20.

	MS	HL	YD	LC	NC	SW
被	phi ¹	phi ¹	phi ¹	phi ¹	phi ¹	phei ³
倚	khi ¹	khi ¹	khi ¹	t̚chi ⁶	t̚chi ¹	khi ³
淡	tham ¹	tham ¹	than ¹	tham ⁶	han ¹	than ⁶
斷	thon ¹	thon ¹	thon ¹	thon ⁶	hon ¹	thon ³
近	khiun ¹	khiun ¹	khun ¹	t̚chin ⁶	t̚chin ⁶	khyen ³
重	tshuŋ ¹	tshuŋ ¹	t̚shuŋ ¹	thuŋ ⁶	thuŋ ¹	thuŋ ³
馬	ma ¹	ma ¹	ma ¹	ma ³	ma ³	ma ³
買	mai ¹	mai ¹	mei ¹	mai ³	mai ³	mie ³
暖	non ¹	non ¹	lon ¹	lon ³	non ³	non ³
鯉	li ¹	li ¹	li ¹	—	ti ³	li ³
懶	lan ¹	nan ¹	lan ¹	lan ³	lan ³	lan ³
咬	ŋau ¹	ŋau ¹	ŋau ¹	ŋau ³	ŋau ³	ŋau ³
網	mioŋ ³	mioŋ ³	mioŋ ³	moŋ ³	moŋ ³	moŋ ³
耳	ni ³	ni ³	hn ³	ə ³	ey ³	nin ³
兩	lioŋ ³	lioŋ ³	lioŋ ³	tioŋ ³	tioŋ ³	lioŋ ³
卵	lon ³	lon ³	lon ³	lon ³	lon ³	son ³
瓦	ŋa ³	ŋua ³	ŋa ³	ŋua ³	—	ua ³
五	ŋ ³	ŋ ³	ŋ ³	ŋ ³	ŋ ³	ŋ ³

To sum up, Kĕjiā can be uniquely characterized by the tonal behavior of words with sonorant initials in the *shǎng* tone. The words given above, while far from being an exhaustive enumeration, can serve as a diagnostic list for determining whether a given dialect is Kĕjiā or not. It should be stressed that, like the aspiration criterion of lower register words which I have employed for Mǐn dialects, the lexical incidence of the *yīnpíng* or *yīnshǎng* tone in this scheme is crucial. For a dialect to be truly Kĕjiā, it must not only show the split in the *shǎng* tone, it must also exhibit essentially the same lexical pattern of incidence.

With the Mǐn dialects, Kĕjiā has in common (1) the retention of bilabials for *chīngchuǎn* initials, (2) the retention (at least vestigially) of stops for *shéshàng* initials, and (3) evidence for an earlier contrast between voiced and voiceless sonorant initials. With Gàn, Kĕjiā shares (4) a shift of *shǎng* tone words with voiced stop and affricate initials to the *yīnpíng* tone, and (5) the change of voiced stop and affricate initials to voiceless aspirates in all tones. These features can be plotted on a chart using a plus for the presence of the trait in a given dialect group and a minus for its absence:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Gàn	—	—	—	+	+
Kè	+	+	+	+	+
Mǐn	+	+	+	—	— ²⁴

²⁴ The Mǐn dialects of Shàuwǔ and Jiānglè are exceptional in having aspirates for these initials in all tonal categories.

In general, features which link Mǐn and Kèjiā are archaic and can be traced back to a very early wave of sinicity. Those linking Gàn and Kèjiā are more recent, reflecting a later wave of sinicity and in some cases more local developments emanating from Eastern Kiangsi. Kèjiā is thus seen to the result of a marriage between two different chronological strata. When and how this happened is a subject for future research.

References

- Běijīng Dǎxué 北京大學
 1962 *Hànyǔ fāngyán tǐzhuì* 漢語方音字彙. Peking: Wéntà Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.
 1964 *Hànyǔ fāngyán tsǐzhuì* 漢語方言詞彙. Peking: Wéntà Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.
- Bodman, Nicholas
 1985 "The reflexes of initial nasals in Proto-Southern Min-Hinghua." *Oceanic Linguistics*, Special Publication no. 20 (For Gordon Fairbanks), 2-20.
- Chao Yuen Ren
 1928 *Studies in the Modern Wu dialects*. Tsing Hua College Research Institute, monograph no. 4. Peking.
- Chao Yuen-ren and Yang Shih-feng
 1965 "Dialects of Ling-pei, Chi-hsi Anhui." *BIHP* 36: 11-13.
- Chén Zhāngtài and Lǐ Rúlóng 陳章太, 李如龍
 1983 "Luèn Mǐn fāngyán de yíjīshìng" 論閩方言的一致性. *Jūngguó Yǔyánshìué Bào* 1: 25-81.
- Douglas, Carstairs
 1899 *Chinese-English dictionary of the vernacular or spoken language of Amoy*. London: Presbyterian Church of England.
- Egerod, Søren
 1956 *The Lungtu dialect: a descriptive study of a South Chinese idiom*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, Ltd.
- Forrest, R. A. D.
 1948 *The Chinese language*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Fújiàn fāngyán diàuchátǔ 福建方言調查組
 1962 *Fújiànshěng hànyǔ fāngyán gàikuàng* 福建省漢語方言概況. Fóochōw.
- Hashimoto, Mantaro J.
 1972 *Kakkago kiso goishū*. Tokyo: Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku.
 1973 *The Hakka dialect: a linguistic study of its phonology, syntax and lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huáng Xuězhēn 黃雪貞
 1982 "Yǔngdīng (shìyáng) fāngyán shíngǔngtsz de tǔ-wěi" 永定(下洋)方言形容詞的子尾. *Fāngyán* 3: 190-195.
 1983a "Yǔngdīng (shìyáng) fāngyán tsǐzhuì" (1) 永定(下洋)方言詞彙(-). *Fāngyán* 2: 148-160.
 1983b "Yǔngdīng (shìyáng) fāngyán tsǐzhuì" (2). *Fāngyán* 3: 220-240.
 1983c "Yǔngdīng (shìyáng) fāngyán tsǐzhuì" (3). *Fāngyán* 4: 297-304.
- Ibañez, Ignacio
 1941-43 *Diccionario español-chino: dialecto de Fu-an (houc an)*. Shanghai: Imprimerie Commerciale —"Don Bosco" School.
- Jevons, W. S.
 1905 *The principles of science: a treatise on logic and scientific method*. London: Macmillan & Co.
- Jiāngsūshěng hé Shànghǎishì fāngyán diàuchá Jǐdǎutzǔ 江蘇省和上海市方言調查指導組
 1960 *Jiāngsūshěng hé Shànghǎishì fāngyán gàikuàng* 江蘇省和上海市方言概況. Nanking: Jiāngsū Rénmín Chūbǎnshè.
- Karlgren, Bernhard
 1954 *Compendium of phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese*. *BMFEA* 26: 211-367.

- Li Fang-kuei
1937 "Languages and dialects of China." *The Chinese Year Book*. Shanghai: Shangwu. Reprinted with revisions in *JCL* (1973) 1: 1-13.
- Lǐ Rúlóng 李如龍
1983 "Mǐn shībèi fāngyán 'lái' mǔ zì dú s- de yánjiù" 閩西北方言「來」母字讀 s- 的研究. *Jūngguó Yǔwén* 4: 264-271.
- Ló Ch'áng-p'ei 羅常培
1958 *Línchuān yīnshì* 臨川音系. Peking: Kēshìhué Chūbǎnshè.
- MacIver, D.
1926 *A Chinese-English dictionary: Hakka dialect as spoken in Kwang-tung province*. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press.
- MacLay, R. S. and C. C. Baldwin
1870 *An alphabetic dictionary of the Chinese language in the Foochow dialect*. Foochow: Methodist Episcopal Mission Press.
- Norman, Jerry
1973 "Tonal development in Min." *JCL* 1: 222-238.
1974a "The initials of Proto-Min." *JCL* 2: 27-36.
1974b "The Shaowu dialect." *Orbis* 23: 328-334.
1982 "The classification of the Shaowu dialect." *BIHP* 53: 543-583.
1983 "Some ancient Chinese dialect words in the Min dialects." *Fāngyán* 3: 202-210.
1986 "The Min dialects in historical perspective." Paper presented at the Conference on Languages and Dialects of China, Oakland, California, January 15-19, 1986.
- O'Connor, Kevin A.
1976 "Proto-Hakka." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 11: 1-64.
- Pulleyblank, E. G.
1984 *Middle Chinese: a study in historical phonology*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Qiáo Quánshēng 喬全生
1983 *Húngtú fāngyánjì* 洪洞方言志. Taiyuan: Shānshī Shèhuì Kēshìhuéyuàn.
- Shào Róngfēn 邵榮芬
1979 *Hànyǔ yǔyīnshǐ jiǎnghuà* 漢語語音史講話. Tientsin: Rénmín Chūbǎnshè.
1982 *Chèyàn yánjiù* 切韻研究. Peking: Jūngguó Shèhuì Kēshìhuéyuàn.
- Ting Pang-hsin, ed. 丁邦新
1974 *Dǒng Tónghé shiānshēng yǔyánshìhué luènwén shiūǎnjí* 董同龢先生語言學論文選集. Taipei: Shíhuò Chūbǎnshè.
1982 "Hànyǔ fāngyán chūfēn de tiáojiàn" 漢語方言區分的條件. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, n. s., 14: 257-274.
- Tǒng Tóng-hó 董同龢
1948 "Huáyáng Liángshuǐjǐng kèjiāhuà jīyīn" 華陽涼水井客家話記音. *BIHP* 19: 81-201. Reprinted in Ting (1974).
1953 "Jūngguó yǔyán" 中國語言. *Jūngguó wénhuà luènjí* 中國文化論集, 33-41.
- Wàn Bō 萬波
1985 "Nánchéng fāngyán de yǔyīn shìtǒng jí tèdiǎn" 南城方言的語音系統及特點. Paper presented to the 1985 National Conference on Dialectology, Shíjōu, Shānsī.
- Wang, William S.-Y.
1982 "Variation and selection in language change." *BIHP* 53: 495-519.
- Wú Jiànshēng 吳建生
1984 *Wànrú fāngyánjì* 萬榮方言志. Taiyuan: Shānshī Shèhuì Kēshìhuéyuàn.
- Yán Sēn 顏森
1986 "Jiāngshī fāngyán de fēnchū" 江西方言的分區. *Fāngyán* 1: 19-38.
- Yang, Paul
1967 "Elements of Hakka dialectology." *Monumenta Serica* 26: 305-301.

Yang Shih-feng 楊時逢

1957 *Táiwān táuyuán kèjiā fāngyán* 臺灣桃園客家方言. Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology monograph, series A, no. 22. Taipei: Academia Sinica.

Yang Shih-feng and Eugene Ching

1971 "The Ling Pao dialect." *The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, n. s. 9: 106-147.

Yuán Jiāhuá 袁家驊

1960 *Hànyǔ fāngyán gàiyào* 漢語方言概要. Peking: Wéntà Gǎigé Chūbǎnshè.

Zhān Bóhù 詹伯慧

1981 *Shìdàidài hànyǔ fāngyán* 現代漢語方言. Hupeh: Rénmín Chūbǎnshè.

Zhāng Huiyīng 張惠英

1982 "Shì 'shénme'" 釋「什麼」. *Jāngguó Yǔwén* 4: 302-305.

Zhōu Zǔmó 周祖謨

1966 *Wènshíuè jí* 問學集. Peking: Jūnghuá Shūjiú.

X/F 在西南：一項規律史的研究

何 大 安

中央研究院歷史語言研究所

一、問題的界定

規律史的研究係着眼於音韻規律的本身，觀察某一規律在特定區域中所呈現的種種不同樣態，以建立該規律的發展過程。這項研究的特色之一，在於把選定觀察的音韻規律，當作一項區域特徵來看，並暫時忽略區域中方言的親屬關係。但是不同的方言羣，在將同一規律本土化的同時，會提供不同的結構上的詮釋，從而反映出不同方言羣的結構差異與調適幅度。從這個角度來看，規律史的研究也可以理解為一種規律在方言間的傳播史。這一規律在各方言中所呈現的各種次規律，或次類型，可以整理出一系列的蘊涵關係，或內在秩序。因而規律史的具體研究結果，即在獲得此一次規律間的內在秩序。在這一秩序中的各階段，即能反映變遷進行時的結構上的特徵。

在這篇文章裏，我們要嘗試檢討的，是中古曉 x 匣 ɣ 母一二等合口字，在漢語流行的西南地區——湖北、湖南、四川、雲南——與中古晚期的非 f 敷 fh 奉 v 母字的混讀情形。¹ 如果以 X 代表這些曉匣母合口字，以 F 代表輕唇擦音字，可以把這一地區的主要四種類型表述如下：

$$(1) \text{ RA } X < \begin{smallmatrix} f \\ x \end{smallmatrix} / -u$$

$$(2) \text{ RB } X < \begin{smallmatrix} x \\ f \end{smallmatrix} / -o, oŋ$$

$$(3) \text{ RC } F > xu$$

$$(4) \text{ RD } X > F$$

R 代表規律，A、B、C、D 是四種類型。> 的左邊，就是問題中的曉匣母一二等合口字 X，和非敷奉的 F。> 的右邊，是現代方言中的音類。x 代表舌根擦音，它在各

¹ 這裏所謂的混讀，是指音位性的合併，或讀 X，或讀 F，而非語音性的「自由變體」(free variatoin)，請參下文。

方言中的實際音值可能是 x 、 h 。 f 代表唇擦音，它在各方言中的實際音值，可能是 f 、 ϕ 或 v 。除了上面四個類型之外，還有兩種常見的變化，(5) 和 (6)：

$$(5) \quad RA-1 \quad F < \underset{f}{x} / -uV$$

$$(6) \quad RB-1 \quad F < \underset{f}{x} / -o\eta$$

這兩種變化分別和 RA、RB 相類似，我們暫時稱之為 RA-1, RB-1，並以之為 RA、RB 的次類之一。

在這四種類型之中，(1) 以西南官話為主，並有少數湘語。(2) 主要是湘語，並有一部分西南官話。(3) 都是西南官話。(4) 的方言最少，但都是贛方言。大體來講，在上述西南地區， X/F 的發展主要有兩種方向： $X > f$ 與 $F > x$ 。RA、RB、RD 是前一類，RA-1, RB-1, RC 是後一類。同一親屬羣的方言，方向較為一致。但是地緣雖屬鄰近而系屬却不相同的搭界方言，方向則較紛歧，變化亦較為劇烈。

在進行觀察與討論之前，有一些問題需要事先加以說明。首先要界定的，是討論的層次。在語音上，許多把 f 讀得比較軟成竟帶雙唇傾向的方言， $[f] \sim [\phi] \sim [x^w]$ 的自由變體的讀法，是很常有的事。這一類語音性的變讀，不在我們討論範圍之內。這裏所要討論的，是 X 、 F 的混讀所造成的音韻分合現象。換言之，我們注意的，不是今天的語音現象，而是歷史上兩類聲母的發展過程。語音上的變讀，無論是有條件的、沒有條件的，都是音韻發展的因素之一。今天的語音現象，可能影響日後音韻結構的變化；而今天音韻上的所以有分有合，多少也可能有昔日語音變讀的因子在內。然而這畢竟是兩個階段的事情，而且音韻結構上的改變，並不就完全是語音變化的擴大。至少在目前的研究裏，我們只把重心放在音韻上，而不是語音上。

其次要說明的，是本文中所取的方言與中古音的關係。湖北、湖南、四川、雲南的漢語方言，就我們所取以討論的部分而言，分屬西南官話、湘語、贛方言三個大方言。這三個大方言，在漢語衍生的層序上的關係，今天還不能說得很確定。不過在本文所討論的範圍之內，它們可以以《切韻》為表代的中古音的間架來解釋。應該強調的是，並不是這三大方言的所有方言都有了 X/F 的混讀。有 X/F 混讀現象的，各只是三大方言中的一部分方言。所以情形很清楚：這類混讀並不能追溯到三大方言的祖語時期。換言之， X/F 混讀是相當晚起的變化。這種變化起自何時何地，我們無法確指。我們能說的是，這類變化在漢語及上述三大方言的演變史中，皆非早期現象；而有此現象的方言，與以《切韻》為代表的中古音，並無直承關係。因此文中所謂的曉 x 、匣 x 、非 f 、敷 fh 、奉 v 等等，只是方便上的設計，用來代表類上的對應關係而已。

舉大類而言，則以X代表曉匣母一二等合口字——因為本文不牽涉開口一二等的曉匣母字在內，不會造成誤會——以F代表非敷奉母字，X/F則泛指這兩類聲母可能有一切混讀。

第三要說明取材的範圍。漢語方言中有X/F情形的，不只是西南的方言。此地所以只取西南四省，最大的理由，是因為這四省的方言，已經有了相當完整的調查報告。²這些調查報告的描寫模式都相同，詳細的程度相接近，調查點的地理分布也頗為均勻，正適合作區域性規律影響面的研究。相形之下，目前已發表的贛、客方言，江淮官話的資料，內容豐儉不一，空間分佈時欠整齊，取用顯較困難。不過既然取材的界線純係人爲，討論的結果必然不足以概全。也因此我們會把討論盡量約束在應有的限度之內，並且也期待更充分的其他方言資料的出現，以校正或彌補本文立論的不足。

二、四種類型的地理分佈

在西南四省的三百七十四個方言之中，³有二百一十二個方言有X/F的混讀。現在就我們觀察的所得，把這二百一十二個方言分繫在上述四種類型之下，並分省排列。每一個方言之前冠以編號，以便與本文之後的地圖互參。地名前後加[]的表示屬於該一類型中的次類，即RA-1或RB-1。括弧()中的數字，表示方言數。

RA (148)

湖北(7): 1. 利川, 2. 石首, 3. 公安, 4. 松滋, 5. [鶴峯],
6. [宣恩], 7. [恩施]。

湖南(10): 8. 永興, 9. 新田, 10. 鳳凰, 11. 麻陽, 12. 臨澧,
13. [保靖], 14. [大庸], 15. [桑植], 16. [湘鄉], 17. [新化]。

四川(98): 18. 華陽, 19. 安岳, 20. 合川, 21. 大足, 22. 璧山,
23. 銅梁, 24. 墊江, 25. 彭水, 26. 潼南, 27. 蓬溪, 28. 南充,
29. 岳池, 30. 廣安, 31. 開江, 32. 萬源, 33. 江北, 34. 巴縣,
35. 南川, 36. 涪陵, 37. 長壽, 38. 鄰水, 39. 大竹, 40. 豐縣,
41. 酉陽, 42. 秀山, 43. 忠縣, 44. 梁山, 45. 開縣, 46. 城口,

² 即趙元任等 1948 和楊時逢 1969b、1974b、1984 的湖北、雲南、湖南、四川四省的方言調查報告。本文取材即引自這四種報告，下文不再另注說明。

³ 三百七十四個方言中，湖北六十四個，湖南七十五個，四川一百三十四個，雲南一百零一個。

47. 劍閣, 48. 北川, 49. 安縣, 50. 縣竹, 51. 廣漢, 52. 金堂,
53. 名山, 54. 懋功, 55. 靖化, 56. 南部, 57. 西充, 58. 鹽亭,
59. 射洪, 60. 茂縣, 61. 彭縣, 62. 什邡, 63. 郫縣, 64. 崇寧,
65. 理番, 66. 灌縣, 67. 汶川, 68. 崇慶, 69. 溫江, 70. 邛崃,
71. 雙流, 72. 新津, 73. 大邑, 74. 蒲江, 75. 峨邊, 76. 青神,
77. 縣陽, 78. 犍爲, 79. 樂山, 80. 馬邊, 81. 雷波, 82. 宜賓,
83. 屏山, 84. 高縣, 85. 慶符, 86. 長寧, 87. 興文, 88. 珙縣,
89. 敘永, 90. 古宋, 91. 古藺, 92. 江津, 93. 綦江, 94. 簡陽,
95. 仁壽, 96. 內江, 97. 井研, 98. 榮縣, 99. 萬縣, 100. 石柱,
101. 榮昌, 102. 隆昌, 103. 威遠, 104. 富順, 105. 筠連,
106. 黔江, 107. 眉山, 108. 彭山, 109. 合江, 110. 南溪,
111. 江安, 112. 納谿, 113. 瀘縣, 114. [資陽], 115. [資中]。
雲南 (33): 116. 雙柏, 117. 易門, 118. 屏邊, 119. 會澤, 120. 巧
家, 121. 華坪, 122. 永仁, 123. 祿勸, 124. 尋甸, 125. 雲縣,
126. 鎮沅, 127. 景谷, 128. 大關, 129. 永善, 130. 綏江, 131.
鹽津, 132. 鎮雄, 133. 富民, 134. 羅次, 135. 祿豐, 136. 元謀,
137. 江川, 138. 通海, 139. 河西, 140. 峨山, 141. 墨江, 142.
瀘西, 143. 邱北, 144. 廣南, 145. 永勝, 146. 永平, 147. 武定,
148. 景東。

RB (46)

- 湖北 (8): 149. 禮山, 150. 黃安, 151. 麻城, 152. [來鳳], 153. 咸
寧, 154. 通山, 155. 蒲圻, 156. 崇陽。
湖南 (32): 157. 晃縣, 158. 永順, 159. 靖縣, 160. 芷江, 161. 資
興, 162. 龍山, 163. 寧遠, 164. 黔陽, 165. 永明, 166. 城步,
167. 益陽, 168. 衡山, 169. 常寧, 170. 湘潭, 171. 會同, 172.
通道, 173. 長沙, 174. 南縣, 175. 瀏陽, 176. 安化, 177. 沅江,
178. 慈利, 179. [乾城], 180. [江華], 181. [岳陽], 182. [桃
源], 183. [寧鄉], 184. [藍山], 185. [綏寧], 186. [湘陰],
187. [永綏], 188. [古丈]。
四川 (6): 189. 中江, 190. 武勝, 191. 永川, 192. [樂至], 193.

[遂寧], 194. [巫溪]。

RC (13)

湖北 (3): 195. 沔陽, 196. 京山, 197. 巴東。

湖南 (2): 198. 道縣, 199. 石門。

四川 (8): 200. 儀隴, 201. 蓬安, 202. 營山, 203. 羅江, 204. 德陽,
205. 雲陽, 206. 奉節, 207. 巫山。

RD (3)

湖北 (1): 208. 通城。

湖南 (2): 209. 醴陵, 210. 平江。

另外湖南還有兩個因音韻妥協而無法分別類型主從的方言, 211. 臨湘和212. 邵陽, 暫時不予歸類, 下文第九節會另作說明。

以上二百一十二個方言, 分屬西南官話、湘語和贛方言。⁴方言羣及四種類型的地理分布, 請參看圖 1~7。圖 1 是三百七十四個方言的方言羣區分, 其中「楚語」是湖北地區官話的一支, 我們援用《湖北方言調查報告》的辦法標出, 以利比較。圖 2 是有 X/F 混讀的二百一十二個方言的分佈情形。圖 3~7 則是各類型方言的分佈, 圖中各數目字所代表的, 即是本節依次列出的各方言。

三、RA

從這一節起, 我們分別觀察各種混讀的類型, 本節先討論 RA。

RA 型共有一百四十八個方言。除了四種湘方言 (10. 鳳凰, 11. 麻陽, 13. 保靖, 16. 湘鄉), 一種贛方言 (17. 新化) 之外, 其它一百四十三個都是西南官話。這一類型混讀的特徵是: 元音 u 之前的 X、F 都讀成了 f (或 ϕ), 但是介音 u 之前的 X, 今讀仍是 x 或 h。例如 18. 華陽的今讀情形如下表:

⁴ 湖北、四川、雲南各方言的方言系屬, 大致依照各調查報告原作者的意見, 只有以下的更動。(1)湖北的鶴峯、松滋、公安、石首、監利五地,《湖北方言調查報告》獨立為一區,以為較近「湖南方言」(頁 1570)。但是這幾處古全濁聲母今讀大體都是平聲清母送氣、仄聲清母不送氣(僅監利入聲清送氣為例外),與西南官話同,而與湘語的濁不送氣或清不送氣不同。從歷史條件(參看丁邦新 1982: 260-261)來講,應入西南官話。(2)禮山、黃安、麻城等十九處方言,《湖北方言調查報告》原列為第二區,或「楚語區」(頁 1568-1569)。今從丁邦新師(1982: 264)之議,視為與西南官話並列之官話方言,並不獨立成系。湖南方言的分區,同採丁邦新師(1982)的意見。至於把臨湘劃入贛方言,則是我個人的揣想。請參看拙作(何大安1988)第三章第二節。又請參看鮑厚星、顏森(1986),黃雪貞(1986)對湖南方言和西南官話內部分區的討論。

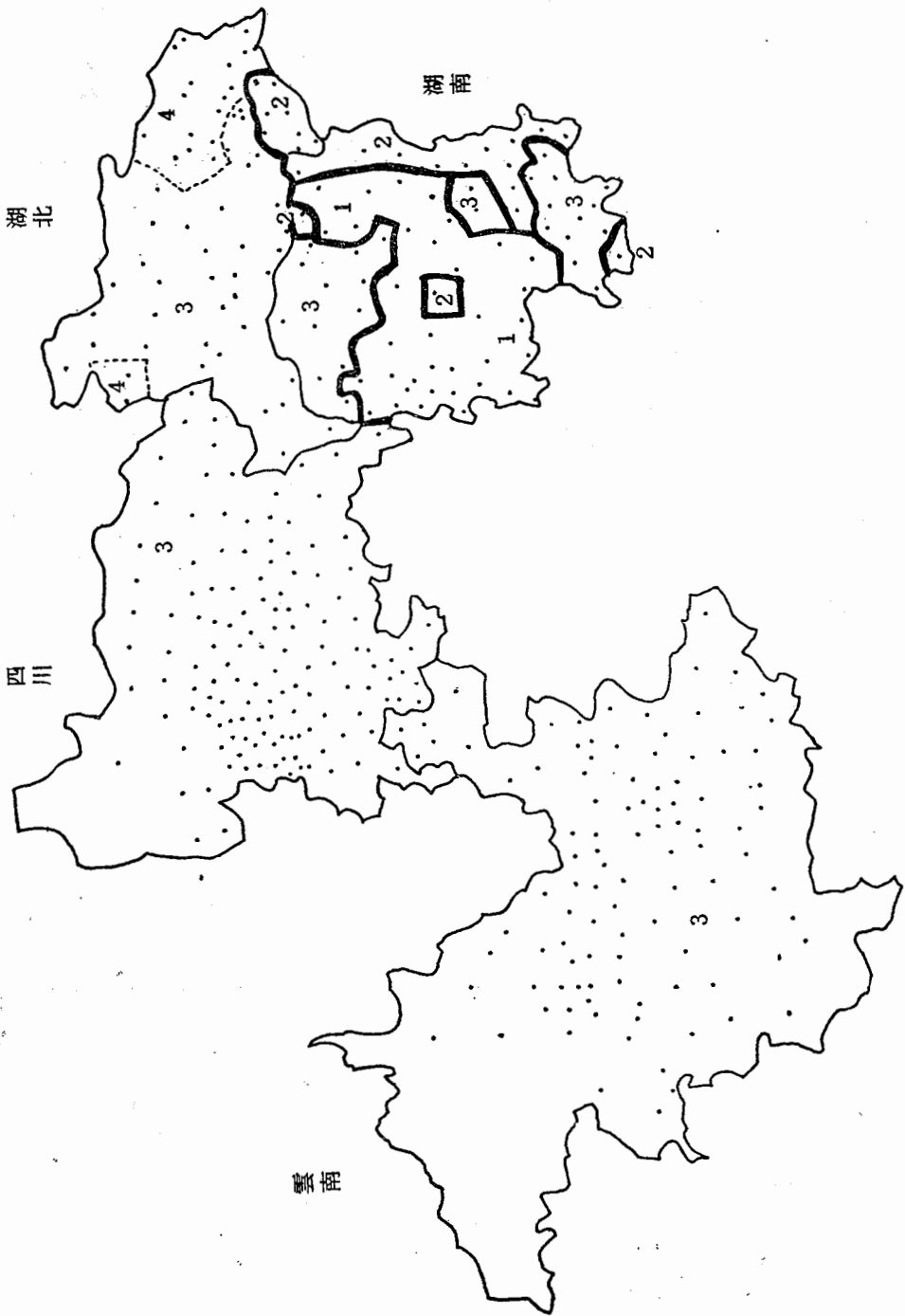


圖1 西南四省方言分區圖
1.湘語 2.贛語 3.西南官話 (4.楚語)

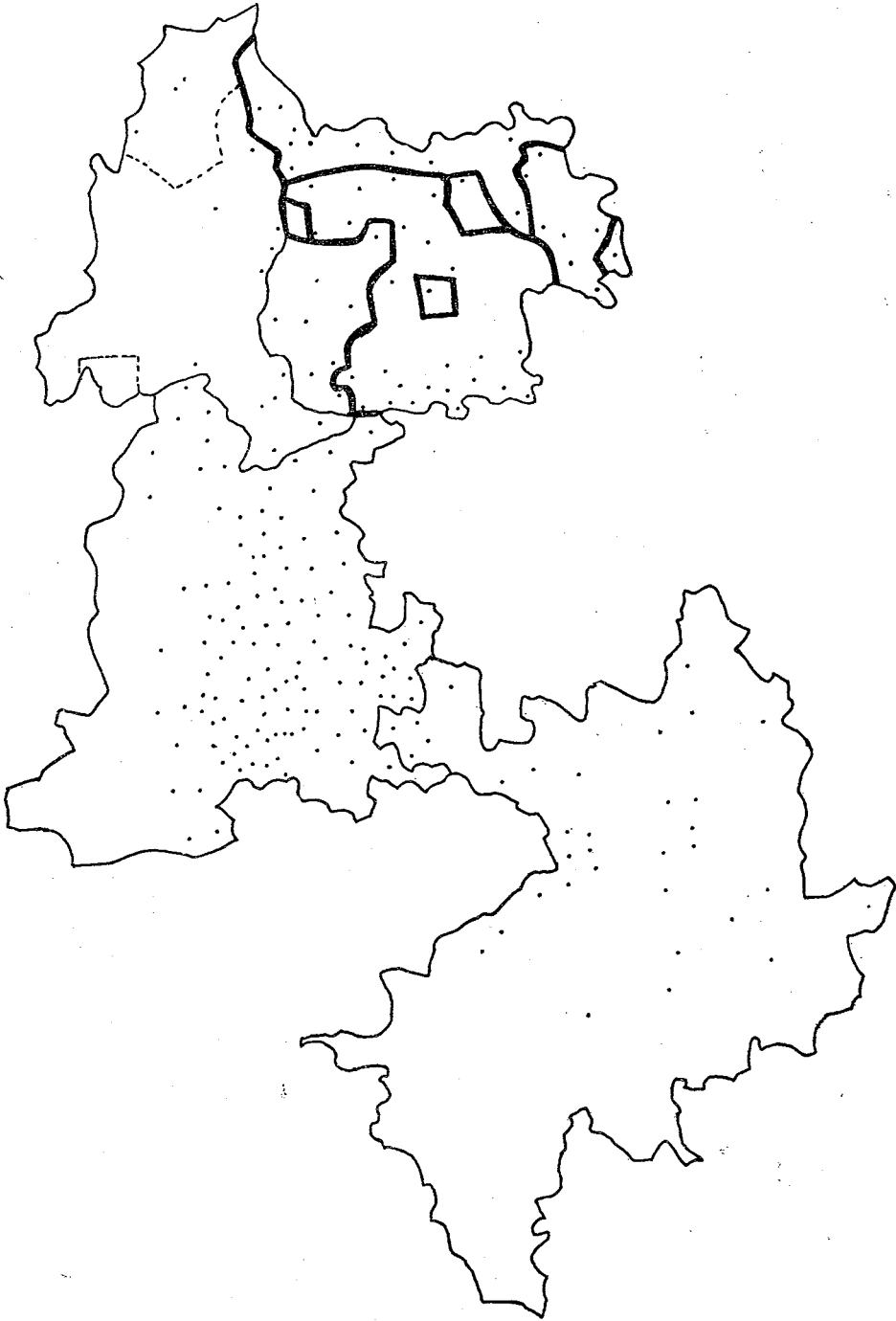
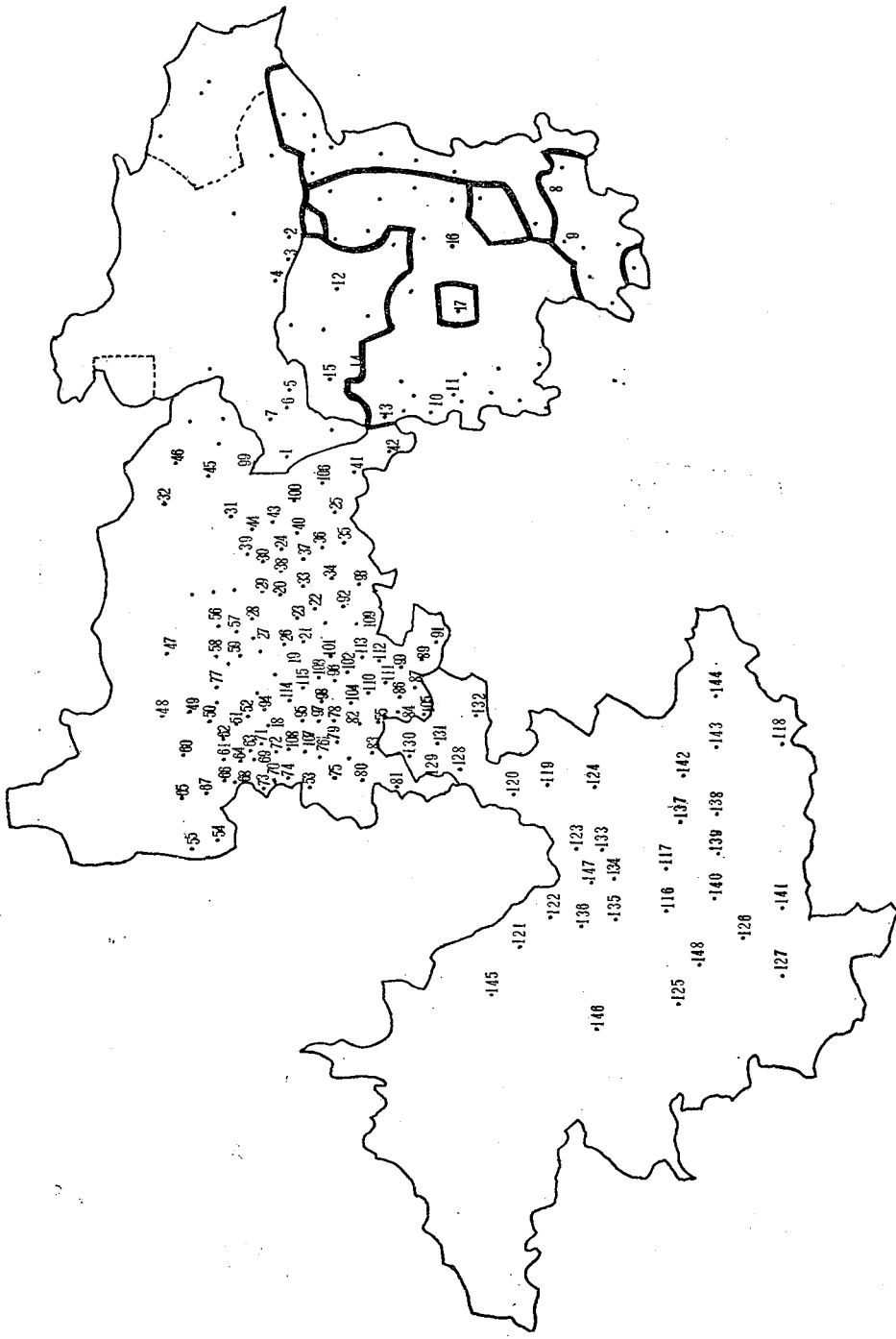


圖 2 有 X/F 混讀的方言



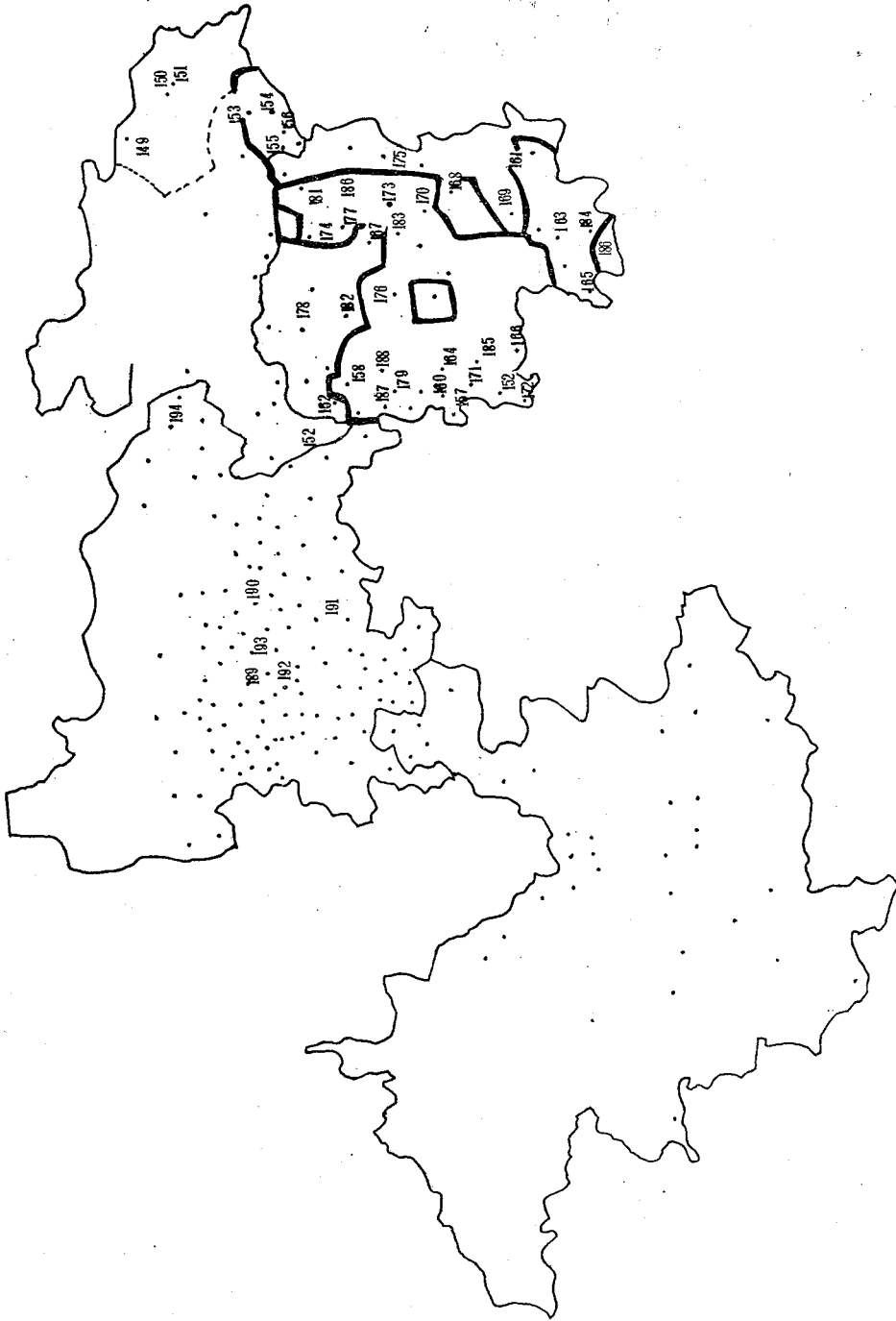


圖4 $X < x/o, o/$ 類型的方言

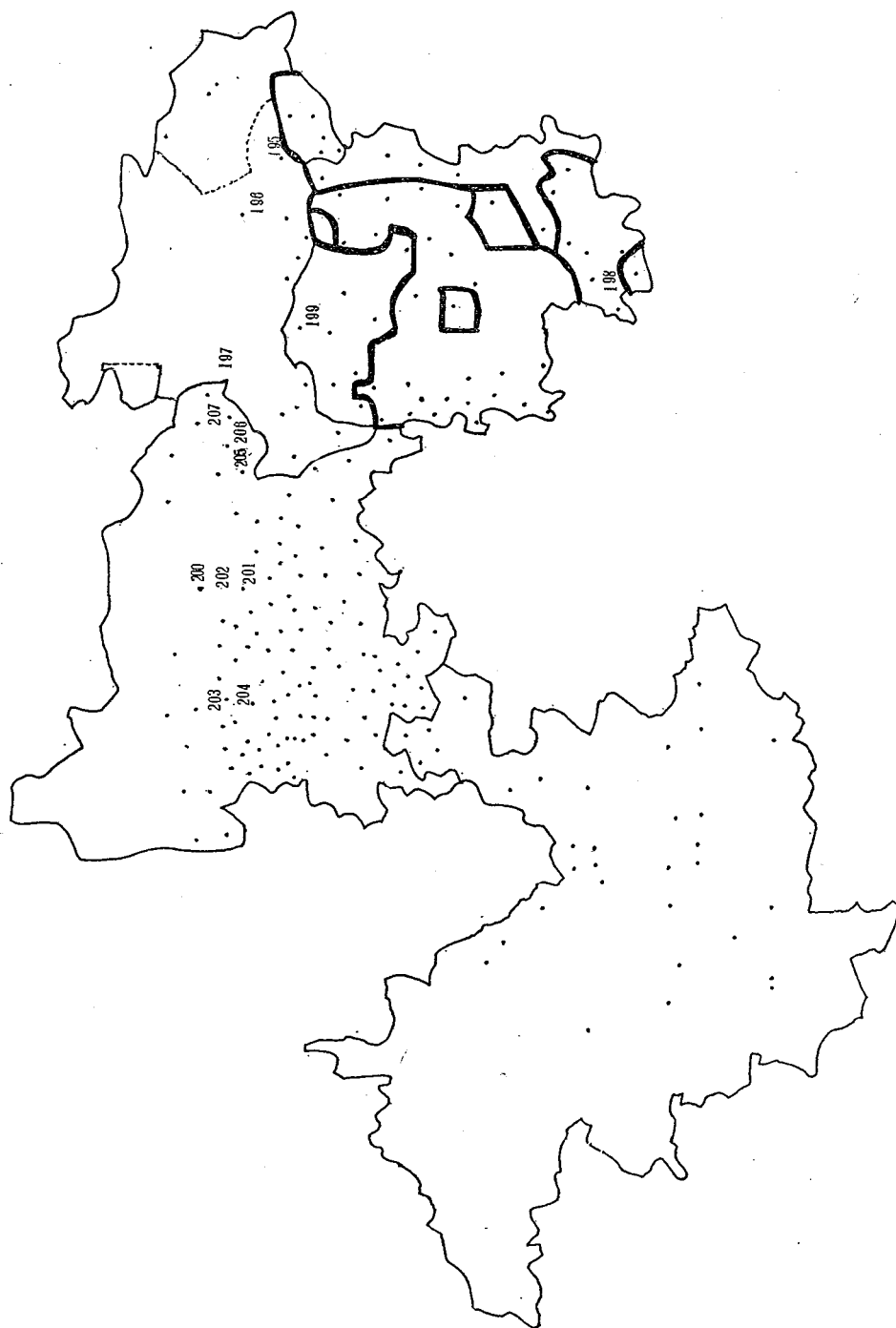


圖 5 F > xu 類型的方言

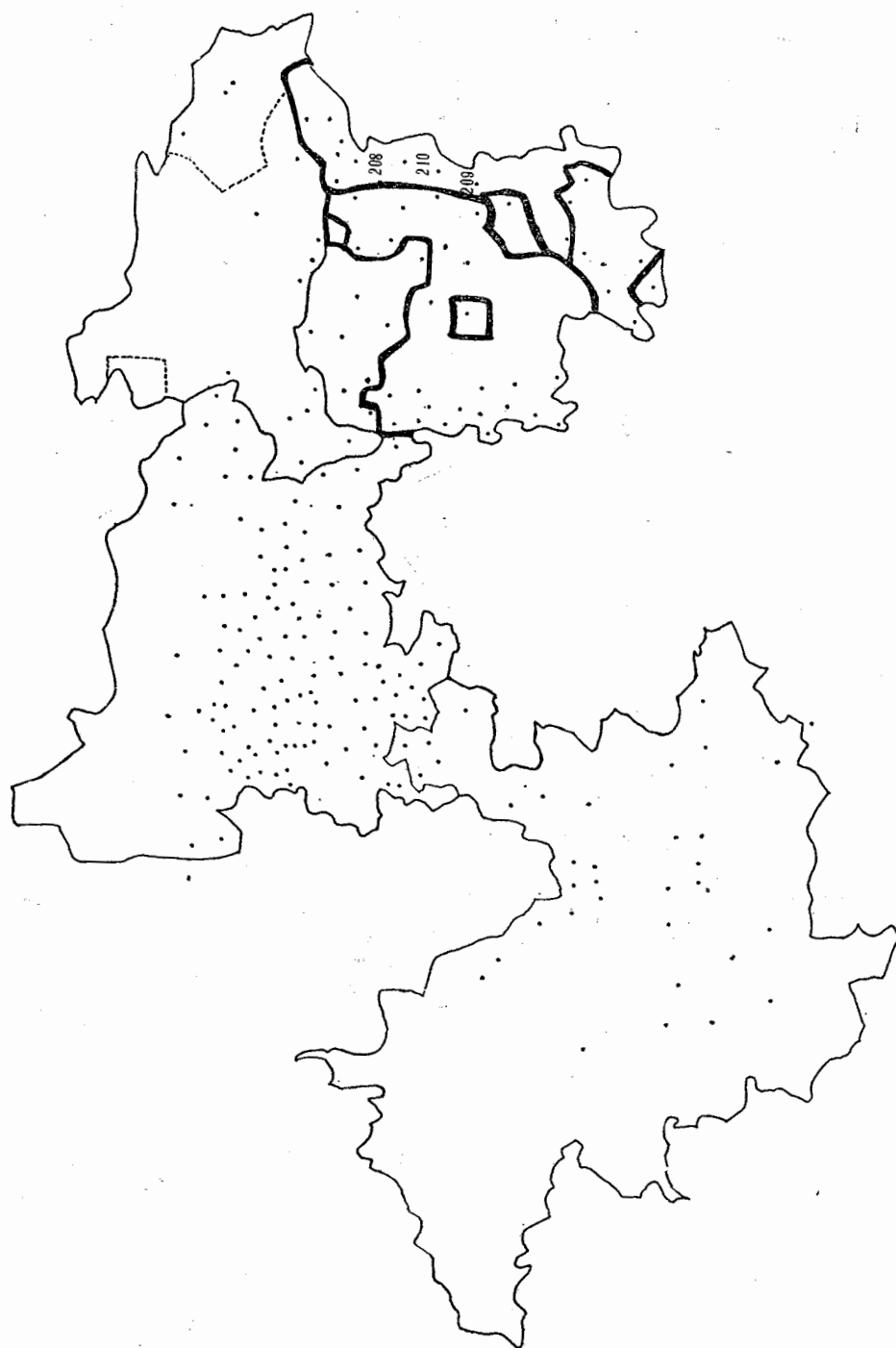


圖6 X > f 類型的方言

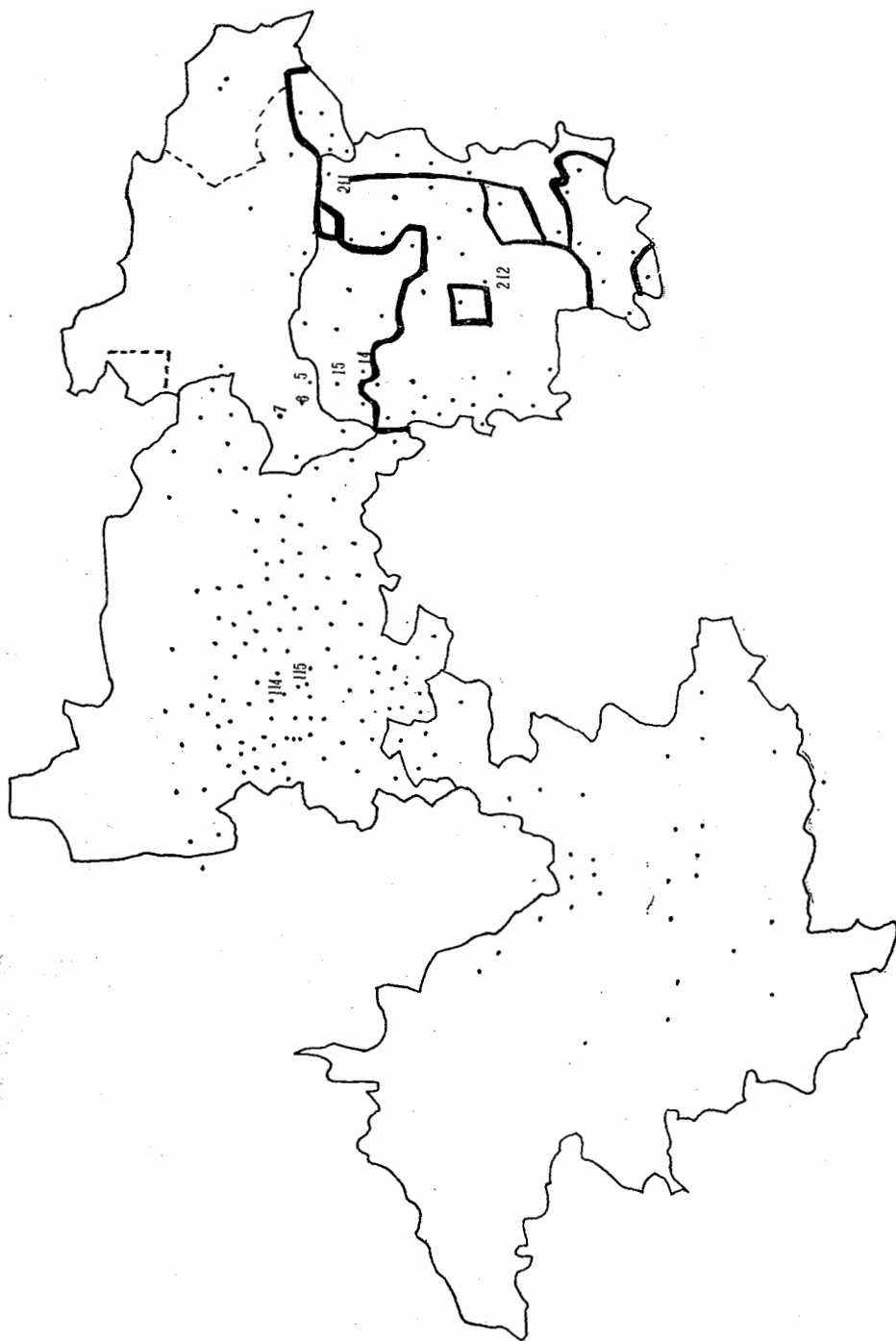


圖 7 音韻妥協的方言

表1 華陽 f、x 聲母的分佈

今聲 今韻	f	x	例 字	
			f	x
u	+		拂 *fh, 服婦父 *v 呼虎 *x, 胡戶 *ɣ 法髮 *f, 伐 *v	(下 *ɣ) 花化 *x, 滑話 *ɣ 火 *x, 禍活獲 *ɣ (喝 *x, 何合 *ɣ) (黑赫 *x, 核 *ɣ) 或 *ɣ (海 *x, 鞋亥害 *ɣ) 懷壞 *ɣ
a	+	(+)		
ua		+		
o		+		
e		(+)		
ue		+		
ai		(+)		
uai		+		
ei	+		飛非 *f, 肺 *fh, 肥 *v	
uei		+		灰毀 *x, 回會 *ɣ (好 *x, 毫 *ɣ)
ao		(+)		
əu	+		否 *f, 浮 *v	
an	+	(+)	反 *f, 翻 *fh, 凡范 *v	(酣含寒汗 *ɣ) 歡喚 *x, 環幻 *ɣ (亨 *x, 恒杏 *ɣ) 昏 *x, 魂橫 *ɣ
uan		+		
ən	+	+	分粉奮 *f	(行巷項 *ɣ) 荒謊 *x, 黃 *ɣ 弘宏紅 *ɣ
aŋ	+	(+)	方 *f, 芳 *fh, 房 *v	
uaŋ		+		
oŋ	+	+	風封 *f, 馮奉 *v	

表1左側是今聲 f、x 與今韻的配合。能配合的以“+”標明，再在右側酌舉例字。表中加括弧（ ）的，是曉 x 匣 ɣ 母一二等的開口字。這些字與本文的討論並無關係，這裏特別列出，只是爲了作完整的交代，下文各表就不再增列開口字。右側例字的中古聲母，在以下各表中也不再標出，以求省淨。

從表1，我們可以看得很清楚：華陽的 $X > f$ ，是以今讀的元音 u 爲條件的，只有在元音 u 之前舌根擦音才輕唇化。古語中的合口成分，如果今讀是介音 u，如 ua、ue、uai、uei、uan、uən、uaŋ，或元音 o 的，如 o、oŋ，*x、*ɣ 今讀一律仍是 x。

在一百四十八個這種類型的方言之中，和華陽完全一樣的，有一百零九個方言，⁵ 分佈區域廣及四省，可以說是 X/F 在西南的最大宗型態。相當於華陽的 x，在湖南的 8. 永興，9. 新田，10. 鳳凰，11. 麻陽等地讀成喉擦音 h，而其他一切音韻條件相同。如果不計較語音上的 x、h 之別，那麼華陽型的方言就佔一百一十三個了。

5 這一百零九個方言，是上文編號爲 1-4（湖北）、18-105（四川）、116-132（雲南）的方言。

其他的三十五個方言，大體都可以以華陽為基礎來解釋其演變。例如 133. 富民等 19 個方言，⁶把相當於華陽的元音 u，在 i 和零聲母之後讀成了 y，而 X/F 上的其他一切分佈條件，沒有任何的參差。這一類方言顯然是在 RA 之後，又有了元音輔音化的演變：

$$(7) \quad u \rightarrow \begin{matrix} y \\ u \end{matrix} / \left\{ \begin{matrix} f \\ \# \end{matrix} \right\} - \#$$

四川另有一些入聲獨立的方言，雖然已經沒有了塞音韻尾，調值也並不一定短促，與一般舒聲調沒有很大的分別，但是韻母的元音受入聲調類的影響，會讀得較開。舒聲調的元音 u，在入聲調就是 U，元音 i 就是 I 等等。⁷就本文所關切的問題而言，這一類方言當中，有一部分方言的 U 會影響 X 變成 f，例如 87. 興文，88. 珙縣；有一部分則不變，例如 109. 合江，110. 南溪。現在列舉四組例字，並附兩種沒有舒／入之別的方言，89. 敘永、91. 古藺，比較如下：

	舒	聲	入	聲
	夫府 *f	呼虎 *x	福 *f	忽 *x
	父 *v	胡 *ɣ	服佛 *v	斛 *ɣ
興文	fu	fu	fU	fU
珙縣	fu	fu	fU	fU
合江	fu	fu	fU	xU
南溪	fu	fu	fU	xU
敘永	fu	fu	fu	xo
古藺	fu	fu	fu	xo

這是各方言在結構上如何對待 U 的問題。興文、珙縣不分別 u、U，也可說視 U 為 u。合江、南溪則分別 u、U，一如敘永、古藺之分別 u、o。如果我們把 u、U 的區別照一般的辦法，視為元音的緊鬆之別，那麼 RA 在合江、南溪便需加上 [+緊] 的限制，即 (8)，或 RA'：

⁶ 富民以外的十八個方言的編號是：134-148（雲南）、107-108（四川）、12（湖南）。

⁷ 四川入聲獨立的方言有五十個，其中有舒／入變讀的方言有三十七個，舒／入元音變讀的情形大致有以下幾種：(1) i/I, (2) u/U, (3) a/æ, a/a, a/A, (4) o/o, (5) ɔ/o, ɔ/o, o/u, o/ɔo, ɔ/ɔ, o/ɛ, ɔ/u, (6) y/iu~yu, y/iu。總的趨勢是舒開入閉，如 (1)、(2)、(4)。低音則是舒後入前，如 (3)。(5) 是舒開入閉，與 (4) 相反。在地理上，(5) 多屬川南的方言，入聲為中平；(4) 則集中在成都平原一帶，入聲為中平或中升。

(8) RA' X $\begin{matrix} \nearrow f \\ \searrow x \end{matrix} / _ [+ \text{緊}]^u$

RA 所描述的是 *x、*ɣ 輕唇化的過程。但是 *f、*fh、*v 也可能發生變化，成為舌根擦音。具有這種變化的方言，一共有十個。由於生成項、條件項和 RA 類似，我們把這些方言視為 RA 的一個次類：RA-1。這十個方言有六個集中在湖北西南、和湖南西北的交界處：5. 鶴峯，6. 宣恩，7. 恩施，13. 保靖，14. 大庸，15. 桑植。其餘兩個在湖南中部：16. 湘鄉，17. 新化；兩個在四川中西部：114. 資陽，115. 資中。例如保靖有以下的混讀：

表2 保靖 f、x 聲母的分布

今 聲 韻	f	x	例		字
			f	x	
u	+		府服婦 忽虎狐		
ua		+			法髮 花化滑
o		+			火禍活
ue		+			或
uai		+			懷壞
uei		+			飛廢肺 灰回會
əu	+		否		
uã		+			反凡范 喚換緩
uõ		+			分粉奮
uan		+			昏橫 方放防
on	+	+	風封奉		黃 弘宏紅

今讀為 f 的曉匣母字，只出現在 u 元音之前，與華陽同。但是華陽的非系字今讀沒有為 x 的，而在保靖，這類音出現在帶 u 介音的韻母裏。換言之，保靖除了 RA 之外，另有 (9)，即 RA-1 的演變：

(9) RA-1 F $\begin{matrix} \nearrow x \\ \searrow f \end{matrix} / _ uV$

在桑植、恩施、大庸、鶴峯、資中、資陽、宣恩等地，「風封奉」這一些字也讀

成了 x。這是在 RA、RA-1 之後，又有了 (10) 的發展：

$$(10) \quad \begin{array}{c} F \swarrow \text{x/} _ \text{on} \\ \searrow \text{f} \end{array}$$

(10) 其實是 RB 的次類 RB-1 的演變，下一節會有所說明。

四、RB

RB 類型的方言共有四十六個，多數集中在湖南省。例如湖南的 157. 晃縣有表 3 的 X/F 混讀。

表 3 晃縣 x、f 聲母的分佈

今 今 聲 韻	f	x	例 字	
			f	x
u	+	+	夫服婦 呼忽戶 法髮 花化滑	火霍禍
a	+			
o				
e	+		或獲	
ai	+		懷壞	
ei	+		飛廢肥肺	
əu	+		灰毀回會	
an	+		否 反凡范	
ən	+		喚緩換	
aŋ	+		分粉奮 昏橫魂混	
on	+	+	方放房 黃 風封奉	弘宏紅

從中古音的線索來看，*x、*ɣ 母的合口字當中，只有在今讀 o 元音之前，還保留舌根擦音的讀法，其他各處則輕唇化了。若與華陽相較，輕唇化的程度顯然更甚；而在此同時，華陽在 x 前有開合對立的一些韻類，如 a:ua, e:ue, ai:uai, ei:uei, an:uan, ən:uən, aŋ:uaŋ，也都因簡併為開口而不存在了。

有一些湘方言保留了濁擦音聲母的分別，清濁聲母在 X/F 上的表現，却大體都是一致的——除了下文要討論的邵陽方言——例如 166. 城步有表 4 的混讀：

表4 城步 f、v、h 聲母的分佈

今聲 今韻	f	v	h	例字		
				f	v	h
u	+	+	+	虎	狐乎	火
a	+	+		法	畫話	
o						
ei	+	+		飛		
ã	+	+		灰	會	
				喚緩	凡	
ən	+	+			完喚	
aŋ	+	+		分奮	橫魂	
oŋ	?	?	+	方防	黃	紅

如果暫時把「緩、防」的讀法視為例外，⁸城步X的演變就是：

$$(11) \text{ a. } x \begin{matrix} \nearrow h \\ \searrow f \end{matrix} / _o$$

$$\text{ b. } \gamma \begin{matrix} \nearrow h \\ \searrow v \end{matrix} / _oŋ$$

因此以晃縣為基礎的 RB，只需在變化項和生成項上各加一個 [∞濁] 的徵性，就可以很簡潔的解釋城步的現象。此即 (12) 或 RB'：

$$(12) \text{ RB' } X \begin{matrix} \nearrow x \\ \searrow f \end{matrix} / _o, oŋ \\ \quad \quad \quad [\infty \text{ 濁}] \quad \quad \quad [\infty \text{ 濁}]$$

RB 在本質上是一條消極的規律，它只限制哪些音不能發生變化。一般而言，RB 的限制，都是今讀的 o 或 oŋ。從上面所舉晃縣、城步的例子裏，我們看得出來，今讀的 o 相當於中古的果攝和一部分入聲字；今讀的 oŋ，相當於中古的通攝陽聲字。很顯然，通攝的主要元音 *u 和果攝的介音 *u，在 X 開始輕唇化以前，便已經發生了變化，不再保有合口成分了。掌握了這一線索，我們便可以很容易的解釋一些以今讀不盡能了解的方言，如 168. 衡山、169. 常寧、170. 湘潭。衡山是較具代表性的例子，它的 X/F 混讀如下表：

⁸ 「緩」中古匣母上聲，但是許多方言都把它當曉母看待。例如國語就讀成上聲而非去聲。城步可能也是如此。「防」字中古奉 (<並) 母平聲，城步例當讀 v 不讀 f。《湖南方言調查報告》置於 f 下 (頁 456)，疑誤置。

表5 衡山 ϕ 、h 聲母的分佈

今 今 韻	聲	ϕ	h	今 ϕ 例 字	今 h 例 字
u		+		婦服	
a		+		虎, 狐戶	
æ		+		法髮	
uæ			+	化, 畫話	
o			+	否	
ai		+		懷壞	
ã		+			或
aĩ		+		飛廢	火, 禍獲
oŋ		+		灰毀, 會	
Λŋ		+	+	凡范飯	
				完緩	
				喚	
				方放, 防	
				黃	
				分奮, 奉	宏弘紅
				昏, 橫魂	

如果全以今讀為條件的話，衡山的演變是：

$$\begin{array}{l}
 X \begin{cases} \text{h} / _uæ, o, \Lambda\eta \\ \phi / _u, a, æ, ai, \tilde{a}, aĩ, oŋ, \Lambda\eta \end{cases}
 \end{array}$$

這條規律相當不可解，因為我們無法看出演變的道理來； $\Lambda\eta$ 的兩屬，尤為自相矛盾。

整個湖南地區，不分湘語、贛方言或官話，除了極少數的幾個方言之外，⁹通攝的陽聲字大致都呈現了 (13) $*u\eta > o\eta > \text{ə}\eta > \text{ə}n$ 或 (14) $*u\eta > o\eta > \Lambda\eta > \Lambda n$ 的演變。前者多屬西部方言，後者多為東部方言。這兩種類型其實只是同一趨勢的不同語音表現。由於地理上表現得相當一致，當是晚近三大方言雜處以後的區域性新變化。認識到這一點，我們便可以依照下列的規律次序來說明衡山的情形：

$$(15) \quad *u\eta > o\eta$$

$$(16) \quad X \begin{cases} \text{x[h]} / _o, o\eta \\ \text{f}[\phi] \end{cases}$$

⁹ 例外之處有三。一是永綏讀 δ ，二是辰溪讀 w ，三是嘉禾讀 om 。永綏、辰溪的走向似是 $o\eta > \delta > w$ ，代表湘語的一種個別發展。嘉禾是西南官話， $*u\eta > om$ 與江西的贛縣相同（參楊時逢 1974a），可能有桂北官話的影響在內。

(17) (*uŋ>) oŋ>Λŋ

(18) *uaŋ>oŋ

(15) 幾乎是所有湖南方言的共同演變。在 (15) 之後，衡山的舌根擦音輕唇化的限制原與晃縣、城步無殊，同採 RB，即 (16)。輕唇化以後，通攝的陽聲韻母變成了 Λŋ，即 (17)。所遺下的 oŋ 空缺，又由宕攝合口字來填補，此即 (18)。但是原宕攝合口的 X 已經先變成了 f (RB 或 (16))，所以一方面今 oŋ 韻沒有 *x、*ɣ 的合口字，一方面 Λŋ 韻兼有兩類 *x、*ɣ 的合口字。

剩下的是「或」字讀 huæ 不讀 φæ 的問題。因為依照 RB，「或」的今讀應是 φæ。這個問題無法立即解決，暫時性的看法是：「或」字是個書面語的用詞，也許有受標準語影響的地方。

另外一些方言，如 171. 會同，172. 通道，173. 長沙，174. 南縣，RB 有新的內容。例如南縣有表 6 的混讀。

表 6 南縣 φ、x 聲母的分佈

今 今聲韻	φ	x	例 字	
			φ	x
u	+		夫府父服 戶胡	
a	+		法髮 花化話	
o		+		火禍獲
ai	+		懷壞	
oi	+		飛廢肥	
əɣ	+		灰回會	
ã	+		否	
õ		+	反凡飯	
ã	+			喚完換
ən	+	+	方放防 黃 分粉奮 (風封奉) ¹⁰ 橫魂	弘宏紅

通攝陽聲韻母的變化，上文已經提及。南縣這一變化的步調顯較衡山為快。衡山是 *uŋ>oŋ>Λŋ，南縣已是 *uŋ>oŋ>əŋ>ən 了。值得注意的，是「喚完換」這些字。

¹⁰ 《湖南方言調查報告》原缺通攝陽聲唇音「風封奉」等字，今據《報告》頁二四二「與古音比較」及頁二五三「音韻特點」推測當為 φən。

這些字在前舉的晃縣、城步、衡山都已經唇化，而南縣却仍然是舌根音。關鍵在於這些相當於中古山攝合口陽聲字，在輕唇化之前，合口成分已消失，韻母轉變為 \ddot{o} ，即：

$$(19) *uən > (on >) \ddot{o}$$

所以 RB 在南縣的限制就成為：

$$(20) X \begin{smallmatrix} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{smallmatrix} / _o, on, \ddot{o}$$

這一新限制與 RB 實在並沒有分別。因為凡適用 RB 的方言， o, on 之外不再有別的帶 o 元音的韻母配 $*x, *ɣ$ 的一二等合口字。所以 RB 與 (20) 的共同特點就是：

$$(21) RB'' X \begin{smallmatrix} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{smallmatrix} / _o$$

RB 類型的方言中也有一個次類，這一個次類中的方言除了有舌根擦音輕唇化的變化之外，一部分輕唇音也舌根化了。我們可以舉 179. 乾城為例。乾城的混讀見表 7。

表 7 乾城 ϕ, h 聲母的分佈

今 聲 韻	ϕ	h	例 字	
			ϕ	h
u	+	+	府福婦 呼忽狐戶 法髮 花化話畫	火禍活
a	+			
o				
e	+		或	
ai	+		懷壞	
ei	+		飛非廢肺肥	
$\partial\gamma$	+		灰回會	
\tilde{a}	+		否	
			反凡犯	
			喚緩換	
ən	+	+	分粉奮	風奉 紅
			魂橫	
aŋ	+		方放防	
			黃	
oŋ				

輕唇音舌根化主要發生在 $o\eta$ 韻母之前，即

$$(22) \text{ RB-1 } F \begin{matrix} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{matrix} / _ o\eta$$

生成項的 x ，音值在乾城是 $[h]$ 。由於 o 韻母（或果攝）不配任何輕唇音聲母，所以 RB-1 右端的演變條件也可以簡化為 o 。

現在就有一個問題產生。RB-1 和 RB''（或 RB）的生成項、變化項完全相同，它們有沒有可能本來不分呢？換句話說，在這一次類的那些方言的早期發展中，F 和 X 是不是曾經合併過，然後再在 o 元音之前變成 x ，在其他的韻母前變成 f 呢？如果這個想法成立，那麼就不需要 RB''、RB-1 兩條規律來說明同一種演變結果了。具體的說，這有兩種可能，(23) 或 (24)，各依 a、b 之序變化：

$$(23) \text{ a. } X > f$$

$$\text{ b. } f \begin{matrix} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{matrix} / _ o$$

$$(24) \text{ a. } F > x$$

$$\text{ b. } x \begin{matrix} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{matrix} / _ o$$

可惜無論是 (23) 或 (24)，目前都既不能證實，也不能證否。由於這一個次類以外的若干方言，必需有 RB-1 這種規律的單獨存在，例如第三節末了提到的桑植、恩施、大庸、鶴峯、資中、資陽、宣恩等地，把 RB''（或 RB）和 RB-1 析成兩條規律，在處理上比較方便。

在 RB-1 這一次類之中，有些方言有類似衡山通攝字的變化。例如 183. 寧鄉沒有 $o\eta$ 韻母，中古通攝陽聲字今讀為 ən 。「風奉、紅」等字，與開口的「恒、很」同讀為 $x\text{ən}$ 。這是在 RB、RB-1 之後又有了 $(*u\eta >) o\eta > (\text{ə}\eta)\text{ən}$ 的緣故。

五、RC

湖北的 195. 沔陽可以代表 X/F 的另一類型。這一類的方言沒有輕唇擦音， $*f$ 、 $*fh$ 、 $*v$ 都讀成了舌根擦音。請見表 8。

表 8 沔陽 x 聲母的分佈

今 聲 韻	x	例 字
u	+	府父服, 虎忽狐戶
ua	+	法髮, 化畫話滑
o	+	禍獲活或
uai	+	懷壞
uei	+	飛非廢肺肥, 灰回惠會
əu	+	否
uan	+	反凡范, 歡喚緩換
uən	+	分奮, 昏
uan	+	放房防, 荒黃
oŋ	+	風封縫奉, 弘宏紅

不過除了 o, oŋ 之外, 所讀的舌根擦音都入今合口韻, 而非開口韻。這一點在比較 200. 儀隴、201. 蓬安兩地時, 看得特別清楚。儀隴、蓬安都在四川中部, 兩地音韻非常接近。蓬安 F 今讀都是 hu-, 儀隴除了 ən 韻之外, 也全讀 h;

	儀隴	蓬安
分粉奮	fən	huən
昏魂橫混	huən	huən
(亨恒杏)	hən	hən)

如果儀隴、蓬安可以看作演變中相續的兩個階段, 這個比較就告訴了我們: (F>)f 在變入 hu- 之前, 本身並不接合口韻。這也就是說, 中古時期產生輕唇音的合口成分, 至少在輕唇音舌根化之前, 已經不復存在。

四川、湖北、雲南的一些西南官話, 把中古流攝的唇音聲母字唸成通攝的陽聲字。例如「畝茂某浮否」等字的今讀是 moŋ 或 xoŋ。由於把「浮否」唸成了 xoŋ, 而同屬流攝的「侯後」等字還是讀 xəu, 例如四川的 204. 德陽方言, 可見這些方言中 F 的舌根化是較晚的現象。因為如果德陽也像沔陽一樣, 「浮否」先舌根化為 xəu 之後再發生 xəu>xoŋ 的變化的話, 就無法解釋「侯後」為什麼不是 xoŋ 而是 xəu。也就是說, 德陽先有 (25), 而後才有 RC:

(25) əu>oŋ/唇音—

六、RD

中古 *x、*ɣ 一二等合口字在 208. 通城, 209. 醴陵, 210. 平江等地的今讀中

都唸 f 聲母，與 *f、*fh、*v 來的字不分了。例如表 9 的醴陵。

表 9 醴陵 f 聲母的分佈

今 聲 韻	f	例 字
u	+	府符婦，胡戶
a	+	法髮，花化畫話
o	+	火忽禍獲活
ai	+	懷壞
ei	+	飛廢肺肥，灰回會
eu	+	否
aŋ	+	反凡范
oŋ	+	方防，喚黃換
Aŋ	+	分奮墳，昏婚魂橫 風封奉，弘宏紅

雖然贛方言在 X/F 的表現上不只一種型態，¹¹但是 X>f 却不曾在贛方言以外的四省其它方言出現過。因此 X>f 可以代表某一類贛方言在相應於 X/F 的變化上，所有的一種結構上的共同表現。

七、規律提要

以上各節已對 X/F 在西南的幾種類型與相關的變化有所討論，現在撮要如下，以清耳目。

$$RA \quad X \begin{array}{l} \swarrow f \\ \searrow x \end{array} / _u \quad (1)$$

$$RA' \quad X > f / _u \quad (8)$$

[+緊]

$$RA-1 \quad F \begin{array}{l} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{array} / _uV \quad (5、9)$$

$$RB \quad X \begin{array}{l} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{array} / _o, oŋ \quad (2)$$

$$RB' \quad X \begin{array}{l} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{array} / _o, oŋ \quad (12)$$

[∞濁] [∞濁]

$$RB'' \quad X \begin{array}{l} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{array} / _o \quad (21)$$

¹¹ 臨川、南昌也是 X>f，參看羅常培 1940、楊時逢 1969a。但是奉新（余直夫 1975）却是 F>xu。新淦（顏森 1983）則是一部分 X 讀 f。更有的方言 X:F 對立，沒有混讀，如湖北的陽新、大冶。必需指出的是，客方言也有 X>f 的變化。不過因為本文取材不及客方言，所以討論從略。

RB-1	$F \begin{smallmatrix} \swarrow x \\ \searrow f \end{smallmatrix} / _o\eta$	(6, 10, 22)
RC	$F > xu$	(3)
RD	$X > f$	(4)
<hr/>		
	$u > \gamma / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} f \\ \# \end{smallmatrix} \right\} - \#$	(7)
	$*u\eta > o\eta$	(13, 14)
	$(*u\eta >) o\eta > \Lambda\eta$	(14, 17)
	$*uan > o\eta$	(18)
	$*uan > (on >) \delta$	(19)
	$(*u\eta >) o\eta > (\eta >) \eta n$	(13)
	$\eta u > o\eta / \text{唇音} -$	(25)

這些規律在所舉各方言的使用次序則是：

RA 型：華陽 RA

合江 RA'

富民 RA', $u > \gamma$

保靖 RA, RA-1

桑植 RA, RA-1, RB-1

RB 型：晃縣 $*u\eta > o\eta$, RB

城步 $*u\eta > o\eta$, RB'

南縣 $*u\eta > o\eta$, $*uan > \delta$, RB'', $(*u\eta >) o\eta > \eta n$

衡山 $*u\eta > o\eta$, RB, $(*u\eta >) o\eta > \Lambda\eta$, $*uan > o\eta$

乾城 $*u\eta > o\eta$, RB, RB-1

寧鄉 $*u\eta > o\eta$, RB, RB-1, $(*u\eta >) o\eta > \eta n$

RC 型：沔陽 RC

德陽 $\eta u > o\eta$, RC

RD 型：醴陵 RD

讀者也許會注意到，RB 型的方言在發生 X/F 混讀之前，都先經過 $*u\eta > o\eta$ 的變化。事實上這種變化並不只 RB 型方言所獨有。通攝陽聲韻由 $u\eta$ 變為 $o\eta$ 或進而變成 $\eta\eta$ 、 ηn 、 $\Lambda\eta$ 、 Λn 是湖南、湖北地區很普遍的一種發展，前文已有說明。RA、RC、RD 型的方言，有許多在 X/F 混讀前都已有了這種變化。不過由於混讀時與通攝的

今讀無直接關係，所以看不出來罷了。換言之，在兩湖地區，X/F 混讀是後起的變化，在時間上要比 *uŋ > oŋ 晚。

八、比附演變

在了解了 X/F 在西南的一般情形之後，我們要來檢討一些比較特殊的例子。以我們看來，這些特殊的例子，才是語言現象上特別具有興味的。首先要談的，就是比附演變。

RB、RB-1 的共同特點，是在今讀 o、oŋ 之前 X/F 都讀成 x，而在其他的韻母前都讀 f。這一類型的方言，大多數都在湖南。從歷史的線索來看，這些 o、oŋ 都是中古的果、通兩攝字。並且我們還知道，如果通攝今讀不是 oŋ 時，那都是 RB 之後的變化。換言之，湖南地區的 RB 型方言在應用 RB 時，如果表面上韻母的今讀條件不一致，如衡山、南縣、寧鄉，韻母對應的類却是相同的，都是通攝字。不論湘語，如寧鄉、南縣，或西南官話，如衡山，莫不如此。因為通攝讀 oŋ 是兩湖地區的湘語和西南官話共同的特徵。但是，與南縣、寧鄉相鄰近的湖北咸寧、通山等贛方言情形就不一樣了。咸寧、通山的通攝字分別讀 Δŋ、aŋ，讀成 oŋ 的是這兩個方言的宕攝字。因此 RB、RB-1 在這兩個方言所引起反應的，就不是通攝字而是宕攝字了。例如咸寧有下表的混讀：

表10 咸寧 f、x 聲母的分佈

今 今 韻	聲	f	x	今 f 例 字	今 x 例 字
u		+		府，附父服 呼虎，狐獲	
a		+		法髮發 化，畫滑	
æ		+		懷	
o			+		霍，禍
e		+		活或	
eφ		+		否	
ā		+		反，凡	
œ		+		喚，緩	
ən		+		分奮	
				昏，橫	
oŋ			+		方，房 黃
Δŋ		+		風封，馮奉 弘宏紅	

咸寧的混讀，依我們的意見，乃是下列規律依次運作而造成的：

$$(26) \quad *u\eta > \Lambda\eta$$

$$(27) \quad *ua\eta > o\eta$$

$$(28) \quad RB \quad \begin{array}{c} x \text{---} x \\ \quad \quad \quad \backslash \\ \quad \quad \quad f \end{array} / \text{---} o, o\eta$$

$$(29) \quad RB-1 \quad \begin{array}{c} f \text{---} x \\ \quad \quad \quad \backslash \\ \quad \quad \quad f \end{array} / \text{---} o\eta$$

咸寧和前舉的衡山在應用的規律上，頗有相似之處，但是次序不同，結果也稍異。茲比較如下：

咸寧

	風	紅	方	黃
中古音	*pjuŋ	*ɣuŋ	*pjuan	*ɣuan
輕唇化	fuŋ	—	fuan	—
清化	—	xuŋ	—	xuan
uŋ > Λŋ	fΛŋ	xΛŋ	—	—
uaŋ > oŋ	—	—	foŋ	xoŋ
RB	—	fΛŋ	—	—
RB-1	—	—	xoŋ	—
	fΛŋ	fΛŋ	xoŋ	xoŋ

衡山

	奉	紅	方	黃
中古音	*bjun	*ɣun	*pjuan	*ɣuan
輕唇化	vun	—	fuan	—
清化	fuŋ	xuŋ	—	xuan
uŋ > oŋ	foŋ	xoŋ	—	—
RB	—	—	—	fuan
oŋ > Λŋ	fΛŋ	xΛŋ	—	—
uaŋ > oŋ	—	—	foŋ	foŋ
	fΛŋ	xΛŋ	foŋ	foŋ
語音規則	ΦΛŋ	hΛŋ	Φoŋ	Φoŋ

然而咸寧和衡山的比較，更深刻的意義，却在指出了方言間的比附演變這一事實。一種演變在某一地區作方言間的傳播時，音韻結構上相近的方言，在語音和音韻兩個層次上的反應可能都是一致的。但是如果兩個方言在音韻結構上不完全相同，那麼他們對於此一共同規律的反應的一致之處，可能只及於最近表層的語音層面，而不能到達音韻層面。這種方言間語音的而非音韻的形同實異的共同演變，即是「比附演變」。RB 在湖北的贛方言和湖南的方言之間，即具有一種比附演變的性質。茲說明如下。

中古通、宕兩攝陽聲字，在今天大部分方言中仍然保持分別。湘語、西南官話、贛方言莫不如此。但是對於這種共同的類的分別，各方言在音韻上的詮釋却不完全相同，因而遂有結構上的差異。以現有的資料來看，贛方言的表現如下：

表11 贛方言通、宕兩攝的今讀

	江西					湖北					
	臨川	新淦	南昌	瑞金	奉新	蒲圻	通城	通山	陽新	大冶	咸寧
通攝	uŋ	uŋ	uŋ	uŋ	ɰŋ	ʌŋ	əŋ	aŋ	ʌŋ	aŋ	ʌŋ
宕攝	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	oŋ	ɔŋ	oŋ

			湖南								
	嘉魚	崇陽	臨湘	攸縣	汝城	資興	酃縣	安仁	桂東	平江	耒陽
通攝	oŋ	əŋ	ʌŋ	ʌŋ	oŋ	oŋ	ʌŋ	əŋ	oŋ	ʌŋ	ʌŋ
宕攝	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ	ɑ̃	õ	õ	oŋ	õ

	常寧	茶陵	瀏陽	醴陵
通攝	ʌŋ	ʌŋ	ʌŋ	ʌŋ
宕攝	õ	õ	oŋ	oŋ

其中宕攝字的讀法，除了贛、鄂、湘三省交界的地區讀 aŋ 或 ɑ̃ 之外，其他地區則為 oŋ、õ 或 ɔŋ、õ。

在另一方面，一般而言，宕攝字的主要元音在湖南的湘語和西南官話中，絕大多數都是低元音 a 或 ɑ：

宕攝元音為 a 或 ɑ 的方言

湘語：長沙、寧鄉、安化、南縣、湘陰、岳陽、黔陽、城步、新寧、武岡、會同、溆浦、祁陽、湘鄉、通道、東安、零陵、永順、邵陽、保靖、永

綏、古丈、沅陵、瀘溪、乾城、辰溪、麻陽

西南官話：桃源、慈利、臨澧、澧縣、安鄉、漢壽、衡陽、寧遠、嘉禾、藍山、永興、郴縣、常德、龍山、桂陽、新田、臨武、宜章、道縣、永明、石門、桑植、大庸、鳳凰、芷江、靖縣、晃縣、江華

贛方言：臨湘、攸縣、汝城、酃縣、資興、華容、綏寧

宕攝元音爲 o 或 ɔ 的方言

湘語：湘潭、沅江

西南官話：益陽、衡山

贛方言：平江、瀏陽、醴陵、茶陵、常寧、耒陽、安仁、桂東、新化

以統計數字來看，則是：

	湘語	西南官話	贛方言 ¹²
a/ɑ	27	27	7
o/ɔ	2	2	9

面對這樣的數據，再配合地理分佈上的觀察，我們有信心主張 a/ɑ 是湘語和西南官話宕攝字元音的本來讀法，湘潭等四個地方的乃是贛方言的 o/ɔ 影響。反之，平江等地的 o/ɔ 乃是贛方言的本來讀法，而臨湘等地的 a/ɑ，則是湘語或西南官話的影響。參考第四節對湖南地區通攝字元音演變的說明，我們可以把通、宕兩攝字陽聲韻的早期形式構擬如下：

	通攝	宕攝
贛方言	uŋ	oŋ
湘語	oŋ	aŋ
西南官話	oŋ	aŋ

現在，RB 源自哪一方言，我們無法確知。但是它却越過了方言的界限，使得贛、湘、西南等大方言都受到了影響。這條規律所涉及的音韻部分，在湘語和西南官話的內部是一致的，是讀成 oŋ 的通攝字。在贛方言的內部，也是一致的，是讀成 oŋ 的宕攝字，然而若拿湘、西南與贛方言作一對比時，音韻結構上却不是一致的。這也就是說，無論從兩造的哪一方來講，對方之援取 RB，只是一種表面語音上的「比附」而已。因此我們可以從這個例子認識到：一條越過方言區間的規律，有可能引起比附演

¹² 贛語的 a/ɑ : o/ɔ 之比或許稍嫌接近，只就贛語而言，殊難作論。不過一方面湘語和西南官話的情形非常明確，一方面與贛語有許多共同特徵的客方言大體爲 o/ɔ，以 o/ɔ 爲贛語的本來讀法，似亦有據。此點蒙丁邦新師賜知，謹誌謝忱。

變；而比附演變之所以產生，則在於方言間的結構差異。

九、音韻妥協

第二個可以一談的問題是音韻妥協。

對一個語言或方言的音韻結構上所起的變化，我們通常用 (30) 這樣的形式來表示：

$$(30) \quad A > B / _ C$$

其中 A 是變化項，B 是生成項，C 是條件項。當一個甲方言發生了像 (30) 這樣的變化的時候，這種變化並不會只止於這個方言，它也會向四鄰的其它方言傳佈，比方說乙方言。乙方言對於 (30) 可能採取的反應，不外以下三種。第一是漠視，絲毫不受影響。第二是抗拒，以另外的規律來替代 (30)。第三是接受。在接受這一反應中，又會有程度的不同。一是完全接受，一是縮小 (30) 的範圍，一是擴大 (30) 的範圍。無論是擴大或縮小 (30) 的應用範圍，這兩種接受都可稱為調整後的接受。在以上幾種可能當中，漠視、抗拒、和完全接受，情況都比較單純。如果乙方言對 (30) 漠視或排拒，那麼 (30) 就只是甲方言內部的單獨變化；如果乙方言的態度是完全接受，那麼 (30) 就可能成為區域內的共同規律，它的傳播力、影響力會更為加強。這都是大家所熟知的情形。我們現在所關切的，是最後兩種情形，即調整的接受。

調整的接受，無論是 (30) 的擴大或縮小，因為整個演變方向大體相同，我們可以以 (30') 的形式來表示：

$$(30') \quad A' > B' / _ C'$$

並且可以把 (30) 和 (30') 看作同一演變的兩種次規律。

當乙方言因受到甲方言的影響而有了規律 (30')，這時候在這一地區，同一類的音韻變化，就有了 (30)、(30') 兩種型態出現。如果只就甲、乙兩個方言而論，我們可以說 (30)、(30') 是同一種變化在這兩個方言的不同程度的反映。或者我們也可以從規律史或規律影響面的角度來說，(30)、(30') 代表此種演變的兩個階段。但這都是就甲、乙兩方言而說的。如果考慮到附近的丙方言、丁方言，我們就應該想到，它們所接受的影響，可能就不只是 (30)，而是 (30) 和 (30') 並行的影響。換句話說，在一種音韻變化發生的初期，就可能因為最初受影響的方言接受程度的不同，而有不止一種的型態或次規律出現。當這種變化嗣後逐漸向四方傳佈的時候，波傳而去的，不一定是最初的規律，而是每一個波段中的次規律。在對下一波方言發揮影響力的時

候，這些次規律之間乃有一種競爭之勢。這種競爭之勢可以稱為「規律競爭」。¹³ 不過我們要注意，並不是每一個波、每一個方言都會產生新型態或新的次規律。因為上文已經說過，產生新型態是因為對入侵的規律有所調整的結果，而調整却不是唯一的選擇。

當 (30)、(30') 兩個次規律在丙方言、丁方言互競短長的時候，丙、丁的選擇就要比乙方言當初的選擇要複雜。這不單是漠視、排拒、接受、和調整的問題，還牽涉到對象的選擇。丙、丁可能在競爭的次規律當中擇一而從。這時候無論對象為 (30)、為 (30')，無論是接受或調整，又會回復到當初乙方言的情況，化複雜為單純。倘若不然，就會出現 (30)、(30') 或同時、或先後地被納入同一個丙方言或丁方言之中的情形。這種情形便是「音韻妥協」。

現在我們就以桑植型方言中的資中方言作例子來觀察。資中 X/F 的混讀見於表 12。

表12 資中 f、h 聲母的分佈

今 今 韻	聲	f	h	今 f 例 字	今 h 例 字
u		+		府福，父符服 虎忽，胡	
ua			+		法髮，伐 花化，畫話
o			+		火霍，禍獲
ue			+		或
uai					懷壞
uai					飛，肺，肥
au					灰，會
uan		+		否，浮	
uan			+		翻反，凡犯 歡，還緩
uən			+		分粉奮
uaŋ			+		昏，橫魂 方，芳，房
oŋ			+		荒，黃 風封，馮奉 弘宏紅

根據上表，我們可以有幾種推測。第一是設想 *f、*f'、*v > h，即 RC，然後 h > f/

¹³ 王士元先生 (Wang 1969) 在解釋一個方言內部的音韻演變的時候，曾提出過相同的概念，與本節所指為方言間次規律的競爭者稍有不同。

—u, əu。這種設想的困難在於「侯厚後候」這些字今讀仍是 həu, 不是 fəu。第二個設想是 *x、*ɣ 的字先經過 RA, 然後來自 *f、*fh、*v 的字發生 f>h/—uV, oŋ 的變化。這個設想對 f>h 的條件, 說不出什麼道理來。如果認為 oŋ 是後來的變化, 在 f>h 之前, oŋ 其實是 uŋ, 因而把 f>h 的條件改為 uV、uŋ, 這樣也仍然有問題。因為一則 uV 與 uŋ 的 u 不一樣, 前者的 u 是介音, 後者的 u 是元音, 而同樣接元音 u 的 fu 並不變成 hu。再則資中似乎不會是個贛方言, 通攝字在 f>h 之前恐怕已經和一般的西南官話一樣由 *uŋ 變 oŋ 了。如果這兩種設想都不可能, 那麼只有以下列的次序來解釋了:

$$(31) \quad X \begin{array}{l} \swarrow f \\ \searrow h \end{array} / _u$$

$$(32) \quad F \begin{array}{l} \swarrow h \\ \searrow f \end{array} / _uV$$

$$(33) \quad F \begin{array}{l} \swarrow h \\ \searrow f \end{array} / _oŋ$$

(31)、(32)、(33) 分別即是 RA、RA-1、RB-1。RA-1 和 RB-1 並存在資中的音韻發展史之中。

RA-1、RB-1 是沿 F>xu 發展的兩條次規律, RA、RB 則是沿著 X>f 發展的次規律。在影響的範圍上, RB 要大於 RA。邵陽是一個疑似 RA、RB 妥協的方言, 它的混讀情形如下表。

表13 邵陽 f、v、h 聲母的分佈

今 今 韻	聲	f	v	h	今 f 例 字	今 v 例 字	今 h 例 字
u		+	+		虎忽	婦附 狐戶	
a		+	+		法髮	話畫滑	
ua				+			花化
o				+			火, 禍活
e			+			或	
ai			+			懷壞	
oi		+	+		飛, 肺	肥	
uoi				+		會惠	
əu		+			否		灰毀
an		+	+		反	凡范飯	
en		+	+		分粉奮	喚, 換 魂橫	

ueŋ			+			昏
aŋ	+	+		方放	房防	
oŋ	+	+	+	風封	黃奉	弘宏紅

「喚」字中古爲 *x，但許多湘語，包括邵陽，和西南官話，都與 *ɣ 的「換」同讀。如果「喚」字確被當作 *ɣ 看待，那麼邵陽的 *x、*ɣ 的輕唇化規律就是：

$$*x \begin{matrix} \nearrow f \\ \searrow h \end{matrix} / _u$$

$$*ɣ \begin{matrix} \nearrow h \\ \searrow v \end{matrix} / _o, oŋ$$

其中 *x 採取 RA 的演變方向，而 *ɣ 採取了 RB。當然，在採取 RB 的時候，邵陽加進了 [+濁] 的限制，也就是 RB'。

邵陽的 *x、*ɣ 各循不同的規律輕唇化，是很可確定的。我們所以認爲它是個「疑似妥協」的方言，主要在於不能排除一種可能性，即：這兩條規律是邵陽本身的創制，不是外來的互競的規律。這種可能性恐怕是很低的。因爲如果採取這種立場的話，那麼對於西南地區的 RA、RB 與邵陽的 RA、RB 之間的關係，就很不好解釋了。但是這種可能性在目前却無法證明其不存在，因此我們只有暫時存疑。雖然，就一般的情形而論，這種存疑也許是多餘的。

此外，湖南的臨湘，也有音韻妥協的現象。由於它所牽涉到的問題比較複雜，我預備在別處詳作討論（參何大安 1988），這裏暫時從略。

十、結 論

在這篇論文裏，我們嚐試了一種不同的觀察角度和研究方向，也就是副題所說的「規律史的研究」。這項研究一方面使我們有機會仔細觀察規律在個別方言中運作的情形，一方面也讓我們了解到：當規律在方言之間傳佈的時候，它的推移過程和各方言在迎拒上所作的調適幅度。這樣的研究，對語言接觸和結構變遷的了解，應該是有正面的意義的。

具體的說，經過上文各節的分析，我們至少得到下面幾點認識。第一，X/F 在西南的混讀，基本上有四種型態。這四種型態代表了兩種相反的演變方向：X > f 和 F > xu。RA 的 X > f / _u 和 RB 的 X $\begin{matrix} \nearrow x \\ \searrow f \end{matrix} / _o, oŋ$ 都是 X > f 不同程度的代表。

RA-1 的 F > x / _uV 與 RB-1 的 F > x / _oŋ 則是 F > xu 不同程度的代表。第二，

四川、雲南和湖北的西南官話，變化都比較單純。這些方言多半都只具 RA、RB、RC 中的一種規律。相形之下，湖南和鄰近湖南的湖北贛方言，則較複雜。這些方言除了把 X/F 的混讀與其他韻母的演變交織在一起之外，甚至還兼有不只一種的 X/F 型態，造成音韻妥協的現象。第三，音韻妥協的方言大多集中在湘西和鄂西湘語與西南官話接觸的地方，如桑植、大庸、恩施、宣恩、鶴峯、邵陽。這極可能和湘語型的 RB 與西南官話的 RA 在此傳播交會有關。第四、以贛方言與湘語作比，則有比附演變的情形出現。這種語音上的比附的造成，顯係音韻結構上的殊異所造成。

引用書目

- 丁邦新
1982 〈漢語方言區分的條件〉 《清華學報》 新 14.1, 2: 251-274
- 李方桂
1971 〈上古音研究〉 《清華學報》 新 9.1, 2: 1-61
- 何大安
1988 《規律與方向：變遷中的音韻結構》 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊之90 臺北
- 余直夫
1975 《奉新音系》 藝文印書館 臺北
- 黃雪貞
1986 〈西南官話的分區（稿）〉，《方言》 4: 262-272。
- 董同龢
1954 《中國語音史》 中華文化出版事業委員會 臺北
- 楊時逢
1969a 〈南昌音系〉 《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》 39.1: 125-204
1969b 《雲南方言調查報告》 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊之66 臺北
1974a 〈贛縣音系〉 《總統蔣公逝世週年紀念論文集》 1187-1202 中央研究院 臺北
1974b 《湖南方言調查報告》 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊之56 臺北
1984 《四川方言調查報告》 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊之82 臺北
- 趙元任、丁聲樹、楊時逢、吳宗濟、董同龢
1948 《湖北方言調查報告》 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊 商務印書館 上海
- 鮑厚星、顏森
1986 〈湖南方言的分區〉，《方言》 4: 273-276。
- 顏 森
1983 〈新干方言本字考〉 《方言》 3: 212-219
- 羅常培
1940 《臨川音系》 中央研究院歷史語言研究所單刊甲種之17 商務印書館 上海
- 羅肇錦
1977 《瑞金方言》 師範大學碩士論文 臺北
- Wang, William S. Y. (王士元)
1969 Competing changes as a cause of residue, *Language* 45.1: 9-25.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOOCHOW TONE SANDHI

Mantaro J. Hashimoto

*National Inter-University Research Institute of
Asian and African Languages and Cultures*

Summary

It has been well established in recent studies of the Soochow dialect that Soochow tone sandhi for non-entering tones in polysyllabic words and phrases consists of two modifications of syllabic intonations: (1) there is a reduction in the number of tonal distinctions in non-initial syllables, and (2) there are some systematic alternations of tonemes in the initial syllables. Why does the Soochow dialect have such extensive tone sandhi? (1) The Soochow dialect belongs to the type of language whose initial syllables dominate the rest of the polysyllabic words and phrases in their tonal realizations; thus, non-initial syllables undergo the type of tone reduction observed in modern Shanghainese of Chinese or the Lhasa dialect of Tibetan. (2) The toneme alternations in the initial syllables can be interpreted as reflecting the extensive tonal mergers which took place many times throughout the history of the Chinese language in the dialects spoken in the Central Plains. The Soochow dialect, having been spoken in the southeastern corner of the Central Plains with a long history, has accepted and accumulated in its contemporary sound system many of the tonal mergers that originated in the dialects of the Central Plains, and thus exhibits a rich system of morpho-phonemic alternations of tonemes in the initial syllables of polysyllabic words and phrases.

I. Introduction

Ever since Yeh Hsiang-ling attempted in 1979 to describe Soochow tonal modifications in disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words in the first issue of the journal *Fang-yan* [*Dialect*], the types and patterns of tone sandhi in the Soochow dialect of Wu have been intensely debated by Chang Chia-mao (1979), Yeh Hsiang-ling (1979b), some editorial remarks (1979), Hsieh Tzu-li (1982), Ch'ien Nai-jung and Shih Ju-chieh (1983), Wang P'ing (1983) and Yeh Hsiang-ling (1984). (Most of these authors are themselves native speakers of the Soochow dialect.) Except for some minor forms whose authenticity as being *bona fide* Soochow forms is questioned,

these studies led to a fairly unified conclusion as to the patterns and types of Soochow tonemes and their sandhi phenomena. Thus the surface facts of Soochow tone sandhi are now fairly clear and well established. But so far no study has raised the question as to why this dialect has such extensive tone sandhi. The present study is an attempt to answer this most fundamental problem of Soochow phonology.¹

II. The Soochow Tones

As described by Chinese linguists-dialectologists, the Soochow dialect distinguishes the following five non-entering tones and two entering tones, when morphemes or monosyllabic words are pronounced "in isolation":

Table 1

Tone	Author			
	Yeh 1979	Hsieh	Wang	Yeh 1984
Tone 1 (yin-ping)	[44]	[44]	[44]	[55]
Tone 2 (yang-ping)	[13]	[23]	[13]	[13]
Tone 3 (shang-sheng)	[52]	[52]	[41]	[51]
Tone 4 (merged with Tone 6)				[31]
Tone 5 (yin-chiu)	[412]	[412]	[523]	[513]
Tone 6 (yang-chiu)	[31]	[31]	[242]	[313]
Tone 7 (yin-ru)	[5?] <u></u>	[55?] <u></u>	[43?] <u></u>	[5?] <u></u>
Tone 8 (yang-ru)	[3?] <u></u>	[23?] <u></u>	[23?] <u></u>	[3?] <u></u>

Except for Yeh (1984), which separates the pseudo-morphophonemic Tone 4 from Tone 6, differences among these phonetic descriptions are minor and appear to be merely impressionistic. For convenience of discussion, this paper concentrates on the non-entering tones, the first five (or six) unglottalized tones, since these tones obviously constitute a subgroup quite independent from the two glottalized tones.

III. Initial Sandhi Tones in Disyllabic Words

Tones of the syntagma-initial syllables in Soochow disyllabic words undergo the following minor modification of pitch contours, as described in the four studies, Yeh (1979), Hsieh (1982), Ch'ien-Shih (1983), and Wang (1983):

¹ Ideas for the present study have been discussed orally in various talks by the present author, who wants to express his appreciation to those who offered many comments and criticisms on these occasions and who later went through the written version and offered many corrections and improvements. The present study is based on, besides those published ones quoted in this paper, linguistic data recorded by Sachiko Kitayama, to whom many thanks are due. Tones are described with numerals in brackets; underlines indicate the shortness of such tones. When given two tone shapes within brackets, those preceding a slanted line represent the pitch contour pronounced "in isolation," while those following a slanted line stand for sandhi tones.

Table 2

	Yeh 1979	Hsieh	Ch'ien-Shih	Wang
Tone 1:	[44]	[44]		[44]
Tone 1 + Tone n	↓ [44] + [21]	↓ [44] + [21]	[55] + [21]	↓ [44] + [11]
Tone 2:	[13]	[23]		[13]
Tone 2 + Tone n	↓ [13] + [21]	↓ [12] + [21]	[24] + [21]	↓ [23] + [11]
Tone 3:	[52]	[52]		[41]
Tone 3 + Tone n	↓ [52] + [21]	↓ [52] + [21]	[52] + [21]	↓ [41] + [11]
Tone 5:	[412]	[412]		[523]
Tone 5 + Tone n	↓ [52] + [21]	↓ [41] + [34]	[41] + [34]	↓ [52] + [44]
Tone 6:	[31]	[31]		[242]
Tone 6 + Tone n	↓ [13] + [21]	↓ [12] + [21]	[24] + [21]	↓ [23] + [11]

The only drastic modification can be found with respect to Yeh (1979)'s Tone 6 and Hsieh's Tone 6, whose falling pitch contour [31] is changed to rising [13]. The modifications from Yeh (1979)'s [412] to [52], Hsieh's [412] to [41], and Wang's [523] to [52] of Tone 5 all certify the loss of the rising coda.

IV. Final Sandhi Tones in Disyllabic Words

Tones of the final syllables of ordinary disyllabic words and phrases in the Soochow dialect undergo the type of neutralization for non-initial syllable tones observable in the Shanghainese dialect of Chinese and the Lhasa dialect of Tibetan. Specifically, any tone occurring in non-initial syllables is reduced to either a high or a low tone, depending upon what occurs in the initial syllable:

Table 3

	Yeh 1979	Hsieh	Ch'ien-Shih	Wang
Tone 1 + Tone n	[44] + [21]	[44] + [21]	[55] + [21]	[44] + [11] [52] + [44]
Tone 2 + Tone n	[13] + [21]	[22] + [33] [12] + [21]	[22] + [44] [24] + [21]	[11] + [44] [23] + [11] [44] + [11]
Tone 3 + Tone n	[52] + [21]	[52] + [21] [41] + [34] [44] + [21]	[52] + [21] [41] + [34] [55] + [21]	[41] + [11] [52] + [44] [44] + [11]
Tone 5 + Tone n	[52] + [21] [44] + [21]	[41] + [34] [52] + [21] [44] + [21]	[41] + [34] [52] + [21] [55] + [21]	[52] + [44] [41] + [11] [55] + [11]
Tone 6 + Tone n	[13] + [21]	[12] + [21] [44] + [21] [22] + [33]	[24] + [21] [55] + [21] [22] + [44]	[23] + [11] [44] + [11] [11] + [44]

Among the descriptions for the phonetic realizations of these sandhi tone patterns, Wang's is the most phonemic. His is also basically the type we observed in the speech of our speaker, though some minor phonetic diversity in our speaker's idiolect is also observable. Hereafter, without necessarily defending the phonetic details of Wang's description, his data is adopted as the starting point for this analysis.

The pitch contour of any tone occurring in non-initial syllables of Soochow disyllabic words and phrases can be predicted by the following fairly straightforward rule:

Rule 1:

$$X \longrightarrow \begin{cases} [\text{high}] & / \text{Toneme } 2 \text{ or } 4 \\ [\text{low}] & / \text{Otherwise} \end{cases}$$

We understand this as one realization of the initial syllable dominance in determining the tones of the polysyllabic words seen in some Wu dialects, as described by Michael L. Sherard (1972)² and later more systematically analyzed by William L. Ballard (1975)³ and Sherard (1979). The tendency to such initial syllable dominance can also be found in an embryonic form in the tone sandhi of Amoy, a Chinese dialect spoken much further to the south in Fukien.⁴

V. Sandhi Patterns in Disyllabic Words

The combination patterns of these disyllabic tones are not entirely the same in these six native linguists' descriptions. To Yeh (1979)'s six patterns, Hsieh (1982) added six more. While Ch'ien-Shih (1983) recognized the same number, Wang (1983) added two more. These additions are, however, a matter of further discoveries of tone combinations which fall under each pattern, and do not really change the types of tone sandhi in disyllabic words as a whole. In any event, the very straightforward modification of tone shapes encountered in the Soochow tone sandhi is only on the surface and very deceiving, since, by sorting out the occurring combinations under the five general patterns described in Wang (1983), we realize that under each pattern fall the following combinations:

1. Surface Tone 1 + Tone n [44]-[11] in fact includes not only:

Tone 1 + Tone n

ex. fu ¹ [44/44]-ts'i ¹ [44/11]	'husband and wife'
fe ¹ [44/44]-ga ² [13/11]	'a tomato'
sæ ¹ [44/44]-tsy ³ [41/11]	'white spirit'
siä ¹ [44/44]-sin ⁵ [523/11]	'to believe'

² Unfortunately not yet formally published.

³ Later formally published as Ballard 1980.

⁴ Hashimoto 1980.

ho¹[44/44]-mi⁶[242/11] 'dried, shelled shrimps'

but also:

Tone 5 + Tone n

ex. kuE⁵[523/44]-ho¹[44/11] 'a fragrant olive'
 tsæ⁵[523/44]-dã²[13/11] 'stove chamber'
 kã⁵[523/44]-tsɿ³[41/11] 'a ring'
 k'uã⁵[523/44]-sin⁵[523/11] 'a special delivery letter'
 ts'E⁵[523/44]-vE⁶[242/11] 'rice and dishes'

as well as the minor occurrences of:

Tone 2 + Tone n

ex. (ɦ)əl²[13/44]-kəu¹[44/11] 'children's songs'
 (ɦ)əl²[13/44]-doŋ²[13/11] 'children'
 (ɦ)əl²[13/44]-çi⁵[523/11] 'children's drama'

Tone 3 + Tone n

k'ɑ³[41/44]-ts'o¹[44/11] 'a car'
 tçi³[41/44]-ɦəu²[13/11] 'geometry'
 tsi³[41/44]-sɿ³[41/11] 'left hand'
 sɿ³[41/44]-kã⁵[523/11] 'summer vacation'
 fɿ³[41/44]-din⁶[424/11] 'to negate'

Tone 6 + Tone n

ex. læ⁶[242/44]-çiŋg¹[44/11] 'old brother (you)'
 ji⁶[242/44]-zi²[13/11] 'formerly'
 mɑ⁶[242/44]-həu³[41/11] 'careless, casual'
 mo⁶[242/44]-E⁵[523/11] 'mother's love'
 læ⁶[242/44]-di⁶[242/11] 'my boy!'

2. Surface Tone 2 + Tone n [11]-[44] in fact includes both:

Tone 2 + Tone n

ex. di²[13/11]-tçi¹[44/44] 'field chicken (frog)'
 dE²[13/11]-dɿɿ²[23/44] 'billard ball'
 mi³[13/11]-æ³[41/44] 'cotton-padded jacket'
 dəu²[13/11]-pE⁵[523/44] 'hunchback'
 mæ²[13/11]-bin⁶[242/44] 'trouble, mishap'

and:

Tone 6 + Tone n

ex. læ⁶[242/11]-tçiã¹[44/44] '(old) ginger'
 dəu⁶[242/11]-mən²[13/44] 'gate'
 dəu⁶[242/11]-tsiã³[41/44] 'eldest sister'
 bu⁶[242/11]-həu⁵[523/44] 'peppermint'
 mo⁶[242/11]-mi⁶[242/44] 'ant'

3. Surface Tone 3 + Tone n [41]-[11] in fact includes both:

Tone 3 + Tone n

ex. tci ³ [41/41]-tsā ¹ [44/11]	'how-many sheets?'
tciy ³ [41/41]-nir ² [13/11]	'nine years'
piæ ³ [41/41]-ir ³ [41/11]	'to perform'
po ³ [41/41]-pin ⁵ [523/11]	'a handle'
ts'æ ³ [41/41]-mæ ⁶ [242/11]	'a straw hat'

and:

Tone 5 + Tone n

ex. pe ⁵ [523/41]-tci ³ [41/11]	'a background'
pæ ⁵ [523/41]-kæ ⁵ [523/11]	'to report'
ke ⁵ [523/41]-nir ⁶ [242/11]	'notion'

4. Surface Tone 5 + Tone n [52]-[44] in fact includes both:

Tone 3 + Tone n

ex. tφ ³ [41/52]-se ¹ [44/44]	'upper garment'
hæ ³ [41/52]-nin ² [13/44]	'a good person'
sən ³ [41/52]-sən ³ [41/44]	'aunt (wife of father's younger brother)'
kæ ³ [41/52]-fi ⁵ [523/44]	'contribution fee'
kuφ ³ [41/52]-li ⁶ [242/44]	'to manage'

and:

Tone 5 + Tone n

ex. pφ ⁵ [523/52]-tci ¹ [44/44]	'half a pound'
kæ ⁵ [523/52]-dzi ² [13/44]	'vacation'
kəu ⁵ [523/52]-t'i ³ [41/44]	'a solid body'
tci ⁵ [523/52]-sφ ⁵ [523/44]	'to calculate'
t'e ⁵ [523/52]-dəu ⁶ [242/44]	'attitude'

as well as the minor occurrences of:

Tone 1 + Tone n

ex. s ₁ ¹ [44/52]-k'oŋ ¹ [44/44]	'(a surname)'
s ₁ ¹ [44/52]-dəu ² [13/44]	'(a surname)'
cin ¹ [44/52]-sa ³ [41/44]	'to enjoy'
s ₁ ¹ [44/52]-mo ⁶ [242/44]	'(a surname)'

5. Surface Tone 6 + Tone n [23]-[11] in fact includes both:

Tone 2 + Tone n

ex. min ² [13/23]-tciā ¹ [44/11]	'famous person'
zoŋ ² [13/23]-zir ² [13/11]	'formerly'
min ² [13/23]-ts'e ³ [41/11]	'famous product'
zən ² [13/23]-siā ⁵ [523/11]	'prime minister'
jin ² [13/23]-zā ⁶ [242/11]	'form, shape'

and:

Tone 6 + Tone n

ex. ɲ ⁶ [242/23]-tsā ¹ [44/11]	'five sheets'
doŋ ⁶ [242/23]-ji ² [13/11]	'to mobilize'
dæ ⁶ [242/23]-iɿ ³ [41/11]	'to direct (a play)'
dE ⁶ [242/23]-səu ⁵ [523/11]	'algebra'
zE ⁶ [242/23]-ŋa ⁶ [242/11]	'to stay abroad'

In other words, if one examines the actual morphemes which are subsumed by the various types of toneme combinations listed above, Soochow tone sandhi turns out to be very interesting but at the same time highly puzzling.

Note that on the surface Tone 5, for instance, coalesces sometimes with Tone 1 (the underlying kue⁵-ho¹ [52]-[44] 'a fragrant olive' goes to kue¹-ho¹ [44]-[11] on the surface), and sometimes with Tone 3 (the underlying pe⁵-tɕin³ [52]-[41] 'a background' goes to pe³-tɕin¹ [41]-[11] on the surface). But this does not mean that what is labeled Tone 5 here can, and in fact should, be subdivided into two, Tones 5a and 5b for instance, since different mergers take place with respect to one and the same morpheme depending upon the environment in ways which are not phonologically definable. For instance, with respect to the same morpheme:

pe⁵ 'the back',

Tone 5 of this morpheme coalesces with Tone 1 when it occurs in:

pe¹-fiy⁶ [44]-[11] 'back rear (= behind)',

but with Tone 3 when it occurs in:

pe¹-tɕin³ [41]-[11] 'back scene (= background)'.

What we witness here is a clear case of synchronic tonal alternations. Even if we limit our observations to those major alternations listed above, we have the following alternating tonemes in Soochow:

Tone 1 (yin-ping)	→	Tone 5 (yin-chiu)
Tone 2 (yang-ping)	→	Tone 6 (yang-chiu)
Tone 3 (shang)	→	Tone 5 (yin-chiu)
Tone 5 (yin-chiu)	→	Tone 3 (shang)
Tone 6 (yang-chiu)	→	Tone 2 (yang-ping)

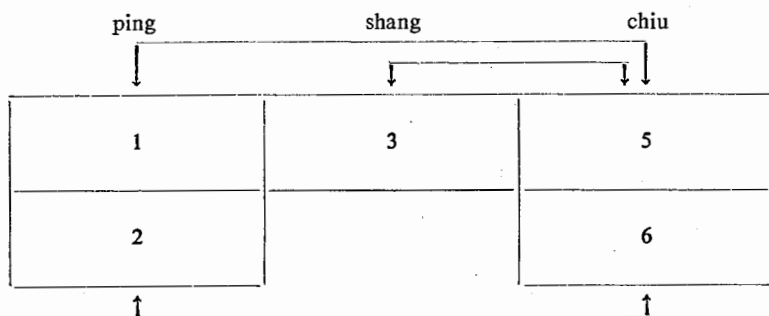
Chart 1 illustrates these mergers; in the chart the tonemes linked by arrows undergo a synchronic coalescence in the direction of the arrows.

VI. The Why's of Soochow Tone Sandhi

Why does the Soochow dialect show these extensive mergers among surface tonemes and what are the implications of these coalescences?

The clue to these questions consists in the forty odd examples Wang lists in his paper as Soochow disyllabic words exhibiting the total merger between Tones 2, 3 and 6 with Tone 1 in the initial syllables of disyllabic words and phrases;

Chart 1



namely, under the surface tone [44]+[11] fall:

- Tone 2 + Tone 1: (h)əl²-kəu¹ 'children's songs'
 Tone 2 + Tone 2: (h)əl²-dɔŋ² 'children'
 Tone 2 + Tone 5: (h)əl²-çi⁵ 'not serious'
 Tone 3 + Tone 1: siæ³-tçi¹ 'a young villain'
 ts'ɿ³-tçi¹ 'this place (= here)'
 k'ɑ³-ts'o¹ 'a truck'
 tsø³-tsæ¹ '(a name)'
 Tone 3 + Tone 2: tçi³-fiəu² 'geometry'
 ts'ɿ³-zɿ² 'this time, this hour'
 k'ɑ³-dʒi² 'khaki'
 siæ³-zən² 'a mean man' (opposite of the princely man)
 Tone 3 + Tone 3: tsi³-sɿ³ 'left hand' (some people question this etymology, suspecting [tsi³] to be a morpheme for 'to borrow')
 Tone 3 + Tone 5: sɿ³-ka⁵ 'summer vacation'
 fi³-ts'E⁵ 'green jadeite'
 k'ɑ³-p'i⁵ 'a card'
 Tone 3 + Tone 6: tsi³-jiɿ⁶ 'left and right'
 ts'ɿ³-di⁶ 'this place, here'
 fɿ³-din⁶ 'to negate'
 ji³-fiɿ⁶ 'later, after this'
 Tone 3 + Tone 7: fɿ³-tsə⁷ 'or else, if not'
 ts'ɿ³-k'ə⁷ 'this moment'
 Tone 3 + Tone 8: ts'ɿ³-niə⁸ 'this day, today'
 Tone 6 + Tone 1: jiɿ⁶-sin¹ 'intentionally'
 læ⁶-çion¹ 'old brother (= you)'
 ji⁶-tçin¹ 'already'
 mo⁶-ts'æ¹ '(a name)'

Tone 6 + Tone 2:	ji ⁶ -zi ²	'formerly, previously'
	uā ⁶ -lɛ ²	'come and go, contact'
	li ⁶ -gu ²	'(a name)'
Tone 6 + Tone 3:	mā ⁶ -həu ³	'careless, casual'
Tone 6 + Tone 5:	li ⁶ -pu ⁵	'(a name)'
	mo ⁶ -ɛ ⁵	'motherly love'
Tone 6 + Tone 6:	læ ⁶ -di ⁶	'old young brother (= you)'
	mā ⁶ -zā ⁶	'immediately'
Tone 6 + Tone 7:	mo ⁶ -so ⁷	'(a name)'
	ləu ⁶ -so ⁷	'(a name)'
Tone 6 + Tone 8:	li ⁶ -liə ⁸	'(a name)'
	ləu ⁶ -da ⁸	'(a name)'

Tone 6 which merges with Tone 3 above is always carried by words having Ancient *tsz-juo* ["secondary-muddy"] initials, namely semivowels, nasals or laterals, and not a single exception is included in the above list.

Now, it is the merger of this *shang* [rising] tone carried by words having the *tsz-juo* ["secondary-muddy"] initial (hereafter, *tsz-juo shang* for short) with other tones that uniquely separates the Wu dialects from Northern Chinese dialects: *tsz-juo shang* merged with the *shang* [rising] tone in Northern Chinese dialects, while *tsz-juo shang* merged with the *yang-chiu* [yang-departing] tone in Soochow as shown in Chart 2. In other words: only the *chiuan-juo shang* tone merged with the *chiu* tone in Northern Chinese dialects, while both *tsz-juo* and *chiuan-juo shang* tones merged with the (*yang*-)*chiu* tone in Soochow, as shown in Chart 2.

Chart 2

Northern Chinese:

	ping	shang	chiu
ching	yin-ping	shang	chiu
tsz-juo	yang-ping	(shang)	
chiuan-juo			

Soochow:

ping	shang	chiu
yin-ping	shang	yin-chiu
yang-ping		yang-chiu

The said merger of *chiuan-juo shang* tone with the *chiu* tone took place in Northern Chinese,⁵ hence, the *tsz-juo shang* tone was left out from the rest of the *yang* group of the *shang* tones in Northern Chinese dialects, to be later merged with the *ching shang* tone.

The fact that those morphemes having the *tsz-juo shang* tone occur in the surface structure of disyllabic words and phrases, assuming the same tone shape as that of Tone 3 (while, in isolation, they assume the same tone shape as that

⁵ Chao 1928, 76.

of Tone 6) clearly indicates that these disyllabic words and phrases are originally from the Northern Chinese type of dialects. In other words, the surface alternation between Tone 6 with Tone 3 observable in the Soochow tone sandhi can be interpreted as a result of the invasion of a Northern Chinese dialect wave into Soochow — the wave which was once accepted from the Central Plains dialect or dialects and was later retained or accumulated in the Soochow dialect as a layer — perhaps the literary layer.

There is then a possibility that other tone alternations, observable in the Soochow tone sandi, could also be the results of such waves, accumulated in the contemporary Soochow dialect. Even a cursory examination of tone mergers between:

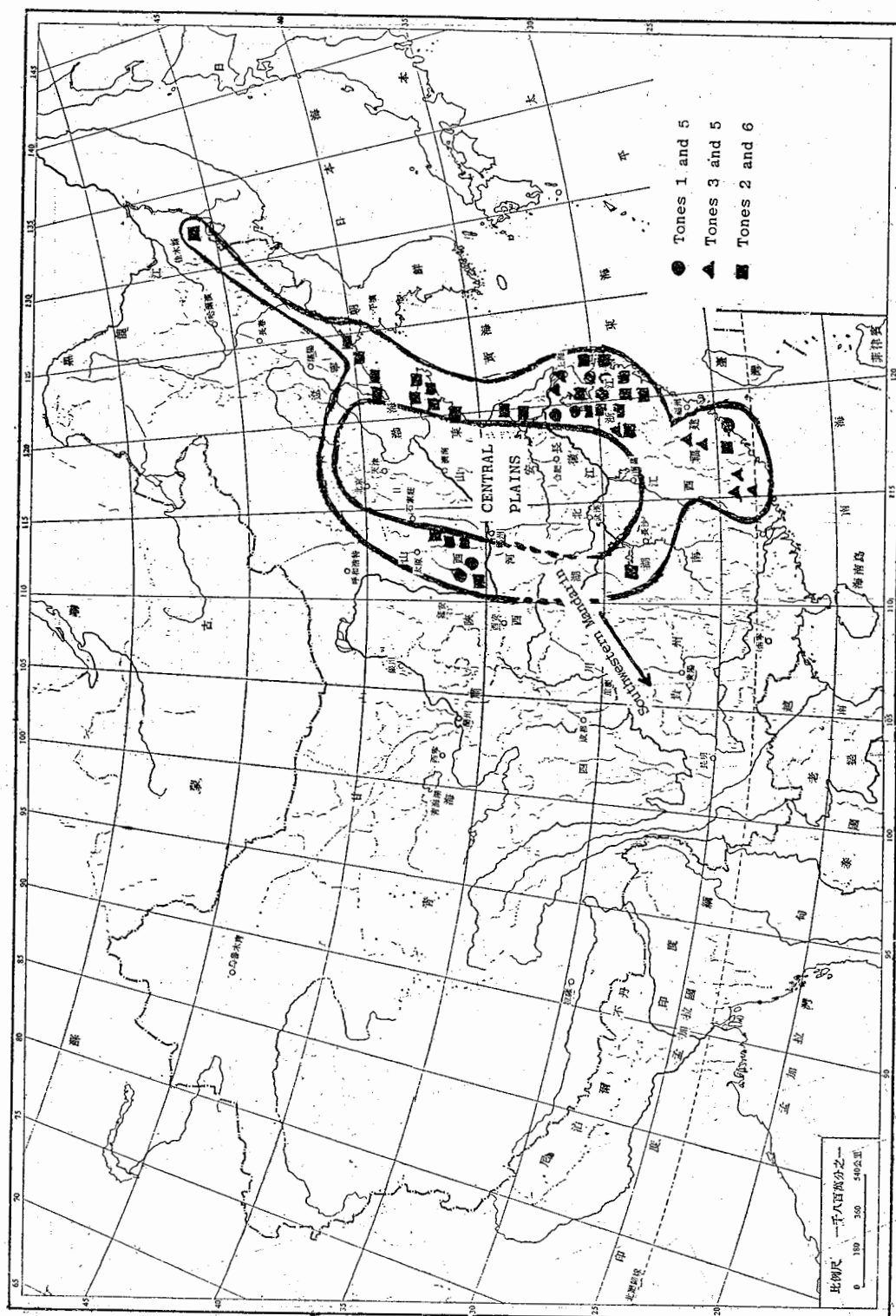
- (1) Tone 1 (yin-ping) and Tone 5 (yin-chiu)
- (2) Tone 3 (yin-shang) and Tone 5 (yin-chiu)
- (3) Tone 2 (yang-ping) and Tone 6 (yang-chiu)

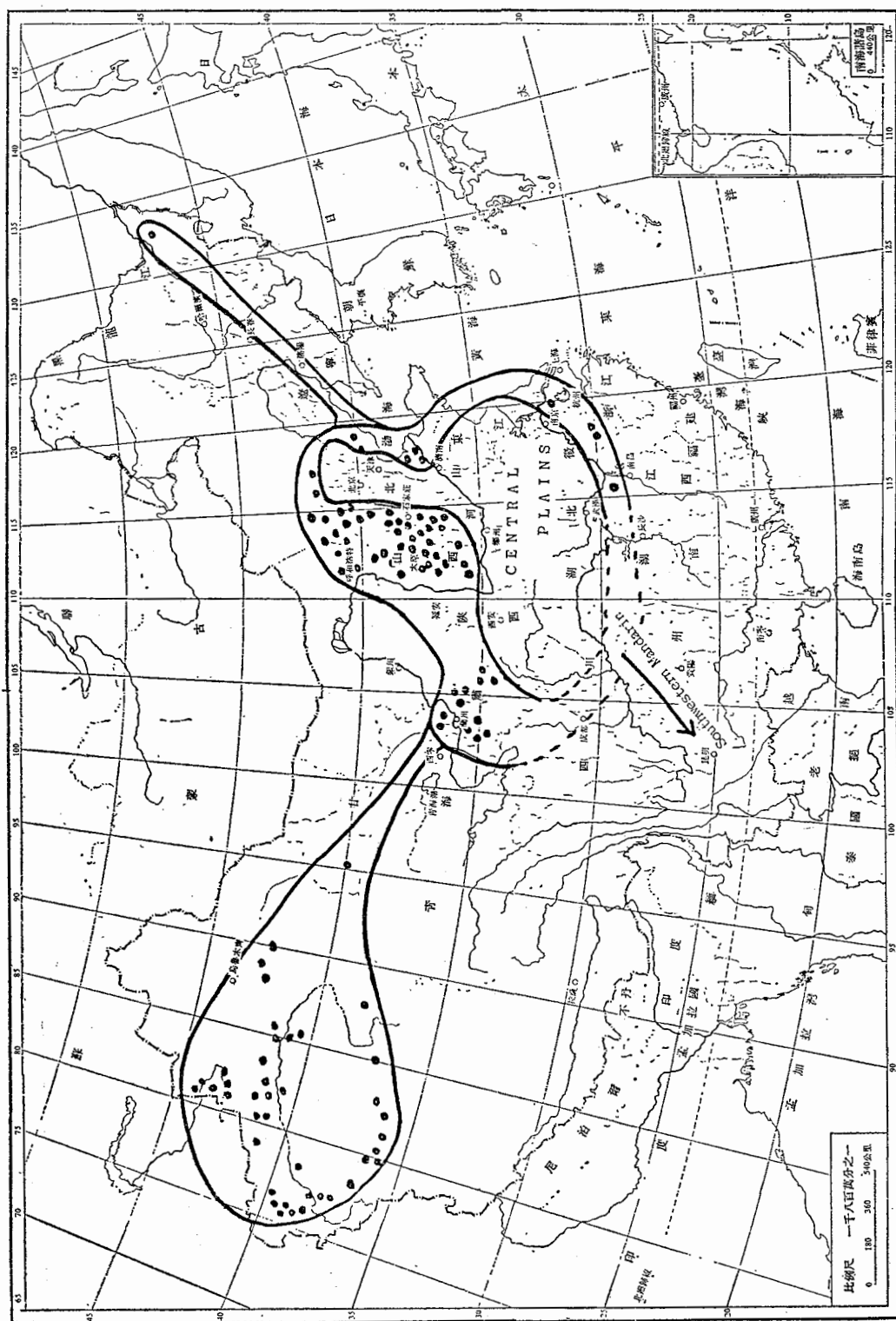
which are found in numerous Chinese dialectal survey reports, reveals that such mergers are mainly observed in the dialects spoken in the peripheral parts of the Central Plains, as shown in Map 1.

To the question as to why Soochow has such extensive toneme alternations in its synchronic sound system, we now can answer in the following way: since Soochow is located in the southeastern corner of the Central Plains, the dialect has been accepting numerous dialectal waves—at least five as reflected in the tone alternations summarized in Section V—from the dialects of the Central Plains in which:

- (1) Tone 5 merged with Tone 1, plus the minor merger between Tone 1 and Tones 2, 3 and 6;
- (2) Tone 6 merged with Tone 2;
- (3) Tone 5 merged with Tone 3, plus the very minor (perhaps exceptional) merger between Tone 3 and Tone 1;
- (4) Tone 3 merged with Tone 5, plus the minor merger between Tone 5 and Tone 1;
- (5) Tone 2 merged with Tone 6.

The chronological order of the acceptance of these waves should be judged (1) synchronically from the geographical distribution of those dialects which underwent these tonal mergers and (2) diachronically from the historical tonal data showing how and in what order such mergers could have taken place. Discussions of these points will require further study. The present paper will be limited to the implications of the merger between Tone 1 and Tone 2.





Map 2: Merger of Tones 1 and 2.

VII. The Merger of Tone 2 with Tone 1

The coalescence of Tone 2 with Tone 1 is unique in that it is the only instance of the merger which took place across the *yin* vs. *yang* distinction of tonemes in almost all Wu dialects (according to Yuen Ren Chao's report, only Danyang underwent the merger between *yin* and *yang ping* [level] (and *ru* [entering]) tones).

As is well known, the modern Wu dialects maintain the Ancient phonological distinction, voiceless vs. voiced, in the initial consonants.⁶ Thus the distinctions between the following pairs are not exactly minimal in their underlying forms, since the morphemes in question are distinguished by means of not merely the tones but also the initial consonants:

se ¹ [44]-pən ³ [41/11] 'three books':	se ¹ [44]-bən ² [13/11] 'three bowls'
tɕiY ³ [41]-tE ⁵ [523/11] 'nine pairs':	tɕiY ³ [41]-dE ⁶ [242/11] 'nine bags'
zi ² [13/11]-sɥ ⁵ [523/44] 'former life':	zi ² [13/11]-zɥ ⁶ [242/44] 'former wife'
aʔ ⁷ [43]-kã ³ [41] 'to say or not':	aʔ ⁷ [43]-gã ⁶ [242/41] 'a fool'
zəʔ ⁸ [23]-tɕi ⁵ [523/32] 'a diary':	zəʔ ⁸ [23]-dzi ² [13/11] 'date'

In other words, we could ascribe the distinction between, for example:

sɥ⁵[523] 'life' vs. zɥ⁶[242] 'surname'

to the voicing of their initials (disregarding the phonetic, height difference of the pitch contours):

/sɥ⁵/ 'life' vs. /zɥ⁶/ 'surname'

or, alternatively, to their tones (disregarding the phonetic difference of voicing in the initial consonants):

/sɥ⁵/ 'life' vs. /sɥ⁶/ 'surname'

However, since the phonetic difference between the upper (Tones 1, 3, and 5) and lower (Tones 2 and 6) series of tones is so straightforward and conspicuous in all Wu dialects, the tonal alternations or (originally) mergers in the Soochow dialect mentioned in Section V take place only among the upper or lower series:

Major	Minor
Tone 5 → Tone 1	Tone 3 → Tone 1
Tone 6 → Tone 2	Tone 6 → Tone 1
Tone 5 → Tone 3	Tone 1 → Tone 3
Tone 3 → Tone 5	Tone 1 → Tone 5
Tone 2 → Tone 6	

The minor merger between Tone 6 and Tone 1 is seemingly across the *yin* vs. *yang* distinction, but in reality it is still within the *yin* series, since the morphemes carrying this Tone 6 are in fact those having the Ancient *tsz-juo* initials, thus

⁶ Though the exact acoustic nature of such consonants is still debated. See Ladefoged 1975, 122-123 and Tsuji 1977, 30.

belonging, in the original Northern Chinese layer accepted into Soochow, to the *yin* series.

What we can conclude from these observations is of paramount interest.

First, since the distinction between the *yin* and *yang* series of tones is so consistent not merely in Soochow but in all other Wu dialects, we can assume that the alternation between Tones 1 and 2 is definitely due to the invasion in Soochow of a Northern Chinese layer which had, prior to the invasion, undergone the merger of Tones 1 and 2. The geographical distribution of such dialects in China proper is, as shown in Map 2, clearly in the peripheral zones of the Central Plains. It is only natural that a trace of such a merger is retained in at least one layer of Soochow, a dialect located in the southeastern corner of such a peripheral zone.

Secondly, a complete identification of tonal features between such sandhi tones as:

- | | |
|--|---|
| fu ¹ [44/44]-ts ¹ i ¹ [44/11] 'a couple': | (f)ə ¹ l ² [13/44]-kəu ¹ [44/11] 'a children's song' |
| fɛ ¹ [44/44]-gə ² [13/11] 'a tomato': | (f)ə ¹ l ² [13/44]-dɔŋ ² [13/11] 'children' |
| siā ¹ [44/44]-sin ⁵ [523/11] 'to believe': | (f)ə ¹ l ² [13/44]-ci ⁵ [523/11] 'not serious' |

clearly indicates that tonal behaviors in Soochow are now entirely independent of the voicing in the initial consonant of each syllable. Since these tones which were originally mutually predictable by means of the voicing of initial consonants whose phonemic status could thus be questioned now behave totally independently of these segmental conditions, we find here explicit evidence that the tonal distinctions between the *yin* and *yang* series should be counted as the major distinctive features between such pairs as:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (sɛ ¹ [44]-)pən ³ [41] 'three books': | (sɛ ¹ [44]-)bən ² [13] 'three bowls' |
| (tɕiɣ ³ [41]-)tɛ ⁵ [523] 'nine pairs': | (tɕiɣ ³ [41]-)dɛ ⁵ [242] 'nine bags' |
| (ziɪ ² [13]-)sɥ ⁵ [523] 'former life': | (ziɪ ² [13]-)zɥ ⁶ [242] 'former wife' |
| (aʔ ⁷ [43]-)kɑ̃ ³ [41] 'to say or not': | (aʔ ⁷ [43]-)gɑ̃ ⁶ [242] 'a fool' |
| (zəʔ ⁸ [23]-)tɕi ⁵ [523] 'a diary': | (zəʔ ⁸ [23]-)d̪zɪ ² [13] 'date' |

and that the voicing features in the initials of these morphemes can only be subsidiary, not the other way round,⁷ even though in some sandhi forms the voicing features can constitute surface minimal pair such as sɛ[44]-pən[11] 'three books' vs. sɛ[44]-bən[11] 'three bowls' (from the underlying forms sɛ¹[44]-pən³[41] 'three books' and sɛ¹[44]-bən²[13] respectively).

There is, however, one caveat to these conclusions. Instances of the alternation between Tones 1 and 2 seem to be very limited in Soochow. Although a speaker of another Wu dialect reports that there are many other morphemes falling

⁷ Ballard thinks that this point may be reinforced by the patterns of devoicing found in tone sandhi in various Northern and Western Wu dialects.

under this category, Wang (1983) lists three words having in fact only one morpheme involved, namely [fæl²] 'a child'. In addition, this morpheme is originally with a retroflex ending, though Wang 1983 describes its present phonetic form as [-l]. In a variety of East and Southeast Asian languages, including the Wenshi dialect of Chinese⁸ and the Phnom Penh dialect of Khmer,⁹ syllables having a retroflex somehow obtain a high tone, though the exact acoustic/physiological mechanism for such raising of tone has, to our knowledge, not yet been clarified. It happens that the changed, sandhi tone of Toneme 1 is high in Soochow. So the merger of the sandhi tone of Toneme 2 with that of Toneme 1 listed above could be an acoustical/physiological accident.

VIII. Concluding Remarks

It often happens in many natural languages that morphophonemic alternations observable in a language are an accumulation of historical changes the language in question has undergone. Morris Halle has gone so far as to say that certain synchronic phonological rules are in fact an accumulation of historical change rules.¹⁰ The present study clearly indicates that the case for Soochow tones is not an exception, but it also shows the mechanism of such historical changes need not necessarily be internal changes within one linguistic system, but could also result from an acceptance and accumulation of layers from other dominant languages or dialects.

Bibliography

Ballard, William L.

1980 "On some aspects of Wu tone sandhi." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 19, 83-163.

Chang, Chia-mao

1979 "Su-jou fang-yan shang-sheng he yin-chiu de lian-du bian-diau" [Sandhi forms of the rising-tone and *yin* departing-tone in the Soochow dialect]. *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 4, 304-306.

Chao, Yuen Ren

1928 *Shian-dai Wu-yu de Yan-jiou* [Studies in the Modern Wu-Dialects]. Ching-hua Shiue-shiau Yan-jiou-yuan Tsung-shu Di 4-jung [Tsing Hua College Research Institute Monograph No. 4].

Ch'ien, Nai-jung and Shih Ju-chieh

1983 "Guan-yu Su-jou fang-yan lian-du bian-diau de yi-jian" [An opinion on the sandhi tones of the Soochow dialect]. *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 4, 275-286.

Editor's note

1979 *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 4, 308.

Halle, Morris

1962 "Phonology in generative grammar." *Word* 18, 54-72.

Hashimoto, Mantaro J.

1980 "Typogeography of phonotactics and suprasegmentals in languages of the East Asian continent." *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages* 13, 153-164.

⁸ Hsu and Wang 1986, 17.

⁹ Noss 1966, 93.

¹⁰ Halle 1962, 8.

Hsieh, Tzu-li

- 1982 "Su-jou fang-yan liang-tz tzu de lian-du bian-diau" [Sandhi tones of the Soochow dialect], *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 4, 245-263.

Hsu, T'ung-ch'iang and Wang Hung-chün

- 1986 "Shan-shi wen-shi fang-yan de sheng-diau" [Tones of the Wenshi dialect of Shansi]. *Yu-wen Yan-jiou* [Studies of Languages and Writings] 21, 11-22.

Noss, Richard B.

- 1966 "The treatment of */r/ in two modern Khmer dialects." *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*. London, The Hague and Paris: Mouton & Co. 89-95.

Sherard, Michael L.

- 1972 *Shanghai Phonology*. Cornell University PhD Dissertation.

- 1979 "Syntactic constraints on tone sandhi in Shanghai." *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages* 10, 23-37.

Tsuji, Nobu H.

- 1977 "Murmured initials in Yue Chinese and Proto-Yue voiced obstruents: The case of Cenxi dialect, Guangxi Province." *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan* 72, 29-46.

Wang, P'ing

- 1983 "Su-jou fang-yan liang-tz tzu de lian-diau ge-shr" [Patterns of sandhi tones in the disyllabic words of the Soochow dialect]. *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 4, 286-296.

Yeh, Hsiang-ling

- 1979a "Su-jou fang-yan de lian-du bian-diau" [Sandhi tones of the Soochow dialect]. *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 1, 30-46.

- 1979b "Tzai luen su-jou fang-yan shang-sheng he yin-chiu de lian-du bian-diau" [Once more on the sandhi tones of the rising-tone and *yin* departing-tone in the Soochow dialect]. *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 4, 306-307.

- 1984 "Guan-yu su-jou fang-yan de diau-lei" [Concerning the tone categories of the Soochow dialect]. *Fang-yan [Dialect]* 1, 15-18.

漢語聲調的演變

丁 邦 新

中央研究院歷史語言研究所・國立臺灣大學

一、緒 言

對於漢語聲調的來源，我（1981）曾經作過一番檢討，結論是：

「在《詩經》時代漢語和中古一樣是有四個聲調的，聲調是音高不是輔音韻尾。

聲調源於韻尾可能有更早的來源，可能在漢藏語的母語中有這種現象，但是在《詩經》時代沒有痕跡。」

那篇文章主要討論聲調和韻尾的關係，並沒有涉及中古以後聲調的問題。後來我（1982、1984）又提出「變調」極可能是早期的「原調」，也只是希望建立一種研究聲調演變的內部擬測法。當時對於中古的「平上去入」四聲只是直覺地認為就是四個不同的調，我也曾根據文獻和對音的資料推斷平仄的區別就是平調和非平調的不同。平調就是平聲，非平調包括上去入三聲，其中上聲是高升調，去聲大約是中降調，入聲是短促的調。並沒有進一步設想同一聲會不會具有兩個以上「同位調」的可能（見丁 1975: 13）。近來注意到杜其容（1976）、王士元（Wang, 1983）各自從不同的角度提出中古四聲八調的說法，兩位都認為從中古到現代聲調演變的途徑應該是由分而合。最近頗有人沿着這個方向做研究，例如潘悟雲（1982）、金周生（1985、1986）、連金發（1986）。我覺得這個新穎的說法與一般由合而分的理論不同，很值得重視，也有加以檢討的必要。

現在先簡要地介紹杜、王兩家的說法：

杜氏主要的論點有二：第一、目前的漢語方言中有許多地方的聲調系統都超過四種，尤其平聲分陰陽兩調更是普遍，只有少數的例外。這是主張中古四調說的學者所無法解釋的。他說：

「依照主張四調說學者的解釋，今方言中多於四調者，係由於濁聲母之清化，將原先濁聲母的辨義作用轉加於聲調之上。」

但是：

「如吳方言中，紹興、蘇州、永康三地方音，既保存有濁聲母，而四聲又具有陰陽之分，……既不得憑空指其由四聲演變爲八調，勢必須承認其原始卽爲八調不可。」（杜 1976: 23-24）

這個看法的困難在於主張四調說的人只承認聲母的清濁是聲調分化的條件，並不一定要牽涉到「辨義作用轉加於聲調」的問題。語音的演變常常使原本不同音的字變爲同音，顯然與辨義作用無關。我們可以說某一個聲調的字，由於聲母清濁之不同漸漸影響調值，越來越顯明，以致變爲兩個調。這兩個調值可以和清濁聲母並存，如吳語；也可以因濁聲母清化，只剩下調值的不同，如大部分的其他方言。因此，從中古四調說來解釋現代四調以上的方言，並無困難。

第二、從反切的結構而言，清人陳澧在《切韻考·序錄》中的反切說最爲透徹：

「切語之法，以二字爲一字之音。上字與所切之字雙聲，下字與所切之字疊韻。上字定其清濁，下字定其平上去入（平上去入四聲各有一清一濁，詳見通論）。」

杜氏指出陳澧所謂「上字定其清濁」言調值之高低；「下字定其平上去入」言所屬聲調的大類。可見四聲自非有八調不可。（杜 1976: 27-29）

根據陳澧原文小註所說「平上去入四聲各有一清一濁」來推論，杜氏的解釋極可能是正確的。問題是這只代表陳澧的看法，陳澧是番禺人，他當時的口語如杜氏所論可能「四聲皆有清濁之分」，當時他可能覺得「東德紅切」這種反切不可解，因爲「東、紅」二字在他讀來聲調不同，何以「紅」可以用作「東」的反切下字，因此才找出「上字定清濁」的理論。¹但是並不能因此推論反切法實際就是如此，因爲切韻系的韻書根本上都是按平上去入四聲分韻的。反切並不是成於一人之手，我們不大能相信所有做反切的人都有陳澧同樣的認識。切語上字與所切之字雙聲，下字與所切之字疊韻，所謂「韻」已自然的包括了聲調在內。

王氏早在 1967 年曾指出四聲有八調的可能：

「Although Middle Chinese (ca. 600 A.D.) is traditionally regarded as having four distinct tones, from physiological considerations we know that it must have had eight pitch shapes. Four lower pitch ones appeared only with syllables with voiced initials, the remaining only with unvoiced initials.」 (Wang, 1967: 95)

¹ 此點承龔煌城兄指出，在此致謝。

他所持的理由是生理學的觀點。我們知道清濁聲母影響聲調的演變是很普遍的現象，但未必是必然的影響，例如現在的國語中有以下這樣的對比：

1. 閃: ʃan ˩: 染 ʒan ˩

2. 上: ʃaŋ ˩: 讓 ʒaŋ ˩

兩對字各自不同的地方只有聲母的清濁，至少在聽覺上無法分辨「閃」和「染」或「上」和「讓」在聲調上有高低的差異，可見清濁聲母對聲調的影響只是可能的條件，並沒有必然性。

進一步來說，中國音韻學裏的清聲母還分不送氣的「全清」，和送氣的「次清」，濁聲母裏也有所謂「全濁」和代表鼻音，邊音等響亮音 (Sonorant) 的「次濁」，從生理學的觀點看各有不同，實際上對聲調也產生不同的影響。例如中古音中的次濁平聲字今讀陽平，如「門、龍、能」，而次濁上聲字却讀陰上，如「滿、冷、奶」，並不跟全濁上聲字一樣從陽上歸入去聲。但在同一聲調裏，次濁字並不顯示特殊的高低。

李方桂先生 (Li, 1980) 用「喉音成分」指稱清濁、送氣與否、及有無喉塞音等三種現象，指出這些成分對聲調演變都可以產生影響，在漢語和泰語裏有大量的例證。我們知道中古音中有送氣和不送氣的清聲母，也有喉塞音 (影母)，但不敢肯定這些聲母必然影響聲調。因此生理學的觀點只能提供可能的解釋。

王氏 (Wang, 1983) 另外提出兩個理由支持四聲八調的說法：

第一、杜甫在〈麗人行〉一詩中似有意利用平聲的陰陽調來押韻。這首詩當中兩句一韻的部分作為單獨的段落，暫時不管。前六句每句韻，情形如下：

「三月三日天氣新，長安水邊多麗人。態濃意遠淑且真，肌理細膩骨肉勻。繡羅衣裳照暮春，蹙金孔雀銀麒麟。」

各句的韻字以今天的眼光看來，正好單數句是陰平，雙數句是陽平。再看結尾的第三段：

「黃門飛輦不動塵，御廚絡繹送八珍。簫鼓哀吟感鬼神，賓從雜遝實要津。後來鞍馬何逡巡，當軒下馬入錦茵。楊花零落覆白蘋，青鳥飛去啣紅巾。炙手可熱勢絕倫，慎莫近前丞相嗔。」

跟第一段相反，單數句是陽平，雙數句是陰平。雖然不能肯定杜甫當時的用意是故意用一清一濁不同聲母的韻字，還是果然那時的平聲字已有陰陽兩個，王氏認為後者的可能性比較大，也許杜甫正是有意試用一種新的押韻格式。

這個發現很有意思，我們可以從兩方面來衡量。首先，承認這首詩是杜甫有意安

排的，那麼我們可以說在杜甫的時代(西元 712-770)平聲字裏已有陰陽兩調的現象，即使沒有被一般人公認，至少杜甫覺察其存在。其次，不承認是有意安排，當時既是高低相同的平聲調，這只是用聲母清濁不同的字來試驗詩律，而且如把當中的一段加上去，作為一個整體來看，情形就不顯明了。當中的一段隔句一韻，接着，連韻兩句，然後又是隔句韻：

「頭上何所有？翠微蜀葉垂鬢脣。背後何所見？珠壓腰肢穩稱身。就中雲幕椒房親，賜名大國號與秦。紫駝之峯出翠釜，水精之盤行章鱗。犀箸厭飫久未下，鑾刀鏤切空紛綸。」

其中陰陽調的字並無格式，只是隨意出現。兩者都可以言之成理，不過杜甫是大家，要細檢每一首的韻字才敢說比較肯定的話，目前姑且存疑。

第二、山西(如太原)平聲字只有一類，不分陰陽兩調。如果要說中古音平聲只有一調，山西守舊，那麼就不易解釋在北方官話中何以別的方言分兩個平聲，獨有山西能夠不分。語音演變有一般性，個別方言並不能選擇採取何種演變。如果承認中古平聲有兩個調，那麼山西只是合而為一，而其他方言則保持古音。

這一點不容易立刻加以分辨，須要從歷史的角度來觀察，下文再來討論。這裏只說明在方言區分的研究裏，我(1982)曾經把晉語獨立為官話的一個次方言，和北方官話、下江官話同等看待。²甚至有人把晉語視為大方言，和官話、閩語等同列，如李榮(1985)，可見晉語和北方官話確是有相當區別的。

以下從歷史演變的角度作比較詳細的分析，試圖對中古音的調類是否有八個調值的問題，找尋一個合理的答案，並觀察從上古到現代漢語聲調演變的途徑。

二、從上古到中古

魏晉以前的詩人沒有韻書可查，押韻純按自己的語感。我們今天歸納《詩經》裏押韻的情形雖然以中古的四聲為根據，並沒有受中古音的範圍，因此才有顧炎武「四聲一貫」、段玉裁「古無去聲」、孔廣森「古無入聲」等不同的說法。從江有誥的《唐韻四聲正》和夏燮的《述韻》(1840)之後，大致古音學者都同意上古音中具有四個聲調，大體和中古的「平上去入」相當。雖然有一部分人有不同的意見，如王力；也有一部分字歸類不同，見《唐韻四聲正》，但基本上上古音有四聲，在我看來，已經接近定論。(參丁 1981)。

2. Forrest 1948、袁家驊 1960、詹伯慧 1981 都有類似的看法。

上古音的四聲既是從《詩經》押韻現象歸納而來，顯示當時詩人的語感覺察四個聲調的存在，如果當時任何一聲具有兩個以上的調類，至少在押韻上看不出任何痕跡。據張日昇（1986）的分析，以韻字出現的次數為單位，《詩經》中押韻的聲調關係如下：

	平	上	去	入
平	2186	203	159	5
上	158	882	99	18
去	134	67	316	64
入	5	21	97	732

各調字獨用的次數非常多，合用的次數絕不致影響調類的劃分。觀察這些字的押韻關係，得不到任何進一步可能再細分調類的線索。

漢代詩賦中押韻的情形沒有統計的數字，羅常培、周祖謨（1958：67）兩位先生的說明如下：

「如果我們本着前人分析《詩經》押韻的辦法來研究兩漢的韻文，很容易可以看到漢人對聲調的分別一般是很細緻的。平聲字和上聲字跟入聲字在一起押韻的極少見，去聲字和入聲字在一起押韻的為數也不多，而且只限於少數幾部字。平聲與上聲，上聲與去聲相押的雖然有一些，但也不很多。因此我們在研究漢代韻文的押韻的時候，不能不分辨四聲。」

換句話說，漢代詩人對於當時語言中的聲調也不僅覺察其存在，並跟上古一樣，也歸納為相當於「平上去入」的四類。

魏晉時代四聲的情形和漢代很接近，絕大部分的韻組都是四聲各自獨用，韻組就是一首詩中連續押韻的一組韻腳，魏晉詩賦中韻組的總數接近七千條，而合用的情形相當少（丁 1975：229）：

	上	去	入
平	15	16	
上		30	
去			86

值得注意的是平聲和上聲此時和入聲已無通押的情形，只有去聲和入聲還有 86 條，其中祭部和月部通押 54 條，脂部和質部 22 條，另有泰部和曷部 6 條，祭部和質部 2 條，皆部和質部、泰部和曷部各 1 條，都是去聲字跟 -t 尾入聲字通押的現象。³ 去

³ 有一條祭部和沃部通押之例，只能視為例外。

入的關係如此特別，正因為當時這兩部的去聲字還保留 -d 尾，和入聲的 -t 尾仍有接近的條件，以脂部而言，平上聲的 -d 尾已經失落，不僅無法再和入聲來往，跟同部的去聲字竟然連一次例外的押韻也沒有。總之，押韻的現象只能看出當時確有四聲，四聲之下也看不出更細的分類。

南北朝時代已有韻書，但詩人未必都按韻書來押韻，所以仍有分析的意義。何大安 (1981: 225) 說明：

「聲調的類別，在南北朝詩文用韻之中，是很清楚的。在全部一萬兩千多條韻組之中，真正合調的作品（不包括去聲和入聲的通押在內）不到兩百條。才佔百分之一、二左右，可見在當時調類分別之嚴。」

在嚴格分別調類的情形之下，我們看到的調類的數目仍然只有四個，並未發現某一聲有任何「同位調」的痕跡。

總括以上上古到南北朝詩人自然押韻的傾向而言，在這一段漫長的時間之中，聲調的類別大體上一直維持四聲只有四調的局面，容或聲調的調值有因方言而有差異的現象，但調類仍是四類。

現在來談中古音的聲調問題。可以分為以下幾點來說：

第一、陸法言在《切韻·序》裏說：

「秦隴則去聲爲入，梁益則平聲似去。」

這兩句話的意義應該是指調值的高低而言，⁴他們覺得秦隴方音的去聲聽起來好像他們的入聲一樣，而梁益方音的平聲又像他們的去聲一樣。如果這個解釋不錯，可以顯示三點意義：1. 陸法言等人已注意到調值的高低升降；2. 當時的方言確有不同的調值；3. 他們只籠統地提到平、去、入，未見有進一步細分的記錄。

根據這一段話來分析，如果當時四聲有八調，似乎不應該逃脫陸氏等人的審音能力之外，他們審音細密，甚至連方言聲調的不同都加以注意，四聲如有高低，應可覺察。

第二、上文提到聲母的區別可以有全清、次清、全濁、次濁等四種類別，也知道這些類別確實可能影響聲調的演變。如果四聲有八調，會不會有十二調（如吳江方言）或十六調的可能？金周生 (1985, 1986)，就提出四聲十六調的看法。他有兩種主要的根據，一是張麟之《韻鏡》之前所附〈韻鑑序例〉中明明有「十六聲」的記載；二是中古以後聲調的演變確實受到全清、次清、全濁、次濁等聲母的影響。後者不成問題，影

4 第一句話中的「去聲爲入」可能包括韻尾問題，不敢說定。

響聲調演變的條件並不代表當時已有那麼多聲調。例如中古全濁塞音聲母到國語的演變以平仄爲條件，平聲今讀清送氣，仄聲今讀清不送氣，並不表示在中古音中全濁塞音已經清化，平仄聲只是條件而已。困難在於解釋〈韻鑑序例〉中的話，原文說：

「橫呼韻

人皆知一字紐四聲，而不知有十六聲存焉。蓋十六聲是將平上去入各橫轉故也。

且如東字韻，風、豐、馮、菅是一平聲，便有四聲；四而四之，遂成十六。故

古人切韻詩曰：『一字紐縱橫，分敷十六聲。』」

金氏將十六聲解釋爲十六種聲調，認爲「除了認定當時漢語具備十六種不同的音調外，並沒有其他方法對它作一更完滿的解釋。」（金 1986：298）現在我想試作一不同的解釋：

這一段文字主要在於說明「橫呼韻」，就是在《韻鏡》的字表上「橫着調讀不同的韻字」，也就是要人熟悉同韻同調而不同聲母的字，所以這裏的「聲」字不一定指聲調，有時可能指「聲音」，指聲母或音節而言。例如序例下文有一節「五音清濁」：

「逐韻五音各有自然清濁，若遇尋字，可取之記行位也。唇音、舌音、牙音各四聲不同，故第一行屬清，第二行屬次清，第三行屬濁，第四行清濁。齒音有正齒，有細齒，故五行聲內，清、濁聲各二。……」

這裏說「五行聲內」，「聲」顯然指「聲母」；唇舌牙音「四聲」不同，也是指清濁各異的「四種聲母」而言。「聲」只是泛指「聲音」，不一定非常明確。從這個解釋出發，那麼「橫呼韻」的一段文字可以這樣翻譯：

「一般人都知道一個字可以轉讀出四個聲調來，⁵ 而不知道有十六個聲音的存在。所謂十六個聲音就是把平上去入都橫着轉讀的結果。例如東字韻，風、豐、馮、菅是同一個平聲，就有四個聲音；四個聲音再乘上四個聲調，就得到十六個聲音。所以古人的切韻詩說：一個字如果按聲紐縱橫讀之，可以分布爲十六個聲音。」

這樣的解釋也可以說得通。只是一個字的轉讀似乎以某一個發音部位爲範圍，也就是「唇音、舌音、牙音各四聲不同」的意思。同時到齒音和舌齒音的時候，聲母的數目就不一樣了，也許一般只是用「唇舌牙音」作爲指稱的代表罷了，不一定要求精確。總之，這一段話是來說明橫呼韻的，目的是要人熟習同一韻裏不同聲母的字排列的次序，因此下文說：

⁵ 這一句話以往我曾譯作「普通人都知道一個字改變聲紐可以讀出四個聲音來」，但不如現在的譯法跟下文的「平上去入」更能呼應。同時，一個字可以轉讀四調更合於一般人的常識。後面這一點，金周生先生也曾來函指出，在此致謝。

「今《韻鑑》所集，各已詳備。但將一二韻只隨平聲五音相續橫呼，至於調熟；或遇他韻；或側聲韻；竟能選音讀之，無不的中。」

這裏說「隨平聲五音相續橫呼」，就是主要的意旨，「五音」的「音」也是籠統的說法，指「唇、舌、牙、齒、喉」而言，包含「舌齒音」在內。原作者並無意在此說明「聲調」的問題。

〈韻鑑序例〉緊接着「橫呼韻」的有一條「上聲去音字」：

「凡以平側呼字，至上聲多相犯。……古人制韻，間取去聲字參入上聲者，正欲使清濁有所辨耳。（如一董韻有動字，三十二皓韻有道字之類矣！）……今逐韻上聲濁位，並當呼爲去聲。……」

對這一段話的解釋歷來無二說，都認爲是李涪《刊誤》之後另一條「濁上歸去」的證據。由於原作者不明語音演變之理，誤以爲古人故意把去聲字放在上聲韻裏。可見當時全濁上聲字的聲調已經讀同去聲；也可見當時並無十六聲調的存在。對「四聲十六調」的說法而言，這一條是反證。但如把「十六聲」了解爲「十六個不同的聲音或音節」，兩者就沒有衝突了。

第三、早期的文獻資料裏頗有四聲各有輕重的記載，如日本僧人安然在《悉曇藏》裏提到：

「我日本國元傳二音，表則平聲直低，有輕有重；上聲直昂，有輕無重；去聲稍引，無重無輕；入聲徑止，無內無外。……承和之末，正法師來。……四聲之中，各有輕重。……元慶之初，聰法師來。……四聲皆有輕重。」

這一段話很出名，許多人都引用過，確實可以看出當時四聲不止四調的情形。不過，承和之末大約在西元八四八左右，元慶之初則大約在八七七左右，《悉曇藏》著成於八八〇年，離開《切韻》寫成的年代都在兩百年以上，這些資料只能代表當時的語音，並不能藉此上推到《切韻》時代也有同樣的現象。

總之，《切韻》以四聲分卷，根據以上的三點說來，要推測當時四聲實有八調或更多的調值，恐怕不易令人信服。只要比《切韻》成書晚的資料就可以解釋爲由四聲分化而來，即使有跟《切韻》同時而聲調不止四聲的文獻，也可以視爲方言現象，頂多把分化的時代向上推一點，並不能作根本的改變，因爲從上古歷經兩漢和魏晉，到南北朝都只是四個聲調的局面。

現在進一步的問題是中古音的四個聲調如何演化爲現代方言或多或少的調類？有沒有方言保存四個調的？吳江方言的十二調應如何解釋？山西方言的一種平聲調應如何解釋？

三、從中古到現代

從《切韻》到現代已經一千三百多年，方言聲調的現象相當複雜，不能只用一種「合併」或一種「分化」的理論來解釋。從演變的大勢看來，大約先是分化，然後又在新的條件下合併或進一步分化。這種討論有兩個限制：第一、閩語例外，我(1983)認為閩語從古漢語分支的時代是東西漢之交。要討論聲調的分化，至少要從漢代說起，不能從《切韻》立論。儘管閩方言聲調的演變相信也是先經過分化的階段。第二、最好討論個別方言時能以古語系統為根據，如古吳語或古官話。至少要從比較廣泛的角度來設想，因為有的個別方言經過多年方言接觸的結果，可能產生不易解釋的情形。以下分四小節來說明：

(一) 早期分化

橋本萬太郎 (M. Hashimoto 1973: 422) 給古客家語擬測了七個聲調的古語系統，除陽上已歸入陽去外，其他陰平、陽平等七調具全。可見從中古音到古客家語是一個聲調分化的早期例證。

我最近 (1984: 786) 也給古吳語擬測了古聲調系統如下：

陰平	陽平	陰上	陽上	陰去	陽去	陰入	陽入
*55	*22	*35	*13	*42	*21	*55	*22

相當整齊地顯示中古聲調受清濁聲母的影響產生分化的結果。從這個系統向上推，中古音的聲調系統已經呼之欲出。古客家話從中原古漢語分支南來的時候，陽上已經歸入陽去，但如再向上擬測，自然也是四個聲調的系統，橋本 (1973: 422-423) 就是如此推定的。

粵語的聲調系統文白不同，余藹芹 (O. Y. Hashimoto 1972: 665) 指出文言是七調，陽上也歸入陽去；白話則有整齊的陰、陽平等八調。至於入聲在廣州進一步的分化，從陰入再分出中入，是以主要元音的鬆緊為條件的。從中古音到粵語的聲調演變自然也是分化的途徑。

北方官話及整個官話系統的古聲調系統已有平山久雄 (1983, 1984a, b) 初步的研究。從文獻資料看來，最早產生分化的就是濁上歸去，濁上指上聲字有全濁聲母的，分化的時代在八世紀末。(詳見周法高 1968: 165-167; 梅祖麟 1982: 233-234。) 平聲的分化最早見於《中原音韻》(1324)，入聲在此時已經派入三聲：清入歸上、次濁入歸去、全濁入歸陽平，早期也許經過先分化的階段，但難以說定，下文再討論。

(二)晚期分化

現代方言裏有些聲調系統是在早期分化之後再進一步分化的。上一小節提到廣州陰入的再分化就是這種例證之一。現在來檢看一個出名的方言，就是吳江方言。這個方言有十二個調，似乎對中古音四聲不止四調的看法有幫助，我(1984: 763-766)曾經作過較為詳細的討論，現在只選擇其中一部分資料來說明。

最近吳江方言聲調系統的資料是根據葉祥苓(1958、1983)的調查，其中有兩個小方言的系統如下：

	陰平	陽平	全陰上	次陰上	陽上	全陰去	次陰去	陽去	全陰入	次陰入	陽入
黎里	55	24	51	34	21	412	313	213	<u>55</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>22</u>
	陰平	陽平	全陰上	次陰上	陽上	全陰去	次陰去	陽去	陰入	陽入	
盛澤	55	24	51	34	23	513	313	212	<u>55</u>	<u>22</u>	

正好這兩個方言都是趙元任先生(1928)調查過的方言點，可以用來比較。盛澤的情形和現在一樣，調類也是十個，只有調值有些微差異，這裏可以不管。黎里的情形調類不同：

	陰平	陽平	陰上	陽上	全陰去	次陰去	陽去	全陰入	次陰入	陽入
黎里	44	232	41	24	513	213	113	<u>55</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>23</u>

我們可以看到在趙先生記音的時候，陰上只有一類，而現在却已分化為兩類了，可見這種分化極可能是近五六十年來的新變化。⁶

再以蘆墟為例，並加松陵的系統作一比較：

	全陰平	次陰平	陽平	全陰上	次陰上	陽上	全陰去	次陰去	陽去	全陰入	次陰入	陽入
松陵	55	33	13	51	42	31	412	312	212	<u>55</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>22</u>
	全陰平	次陰平	陽平	全陰上	次陰上	陽上	全陰去	次陰去	陽去	全陰入	次陰入	陽入
蘆墟	55	33	13	51	同次陰去	同陽去	412	312	212	<u>55</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>22</u>

兩個方言點的調值完全一樣，只有蘆墟缺少次陰上和陽上兩調，分別併入次陰去和陽

6 黎里是一個小鎮，到民國七十年才有六千多人，儘管前後兩位調查者的發音人不同，承接的關係大體應無問題。當然另有一個可能，由於社會階層或年齡的種種不同，在趙先生調查的時候，事實上已有差別，但這一點無法說定。

去。如果松陵的調類代表吳語早期的情況，那麼我們會預期蘆墟的變化應該是：次陰上和全陰上合流成爲一個陰上，因爲大部分的吳語方言都有陰上，並且包括全清和次清的字；而調值也極爲接近，但事實並不如此。如果認爲松陵的情形是從四聲先變古吳語的八調，再分化爲目前的十二調的話，那麼蘆墟就是在分化之後再產生的新的合併，走的路向自然不一定要遵循陰上和陽上對立的舊路了。我相信吳江方言的現象，在陰調之中再分兩種，是屬於早期分化之後的晚期分化。

(三) 晚期合併

上文推論中古音以及中古以前的聲調系統只有四個聲調，當中在好些方言都經過分化的階段，也就是早期分化。以後再進行合併的話，就是這裏所謂的「晚期合併」了。潘悟雲（1982）的文章裏有許多這一類的例證，例如上海話，在 Edkins (1853) 《上海方言語法》裏有八個聲調，趙元任先生（1928）記音的時候還有六個聲調，目前新派上海話中已經只剩五個調了，這是很確鑿的證據。

北方話裏這樣的例子也很多。例如寧夏銀川只有三個調（參見張盛裕（1984）：平聲 33、上聲 53、去聲 13。上聲之中有下列的同音字：

題 = 體 房 = 紡 銅 = 桶

從國語的角度來說，就是陽平和上聲合併了。一定要平聲先分化爲陰平和陽平，然後陽平才可能和上聲合併。有趣的是這個方言有變調，正好可以證明我的「變調即原調」的想法。上聲 53 在某一種結構的詞彙裏產生變調：

上 聲	上聲 + 去聲	上聲 + 去聲
鞋 = 海 xɛ53	鞋 xɛ53 帶 tɛ13	海 xɛ35 帶 tɛ13

本來同音的兩個字，在去聲前面有了分別，顯示前者原來是陽平字，後者才是真正的上聲字，而這個上聲的原調值可能就是 35，只在連讀後接去聲時才保存，其餘情形都變得和陽平的 53 一樣了。那麼這個方言表面上的三個調必然是晚期的合併無疑。

(四) 特殊演變

認爲中古音有四個調的人，常常遭遇這樣的一個問題：現代方言有沒有保存中古四調不變的方言？我的答覆是：有，就是丹陽方言。資料完全根據呂叔湘調查的記錄，我（1984：767-770）已經給丹陽推定過基調，曾經批評呂氏把文白合在一起討論是沒有必要的，但基本上他的資料應無問題。他說：

「丹陽話讀書音有四個字調，分別跟古音的平上去入相當，個別字有出入；連讀不變調。說話音有六個單字調，其中四個跟讀書音的字調相同。在連讀的字

組中，除原有的六個字調外，還出現四個新的字調，共有十個字調。」
這段話清楚地顯示文白兩個系統的不同，文言音（讀書音）有四個聲調：

平	上	去	入
33	55	24	<u>44</u>

白話音有六個字調：

陰平	陽平	陰上	陽去	陰入	陽入
33	24	55	11	<u>33</u>	<u>44</u>

其中陽平字連讀時有三個變調，其調值及歷史關係分別是：

陽平	陽上	陰去
24	11	24

換句話說，從連調變化看來，丹陽原先有八個調。我推定的基調如下：

陰平	陽平	陰上	陽上	陰去	陽去	陰入	陽入
55	24	33	11	42	21	<u>33</u>	<u>11</u>

潘悟雲（1982：362）認為一般來說南部方言的白話音早於文言音，推斷文白的關係是有先後關係的，他說：

「丹陽文讀的四聲調系統跟白讀的八聲調系統相比較，應該是比較後起的。也就是說，文讀的四個聲調是在濁聲母的清化過程中，由八個聲調合併而來的。」
這裏有兩個問題：第一、從調值上看，無論根據表面的調值或我推定的系統，都看不出如何能從白話合併到文言？第二、通常文白兩個系統似乎未見彼此有演變先後關係的。而且從呂氏聲母舉例的少數字中可以看出文白沒有很大的關係，例如：

例 字	陪	網	層	城	棋	防	敵	黃	咬	耳	人
文言聲母	p'	v	ts'	ts'	tɕ'	f	tɕ'	x	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ
白話聲母	p	m	ts	s	tɕ	p	k'	v	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ

顯然文言音接近北方官話的系統，而白話音是從吳語系統經過濁聲母清化變來的，因此文言音不可能從白話音變來，聲母無法連貫。我想，丹陽的文言音很可能是從官話系統傳來的，聲母已經清化，而聲調保持早期中古音的分類。

四、結 語

以聲調演變整個的趨勢而言，從上古音到中古音，大致維持四個聲調的系統。中

古以後，方言分化的情形很劇烈，在各方言的母語中已經頗有分化的現象，如古吳語就是八個調，古客家語是七個調，濁上已經歸去。如果這樣的方言傳入日本，自然就有《悉曇藏》的那些記載。從這些方言向下演變，自然有許多合併的現象，連金發(1986)指出的北方官話的演變大體如此，但有的方言也有進一步分化的跡象。現在還有三個問題要處理：

第一、北方官話中的去聲始終未見分化的痕跡，沒有分讀陰去、陽去的現象，我們是認為去聲從未分化呢？還是分化以後又合併了呢？正確的態度應該是看材料說話，如果沒有證據，還是不作空洞的推斷。因為要說一個聲調分而為二，後來又原封回頭合而為一，在語音學的理論上應該盡量避免。（參見 Wang, 1983）。丹陽的文言音也是如此，如無分化的證據，寧可相信是保存了古音的系統。

第二、會不會有未經分化階段就分別併入其他聲調的？似乎有。例如《中原音韻》的入派三聲，難道經過清入、次濁入和全濁入的三分階段之後才派入三聲的嗎？北方官話中入聲演變很不規則，也許只是在入聲消失塞音尾時才產生分別演變的方向。

第三、緒言中提到山西方言平聲只有一類，要從歷史的角度來觀察，現在我們也許可以認為山西的平聲是存古的現象，從方言親屬樹的看法立論，晉語本來和北方官話就可能是平行的姊妹方言，前者平聲一類，後者兩類，並不衝突。有的地方如包頭也分陰陽平，（見王立達 1958）晉語本身還需要比較研究。例如五臺的聲調是平上去入四種，其中濁上歸去，完全符合《韻鏡》的描述。

這篇短文也許可以用舊小說的起頭語作為結論：「話說天下大勢，合久必分，分久必合」。

引用書目

丁邦新

- 1975 〈平仄新考〉，《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》（以下簡稱集刊或 BIHP）47.1: 1-15。
- 1981 〈漢語聲調源於韻尾說之檢討〉，《中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集》，語言文字組：267-283。
- 1982 〈漢語方言區分的條件〉，慶祝李方桂先生八十歲論文集，《清華學報》14.1, 2: 257-273。
- 1984 〈吳語聲調之研究〉，《集刊》55.4: 755-788。

王立達

- 1958 〈山西方音中的聲調與普通話的對應關係〉，《方言與普通話集刊》5: 106-118。

平山久雄

- 1983 〈山東西南方言的變調及其成因〉，《Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages》21: 59-81。
- 1984a 〈江淮方言祖調值構擬和北方方言祖調值初案〉，《語言研究》6: 185-199。
- 1984b 〈官話方言聲調調值的系統分類〉，《言語研究》86: 33-53。

何大安

- 1981 《南北期韻部演變研究》，臺大博士論文。

呂叔湘

- 1980 〈丹陽方言的聲調系統〉，《方言》1980.2: 85-122。

- 李 榮
1985 〈官話方言的分區〉，《方言》1985.1: 2-5。
- 杜其容
1975 〈陳澧反切說申論〉，《書目季刊》8.4: 17-21。
1976 〈論中古聲調〉，《中華文化復興月刊》9.3: 22-30。
- 周法高
1968 〈玄應反切考〉，《集刊》20: 359-444。
- 金周生
1985 〈中古漢語具十六種調值說〉，《輔仁文學》19: 125。
1986 〈切韻詩十六聲集證〉，《王靜芝先生七十壽慶論文集》297-321。
- 袁家驊
1960 《漢語方言概要》，文字改革出版社，北京。
- 張日昇
1968 〈試論上古四聲〉，《香港中大中國文化研究所學報》1: 113-170。
- 張盛裕
1984 〈銀川方言的聲調〉，《方言》1984.1: 19-26。
- 梅祖麟
1982 〈說上聲〉，慶祝李方桂先生八十歲論文集，《清華學報》14.1, 2: 233-241。
- 詹伯慧
1981 《現代漢語方言》，湖北。
- 葉祥苓
1958 〈吳江方言的聲調〉，《方言和普通話集刊》5: 8-11。
1983 〈吳江方言聲調再調查〉，《方言》1983.1: 32-35。
- 趙元任
1928 《現代吳語的研究》，北京。
- 潘悟雲
1982 〈關於漢語聲調發展的幾個問題〉，《Journal of Chinese Linguistics》(以下簡稱 JCL) 10.2: 359-385。
- 羅常培、周祖謨
1958 《魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究》，第一分冊，北京。
- Chang, Kun
1975 "Tonal Developments Among Chinese Dialects." 《集刊》46.4: 636-710。
- Forrest, R. A. D.
1948 *The Chinese Language*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Hashimoto, Mantaro
1973 *The Hakka Dialect*, Cambridge University Press.
- Hashimoto, Oi-Kan Yue
1972 *Studies in Yue Dialects 1: Phonology of Cantonese*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hsieh, H. I.
1973 "A New Method of Dialect Subgrouping." JCL 1: 64-92.
- Li, Fang Kuei
1980 "Laryngeal Features and Tone Development." 《集刊》1-13.
- Lien, Chinfa
1986 "Tone Merger in the Dialects of Northern Chinese." JCL 14.2: 243-291.
- Ting, Pang-hsin
1975 *Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin Period: Reconstruction of the Finals as Reflected in Poetry*, Institute of History and Philology, Special Publications 65, Taipei.
1982 "Some Aspects of Tonal Development in Chinese Dialects." BIHP 53.4: 629-644.
1983 "Derivation Time of Colloquial Min From Archaic Chinese." BIHP 54.4: 1-14.
- Wang, William S-Y.
1967 "Phonological Feature of Tone." IJAL 33.2: 93-105.
1987 "A Note on Tone Development." *Wang Li Memorial Volumes*, English Volume, 435-443.

THE STATUS OF SUPRASEGMENTALS AND OTHER SYLLABIC "ACCESSORIES" IN TAIWANESE RIMING SCHEMES*

Chang Yü-hung

National Taiwan University

I. Forward

One way to discover the native intuition in a language is to analyse the end products of its unconscious prescriptions. The prescriptions under discussion at present are the riming schemes, and their products are folk oral literary works. The language concerned is Taiwanese Hokkien (hereafter Taiwanese).

Taiwanese oral literature that provides material for this study of the riming schemes includes improvised songs, nursery rhymes,¹ riddles, and sayings. There are other genres of the folk literature that rime, such as pop songs, tongue twisters, and poems in stories. However, except for pop songs, there are not enough data available. They are therefore excluded from the present study. The exclusion of tongue twisters and poems will not alter the result of the study however, for so far as the limited data of tongue twisters (e.g. Text 1) and folk poems (e.g. Text 2) have shown, the riming of these is governed by the same prescriptions. As for pop songs, old and new, they were assumed to be not different from improvised songs in their riming schemes when data was first collected for the study. Li Jen-kuei's (1986) rich data unfortunately show that pop songs are in many ways different from all the other genres mentioned above.

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Chinese Linguistic Circle of Pacific Northwest, University of Washington, Seattle, 31 July 1981. This version is extended to include riddles. I am thankful to Professor Hashimoto Mantaro, Professor Li Jen-kuei, and Professor Robert L. Cheng for making their papers accessible to me. Professor Li also gave valuable suggestions which helped in the final revision.

The independent researches of Professor Li, Professor Cheng, and my own research have the following findings in common: in Taiwanese riming, tones, the glottal stop ending and nasality are often ignored, but medials are for the most part kept as distinctive. Yet, we find different implications in our studies. Professor Li cautions historical linguists not to rely indiscriminately on riming. Professor Cheng (1986b) in a reference to his 1986a paper suggests the possibility that Taiwanese native speaker intuition concerning nasality has changed in the past few decades.

¹ A distinction between *rime* and *rhyme* is deliberately made here. The original *rime* refers to such skill of versification, and *rhyme* a literary genre.

They take more freedom to allow assonance and riming between neighboring vowels and to consider much less the riming between nasalized syllables, the riming schemes that are not traditional in Taiwanese folk literature. The following discussions, therefore, also do not include the data from pop songs. Improvised songs can further be classified as love songs, didactic songs, and descriptive and narrative songs. Except for love songs, many of which are improvised responsively, the other types are improvised by single singers. Sayings also consist of various types, such as proverbs, comments and criticisms. They only differ in content but not in form and thus are not analysed separately.

The analysis endeavors to scrutinise the Taiwanese ways of treating tones and other syllabic constituents in riming. To enhance the reader's understanding of the presentation, a brief analysis and classification of Taiwanese syllables is presented here. A Taiwanese syllable is represented as maximally consisting of an initial, a medial, a nuclear vowel, an offglide, a tone, nasalization, and glottalization (IMVOTND). Structurally it is (I)(M)V(O)T(N)(D). The various types and sizes of segments of syllables that concern this paper are schematized as the following:

Yin Syllable: (I)(M)V(O)T(N), where N is not a consonant.

Yang Syllable: (I)(M)V(O)TN, where N must be a consonant.

Ru Syllable: (I)(M)V(O)TD, where D is not a glottal stop.²

Tsu Syllable: (I)(M)V(O)T(N)D, where D is a glottal stop.

Syllabic: (M)V(O)T(N)(D).

Syllabic type: (M)V(O)(N)(D).

Final: V(O)(N)(D)

Only identical nuclear vowels (V) rime. There are cases in the contemporary popular songs where syllabic types such as *ang* and *ong*, with various tones, are thrown into the positions where they are supposed to rime. But even with the freedom given to pop songs for neighboring vowels to rime, the native speakers do not consider them riming (cf. Text 3). Instead, Text 3 is considered as using two rimes rather than one. Consonance does not enter into the riming schemes in Taiwanese.³ It is taken for granted, and therefore no further study of nuclear

² That is, glottalization accompanied by a closure at some point of articulation other than the glottis.

³ In Chang Yü-hung 1980: 147, I state that if 疏 is to enter into the riming scheme with 勞, 好, and 何 as *so*, *dor*, *xov*, and *xor*, the song must have been improvised by a person who did not distinguish the low-back rounded *o* from the mid-back rounded *wo/vo* (phonetically mid-back unrounded in Tainan and Kaohsiung area). Li Jen-kuei (1986: Section 2.10) supplies much more examples and says in Section 3 that besides the possibility of confusing the two vowels, they may be cases of loose riming. If he is right, then we may happily say that 說 in Chang Yü-hung *ibid*: 196 could be meant to be read as *sojq*, with a contrastive mid-back unrounded vowel, and thus could loosely rime with 波 *phvo* and 無 *bvor*.

vowels in Taiwanese riming schemes is necessary.

In addition to nuclear vowels, offglides (O) and final consonants ((N)(D)) are also required to be identical in Taiwanese riming. That is to say, in principle, syllables with finals (VOND) like *aj*, *av*, *am*, *an*, *ang*, *ap*, *at*, and *ak* only rime with syllables with *aj*, *av*, *am*, *an*, *ang*, *ap*, *at*, and *ak* respectively. Any failure to do so is said by the children to be not *tavhsihkuh* (<*tavhsikuh* 門詩句) 'riming', though adults take freedom to violate the rule (cf. Section III.5). Since such cases of assonance as *in* riming with *ing* (Li Jen-kuei 1986: Section 2.9.1) are rare, exceptional, and questionable, they are ignored in this study. As for syllabic initial consonants (I), they are never considered in the riming schemes. Their exclusion from consideration is probably universal, and the only exceptions are stylistic which involve refraining (e.g. Text 4). Rime riche is not a demonstration of skill like in Western literature (e.g. Text 5), but a betrayal of poor workmanship.

So far, there remain medials (M), glottalization (D), nasalization (N), and tones (T). These "accessories" will be taken up immediately. They are graphologically presented as the following:

Medials: *w*, *y* initially; *v*, *j* elsewhere.

Glottalization: *q* for tone D1, *gh* for tone D2.

Nasalization: *nh*.

Tones: A1 unmarked; *r* for A2; *h* for C3; *l* for C2; *a* following *a*, *j* following *e/i/j*, and *v* following *o/u/v* for B. Extra tones are high-rising marked with *rr*, high-rising glottalized with *r* before D1 mark, rising-falling with *rl*, falling-level with *ll*, high-falling glottalized with reduplicated D1 marks, mid-level glottalized with reduplicated D2 marks, and high-level glottalized with a combination of D2 and D1 marks. The last two are limited to Japanese loans in non-final positions.⁴

Combing through Carstairs Douglas' *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* for *o* and *wo/vo*, I found not only that Amoy *o* is (or was) in many cases *wo/vo* in "Chinchew" (Jinjiang) but also that in Amoy itself there are many doublets with the minimal difference between *o* and *wo/vo*, mostly labeled as reading versus colloquial by Douglas. Some of these doublets in Chinchew are also recorded. In Sung's (1986) description of the dialect of "Zhangpu" (Jangpu), from where my *turngsvanhcov* (唐山祖 first ancestor to emigrate from China) came to Taiwan, there are no *o* nor *wo/vo* syllabic types what so ever. The equivalent of these syllabic types is uniformly [ou]. When immigrants who distinguished the non-high back rounded vowels, those who confused these vowels, and those who did not know such vowels came and mixed on this island, more confusion is suspected to have occurred.

As such, I still would like to consider such cases of riming between *o* and *wo/vo* as resulting more from confusion than violation.

⁴ For instance, *addsadiq* (〈あつさり〉) 'clear-cut; straightforward' and *sedtvoq* (〈セツト〉) 'to set, as hair'.

II. The Account

The approach of the present analysis is to count riming pairs with regard to identical or different tones, oral vowels or nasal vowels, glottalization or otherwise, and plain or yotization/labialization. The data for the counting are mainly from Wu Ying-t'ao 1975, Li Hsien-chang 1978, and Chang Yü-hung 1980, which are not all-embracing but are sufficient for the purpose of this paper. A total of 2969 pairs are identified.

The criterion for establishing the pairs is to take the final syllable of the first sentence or phrase that enters the riming scheme to pair with its following final syllables that enter. For instance, in Text 6 where *kve*, *xej*, and *pel* rime, *kve* and *xej* form a riming pair, and *xej* and *pel* another, thus two pairs for this saying. The former pair is noted as "plain" syllabic, i.e. without medial, riming with labialized syllabic ([Plain R Labial]), and the latter as [Plain R Plain].⁵ Both of them are also noted as riming between syllables of different tones. The pairs are then classified and calculated according to the types of riming so identified and according to the frequency of occurrence.

Take the yin syllabic types (M)a with their nasalized and glottalized counterparts for example. The pairs they form in sayings are listed in this manner as in Fig. 1-3. The syllabic types to the left of the chart are those of the rimed syllables, and those on the top are of the riming syllables.

The pairs *a-a*, *aa-aa*, and *aq-aq* in Fig. 1, each occurring three times, indicate that identical syllabics, with identical tones, predominate in this group of riming, though the totals of individual identical and different pairs are almost the same: 12 identical against 11 different. Figure 1 also contains the riming between "plain" syllables and syllables with medials, i.e. two cases of [Plain R Labial] and one case of [Plain R Yod]. Fig. 2 has 10 identical pairs against 12 different ones, but again it is not disappointing, for there are concentrations of identical pairs. The pairs *vanhh-vanhh* and *valnh-valnh* again show that identical-pair riming is favored. Fig. 3 is the most exciting of the three. First, there are more pairs to show a

⁵ This criterion may not be perfect, but it is proved to be sound. There are two other criteria that can be used. The first is to use the very first occurrence of the syllable that enters the riming scheme as a norm, no matter how many pairs there are. Take Text 6 for example. The first such syllable is *kve*. Using it as the norm, we have two pairs, *kve-xej* and *kve-pel*. This criterion is equally good except for longer works where the riming pattern seems to be a kind of "follow-up". The other criterion is to judge from the overall pattern of the riming scheme to choose a norm. For instance, in Text 5 the syllabic type *ang* appears to be predominant. It is therefore chosen to be the norm. Using this criterion, we may know better the author's intention in riming, but there are two problems with it. It is too subjective, and as it cannot provide us with a normal syllabic, it cannot indicate which tone is to be the norm either. Though these other criteria could alter the counting and classification of riming pairs, the difference is expected to be slight, for the behaviors of the "accessories" in riming will not change.

	a	ar	aa	ah	al	aq	agh	anh	arnh	aanh	anhh	alnh	anhq	anhgh	vaa	vaq	jagh
a	③						1								1	1	
ar																	
aa			③			1											
ah				①													
al	1	1							1								
aq	1					③											1
agh	1																
anh								①									
arnh																	
aanh										①							
anhh									1								
alnh																	
anhq																	
anhgh																	

Fig. 1. *a* and *anh* Riming Pairs in Sayings

	va	var	vaa	vah	val	vaq	vagh	vanh	varnh	vaanh	vanhh	valnh	vanhq	vanhgh
va														
var	1	①		1				1						
vaa														
vah					1									
val					①		1							
vaq														
vagh														
vanh								1	1					
varnh														
vaanh					1									
vanhh											⑤	2		
valnh										2		③		
vanhq														
vanhgh														

Fig. 2. *va* and *vanh* Riming Pairs in Sayings

	ja	jar	jaa	jah	jal	jaq	jagh	janh	jarnh	jaanh	janhh	jalnh	janhq	janhgh
ja	②													
jar	1													
jaa														
jah														
jal					①									
jaq														
jagh						4	③			1				
janh								④	1	3	1			
jarnh									④		1	1		
jaanh									1	⑤		2		
janhh											②	3		
jalnh									1	3		⑤		
janhq														
janhgh														

Fig. 3. *ja* and *janh* Riming Pairs in Sayings

clearer picture of the favored riming schemes. Second, its bigger difference in the number of identical versus different syllabics (32 against 23) implies that when the corpus of data is enlarged, Fig. 1 and 2 will have more pairs of identical syllabics. This, in effect, is the case, as can be deduced from Fig. 4.

Some finer categories other than whether the riming is between syllables with identical or different syllabics are established for the analysis of the riming schemes. In the explanation above on the criterion for counting where Text 6 is used as an example, the riming between identical "plain" syllabics ([Plain R Plain]) and that between "plain" syllabics and syllabics with medials are noted. In the three figures just discussed, as counted above, there are 64 cases of identical-syllabic riming and 46 cases of different-syllabic riming. There are 5 pairs where the first syllables have oral vowels whereas the riming syllables are glottalized ([Oral R Glottal]), and 3 pairs the other way around ([Glottal R Oral]). There are 2 pairs of oral syllables riming with nasalized syllables ([Nasal R Oral]), and there is an equal number of the reverse ([Oral R Nasal]). There are also 2 pairs where the rimed syllables are "plain" without medials but the riming ones have a labialized medial ([Plain R Labial]), and 1 pair where the riming syllable has a yotized medial ([Plain R Yod]). And so on.

Other categories are also established according to other kinds of riming pairs

	LV	DD	DN	Sub-total	SA	NR	RD	Sub-total	Total
Identical Tones	73	27	60	160	453	403	255	1111	
Different Tones	187	291	660	1138	310	126	124	560	
Oral R Glottal	6	13	25	44	6	4	6	16	
Glottal R Oral	4	5	20	29	8	4	0	12	
Glottal R Glottal	1	1	7	9	27	41	17	85	
Glottal R Nasal	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	
Nasal R Glottal	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	4	
Oral R Nasal	1	7	11	19	5	11	8	24	43
Nasal R Oral	0	4	3	7	15	6	2	23	30
Nasal R Nasal	27	40	17	84	96	51	50	197	281
N- R Nasal	5	6	3	14	7	1	5	13	27
Nasal R N-	3	4	7	14	25	11	11	47	61
N- R N-	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	3
N- R Oral	2	0	0	2	4	0	1	5	7
Oral R N-	2	0	6	8	2	1	0	3	11
N- R Glottal	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Glottal R N-	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Plain R Yod	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	3
Yod R Plain	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Plain R Labial	0	0	0	0	8	1	4	13	13
Labial R Plain	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	3	5
Yod R Labial	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3
Labial R Yod	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	1	4
Medial R Medial	62	55	172	289	91	127	108	326	615

LV=love songs SA=sayings
 DD=didactic songs NR=nursery rimes
 DN=descriptive and narrative songs RD=riddles

Fig. 4. The Account of the Total Riming Pairs

in the counting, the details of which are not given in this paper. All the riming pairs identified from the data are entered in the same way as in Figs. 1-3 according to these categories and according to the genres. They are then calculated and listed in Fig. 4. As vowels following nasal initials are nasalized, special attention is paid to such [N-] syllables and the riming pairs they form. Their behavior in riming is also entered numerically in the chart.

III. Interpretation and Remarks

1. Tones

Three groups of syllables, oral, nasalized, and glottalized, are identified for the analysis of riming with regard to tones. Oral and nasalized open syllables, i.e. yin syllables, are distributed mostly in the five-tone tone system, A1, A2, B, C1, and C2. There are exceptions, such as in Text 7, where the high-rising extra tone even forced the C2 tone in the last syllable to assimilate. Glottalized syllables occur with either of the other "regular" tones, D1 or D2. There are still no examples of using extra glottalized tones in riming.

Glottalized syllables are of two types, ru and tsu. They behave very differently regarding riming. In the Taiwanese riming schemes D1-ru syllables (hence D1-ru) may rime with either D2-ru or D1-ru. So may D2-ru. They do not rime with yang syllables, tsu syllables, or yin syllables, because the stop endings in the oral channel are phonetically conspicuous and phonologically primary. On the other hand, D1-tsu and D2-tsu do not only rime with one another but also with yin syllables of different tones, whether oral or nasal. They do not rime with yang syllables because the nasal endings of the latter are also conspicuous and primary. In other words, there is no assonance except when the glottal stop is involved. Only when the final stops are glottal can these syllables rime with open syllables, which have the other tones A1, A2, B, C1, C2; otherwise, there are no interactions between the various autonomous riming schemes.

Besides their autonomy and interaction as conditioned by syllabic types, tones are also affected by the genre of literary works in their behaviors in the riming schemes. Fig. 4 shows a clear difference between singing (LV, DD, DN) and citation (SA, NR, RD). In songs, the cases of riming between identical tones are relatively rare, 160 out of 1298 cases, which constitutes only 12%. It is only incidental. In proportion to riming between different tones, it is 1/8. It is just the opposite for sayings, rhymes and riddles. There are more cases of identical-tone riming (1111 cases) than different (560 cases), 2 to 1 in proportion. Actually the result is not unreasonable. In songs, tones tend to be leveled off. The disregard of tones is universal in non-archaic Chinese singing, probably with the only exception of the Sung poetry *tsz* (詞),⁶ but not in chanting, where it is the tones that decide the physical appearance of the melody. Tones are therefore not a consideration in singing. Such as it is, in citation the story is otherwise. If we give each tone an equal opportunity to occur, the proportion between identical-tone riming and different-tone riming will be 1 to 1 for ru syllables, 1 to 4 for yang syllables, i.e. [A1 R A1] versus the sum of [A1 R A2], [A1 R B], [A1 R C1] and [A1 R C2], and 1 to 6 for others, i.e. [A1 R A1] versus the sum of [A1 R A2], [A1 R B], [A1 R C1], [A1 R C2], [A1 R D1-tsu] and [A1 R D2-tsu]. In actual riming the chance is even greater for different-tone riming, for it thus avoids the risk of *rime riche* (cf. *xevgh* in Text 8). Nevertheless, in citation, since tones are kept everywhere, the identical syllabics, with the same tones, are preferred for riming. This probably is where skill is tried and where refinement is aimed at (again see Text 7).

2. Glottal Stop

Like tones that are leveled, glottal stops are deleted in songs. In the lyrics

⁶ The concern in *tsz*, however, is only whether a syllable is with an even tone or with an oblique tone according to the melody. And the requirement could be artificial in later days after the pitch contours of tones had changed.

of songs, the riming between syllables with glottal stops ([Glottal R Glottal]) are rare and may be accidental, just like the riming between syllables of the same tones discussed in Section III.1. There are only 9 such occurrences out of the 82 pairs of riming involving the glottal stop. It is, however, not so in citation, where it seems that the language artists strive to make the two groups of syllables distinctive. In citation there is a high frequency of tsu syllables riming with tsu syllables ([Glottal R Glottal]), such as in Text 9. Of the 113 pairs of riming involving the glottal stop, 85 are such cases. Only 28 occurrences show riming between tsu syllables and open syllables ([Glottal R Oral, Oral R Glottal]). For examples see Texts 10 and 11.

There are about 25% of the cases of [Glottal R Oral] and vice versa, in which most of the tsu syllables are in D2. There are two reasons for it. First, in certain dialects in Taiwan, many glottal stop endings in D2-tsu's are lost or are in the process of being lost.⁷ If they are lost, it is natural for the syllables to rime with open syllables, for they are now open. Second, common words with final D1-tsu syllables in the folk poetic lexicon seem to be comparatively fewer than D2-tsu, and thus D2-tsu syllables have relatively more chances to occur. This, however, needs to be confirmed by further studies.

The retention of the glottal stop in D1 is strong indeed. For this matter, bilingual rhymes are specially chosen as an illustration of the prominence of this syllabic ending. Japanese syllables with only nuclear vowels in the peak (*tan'on*) when occurring in final positions always have a glottal stop ending in the Taiwanese version, and the pitch is identical with D1 in most dialects. These Japanese short syllables are utilized to rime with D1-tsu syllables in Taiwanese or vice versa (e.g. Text 12).

The riddle in Text 13 is another illustration of the case. There are four syllables that rime, *si*, *khiq*, *Pil*, and *biq*, of which the latter three are the main ones. What happens is that the two tsu syllables compels the children to add a glottal stop to *Pil*, yielding *Piq/Pigh*, without changing the pitch, which is the same as either D1 or D2 depending on dialects. After all, *Pil* here is just a personal name. Changing it to *Piq/Pigh* does not alter a bit the meaning of the verse.

The glottal stop is in many ways different from other stop endings. It is treated as a suprasegmental feature in this paper. As mentioned in Section II, syllables with stop endings only rime with syllables with the same stop endings. As such, ru syllables may not rime with homorganic yang syllables. However, tsu syllables may rime with yin syllables. This seems to indicate the native feeling

⁷ Confusion probably is a better explanation. Some speakers, beside deleting the glottal stop ending in certain D2 words, will add it to certain others, e.g. *kavvxjagh* (<*kavvxjal*) 'ant', *senhh Tevgh* (<*senhh Tevl*) 'surnamed Jau'. And in onomatopoeias C2 and D2-tsu are often interchangeable, e.g. *kinhkinh kvajlnhkvajlnh* ↔ *kinhkinh kvajnhghkvajnhgh* 'repeating squeaky sound'.

	Open	Velar	Dental	Labial	Regular Tones
Orality	a				5
Nasality	anh	ang (ung)*	an	am (um)*	5
Glottality	aq/agh	ak/ag	at/ad	ap/ab	2
Coarticulation	anhq/anhgh	(ungq/unggh)*		(umq/umgh)*	2

a=any V. *==syllabic nasals.

Fig. 5. (M)V(N) (D) Syllabic Types

of glottal stops as some sort of suprasegmental feature analogous to tones, that is, glottality rather than stoppage.⁸ After all, the stoppage is too deep in the throat for the phonetically non-initiated to feel the occlusion. Secondly, unlike other final stops which are always retained in discourse, glottal stops are normally lost intervocally. Thirdly, like nasality, glottal stops are often lost even in positions other than intervocalic, or are added to syllables where historically there is no motivation for them to occur. And fourthly, structurally the glottal stop corresponds with nasalization in the way that other final stops correspond with final nasal consonants. That is, in the phonological system of Taiwanese, the (M)V(N)(D) syllabic types, except for systematic gaps, fall into paradigms like Fig. 5. Moreover, tsu syllables are either oral or nasalized. They are also the only checked syllables that can have a nasal initial. The nasalized tsu syllables are cases of the coarticulation of glottalization and nasalization, such as in the case of *xenhq* 'to scare'. There is, however, no coarticulation of a final nasal and a [-low] stop consonant in Taiwanese except for the cases where nasalized syllabic peaks followed by other stop endings such as *anhp*, which is possible but not contrastive. For these reasons, the glottal stop ending is better treated as a realization of glottality that is superimposed on open syllables.⁹ Such syllables are realized as open syllables having the two tones D1 and D2 in the riming schemes.¹⁰

⁸ Henderson (1950) treats the glottal stop in Siamese as an application of the prosody *plasion* on the consonant *zero*.

⁹ This statement could be controversial. If the skewed paradigm in Figure 5 is rearranged in a more symmetrical pattern:

a	aq/agh	ap/ab	at/ad	ak/ag
anh	anhq/anhgh	am	an	ang

the nature of the glottal stop being suprasegmental could be argued against, for it now appears that the final glottal stop is but a syllabic ending that can follow either an oral vowel or a nasal vowel. Nevertheless, this arrangement disturbs the neat pattern of tonal distribution, which is meaningful in the first paradigm (Figure 5), that is, there are only two regular tones when glottality is present and five when it is absent. Besides, and most importantly, the suprasegmental nature explains better the status of the glottal stop ending in the riming schemes.

¹⁰ In dictionaries using Japanese syllabographs or Chinese National Alphabetic Symbols and their modifications, tsu syllables are represented as not having syllabic endings.

Hashimoto (cf. Hashimoto 1979) has been arguing for the interpretation that the stop endings are "tonal variants of their corresponding homorganic nasals" (ibid:278), and my 1978 version of Taiwanese syllabic analysis (Chang Yü-hung 1980:11), though distinguishing glottality from tones, agrees with Hashimoto's view in that it is suprasegmental. I then interpreted stop endings as the glottalization of nasal consonantal endings at different points of articulation in the oral cavity, which do not include syllabic nasals *um* and *ung*. That is, *mq* > *p*, *mgh* > *b*, *nq* > *t*, *ngh* > *d*, *ngq* > *k*, *nggh* > *g*. This accounts for "the denasalization on the part of the stop series" (Hashimoto 1979:279). What escaped Hashimoto's attention is the coarticulation of nasality and glottality such as Taiwanese *nhq*, *nhgh*, *umq*, *umgh*, *ungq*, and *unggh*. Owing to the presence of the coarticulation of nasalization and glottalization, it would be more fruitful now to interpret the stop series as the realization of glottality at different points of articulation, as in Fig. 5.

3. Vocal Nasalization

Different from tones and glottalization, nasalization is a feature rather strictly kept in riming no matter whether in songs or in citations. In other words, there is a high frequency of nasalized syllables riming with syllables of the same kind. Of the 112 nasalized pairs in songs, 84 are cases of [Nasal R Nasal] or 75%. Comparing with tones and glottalization in songs, this is a very exciting percentage. The figure is a little larger in citation, 197 out of 244, making 81%. The difference may not be significant, but the similarity is meaningful, for nasality does not disappear in singing and chanting, although it is suprasegmental in nature. The retention accounts for the high probability of [Nasal R Nasal]. For an example of [Nasal R Nasal] see Text 14, and for the riming between nasalized and non-nasalized syllables see Texts 15 and 16.

There are always more cases of riming between syllables with nasal initials ([N-]) and nasalized syllables with other initials ([Nasal]), that is, [N- R Nasal] and [Nasal R N-], than cases of riming between these [N-] syllables and non-nasalized syllables, that is, [N- R Oral], [Oral R N-], [N- R Glottal] and [Glottal R N-]. The difference is as great as 6 to 1 in citation, greater than the proportion between these types of riming and the riming between [Nasal] syllables and oral syllables, that is, [Nasal R Oral] and [Oral R Nasal] discussed in the preceding paragraph, where it is 4 to 1.

The high frequency of [N- R N-, N- R Nasal, Nasal R N-] is worth noting. Syllables with nasal initials have been treated in three ways in phonology. They are considered as having nasal initials and oral syllabics (*ma* etc), as having oral initials and nasal syllabics (*banh* etc), and as having nasal initial and nasal syllabics (*manh* etc). The last seems to reflect native intuition the most, though

it is contradictory to the phonological principle of economy.¹¹ This native intuition of the syllabic nasality in [N-] syllables is realized in riming. In other words, Taiwanese vowels are basically nasalized following nasal initials. The riming between such [N-] syllables and oral syllables is just like that between other nasalized syllables with non-nasal initials ([Nasal]) and oral syllables. Not many, that is. For examples see Texts 17-19.

4. Medials

The most striking of all is that there are comparatively very few cases of riming between syllables with a certain medial and those with a different medial ([Yod R Labial] or [Labial R Yod]) or between these and those without a medial ([Yod R Plain], [Plain R Yod], [Labial R Plain] or [Plain R Labial]). In other words, there are far more occurrences of syllables with medials riming with syllables with the same medials ([Yod R Yod] or [Labial R Labial], simplified as [Medial R Medial]). There are 615 such cases, such as in Texts 8, 17, 18 and 23, but only 29 exceptional cases. Of the 29, some are doubtful that they are meant to rime at all, such as in Texts 20-22, especially Text 21, which is clearly from classical Chinese. And a variant of Text 22 is Text 23, which is very likely a modification in a later stage intended to make the saying "really" rime. Therefore, the figure should be lower than 29. The strict requirement by a [Medial] syllable for syllables with the same medial to rime is peculiar in Taiwanese and is very different from traditional Chinese poetry.¹²

As for the syllabic types *en*, *et/ed*, and *ev* and *evq/evgh*, which are interpreted as *ian*, *iat*, and *io* respectively in the modern Church Romanization, they have their respective autonomy also.¹³ In other words, *en* (*ian*) does not at all rime with *an*, nor *et/ed* (*iat*) with *at*, albeit the limited permission for syllables with medials to rime with those without medials. The tongue position of the vowels in these diphthongs is much higher than [a]. Wherever *ian* or *iat* occurs in his *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* (London, 1899), Carstairs Douglas notes "better, 'chien' (q. v.)", under *chian*, "better chhien, q. v.", under *chhian*, etc. Nor does *ev* (*io*) rime with *wo/vo* (*o* in Church Romanization). The occurrences of *ev* are by no means meager at all. Exceeding the 44 occurrences of *en* exclusively riming with *en* and 4 occurrences of *et/ed* riming with *et/ed*, there are 87 cases of *ev* riming exclusively with *ev* or *evq/evgh*. The absence of the cases where *ev*[io] and *evq/evgh*[io?] rime respectively with *wo/vo*[o] and

¹¹ For recent discussions see Tung 1986.

¹² I am indebted to Professor Hashimoto for first calling my attention to the difference. It is also mentioned in Li Jen-kuei 1986: Sections 1 and 11.

¹³ The exclusive riming of these syllabic types are also stated in Li Jen-kuei *ibid*: Sections 2. 13. 3. 1-2.

woq/voq/wogh/vogh[o?] might be incidental.¹⁴ Further searches are needed to determine whether such rimings exist, and, if it is negative, further researches are also needed to give it an explanation. Nevertheless, there are two instances attested where *ev* rimes with the much opener Jangjou equivalent of *junh*, namely *jonh* (Text 24). These are interesting regional cases. The corpus is unfortunately far too small for deeper investigation.

5. Overall Observations

Converting the figures of the account from Fig. 4 into percentages, Fig. 6 shows that the riming between syllables sharing one of the four syllabic "accessories" is indeed preferred in Taiwanese. The low percentages of [Identical Tones] and [Glottal R Glottal] in singing are by now expected, but their percentages in adult citation are surprisingly low. It is apparent that children conform more to such riming schemes. The tone change of the last syllable in Text 7 (cf. Section III.1) and the addition of the glottal stop in Text 13 (discussed in Section III.2) are good examples. As for [Nasal R Nasal], the performances of the adults and the children are about the same, and the higher score of adult citation may not be significant. The bias of nasality or of orality is indeed strong, but the most biased are, of course, the medials. Here, again, the slight differences may not indicate anything that exists between singing and citation nor between adults and children with regard to the status of medials.

As Li Jen-kuei (1986: Section 2.9.1) points out, the secondariness of nasality in articulation seems to be the cause for the exceptional cases of assonance and for riming between nasalized and non-nasalized syllables. The notion of primary and secondary articulations or segmentals and suprasegmentals can be carried further to explain the status of all the rest of the "accessories" (cf. Section III.2.). Tones seem to be the most "fickle" of all phonological units in Taiwanese, as can be seen in Fig. 6. And although stops bear a feature which is more primary, the final glottal stop in Taiwanese certainly is the least primary among them, though more primary than tones. It is probably even less primary than nasality in Taiwanese. Having examined its behaviors, this paper asserts that it is but a realization of glottality, which bears the feature which is secondary. It then follows that medials, being segmental in nature and in reality, are, on the contrary, phonological units that bear a feature that is primary. The primariness accounts for the high percentages of biased riming. It is illustrated by Text 23, which is discussed in Section III.4.

¹⁴ My romanization of [io] and [io?] as *ev* and *evq/evgh*, contrasting *io* and *ioq/iogh* respectively, is based on the requirement of economy and on graphological considerations. It has nothing whatsoever to do with the non-existing *[eu] or the like. It coincidentally, however, is supported by the non-occurrence of the riming between [o] and its yotized counterpart.

	Adult Singing	Adult Citation	Children ¹⁵	Together
Identical Tones	12%	59%	73%	
Glottal R Glottal	11%	66%	81%	
Nasal R Nasal*	75%	82%	78%	79%
Medial R Medial**	98%	90%	95%	96%
Oral R Oral	81%	73%	74%	77%

* Including [N- R Nasal, Nasal R N-, N- R N-].

** Riming between syllables of the same medial.

Fig. 6. The Conformity to the Riming Schemes

There is yet a fifth category of syllabic "accessories" that has not been discussed so far. In Figs. 1-3, the notion "orality" already can be felt, and the feature [Oral] is discussed in Section II and appears in Fig. 4. It is not until Section III.2 that orality is explicitly named in Fig. 5 as another suprasegmental syllabic feature. Orality, however, is unmarked and has been taken for granted, and therefore no explanation is given in Fig. 5. Nevertheless, if it is to be considered as a riming feature equal to nasality and glottality, its status in the riming schemes should at least be mentioned in passing. The occurrences of [Oral R Oral] are therefore also calculated and entered percentage-wise in Fig. 6 following [Medial R Medial]. It appears that, in general, the rate of retention of orality is similar to that of nasality.

IV. Conclusion

This study tries to capture some of the behaviors of tones, the glottal stop syllabic ending, vocal nasalization, and medials in Taiwanese by observing their status in the folk riming schemes so as to discover some of the Taiwanese intuition to the language. A statistic approach is used as the means to such an endeavor. And the results of such research are more abundant than expected. Some of them may be "hackneyed", but they do confirm earlier discoveries by other scholars. Besides, there are yet some other findings that are quite novel.

As riming is determined by the nuclear vowels and their ensuing consonants, if any, the other elements, the "accessories", that constitute the syllabics seem to become insignificant. However, there is a strong tendency in taking these "accessories" into consideration. The glottal stop syllabic ending is phonetically a consonant, but it behaves totally differently from other consonantal endings in Taiwanese. That is, it is like one of the "accessories" whose presence or absence does not affect the riming. As such, in the present study the glottal stop is treated as an "accessory" in the first place.

Of these "accessories", tones and the glottal stop are pretty much retained as

¹⁵ Here nursery rhymes and riddles are put under the same category "Children", though some riddles are obscene adult riddles, some of which are starkly sexual, but all of the answers are completely devoid of reference to sex.

distinctive features in riming except in the lyrics of songs, where the melodies level out tones and edge out glottal stops. This is not at all surprising. As a matter of fact, it is expected to be so. On the other hand, unlike tones and the glottal stop, vocal nasalization and medials are mostly retained, and the statistics show that they are of great importance as distinctive features in the riming schemes. Medials are especially, and extremely, biased. This behavior is very different from that of the medials in traditional academic Chinese poems. In addition to the four categories of "accessories", as a by-product of the study, orality is discovered as another syllabic feature that the riming schemes take into consideration. Its retention is also highly favored.

The investigation of the syllabic "accessories" contributes new discoveries in the understanding of native Taiwanese speakers' intuition. Based on the similar behavior of the glottal stop and the tones in songs, based on the parallelism between the glottal stop and vocal nasalization in their respective relation to other stop endings and to nasal endings, and based on the exclusive occurrences of coarticulation of nasality (including syllabic nasals and vocal nasalization) and the glottal stop, it is justifiably stated that the glottal stop is a suprasegmental or prosodic feature of glottality that is realized as a stop. It is actually so regarded by the native speakers. To put it in another way, it is the articulation feature of the glottal stop that is less primary that gives *tsu* syllables the permission to rime with open syllables. In addition to glottality, in two other areas in riming, the native speakers' intuition can also be seen. Syllables with nasal initials ([N-]) are preferred to rime with nasalized syllables rather than rime with non-nasalized syllables. It confirms the native awareness of the presence of nasality in such syllables. And, the riming behavior of the syllables with the syllabic types which modern Church Romanization writes as *ian* and *iat* shows that they are not phonetically [ian] and [iat] respectively. They do not rime with *an* and *at* respectively, which indicates that it is not phonemicization but phonetics of a higher or more abstract level, as manifested in broad transcriptions, that is the basis for riming.

The three manifestations of the intuition of Taiwanese speakers in the riming schemes, i.e. the prosodic nature of the glottal stop, the nasality of syllables with initial nasal consonants, and the non-occurrence of riming between certain types of syllables, also indicate that native intuition and phonemicization do not necessarily accord. A glottal stop is both phonetically an obstruent and phonemically a consonant, but it is treated as something else in riming. A syllable with a nasal initial ([N-]) is superimposed with the nasality that is carried over from the initial and is so felt by the native speakers, but at the same time the native speakers are also fully aware of the presence of the same nasality in the

initial consonant. This is where the disagreement among scholars concerning the nasal initials in Hokkien started, in which this paper avoids getting involved. As for the case of the syllabic types spelt as *ian* and *iat* in Church Romanization, it is suspected that phonetic [ian] and [iat] have never existed in Hokkien. Their phonemicizations are based on pattern congruity.

To sum up, in spite of the different degrees of the retention of the syllabic "accessories" in riming, there is a strong overall tendency for these "accessories" to conform to the riming schemes. This gives an idea of what patterns of riming are favored in Taiwanese folk literature. On the other hand, the interactions between different categories of the riming schemes, that is, the failure to conform, enable me to confirm the suprasegmental nature of the final glottal stop in Taiwanese. But above all, both the conformity and the failure to conform fruitfully reveal a part of the native speakers' intuition.

Texts

(Dialectal variants are separated with a slash or with parentheses. Characters marked by astrisks are substituted by the present author.)¹⁶

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| 1. 紅柑殼 | Arngkam <i>khak</i> |
| 園在甌空角。 | Khuhng til armkhang <i>kak</i> . |

The tangerine peel is left at the corner of the covered drain.

- | | |
|---------|--------------------------|
| 2. 頭遍甜, | Thavr-pehn <i>tin</i> h, |
| 二遍苦, | Zil-pehn <i>khov</i> , |
| 大姨佔姨仔某。 | Tvalir cjahm iraabov. |

The first serving of the tea is sweet, and the second serving is bitter. It is because your wife's elder sister usurped her younger sister. ——蛇郎君 *Lord Serpent*

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 3. 春天, 風 | Chunthinh, <i>xong</i> |
| 正清芳, | Cjanhh chengphang, |
| 雙人心頭齊震動。 | Sjang-darng simthavr cer tijntalng. |
| 有話想欲對你講, | Ul wel sjulnhb(v)eq tvih dij kovng, |
| 不知通抑不通? | Ulmcaj thang aq ulmthang? |
| | |
| 冬天, 風 | Tangthinh, <i>xong</i> |
| 真難當, | Cin darntong, |
| 雙人相好不驚風。 | Sjang-darng siangxvov ulmkjanh <i>xong</i> . |
| 有話想欲對你講, | Ul wel sjulnhb(v)eq tvih dij kovng, |

¹⁶ Texts 1 and 2 are my personal oral heritage from my grandparents, and Texts 7, 12, and 13 are from my childhood peers. A variant of Text 13 can be found in Li Hsien-chang 1978: 262-63.

不知通抑不通?

Ulmcaj thang aq ulmthang?

抵一項?

Tvovcid xang?

敢猶有別項?

Kaam yavvul padxalng?

.....

In spring, the breeze is so fragrant that both our hearts are thumping with emotion. "I have something to tell you, but I don't know whether I shall do it or not."... In winter, the wind is unbearable, but since we are in love, we do not care. "I have something to tell you, but I don't know whether I shall do it or not." "What is it?" "What else!"... —四季紅 *Red-hot Love in Four Seasons*

4. 叫姑拾*, Kevh ko khevq,
 姑不拾*; Ko ulm khevq;
 叫嫂拾*, Kevh svov khevq,
 嫂不拾*. Svov ulm khevq.

One asked one's aunt to pick it up, but she wouldn't; one then asked one's sister-in-law to pick it up, but she wouldn't either.

5. And specially, from every shires ende
 Of Engelond, to Canterbury they wende,
 The holy blisful martir for to seke,
 That hem hath holpen, whan that they were seke.

—Chaucer, Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, ll. 15-18

6. 也會呼鷄, Al (w)el kho kve/ke,
 也會噴火, Al (w)el purnxej/xvej,
 也會哭父*. Al (w)el khavhpel.

One can call chickens to come, can blow the fire, and can make loud lamentation for the death of one's father — (pejorative) 1. Jack of all trades; 2. one does not only help but also knows how to complain.

7. 風嗤嗟, Xong chilcherr,
 雨披拍, Xol philpherr,
 蜎龜子 Uvnku kjaanh
 生並濟。 Senh phelng cel/cerr.

It flutters when the wind blows and splatters when it rains. It begets many hunchbacked children. (Banana tree)

8. 含笑過晝*芳*芎蕉。 Xarmchjavh kvehtavh phang kengcev.
 手綰菜籃挽茶葉。 Chjuv kvalnh chajhnar, baan terxevgh.
 驚父驚母不敢叫; Kjanh pel kjanh buv, ulmkaanh kevh;
 假意呼鷄喊獵鴉*. Kejih kho ke, xjahm daghxevgh.

Magnolias are more fragrant than bananas in the afternoon. Carrying a vegetable basket, I am picking tea leaves. Being afraid that my parents might know about our relationship, I dare not call out to you but pretend to be calling the chicks to come and chasing the chicken-hawk away.

9. 造家甲, Cvol kekaq,
算人類。 Suhng darnggjagh.

In taking census, one counts the number of people.

10. 大舌, Tvalcigh,
興啼。 Xehng thir.

Stuttering but talkative.

11. 娘易做; Njur kvel cvoh;
嫻難學。 Kaan woq wogh.

It is easy to be a lady of the house but not easy to learn to be a house maid.

12. かめ, 龜; すっぽん, 鼈。 Khameq, ku; suddpovng, piq.
貸切仔, タクシ [タクシー]. Tajlchet'aa, thakhuvsiq.
隔壁, となり。 Keqpjaq, thvonaadiq.
賻繳, ばくち; Pvaghkjavy, bakhuvciq;
けいさつ来, 走去匿。 Kherrsaaquq dajr, cavv-khih biq.

Kame is a tortoise, and *suppon* a snapping-turtle. A taxi is called *takushii*. A neighbor is called *tonari*. Gambling is called *bakuchi*, and when the *keisatsu* (old use: the police) comes, one goes to hide.

13. 藤絲絲, Tirn sisi,
葉缺缺。 Xevgh khiqkhiq.
紅關公, Arng Kvankong,
白劉備。 Pegh Davr Pil/Piq/Piqh.
烏張飛, O Tjunh Xvi,
走去匿。 Cavv-khih biq.

Its vines are slim and thin, and its leaves are notched. There are Lord Guan the red-faced, Liou Bei the white-faced, and Jang Fei the black-faced, who is hiding. (Water melon)

14. 鷄嘴圓圓; K(v)e chvih irnhirnh;
鴨嘴扁扁。 Aq chvih pijnhpijnh.

A chicken's beak is round, and a duck's is flat—one is good at talking or arguing, but the other is slow in speech.

15. 一樣生; Cid yulnh *sinh*;
百樣死。 Paq yulnh *sij*.

There is only one way to be born, but there are a hundred ways to die.

16. 三下咬, Sanh el *kal*,
未見紹。 B(v)el kinhh *alnh*.

One took three bites but still did not get to eat its filling — it [he] is lacking knowledge.

17. 有子, Ul *kjaanh*,
有子命; Ulkjaanh-*mjal*;
無子, Bvor *kjaanh*,
天注定。 Thinh cuht*jalnh*.

Having an heir or not is destined.

18. 一人主張, Cid darng cuvt*junh/tjonh*,
不值兩人思量。 Ulmtad nulng darng sunjur/*njor*.

An individual's opinion is not as good as that of two after discussions.

19. 寵子, 不孝; Selng *kjaanh*, putxauh;
寵某, 吵鬧。 Selng bov, chaanavl.

A spoiled son won't be loving, and a spoiled wife will be quarrelsome.

20. 破柴, Phvahchar,
連砧也續破。 Deln tjam alsvah *phvah*.

One cut open the support while splitting the wood — to undermine oneself or one's own party.

21. 三更燈火, Sanhkenh tengxvej/*xej*,
五更雞。 Golkenh *ke/kve*.

Sitting up till midnight and getting up before dawn — studying hard.

22. 有嘴, Ul *chvih*,
無舌。 Bvor *cigh*.

Having a mouth but no tongue — slow of speech.

23. 有嘴, Ul *chvih*,
無水。 Bvor *cvij*.

Having a mouth but no saliva — slow of speech.

24. 四角四角, Sihkak sihkak,
中央塌*腰。 Tjongung naqev.

牽牽落水死;
起來剝衣裳。

Khankhan dvogh cvij sij;
Khij=dajr pak icjornh.

They have four corners, and their middles are smaller than the rest of the body. They join hands to get into the water and get drowned together. When they get out of the water later, they strip off their clothes. (Rice tamale)

References

Chang Yü-hung 張裕宏

1980 《臺灣風——民謠解讀集》。臺北：文華出版社。

1986 〈就設計書寫符號的技術理論探討臺灣福建話的記錄方法〉, to appear in an anthology on Taiwanese edited by R. L. Cheng and S. F. Huang.

Cheng, Robert L. 鄭良偉

1986a 〈從選詞、用韻和選字看向陽的臺語詩〉《臺灣文藝》99: 129-47.

1986b 〈閩南語各類標音系統的比較〉, to appear in an anthology on Taiwanese edited by R. L. Cheng and S. F. Huang.

Hashimoto, Mantaro J.

1979 "Tones and ending consonants in monosyllabic languages", in Theraphan L. Thongkum, Vichin Panupong, Pranee Kullavanijaya and M. R. Kalaya Tingsabadh, eds., *Studies in Tai and Mon-Khmer Phonetics and Phonology in Honor of Eugénie J. A. Henderson* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press), pp. 278-85.

Henderson, Eugénie J. A.

1950 "Prosodies in Siamese: a study in synthesis", *Asia Major* 12: 189-215.

Li Hsien-chang 李獻璋

1978 《臺灣民間文學集》。臺北：牧童出版社。

Li Jen-kuei, Paul 李壬癸

1985 〈閩南語的口語傳統〉《大陸雜誌》71(2): 16-23.

1986 "Rhyming and phonemic contrast in Southern Min", presented at the 19th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (1986) and to appear in *BIHP* 57 (1986).

Sung, Magaret M. Y.

1986 "Phonology of the Zhangpu dialect". *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 14(1): 71-89.

Tsang T'ing-sheng 臧汀生

1984 《臺灣閩南語歌謠研究》。臺北：臺灣商務印書館。

Tung, Jeffrey C.

1986 "Nasality and orthography", to appear in an anthology on Taiwanese edited by R. L. Cheng and S. F. Huang.

Wang Li 王力

n. d. 《漢語詩律學》。(Pirated copy used)

Wu Ying-t'ao 吳瀛濤

1975 《臺灣諺語》。臺北：臺灣英文出版社。

POSSESSIVES IN EARLY ARCHAIC CHINESE

Søren Egerod

University of Copenhagen

I. Third Person Possessives

In Late Archaic Chinese (LAC, Dobson 1959) the particle 之 (identical in graph and reading with the accusative/dative form of the third person pronoun) is used to express possession, preceded by the modifying noun (the possessor) and followed by the head noun (the possessed). In subordinate clauses 之 plays a key syntactic role, in that it stands between agent and verb, thereby nominalizing the verb and designating the clause as non-main. Through the nominalized verb the clause is then made available as a noun member of another sentence. The third person pronoun 其 plays this nominalizing role when the agent is pronominal. This function can be called subordinating, and the N 之 or 其 phrase itself is subordinate. Lau-tz's 天下皆知美之爲美, 'Everybody knows that the beautiful is beautiful' is to be analyzed as

天下 N (theme) 皆 Quantifier (agent) 知 V (main) 美 N (agent, subordinate)
之 (subordinator) 爲 V (non-main, nominalized) 美 N (object)

The difference between possessive and non-possessive is not found in first and second person pronouns, which are identical in form in both functions. The third person 其 does not normally occur in main clauses indicating the agent. The nominative form can be said to be a meaningful zero. A verb phrase without an agent can be nominalized and function as a noun modifier preceding 之, as in 挾太山以超北海之類 'the category of jumping over Bei Hai with Tai Shan under the arm' (*Meng-tz*), but a verb which has an overt agent cannot be used in this way (there is nothing like the modern 他來的時候).

In EAC (Early Archaic Chinese, Dobson 1962) we find the same subordinate/subordinating 之 between agent and verb, as in *Shu* 16.0073 罔知天之斷命 'We do not understand that Heaven will cut off our mandate'. The same construction occurs without 之, *Shu* 26.0082 予不敢閉于天降威 'I dare not raise obstacles to Heaven's sending down its severity'. More often the construction without 之 is, however, used quite differently, as in *Shu* 27.0160 予翼以于, 救寧武圖功 'I respectfully go with them to achieve the serene Wu's planned work, i.e. the work planned by Wu'. This same construction also, but rarely, occurs with 之, e.g. *Shu* 26.0154 無墜天之降寶命 'Do

not let fall the precious mandate sent down by Heaven'. The first construction we may term agentive and the second ergative. The verb must be translated as active with the agentive, but as passive with the ergative. The formulae representing this analysis will then be:

- (1) N (agent, subordinate) 之 (subordinator) V (non-main, nominalized head)
N (object).
- (2) N (ergative, subordinate) [之 (subordinator)] V (non-main, subordinate)
N (head)

In the ergative examples above it is possible to translate '...to achieve the work which Wu planned' and '...let fall the mandate which Heaven sent down', but it should be noted that the ergative, whether marked or not, is subordinated to the potential object of the verb, which again is modified by the verb. In the agentive construction the verb has two valencies, nominal in relation to the potential agent, verbal in relation to the object.

We mentioned the word 其 in EAC and LAC. This word exists all the way back to the oracle inscriptions, where it is written 𠄎, the ancestor of the present character, presumably the picture of a basket. It is very much alive to this day in a number of southern dialects, such as Cantonese khœj (Chou 1963) and probably also in Thai khăw. It may be related to the Tibetan possessive case ending -kyi (-gyi, -yi, -i) with or without the ergativizing final -s. Scholars agree on the role of 其 as a pronominal possessor, but disagree on the extent to which it plays a role in the syntactic core, and further disagree on the extent and nature of its function as an adverbial or modal particle. Several important treatments of this matter have appeared, and I shall specially mention Serruys 1974 and 1986, which treat the Shang oracle inscriptions, and Malmqvist 1981, which treats the LAC text *Tzuojuan*.

Serruys 1974 distinguishes between 其 in main clauses (the so-called "modal 其") indicating a "less desirable alternative", and 其 in subordinate clauses (the so-called "pronominal 其") whose function is precisely to mark the clause as subordinated. Malmqvist similarly says that "modal 其" is only found in main clauses and furthermore only in the rendering of direct speech, whereas "pronominal 其" in its syntactic function belongs to what he calls included predication, that is subordinate clauses. Takashima in 1977-78, his contribution to the Serruys festschrift, concludes that 其 does not introduce subordinate clauses ("Subordination must and can be deduced from context and sentence parallelism"), because a great many similar complex sentences do not contain 其. According to Takashima 其 has the same modal function in subordinate as in main clauses, namely that of adding "a semantically variable element of 'unsureness' to the verb which it modifies."

Serruys 1986 gives up the idea of a subordinating 其 and is in this respect

very much in line with Takashima. Serruys now describes 其 in the oracle bone inscriptions as a full verb meaning 'to anticipate, to expect'. In contrasting statements if 其 occurs only in one statement the sense is narrowed into 'to be ready for, to allow for a possibly less desirable outcome'; if it occurs in both statements it expresses a kind of general uncertainty. Serruys concludes that no second or third person pronouns occur in the bone inscriptions. The function as an optative mood particle goes back to the oldest Jou dynasty language, whereas the usage of 其 as a pronoun only starts with *Shu* and *Shr*.

Cikoski 1978 had suggested that 其 belong to a word-class he calls 'assertives' "which all contain some element of the meaning 'to be'", in other words that 其 is a copula. He also would like to be able to prove that the pronominal 其 ended in -g, whereas the modal 其 ended in -r (like 唯, 非, and others). Malmqvist rejects all of this as speculation and states as his preference to regard modal 其 as "a mere marker of modality, the semantic value of which is defined by one or more of a variety of interpretants" (such as the grammatical person of the subject).

Although the existence of a modal 其, a terminology which goes back to Gabelentz 1881, is very extensively recognized by workers in the field, some doubting souls must be noted, such as Schindler 1935, Dobson 1959 and 1962, Egerod 1960, and Nivison 1968.

I do not propose here to do the tremendous work over again, which lies behind and forms the foundation of the opinions on 其 quoted above. I shall in the following take a single text, the genuine chapters of the *Shu Jing*, and see what can be inferred from our knowledge of the grammatical structure of this work.

We shall first look at the possessive or genitive usage, in which 其 functions as a noun modifier. As is well known 其 in this function has a rival: 厥 <ㄗ>. 其 is used before ca. thirty different nouns or nominal phrases, some of them several or many times. 厥 is used to modify ca. fifty-nine different nouns or nominal phrases, again several times for some of them. I have not included those cases where 厥 is incorrectly used for 乃 <ㄋ>, <ㄋ> (see Karlgren 1933 and 1950, Bodman 1948). Among these examples, altogether eighty-three nouns, six are found modified sometimes by 其, sometimes by 厥. What is the difference?

Bodman 1948 notices that 厥 occurs twelve times with 命 'charge, fate, appointment', eight times with 德 'virtue', seven times with 民 'people', six times with 父 'father', six times with 子 'son', five times with 辟 'sovereign', five times with 心 'heart, mind' and four times with 邦 'country, state'. These are all concepts that might be classified as inalienable in such languages as have this category (notably Polynesian, see e.g. Elbert 1965; modern Chinese has traces of an alienable/inalienable distinction in e.g. 我的書 vs. 我母親, Lungdu wăa ʔàj'sí vs. wàj

law mǔ) and would therefore be modified by the non-dominating, controllable genitive. If this is so, we might expect 其 to represent the subjective, dominating genitive. This is borne out by the facts. Examples of words modified by 其 in the *Shu Jing* are 馬 'horse', 典 'statutes of law', 行 'action', 敍 'order', 罪 'offenses', 罰 'redemption fine', 屬 'clan, category', 恫 'pain', which can all be viewed as alienable. There are, however, a few passages in the *Shu* where 其 modifies words we would have guessed were inalienable, viz. 弟 'younger brother' and 長 'senior, elder'. These we must explain somehow, but first let us look at the nouns which occur with both 其 and 厥.

The word 命 'charge, appointment' is found twelve times with 厥 and only once with 其. Let us look at examples, e.g. 29.0124 天乃大命文王殪戎殷, 誕受厥命 'Heaven then grandly ordered Wen Wang to kill the great Yin and grandly receive its mandate; its states and people became orderly'. It is clear that the mandate, the states and the people are transferred from Yin's control to Jou's. Neither Wen Wang nor Yin ultimately control these entities, they are inalienable, subject to the pleasure of Heaven. Compare then 07.0038 天用剿絕其命 'Heaven therefore snatches away and cuts off the appointment'. In this case Heaven takes away the appointment previously given to the Lord of Hu. Heaven controls its charges, the appointment given by it. From Heaven's point of view 命 is alienable, from man's point of view inalienable.

罪 'offenses' occurs quite a few times after 其 in the Liushing chapter (and, twice after 厥 elsewhere), e.g. 47.0562 其罪惟均 'the offenses are equal'. If 其 here means 'their', referring to the offenders, it is logical that we have a dominating genitive, which justifies their being punished. It is, however, also possible that this is an example of another usage of 其 with a less specific kind of reference, something like 'thereof', referring to the situation as such. We shall return to this usage later. Karlgren translates 'these offenses'. 29.0811 惟厥罪無在大 'as to their crimes it does not matter whether they are big'. This is said in a context where Heaven will punish and kill the king if the people are not quiet. Just before this the king says 29.0792 未戾厥心 'they have not settled their minds'. In 厥罪 the word 罪 refers to the inborn "criminal mind" which is, alas, not always controllable by the offender. As to the word 心 'heart, mind' which we just saw modified by 厥, it occurs this way five times, but also twice with 其, both in the same chapter: 50.0150 其心休休焉 'If his heart is very fine' and 50.0171 其心好之 'His heart will love it'. This is about a servant who is 'determined, resolute', 斷斷 the text says, and in spite of not being so smart makes a real effort. Therefore he controls his 心, just as in the next sentence he controls his 口, 50.0178 不啻如自其口出 'It will not be only as it comes out of his mouth'. We have another juxtaposition of 心 and 口, where the modifier is 厥, 35.0465 民否則厥心違 'If the people disapprove of you, their hearts will bear resentment' and 35.0471 否則厥口詛祝 'If they disapprove of you, their mouths

will curse you'. In this case there is no determination on the part of the people, but an inevitable uncontrollable reaction, they turn to hating you and run off at their mouths.

We mentioned the fact that although human relationship terms are normally modified by 厥, we find three examples of seniors or juniors taking 其. Let us look at 20.0144 哂其耆長舊有位人 'One offends the aged elders and the men who of old have the high positions'. This is not the ordinary possessive 其 but the usage referred to a moment ago as having a less specific kind of reference, something like 'thereof'. This usage no doubt goes back to the partitive genitive 'those of them who'. 'One offends the aged elders' means 'those of them who are elders' or simply 'the elders'. In quite a few cases 其 will be found to have no specific reference, but to allude in this way to the situation as such. The meaning comes close to LAC 者, i.e. 耆長者, 舊有位者. A commentary tradition assigns a different pronunciation to 其 in this usage approaching a demonstrative adjective, with a voiceless rather than a voiced initial (*Grammata Serica* 952). With juniors a dominating genitive is less surprising, and the senior-junior relationship may be all the explanation we need for 26.0266 管叔及其羣弟乃流言干國 'Guan Shu and all his brothers spread talk in the state', but note also that the 其 does not modify 弟 alone, but 'the whole gang of younger brothers', which is certainly less a relationship term than a controllable political unit.

Finally in 29.0056 朕其弟小子封 'Oh my younger brother, youngster Feng' we have a puzzling expression: 朕其 followed by a noun. Followed by a verb it would be quite normal, cf. 27.0451 若昔朕其逝 'The other day I was on the point of going'. We must accept it as a dominating genitive used by the king to his much younger brother. Certainly 厥 would have been impossible here.

Let us now return to the usage of 其 where its own reference is non-specific but the construction head is introduced as known. In 04.0123 亦言其人有德 'Likewise we say such and such a man has virtue' refers to the situation as such, to the circumstances 'thereof'. We are in the middle of a discussion of virtue, and we refer to a 'certain' person out of those many in question.

In 05.0124 we find 其弼喜 (=德) 'your assistants are virtuous; if your assistants are virtuous; your assistants should be virtuous'. 其 can probably not out of context mean 'your'. Either 其弼 means 'such assistants as you must have under the circumstances' or just 'the assistants'; or 其 introduces a wish 'would that..., may it be that...'—a function which is different from that of 其 which follows an overt agent instead of preceding it as here. This "optative" 其 which certainly occurs quite a few times, must be semantically related to the verb 期 (pronounced alike) 'to expect, wait for, look forward to' and the noun 期 'time, occasion'.

In 24.0054 汨陳其五行 'He disorderly ranged the five elements' it is not the agent (Guǎn) who owns the elements, but the world which they are a part of. This is

a non-specific reference and 'the' is translation enough. In later times we might find 五行者. 33.0618 答其師 'I respond to the multitudes' does not indicate specific multitudes, but those provided by the situation.

A number of expressions referring to sequence or placement in time take the general 其: 其今 'now', 其終 'in the end', 其後 'in the future', 其敍 'the right order'. Again we are reminded of later constructions such as 今者, 昔者.

The construction "non-specific 其 plus N" has an equivalent in "non-specific 其 plus V": 16.0782 今其有今 'now there is a present'. 其 is the non-specific subject of 有. Such sentences often must be understood as subordinate, but it is the context which tells us this, not the 其, since such subordinate clauses are constructed exactly like main sentences, and since many parallel subordinate clauses have no 其. 35.0109 其在高宗 'when it was with Gau Tzung; when the turn came to Gau Tzung' is a subordinate clause with the non-specific 其 as subject.

We now turn our attention to other usages of 其 and 厥 plus V. 39.0411 繼自今我其政... 'From now on when we establish government...' must be subordinate, but in other instances 我其 is found in main sentences, as in the continuation of this very example: 我其克灼知厥若 'we should be able brightly to know if they are suitable'. This sentence contains both 其 and 厥, the former in a main, the latter in a subordinate clause.

There are other passages which contain both 其 and 厥, not indiscriminately but for a purpose. 33.0219 says 無若火, 始燄燄, 厥攸灼, 敍弗其絕 'He should not be like a fire: First it flares up, and where it blazes, by and by it cannot be extinguished'. 厥攸灼 means 'in its place of blazing' and 厥 is a non-dominating agent in a subordinate phrase. 弗其絕 means 'there is no putting it out' and 其 has non-specific reference 'in the situation'. In 36.0360 其集大命于厥躬 'so it (Jou) centered the great mandate in his (Wen Wang's) person'. 厥 designates inalienable possession of a noun, 其 is a possessive agent in an independent sentence—we shall treat this function more in detail later on.

Actually 厥 never seems to occur modifying a verb in a main clause, so its presence in a clause does indicate that the verb is nominalized and the clause is subordinate (Dobson 1959 p. 79). Sometimes the reference is specific, sometimes non-specific.

In 32.0423 王厥有成命 'the king, in case of fulfilling his mandate' 厥 refers directly to 王 'the king'. 34.0130 厥惟廢元命 'when of him, i.e. by him (ergative) there was neglecting of the great mandate' is also an adverbial sentence, in which 厥 specifically refers to the Lord of Shia. In 38.0091 厥鄙帝之命 'because he (ergative) despised God's commands...' 厥 again refers to the Lord of Shia. On the other hand 30.0597 厥或詒曰羣飲 'If somebody reports saying: a company is drinking', contains 厥 with non-specific reference in an adverbial clause. 厥 in nominalized clauses is rare but does occur. 35.0343 厥享國五十年 'his enjoyment of the realm lasted for fifty years' contains a nominalization. 06.1193 告厥成功 'announcing

that he had achieved his work' might be analyzed as containing a dependent nominal sentence, but is perhaps better understood as 'announcing his (ergative) achieved work'. As mentioned above 厥 does occur in a few cases as agent of a verb which modifies its potential object: 22.0014 昏棄厥肆祀弗答 'He destroys and rejects his (ergative) already set-forth sacrifices and does not respond'; 04.0167 彰厥有常 '(the virtuous man) displaying his constant norms'. The question is then why do we find 其 and not 厥 in 24.0317 皇建其有極 'When the august one firmly establishes the correctness he possesses'? An easy and sufficient explanation would be that it means '...established that he possessed correctness'. But 其 is perhaps also chosen for its dominating quality, the august one controls his own correctness, just as in the sentence following it, he causes the people to be endowed with correctness: 僉時五福. 用敷錫厥庶民. 惟時厥庶民于汝極錫 'he thereby brings together those five felicities and largely bestows them upon his people: then the people become endowed with your correctness'. The people are his by divine providence.

In general it can be said that nominal and adjectival sentences with 厥 and 其 are rare compared to the number of adverbial sentences.

The big question remains then, what 其 means in main clauses. We have already mentioned the initial optative particle or verb 其, which must be kept apart and perhaps even thought of as representing the character 期: 30.0180 其爾典聽朕教 'May you constantly listen to my instructions'; 36.0606 其汝克敬以予監于殷喪大否 'May you be able carefully together with me to scrutinize Yin's ruin, and great wickedness'; 36.0657 其汝克敬德 'May you be able to attend carefully to virtue'. When the agent is not overtly expressed it is in some cases difficult to be sure whether we have an instance of this 其, or the pronominal usage treated below, e. g. 32.0371 其不能誠于小民 'May he grandly be able to be concordant with the people'.

Another special category consists of 其 in otherwise unmarked questions: 27.0490 其肯曰... 'Will he be willing to say...?'; 34.0077 我其敢求位 'How should we have dared seek the throne?' In these cases 其 functions much like 豈 whether somehow related to this word or not.

We are left with the numerous constructions which in oracle bone language have been defined as indicating 'less desirable alternative', 'anticipation' or 'uncertainty' by Serruys and Takashima respectively, and in later language designated as 'modal' by Karlgren, Cikoski and numerous others.

If 其 is modal in all these many sentences, what kind of modality does it introduce? If we exclude the cases which may represent different characters (期 and 豈) or at least different usages, we are left with the following statistics:

ca. 54 times 其 occurs in sentences about the future

ca. 23 times 其 occurs in sentences expressing a wish

- ca. 12 times 其 occurs in sentences in the present tense
- ca. 8 times 其 occurs in sentences expressing a command
- ca. 7 times 其 occurs in sentences conditionally true
- ca. 7 times 其 occurs in sentences which are timeless statements
- ca. 6 times 其 occurs in sentences in the past tense
- ca. 3 times 其 occurs in sentences about the immediate future

Let us list a few examples:

- (1) future: 05.0138 天其申命用休 'Heaven will renew its mandate and apply blessings'
10.0121 予其大賚汝 'Then I will greatly reward you'
- (2) wish: 05.0440 帝其念哉 'May the emperor ponder it!'
- (3) present: 10.0073 夏罪其如台 'Shia's guilt is in accordance with me'
- (4) command: 16.0552 凡爾衆其惟致告 'You should all effectuate the announcement!'
- (5) conditional: 27.0047 矧曰其有能格知天命 'How much less then should I be able to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven'
- (6) timeless: 29.0739 我時其惟殷先哲王德 'I always think of the virtue of Yin's former wise kings'
32.0577 今天其命哲命吉命歷年 'So Heaven endows with wisdom, good and bad fortune, so-and-so many years'
- (7) past: 06.0213 淮沂其乂 'The Huai and Yi rivers were regulated'
- (8) immediate future: 10.0069 今汝其曰 'Now you will surely say'

It is evident that 其 cannot express all these modalities. They are inferred from the context. And there is no single modality that could fit all sentences. You cannot talk of uncertainty in willful statements about the future or in commands. Neither 'certainty' nor 'uncertainty,' neither 'desirability' nor 'undesirability,' can be generally injected into all main sentences with 其. Further, there is no obvious connection with the grammatical person of the agent as Malmqvist has shown it to be the case in LAC. We are back to the same situation as prevails with main and non-main clauses—it is the context which rules; 其 does not contribute to the choice of modality any more than to the choice of sentence level.

There can be no doubt in my mind that in the *Shu Jing* language the most common function of 其 with verbs is to refer to the agent. There is nothing surprising in this. There is a close connection between possession and agency in a number of languages including Tibeto-Burman and Indoeuropean. 其 is a dominating possessive used with alienable or controllable nouns, and also with verbs which as a category are felt to be dominated, controlled, possessed if you wish, by the agent.

There are a few passages in which some investigators (including Egerod 1978)

have seen 其 used as an object. Since 厥 is not used in this way in the *Shu Jing*, the possibility that 其 is cannot be a priori ruled out. It is well known that the potential noun object of a verb can sometimes, instead of appearing after the verb, be preposed to it followed by 之 (objective genitive), e.g. 行九德 'to practice the nine virtues', but 39.0064 廸知忱恂于九德之行 'those who pursued the course and were sage and sincere in the practice of the nine virtues'; 49.0060 無敢傷牯, 牯之傷汝則有常刑 'Do not dare hurt the hobbled ones; in case of hurt to the hobbled ones, you will have the regular punishments'; 22.0095 牝鷄之晨惟家之索 'If the hen calls the morning (there is the ransacking of the house=) the house should be ransacked for baleful influences'. Here follow a few possible examples of objective 其: 29.0806 我其不怨 'By me (ergative) there will be no rejection of it', 'I shall not reject it', 30.0512 予其殺 'I shall kill them', with ergative 我 and subjective 予 respectively. Cf 01.0417 我其試哉 'By me will be his trial, I shall try him'; 33.0219 弗其絕 'There is no putting it out', where non-specific reference, as seen above, is perhaps a safer interpretation. Archaic Chinese is a mixed ergative/agentive language on its way to becoming purely agentive. Some constructions are open to more than one interpretation.

In order for a main sentence to have a possessive agent, that sentence has to be existential, 'there is my coming', 'there is his killing'. 其 is therefore also a marker of an existential sentence even though the explicit copula 惟 sometimes underlines this function. 其 has in such constructions some of the character of a copula 'is his', 'there is his'. Cikoski was not all wrong when he wanted to describe 其 as a copula, but it is not basically a modal copula, at least not in the *Shu Jing*.

Nivison 1968 put forth the theory that the cooccurrence of 其 with a wide range of 'modalities' can be explained by such sentences being 'displayed subordinate clauses' of the type 'Oh, that he could do it', 'Oh, that I might do it'. Such a usage is not likely to be the original basic one, but no doubt played a great role in the semantic development of the phrases. This is also the point of view expressed many years ago in Egerod 1960.

The grammatical meaning of 其 'subjective possessive pronoun used with nouns and with nominalized verbs' belongs to *la langue*, the language system. It is in *la parole*, the language application, that we must look for those tendencies which seem to be moving in the direction of something modal and which may develop into grammatical modality in a later stage of the language. The *parole* can choose its own reasons for using the tools provided by the *langue*. In the oracle bone language 其 is used in disjunctive questions (counterposed statements) to obtain an effect much like 'on the one hand (or) 其 on the other hand'. The 'general uncertainty' is probably part of the questioning technique (belonging to the *parole*), not the grammatical value (belonging to the *langue*).

In the statistics of the cooccurrence of tenses and moods with 其 we saw more sentences concerning the future than any other tense and more sentences containing a wish than any other mood. This tendency goes hand in hand with the well-known phenomenon often encountered in languages that agentive or subjective constructions occur in the non-past tense, ergative constructions in the past tense. It was especially, but not exclusively, in non-past utterances that the speaker used 其 to explicitly refer to the agency. Sentences ending with a modal particle (like 哉, 乎, or 與,) have no doubt been especially influential in fixing the usage of 其 and ultimately changing its grammatical meaning from a pronominal to a modal one. In LAC it is no longer normal to use an explicit agent pronoun outside first and second persons, whereas in EAC it is possible and very common.

Between EAC and LAC a dramatic typological change took place. The phrase-initial copula 惟 disappeared (or rather became a restrictive modal adverb 'only') and the sentence-final 也 took its place, just as preverbal perfectivizers such as 既 and 卽 were superseded by final 矣. Postposed 者 (taking over some of the functions of preposed 其) appeared as an exocentric phrase nominalizer, 之 and 而 spread as endocentric markers of adjectival and adverbial relations. The verb was no longer born with a nominal valence but had to be marked for it. Therefore there was no longer any use for or any room for a possessive agent in main clauses. 其 was restricted to subordinate clauses, where previously only context had allowed it a place. Since there was no longer a subjective dominating agent there was no need for a subordinate one. 其 took over the role of 厥 as a logical part of the great shift, contributing at the same time to the elimination of the ergative construction—and the two pronouns never had a fair chance to develop into the indicative and subjunctive moods following the scenario of the Proto-Indoeuropean drama. Chinese did not become a "pronominalized" language.

II. Further Notes on Noun Possessives

In EAC a verb can be used as a (passive) modifier of a noun which could be its object: 錫貢 'to present tribute', but 06.0516 錫貢磬錯 'The presented tribute is musical stones and whetstones'; 積德 'to accumulate virtue', but 16.0278 汝有積德 'You have an accumulated virtue'. If the noun which is the potential agent of the verb is introduced into the construction we have already seen above that it represents the ergative, whether followed by 之 or not: 26.0154 無墜天之降寶命 'Do not let fall the precious mandate sent down by Heaven'; 27.0090 用寧王遺我大寶龜 'I have used the precious tortoise handed down to me by the serene kings'. The construction may still be ergative in 29.0597 in spite of the intervening 惟: 天惟與我民彝大泯亂 'The norms given by Heaven to our people will be greatly brought into disorder'. Further examples: 33.0757 惟周公誕保文武受命 'Jou Gung has grandly

preserved the mandate received by Wen Wang and Wu Wang' (cf. 36.0538 我受命 'The mandate which we have received'); 39.0467 予旦已受人之微言咸告孺子王矣 'The fine words which I, Dan, have received from others, all of them I report to you, young son and king'; 30.0614 又惟殷之殪諸臣 'And, further, as to Yin's guided servants...'.

In EAC as well as in LAC an agent can be used as a modifier of its verbal predicate, which is thereby nominalized. The agent is then mostly followed by 之 (see also above): 16.0073 罔知天之斷命 'We do not understand that Heaven will cut off our mandate'; 19.0116 殷之卽喪 'When Yin is on the point of perishing...'.

The construction noun plus 之 is also used as a partitive genitive, e.g. 16.0588 乃話民之弗率 'Then he lectured those of the people who would not follow'; 24.0623 臣之有作福作威玉食 'If it occurs that among the subjects some dispense favors, dispense punishments, and eat the precious food...'.

III. Notes on First and Second Person Possessives

We shall now investigate the problem of dominating and non-dominating genitive with pronouns of the first and second persons. 我 is obviously non-dominating. It refers to "our group" as opposed to other groups and thereby to 'me' and 'mine' as representative of the group. It occurs e.g. with 邦 'land', 祖 'ancestor', 子 'son', 孫 'grandson', 民 'people' and 命 'mandate' (16.0098 天其永我命 'Heaven will prolong our mandate' about the mandate given to us, as expected, but 38.0722 爾不克勸忱我命 'If you cannot be stimulated to be faithful to my commands' seems to be an exception). In all there are over sixty examples of non-dominating 我. On the other hand 予 is rare with nouns. There are three cases of dominating 予, e.g. 02.0538 疇若予工 'who will carefully attend to my works?'. 43.0219 予一二伯父 'you, my several uncles' is part of a command and the address is not a straightforward relationship term. The pronoun 朕, which is mostly singular in reference and which carries no special relationship to the group, seems to be neutral as to the feature of domination. Roughly eleven examples involve nouns that could be thought of as inalienable, e.g. 16.0863 曷虐朕民 'Why do you oppress our people?', whereas twenty-two examples could be alienable or controllable, e.g. 02.0739 夙夜出納朕命 '(I charge you) morning and night to give out and bring in reports of my decrees'.

With second person the picture turns out to be the same, with one dominated genitive 爾, as in 16.0574 罰及爾身 'when the punishment reaches your body' (ca. fifty-three examples), one dominating genitive 汝 e.g. 05.0100 師汝昌言 'We shall take as norm your splendid words' (four examples), plus one neutral 乃, which is dominated in e.g. 16.0365 矧予制乃短長之命 'how much more then, I, in formulating your short and long orders!' (ca. twenty-four examples), but dominating in e.g.

05.0579 屢省乃成 'frequently examine your achievements'.

With verbs we should expect, then, 我 and 爾 to have an ergative function, 予 and 汝 an agentive function. The picture is, however, not quite that clear. It is true that 予 does not occur in the ergative construction (except in one example where it is followed by a noun in apposition: 16.0512 聽予一人作猷 'Listen to the plans which I, the One man, make'), but ca. eighty-two times as agent, e. g. 01.0390 予聞 'I have heard of him'. 我, on the other hand, occurs ca. fifteen times as ergative and ca. forty-nine times as agent: 30.0642 乃不用我教辭 'but if you do not follow my instructions (the words taught by me)...' (ergative), but 20.0214 我舊云刻子. 'I long ago said that one would injure you' (agentive). 朕 never occurs as ergative, thirteen times as agentive, e. g. 10.0129 朕不食言 'I do not eat my words'. 汝 does not occur as ergative, but ca. seventy-six times as agentive, e. g. 02.0439 汝平水土 'you shall regulate water and land'. 爾 is found as ergative twice, e. g. 39.0655 敬爾由獄 'Be careful about the prosecutions which you (follow=) attend to', but ca. forty-six times as agent, e. g. 16.1153 爾謂朕 'You say to me...'. So the agentive pronouns 予 and 汝 are never ergative, whereas 我 and 爾, which can function as ergative, can also be agentive. 乃 is rare with verbs and not always easy to distinguish from 乃 'then'; an example of ergative is 29.0891 明乃服命 'make illustrious the mandate you manage'.

First and second person pronouns sometimes occur as agents followed by (agentive) 其. Examples are 29.0737 我時其惟殷先哲王德 'I always think of the virtue of Yin's former wise kings'; 34.0289 予其曰 'I will tell you'; 34.0323 予惟時其遷居西爾 'I have, because of that, transferred and settled you in the west'; 27.0450 若昔朕其逝 'The other day when I was on the point of going...'; 33.0268 汝其敬識百辟享 'You should carefully record (which of) the many princes bring offerings'. There are no examples with 爾.

The third person pronoun 之 is used as object and as dative. The possibility that 其 is sometimes an object has been treated above. In the first person both 我 and 予, in the second person both 爾 and 汝 are found as object or dative (我是 object in ca. twenty cases, dative in four cases; 予 is object ca. sixteen times, dative ca. five times; 爾 is object in ca. twenty-four cases, dative in five cases; 汝 is object ca. thirty-seven times, dative twice). 朕 occurs twice as object, e. g. 16.1155 爾謂朕 'You say to me'. In the object position the choice was probably between 我/爾 emphasizing the group and 予/汝 without this emphasis; but the possibility of an influence by a former objective genitive construction should not be forgotten.

The partitive usage which we found with 其 and 厥 above is rare with pronouns of first and second persons. There are, however, six examples with 爾 which go well with its group nature: e. g. 10.0125 爾無不信 'May there be none of you who do not believe me'.

Both 其 and 厥 are rare or non-existing as subjects of a nominal predicate. In 39.0560 we read 其惟吉士 'May there be good men'. This could represent the optative 期, but is more likely a non-specific reference. The whole sentence runs: 繼自今立政. 其勿以儉人. 其惟吉士 'From this time forth, in establishing government, may you not use ingratiating men. May there be good men'. 其 in both clauses refers back to 立政 'establishing government': "the people thereof, those employees", "there". 35.0271 厥亦惟我周 'When it likewise was the turn of our Jou...' contains a subordinating 厥 with non-specific reference: "(the turn) thereof being (with) Jou".

Pronouns of first and second persons do, however, occur as subjects of nominal predicates. There is one example of 予: 27.0055 予惟小子 'I am a little child'; four of 汝, e.g. 29.0275 汝惟小子 'You are a little child', and two of 爾, e.g. 27.0361 爾惟舊人 'You are veterans'. Neither 我 nor 朕 occur in this construction.

Three Kinds of Nexus

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|------------|----------------------------|
| I | (N) Ag | V | (N) O | narrative nexus |
| | <king rules country> | | | |
| II | (N) M (poss, ag) | (V) N (head) | (N) O | existential agentive nexus |
| | <there is his ruling the country> | | | |
| III | (N) M (poss, erg) | (V) M | (N) (head) | existential ergative nexus |
| | <there is his ruled country, the country is ruled by him> | | | |

Four Kinds of Junction

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|----------|-------------------|
| I | (N) M (poss, erg) | (V) M (pass) | N (head) | ergative junction |
| | <king's ruled country, country ruled by king> | | | O>free N |
| | (pre-classical) | | | |
| II | (N) M (poss, ag) | (V) M (act) | N (O) | agentive junction |
| | <king's ruling country, the fact that king rules country> | | | V>free noun |
| III | (V) M | (N)O | N (head) | minor junction |
| | <ruling-country king, king who rules country> | | | Ag>free noun |
| IV | (N) Ag | (V) M | N (head) | major junction |
| | <king-rules country, country which king rules> | | | O>free noun |
| | (post-classical) | | | |

nexus=independent construction (capable of forming an utterance)

junction=dependent construction (not capable of forming an utterance)

poss=possessive

pass=passive

act=active

ag=agentive

(N) Ag=an agent noun

(N) O=an object noun

(N) M=a noun which modifies a noun

(V) N = a nominalized verb

(V) M=a verb which modifies a noun

Pronominal Functions

	我	予	爾	汝	朕	乃	厥	其	之	(王 王之)
agentive	X	X	X	X	X			X		X
objective	X	X	X	X				(X)	X	X
ergative	X		(X)				X			(X)
dominated gen.	X		X		X	X	X			X
dominating gen.		(X)		(X)	X	X		X		X
subordinating gen.							X	(?)	(X)	X

X=occurs regularly

(X)=very few examples

Bibliography

- Bodman, Nicholas C.
 1948 "The function of jywé in the Shang Shu". *JAOS* 68: 52-60.
- Chou, Fa-kao
 1963 *Jungguo yuwen luen tsung*. Taipei.
- Cikoski, John S.
 1978 "The existence and function of the so-called modal chyi in Classical Chinese." *CAAAL* 9: 77-131.
- Dobson, W. A. C. H.
 1959 *Late Archaic Chinese*. Toronto.
 1962 *Early Archaic Chinese*. Toronto.
- Egerod, Søren
 1956 *The Lungtu Dialect*. Copenhagen.
 1960 "Meng Tsi's and Chuang Tsi's parting words." *AO* 25: 112-120.
 1978 "Typology of Chinese sentence structure." *Les amis du Prince Pierre*. Copenhagen.
- Gabelentz, George von der
 1881 *Chinesische Grammatik*. Leipzig.
- Karlgren, Bernhard
 1933 "The pronoun küe in Shu King." *Göteborgs Högskolas årsskrift* 39: 29-37.
 1950 *The book of documents*. Stockholm.
- Malmqvist, Göran
 1981 "On the functions and meanings of the graph chyi in the Tzuoojuann." *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology*. Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Taipei.
- Nivison, David S.
 1968 "So-called 'modal ch'i' in Classical Chinese." MS.
- Schindler, Bruno
 1935 "Über einige Altchinesische Hilfsörter." *AM* 10(2): 251-261.
- Serruys, Paul
 1974 "Studies in the language of the Shang oracle inscriptions." *TP* 60(1-3): 12-120.
 1986 "Notes on the grammar of the oracular inscriptions of Shang." In: John McCoy and Timothy Light (editors): *Contributions to Sino-Tibetan Studies*. Leiden, pp. 203-257.
- Takashima, K.
 1977-1978 "Subordinate structure in the oracle bone inscriptions with particular reference to the particle ch'i." *MS* 33: 36-61.

上古漢語的句法發展

戴 璉 璋

國立臺灣師範大學

前 言

本文討論上古漢語的句法發展。所謂「上古」，指涉的時間為殷周至秦（1388 B. C.-207 B. C.）。就漢語語法史的研究工作來說，這是目前我們所能追溯到的、有文獻足徵的、最早的一個階段；當然，也是最先應該受到注意的階段。

筆者所注意的語法現象是語句構造的變遷。通過對於資料語句的分析、歸納以及比較，可以看出這個階段一千餘年期間，在造句法方面的一些發展軌跡。其中基本型的變化不大，一般而言，先後的歧異多數是由連詞（含複句關係詞）、介詞、助詞、歎詞¹等這些虛詞表現出來的。此外像特殊句型，當然是以語法成分在句中的位置變換作為它發展的標誌的。

¹ 本文語法術語，大體沿襲一般討論中國語法的論著，而稍有變更。相關問題的斟酌，請參考拙作〈語句分析的商榷〉（《教學與研究》第七期，七十四年六月，臺北）。本文主要術語和一般語法書中所見的術語，對應關係如下：

本文術語	一般稱謂
主語 (subject)	主詞／起詞
謂語 (predicate)	(廣義) 謂語
述語 (narrative/verb)	動詞／述詞
表語 (descriptive)	表詞／描寫詞
斷語 (determinator)	(狹義) 謂語／表語
兼語 (object of v_1 and subject of v_2 /pivot)	賓語兼主語
賓語 (object)	受詞／止詞
副語 (modifier/adverb)	副詞／修飾語
介詞 (preposition)	介繫詞／前置詞
次賓語 (object of preposition)	介詞賓語／補詞
連詞 (Connective)	連接詞
助詞 (particle)	語助詞／句首、句中、句末語氣詞
歎詞 (interjection)	感歎詞／獨立語氣詞
並列結構 (coordinative construction)	詞聯
主從結構 (subordinative phrase)	詞組／仿語
加語 (attribute)	加詞／定語
端語 (head)	端詞／中心語
造句結構 (clause)	詞結／子句
複句 (composite sentence)	複句／複合句

爲了方便比較說明，筆者爲這一千餘年的時間作前後兩期的區分。本文所謂「前期」，指殷商甲文時代至西周末葉（約當 1388 B. C. 至 842 B. C.）；所謂「後期」，指西周末葉至秦亡（約當 841 B. C. 至 207 B. C.）。當然，語言的發展是漸進的，而且相當地錯綜複雜，事實上不能定出一個明確的分界線，來標示語法現象截然不同的前後兩個時期。雖然如此，本文的兩期區分，却也不是筆者的任意設定，在語言資料上是有依據的。一般而言，西周末葉以後，虛詞的數量增多了，句位變化的範圍也擴大了。這就顯示出前後兩個階段的差距。這種差距既是語法史上的實情，那麼我們據此而作前後的對比，自可有效地藉以彰顯句法發展的跡象。

壹、語的發展

一、並列結構的發展

(一)連詞的使用

漢語的並列結構，一般來說，可加連詞，也可不加。加連詞的結構，在連詞的使用上可以看出一些演變的跡象。上古漢語中，有些連詞是前後期通用的；有些則僅見於前期；也有連詞是後期所通用的。

前後期通用的連詞有「又（又、有）」「于（掌）」「及（彼）」「暨」「以（目）」「之」等。²

至於其餘兩類，分別舉例說明如下：

1. 僅見於前期的連詞：

(1) 罍

①夔罍上圉（甲文、《粹》、三）³②妣己罍妣庚（又、《乙》、三二九七）⁴③父丁率罍兄庚率（又、《佚》、五五七）⁵④亢罍矢（金文、令彝）⑤小子罍服罍小臣罍尸僕（又、靜殷）

按：「罍」用爲並列連詞，僅見於甲、金文，其他典籍未見。據以上五例可知，「罍」專用以連接名詞性的並列單位；如果是多項並列，則連詞「罍」可以連用。

(2) 越

² 前後期共有的語法現象，本文概不舉例。相關的實況，可參考周法高先生《中國古代語法造句編》（《史語所專刊》三九期，五十年四月，臺北）及拙作《殷周造句法初探》（師大《國文學報》八期，六十八年六月，臺北），〈詩經語法研究〉（《中國學術年刊》一期，六十五年十二月，臺北），〈左傳造句法研究〉（師大《國文學報》一〇期，七十年六月，臺北）等。

³ 甲文著錄，採用一般習慣的簡稱。《粹》，指《殷契粹編》。

⁴ 《乙》，指《殷虛文字乙編》上中輯。

⁵ 《佚》，指《殷契佚存》。

①我友邦君越尹氏、庶士、御事（《書·大誥》）②厥家人越厥小臣、外正（又、《康誥》）③庶邦庶士越少正、御事（又、《酒誥》）④中國民越厥疆土（又、《梓材》）⑤王之讎民、百君子越友民（又、《召誥》）

按：「越」用爲並列連詞，僅見於《尚書》，其他典籍未見。據以上五例可知，「越」專用以連接名詞性的並列單位；多項並列時，連詞「越」的位置不固定，也未見有連用的現象。

2. 後期通用的連詞

與（舉）

①爾鉤援與爾臨衝（《詩·大雅·皇矣》）②予與女（又《小雅·巷伯》）③璧與珪（《書·金縢》）④邑晉又九十又九邑舉罷之民人都畷（鄙）（金文、斚罍——齊器）⑤富與貴（《論語·里仁》）⑥一鉤金與一與羽（《孟子·告子下》）⑦馬四十乘與師茷、師慧（《左傳·襄十五》）⑧可攻與否（又、《僖三十》）⑨東師之未至也與軍帥之不具也（又、《成十七》）⑩有季氏與無（又、《昭二五》）⑪臺、原、姑與漆里（《國語·齊語六》）⑫爲仁與爲國（又、《晉語一》）⑬殺晉君與逐出之與以歸之與復之（又、《晉語三》）⑭以同羣國之中與絕親以買直與非司寇而擅殺（又、《晉語九》）⑮殺之與去之與止之（又、《鄭語一》）⑯無會而歸與會而先晉（又、《吳語六》）

按：以上除第①例詩大雅皇矣的寫作時代待考外，其餘各例都屬後期作品。即或皇矣寫於前期，由於其他前期典籍中並無相同的用例，我們仍可認定「與」是後期通用的並列連詞。

以上十六例中，⑧⑨⑩以及⑫至⑯八例，都是造句結構並列，表現了《左傳》、《國語》在語法上的特色。查考相關的上下文可知，這些並列結構在句中都是名詞性單位。⁶《國語》的這種結構與《左傳》的稍有不同，它有連用連詞的現象。

（二）並列的形式

並列結構中，構成並列關係的單位，通常在詞性上是同類。這就是說，名詞通常總與名詞並列，數詞通常總與數詞並列，其他詞類也是這樣。假如使用連詞，則不論連用與否，通常也只使用一種並列連詞。可是在上古漢語中，有兩種特殊的並列形式與此不同。一是由數量結構與一零數並列。這一零數，本是數量結構中數詞加語的一

6 各例的相關文句如下：⑧〔晉人侵鄭以觀其〕可攻與否。⑨〔以〕東師之未至也與軍帥之不具也。〔曰：此必敗。〕⑩〔凡〕有季氏與無〔於我孰利〕。⑫爲仁與爲國〔不同〕。⑬殺晉君與逐出之與以歸之與復之〔孰利〕。⑭〔夫〕以同羣國之中與絕親以買直與非司寇而擅殺〔其罪一也〕。⑮〔夏后卜〕殺之與去之與止之〔莫吉〕。⑯無會而歸與會而先晉〔孰利〕。

部分，却移置在量詞端語之後。另一種形式是在並列連詞「與」前面又加一組合連詞「之」，使並列結構兼具組合形式。這兩種特殊形式，分別見於前後期，舉例說明如下：

1. 僅見於前期的並列形式：

數量結構（+連詞）+零數

①十人二（甲文、《粹》、四一二）②卅牛三（又、五〇三）③十月二（又、七二三）④十弓又五（又、七五）⑤十牢又五（又、五七九）⑥十月又二（又、一四六四）

按：這類形式，僅見於甲文，其他典籍未見。以上各例，後列的零數顯然是前列數詞加語的一部分。「十人二」即「十二人」；「十牢又五」即「十五牢」。在甲骨文中這類結構，零數並非必須後置，以下三例可供比較：

十五牛（甲文、《粹》、五八六）十二月（又、一八〇）二千六百五十六人（又、《通》、十九）⁷

2. 後期新興的並列形式

名詞性單位+連詞「之與」+名詞性單位

①聰耳明目之與聾聵（《墨子·耕柱》）②相收之與相棄（《莊子·山木》）③吳之與越（《國語·吳語一》）④王者之與亡者（《荀子·王制》）⑤能不能之與不可（又、《性惡》）

按：這類形式，未見於《論語》、《孟子》、《左傳》及其他早期文獻，當是後期新興而未普遍流行的語法現象。據以上五例可知，連詞「之與」前後的單位，可以是名詞，也可以是名詞性的主從結構與造句結構。加「之」與不加「之」這兩種形式，在表意功能上稍有不同。加「之」以後，前後兩個單位的對比性較強。所以這類形式在造句功能上比不加「之」的形式範圍小些，通常只用於主語及斷語，未見其用於賓語及次賓語，後者的用法，則是不加「之」的形式所可以有的。⁸

二、主從結構的發展

（一）連詞的使用

漢語的主從結構，加語與端語之間可加連詞，也可不加。古代漢語這類結構中常用的連詞是「之」。在上古，除了甲文資料未見「之」的用例以外，前後期文獻用「之」作連詞的主從結構隨處可見。《詩經》的後期作品中，又有用「者」作連詞的

⁷ 《通》，指《卜辭通纂》。

⁸ 例如：「弑父與君」《論語·先進》；「配義與道」《孟子·公孫丑上》是用於賓語。「殺人以梃與刃」《孟子·梁惠王上》；「其若先王與百姓何」《國語·周語中》是用於次賓語。

例子，是比較特殊的現象。舉例說明如下：

後期新興的連詞

者

①有卷者阿（《詩·大雅·卷阿》）②翩翩者離（又、《小雅·四牡》）③皇皇者華（又、《皇皇者華》）④有濯者淵（又、《小弁》）⑤茁者葭（又、《召南·騶虞》）⑥株者子（又、《鄘風·干旄》）⑦蒼者天（又、《秦風·黃鳥》）⑧蜎蜎者蠋（又、《豳風·東山》）

按：關於「者」字的這類用法，拙作《詩經語法研究》曾加以討論，茲節引其中相關的文字以資參考。

「《詩經》中『形容詞＋者＋名詞』的結構，就形式看有三種可能的解釋：（一）判斷句：以『者』為代詞（＝之×）。如『蜎蜎者蠋』意謂：蜎蜎的東西，是蠋。——蜎蜎者，主語；蠋，斷語。（二）表態句：以『者』為助詞，表語倒置。如『蜎蜎者蠋』意謂：蜎蜎啊！蠋。——蜎蜎，表語；者，助詞；蠋，主語。（三）主從結構：以『者』為連詞（＝之）。如『蜎蜎者蠋』意謂：蜎蜎的蠋。蜎蜎，加語；者，連詞；蠋，端語。《詩經》中，『彼茁者葭』（《召南·騶虞》）、『彼茁者蓬』（又）、『彼株者子』（《鄘風·干旄》）、『彼蒼者天』（《秦風·黃鳥》）等四例，否定了上述第二種可能，因為通常『彼』不修飾表語。《小雅·何草不黃》末章：『有芃者狐，率彼幽草。有棧之車，行彼周道。』『有芃者狐』跟『有棧之車』是最好的對比，它加強了我們對於上述第三種可能的信心。『者』作主從連詞，在古代文獻中雖顯得特殊些，但詩中『者』相當於『之』的用法却有例證。如『維魴及鯢，薄言觀者』（《小雅·采綠》）《詩經釋義》：『觀者，猶觀之也。』（頁一九八）」（《中國學術年刊》，第一期、頁三一）

（二）助詞的使用

上古漢語主從結構的加語與端語之間，有加助詞的現象。如「惟（有惟、雖）」「其（已）」等都是前後期通用的這類助詞。⁹下文要分別舉例說明的，是僅見於前期及後期新興的兩類加端語之間的助詞。

1. 僅見於前期的助詞

乎

⁹ 例如：「予惟小子」《書·大誥》；「女有惟小子」（金文、師毳毳）屬於前期。「余雖小子」《金文、秦公毳、鐘——秦器）屬於後期。「匪（彼）其醜」《易·離·上九》；「朕其弟」《書·康誥》屬於前期。「彼其之子」《詩·王風·楊之水》等；「夫已氏」《左傳·文十四》屬於後期。

①明公尹_△𠂔宣（金文、令彝）②天子_△𠂔休（又、同設）③我_△𠂔周（又、師匱殷）

按：「𠂔」用爲加端語間的助詞，僅見於金文，其他典籍未見。以上三例中，最值得注意的是第③例，它否決了「𠂔」用作「其（＝彼之）」及用作「之」的可能性，因爲「我其周」不通；而「我之周」亦非金文句法。上古漢語中，代詞加語「我」後面通常不加連詞「之」，即沒有「我之……」這類的主從結構。因此「𠂔」只是一個助詞。

2. 後期新興的助詞

斯

①百斯男（《詩·大雅·思齊》、又金文、叔夷鐘——齊器）②萬斯年（又、《下武》）③千斯倉（又、《小雅·甫田》）④萬斯箱（又）

按：「斯」用爲加端語間的助詞，僅見於《詩經》及金文。以上四例，《詩經》各篇的著作時代不詳；叔夷鐘則爲春秋時代齊器已無可疑。¹⁰《詩經》早期的作品如《周頌》等，沒有這類用法，因此加端語間加助詞「斯」，當是上古後期的現象。

三、造句結構的發展

漢語造句結構的各種基本形式，如：主謂形式、謂語形式、組合形式、複合形式等，在上古前期都已規模粗具。後期的變化，主要表現在組合形式上，茲舉例說明如下：

後期新興的組合形式

1. 主語＋連詞（之）＋介詞＋次賓語

①知其說者之於天下（《論語·八佾》）②寡人之於國（《孟子·梁惠王上》）③耻之於人（又、《盡心上》）④孔丘之於至人（《莊子·德充符》）⑤仲行伯之於晉（《左傳·成三》）⑥先王之於民（《國語·周語上》）⑦周公之於成王（《荀子·臣道》）⑧當塗者之於人主（《韓非子·孤憤》）⑨越之在吳（《國語·吳語》）⑩吳人之那不穀（又、《越語下》）¹¹

按：以上各例，都用介賓結構作謂語。次賓語表示對象，因此介詞相當於「對於」。⑨⑩兩例，在《國語》中屬孤例，可說是國語語法的特殊現象。

2. 主語＋連詞（之）＋準繫詞（爲）＋斷語

①中庸之爲德（《論語·雍也》）②其爲人（又、《學而》）¹²③弈之爲數（《孟

¹⁰ 參考《兩周金文辭大系考釋》，頁二〇二。

¹¹ 韋昭注：「那，於也。」

¹² 「其」解作「彼之」，代表「主語＋連詞（之）」。

子·告子上》) ④其爲氣(又、〈公孫丑上〉) ⑤大壑之爲物(《莊子·天地》) ⑥其爲鳥(又、〈山木〉) ⑦死之爲道(《荀子·禮論》) ⑧龍之爲蟲(《韓非子·說難》) ⑨潛之爲言(《易·乾文言》) ⑩茅之爲物(又、〈繫辭上〉)

按：以上各例，都是由準判斷句在主謂語間加連詞「之」或主語用「其(=彼之)」所構成的組合式造句結構。它們在形式上與一般的組合式造句結構沒有什麼差別，但在實際作用上，準繫詞「爲」的意義有虛化的傾向。例如「……爲德」，不必解釋爲「……作爲道德」；「……爲人」，也不能解釋爲「……作爲人」。值得注意的是這類結構在「之爲」後的名詞都是「之爲」前的名詞或代詞的類名。如「德」是「中庸」的類名；「人」是「其」所稱代的人的類名。因此「中庸之爲德」意謂「中庸這種道德」；「其爲人」意謂「他這個人」。這類結構在句中的功能是加強對主語的指謂，以便下文作出解釋。

貳、句的發展

一、介賓結構的發展

(一) 介詞的使用

漢語的介賓結構，根據次賓語的作用可加以分類。不同的時代在各類介詞的使用上都會有些差異，但並非沒有相同的部分。上古漢語的各類次賓語，前後期通用的介詞如下：

處所——在(才)、于(掌、於)、自、從、由、卿(嚮、向)。

時間——在(才)、于(掌、於)、自。

憑藉——用、以(目)。

原因——用、以(目)。

交與——以、及(役)、暨、于(於)、與。

關切——爲。

受事——于(於)。

比較——于(於)。

施動——于(於)。

至於彼此相異的部分，下文分別舉例說明。

1. 僅見於前期的介詞：

(1) 越

①肆予曷敢不越_△卬救寧王大命(《書·大誥》) ②祇保越_△怨不易(又〈酒誥〉)

③越_△小大德，小子惟一（又）④越_△茲麗刑並制（又、〈呂刑〉）

按：「越」用爲介詞，作用同「於」，¹³ 僅見於《尚書》。以上四例都介繫處所次賓語，①②兩例的次賓語表所在；③④兩例的次賓語表對象。

(2) 罍

- ①有_△嗣罍師氏小子卿射（金文、令鼎）②我不能不_△罍_△櫓白萬季保（又、縣紀殷）
③從其_△罍_△季子子孫孫萬季永寶用（又、走殷）

按：「罍」用爲介詞，作用同「與」，僅見於金文。以上三例都介繫交與次賓語。

2. 後期新興的介詞

(1) 乎

- ①期我_△乎桑中（《詩·鄘風·桑中》）②殊異_△乎公路（又、〈魏風·汾沮洳〉）
③君子所貴_△乎道者三（《論語·泰伯》）④以吾一日長_△乎爾（又、〈先進〉）⑤拔_△乎其萃（《孟子·公孫丑上》）⑥奮_△乎百世之上（又、〈盡心下〉）⑦或問_△乎曾西（又、〈公孫丑上〉）⑧德蕩_△乎名（《莊子·人間世》）⑨利澤施_△乎萬物（又、〈大宗師〉）
⑩何恤_△乎無家（《左傳·閔元》）⑪各垂_△乎後世（《荀子·王霸》）⑫眩_△乎辯說（《韓非子·問田》）

按：「乎」用爲介詞，作用同「于」，但「乎」只能放在述語或表語後面，「于」則沒有這種限制。以上各例，「乎」所介繫的次賓語包括處所（①③⑤⑩各例）、時間（⑥⑪兩例）、交與（第②例）、比較（第④例）、受事（⑦⑨兩例）、施事（⑧⑫兩例）。

(2) 諸

- ①吾力猶能肆_△諸市朝（《論語·憲問》）②子張書_△諸紳（又、〈衛靈公〉）③注_△諸海（《孟子·滕文公上》）④適_△諸越（《莊子·逍遙遊》）⑤今問_△諸使者（《左傳·隱五》）⑥使下臣致_△諸執事（又、〈文十二〉）⑦必發_△諸晉國（《國語·晉語五》）⑧近取_△諸身（《易·繫辭下》）

按：「諸」是「之于」的合音字，它在句中用作代詞賓語兼介詞。它偶而也用在內動詞述語後，如上列第④例，這時它的代詞賓語的作用消失，成爲一個純粹的介詞。以上各例，「諸」所介繫的，除⑤⑥兩例爲受事次賓語外，其餘都是處所次賓語。

(3) 焉

¹³ 屈萬里先生《尚書釋義》：「越，于。」（頁一一二）。

①三人行，必有我師焉（《論語·述而》）②將大有爲之君，必有所不召之臣，欲有謀焉，則就之（《孟子·公孫丑下》）③過而能改，善莫大焉（《左傳·宣二》）④昔陪臣書能輸力於王室，王施惠焉（又、《襄二十》）⑤知文公之安齊而有終焉之志（《國語·晉語四》）⑥人主以一國目視，故視莫明焉（《韓非子·定法》）

按：「焉」用作介詞兼次賓語，相當於「于是」；如在句末，則又兼具助詞的功能，表示陳述語氣。以上各例，「焉」所代表的介賓結構中，次賓語包括：處所（①⑤兩例）、交與（第②例）、比較（③⑥兩例）、受事（第④例）。

(4)面

①恭己正南面而已矣（《論語·衛靈公》）②東面而征，西夷怨（《孟子·滕文公下》）③始也吾以南面而君天下（《莊子·德充符》）④被髮北面而諫（《左傳·哀十七》）⑤東面而迎太歲（《荀子·儒效》）⑥率天下西面以與秦爲難（《韓非子·初見秦》）

按：「面」用爲介詞，專介繫表方向的處所次賓語。以上各例，方位詞次賓語都在介詞前面。

(5)當

①當在宋也，予將有遠行（《孟子·公孫丑下》）②當是時，猶象人也（《莊子·田子方》）③不可以當吾世而失諸侯（《左傳·成十六》）④當周末有（《國語·鄭語》）⑤當是時也，夫又誰爲恭矣哉（《荀子·儒效》）⑥當今之時，將安用之（《韓非子·說疑》）

按：「當」用爲介詞，專介繫時間次賓語。

(6)乃

①而後乃今將圖南（《莊子·逍遙遊》）②吾乃今於是乎見龍（又、《天運》）③吾乃今而後知有卜筮（《左傳·襄七》）④眾謂號不久，吾乃今知之（《國語·晉語二》）⑤寡人出亡二十年，乃今得反國（《韓非子·外儲說左上》）⑥始吾以君爲天下之賢公子也，吾乃今然後知君非天下之賢公子也（《戰國策·趙策》）

按：「乃」用爲介詞，專介繫時間次賓語，而且此一次賓語固定爲「今」。「乃今」相當於「如今」、「至今」。

(7)因

①因南郭惠子以見田常（《墨子·非儒下》）②墨者夷之因徐辟而求見孟子（《孟子·滕文公上》）③因其所大而大之（《莊子·秋水》）④因魏獻子以晝入絳（《左傳·襄廿三》）⑤因是行也，我二年六月朝于楚（又、《襄廿二》）

按：「因」用爲介詞，在上古多數介繫憑藉次賓語，介繫原因次賓語的例子極爲少見。以上所列，①至④例屬前者；第⑤例屬後者。

(8)比

①願_△比死者一洒之（《孟子·梁惠王上》）②比_△化者無使土親膚（又、《公孫丑下》）

按：「比」用爲介詞，讀去聲，專介繫關切次賓語，且僅見於《孟子》，可說是《孟子》語法上的特色。

(9)以

①不我以_△歸（《詩·邶風·擊鼓》）②投我以_△木瓜（又、《衛風·木瓜》）③初晉穆侯之夫人姜氏以_△條之役生太子（《左傳·桓二》）④晉君朝以_△入（又、《僖十五》）⑤盡以_△寶行（又、《文十六》）⑥利以_△伐姜（又、《哀九》）⑦難以_△速得志矣（《國語·齊語》）⑧將以_△己丑焚公宮（又、《晉語四》）⑨故能攝固不解以_△久（又、《魯語上》）⑩魯以_△五月起眾爲長溝（《韓非子·外儲說右上》）

按：「以」用爲介詞，已見於上古前期文獻。但在前期，它只介繫憑藉、原因、交與三類次賓語；到了後期，它的介繫功能除前述三種外，還有所擴大。如上所舉各例，「以」所介繫的次賓語包括：時間（③④⑧⑨⑩五例）、帶領（①⑤兩例）、以及表方面的處所次賓語（⑥⑦兩例），在雙賓語句中，它還可用來介繫直接賓語（第②例）。必要時次賓語還可移置在它前面（第①④兩例）。

(10)爲

①胡爲_△我作（《詩·小雅·十月之交》）②何爲_△其然也（《論語·雍也》）③邦君爲_△兩君之好有反玷（又、《八佾》）④不爲_△酒困（又、《子罕》）⑤吾爲_△此懼（《孟子·滕文公下》）⑥今爲_△宮室之美爲_△之（又、《告子上》）⑦臣請爲_△王言樂（又、《梁惠王下》）⑧將爲_△汝言其崖略（《莊子·知北遊》）⑨宋爲_△乘丘之役故侵我（《左傳·莊十一》）⑩且君嘗爲_△晉君賜矣（又、《僖三十》）⑪君爲_△社稷死（又、《襄廿五》）⑫爲_△諸侯笑（又、《哀十》）⑬天不爲_△人之惡寒也輟冬（《荀子·天論》）⑭夫差爲_△擒（《韓非子·飾邪》）

按：「爲」用爲介詞，上古前期已見，介繫關切次賓語。後期除沿襲此一作用外，功能有所擴展。如上舉各例，「爲」所介繫的次賓語包括：原因（①②⑤⑨⑬五例）、目的（③⑥⑪三例）、施動（④⑫⑭三例）、對象（⑦⑧兩例）、受事（第⑩例）。①②兩例的次賓語是疑問代詞，因而前置；第⑭例的次賓語省略。

(11)由

①由百世之後，等百世之王（《孟子·公孫丑上》）②何由知吾可也（又、〈梁惠王上〉）③鄭伯由是始惡於王（《左傳·莊廿一》）④申侯由是得罪（又、〈僖五〉）

按：「由」用爲介詞，已見於上古前期，介繫處所次賓語。後期除沿襲此一作用外，功能有所擴展。如上舉各例，「由」所介繫的次賓語包括：時間（①③兩例）、原因（②④兩例）。第②例疑問代詞次賓語前置。

（二）次賓語的句位

漢語的介賓結構，次賓語通常在介詞後面，但在一定條件之下，也可能移置在介詞之前。如疑問詞次賓語、方位詞次賓語、以及由「用」「以」介繫的次賓語、否定句中的代詞次賓語等，它們移置在介詞前都是上古前後期常見的現象。¹⁴除此以外，比較能反映時代特色的，舉例說明如下。

1. 僅見於前期的句位

時間次賓語＋介詞（在）

王固曰吉、甞。之日允甞戕方，十二月在（甲文、《乙》四〇六九）

按：此例時間次賓語「十二月」不具備上文所說的倒置條件，可是它却出現在介詞前面。這在甲文中也屬罕見，可說是甲文語法的特殊現象。

2. 後期新興的句位

（1）處所／交與次賓語＋介詞（于／於）

①申伯還南，謝于誠歸（《詩·大雅·崧高》）②入而能民，土於何有（《左傳·僖九》）¹⁵③勞之不圖，報於何有（又、〈僖廿八〉）④特此三者而不脩政德，亡於不暇、又何能濟（又、〈昭四〉）⑤王貪而無信，唯蔡於感（又、〈昭十一〉）⑥其一二父兄懼隊宗主，私族於謀而立長親（又、〈昭十九〉）⑦諺所謂室於怒，市於色者，楚之謂矣（又）⑧鼃於何有（《國語·魯語下》）⑨使海於有蔽，渠弭於有諸，環山於有牢（又、〈齊語〉）

按：以上九例，移置在介詞前的次賓語也不具備上文所說的倒置條件。其中第⑥例是交與次賓語，其餘都是處所次賓語。這種特殊句位，在古代漢語中並不多見。

（2）表語（如／若／奈）＋表對象的處所次賓語＋表語（何）

①如此良人何（《詩·唐風·綢繆》）②不能以禮讓爲國，如禮何（《論語·里

¹⁴ 參見拙作〈古代漢語的語序變換〉（中研院《國際漢學會議論文集》，七十年十月，臺北）。

¹⁵ 竹添光鴻《左傳會箋》：「土於何有，本當言何有於土。如〈晉語〉云何有於妻，是倒字成句也。……無是蔑卑之辭，有是貴重之辭。何有者不貴之辭。此言得民心則土自從之也。」（卷五，頁五四）。

仁》) ③君如彼何哉(《孟子·梁惠王下》) ④其如君何(《韓非子·外儲說右上》)

⑤君將若之何(《左傳·隱元》) ⑥其若文武何(又、《僖廿四》) ⑦無若諸侯之屬辱在寡君何(又、《襄卅一》) ⑧其若爲諸侯笑何(《國語·晉語三》) ⑨無若政何(又、《晉語四》)

⑩奈天下何(《莊子·天下》) ⑪奈夫八疾何(《國語·晉語四》) ⑫孤無奈越之先君何(又、《吳語》) ⑬吾奈無箭何(《韓非子·十過》) ⑭奈臣有圖國者何(又)

按：以上所列這類句子，表語「如何」或「若何」「奈何」本已結合成爲一個疑問詞，次賓語嵌在中間，形成一種特殊句位。這類嵌在中間的次賓語都表示對象，通常用介詞「於(=對於)」介繫。

楊樹達先生認爲這類句子中的「如」或「若」「奈」是動詞，有「對付」的意思，「何」則爲副語。¹⁶ 姑不論「如」或「若」「奈」在上古有無當「對付」講的動詞用例；把「何」看作副詞而竟在賓語之後，這在古代漢語中是根本沒有例證的。

二、助詞的發展

漢語的助詞，主要功能在表現句子的情貌、語氣。因此它比其他的語法成分當更能有效地反映時代的特色。上古漢語前後期相因通用的助詞如下：

句首助詞——佳(惠、唯、維、惟)、其、越若(曰若)。

句中助詞——佳(惠、唯、維、惟)、伊、斯、曰、言、云、聿、其、豈、薄、之、是、來、攸、所、瑕(遐)。

句末助詞——哉(才)、思、矣、已、也、爾、與。

至於前後期相異的部分，下文分別舉例說明。

1. 僅見於前期的助詞：

(1)洪惟、爽惟、誕惟、迪惟、肆、獻、寧、越、若。

①洪_△惟_△我幼冲人，嗣無疆大歷服(《書·大誥》) ②洪_△惟_△圖天之命，弗永寅念于祀(又、《多方》) ③爽_△惟_△民，迪吉康(又、《康誥》) ④爽_△惟_△天其罰殛我(又) ⑤誕_△惟_△厥縱淫佚于非彝(又、《酒誥》) ⑥迪_△惟_△前人光，施于我冲子(又、《君奭》) ⑦肆_△予冲人，永思艱(又、《大誥》) ⑧肆_△汝小子封，惟命不于常(又、《康誥》) ⑨獻_△吾考克淵克尸(金文、沈子殷) ⑩獻_△淮尸敢伐內國(又、《魯頌》) ⑪寧_△我其邁(相)先王受民受疆土(又、大孟鼎) ⑫越_△予小子考翼，不可征(《書·大誥》) ⑬

16 參見楊樹達先生《詞詮》卷二「奈」及卷五「若」「如」各條。

若天棐忱（又、〈君奭〉）⑭若古有訓（又、〈呂刑〉）

按：以上九個助詞，都出現於句首，屬於所謂發語詞，即句首助詞。它們的主要作用就在興發語氣。

(2) 侯、迪、誕（延）

①侯主侯伯，侯亞侯旅，侯彊侯以（《詩·周頌·載芣》）②迪簡在王庭（《書·多方》）③迪知忱恂于九德之行（又、〈立政〉）④誕保文武受民（又、〈洛誥〉）⑤在位誕無我責（又、〈君奭〉）⑥王延正師氏（金文、師遽殷）

按：以上三個助詞，都出現於謂語前，屬於所謂句中助詞。它們的主要作用是順適語氣。

(3) 于、厥

①獫狁于襄（《詩·小雅·出車》）②獫狁于夷（又）③此厥不聽（《書·無逸》）

按：以上兩個助詞，都出現於提前的賓語後述語前，也屬於句中助詞。它們的主要作用是順適語氣並標示賓語提前。

(4) 茲、辭、所

①嗚呼，休茲，知恤鮮哉（《書·立政》）②天棐忱辭（又、〈大誥〉）③天閱茲我成功所（又）④王敬作所（又、〈召誥〉）⑤多歷年所（又、〈君奭〉）

按：以上三個助詞，都出現於句末，屬於所謂句末助詞。它們的主要作用是表示結束語氣。

2. 後期新興的助詞

(1) 夫、蓋、緊

①夫我則不暇（《論語·憲問》）②夫誰與王敵（《孟子·梁惠王上》）③夫知亦有之（《莊子·逍遙遊》）④夫戰，勇氣也（《左傳·莊十》）⑤夫是之謂道德之極（《荀子·勸學》）⑥蓋上世嘗有不葬其親者（《孟子·滕文公上》）⑦蓋師是而无非，師治而无亂，是未明天地之理，萬物之情者也（《莊子·秋水》）⑧蓋帝堯長，帝舜短（《荀子·非相》）⑨爾有母遺，緊我獨無（《左傳·隱元》）

按：以上三個助詞，都出現於句首，屬於句首助詞。它們的主要作用是興發語氣。「夫」表示要有所陳述或議論；「蓋」表示要作一種推斷。「夫」還可用於句末，「蓋」還可用於句中，分別參見下文。

(2) 也、者、也者、乎、焉

①今也日蹙國百里（《詩·大雅·召旻》）②其爲人也孝弟（《論語·學而》）

③於答是也何有（《孟子·告子下》）④吾將使獲也佐吾子（《左傳·隱十一》）⑤三家者以雍徹（《論語·八佾》）⑥五穀者，種之美者也（《孟子·告子上》）⑦此二人者，實弑寡君（《左傳·隱四》）⑧孝弟也者，其爲仁之本與（《論語·學而》）⑨心乎愛矣（《詩·小雅·隰桑》）⑩況乎以不賢人之招招賢人乎（《孟子·萬章下》）⑪君子謂鄭莊公於是乎可謂正矣（《左傳·隱十》）⑫于是焉河伯欣然自喜（《莊子·秋水》）⑬遲速衰序於是焉在（《左傳·昭卅二》）⑭我周之東遷，晉鄭焉依（又、〈隱六〉）⑮安定國家，必大焉先（又、〈襄卅〉）

按：以上五個句中助詞，⑭⑮兩例出現於提前賓語後面，表示賓語提前。其餘各例則出現於主語、副語、介賓結構或複句連詞等成分的後面，主要作用在使語氣舒緩或稍作停頓以引出下文。「也」雖已見於上古前期文獻，但在句中的這類用法，却是後期的新發展。「乎」「焉」也可用於句末，參見下文。

(3) 蓋、其諸、其與

①君子於其所不知，蓋闕如也（《論語·里仁》）②蓋微招、角招是也（《孟子·梁惠王下》）③技蓋至此乎（《莊子·養生主》）④今諸侯之事我寡君不如昔者，蓋言語漏洩，則職女之由（《左傳·宣十四》）⑤夫子之求之也，其諸異乎人之求之與（《論語·學而》）⑥是盟也，其與幾何（《左傳·襄廿九》）⑦其居火也久矣，其與不然乎（又、〈昭十七〉）⑧民生於地上，寓也。其與幾何（《國語·吳語》）

按：以上三個助詞，都出現於謂語前面，也屬於句中助詞。它們的主要作用是表示一種推斷語氣。「蓋」也可用於句首，參見上文。

(4) 已矣、也已矣、而已矣

①賜也，始可與言詩已矣（《論語·學而》）②君子之所養，可知已矣（孟子·滕文公下）③孟僖子可則效已矣（《左傳·昭七》）④此亦妄人也已矣（《孟子·離婁下》）⑤莫已知也，斯已而已矣（《論語·憲問》）⑥善推其所爲而已矣（《孟子·梁惠王上》）

按：以上所列都屬於句末助詞。它們的主要作用在表示已然或定然語氣。（也已矣」是「也」與「已矣」的配合，加強了「也」所表示的判斷語氣。「而已矣」是「而已」與「矣」的配合，加強了「而已」所表示的止限語氣。

(5) 夫、矣夫、也夫

①逝者如斯夫（《論語·子罕》）②率天下之人而禍仁義者，必子之言夫（《孟子·告子上》）③後之人必有任是夫（《左傳·成二》）④古之聰明叡知神武而不殺者

夫（《易·繫辭上傳》）⑤然則公欲秦之利夫（《呂氏春秋·應言》）⑥未之思也夫（《論語·子罕》）⑦子臧之服不稱也夫（《左傳·僖廿四》）⑧亡之，命矣夫（《論語·雍也》）⑨固矣夫，高叟之爲詩也（《孟子·告子下》）⑩吾死無日矣夫（《左傳·成十二》）

按：「夫」用爲句末助詞，主要作用在表示感歎語氣。也有表示測度（第③④兩例）或疑問（第⑤例）的。它還可以與「矣」「也」配合使用，以增進語言的情味。

(6)焉

①嗟行之人，胡不比焉（《詩·唐風·杕杜》）②子如不言，則小子何述焉（《論語·陽貨》）③賜不受命而貨殖焉（又、〈先進〉）④萬鍾於我何加焉（《孟子·告子上》）⑤夫然後之中國踐天子位焉（又、〈萬章上〉）⑥君何急焉（《左傳·桓六》）⑦夫其敗也，如日月之食焉（又、〈宣十二〉）⑧物奚自入焉（《莊子·達生》）

按：「焉」用爲句末助詞，可以表示疑問（①②④⑥⑧五例）或陳述（③⑤⑦三例）。它還可以跟「耳乎」及「哉」配合使用，參見下文。

(7)乎、也乎、矣乎、云乎、而已乎、焉耳乎

①可乎（《書·堯典》）②亶其然乎（《詩·小雅·常棣》）③學而時習之，不亦說乎（《論語·學而》）④必也正名乎（又、〈子路〉）⑤惜乎吾見其進也，未見其止也（又、〈子罕〉）⑥參乎吾道一以貫之（又、〈里仁〉）⑦姑務脩德以待時乎（《左傳·莊八》）⑧美哉！淵乎（又、〈襄廿九〉）⑨君子慎其所立乎（《荀子·勸學》）⑩以容取人乎，失之子羽，以言取人乎，失之宰予（《韓非子·顯學》）⑪是尙爲能充其類也乎（《孟子·滕文公下》）⑫其無乃非德類也乎（《左傳·成二》）⑬有能一日用其力於仁矣乎（《論語·里仁》）⑭不既和矣乎（《左傳·襄卅》）⑮古之人有言曰：「事之」云乎？豈曰「友之」云乎（《孟子·萬章下》）⑯如斯而已乎（《論語·憲問》）⑰女得人焉耳乎（又、〈雍也〉）

按：「乎」用爲句末助詞，可以表示疑問（①②③三例）、感歎（⑤⑧⑨三例）、商量（④⑦⑩三例）或呼叫（第⑥例）語氣。它還可以跟「也」「矣」「云」「而已」「焉耳」等配合使用，配合後仍表示疑問語氣。

(8)諸

①日居月諸，胡迭而微（《詩·邶風·柏舟》）②日居月諸，照臨下土（又、〈日月〉）③山川其舍諸（《論語·雍也》）④盍去諸（《孟子·離婁下》）⑤然則盟諸（《左傳·襄十一》）

按：「諸」用爲句末助詞，可以表示呼叫（①②兩例）或疑問（③④⑤三例）語氣。它在外動詞後面時，也兼有代詞賓語的作用，成爲「之乎」的合音字（③⑤兩例）。

(9)居

①日居月諸，胡迭而微（《詩·邶風·柏舟》）②日居月諸，照臨下土（又、《日月》）③誰居？後之人必有任是夫（《左傳·成二》）④國有人焉，誰居？其孟椒乎（又、《襄廿三》）

按：「居」用爲句末助詞，可表示呼叫（①②兩例）或疑問（③④兩例）語氣。

(10)焉哉、乎哉、也乎哉、云乎哉

①已焉哉，天實爲之，謂之何哉（《詩·邶風·北門》）②反是不思，亦已焉哉（又、《衛風·氓》）③君子多乎哉（《論語·子罕》）④若寡人者可以保民乎哉（《孟子·梁惠王上》）⑤將可乎哉（《左傳·襄廿五》）⑥獨吾君也乎哉（又）⑦禮云禮云，玉帛云乎哉（《論語·陽貨》）

按：「哉」用爲句末助詞，已見於上古前期。在後期，它又可以跟「焉」「乎」「也乎」配合使用。「焉哉」表示感歎語氣；其餘都表示疑問語氣。

(11)而、乎而

①已而已而，今之從政者殆而（《論語·微子》）②唐棣之華，偏其反而（又、《子罕》引逸詩）③若敖氏之鬼不其餒而（《左傳·宣四》）④下民胥怨，不其亂而（《逸周書·芮良夫》）⑤俟我於著乎而？充耳以素乎而？尙之以瓊華乎而（《詩·齊風·著》）

按：「而」用爲句末助詞，可以表示感歎（①②兩例）或疑問（③④兩例）語氣。它還可以跟「乎」配合使用，表示疑問語氣。

(12)邪（耶）

①天之蒼蒼，其正色邪（《莊子·逍遙遊》）②始也我以女爲聖人邪，今然君子也（又、《天地》）③不知天之棄魯耶（《左傳·昭廿六》）④君子治治非治亂也，曷謂邪？禮義之謂治，非禮義之謂亂也（《荀子·不苟》）⑤我欲屬之鳥鼠禽獸邪，則不可（又、《榮辱》）⑥乾坤其易之門邪（《易·繫辭下傳》）

按：「邪（耶）」用爲句末助詞，可以表示疑問（①③④三例）或決定（②⑤⑥三例）語氣。

(13)兮

①不殄心憂，倉兄填兮（《詩·大雅·桑柔》）②標有梅，其實七兮（又、《召

南·標有梅》) ③鳳兮鳳兮，何德之衰（《論語·微子》）④佩玉紱兮，余無所繫之（《左傳·哀十三》）⑤操吳戈兮被犀甲，車錯轂兮短兵接（《楚辭·九歌·國殤》）

按：「兮」用爲句末助詞，可以表示感歎（①②兩例）或呼叫（第③例）語氣；此外它還可以使語氣舒緩稍作停頓（④⑤兩例）。

(4) 只

①仲氏任只，其心塞淵（《詩·邶風·燕燕》）②母也天只，不諒人只（又、《鄘風·柏舟》）③諸侯歸晉之德只，非歸其尸盟也（《左傳·襄廿七》）④春風奮發，萬物遽只（《楚辭·大招》）

按：「只」用爲句末助詞，主要作用在表示感歎語氣。

(5) 忌

①叔善射忌，又良御忌（《詩·鄭風·大叔于田》）②惟古之謀人，則曰未就予忌（《書·秦誓》）

按：「忌」用爲句末助詞，主要作用在表示感歎語氣。

(6) 耳、而已、云爾

①前言戲之耳（《論語·陽貨》）②直不百步耳（《孟子·梁惠王上》）③口耳之間則四寸耳（《荀子·勸學》）④生未嘗見寇耳（《韓非子·初見秦》）⑤王之動愈數，而離王愈遠耳（《戰國策·魏策》）⑥九人而已（《論語·泰伯》）⑦言舉斯心加諸彼而已（《孟子·梁惠王上》）⑧矢一而已（《左傳·宣十二》）⑨如斯而已者也（《易·繫辭上》）⑩不知老之將至云爾（《論語·述而》）⑪不行王政云爾（《孟子·滕文公下》）

按：「耳」用爲句末助詞，可以表示止限（①②③三例）或認定（④⑤兩例）語氣。「而已」「云爾」則只用爲表示止限語氣。

三、歎詞的發展

漢語的歎詞，可以獨立使用，作爲呼歎小句；也可以與名詞配合，構成呼歎小句。上古漢語，前期所用的歎詞，後期都有所承襲。如：嗚呼（烏呼、於乎）、於（惡）、俞（餘）、吁（于）、嗟、咨、已、噫（意、億、抑、懿）、嘻等。此外，後期也有新的發展，舉例說明如下：

後期新興的歎詞

(1) 猗嗟

①猗嗟昌兮，頤而長兮（《詩·齊風·猗嗟》）②猗嗟名兮，美目清兮（又）

按：「猗嗟」用爲歎詞，僅見於《詩經·齊風·猗嗟篇》。可以說是比較特殊的

歎詞。

(2)于嗟乎

①于嗟乎騶虞（《詩·召南·騶虞》）②于嗟乎，不承權輿（又、《秦風·權輿》）

按：「于嗟乎」用爲歎詞，當是「于嗟」加「乎」，以增強慨歎的情味。《詩經》有「于嗟」的用例，如：「于嗟麟兮」（《周南·麟之趾》）、「于嗟鳩兮，無食桑葚」（《衛風·氓》）。

(3)呼

①江革怒，曰：「呼！役夫，宜君王之欲殺女而立職也（《左傳·文元》）②曾子聞之，瞿然，曰：「呼！」（《禮記·檀弓》）

按：根據上列用例，「呼」用爲歎詞，當是摹狀憤怒或驚懼時所發的聲音。

四、被動式的發展

王了一先生說：「真正的被動式，在先秦是比較少見的，而且它的出現是春秋以後的事。」（《漢語史稿》、頁四二〇）按：王先生的說法並不正確。他所謂的「于字句」與「見字句」被動式，在西周文獻中都已出現，東周以後則使用得相當普遍。¹⁷當然，這兩種句式也就是上古漢語前後期通用的被動式。¹⁸此外，後期還有些新的發展，下文舉例加以說明。

後期新興的被動式

(1)「爲」字式

①不爲酒困（《論語·子罕》）②爲諸侯笑（《左傳·襄十》）③宜其爲禽也（又、《宣二》）④妻子爲戮（《國語·越語下》）⑤烈士爲天下見善矣（《莊子·至樂》）⑥道術將爲天下裂（又、《天下》）⑦牛馬爲用（《荀子·王制》）⑧出公之後聲氏爲晉公拘於銅鞮（《呂氏春秋·審應》）

按：以上各例，都用介詞「爲」介繫施動次賓語。③④⑦三例，次賓語省略。第⑤例是「爲字式」與「見字式」的配合，這種句式並不多見。漢代以後「爲字式」的被動詞前往往加一「所」字，如：「爲匈奴所敗」（《史記·大宛列傳》），這類句式先秦尚未出現。

(2)「被」字式

①今兄弟被侵必攻者廉也，知友被辱隨仇者貞也（《韓非子·五蠹》）②萬乘之

¹⁷ 參見拙作〈殷周造句法初探〉及〈左傳造句法研究〉。

¹⁸ 此外還有所謂「零式」，即沒有被動記號的被動句，不在討論之列。

國，被圍於趙（《戰國策·齊策》）③國一日被攻，雖欲事秦，不可得也（又）

按：王了一先生說：「『被』字句大約萌芽於戰國末期。」（《漢語史稿》、頁四二五）他的看法很對，以上三例就是「被字式」萌芽期的實例。這時「被」還沒有介繫施動次賓語的用法，據王先生考察，像「禰衡被魏武謫爲鼓吏」（《世說新語·言語》）這種句式，用「被」介繫施動者，要到第四、五世紀之間才產生。¹⁹

五、複合式的發展

漢語的複合句式，可依據其中分句之間的關係來分類。上古漢語，在複句關係的類別上，一般來說，前後期沒有太大的差異。而在關係詞的使用上，兩期之間則有因有革。前後兩期，相因通用的複句關係詞如下：

加合關係詞——而、且、又、既、亦、以。

時間關係詞——乃（廼）、而、則、既、爰、斯、載、若。

因果關係詞——肆、故、因、以、用、是以。

目的關係詞——以。

條件關係詞——斯、則（則）、作。

假設關係詞——乃、則、其。

轉折關係詞——乃、寧。

擒縱關係詞——雖。

比較關係詞——亦、不如。

逼進關係詞——矧。

交替關係詞——或。

此外，兩期在複句關係詞的使用上相異的部分，舉例說明如下：

1. 僅見於前期的複句關係詞：

(1) 加合關係詞——累

①小臣諫蔑曆累易貝（金文、小臣諫殷）②替（禮）百生（姓）豚累賓（賞）貞
𠄎貝（又、臣辰盂）

按：「累」用爲加合關係詞，僅見於金文。它在甲、金文中，也常用爲並列連詞，參見上文第壹節。

(2) 假設關係詞——厥（孚）

①孚非先告𠄎（蔡），毋敢庆又入告（金文、蔡殷）②王厥有成命，治民今休

¹⁹ 《漢語史稿》，頁四二七。

(《書·召誥》) ③厥或告之曰：「小人怨汝，詈汝。」則皇自敬德(又、〈無逸〉)

按：「厥，猶若也。」說見裴學海《古書虛字集釋》卷五。與「厥」通用的「其」，也可用爲假設關係詞，而且見於上古前後兩期文獻。

(3)時間關係詞——作

①作其卽位，乃或亮陰，三年不言(《書·無逸》) ②作其卽位，爰知小人之依(又)

按：「作，猶及也。」說見《經傳釋詞》卷八。

2. 後期新興的複句關係詞

(1)加合關係詞——與、又與

①今嘗計軍上竹箭羽旄幄幕甲盾撥，劫往而靡弊腑冷不反者，不可勝數；又與予戟戈劍乘車，其列往碎折靡弊而不反者，不可勝數；與其牛馬，肥而往，瘠而反，往死亡而不反者，不可勝數；與其塗道之脩遠，糧食輟絕而不繼，百姓死者，不可勝數也；與其居處之不安，食飲之不時，飢飽之不節，百姓之道疾病而死者，不可勝數(《墨子·非攻中》) ②盡天年則全而壽，必成功則富與貴(《韓非子·解老》)

按：「與，猶而也，且也。」說見陳啓天《韓非子校釋》頁七九九。「與」通常用爲並列連詞，參見上文第壹節。

(2)時間關係詞——迨、逮、逮至、及、比、方、遂、乃遂、而遂、故遂、然後、而後、於是、安(案)、焉、焉乃。

①迨我暇矣，飲此湑矣(《詩·小雅·伐木》) ②逮吳之未定，君其取分焉(《左傳·定四》) ③逮至其臨衆發政而治民，莫知尙賢而使能(《墨子·尙賢下》) ④及其使人也，求備焉(《論語·子路》) ⑤比其反也，則凍餒其妻子(《孟子·梁惠王下》) ⑥方其夢也，不知其夢也(《莊子·齊物論》)

⑦雨我公田，遂及我私(《詩·小雅·大田》) ⑧公既視朔，遂登觀臺以望(《左傳·僖五》) ⑨若未有，不如往也，乃遂行(《國語·魯語下》) ⑩夏桀之常違兮，乃遂焉而逢殃(《楚辭·離騷》) ⑪固將朝也，聞王命而遂不果(《孟子·公孫丑上》) ⑫用刑則不善，故遂以爲五殺(《墨子·尙同中》) ⑬吾自衛反魯，然後樂正，雅頌各得其所(《論語·子罕》) ⑭必使反之，而後和之(又、〈述而〉) ⑮景公悅，大戒於國，出舍於郊，於是始興發，補不足(《孟子·梁惠王下》) ⑯保君父之命而享其生祿，於是乎得人(《左傳·僖廿三》) ⑰既而皆入其地，王安挺志，一日惕，一日留(《國語·吳語》) ⑱是案日是(《荀子·臣道》) ⑲必知亂之所自起，焉能治之(《墨子·兼愛上》) ⑳若赴水火，入焉焦沒耳(《荀子·議兵》) ㉑音樂

博衍無終極兮，焉乃逝以徘徊（《楚辭·遠遊》）

按：以上十六個關係詞，「迨」、「逮」、「逮至」、「及」、「比」、「方」為一組，它們都用在第一分句句首，即主語前面。其餘的關係詞為另一組，它們都用在第二分句，或在句首，或在主語後。

(3) 因果關係詞——為、是用、所以。

①為不順於父母，如窮人無所歸（《孟子·萬章上》）②舜不告而娶，為無後也（又、《離婁上》）③謀夫孔多，是用不集（《詩·小雅·小旻》）④不穀惡其無成德，是用宣之，以懲不壹（《左傳·成十三》）⑤令聞廣譽施於身，所以不顧人之文繡也（《孟子·告子上》）⑥既不能強，又不能弱，所以斃也（《左傳·僖七》）

按：以上三個關係詞，「為」可用在第一分句，也可用在第二分句；其餘兩個都用在第二分句。王了一先生認為「所以」要到唐代才真正用為複句關係詞，先秦的「所以」都是「把謂語結構和句子結構變為仿語結構」的成分。²⁰但是如上文所列的句例，「所以」的用法實與後代作純粹關係詞的用法相當接近，可以認為是後代這種用法的濫觴。

(4) 假設關係詞——如、若、使、如使、苟、若苟、當（尙）、當（常）使、所、借、藉、為、唯毋（無、无）²¹、自、詎、猶、斯。

①君子如怒，亂庶遄沮（《詩·小雅·巧言》）②如伋去，君誰與守（《孟子·離婁下》）③若聖與仁，則吾豈敢（《論語·述而》）④若我出師，必懼而歸（《左傳·文十六》）⑤使驕且吝，其餘不足觀也已（《論語·泰伯》）⑥如使人之所欲莫甚於生，則凡可以得生者，何不用也（《孟子·告子上》）⑦苟志於仁，無惡也（《論語·里仁》）⑧若苟君說之，則衆能為之（《墨子·兼愛中》）⑨當為之撞巨鐘，擊鳴鼓，彈琴瑟，吹竽笙而揚干戚，民衣食之財將安可得乎（又、《非樂上》）⑩尙欲祖述堯舜禹湯之道，將不可以不尙賢（又、《尙賢上》）⑪當使若二士者，言必信，行必果，使言之合猶合符節也，無言而不行也；然即敢問今有平原廣野於此，被甲嬰冑將往戰，死生之權未可識也，又有君大夫之遠使於巴越齊荆，往來及否未及否未可識也，然即敢問不識將惡也，家室奉承親戚，提挈妻子而寄託之，不識於兼之有是乎？於別之有是乎哉（又、《兼愛下》）⑫常使若二君者，言必信，行必果，使言之合猶合符節也，無言而不行也；然即敢問今歲有癘疫，萬民多有勤苦凍餒轉死溝壑

²⁰ 《漢語史稿》，頁四〇二。

²¹ 「唯毋（無、无）」作假設關係詞，說參周法高先生〈「唯毋」解〉（《上古語法札記》（一）、《史語所集刊》22）。

中者，既已衆矣，不識將擇之二君者將何從也（又）^⑬爾所弗勸，其于爾躬有戮（《書·牧誓》）^⑭予所否者，天厭之，天厭之（《論語·雍也》）^⑮借曰未知，亦既抱子（《詩·大雅·抑》）^⑯藉爲人之國，若爲其國，夫誰獨舉其國以攻人之國者哉（《墨子·兼愛下》）^⑰爲見王，必掩口（《韓非子·內儲說下》）^⑱今唯毋廢一時，則百姓飢寒凍餒而死者不可勝數（《墨子·非攻中》）^⑲今唯無以厚葬久喪者爲政，國家必貧，人民必寡，刑政必亂（又、〈節葬下〉）^⑳若唯无詔，王公必將乘人而鬥其捷（《莊子·人間世》）^㉑自非聖人，外寧必有內憂（《左傳·成十六》）^㉒詎非聖人，不有外患，必有內憂（《國語·晉語六》）^㉓猶有鬼神，於彼加之（《左傳·襄十》）

^㉔我欲仁，斯仁至矣（《論語·述而》）^㉕天下皆知美之爲美，斯惡已（《老子·二章》）

按：以上十七個關係詞，只有「斯」是用在第二分句，其餘都用在第一分句。

(5)轉折關係詞——而、然、然而、抑

^①直而溫，寬而栗，剛而無虐，簡而無傲（《書·堯典》）^②季氏富於周公，而求也爲之聚斂而附益之（《論語·先進》）^③一戰勝齊，遂有南陽，然且不可（《孟子·告子下》）^④今吾子之言，亂之道也，不可以爲法，然吾子主也，至敢不從（《左傳·成十二》）^⑤吾友張也爲難能也，然而未仁（《論語·子張》）^⑥七十者衣帛食肉，黎民不飢不寒，然而不王者，未之有也（《孟子·梁惠王上》）^⑦若聖與仁則吾豈敢，抑爲之不厭，誨人不倦，則可謂云爾已矣（《論語·述而》）^⑧今大夫將問其故，抑寡君實不敢知（《左傳·昭十九》）

按：以上四個關係詞，全都用在兩分句之間，即第二分句句首。

(6)擒縱關係詞——雖則、雖使、唯、唯使、每、縱。

^①雖則七襄，不成報章（《詩·小雅·大東》）^②雖則云然，尙猷詢茲黃髮，則罔所愆（《書·秦誓》）^③厚葬久喪雖使不可以富貧衆寡，定危治亂，然此聖王之道也（《墨子·節葬下》）^④雖使五尺之童適市，莫之或欺（《孟子·滕文公上》）^⑤唯欲毋與我同，將不可得也（《墨子·同尙下》）^⑥唯使雄不耕稼樹藝，雌亦不紡績紝，衣食之財固已具矣（又、〈非樂上〉）^⑦每懷靡及（《詩·大雅·烝民》）^⑧縱我不往，子寧不嗣音（又、〈鄭風·子衿〉）^⑨予縱不得大葬，予死於道路乎（《論語·子罕》）

按：以上六個關係詞，全都用在第一分句，它們或在主語前，也可以在主語後。

(7)比較關係詞——與其、與、寧、無寧（毋寧）、豈若、莫如

①禮，與其奢也，寧儉（《論語·八佾》）②予與其死於臣之手也，無寧死於二三子之手乎（又、《子罕》）③子不如易於齊，與其死也（《左傳·定十》）④與我處畎畝之中，由是以樂堯舜之道，吾豈若使是君爲堯舜之君哉？吾豈若使是民爲堯舜之民哉？吾豈若於吾身親見之哉（《孟子·萬章上》）⑤與余以狂疾賞也，不如亡（《國語·晉語》）⑥此龜者，寧其死爲留骨而貴乎？寧其生而曳尾於塗中乎（《莊子·秋水》）⑦寧我薄人，無人薄我（《左傳·宣十二》）⑧毋寧夫人，而焉用老臣（又、《襄廿九》）⑨無德以及遠方，莫如惠恤其民而善用之（又、《成二》）

按：以上六個關係詞，「與其」「寧」「無（毋）寧」可以用在第一分句，也可以用第二分句。「與」只用在第一分句。「豈若」「莫如」則只用在第二分句。

(8) 逼進關係詞——況、而況、其況、又況

①今若夫攻城野戰，殺身爲名，此天下百姓之所皆難也，苟君說之，則士衆能爲之，況於兼相愛交相利則與此異（《墨子·兼愛中》）②吾未聞枉己而正人者也，況辱己以正天下者乎（《孟子·萬章上》）③管仲且猶不可召，而況不爲管仲者乎（又、《公孫丑下》）④小事不用大牲，而況敢用人乎（《左傳·僖十九》）⑤施將懼不能任其先人之祿，其況能任大國之賜（又、《昭七》）⑥聞人足音，蹙然而喜矣，有（又）況乎昆弟親戚之聲歎其側者乎（《莊子·徐无鬼》）⑦覽椒蘭其若茲兮，又況揭車與江離（《楚辭·離騷》）

按：以上四個關係詞，其實可以說是「況」的四種表達形式。它們都放在第二分句，而且第二分句通常都是反詰語氣。

(9) 交替關係詞——抑（意）、抑亦、意亡、亡（妄）其、將

①求之與？抑與之與（《論語·學而》）②子將大滅衛乎？抑納君而已乎（《左傳·哀廿六》）③豈女爲之與？意鮑爲之與（《墨子·明鬼下》）④知不足邪？意知而不能行邪（《莊子·盜跖》）⑤求牧與芻而不得，則反諸其人乎？抑亦立而視其死與（《孟子·公孫丑下》）⑥不知天將以爲虐乎？使翦喪吳國而封大異姓乎？其抑亦將卒以詐吳乎（《左傳·昭三十》）⑦不識昔也三代之聖善人與？意亡昔三代之暴不肖人與（《墨子·非命》）⑧道固然與？妄其欺不穀邪（《國語·越語》）⑨君將擢之乎？亡其不與（《呂氏春秋·審爲》）⑩子能順杞柳之性而以爲桮棬乎？將戕賊杞柳而後以爲桮棬也（《孟子·告子上》）⑪夫子貪生失理而爲此乎？將子有亡國之事斧鉞之誅而爲此乎？將子有不善之行愧遺父母妻子之醜而爲此乎？將子有凍餒之患而爲此乎？將子之春秋故及此乎（《莊子·至樂》）

按：以上五個關係詞，都用在抉擇問句的第二分句句首。²²

六、特殊句型的發展

所謂特殊句型，指語法成分的次序不同於一般句型的句子類型。²³ 上古漢語如賓語移置在述語前、表語移置在主語前、兼語移置在第一繫述語前、以及次賓語移置在介詞前等等，都是前後期所共有的現象。不過也有些特殊句型是僅見於前期或後期的。僅見於前期的特殊句型如數詞加語中的零數在端語後，以及表示時間的次賓語在介詞（在）前，這些都已分別在上文壹、貳兩節中討論過，此不再贅。下文要舉例說明的是後期新興的特殊句型。

後期新興的特殊句型

(1) 斷語（何／孰）＋主語

①何彼禮矣（《詩·召南·何彼禮矣》）②何哉，爾所謂達者（《論語·顏淵》）
③何德之衰（又、《微子》）④於人何所不容（又、《子張》）⑤何哉，君所為輕身以先匹夫者（《孟子·梁惠王下》）⑥孰是人斯（《國語·晉語三》）⑦何我之載（又）⑧何其懷也（又、《晉語五》）⑨孰是君也（又、《越語上》）

按：以上各例都是疑問代詞斷語（何／孰）移置在主語前面。上古漢語中，疑問代詞作斷語，並非必須提前。如：「其鈞維何」（《詩·召南·何彼禮矣》）「出疆必載質，何也」（《孟子·滕文公下》）「怒者其誰邪」（《莊子·齊物論》），三例中的疑問代詞斷語都不提前。上列⑥⑨兩例的「孰」字，前賢有解作副語的，²⁴ 實欠妥，說見拙作《國語語法述要》。²⁵

(2) 斷語＋繫詞（是）＋助詞（也／已）

²² 以上關於複句關係詞部分，參考《中國古代語法造句編》頁一九八～三五六。

²³ 參見拙作《古代漢語的語序變換》。

²⁴ 參見《詞詮》卷五，頁八〇，周法高先生《中國古代語法稱代編》頁二一六，張以仁先生《國語虛詞集釋》頁一一二及二一七。

²⁵ 茲節引相關的文字，以資參考。「國語這兩個『孰』字句，前人註釋，都與其下一句密切相關。茲先引其原文：『孰是人斯，而有是臭也。』（《晉語三》）『孰是君也，而可無死乎？』（《越語上》）韋氏注『孰』為『誰也』。但他對於全句的解釋都不免增字作訓——『誰使是人有是臭者，言惠公使之也。』『誰有恩惠如是君者，可不為之死乎。』王引之《經傳釋詞》認為韋注『於傳意不合』，他說：『孰，猶何也。家大人曰：孰，誰，一聲之轉。誰訓為何，故孰亦訓為何。』於是國語兩句，他認為是：『言何是人也，而有是臭也。』『言有君如是，何可不為之死也。』楊樹達先生《詞詮》、周法高先生《中國古代語法稱代編》，以及張以仁先生《國語虛詞集釋》，都據《釋詞》，而認為『孰』在句首作副語，『何故也，為何也。』《詞詮》『解作怎麼』《稱代編》但是他們的解釋不能令人無惑。因為：(1) 疑問代詞『孰』在句首一主語前作副語，古代漢語中極為少見。(2) 『孰』既為副語，則上引《國語》兩例都必須是一單句。若不加字作解，則意謂：『怎麼這個人啊，而有這樣的臭味？』『怎麼這個君主啊，而可以不死呢？』（《越語》一例，顯然與原意不合。因此釋詞不得不視為兩句，而把副語『孰（=何）』移置下一句，其曲為之說的情形，跟韋注不相上下。其實只要視『孰』為斷語，上述的疑慮就都可以渙然冰釋。前文所引《國語》兩例，分別是一補充關係複句，意謂：『這個人啊是怎麼樣的人，而有這樣的臭味？』『這個君王啊是怎麼樣的君王，而（我們）可以不死嗎？』（頁二五～二六）。

①景公說……召太師曰：「爲我作君臣相說之樂。」蓋徵招、角招是也（《孟子·梁惠王下》）②七十里爲政於天下者，湯是也（又）③地籟，則衆竅是已；人籟，則比竹是已（《莊子·齊物論》）④其得姓者十四人，爲十二姓，姬、酉、祁、己、滕、箴、任、荀、僖、姁、僂、依是也（《國語·晉語四》）⑤夫成天地之大功者，其子孫未嘗不章，虞、夏、商、周是也（又、《鄭語》）

按：以上各例，斷語移置在繫詞前，構成「……是也（已）」的句式。這類句子的主要功能是列舉例證。

(3)賓語（何／奚／惡）＋介詞（以／用）＋次賓語＋述語（爲）

①君子質而已矣，何以文爲（《論語·顏淵》）②誦詩三百，授之以政，不達；使於四方，不能專對；雖多，亦奚以爲（又、《子路》）③惡用是駢駢者爲哉（《孟子·滕文公下》）④我何以湯之聘幣爲哉（又、《萬章上》）⑤兩行，何以聖爲（《左傳·襄廿二》）⑥三代之亡，共子之廢，皆是物也；女何以爲哉（又、《昭廿八》）⑦奚以之九萬里而南爲（《莊子·逍遙遊》）⑧日出而作，日入而息，逍遙於天地之間，而心意自得，吾何以天下爲哉（又、《讓王》）⑨今我何以子之千金劍爲乎（《呂氏春秋·異寶》）

按：以上各例，疑問代詞賓語移置在述語（爲）前面，而在賓語與述語之間，又插入表示憑藉的介賓結構，「何（奚／惡）以（用）……爲」的句式，成爲一種特殊的反詰問句，它只用來問目的。²⁶

結 論

根據以上的討論，上古漢語在造句法方面的重要現象可以作如下的統計。

比較項目		兩期通用	前期僅見	後期新興
句法現象				
語 的 結 構	並列連詞名目	6	2	2 ²⁷
	主從連詞名目	1	0	1
	加端語問助詞名目	2	1	1
	並列結構特殊形式	0	1	1
	造句結構特殊形式	0	0	2

²⁶ 《馬氏文通》：「何以文爲者，卽言以文爲何。」（卷二）呂叔湘先生《中國文法要略》：「『何爲』常常拆開來用，中間大率加個『以』字。這種句法只用來問目的。」（中冊，頁八四）周法高先生《中國古代語法稱代編》：「何以（用）爲？」表反詰，解作「用……幹什麼？」（頁一七九）。

²⁷ 後期新興的並列連詞，除「與」外，另有組合形式並列結構所用的連詞「之與」。參見前文第壹節一之（二）兩項。

句 的 結 構	介詞名目	12	2	828
	複句關係詞名目	24	3	60
	複句關係詞複合形態	2	0	29
	助詞名目	24	17	34
	助詞複合形態	1	4	20
	歎詞名目	9	0	3
	歎詞複合形態	1	2	329
	被動式	2	0	2
	特殊句型	4	2	530

從以上的統計中可以看出，上古漢語的句法發展，語的結構比句的結構要穩定些。一千餘年期間，無論是在連詞、助詞的名目上，抑或結構的形式上，它的變化都不大。至於在句的結構中，句式又比虛詞要穩定些，被動句式與特殊句型到後期雖然都有些變動，但比起虛詞來，幅度不算大。虛詞的名目及複合形態，在後期都大量地增加。在介詞名目方面，後期使用數比前期使用數多出 43%；後期新興數佔本期使用數 40%，這就是說後期所使用的介詞，有 40%是新興的。此外後期介詞在介繫功能上的擴展，也是一項重要的發展。在複句關係詞的名目方面，後期使用數比前期使用數多出 211%；後期新興數佔本期使用數 71%，這就是說後期所使用的複句關係詞名目，有 71%是新興的。至於複句關係詞的複合形態，後期使用數比前期使用數多出 1350%；後期新興數佔本期使用數 93%，這就是說後期所使用的複合形態複句關係詞，有 93%是新興的。在助詞名目方面，後期使用數比前期使用數多出 41%；前期僅見數佔本期使用數 41%，後期新興數佔本期使用數 58%，這就是說，前期所使用的助詞，有 41%未流傳下來，後期所使用的助詞，有 58%是新興的。至於助詞的複合形態，後期使用數比前期使用數多出 320%；後期新興數佔本期使用數 95%，這就是說後期所使用的複合形態助詞，有 95%是新興的。此外，前期的複合形態全在句首助詞，後期的複合形態則在句中或句末助詞，這也表示前後期在助詞使用的方式上有差別。在歎詞名目方面，後期使用數比前期使用數多出 33%；後期新興數佔本期使用數 25%，這就是說後期所使用的歎詞，有 25%是新興的。至於歎詞的複合形態，後期使用數比前期使用數多出 33%；後期新興數佔本期使用數 75%，這就是說後期所使用的複合形態歎詞，有 75%是新興的。

28 此以介詞名目為計算單位，不論其功能多寡。換句話說，一個介詞，如有多種介繫功能，仍以「1」計算。前後期通用的介詞，在後期的介繫功能多有所擴展。

29 前期有「嗟嗟」、「噫嘻」連用，後期除「猗嗟」、「于嗟乎」以外，另有「于嗟」連用。

30 後期新興的特殊句型，除上文第貳節之六所列舉的三種以外，另有兩種屬於次賓語的特殊句位。參見第貳節一之(二)項。

當然，我們所依據的前後期文獻不很平衡，後期的文獻數量超過前期，但是語法現象的歧異，與語言資料的多寡沒有必然的關係。筆者認為上文的比較仍然可以顯示上古漢語在句法發展上的一個大方向。介詞與複句關係詞名目的增加，尤其是後者有大量的增加，而且又大量發展複合形態，這顯示出對於句子的結構要求嚴密化的傾向；助詞與歎詞名目的增加，各類虛詞複合形態的增加，以及句式變化範圍的擴大，這些現象顯示出對於句子的形式要求多樣化的傾向。句子結構的嚴密化，使它在表意作用上更為精確；句子形式的多樣化，使它在溝通作用上更為靈活。因此我們可以說：要求句子精確而靈活，就是上古漢語在句法發展上所遵循的主要原則。

THE CLASSICAL CHINESE MODAL PARTICLE *YI* 已

Christoph Harbsmeier

University of Oslo

I. Introductory Remarks

Joseph Henri Prémare, the incomparable pioneer in the field of Chinese grammar, wrote in 1730 "*Nulla enim littera proprie vacua est, sed in se semper aliquid significat*".¹ My teacher David Hawkes, from whom I ought to have learnt much more than I have, in the introduction to his translation of *Hung Lou Meng*, declared it his abiding principle to insist on translating everything he found in his sentences.²

The precise force of modal particles is notoriously difficult to pin down. But these modal particles do exist, and they should be no more neglected than the fine distinction between the aorist and the perfect forms of the verb in Classical Greek.³

In this article I aspire to live up to my teacher's abiding principle, and to vindicate Joseph Henri Prémare's grammatical statement, with respect to the modal particle *yi* 已. I hope that the result will be a sharper and more coherent overall picture of the semantics of the word *yi* 已 and of the semantics of sentences involving the particle *yi* 已.⁴ Since I am explicitly presenting much of the evidence my analysis is based on, the patient reader will, I hope, find it convenient to try out alternative interpretations of modal *yi* 已 to the one presented here. If someone comes up with a better solution, I shall not have presented the material in vain.

II. The Meanings of *Yi* 已

I shall begin by relating the grammatical usages of *yi* 已 to the verbal uses in a schematic way. I shall construe a sentence ending in modal *yi* 已 as deriving

1 For properly speaking no character is 'empty'. Characters always do mean something in themselves.

2 Tsau Shiue-chin, *The Story of the Stone*, vol. 1, p. 46.

3 Note incidentally the 'gnomic' uses of the generally past tense aorist in Classical Greek!

4 I do not claim originality for my interpretation. When Yan Shr-gu 顏師古 (581-645) observed on one occasion that *yi you er* 已猶耳 (*Jung-wen Da-tsz-dian* p. 4536), I think he came reasonably close to the truth. Chou Fa-kao (1975) is by far the best and the most detailed treatment of *yi* 已 to date.

by a process of grammaticalization from a complex sentence consisting of sentential subject followed by the predicate *yi* 已. We note that the origin of the modern particle *le* 了 has been shown to have similar verbal origins.

Let me try to set up a schema on the interrelated⁵ uses of *yi* 已:

1. Intransitive Verbal Uses:

1.1 *yi* 已 'to desist, to stop, to finish'

(1) 必不得已而去於斯三者何先。

"If you certainly (cannot manage to **desist**>) have no alternative but to give up one, which of these three would you put first?" (*Luen Yu* 12.7 (twice), cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 111)

The *Suen Tz* provides interesting evidence that *yi* means not just 'stop' (*jr* 止) but 'finish' (*cheng* 成):

(2) 修櫓輶輶具器械三月而後成。距闕又三月而後已。

To prepare the shielded wagons and make ready the necessary arms and equipment requires is only completed after three months; to pile up earthen ramps against the walls is first **finished** after another three months. (*Suen Tz* 3.4, cf. Griffith (1963) p. 78)

The *Lau Tz* conveniently links this to the 'exclamatory' *yi* 已:

(3) 不道早已。

If you do not behave according to the Way you **come to** an early end. (*Lau Tz* 30 and 55. Note the splendid verbal use of *dau* 道.)

Most significantly, in connection with our account of modal *yi* 已, we find the idiom *tze yi* 則已 'then that finishes the matter, then there is no more to be said':

(4) 死者無知則已。若有知吾何面目以見仲父以地下。

(A duke is about to commit suicide and says:) "If the dead have no knowledge, then **there is no more to be said**. But if they do have knowledge, then how will I be able to face Jung Fu in the underworld?"⁶ (*Guan Tz* ch. 32, ed. *Wan-you-wen-ku* vol. 2, p. 41)

1.1.1 *yi er* 已而 'when that was finished, then...> then after a while'

In *S₁ yi er* 已而 *S₂* 'S₁ and only after that S₂' the *yi* 已 must be taken to have *S₁* as its subject: 'when *S₁* was finished then (and only then) *S₂*'. Compare first,

⁵ The cases where *yi* 已 seems to be a phonetic loan for *yi* 以 are not important in our context. The extremely rare cases when it is supposed to be used as a demonstrative pronoun. *Luen Yu* 17.22, in any case, is not a case of pronominal *yi* 已, as Yang Bojun (1965) p. 197 rightly points out. Why the *Er Ya* 爾雅 dictionary defines *yi* 已 as *tsz* 此 remains something of a puzzle to me, unless this simply represents a mistaken forced attempt to make sense of *Luen Yu* 17.22. Guo Pu 郭璞 seems to think of it as a phonetic loan. (Cf. Liu Qi (1955) p. 132). Chou Fa-kao (1975) p. 315, footnote 2 disregards the question of the systematic interrelation of the various meanings of *yi* 已 which is the starting point of our investigation.

⁶ Contrast W. A. Rickett (1985) p. 429 "If, on dying, I had not known any better, it would be all right, but having known, how will I be able to face Zhongfu in the netherworld?"

in preparation, the following example:

(5) 已殺孔父而弑殤公。

He **finished** killing Kung Fu and then assassinated Duke Shang > **Having already** killed Kung Fu he then assassinated Duke Shang. (*Tzuo Juan*, Duke Huan 2.5)

(6) 期年不得魚，已而大魚食之。

For a whole year he did not catch any fish. (When this had **finished**>) **finally** a fish did bite... (*Juang Tz* 26.12, cf. Watson (1968) p. 296)

The combination *yi er* 已而 comes to mean something like 'then **finally**> then after a while':

(7) 始鄭梁一國也，已而別。

"Originally Jeng and Liang were one state. Then (when that had **finished**>) **finally** they were separated." (*Han Fei Tz* 30.38.3)

1.1.2 *yi tze* 已則 'when that was finished then...> then after a while'

Occasionally, we find the variant *yi tze* 已則:

(8) 其鄰之子非變也，已則變矣。

The neighbour's son would not change his ways. In the end he did change his ways. (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 13.3, ed. Chen Qiyong p. 689)

1.1.3 *yi hu* 已乎 '(I) am finished> alas!'

(9) 已乎已乎。

"I am done for! I am done for!" (*Tzuo Juan*, Duke Jau 12.8)

1.1.4 *yi yi* 已矣 '(I) am finished'

1.1.4.1 *yi yi hu* 已矣乎 '(I) am surely finished!'

(10) 已矣乎。

"I am surely done for!" (*Luen Yu* 5.27, 15.13)

1.1.4.2 *yi yi fu* 已矣夫 '(I) am done for, aren't I?'

(11) 鳳鳥不至，河不出圖。吾已矣夫。

"The Phoenix does not appear nor does the River offer up its Chart. I am done for, aren't I?" (*Luen Yu* 9.9, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 79 who—understandably—disregards the final *fu* 夫.)

1.1.5 *yi er* 已而 '(I) am finished, that's all'

The madman of Chu sings:

(12) 已而已而。

"(You) are done for, that's all! (You) are done for, that's all!" (*Luen Yu* 18.5, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 183 who disregards the troublesome final *er* 而, for which see *Tzuo Juan*, Shiuian 4 and *Luen Yu* 9.31 "It is not that I do not long for you; you house is far away, that's all!" and the note in A. Waley (1938) p. 145.)

1.1.6 *yi yan tzai* 已焉哉 '(I) am finished with respect to this'

(13) 已焉哉!

It is all over with respect to this! (*Shr Jing* 40. 1-3)

2. Transitive Verbal Uses:

2.1 *yi* 已 'to cause to finish'

Yi 已 is used transitively for 'to cause to finish in a job, remove from office':

(14) 三已之無愠色。

When they thrice dismissed him from office he showed no resentment on his face. (*Luen Yu* 5.19, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 43)

(15) 王之疾必可已矣。

His Majesty's illness may certainly be caused to come to an end. (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 11.2, ed. Chen Qiyu (1985) p. 578)

Finally we must quote an ancient definition of *yi* 已:

(16) 已: 成亡, (說): 爲衣成也, 治病亡也。

Canon: *yi*: 'to finish making', 'to cause to finish'.

Explanation: Of making a coat: to finish making.

Of curing an illness: 'to cause to finish'. (*Mo Tz*, A. C. Graham (1978) p. 323)

3. Adverbial Uses:

3.1 *yi* 已 'having finished (the process) > by then, by now, already'

Compare *yi ming yi* 已明矣 'is (or should be) clear by now'. *Yi* 已 'already' is the exact opposite of *wei* 未 'not yet'.

(17) 至治之法術已明矣, 而世學者弗知也。

The method of perfect government should by now be clear, but the scholars of our generation will not understand it. (*Han Fei Tz* 14.4.63. Cf. also *Jan Guo Tse* no. 126, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 521)

(18) 夫民之不及神農曾史亦已明矣。

That the common people cannot reach Shen Nung or Tzeng Shr should surely by now be clear. (*Han Fei Tz* 46.5.41)

(19) 敵救未至而一城已降。

Enemy relief had not yet arrived and one city had already surrendered. (*Wei Liau Tz*, ed. Zhong Zhaohua (1982) p. 26) Remembering that *wei* 未 has not only a temporal meaning 'not yet' but also a logical meaning 'not quite' (as in *wei bi* 未必 'not quite necessarily'), it will not come as a surprise that *yi* 已 not only has a temporal meaning 'already', but also a logical meaning 'fully, very, exceedingly'. (See 3.2.)⁷

3.1.1 *chang yi* 嘗已 'have experienced finishing > already'⁸

3.1.2 *ye yi* 業已 'have achieved finishing > already'⁹

⁷ Compare also the ordinary final particle *yi* 矣 which has a temporal function 'by that time' versus a logical function, notoriously after *tze* 則, when it means 'under such conditions'.

⁸ This use first becomes common in Han times.

⁹ Also this use becomes common first in Han times. For a set of examples from *Shr Ji* 史記 see Hong Chengyu (1984) p. 177.

3.2 yi 已 'finishingly, consummately > fully, exceedingly'

(20) 二子之言已當矣。

"The two master's words were **quite** true, (but Wu Chi was dismembered and the Lord of Shang was pulled to pieces between carts.)" (*Han Fei Tz* 42.2.13, cf. W. K. Liao (1959) p. 210. There is a close parallel in *Han Fei Tz* 13.3.25.)

(21) 夫聖人之智固已多矣，其所守者有約故舉而必榮。愚人之智固已少矣，其所事者多故動而必窮矣。

Now the sage's intelligence is inherently **quite** considerable, but what he is concerned with is limited to the essential. Therefore when he acts he is sure to win public recognition. The moron's intelligence is inherently **quite** limited, but what he concerns himself with are many things. Therefore, when he moves he is bound to fail. (*Huai Nan Tz* 9, ed. Liu Wendian p. 31b, cf. R. Ames (1983) p. 205-6. *Shiun Tz* 11.110 has yi 以 'in order to' for our yi 已, but Liang Qixiong (1973) p. 154 prefers to read yi 已 without apparently being aware of the *Huai Nan Tz* reading which so nicely supports his suggested emendation/reading.)

Yi shen 已甚 'too much, excessively' becomes a current idiom in Classical Chinese, but we also find *yi tai* 已太 in *Shr Jing*, a usage which I have not found in later texts:

(22) 無已太康。

We must make sure not to be **too** excessively joyful. (*Shr Jing* 114.1, 114.2, and 114.3)¹⁰

4. Uses as Sentence Final Particle

4.1 S yi 已 'S(, that) finishes/ed the matter > definitely S, enfin S'

Modal yi 已 turns out to be very unevenly distributed in pre-Han literature. The short *Luen Yu* contain no less than 23 occurrences of modal yi 已 outside the *er yi* 而已 pattern. The much longer *Han Fei Tz* 韓非子, contains very little evidence on modal yi 已. I find exactly one example involving the current idiom yi ... yi 亦 ... 已:

(23) 說以悅進來遠亦可舍已。

The claim that one should please those who are near and cause those who are far away to come closer is **quite definitely** to be rejected. (*Han Fei Tz* 38.8. 47)¹¹

4.1.1 *S yi fu* 已夫 'S, and that finishes/ed the matter, or is it not so? > definitely S, isn't that so?'

4.1.2 *S yi yi* 已矣 'S, that finishes/ed the matter, this is a currently relevant state of affairs > definitely S!'

¹⁰ Gao Heng (1980) p. 150 surely misinterprets *wu yi* 無已 as *bu yau* 不要.

¹¹ Here the *ke* 可 invites final *ye* 也, and the *yi* 亦 invites final *yi* 矣. One is tempted, here, as in a considerable number of other cases, to construe yi 已 as a combination *ye yi* 也矣. It is worth keeping this possibility in mind as we proceed with our enquiries.

When we have the construction like *yi yi* 已矣 at the end of a sentence I think we generally¹² do not have two particles but a sentence-anaphoric semi-grammaticalized verb *yi* 已 'and that is definit(iv)e' followed by a post-verbal particle *yi* 矣. We thus have a theoretically interesting instance of a 'particle' which retains enough 'verbality' to qualify for another verbal particle to follow it. We have yet another piece of evidence of the softness of categorial boundaries in Classical Chinese grammar.¹³

4.1.3 *S yi hu* 已乎 'S, that finishes/ed the matter, and this is surely (or: is this) so! (?)> definitely S!'

The combination *yi hu* 已乎 is exhortative and emphatic:

(24) 子未可以已乎。

You **definitely** cannot act as yet! (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed. Couvreur p. 257)

The combination can also mark the questioning of a definitive statement, as in *Juang Tz* 23.38.

4.1.4 *S yi tzai* 已哉 'S, that finishes/ed the matter, and this is emphatically so!'

4.2 *S ye yi* 也已 'S is judged to be true, that finishes the matter'

When we seem to have a sentence followed by the construction *ye yi* 也已 we do not have a sentence followed by two particles but rather a sentence which ends in its sentence-final particle *ye* 也, and then a sentence-anaphoric semi-grammaticalized verb *yi* 已 'and that is definitive/definite'.

4.2.1 *S ye yi yi* 也已矣 'S is judged to be true, and this finishes/ed the matter, and this is a currently relevant state of affairs!'¹⁴

When we seem to have a sentence followed by the particles *ye yi yi* 也已矣 we actually have a sentence in *ye* 也 followed by a sentence-anaphoric semi-grammaticalized verb *yi* 已 'and that is definit(iv)e' which in turn is modified by the verbal particle *yi* 矣.

4.3 *S er yi* 而已 'S, and that finishes the matter>S and that is all.'

The construction *er yi* (*yi*) 而已(矣) 'and that is all' is current enough, but it still remains less than adequately understood. *Yi* 已 is, I suppose, generally recognized as a verb here which is linked with the preceding sentence by the anaphoric connective *er* 而 'and/but it/he'. That is why we can have the verbal particle *yi* 矣 after *er yi* 而已.

A number of problems arise. Firstly, one might suppose that *er yi* 而已 after a verbal sentence corresponds to *yi* 已 after a nominal sentence, since *er* 而 links

¹² There are certain exceptions like:

以人望人則賢者可知已矣。

...then the talented men may **definitely** be recognized. (*Li Ji, Biau Ji*, ed. Couvreur vol. 2, p. 488).

Here the final *yi* 矣 seems connected with the *tze* 則. It does not seem to link with our *yi* 已.

¹³ Cf. C. Harbsmeier (1979) p. 155-219 and C. Harbsmeier (forthcoming) "Where do Chinese Nouns Come From?"

¹⁴ This is a colloquialism current in *Luen Yu*.

verbal predicates. However, the facts are otherwise. *Er yi* 而已 turns out to occur in nominal sentences, as in *Luen Yu* 4.15 and *Luen Yu* 8.20, and *yi* 已 alone frequently marks verbal sentences. Thus the distribution of *yi* 已 versus *er yi* (*yi*) 而已 (矣) cannot simply be explained in terms of the nominal or verbal character of the sentence modified.

Secondly, there is a problem about the uneven distribution of *er yi* 而已 versus *er yi yi* 而已矣 which will be taken up below. Thirdly, there is a crucial problem about the scope of *er yi* 而已 'that is all'. The point is that we need to ask 'What is all?'. To put the matter more technically: What is the subject of the (semi-grammaticalized) verb *yi* 已? For convenience of presentation we shall write the scope of *er yi* 而已 in capitals.

The scope of *er yi* 而已 may be the subject of the sentence:

(25) 非獨此五國爲然而已也。

It is not only THESE FIVE STATES that are like this. All the ruined states in the world are like this. (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 367, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p.1300)

The scope or subject of *yi* 已 in *er yi* 而已 may be a number predicate:

(26) 有婦人焉九人而已。

"With a woman among them they were **only NINE PERSONS**." (*Luen Yu* 8:20. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 75 writes: "there were, in fact, only nine," which suggests a combination of restrictive quantification with definite mood.)

It may even be a nominal predicate:

(27) 夫子之道忠恕而已矣。

"Our Master's Way is **simply** this: LOYALTY, CONSIDERATION." (*Luen Yu* 4.15. I follow the translation in A. Waley (1938) p. 105. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 33 is uncharacteristically discursive: "The way of the Master consists in doing one's best and in using oneself as a measure to gauge others. That is all." The crucial point for us is that D. C. Lau, unlike A. Waley, fails to make clear the scope of *er yi* 而已.)

The subject of *yi* 已 may also be a time-expression preceding the main verb:

(28) 同也其心三月不違仁，其餘則日月至焉而已矣。

"As for Huei, his heart does not offend against benevolence for three months (at a time). The others attain it **only** for A DAY OR A MONTH." (*Luen Yu* 6.7. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 49 translates: "The others attain benevolence merely by fits and starts." This may be acceptable as a loose paraphrase of the ancient commentary (ed. Liou Bau-nan, *Wan-you-wen-ku* vol. 2, p. 10) but it certainly does not translate the original.)

The relevant time expression may come after the main verb:

(29) 苟有用我者期月而已可也。

"If anyone were to really employ me for **only as much as A FULL YEAR** (the result) would be acceptable. (*Luen Yu* 13.10. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 125 fails to

recognize the force of *gou* 苟 in spite of the fact that the old commentary gives the correct and current gloss *cheng* 誠 'really', then leaves out our *er yi* 而已 and mistranslates: "If anyone were to employ me, in a year's time I would have brought things to a satisfactory state...". Again A. Waley (1938) p. 173f is superior to D. C. Lau in precision of thought, not to speak of style: "If only someone were to make use of me, even for a single year..."

The subject or scope of *yi* 已 may be the object of the main verb:

(30) 子誠齊人也，知管仲晏子而已矣。

"You are a genuine Chi man: you know **only** of GUAN JUNG AND YAN TZ." (Meng Tz 1A1, our translation follows D. C. Lau (1984) p. 51 which at this point is perfectly satisfactory and explicit.)

(31) 故治天下及國在乎定分而已矣。

"Therefore the governing of the world and the state consists in **nothing other than** FIXING THE DIVISION OF DUTIES." (Liu Shr Chuen Chiou 17.6, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1110, *Shen Zi Fragments* no. 82, P. M. Thompson (1979) p. 280)

Finally, the subject of *yi* 已 may appear to be the whole sentence:

(32) 子曰：不占而已矣。

The Master said: "(It is that) **HE DOES NOT CONDUCT (PROPER) PROGNOSTICATION, that is all.**" (Luen Yu 13.22, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 129)

(33) 莫已知也斯已而已矣。

"If it is the case that no one recognizes him, then **HE SHOULD GIVE UP, that is all.**" (Luen Yu 14.39, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 145 who takes *jr* 知 'recognize somebody's talents' in its ordinary meaning 'understand'.)

4.3.1 *S er yi yi* 而已矣 'S, and that finishes/ed the matter, and this is a currently relevant state of affairs>S and that is all (!¹⁵)'

4.3.2 *S er yi hu* 而已乎 'S, and that finishes the matter, and this is surely so!>it is (is it) just that S!(?)'

(34) 如期而已乎。

"Is that all?" (Luen Yu 14.42, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 147)

4.3.3 *S er yi er* 而已耳 'S, and that finishes/ed the matter, and that's it>S, and that is simply all there is to it!'

(35) 焉知其所終，焉知其所始，正而待之而已耳。

Confucius said: "How do we know what is an end? How do we know what is a beginning? The only thing for us is just to wait." (Juang Tz 20.60. I quote the translation in B. Watson (1968) p. 218 which captures the relevant nuances

¹⁵ In the texts which regularly have both *er yi* 而已 and *er yi yi* 而已矣 we may express the nuance of the final *yi* 矣 by an exclamation mark. But for the texts which either have only *er yi* 而已 or *er yi yi* 而已矣 it seems implausible to assume that the final *yi* 矣 makes a significant difference since it does not contrast with its absence.

admirably. Cf. *Shiun Tz* 1.36, (Köster (1968) p. 8) and *Shiun Tz* 13.12. I found another example in *Han Shr Wai Juan* 9.7)

Our schema obviously needs to be checked against the uses of *yi* 已 in pre-Han literature. We shall concentrate on the problematic usages particularly of modal *yi* 已. The reader is invited to consider in each instance to what extent the passage quoted admits of a unified interpretation along the lines suggested, or whether some other glosses would give a more coherent picture.

The question of what particles *yi* 已 may be a fusion of will be left for separate discussion at a later stage. It is in any case an **etymological** question which has no direct relevance to our semantic and syntactic purpose, although it is a question which one wants to keep in mind as one surveys the evidence. Some neat possibilities come to mind, such as a derivation of *yi* 已 from a combination of *ye* 也 and the ordinary *yi* 已. Moreover, ordinary *yi* 矣 might be taken as another grammaticalized version of the verb *yi* 已. We would then have two distinct grammaticalizations of the same verb. But it is by no means a foregone conclusion that *yi* 已 and the ordinary *yi* 已 had the same pronunciation in Classical times, although this is the view adopted in B. Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa* p. 384. Chou Fa-kao (1975) p. 315 argues that the two pronunciations were different.

All this must remain in the backs of our minds as we set out, in the first instance, to sort out the semantics of the particles in ancient Chinese texts.

It is even more important to keep in mind that since I am proposing to analyse modal *yi* 已 as a grammaticalized verb, there arises a problem of **the degree of grammaticalization**. Since one theoretically could construe modal *yi* 已 as the main verb with a sentential subject, to what extent should one interpret *yi* 已 in such an etymologizing way? I cannot discuss this problem for each passage I quote. Instead, I must ask the reader to keep in mind the theoretically problematic question of the degree of grammaticalization of *yi* 已 in each case.

The finest modern translators have reacted quite differently to the uncertainty about the modal *yi* 已. D. C. Lau is in my view one of the finest translators of Classical Chinese philosophical literature. D. C. Lau is typical of the majority of translators: he mostly disregards our modal *yi* 已, but he occasionally attributes various meanings to it as and when this seems to suit the context. This method creates a disconcerting fuzziness in the translation which I believe is in the mind of the translator rather than in the texts themselves.

D. C. Lau's method is systematically avoided by A. C. Graham who refuses to assign arbitrary meanings to what we call modal *yi* 已 as long as he has no reliable interpretation for the particle.

Let us now see if we can find such a reliable interpretation. We shall proceed book by book, and we shall aim at treating all relevant cases, not just the ones

that happen to bear out our interpretation particularly well. This, I hope, will show up the limitations of what is achieved in the present paper.

III. The Use of Modal *Yi* 已 in Pre-Han Literature

In what follows I shall treat exhaustively the uses of modal *yi* 已 in the indexed (and some of the non-indexed) pre-Han literature. The order in which the books are treated is not always chronological.

Shu Jing

The grammar of the ancient parts of *Shu Jing* is special in many ways, and the particle *yi* 已 makes no exception. There are eight relevant cases of *yi* 已 in all. In no less than seven of these, *yi* 已 is sentence-initial and precedes first or second person pronouns. All cases of the particle *yi* 已 are in direct speech. Perhaps this initial *yi* 已 is exclamatory like the later *yi hu* 已乎 'I am finished > alas'. This, in any case, is the traditional interpretation.

(36) 已予惟小子。

"I am **but** a little child, that is all." (*Shu Jing* 27.54 and 27.308)

(37) 已汝惟小子。

"You are **but** a little child." (*Shu Jing* 29.274 and 29.483, cf. 33.261)

(38) 已汝乃其速由滋義率殺。

"You should **definitely** speedily, according to these norms of right, kill them all." (*Shu Jing* 29.658, cf. Karlgren p. 40 no. 17)

(39) 已若效監日。

"Being an inspector like this I **definit(ive)ly** say: ..." (*Shu Jing* 31.237, cf. Karlgren p. 48 no. 8)

We also find one case of the sentence-final *yi* 已.

(40) 公定予往已。

"You, prince, have arranged for my going, **and that is definitive.**" (*Shu Jing* 33.511, Karlgren p. 53 no. 21)

The idiom *er yi* 而已 is absent in *Shu Jing*. It turns out to be absent also in *Shr Jing*, which is less than surprising since *er yi* 而已 strikes us as perhaps a somewhat prosaic idiom.

Shr Jing

It is well worth giving an exhaustive survey of *yi* 已 in *Shr Jing*, for the usages we here observe will help us to understand the later grammaticalized usages of the word.

(41) 夫也不良，國人知之，知而不已。

"He is my husband, but is not good. The people in the state know this, but he will not **stop.**" (*Shr Jing* 141.1, cf. also 172.3, 191.4, 198.2, 235.2, 262.6, 267.1, and *wu yi* 無已 in *Shr Jing* 110.1, *wei yi* 未已 129.3.)

Closely connected is the question:

- (42) 心之憂矣曷維其已。

"The grief of the heart, when will it **end**?" (*Shr Jing* 27.1)

Yi 已 may, in this function, be nominalized:

- (43) 至于已斯亡。

"When it comes to **the end** then they are ruined." (*Shr Jing* 223.4)

The so-called exclamative auxiliary *yi* 已 is closely connected:

- (44) 亦已焉哉。

"It is surely **all over** with respect to this." (*Shr Jing* 58.6)

When it comes to *yi* 已 'excessively', this again can be naturally derived from the basic meaning: 'finish>go all the way>go to excess>going to excess>excessively'.¹⁶ Consider first:

- (45) 鷄鳴不已。

"The cocks crow and do not **finish**>the cocks crow **incessantly**." (*Shr Jing* 90.3)

- (46) 或不已于行。

"Some never **cease** going on their expeditions." (*Shr Jing* 205.4)

Unnegated *yi* 已 in this pre-verbal position comes to be translatable as 'by now, already' in later books, as we shall see below.

Next we have:

- (47) 彼譖人者亦已大甚。

"These slanderers, they are surely **too excessive**." (*Shr Jing* 200.1, cf. also relevant examples in *Shr Jing* 198.1, 257.9)

This completes our account of all occurrences of *yi* 已 in *Shr Jing*. We find few clear traces of grammaticalization.

Li Ji: "Tan Gung"

The *Tan Gung* section of *Li Ji*, like the *Luen Yu*, is an important document in the early history of colloquial Chinese. Here, in any case, is a survey of all the relevant instances of *yi* 已 that I have found in reading that fascinating text.

There are no cases of the current idiom *bu de yi* 不得已 'cannot help', but the source of this idiom comes out beautifully in

- (48) 得已則吾欲已。

"If I can refrain (from doing this) then I will **refrain**." (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed. Couvreur p. 226, cf. *ibidem* p. 240)

There are four cases of *yi* 已 'already', three of them accompanied by the final reflex *yi* 已:

- (49) 鄉者已告矣。

"Some time ago I have (finished>) **already** announced it." (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed.

¹⁶ See the *Jeng Yi* commentary to *Shr* no 114, first stanza.

Couvreur p. 254, cf. also p. 123, 139, and 179 without final *yi* 矣)

I find five cases of *yi* 已 'exceedingly':

(50) 於野則已疏，於寢則已重。

"If one does it in the open countryside that is **excessively** distant. If one does it in the bedchamber that is **excessively** much." (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed. Couvreur p. 137, cf. *ibidem* p. 204, 144, 261)

Our modal *yi* 已 comes in

(51) 以死者不可別已。

"They **definitely**>**simply** consider that the dead cannot be distinguished." (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed. Couvreur p. 201)

(52) 生事畢而鬼神始已。

"Then serving the dead as if he were living is over, and there **definitely**>**finally** begins the serving the spirits of the deceased." (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed. Couvreur p. 241)

The combination *ye yi* 也已 seems to have an emphatic declarative force, as indeed we should expect:

(53) 晏子可謂知禮也已。

"Yan Tz may **definitely**>**properly** be said to be knowledgeable about rites!" (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed. Couvreur p. 212)

We also find a less idiomatic variant of *er yi* 而已 which indicates that at the time *er yi* 而已 was perhaps not quite established as a very current fixed idiom:

(54) 吾得正而斃焉斯已矣。

"I must die in pursuance of what is right, **and that is all**." (We might also translate: 'If I must die in pursuance of what is right, **then so be it!**', as R. P. Kramers has kindly pointed out to me.) (*Li Ji, Tan Gung*, ed. Couvreur p. 126. For *er yi* 而已 see *ibidem* p. 174.)

This completes the analysis of all the relevant instances of *yi* 已 that I have come across in *Tan Gung*.

Li Ji other than "Tan Gung"

There is no complete concordance to *Li Ji*. While I am reasonably confident that I have not overlooked many instances of *yi* 已 in the *Tan Gung* section, my treatment of the rest of *Li Ji* must be based on a more cursory reading of the text and on all the examples referred to—but unfortunately not properly located—in Shi Mingcan (1974).

While a text like *Han Shr Wai Juan* has practically no modal *yi* 已 it turns out that the particle is common in the later parts of the *Li Ji*. There are several possible reasons for this. The parts in which modal *yi* 已 comes are in fact early, or they are unadulterated quotations in later compilations, or they are deliberate archaizing usages.

(55) 有司所授舍則公館已。

"Dwellings allocated by officials **definitely count as** public dwellings." (*Li Ji, Tzeng Tz Wen*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 1, p. 459)

(56) 聖人矣。

"... such a man **definitely** is a sage." (*Li Ji, Jung Ni Yan Jiu*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 383)

(57) 既蜡而收民息已。

"After the sacrifice, when the harvest was finished, the people would **definitely/ simply** rest." (*Li Ji, Jiau Te Sheng*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 1, p. 598)

(58) 君雖未知喪臣服已。

"Even if the ruler had not yet learnt of the mourning, the servants would **definitely** put on mourning clothes." (*Li Ji, Sang Fu Shiau Ji*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 1, p. 753)

Finally, two rather puzzling examples in which sentence-final *yi* 已 is glossed as pre-verbal *yi* 已:

(59) 爲兄弟既餘喪已。及其葬也反服其服。

"If the brothers had **definitely/by then** taken off their mourning garments, then when it came to the burial, they would again take on their mourning garments." (*Li Ji, Sang Fu Shiau Ji*, cf. Couvreur (1913) vol. 1, p. 772 who understands this *yi* 已 as if it was the adverbial 'already' in his literal Latin rendering: *si exuerant luqubria jam, adveniente ejus humatione, rursus induebant suas vestes funebres* and Suen Shidan's admirable commentary (ed. WYWK vol. 9, p. 56), in his paraphrase, does transpose the *yi* 已 to the pre-verbal position. Similar observations apply to *Li Ji, Tza Ji*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 200, ed. WYWK vol. 11, p. 60.)

Yi yi 已矣 in *Li Ji*

(60) 亡矣，喪矣，不可復見已矣。

"He was gone. He was lost. He could **definitely/by then** not be seen again." (*Li Ji, Wen Sang*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 555)

(61) 以人望人則賢者可知已矣。

"If he looks at men in terms of (other) men, then the talented ones may **definitely** be recognized." (*Li Ji, Biau Ji*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 488, who glosses our *yi* 已 as '*et nihil amplius*' (and nothing further), which does not quite seem to make sense in the context. By the way, Séraphim Couvreur's literal Latin paraphrases are always of much greater use to the grammarians than his translations into French.)

Ye yi yi 也已矣 in *Li Ji*

(62) 後世雖有作者虞帝弗可及也已矣。

"In later ages, even if there arose (*scil.* true rulers) Emperor Yu could **definitely** not be reached/equalled." (*Li Ji, Biau Ji*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 501)

Ye yi 也已 in *Li Ji*

(63) 所謂孝也已。

"In a case like that that **definitely** is what is called filial piety." (*Li Ji, Ji Yi*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 302)

(64) 祭者教之本也已。

"Sacrifice is the basis of education." (*Li Ji, Ji Tung*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 333)

(65) 是爲成其親之名也矣。

"This **definitely** is what is called establishing one's parents' name." (*Li Ji, Ai Gung Wen*, ed. Couvreur (1913) vol. 2, p. 373)

Luen Yu

The ungrammaticalized uses of *yi* 已 in *Luen Yu* have been discussed as part of the schema above.

Pre-verbal *yi* 已 in *Luen Yu*

We find the idioms *yi shen* 已甚 'too much' (*Luen Yu* 8.10). One other case may be related to this use:

(66) 道之不行已知之矣。

"That the Way is not practised he (already>) knows **full well**." (*Luen Yu* 18.7, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 187: "As for putting the Way into practice, he knows all along that it is hopeless." *Yi* 已 can mean 'by then, already', but surely never ever 'all along'.)

If my suggestion is correct we have the logical pair *wei jr* 未知 (*Luen Yu* 5.19) 'be not quite sure' versus *yi jr* 已知 'be quite sure' just as we have the temporal pair *wei* 未 'not yet' versus *yi* 已 'already'. This is a crucial parallelism.

Finally, we find the idiom *yi jiu yi* 已久矣 'already for a long time' in *Luen Yu* 17.19.

Sentence-final *yi yi* 已矣 in *Luen Yu*

Curiously, *yi* 已 on its own never occurs sentence—finally in *Luen Yu*. It is always combined with other particles.

(67) 士見危致命，見得思義，祭思敬，喪思哀，其可已矣。

"When a knight is ready to lay down his life in the face of danger, does not forget what is right at the sight of gain, and does not forget reverence during a sacrifice nor sorrow while in mourning, then (such a knight) must **definitely** be acceptable!" (*Luen Yu* 19.1, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 191 who in this instance renders our *yi* 已 as 'perhaps': "One can, perhaps, be satisfied with a Gentleman who is ready to lay down his life...". I have found no evidence that *yi* 已 ever can mean anything like 'perhaps'. Quite the contrary: it gives sentences a definitive flavour. It may be that D. C. Lau is translating the *chi* 其 by 'perhaps'. In that case N. G. D. Malmqvist (1982) has shown that interpretation to be

mistaken.¹⁷)

(68) 若聖與仁吾豈敢抑爲之不厭誨人不倦則可謂云而已矣。

"How dare I claim to be a sage or a benevolent man. I may **definitely/simply** be said to study without flagging and to teach without growing weary." (*Luen Yu* 7.34, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 65: "Perhaps it might be said of me that I learn without flagging..." Confucius might have used a word for 'perhaps', but it so happens that he did not.)

(69) 賜也始可與言詩已矣。

"With Tz-gung one can **definitely>properly** begin to talk about the Songs." (*Luen Yu* 1.15, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 7 who translates *yi* 已 as if it could work as a restrictive quantifier on the subject, an interpretation for which I have found no evidence: "Ssu, only with a man like you can one discuss the *Odes*."¹⁸)

Compare a relevant passage:

(70) 能去八疵无行四患而始可教已。

Not until you get rid of the eight blemishes and avoid the four mischiefs can one **definitely>properly** begin to teach you. (*Juang Tz* 31.26, cf. A. C. Graham p. 251)

Ye yi 也已 in *Luen Yu*

(71) 攻乎異端斯害也已。

"To attack a task from the wrong end will **definitely/simply** do harm." (*Luen Yu* 2.16,¹⁹ cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 15: "... can do nothing but harm," which is satisfactory.)

(72) 欲罷不能, 既竭吾才, 如有所立卓而, 雖欲從之未由也已。

"I cannot give up even if I wanted to, but, having done all I can, it (the Way of Confucius) seems to rise sheer above me and I **definitely/simply** have no way of going after it, however much I may want to." (*Luen Yu* 9.11, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 79 who disregards our *yi* 已.)

(73) 四五十而無聞焉其終也已。

"If by the age of forty or fifty he has not distinguished himself in something, then he is **quite definitely** not worth standing in awe of." (*Luen Yu* 9.24,²⁰ contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 83 who disregards our *yi* 已 as well as *yi* 已 'surely' and writes: "... one can say, I suppose, that he does not deserve to be held in awe." 'I suppose' is pretty exactly the opposite of what *yi* 已 means if our interpretation

¹⁷ For the grammar of *yun er* 云爾 see A. C. Graham's important article on the subject "The verbs of direct speech in Classical Chinese", in *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen) 1983.

¹⁸ Cf. the similar *Luen Yu* 3.8. Note that *ye* 也 after proper names is not normally used in addressing the person named, although it does predominantly occur in direct speech. Here, the force of the *ye* 也 is brought out rather nicely by Karlgren's suggested paraphrase into German: *der Tzu Kung, mit dem kann man an fangen über das Buch der Gesänge zu reden*.

¹⁹ Some editions write *ye yi yi* 也已矣.

²⁰ Some texts read *ye yi yi* 也已矣 for *ye yi* 也已, but all texts have our *yi* 已.

is correct.)

(74) 年四十而見惡焉，其終也已。

"If by the age of forty a man is still disliked he **definitely** is finished." (*Luen Yu* 17.26, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 181 who disregards our *yi* 已.)

(75) 未之也已，何必公山氏之之也。

"We **definitely/simply** have nowhere to go. But why must we go to Gung-shan?" (*Luen Yu* 17.5, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 174: "We may have nowhere [to go, but..." which would have fitted the context well enough, but happens to be entirely unsupported by the evidence on *yi* 已.)

(76) 君子食無求飽，居無求安，敏於事而慎於言，就有道而正焉，可謂好學也已。

"When the gentleman seeks neither a full belly nor a comfortable home, when he is quick in action but cautious in speech, when he goes to men who have achieved the Way to have himself put right, then he may **definitely>properly** be called *hau shiue* 好學 (eager to learn)." (*Luen Yu* 1.14,²¹ contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 7 who disregards our *yi* 已.)

(77) 能近取譬可謂仁之方也已。

"The ability to take as analogy what is near at hand may **definitely>properly** be called the method of benevolence." (*Luen Yu* 6.30, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 55 who disregards our *yi* 已.)

(78) 如有周公之才之美，使驕且吝其餘不足觀也已。

"Even with a man as gifted as the Duke of Jou, if he was arrogant and miserly, then the rest of his qualities would **definitely** not be worth looking (admirably) at." (*Luen Yu* 8.11,²² contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 71 who disregards our *yi* 已.)

Ye yi yi 也已矣 in *Luen Yu*

This colloquial idiom seems largely limited to *Luen Yu*.²³

(79) 泰伯其可謂至德也已矣，三以天下讓民無得而稱焉。

"Tai Bo may **definitely/properly** be said to be a man of perfect moral charisma! Three times he abdicated his right to rule over the Empire, and yet he left behind nothing the common people could acclaim." (*Luen Yu* 8.1, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 69 "Surely T'ai Po can be said to be..." *Yi* 已, on our interpretation is not suggestive but definitive, apodictive, unlike the suggestive *yi* 亦 'also', 'surely'.)

(80) 周之德其可謂至德也已矣。

"The moral charisma of the Jou should **definitely** be called perfect moral charisma!" (*Luen Yu* 8.20, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 75 who disregards our particles.)

²¹ Editions of the *Luen Yu* have various sets of final particles here, but all editions have, among other things, the crucial *yi* 已.

²² Some editions have *ye yi yi* 也已矣 for *ye yi* 也已. All editions have our crucial *yi* 已.

²³ Cf. however *Li Ji*, *Biao Ji*, ed. Cuvreur vol. 2, p. 500 for an example outside that text.

(81) 日知其所亡，月無忘其能，可謂好學也已矣。

"A man who knows in the course of the day what he lacks and who does not forget in the course of a month what he has mastered, such a man may **definitely/ properly** be said to be *hau shiue* 好學 'eager to learn'!" (*Luen Yu* 19.5, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 191 "A man can, indeed, be said to be eager to learn who is...".)

(82) 浸潤之譖，膚受之慙不行焉可謂明也已矣，...可謂遠也已矣。

"When a man is not influenced by slanders which are assiduously repeated or by complaints for which he feels a direct sympathy he may **definitely > properly** be called *ming* 'clear-sighted'! Such a man may **definitely > properly** be called *yuan* 'far-sighted'!" (*Luen Yu* 12.6, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 111 who disregards our particles.)

(83) 說而不繹從而不改吾未如之何也已矣。

"I **definitely/simply** can do nothing with the man who gives assent but does not rectify himself or the man who is pleased (with what is right) but does not reform himself!" (*Luen Yu* 9.24, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 83 who disregards our particles.)

(84) 不曰如之何如之何者吾未如之何也已矣。

"There is **definitely/simply** nothing I can do with a man who is not constantly saying: 'What am I to do? What am I to do?'" (*Luen Yu* 15.16, contrast D. C. Lau (1983) p. 153 who disregards our particles.)

Finally, the trickiest of the examples:

(85) 亦各言其志也已矣。

"They **quite (definitely >) simply** each spoke of their ambitions." (*Luen Yu* 11.24, cf. D. C. Lau (1983) p. 105)

Why does the Master add the *yi* 已? I believe it is because he is repeating with definitive emphasis something he has maintained using the same words (but without the *yi* 已 we are interested in) a moment before.

Meng Tz

In *Meng Tz* I count no less than 48 instances of *er yi yi* 而已矣 and three of *er yi* 而已 without *yi* 矣. (Cf. *Meng Tz* 6B2 and 6B8)

There are four cases of *bu de yi* 不得已 'cannot help it' and thirteen verbal uses which need not interest here. Two cases of *yi shen* 已甚 'excessively much' (3B7, 4B10) as well as a single instance (1B16) of *yi* 已 'by then, by now, already' are also unproblematic. That leaves the cases of final *yi* 已 to be interpreted.

(86) 然則王之所大欲可知已。

"In that case one can **definitely/simply** understand what the thing is that you greatly desire." (*Meng Tz* 1A7, contrast D. C. Lau (1984) p. 19 and W. A. C. H. Dobson (1963) p. 12 who disregard our *yi* 已.)

(87) 苟無恒心放辟邪侈無不爲已。

"If they really have no constant minds they will go astray and fall into

excesses, and there will **definitely/simply** be nothing at which they stop." (*Meng Tz* 1A7, contrast D. C. Lau (1984) p. 21 and W. A. C. H. Dobson (1963) p. 13 fail to get the nuance 'if really' (traditional gloss *cheng* 誠) expressed by *gou* 苟, and then disregard our *yi* 已. Similar observations apply to *Meng Tz* 3A3, D. C. Lau (1984) p. 97.)

(88) 援而止之而止者是亦不屑去已。

"When pressed to stay he stayed, and this **quite definitely** was because he regarded it as beneath his dignity to leave!" (*Meng Tz* 2A9, cf. D. C. Lau (1984) p. 71. There is another exactly parallel example. W. A. C. H. Dobson (1963) p. 165 disregards our *yi* 已.)

(89) 皜皜乎不可尚已。

"So immaculate was he that his whiteness could **definitely/simply** not be surpassed." (*Meng Tz* 3A4, contrast D. C. Lau (1984) p. 109 and W. A. C. H. Dobson (1963) p. 119 who disregard our *yi* 已.)

Yi yi 已矣 in *Meng Tz*

(90) 由是觀之則君子之所養可知之已矣。

"From this one can **definitely/simply** understand what it is a gentleman cultivates in himself!" (*Meng Tz* 3B7, contrast D. C. Lau (1984) p. 127 and W. A. C. H. Dobson (1963) p. 81 who disregard our *yi* 已.)

(91) 是則章子已矣。

"To his way of thinking, unless he acted in this way, his offence would be the greater. That is **definitely/simply** Jang-tz ('s way of thinking)!" (*Meng Tz* 4B30, cf. D. C. Lau (1984) p. 173: "That is Chang Tzu for you." which does attempt to capture the right nuance. Cf. W. A. C. H. Dobson (1963) p. 60.)

Ye yi yi 也已矣 in *Meng Tz*

(92) 此亦妄人也已矣。

"He **quite definitely** must be judged a deluded person!" (*Meng Tz* 4B28, contrast D. C. Lau (1984) p. 171 who disregards our *yi* 已. W. A. C. H. Dobson (1963) p. 134 translates *yi* 已 by 'after all'.)

Tzuo Juan

It may be worth reminding ourselves that *yi* 已 at the end of a sentence need not be the grammatical particle *yi* 已:

(93) 我焉得已。

"How can I help it?" (*Tzuo Juan*, Shiang 27.5)

We have here a neat illustration how negative polarity items like the English 'ever' recur also in questions. ('Have you ever heard of such a thing?') *De yi* 得已 is such a negative polarity item.

The long book *Tzuo Juan* provides a clear stylistic contrast with the *Meng Tz*

with regard to *er yi* 而已.²⁴ I count 44 cases of *er yi* 而已 'and that finishes the matter', and not one single instance of *er yi yi* 而已矣.²⁵ Supposing that the *Tzuo Juan* is the work of many hands, it is remarkable that a grammatical feature such as the absence of the (possible) *yi* 矣 after *er yi* 而已 should be maintained throughout by a number of conspiring scribes, or artificially introduced at a later stage.²⁶ By far the most likely conclusion is Karlgren's, that we do have, in the *Tzuo Juan* as in the *Meng Tz*, works written in a dialect of Chinese. *Han Fei Tz*, we might add, is already writing a kind of *koiné* Chinese, a form of ancient *pu-tung-hua*.

Sentence-final *yi* 已 in *Tzuo Juan*

Consider first the particle *yi* 已, as it regularly co-occurs with *yi* 亦 'also, surely' to make an idiom which I understand as 'quite definitely':

(94) 既而悔之亦無及已。

"... Afterwards, even if I repent it one **quite definitely** could do nothing about it." (*Tzuo Juan*, Jau 20.2, ed. S. Couvreur (1951) p. 305. In *Shuo Yuan* 4.10, ed. Jau Shan-yi p. 91 I find a closely similar statement expressed with *ye* 也 instead of *yi* 已.)

After having listened to a great deal of music, and after having commented on each item he has heard, Ji Ja exclaims:

(95) 若有他樂吾不敢請已。

"The greatest moral power has nothing to add to this! If there are other kind of music, I **definitely** do not presume to ask (to hear them)." (*Tzuo Juan*, Shiang 29.8, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 535)

Ye yi 也已 in *Tzuo Juan*

The combination *ye yi* 也已, which is totally absent in *Meng Tz*, is an important part of the grammatical repertory of *Tzuo Juan*:

(96) 此時也弗可失也已。

"This (moment) chance must **definitely** not be missed!" (*Tzuo Juan*, Jau 27.3)

Here some texts have *ye* 也 others have *yi* 已. The hesitation is significant, for I do find both co-occurring in the same syntactic context:

(97) 弗可改也已。

"He could **definitely** not be changed!" (*Tzuo Juan*, Shi 7.3 and Ai 12.3. Cf. also Cheng 2.2, Jau 1 fu 7, Ding 6.5 where *fu ke* 弗可 is made emphatic by final *ye yi*

²⁴ Our findings at this point give further support to Bernhard Karlgren's observations regarding the grammatical contrasts between *Meng Tz* and the *Tzuo Juan*.

²⁵ Wrongly, Karlgren writes of the phrase *er yi yi* 而已矣 "which is common in all texts, even in such as otherwise never or but seldom have double finals" (B. Karlgren (1951) "Excursions in Chinese Grammar", BMFEA 23 p. 121.) The facts fit his general views of *Tzuo Juan* a great deal better than he realized.

²⁶ It is not maintained in the *Gu-liang Juan*, Duke Shi 19.7 "It is a case of a correct use of names, and that finishes the matter." or in *Gung-yang Juan*, cf. Yin 1.3.

也已.²⁷ Elsewhere *fu ke* 弗可 is followed simply by *yi* 已:

(98) 弗可滅已。

A gentleman says: "... (His injustice) is **definitely** uneraseable!" (*Tzuo Juan*, Jau 31.6 (Ed. S. Couvreur (1951) p. 470, Yang Bojun (1981) p. 1512)

In all these cases, except the last one, we have not general moral judgements (where *ye* 也 alone would be sufficient) but urgent advice, where *ye yi* 也已 is colloquially idiomatic. Unnegated pre-verbal *ke* 可 'be ...able' is made emphatic in the same way in *Tzuo Juan*, Juang 23 *fu*, Shiang 28.6, Shiang 29.5, Jau 11.8. *Neng* 能 'can' is made emphatic with *ye yi* 也已 in Shi 30.6, Jau 22.2.

Sometimes we have *yi* ... *ye yi* 亦 ... 也已:

(99) 其亦無能爲也已。

"... They **quite definitely** cannot do anything about it!" (*Tzuo Juan*, Jau 22.2 (not listed in Harvard Yen-ching Index), ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 346)

I count twenty cases of *ye yi* 也已 in the *Tzuo Juan*, none in *Meng Tz*, and only one isolated example in *Gung-yang Juan*, Ai 6.8 We have accounted for only twelve, and the remaining eight cases deserve our close attention.

There is one splendid *ye yi* 也已 between a subordinate and a main clause:

(100) 先自弃也已, 亦何繼之有。

"If you first **definitely** abandon yourself (!) what continuity can there be?" (*Tzuo Juan*, Shi 11 *fu* 1, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 282: "*Ouand dès le commencement, on s'abandonne ainsi soi-même, comment peut-on continuer longtemps?*")

In subordinate clauses our *ye yi* 也已 is somewhat curious. The curiousness of the phenomenon is paralleled by the impossibility of introducing an exclamation mark after a subordinate clause. Main clauses pose no such problem.

(101) 鄭伯其死乎。自弃也已。視流而行速。

"The Baron of Jeng looks as if he must die. He is **definitely** abandoning himself! His eyes are wandering (against the rules of proper behaviour), and when he walks he hurries (also against the rules of proper behaviour)..." (*Tzuo Juan*, Cheng *fu* 1, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 52)

(102) 夫先自敗也已。安能敗我。

Tz Shi said: "... Such a person will **definitely** ruin himself in the first place! How can he defeat me?" (*Tzuo Juan*, Ai 1 *fu* 4, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 602)

When the Duke of Jin learns of the death of a certain Tz Yu he is simply delighted and exclaims:

(103) 莫余毒也已。

"He will **definitely** no longer poison me (spoil my joys)!" (*Tzuo Juan*, Shi 28.6 and Shuan 12. *fu* 2, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 400: "*Il n'empoisonnera plus ma joie.*" An exclamation mark would surely have been in place in Couvreur's translation.)

²⁷ Cf. E. G. Pulleyblank (1978).

(104) 物亦如之至於煩乃舍也已。

“... Things are also like that: when they reach an excessive stage they **definitely** leave off!” (*Tzuo Juan*, Jau 1 fu 8, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 96)

(105) 陳氏之不亡則國其國也已。

“... If the Chen clan still has not disappeared the state **definitely** will be his!” (*Tzuo Juan*, Jau 26 fu 5, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 419)

(106) 三占皆傷曰：吾不(可)用也已。

The Marshal was three times injured in three battles, and he said: “I am **definitely/simply** useless!” (*Tzuo Juan*, Ding 4.16, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 513, ed. Yang Bojun (1981) p. 1546, quite plausibly reads *bu ke yung ye yi* 不可用也已.)

We note one problematic case:

(107) 猶可終歲歲不及此次也已。

“He can still live for a complete cycle of Jupiter (but at his death) Jupiter will **definitely** not have reached this point!” (*Tzuo Juan*, Shiang 30.7, ed. Couvreur (1951) p. 555)

This completes our survey of all the occurrences of the sentence-final particle *yi* 已 in *Tzuo Juan*. Following Karlgren, one might expect the situation to be similar in *Guo Yu*. Let us see.

Guo Yu

In *Guo Yu* we find nineteen *er yi yi* 而已矣 and only two *er yi* 而已。

We find our *ye yi* 也已 after *ke* 可:

(108) 此其利也不可失也已。

“This is the advantage, and it **definitely** must not be lost.” (*Guo Yu* 20, ed. SBBY (sz-bu bei-yau) p. 2a)

And after *yi* 亦 ‘surely’:

(109) 其至者亦將不能之會也已。

“... If he arrives he will **quite definitely** be unable to (go and meet) join battle with us.” (*Guo Yu* 19, ed. SBBY p. 10b, tr. Harlez p. 243)

(110) 失其利也雖悔之必無及已。

“If you miss this advantage, then even if you regret, it is (**quite definitely**) bound to be too late.” (*Guo Yu* 20.1, ed. SBBY p. 2a. The *Gung Shiu* edition obliges us by reading *yi* 亦 ‘surely’ for *bi* 必 ‘certainly’. (Cf. *Guo Yu*, ed. Shanghai *Gu-jī chu-ban-she* 1978 p. 634, note 6) We do seem to have identified an idiom here.)

(111) 吾知逃也已。

“I **definitely** know how to get out of things!” (*Guo Yu* 18, ed. SBBY p. 11a)

(112) 夫差先自敗也已。焉能敗人。

“Fu Chai is **definitely** ruining himself! How can he defeat others?” (*Guo Yu* 18, ed. SBBY p. 8a)

Compare incidentally:

(113) 已自拔其本矣。何能以久？

“... He has **already** pulled out his own root (i. e. loyalty). How can he last long?” (*Guo Yu* 8, ed. SBBY p. 5b)

Could the correct interpretation of *yi* 已 in contexts like (114) be ‘**definitely/already!**’?

With this question we complete our survey of all cases of sentence-final *yi* 已 in *Guo Yu*.

Juang Tz

The *Juang Tz* is a text rich in colloquialisms, and it is rich in the-kind of *yi* 已 that interests us. The question is whether the interpretation of *yi* 已 suggested by the preceding analyses yields plausible interpretations of the many relevant *Juang Tz* contexts. As mentioned above, A. C. Graham’s excellent translation disregards modal *yi* 已 throughout on the sensible grounds that it is insufficiently well understood.

(114) 湯之問棘也是已。

(South of Chu there is the tree Mingling, which grows through a spring of five hundred years....) “Tang’s questions to Ji were **definitely** about this.” (*Juang Tz* 1.13, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 44)

(115) 地籟則衆竅是已。人籟則比竹是已。敢問天籟？

“The pipes of earth, these are **definitely>simply** the various hollows (in the earth that have just been described). The pipes of men, these are **definitely>simply** arrays of tubes. But may I ask about the pipes of Heaven?” (*Juang Tz* 2.8, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 49)

(116) 此所游已。

(My Teacher, O my Teacher! He chops fine the myriad things but it is not cruelty. His bounty extends to a myriad ages but it is not goodwill. He is elder to the most ancient but it is not growing old. He overhangs heaven and bears up earth and cuts up and sculpts all shapes but it is not skill.) “This is **definitely>simply** his way of roaming!” (*Juang Tz* 6.89, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 91)

(117) 然則是至人之德已乎？

“This **definitely>simply** is (all there is to) the moral charisma of a Perfect Man?” (*Juang Tz* 23.38, A. C. Graham (1981) has not translated this passage, but cf. Burton Watson (1968) p. 253)

(118) 是衛生之經已。

“This is **definitely>simply** the basic guideline of the preservation of life.” (*Juang Tz* 23.38 and 23.40, cf. Burton Watson (1968) p. 253)

(119) 吾自以爲至達已。

“I **definitely/simply** considered myself as perfectly accomplished in understanding.” (*Juang Tz* 17.67, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 154 and B. Watson p. 186)

(120) 而離朱是已?

(Thus to web the eyesight deranges the Five Colours, vitiates emblems and designs by excess, by the dazzle of greens and yellows and multicoloured vestments, or would you deny it?) "And Li Ju was **definitely/simply** a case of that." (*Juang Tz* 8.4, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 200 and B. Watson p. 98. There are three more precisely similar examples in the immediate context.)

(121) 自三代以下者是已?

"Since as far back as the Three Dynasties onwards it has **definitely/simply** been like this!" (*Juang Tz* 10.40, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 210)

(122) 吾既不及已夫?

"We had **definitely/simply** failed to get anywhere, hadn't we?" (*Juang Tz* 14.23, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 165)

(123) 然則君之所讀者古人之糟粕已夫?

"Then what my lord is reading **definitely>simply** is the dregs of the men of old, isn't it?" (*Juang Tz* 13.70 and 13.74, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 140)

(124) 若其殘生損性則盜跖亦伯夷已。

"In the damage to life and harm to nature Robber Jr **quite definitely/simply** a Bo Yi." (*Juang Tz* 8.26, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 202)

(125) 若此之時，則至治已。

"At times like this, then there **definitely** is perfect government." (*Juang Tz* 11.32, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 209)

(126) 闔不亦問是已奚惑然爲?

"You should **quite definitely/simply** enquire about this! Why do you muddle on in a confused way?" (*Juang Tz* 24.110, contrast B. Watson p. 279)

(127) 古之人乎於此言已。

"The ancients, at this point (i. e. after the preliminary libations), would **definitely** conduct conversation." (*Juang Tz* 24.66, contrast B. Watson (1968) p. 271. Liou Kiao-hway (1969) p. 201 gets the general sense right.)

(128) 將已生爲喪也，以死爲反也，是以分已。

"The considered life as 'being lost' and death as a 'returning home'. In this way they were (**definitely>**) **already** divided." (*Juang Tz* 23.59, cf. Watson p. 257)

(129) 天知予僻陋慢池奔予而死已矣!

"He that was Heaven to me knew that I am coarse and rude, that is why he **definitely/simply** abandoned me and died!" (*Juang Tz* 22.54, cf. A. C. Graham (1981) p. 162 who translates the *yi* 已 as an independent sentence: "Enough!")

Finally we must focus on an example for which one must be especially grateful: an apparent counterexample.

(130) 若是則汝何爲驚已?

"Why did you (**definitely** (?) **simply** (?) get scared>) get **that** scared?" (*Juang Tz* 32.2, cf. B. Watson p. 353)

No commentaries seem to have worried about this *yi* 已, but in fact it is very puzzling. What I find surprising in the present survey is the fact that there are so few of these puzzling cases. It is the paucity (in spite of the possibility) of these which suggests that we may be on the right track in our interpretation of the semantics of *yi* 已. After all, our interpretation of modal *yi* 已 has empirical content only to the extent that it **excludes** the occurrence of *yi* 已 after many kinds of sentences.

Mo Tz

In *Mo Tz* I count 14 cases of *er yi yi* 而已矣 and seven cases of *er yi* 而已.²⁸ Three times we find the phrase

(131) 事已...

When the matter was over... (*Mo Tz* 70.73, 70.74, 70.102, see also *Shiun Tz* 26.26.)

This connects with later uses of *yi* 已 as a sentence connective.

We have verbal *yi* 已 with *yi* 亦 'surely' in a characteristic idiom:

(132) 死人毋知亦已。

If the dead do not have knowledge then that surely is the end of the matter.

(*Mo Tz* 31.26)

We find not *ye yi* 也已 but *yi* 已 alone after *ke* 可 in the following tricky passage which we may or may not include in the direct speech attributed to *Mo Tz*:

(133) 既以鬼神有無之別以爲不可不察已。

Mo Tz said: "... Since there is a distinction between the existence or non-existence of ghosts, therefore we **definitely** have to investigate the matter." (*Mo Tz* 31.9)

(134) 國家之亂既可得而知已。

The ruin of the state can **definitely** at this stage be known. (*Mo Tz* 9.14)

(135) 家既已治國之道盡此已邪?

"When the state is well governed, is this **definitely/simply** all there is to (running) a state?" (*Mo Tz* 13.28, Y. P. Mei 74; cf. 13.35 for a precisely similar example.)

This completes our account of all cases of sentence-final and related *yi* 已 in *Mo Tz*.²⁹

Liu Shr Chuen Chiou

In *Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* I find seven cases of *er yi* 而已 versus 22 cases of *er yi yi* 而已矣.

The co-occurrence of *yi* 已 with *gu* 固 'certainly, inherently' goes nicely with our interpretation:

²⁸ Unfortunately, these cannot be attributed to the schools of Mohism established in A.C. Graham (1985).

²⁹ There are no relevant occurrences of *yi* 已 in *Yi Jing*.

(136) 是寡人之命固盡已，子無復言矣。

“My allotted time **definitely** is out. Don't say more about it.” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 6.4, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 348, tr. Lin Pinshi p. 163, Wilhelm p. 76)

(137) 所夢固秋駕已。

“What he dreamt about was certainly (**definitely**>) **nothing other** than the Chiou Jia race.” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 24.5, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1618, Wilhelm p. 428)

Similarly for *jen* 眞 ‘genuinely’:

(138) 此眞所謂士已!

(“If one shows these four forms of behaviour may one be called a ‘knight?’” The King of Chi. replied:) “This genuinely and **definitely** is what one calls a knight!” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 16.8, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1020. Chen notes an early gloss to the effect that one edition reads the ordinary *yi* 矣 for *yi* 已. He comments that *yi* 已 and the ordinary *yi* 矣 are synonymous.)

Similarly for *bi* 必 ‘necessarily’:

(139) 此必是已。

“This is **definitely** bound to be the man!” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 18.2, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1156)

A significant majority of examples with modal *yi* 已 are nominal sentences in *Liu Shr Chuen Chiou*:

(140) 六君者是已。

“The six rulers were **definitely** cases in point.” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 2.4, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 96)

(141) 公孫鞅，鄭平，續經，公孫竭是已。

“Gung-suen Yang, Jeng Ping, Shiu Jing and Gung-suen Jie are **definitely** examples of this.” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 22.2, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1491)

(142) 正名審分是治之嚮已。

“The correct use of names and recognition of social divisions are **definitely** the reins of good government.” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 17.1, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1030)

(143) 是所以加於子之上已。

“This **definitely** is what I excel you by.” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 17.8, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1133)

(144) 此其所以觀後世已。

“This is **definitely/precisely** what one can use as a model for future generations.” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 24.5, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1618)

(145) 此人主之所以失天下之士也已。

“This is **definitely** the way to lose the knights of the world!” (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 19.8, ed. Chen Qiyou (1985) p. 1311)

However, verbal cases do exist:

(146) 夫大義之不成，既有成已...

"Although the great aim is not achieved, something is **definitely** achieved." (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 26.2, ed. Chen Qiyu (1985) p. 1706)

(147) 必又見之已因以爲酬!

"(The Chancellor is fond of weapons....) He is **definitely** bound to have a look at them! (Then (on the basis of them:) use them as a present when you drink his health.)" (*Liu Shr Chuen Chiou* 22.1, ed. Chen Qiyu (1985) p. 1482 and footnote 27)³⁰

Shiun Tz

In *Shiun Tz* I count ten cases of *er yi* 而已 and seven cases of *er yi yi* 而已矣. There is one interesting case of *fei te ... er yi ye* 非特 ... 而已也 'it is not as if... and that was all'³¹

(148) 是善惡之分已。

Mencius says: "Human nature is good." I reply: "This is not so! All men in the world, past and present, agree that goodness is that which is upright, reasonable and orderly, and evil is that which is prejudiced, irresponsible, and chaotic. That **definitely** is the distinction between 'good' and 'evil'." (*Shiun Tz* 23.36, contrast tr. Watson p. 162, cf. Köster (1968) p. 307)

(149) 鄉鄉而飽已矣!

"They **definitely/simply** eat delicacies to their hearts' content!" (*Shiun Tz* 4.52, ed. Yang Liuqiao, Ji-nan (1985) p. 83)

Final *yi* 已 combines with *yi* 亦 'surely':

(150) 此亦榮辱安危之衢已。

(Yang Ju cried at a crossroads: "This is a place where you make a tiny mistake and you will find you have gone a thousand *li* astray, isn't it!" He cried bitterly as he said this.) Now here **quite definitely** is a crossroads where you can choose between glory and disgrace, safety and danger, survival and ruin. (And there is more to wail about here than at (Yang Ju's) crossroads. Alas and alack! Those who rule over others do not wake up to this in a thousand years!) (*Shiun Tz* 11.86, cf. Köster (1968) p. 142, Liang Qixiong p. 152)

(151) 是杆杆亦富人已。

"Such a person surely is **definitely** a superbly rich man." (*Shiun Tz* 8.45, cf. Köster (1968) p. 76, Liang Qixiong p. 82)

(152) 人之情欲是已。

They reply: "Human nature **definitely** is like this." (*Shiun Tz* 18.117, Liang Qixiong p. 256)

³⁰ There is a significant problem of punctuation here: Xu Weiyu's standard edition punctuates as we do, but Chen Qiyu's writes 必又見之。已，因以……。 Chen's reading of our passage is possible but not the most plausible in view of our survey of *yi* 已。

³¹ *Shiun Tz* 10.116, which recurs with *tu* 徒 for *te* 特 in *Guan Tz* 3.52-8.

(153) 是亂國已。

(If you want to find out if a country is well governed or in chaos, whether it is good or not, then you can see the indications already at the border. If the military guards roam all over the place to check and if the customs officers inspect everything,) that sort of place is **definitely** a chaotic state. (*Shiun Tz* 10.88, cf. Köster (1968) p. 124, Liang Qixiong p. 132)

The final *yi* 已 here is far from incidental, it recurs seven times in exactly parallel contexts. The force of *yi* 已 in these contexts seems clear enough: **already** from these indications you can **definitely** conclude that the state or ruler is such-and-such.

(154) 至成康則案無誅已。

"When it came to (the kings) Cheng and Kang there **definitely** were no executions (**any more**)."
(*Shiun Tz* 27.70, cf. Köster (1968) p. 354, cf. the parallel in *Shiun Tz* 7.15 which has the ordinary *yi* 矣 for our *yi* 已.)

(155) 先王之道則堯舜已，六貳之博則天府已。

(If you do not know about something, ask about Yau and Shuen. If you are short of something, look for it in the Imperial Archives.) "The Way of the former kings is **definitely** a matter of Yau and Shuen. As regards the range of the six arts, then it is **definitely** a matter of the Imperial Archives." (*Shiun Tz* 27.80, cf. Köster (1968) p. 355, *Shiun Tz shin ju* p. 459, here as everywhere else, fails to comment on final *yi* 已. This in many ways excellent book consistently disregards final *yi* 已 in its paraphrases.)

(156) 此三其美德已。

"These three (qualities) are **definitely** his admirable moral charisma." (*Shiun Tz* 32.10, cf. Köster (1968) p. 387)

This completes our survey of all relevant cases of *yi* 已 in *Shiun Tz*.

Jan Guo Tse

A cursory reading of *Jan Guo Tse* yields the following picture.

Modal *yi* 已 is commonly used in the parts I have perused:

(157) 雖堯舜禹湯復生弗能改已。

"Even if Yau, Shuen, Yu and Tang were born again they **definitely** could not change this." (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 93, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 281. Cf. *Shr Ji* 79, ed. Takigawa p. 8 which retains our *yi* 已 because Sz-ma Chian is quoting an old source and not writing his own prose.)

(158) 今攻齊，此君之大時也已。

"Now to attack Chin is **definitely** a great opportunity for you." (*Jan Guo Tse*, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 264)

(159) 殘亂宋，德強齊定身封此亦百世之一時已。

"To ruin Sung, to strengthen Chi, and to make safe your own status, this is **definitely** an opportunity that comes once in a hundred generations." (*Jan Guo*

Tse no. 82, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 270, cf. also *ibidem* no. 363, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 1268)

(160) 乃所謂無王已!

"Then that is **definitely** nothing other than what is called 'not having (needing) a king'!" (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 95, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 305. *Shr Ji* 130, ed. Takigawa p. 21 omits our *yi* 已.)

(161) 王乃是也已!

"Your Majesty is **definitely/simply** nothing other than a case of this." (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 111, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 375)

(162) 其母在秦, 則魏秦之縣也已!

"His mother being in Chin, Wei would **definitely/simply** be a province of Chin." (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 86, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 355)

(163) 則鴻臺之宮, 桑林之苑, 非王之有已!

"Then the palace at Hung Tai and the park at Sang Lin will **definitely** not be under your control!" (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 393, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 1365)

(164) 後雖悔之不可得也已!

"Then, even if you should repent this, you **definitely** cannot do anything!" (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 95, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 264)

(165) 秦盡韓魏之上黨太原之西秦之有已。

"Chin has already got all of Shang-dang, Tai-yuan and Shi-du from Han and Wei. These **definitely** belong to the Chin." (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 44, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 33, contrast Crump (1970) p. 53. Compare *ibidem* no. 43, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 30, Crump (1970) p. 52 for another example.)

(166) 此亦淖齒李兌之類已。

"This will **definitely** be same as in the case of Nau Chr and Li Duei." (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 96, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 306, cf. Crump (1970) p. 108. *Shr Ji* 130, ed. Takigawa p. 22 omits our *yi* 已.)

(167) 蔡聖侯之事因是已。

"The affairs of Lord Sheng Hou of Tsai are **definitely** along these lines." (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 219, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 818, cf. especially p. 822 footnote 11. There are four structurally parallel examples in the context.)

(168) 先生置之, 勿復言已!

"Forget about it, sir! **Definitely/simply** do not speak about it!" (*Jan Guo Tse* no. 227, ed. Zhu Zugeng (1985) p. 853)

In the absence of a proper index to the *Jan Guo Tse* I am unfortunately unable to give a complete picture of the use of the colloquialism modal *yi* 已 in that book. But the contrast with the *Han Fei Tz* is clear enough. This is not the place to speculate on the exact conclusions to be drawn concerning the nature and date of these two texts. But it does seem natural to indulge in the hypo-

thesis that those parts of the *Jan Guo Tse* which do contain our modal *yi* 已 probably belong to the earlier rather than later strata of that composite text. Much of the *Jan Guo Tse* is evidently written in a late *koiné* Chinese style belonging to the late 3rd and the 2nd century BC. But in contrast with the *Han Fei Tz* the *Jan Guo Tse* would also seem to contain certain not inconsiderable earlier strata. The *Han Fei Tz* is a more coherently mid to late 3rd century work.

Han Shr Wai Juan

A survey of *Han Shr Wai Juan* reveals a situation remarkably similar to that in *Han Fei Tz*. I found only two stray relevant examples:

(169) 文王亦可謂大儒已。

King Wen may **definitely/properly** be called a great *ru*. (*Han Shr Wai Juan* 5.5, ed. Xu Weiyu (1980) p. 174. Cf. J. R. Hightower (1952) p. 166 "King Wen can certainly be called a Great Confucian" which is perfectly satisfactory.)

(170) 嘻，吾子殆可以言書已。

"Ah! With you one may **definitely/properly** speak of the Book of History." (*Han Shr Wai Juan* 2.29, ed. Xu Weiyu (1980) p. 73. J. R. Hightower (1952) mistranslates: "Ah, sir, now you can discuss the Odes," as if *yi* 已 meant the same as the ordinary *yi* 矣, and as if there was no unanimous tradition to read *yi* 以 'with' as *yu* 與 'with'. The fact that Hightower reads *shr* 詩 for *shu* 書 need not interest us here.)

IV. Concluding Remarks

It is my impression that our modal *yi* 已 is an early colloquialism which, like the exclamation mark which one so often is tempted to use in translating *yi* 已, we are more likely to find in dialogue than in other kinds of texts. Modal *yi* 已 has tended to disappear from Literary Chinese around the time of *Han Fei Tz*. From our point of view the text of *Jan Guo Tse* draws on sources representing an earlier stage of Chinese grammar than the *Han Fei Tz*. However, there are a few archaizing examples, like those in *Han Shr Wai Juan* which must not be overlooked. Moreover, Sz-ma Chian writes in his postface to the *Shr Ji*:

(171) 察其所以，皆失其本已。

When we investigate the reasons for this, it is **definitely** all because they lost sight of what is essential. (*Shr Ji* 130, ed. Takigawa p. 24.)

There is no question of Sz-ma Chian quoting an earlier source here. He just occasionally uses a particle which has gone out of colloquial use by his time. Such modal *yi* 已 are, I think, best seen as archaisms. They were in any case sufficiently anomalous in *Shr Ji* for the authors of the *Ji Jie* 集解 commentary to take to trouble to explain that *yi* 已 here is a *yu jung jr tsz* 語終之辭, a sentence-final particle, a gloss that became standard. Thus, when we look at this counter-example in detail we find that it ends up confirming our generalization that *yi*

已 was not an integral part of colloquial or literary Han Chinese.

The varying degree to which Literary Chinese writers of later ages used archaizing *yi* 已 need not concern us here.

Modal *yi* 已 does have its successors in early colloquial Chinese. In the colloquial text *Bai Yu Jing* 百喻經, translated from the Sanskrit in 492 A. D.,³² the cases of *yi* 已 after a subordinate in a construction of the type $S_1 yi S_2$ 'when S_1 was finished, then S_2 ' is simply ubiquitous.

The construction is common in the colloquial literature even before *Bai Yu Jing*.³³ I have a lingering doubt that *yi* 已 here is a usage which was incorporated into Buddhist hybrid Chinese in order to convey in Chinese Sanskrit constructions. The *Bai Yu Jing* may be a colloquial text, but it is also heavily Sanskrit-inspired. One does smell syntactic interference with a foreign language in many places. But as we have seen, the usage has its ancient roots in pre-Han literature.

In any case, this *yi* 已 is increasingly replaced by, and its functions are taken over by, the verb *liau/le* 了 in such texts as the *Liou Tzu Tan Jing* 六祖壇經 (ed. P. B. Yampolski (1967) Appendix p. 1-30) dating probably from the eighth century AD.³⁴ *Liau/le* 了 in that sutra seems to function as a semi-grammaticalized verb with sentential subjects, just as we have construed early *yi* 已.

(172) 大師說法了韋使君官寮僧衆俗語言。

When the Great Master had finished explaining the *dharma* (the Imperial Delegate Wei, the government officials, and the monks and laymen uttered words of praise.) (*Liou Tzu Tan Jing* 33, tr. P. B. Yampolski (1967) p. 155)

Liau/le 了 in turn is on its way towards being grammaticalized as a particle. But that is a different story which has recently been studied in considerable detail in an admirable article by Mei Tsu-lin (1981). Quite properly, Mei Tsu-lin compares the verbs *jing* 竟, *chi* 訖, and *bi* 畢 with *yi* 已 as predecessors of the modern Chinese *le* 了. But among these verbs, *yi* 已 is unique in that it has a clear pre-history of grammaticalization. It is this pre-history which was the subject of the present paper, which was concerned with the colloquial language of the pre-Han period.

³² An annotated and complete Russian translation of this work by I.S. Gurevic, with a most informative 49 page introduction by L.N. Men'shikov, has just been published (Moskva 1986). I am very grateful to Herbert Franke for sending me a copy of this important contribution to the study of early Buddhist colloquial Chinese literature. For a comprehensive survey of the earliest Buddhist translation literature see now E. Zürcher's masterly survey *A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts* (58 pages, cyclostyled) which includes a 22 page annotated survey of the Chinese Buddhist texts of the Later Han period. I must thank A.C. Graham for drawing my attention to this singularly useful work.

³³ I.S. Gurevich (1974) p. 101-103 interprets 14 fascinating examples gleaned from early colloquial literature.

³⁴ Indeed, I note with satisfaction that the Tang commentary on *Li Ji*, *Tan Gung* states categorically *yi you liau ye* 已猶了也 'yi 已 works like liau 了'. I can only say that I agree with this sentiment.

I hope I have shown through a fairly exhaustive presentation of examples that the meaning of modal *yi* 已 historically, syntactically and semantically may not be as vague as translators have made it appear, and as the conflicting glosses in current grammars³⁵ might tempt one to believe.

But perhaps, in the end, the precise meaning of modal *yi* 已 is in the eye of the beholder. Maybe modalities are inherently a little bit like beauty in that way? Who knows?

References

- Chang I-jen 張以仁
1976 *Guo Yu yin-de* 國語引得, Taipei.
- Chen Qiyu 陳奇猷
1984 *Liu Shr Chuen Chiou jiau-shr* 呂氏春秋校釋, Peking.
- Chou Fa-kao 周法高
1975 *Jung-guo yu-yan-shiue luen-wen-ji* 中國語言學論文集, Taipei.
- Couvreux, S. tr.
1913 *Li Ki*, Ho Kien Fu.
1952 *La chronique de la principauté de Lou*, 3 vols, Paris (Reprint).
- Crump, J. tr.
1970 *Chan-Kuo Ts'e*, Oxford.
- Dobson, W. A. C. H. tr.
1963 *Mencius*, Toronto.
- Dobson, W. A. C. H.
1974 *A Dictionary of the Chinese Particles*, Toronto.
- Gao Heng 高亨
1984 *Jou Yi gu jing jin ju* 周易古經今注, Peking.
- Graham, A. C.
1978 *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science*, London and Hong Kong.
1981 *Chuang Tzu, The Inner Chapters*, London.
1985 *Divisions in Early Mohism Reflected in the Core Chapters of Mo-tzu*, The Institute of East Asian Philosophies, Paper and Monograph Series no. 1, Singapore.
- Griffith, S. B.
1963 *The Art of War*, Oxford.
- Gurevich, I. S.
1974 *Ocherk grammatiki kitajskogo jazyka III-V vv.*, Moskva.
- Gurevich, I. S. tr.
1986 *Baj yu czin*, (introduction by L. N. Men'shikov), Moskva.
- Han Fei Tz 韓非子
See *Han Fei Tz suo-yin* 韓非子索引.
- Han Fei Tz suo-yin* 韓非子索引
1982 *Jung-hua shu-jiu*, Peking.
- Harbsmeier, C.
1981 *Aspects of Classical Chinese Syntax*, London.
1985 "Where do Chinese Nouns Come From?", in *Early China* 9/10 (1987) p. 77-163.
1986 "The scope of *erh* 而 and *erh yi* 而已 in *Lun Yu* and *Meng Zi*" in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*.
- Hightower, R. tr.
1952 *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, Cambridge Mass.

³⁵ The historical doxography on the particle *yi* 已 would make an interesting study in its own right which falls outside the scope of the present study.

Hong Chengyu 洪成玉

1984 *Gu Han-yu fu-yin shiu-tsz he gu-ding jie-gou* 古漢語復音虛詞和固定結構, Jejiang Jiau-yu-chu-ban-she.

HYISIS

Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Peking.

Jan Guo Tse

1985 See Chu Tsu-keng.

Juang Tz

See HYISIS.

Jung-wen *Da-tsz-dian* 中文大辭典

1962 Taipei.

Karlgren, B. tr.

1950 "The Book of Documents", in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 22, p. 1-82.

Karlgren, B.

1951 *Excursions in Chinese Grammar*, BMFEA 23.

Köster, H. tr.

1967 *Hsün Tzu, Ins Deutsche übertragen*, Kaldenkirchen.

Ku Chieh-kang 顧頔剛

1936 *Shang Shu tung-jian* 尚書通檢, Peking.

Lau, D. C. tr.

n. d. *Tao Te Ching*, bilingual ed., Hong Kong.

1983 *The Analects*, bilingual ed., Hong Kong.

1984 *Mencius* 2 vols. revised bilingual ed., Hong Kong.

Liao, W. K. tr.

1939 and 1959 *Han Fei Tzu, Works Translated from the Chinese*, (2 vols.) London.

Liu Qi 劉淇

1955 *Ju-tz bian-liue* 助字辨略, Peking.

Luan Xing 欒星

1982 *Gung-suen Lung Tz chang-jian* 公孫龍子長箋, Jungjou.

Mei Tsu-lin 梅祖麟

1981 "Shian-dai Han-yu wan-cheng-mau jiu-shr he tsz-wei de lai-yuan" 現代漢語完成貌句式和詞尾的來源 in *Yu-yan Yan-jiou* 語言研究 no. 1, p. 65-77.

Mei, Y. P.

1929 *The Ethical and Political Works of Mo Tzu*, London.

Mo Tz

See HYISIS.

Prémare, J. H. de

1831 *Notitia linguae Sinicae* (submitted for publication in 1730), Macao.

Pulleyblank, E. G.

1978 "Emphatic negatives in Classical Chinese", in D. T. Roy and Tsueh-hsuei Tsien eds. *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization*, Hong Kong, p. 115-135.

Rickett, W. A. tr.

1985 *Guanzi*, vol. 1, Princeton.

SBBY

Sz-bu bei-yau 四部備要.

Shi Mingcan

1974 *Li Ji shiu-tsz yung-fa shr-li*, Taipei.

Shiun Tz

See HYISIS.

- Takigawa Kametaro
1934 *Shiki kaichu kosho*, Tokyo.
- Waley, A.
1939 *Three Ways of Thinking in Ancient China*, London.
- Wan-you-wen-ku 萬有文庫 ed.
Guan tz 管子, vol. 4207.
- Watson, B. tr.
1968 *Chuang Tzu*, Columbia.
- Wilhelm, R. tr.
1928 *Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu-We*, Jena.
- Wu Zeyu 吳則虞
1962 *Yan Tz Chuen Chiou ji-shr* 晏子春秋集釋, Jung-hua shu-jiu, Peking.
- WYWK
Wan-you-wen-ku, ed., Shanghai 1927 ff.
- Xu Weiyu 許維遹
1980 *Han Shr Wai Juan ji-shr* 韓詩外傳集釋, Peking.
- Yampolski, P. B. tr.
1967 *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, Columbia.
- Yang Bojun 楊伯峻
1981 *Chuen Chiou Tzuo Juan ju* 春秋左傳注, Jung-hua shu-jiu, Peking.
- Zhao Shanyi 趙善詒
1985 *Shuo Yuan shu jeng* 說苑疏證, Hua-dung Shr-fan-da-shiue.
- Zhu Zugeng 諸祖耿
1985 *Jan Guo Tse ji-ju hwei-kau* 戰國策集注彙考, Shanghai.

ON THE MODALITIES OF OBLIGATION AND EPISTEMIC NECESSITY IN THE SHIYOUJI

N. G. D. Malmqvist

Stockholm University

This paper which is part of a projected study of interrogative structures in the *Shiyouji* 西游記 is meant to serve as a rejoinder to a thesis which Professor Chu Tehsi 朱德熙 has presented in his article "Hanyu fangyanli de liangjung fanfu wenjiu" 漢語方言裏的兩種反復問句 (Two types of A-not-A questions in Chinese dialects) (*Jungguo Yuwen* 1/1985/, 10-20).

Chu Tehsi notes that in a great many Chinese dialects interrogative sentences may be divided into three main categories:

1. Questions with interrogative words (*tejr wenjiu* 特指問句);
2. Yes-or-no questions (*shrfei wenjiu* 是非問句), and
3. Disjunctive questions (*shiuantze wenjiu* 選擇問句).

Within the category of disjunctive questions Chu Tehsi recognizes a subcategory which he terms "fanfu wenjiu" 反復問句 (A-not-A questions), the most frequent patterns of which are the following:

- (a) *VP bu VP? Chiu bu chiu?* 去不去; *He shuei bu he?* 喝水不喝 and
- (b) *VP meiyou? 沒有 Chiu le meiyou? 去了沒有 Kanjian meiyou? 看見沒有*

According to Chu Tehsi these A-not-A questions are found in a wide range of Chinese dialects, among them the Northern Mandarin dialects, most of the Southwestern Mandarin dialects, the Yue dialects, the Min dialects and the majority of the Wu dialects.

In some dialects Chu Tehsi has found an alternative type of A-not-A question which is formed by an interrogative adverb placed immediately before the verb, *FVP*. Chu Tehsi also notes that the interrogative structures *VP bu VP?* and *FVP?* are mutually exclusive.

FVP structures are found in the following dialects:

1. The Wu dialects spoken in Soochow 蘇州, Wushi 無錫, Changshu 常熟 and Kuenshan 崑山 in the province of Kiangsu;
2. The Southwestern Mandarin dialects spoken in Kunming 昆明, Tunghai 通海, Gejiou 箇舊, Mengtz 蒙自, Hueitze 會澤, Chiujiing 曲靖, Dali 大理, Szmau 思茅 and Lianghe 梁河 in the province of Yunnan, and
3. The Lower Yangtze Valley Mandarin dialects spoken in Hefei 合肥,

Bangbu 蚌埠, Lingbi 靈璧, Szshian 泗縣, Wuhe 五河, Jiashan 嘉山, Fengyang 鳳陽, Chiuanjiau 全椒, Wuhu 蕪湖, Gueichr 貴池, Anching 安慶, Dungliou 東流, Liouan 六安, Huochiou 霍丘, Linchiuan 臨泉, Guoyang 渦陽, Yingshang 潁上 in the province of Anhwei, and Huaian 淮安, Yancheng 鹽城 and Nanking 南京 in the province of Kiangsu.

Chu Tehsi's examples of *FVP* structures are taken from the dialects spoken in Soochow, Kunming and Hefei.

In the Soochow dialect the interrogative adverb is realized as/aʔ/:

1. 耐阿曉得 (Ni jrdau bu jrdau? 你知道不知道);
2. 耐看阿好 (Ni kan hau bu hau? 你看好不好);
3. 阿要吃點茶 (Yau bu yau he dian cha? 要不要喝點茶).

(Chu Tehsi, who notes that Chao Yuen Ren in *Shiandai Wuyu de yanjiu*/Studies in the Modern Wu Dialects/, p. 127, treats questions of this type as Yes-or-no questions, argues convincingly that the *FVP* structure must be considered as a subcategory of disjunctive questions. As his arguments have no bearing on the topic of this paper I shall not discuss them here.)

In the dialect of Kunming the interrogative adverb is realized as/kə/:

1. 你格認得 (Ni rende bu rende? 你認得不認得);
2. 你格上街 (Ni shang bushang jie? 你上不上街);
3. 你格說了 (Ni shuole meiyou? 你說了沒有).

In the dialect of Hefei the interrogative adverb is realized as/k'əʔ/:

1. 你克相信 (Ni shiangshin bu shiangshin? 你相信不相信);
2. 你克吃蛟蛋 (Ni chr bu chr chayedan? 你吃不吃茶葉蛋).

Chu Tehsi notes that the structure *VP bu VP?* does not occur in the dialects of Soochow, Kunming or Hefei.

In Chu Tehsi's tentative opinion the three interrogative adverbs found in the *FVP* structures obtaining in the dialects of Soochow, Kunming and Hefei have a common origin, which probably was a *rusheng* 入聲 form. He also suggests that the morpheme *ke* 可, found in vernacular texts of the Ming and Ching periods, is functionally identical with this interrogative adverb and does not necessarily have any connection with the modal verb *ke*.

Referring to Mei Tsulin's 梅祖麟 study "Shiandai Hanyu shiuantze wenjiu de lai yuan" 現代漢語選擇問句的來源 (On the origin of the disjunctive questions of Modern Chinese), (*CYYY* 49: 1/1978/) Chu Tehsi suggests that the *ke VP* structure appeared much later than the *VP bu VP* structure. The fact that *ke VP* structures occur in some vernacular novels of the Ming period indicates, according to Chu Tehsi, that they must have appeared much earlier. He also states that the non-occurrence of *ke VP* structures in the *Piau tungshr* 朴通事 and the *Lau Chida* 老乞大 of the late Yuan period cannot be used as a criterion for the determination of the date of appearance of these structures, but only as an indication that these

structures did not obtain in the dialect of the Dadu 大都 capital of that time.

Having discussed the appearance of the *FVP* structure in the dialects of Soochow, Kunming and Hefei Chu Tehsi proceeds to an examination of what he considers to be identical structures in four of the five great novels of the Ming and Ching periods, ranging from the mid 16th century to the early 19th century, namely, the *Shiyouji* 西游記, the *Jin Ping Mei tszhua* 金瓶梅詞話, the *Rulin waishr* 儒林外史, the *Hunglouloumeng* 紅樓夢 and the *Erniu yingshiung juan* 兒女英雄傳. He finds that the *Jin Ping Mei*, which is commonly assumed to reflect the Shantung dialect, consistently uses the *VP bu VP* structure, that the *Shiyouji*, whose author was a native of Huaian in the province of Kiangsu, consistently uses the *ke VP* structure, that the *Rulin waishr*, whose author was a native of Chiuanjiau 全椒 in the province of Anhwei, consistently uses the *ke VP* structure, while the *Hunglouloumeng* and the *Erniu yingshiung juan*, whose authors were both banner men, use both *ke VP* and *VP bu VP* structures.

It is my contention that the *ke VP* structure obtaining in the vernacular novels of the Ming and Ching periods is unrelated to the dialectal *FVP* structure discussed by Chu Tehsi and that it in fact serves to express the modalities of obligation and epistemic necessity.

It is necessary at this point to make a short excursion in order to explain some basic, and probably universal features relating to the expression of modality. In a recent article, entitled "Modalities in spoken and written English. An inventory of forms" (*English in Speech and Writing. A Symposium*, edited by Gunnell Tottie and Ingegerd Bäcklund, *Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, Uppsala 1986, pp. 57-91) the Swedish scholar Lars Hermerén states as follows:

A common defining characteristic of modality is that it modifies a proposition, whether this proposition refers to the speaker's attitude to its truth value (epistemic) or whether it refers to an act of event (root).

In case grammar, for example, a sentence is said to consist of two main underlying constituents, modality and proposition:

Sentence \rightarrow Modality + Proposition

This formula may be illustrated with (8), where *MUST* expresses Obligation:

(8) First, we *must* have a Constitution which gives full protection to the various interests in the country,...

According to the formula, (8) may be rewritten informally as:

Sentence \rightarrow it is obligatory + we have a Constitution

(p. 58)

It is a well known fact that English modals operate on two different semantic levels: the root level which is concerned with the expression of acts and events,

and the epistemic level which is concerned with the speaker's assessment of the relation of an event to reality, in terms of its potential for realization.

In the sentence "He must leave now." the modal *must* operates on the root level: "It is necessary for him to leave now; it is obligatory that he leaves now." In the sentence "He must be ill." *must* operates on the epistemic level: "It is necessarily the case that he is ill; all available evidence makes me believe that he is ill". It is therefore possible to set up two semantic classes of English modals:

A		B
Obligation	<i>must</i>	Necessity (epistemic, logical)
Permission	<i>may</i>	Possibility
Ability	<i>can</i>	Possibility
Volition	<i>will</i>	Prediction

The potential ambiguity resulting from the fact that one and the same modal can appear in both class A and class B is often eliminated by different syntactic environments and/or the situational context. In his paper "Intention, meaning, Interpretation" (*Lingua* 21/1968/, 126-134) F. S. Droste has minted the term "interpretant", which he defines as "the secondary textual or situational features which help to differentiate within the linguistically (especially semantically) indicated field." (p. 133). The following examples show that interpretants may appear in many guises:

"He may come tomorrow." (Permission and possibility)

"He may have come yesterday." (Possibility)

"He may use the car." (Permission and possibility)

"You may use the car." (Permission)

"He must read this." (Obligation and epistemic necessity)

"He must have read this." (Epistemic necessity)

Modals of class B which express certainty and possibility often co-occur with adverbs which express different degrees of likelihood, such as *surely*, *probably*, *possibly* and *perhaps*.

In an earlier paper ("On the functions and meanings of the graph *chi* (其) in the Tzuoojuann", *Jungyang yanjiouyuan guoji Hanshiue hueiyi luenwenji* 中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集, Taipei, 1981, pp. 365-390) I have shown that the modal verb *chi* 其, like English *must*, is used to express the modalities of obligation and epistemic necessity.

After this excursion I return to Chu Tehsi's thesis. According to him the *Shiyouji* uses the pattern *ke VP*, to the exclusion of the pattern *VP bu VP*. But contrary to Chu Tehsi's assertion we do find a number of exponents of the pattern *VP bu VP* in the text. (In order to check Chu Tehsi's data I have gone through

the first twenty-five chapters of the *Shiyouji* (Renmin wenshiue chubanshe ed., Peking 1972) and listed all occurrences of interrogative structures and *ke VP* structures.) My corpus which yields 1016 occurrences of interrogative structures and 85 occurrences of *ke VP* structures contains the following instances of disjunctive questions:

1. *Haishr yaujing pusa haishr pusa yaujing?* 還是妖精菩薩還是菩薩妖精
 "Is the monster the Bodhisattva or is the Bodhisattva the monster?"
 (Chapter 17, page 239, line 8.)
2. *Ni je shiau shrfu haishr tz you chu jia de, haishr jungnian chu jia de?*
 你這小師父還是自幼出家的還是中年出家的
 "Young master, did you become a monk as a child or as a grown-up?"
 (9.112.13)
3. *Duande haishr ren, shr guei?* 端的還是人, 是鬼
 "Are you in fact a human being or a ghost?" (16.223.6)
4. *Ye hai bu jr shr ta bu shr ta li!* 也還不知是他不是他哩
 "We don't know yet whether it was him or not!" (24.334.6)
5. *You ge sheme Chitian Dasheng tsai lai jeli fou?* 有個什麼齊天大聖才來這裏否
 "Did a certain Great Sage Equal to Heaven come here right now?"
 (6.79.4)
6. *Bu jr muchin shenti hau fou?* 不知母親身體好否
 "I don't know whether my mother is well or not?" (9.109.8)
7. *Shr fou?* 是否 "Is that so or not?" (12.167.2)
8. *Dan kan ta 'Shueiguai chiantou yu' je jiu hua bu jr yan fou?*
 但看他「水怪前頭遇」這句話不知驗否
 "Let's see if his statement 'Ahead you'll meet a water sprite' comes true or not." (19.265.12)

Four additional occurrences of *fou* in modal sentences will be discussed below (see sentences 60-63).

9. *Wukung, shr chengle wei tseng?* 悟空, 事成了未曾
 "Wukung, has the matter been fixed or not?" (2.22.5)
10. *Ni ba shrfu tuoguochiu bu shr?* 你把師父托過去不是
 "Can't you carry the master across/the river/?" (22.299.8)
11. *Ni shuo shiang haitung de bu shr?* 你說像孩童的不是
 "Didn't you say that they were like children?" (24.334.2)

Of the eleven disjunctive questions which occur free or embedded in sentences 1.-11. eight clearly belong to the *VP bu VP* type, which according to Chu Tehsi does not obtain in the text.

There is one occurrence of a *VP bu VP* structure in which the first verb is immediately preceded by *ke*:

12. *Kan ke ching Lau Suen bu ching!* 看可請老孫不請

"I shall find out whether I am indeed invited or not!" (5.60.9)

Chu Tehsi lists 17 random occurrences of the structure *ke VP* in the *Shiyouji* which he interprets as interrogative. Those of Chu Tehsi's examples that obtain in my own corpus have been marked by full-faced type.

In seven instances within my corpus the *ke VP* structure is negated by *bu*. Common to these instances are that the subject is either first person (two instances) or second person (five instances) and that they refer to an unrealized event. These instances all express the modality of obligation:

13. *Bu ke yi tian wan shiang tuei!* 不可以天晚相推

"You mustn't refuse/to fight/on account of the lateness of the day!" (17.234.14)

14. *Wukung, ni kan bian chiu kan ta, dan jr bu ke jr guan chau ta le!*

悟空, 你看便去看他, 但只不可只管嘲他了

"Wukung, you may go and watch him, but you mustn't play any more jokes on him!" (23.314.4)

15. *Shiungdi, bu ke wei le shr ming!* 兄弟, 不可違了師命

"Brother, we mustn't disobey our Master's command!" (24.327.8)

16. *Bu ke tzoulou fengsheng!* 不可走漏風聲

"We mustn't leak anything about this!" (24.329.8)

17. *Tudi, bu ke shang ta shingming!* 徒弟, 不可傷他性命

"My disciple, you mustn't kill him!" (25.339.10)

18. *Bu ke yung dau Chiang!* 不可用刀槍

"You mustn't use weapons!" (25.343.6)

19. *Bu ke jia tierung!* 不可加鐵鉞

"You mustn't use hatchets or battleaxes!" (25.343.6)

The relation between modality and negation has been clearly described by Lars Hermerén:

As far as the relationship between modality and negation is concerned, it is widely recognized that there are two types of negation. The one affects the modality, as in *You needn't do it* ('It is not obligatory for you to do it') and the other affects the proposition *You mustn't do it* ('It is obligatory for you not to do it'). That is, in the first type the modality is within the scope of the negation, while in the second it is outside it. The first type will be listed under the negated modalities (Non-Obligation, Non-Permission and Non-Volition) whereas the second type will be listed under the positive modalities ("Obligation, Permission and Volition") (Hermerén, *op. cit.*, p. 65).

Each of the negations in sentences 13.-19. affects the proposition, not the modality. A typical instance of a negated modality in Chinese is *bu bi* 不必 *VP* "it is not necessary to VP".

My corpus comprises the following 19 instances of non-negated *ke VP* structures expressing the modality of obligation:

20. *Rudeng ke gen pinseng chiu jian Yu Di!* 汝等可跟貧僧去見玉帝
"You must go with me to see the Jade Emperor!" (6.69.4)
21. *Ni ke kuai shia Tiangung!* 你可快下天宮
"You must leave the Heavenly Palace at once!" (6.70.6)
22. *Ru yu shiang di, ke jiou shiangju yi gung!* 如遇相敵, 可就相助一功
"If the enemy is engaged you must at once lend your assistance!" (6.70.6)
23. *Ke ju yi gung!* 可助一功
"We must give them a hand!" (6.71.3)
24. *Bishia ke jiang yi dau diau bing jr yi, jau ta ju li!*
陛下可降一道調兵旨意, 着他助力
"Your Majesty must send down an edict transferring his troops to the scene and asking him to give a hand!" (6.73.2)
25. *Ni je langjiun shiaubei ke jiji hueichiu!* 你這郎君小輩可急急回去
"You, my young gentleman, must return in a hurry!" (6.75.5)
26. *Jin yu li ming ke tzuo ge an Tian dahuei!* 今欲立名可作個安天大會
"If you wish to name it, you must call it Great Meeting for the Pacification of Heaven!" (7.89.13)
27. *Nimen ke hausheng shiesung janglau, bu yau daiman!*
你們可好生謝送長老, 不要怠慢
"You must take good care when you escort the venerable old man and you mustn't be remiss!" (13.179.7)
28. *Ni jinfan ke ting wo jiauhueile!* 你今番可聽我教誨了
"This time you have got to listen to my admonitions!" (14.196.11)
(Modal ambiguity is present in this sentence and the context does not exclude the translation "I take it that you are ready to listen to my admonitions now!")
29. *Guanshrde, ke ba foyi tsang le, mo jiau ta kanjian!*
管事的, 可把佛衣藏了莫教他看見
"Caretakers, you must hide the Buddhist gown and mustn't let him see it!" (17.233.6)
30. *Ni yau yi wo shr, ke jiou bian tzuo jege dauren!* 你要依我時, 可就變做這個道人
"If you wish to follow my advice, you must at once change into this Dau Master!" (17.238.15)
31. *Ke kuai shoushr bauguo chiu ye!* 可快收拾包裹去也
"We must pack our luggage and leave in a hurry!" (18.242.9)
32. *Ni ke tuole yifu shuei shr!* 你可脫了衣服睡是
"You must take off your clothes and go to sleep!" (18.250.14)

33. *Ni ke chau tian fa shr wo tsai dai ni chiu jian wo shrfu.*
 你可朝天發誓我才帶你去見我師父
 "You have to turn to Heaven and swear an oath before I take you to see my master!" (19.259.4)
34. *Ni ke jiang shingli shie tzai tsangfengshanau jr jian, safang mapi, bu yau chu tou!* 你可將行李歇在藏風山凹之間, 撒放馬匹不要出頭
 "You must leave the luggage in the fold of the mountain where it will be protected against the wind and graze the horses, but don't come out yourself!" (20.277.1)
35. *Ni ke huan shouje ma yu shingli!* 你可還守着馬與行李
 "You must remain here and guard the horses and the luggage!" (20.279.3)
36. *Ni ke jiang tsz hulu, tung Suen Wukung dau Lioushahe shueimian shang!*
 你可將此葫蘆同孫悟空到流沙河水面上
 "You must take this gourd and go with Suen Wukung to the River of the Flowing Sand!" (22.303.6)
37. *Ni ke chau shang bai ba bai ba!* 你可朝上拜八拜吧
 "You must kowtow eight times toward the sky!" (23.317.8)
38. *Ke jiau ta yisheng!* 可叫他一聲
 "We must call him!" (24.332.6)

Sentences 20.-38. have first person or second person subjects and refer to unrealized events. It would indeed be difficult, not to say impossible, to interpret the *ke VP* structures in these sentences as interrogative. It should be noted that Chu Tehsi's examples of *ke VP* structures in the *Shiyouji* are all exponents of what I here term epistemic necessity.

There are altogether 44 instances of the sentence suffix *ma* 麼 in the corpus, 25 of which serve to mark Yes-or-no questions. The following three instances are found in imperative clauses:

39. *Daitz! Ni shuo ma!* 呆子, 你說麼
 "Idiot! Say something!" (19.260.7)
40. *Da ma!* 打麼
 "OK, beat me!" (25.345.10, 25.345.11)

The remaining 16 instances of *ma* are found in sentences expressing the modality of epistemic necessity:

41. *Chian r lau shrfu fu er di yan chuan yu ni de duo santzai bianhua jr fa, ke dou huei ma!* 前日老師父拊耳低言傳與你的躲三災變化之法, 可都會麼
 "You must have mastered all about the method of avoiding the Three Calamities that our old Master whispered in your ear the other day!" (2.23.4)

42. *Ke ching wo ma?* 可請我麼
 "Surely I must have been invited!" (5.60.7)
43. *Ke shr sau san tzai ba nan de Guanshryin ma?* 可是掃三災八難的觀世音麼
 "Surely this must be / the Bodhisattva/ Guanshryin who is capable of sweeping away the Three Calamities and the Eight Difficulties!" (8.101.11)
44. *Ni ke rende ni jangfu ma!* 你可認得你丈夫麼
 "Surely you recognize your own husband!" (12.152.6)
45. *Na heshang, ni jr huei tan shiausheng jiaufa, ke huei tan dasheng ma!*
 那和尚你只會談小乘教法, 可會談大乘麼
 "You monk, you only know how to talk about the teachings of the Little Vehicle, but surely you must also be able to discourse on the Great Vehicle!" (12.164.11)
46. *Ni ke jide ma!* 你可記得麼
 "I am sure that you are able to memorize it!" (12.165.6)
47. *Ni ke shr dungtu Dawang chai wang shitian chiu jing chiu de ma!*
 你可是東土大王差往西天取經去的麼
 "You must be the one that the Great King of the Eastern Land sent to fetch the holy books in the Western Heaven!" (14.183.6)
48. *Ni jeli ke you sheme yanguai cheng jing ma!* 你這裏可有什麼妖怪成精麼
 "There must be a monster here with you who has turned into a spirit!" (16.224.14)
49. *Ni rujin ke gueiyi ma!* 你如今可皈依麼
 "You must be willing to surrender now!" (17.240.12)
50. *Ni ke tseng wen ta shrfu de shialuo ma!* 你可曾問他師父的下落麼
 "You must have asked him about the whereabouts of our master!" (20.279.1)
51. *Je ke shr Lingji pusa jiang jing chu ma!* 這可是靈吉菩薩講經處麼
 "This must be the place where the Bodhisattva Lingji expounds the scriptures!" (21.290.10)
52. *Mei chu fang ma, ke you chu chian ma ma!* 沒處放馬, 可有處牽馬麼
 "There may not be a place to graze a horse, but surely there is a place to lead a horse!" (23.315.8)
53. *Sz wei janglau, ke ken liou shin jau nage pei wo shiauniu ma!*
 四位長老可肯留心着那個配我小女麼
 "You four venerable elders must be willing to give some thought to who among you will marry my youngest daughter!" (23.316.9)
54. *Wukung, na jiauhuan de ke shr Wuneng ma!* 悟空, 那叫喚的可是悟能麼
 "Wukung, the one who cried out surely must be Wuneng!" (23.320.6)

55. *Ni ke rende nashie pusa ma!* 你可認得那些菩薩麼

"Surely you must have recognized those bodhisattvas!" (24.321.8)

56. *Gege, ke you ma!* 哥哥, 可有麼

"Elder brother, surely you must have got some!" (24.332.5)

In sentences 41.-56. the sentence suffix marks a rhetorical or conducive question, which serves to strengthen the positive connotation of the modality of epistemic necessity: "Mustn't it surely be the case that...?". This is an exact parallel to the function of the sentence suffix *hu* 乎 which often co-occurs with modal *chi* 其 which in Classical Chinese expresses the modalities of obligation and epistemic necessity. (See Malmqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 370).

The sentence suffix *ba* 吧 occurs once, in a sentence expressing the modality of obligation. (See sentence 37. above).

There are three occurrences of the sentence suffix *ye* 也 in sentences expressing the modality of epistemic necessity:

57. *Dan bu jr shangtian ke you tsz Chitian Dasheng jr guanshian ye!*

但不知上天可有此齊天大聖之官銜也

"But I simply was not aware that the title of Great Sage Equal to Heaven is bound to exist in High Heaven!" (4.56.6)

58. *Ke bu shr wang hai taren ye!* 可不是妄害他人也

"Surely that would be to harm innocent people!" (10.125.2)

For the third instance of *ye* see sentence 31. above.

There are two occurrences of the sentence suffix *le* 了 in sentences expressing modality. One of these is found in the ambiguous sentence 28. above, where the modality may express either obligation or epistemic necessity. The other is found in the following sentence, which expresses the modality of epistemic necessity:

59. *Ni tzai ke wu li le!* 你再可無禮了

"You are bound to behave with discourtesy again!" (14.196.11)

Sentence final *fou* 否 occurs eight times in my corpus. Four of these instances, occurring in non-modal sentences, have been presented above (see sentences 5.-8.). The remaining four instances occur in sentences expressing the modality of epistemic necessity:

60. *Ke you fumu fou?* 可有父母否

"You are bound to have parents, aren't you?" (9.112.13)

61. *Ke shr shiueshr Chen Guangruei jr er Shiuan Tzang fou?*

可是學士陳光蕊之兒玄奘否

"Surely you must be Shiuan Tzang, the son of the Academician Chen Guangruei, must you not?" (12.156.5)

62. *Ke neng dai ke fou?* 可能待客否

"Surely they can be used for the guests' dinner, can they not?" (13.172.9)

63. *Ke dade je guai fou?* 可打得這怪否

"Surely it must defeat this monster, mustn't it?" (18.248.13)

In my opinion these questions are rhetorical and conducive, serving to strengthen the connotation of epistemic necessity.

There are seven instances of the structure *ke tseng* 可曾 *VP* in the corpus, which all express the modality of epistemic necessity:

64. *Na yanwang ke tseng shuo ni chi sheme?* 那閻王可曾說你妻甚麼

"But Yan Wang must have said something about your wife!" (12.151.10)

65. *Ni ke tseng shushrle sheme dungshi!* 你可曾疏失了甚麼東西

"Surely you must have lost something!" (13.173.1)

66. *Ke tseng you hau chafan yu wo shrfu chr?* 可曾有好茶飯與我師父吃

"I take it that you have provided my Master with good tea and food!" (17.231.3)

67. *Ke tseng you hau tsauliau wei ma!* 可曾有好草料餵馬

"I take it that you have fed the horses well!" (17.232.4)

68. *Ni ke tseng wen ta shrfu de shialuo ma!* 你可曾問他師父的下落麼

"You must have asked him about the whereabouts of our Master!" (20.279.1)

69. *Ke tseng juode yauguai!* 可曾捉得妖怪

"I suppose that you have caught the monster!" (22.295.3)

70. *Janglau dung lai, ke tseng tzai huangshan jingguo!* 長老東來可曾在荒山經過

"Since you come from the East you must have passed by my humble mountain!" (25.342.5)

In a number of instances the expression of the modality of epistemic necessity is found in included predications. In the following seven instances the included predication serves as object to the verb *jr*:

71. *Fanbing shr bu kan yung, dan bu jr Dawang shueili ke neng chiude?*

凡兵是不堪用，但不知大王水裏可能去得

"Ordinary weapons cannot be used, but I wonder whether the Great King is not indeed capable of negotiating the water?" (3.32.11)

72. *Dan bu jr Shangtian ke you tsz Chitian Dasheng jr guanshian ye!*

但不知上天可有此齊天大聖之官銜也

"But I was not aware that the title of Great Sage Equal to Heaven is bound to exist in High Heaven!" (4.56.6)

73. *Bu jr duande ke shr ta chrle wo ma!* 不知端的可是他吃了我馬

"We don't know for certain that it must have been he who ate my horse!" (15.201.1)

74. *Bu jr pusa ke ken yi wo?* 不知菩薩可肯依我

"I don't know whether you are in fact sure to follow my advice." (17.238.10)

75. *Bijing bu jr tsz chiu ke shiangde yauguai, jioude Tangseng chie ting shiahuei fenjie!* 畢竟不知此去可降得妖怪救得唐僧且聽下回分解

"If you don't know whether in the end he was indeed able to overcome the monster and rescue the Tang monk you must listen to the next session!" (20.279.6)

76. *Bu jr jeli ke you yanke shiansheng, chie jiau ta ba wo yan yijr yijr!*

不知這裏可有眼科先生且教他把我眼醫治醫治

"I wonder if there isn't bound to be an eyedoctor around here whom I could ask to fix my eyes?" (21.283.11)

77. *Shiungdi, hai bu jr na heshang ke shr shrfu de guren?*

兄弟還不知那和尚可是師父的故人

"Brother, we still don't know whether that monk is bound to be the old friend of our Master?" (24.327.3)

In three instances the included predication serves as the object of the verb *kan* 看:

78. *Kan ke ching Lau Suen bu ching!* 看可請老孫不請

"I shall find out whether I am indeed invited or not!" (5.60.9)

79. *Kan ta ke tzai limian!* 看他可在裏面

"Make certain that she is really at home!" (18.249.6)

80. *Kan ke neng huen shiau chi shie!* 看可能魂消氣泄

"Let's see if it is indeed capable of melting my soul and leaking my spirit!" (19.258.5)

The remaining instances of included modal predications are the following:

81. *Ni shiang Lau Suen ke shr shoude menchi de!* 你想老孫可是受得悶氣的

"Imagine me putting up with that sort of tedium!" (14.194.6)

82. *Gan wen shanren, gueidi ke you mai yanyaude?* 敢問善人貴地可有賣眼藥的

"May I ask you, my good man: Surely there must be someone selling eye medicine in this honorable area?" (21.285.2)

83. *Chi wen laushr ke shr Da Tang wang Shitian chiu jing de Tang Santzang?*

啓問老師可是大唐往西天取經的唐三藏

"May I ask you, Master: you must be the Tripitaka Tang from the Great Tang kingdom who is on his way to fetch the Holy Scriptures from the Western Heaven?" (24.327.5)

When expressions of epistemic necessity occur in included predications their semantic force appears to be considerably weakened.

In a few instances the evidence on which the notion of epistemic necessity rests is presented in a subordinate clause:

84. *Lauye tz shangbang lai, ke you sheme baubei jie yu ditz yi guan!*

老爺自上邦來可有甚麼寶貝借與弟子一觀

"Since you come from a noble state you must have some sort of treasure

that you may show me!" (16.215.2)

85. *Jiran dadau le baushu, ni ke rende nashie heshang!*

既然打倒了寶樹你可認得那些和尚

"Since our treasure trees were felled/by them/, you must be able to recognize those monks!" (25.341.9)

86. *Janglau dung lai, ke tseng tzai huangshan jingguo!* 長老東來可曾在荒山經過

"Since you come from the East, venerable Sir, you must have passed by my humble mountain!" (25.342.5)

In a few instances expressions of epistemic necessity are used to convey connotations of sarcasm and irony. The following three instances have been found in the corpus:

87. *Jege gungfu ke hau tzai renchian mainung!* 這個功夫可好在前賣弄

"This ability must be something to show off before others!" (2.24.4)

88. *Lau Suen ke shr na dangmian pian wu jr ren!* 老孫可是那當面騙物之人

"So Lau Suen must be the one who steals openly!" (16.221.13)

89. *Lau Suen ke shr hau re de jutz!* 老孫可是好惹的主子

"Old Suen must indeed be an easily provoked fellow!" (17.232.3)

We have already presented one sentence, the modality of which can be interpreted as either obligation or epistemic necessity (see sentence 28. above). One additional example of this is found in the corpus:

90. *Gege, ke yu wo shier changchang!* 哥哥, 可與我些兒嘗嘗

"Elder brother, you must give me some to taste!", or

"Elder brother, surely you'll let me have a taste of them!" (24.332.10)

Of the 85 instances of modal sentences in the corpus the following twelve remain to be discussed:

91. *Ni ke tzuode jujang!* 你可做得主張

"You must have made up your mind!" (7.87.12)

92. *Ni ke jr guren yun!* 你可知古人云

"You must know the old saying!" (16.222.12)

93. *Er gung ke guanggu guanggu!* 二公可光顧光顧

"Surely you two gentlemen will pay me a visit!" (17.227.3)

94. *Nashie heshang ke hau fushr!* 那些和尚可好伏侍

"Those monks will surely take good care of you!" (17.236.11)

95. *Wo ye ke jie de nide fannau!* 我也可解得你的煩惱

"I am sure I can also help you with your problems!" (18.244.4)

96. *Ji you bingchi ke yau ren gen!* 既有兵器可要人跟

"Even though you have a weapon, surely someone must accompany you!" (18.248.13)

97. *Ni je pa ke shr yu Gau laujia tzuochangguang ju di jung tsai del!*

你這耙可是與高老家做長工築地種菜的

"That rake of yours you must have used when you worked as a farm-hand in the fields of Old Mister Gau!" (19.257.4)

98. *Wo tsung genle shrfu jeji r, chang ren ban du ji, ni ke shiaude!*
我從跟了師父這幾日，長忍半肚飢，你可曉得
“Surely you must know that I have been half starved ever since I started following the Master a few days ago!” (20.267.1)
99. *Nung feng she shrfu chiude ke shr ta!* 弄風攝師父去的可是他
“It must have been him that took our Master away with the wind!” (20.279.1)
100. *Ge a, ni ke jrdau tzou lu chingsheng, nali guan bieren leijuei!*
哥啊，你可知道走路輕省，那裏管別人累墜
“Elder brother, you must be aware of the fact that you never care for others when you hurry on your way!” (23.306.9)
101. *Je guanli you yijian baubei, ni ke shiaude!* 這觀裏有一件寶貝，你可曉得
“Surely you must know that there is a treasure in this monastery!” (24.328.14)
102. *Ni ke huei suan jang!* 你可會算帳
“You surely know how to do accounting!” (24.333.10).

Chu Tehsi cannot, obviously, accept the structure *bu ke VP* as an interrogative expression. His theory concerning the function of *ke VP* structures in early vernacular texts lands him in the awkward position of having to recognize two functionally utterly different *ke*: one which is always negated and expresses the modality of obligation, and another which is never negated and serves as a marker of A-not-A questions (*fanfu wenjiu*). In Chu Tehsi's theory these two *ke* must be considered totally unrelated, the one being a negatable modal verb and the other a pre-verbal interrogative marker, functionally identical with those obtaining in certain Wu dialects, Southwestern Mandarin dialects and Lower Yangtze Valley dialects.

According to the interpretation presented in this paper *ke* serves as a modal expressing the modalities of obligation and epistemic necessity. As a marker of the modality of obligation *ke* may be preceded by the negative *bu* which negates the proposition. As a marker of epistemic necessity *ke* is never negated. In this respect *ke* presents an exact parallel to English *must* which serves to mark both obligation and epistemic necessity. While *must not* and *mustn't* are commonly used as negations of obligation, the suppletive forms *cannot* and *can't* are commonly used for the negation of epistemic necessity. (It would be interesting to investigate the historical development of *bu huei* as an expression of negated epistemic necessity. Such an investigation falls outside the scope of this paper.) In an interesting paper Gunnel Tottie has shown that *must not* and *mustn't* are slowly gaining ground as expressions of negated epistemic necessity, especially in American English (Gunnel Tottie, “The negation of epistemic necessity in present-day British and American English”, *English World-Wide A Journal of Varieties of English* 6:1 (1985), 87-116. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam).

中 央 研 究 院
第二屆國際漢學會議論文集
語言與文字組（上、下冊）

不 准 翻 印

全套	精裝十冊定價	新臺幣	元、美金	元
語言與文字組	精裝兩冊定價	新臺幣	元、美金	元

編輯者：中央研究院第二屆國際漢學會議論文集編輯委員會

發行者：中 央 研 究 院

院 址：臺北市南港區研究院路二段一二八號

電 話：七八二二一二〇～九（十線）

印刷者：大 進 印 刷 有 限 公 司

地 址：臺北市西藏路二五一巷八號

電 話：三 〇 三 九 二 四 九

中 華 民 國 七 十 八 年 六 月 出 版