

中央研究院 國際漢學會議論文集

中華民國六十九年八月十五日至十七日

語 言 文 字 組

慶祝中華民國建國七十週年

中華民國七十年十月十日

台 灣 台 北

中央研究院

國際漢學會議論文集

語言文字組

目 錄

1. Dialect Information in The Jiyun 集韻.....G. B. Downer..... 1
2. The Keng Rime-Group in the Yü-P'ien Fan-Ch'ieh's
.....Mantaro J. Hashimoto.....19
3. The Proto-Min Finals.....Jerry Norman.....35
4. Distinctive Features of Vowels and Pekingese
Phonology in Historical Perspective.....Edwin G. Pulleyblank.....75
5. "Rounding" "Backness" and Syllabicity in Chinese
Elsewhere and in General.....Alexis Rygaloff.....95
6. Presuppositions in Chinese Linguistics.....Paul B. Denlinger..... 117
7. Notes on the Dialect of the Han Buddhist
Transcriptions.....W. South Coblin..... 121
8. A Common Etymon for 之 *chih* and 其 *ch'i* and
Related Problems in Old Chinese Phonology.....Tsu-Lin Mei..... 185
9. 輕唇音之演變條件.....杜 其 容..... 213
10. 羣母古讀考.....陳 新 雄..... 223
11. 論照穿牀審四母兩類上字讀音.....龍 宇 純..... 247
12. 漢語聲調源於韵尾說之檢討.....丁 邦 新..... 267
13. Some Problems in the Phonology of Mandarin Finals
.....Yi-chin Fu..... 285
14. Catholic Missionary Contributions to the Study of
Tibeto-Burman, Miao-Yao, and Tai Languages Spoken
in Southwestern China.....Paul Fu-mien Yang..... 293
15. Towards A Grammar of the Language of the Shang
Bone Inscriptions.....Paul L-M Serruys..... 313
16. On the Functions and Meanings of the Graph 其 *chyí*
in the Tzuoojuann.....Göran Malmqvist..... 365
17. 古代漢語的語序變換.....戴 璉 璋..... 391

18. On Substance Continuum in Chinese Concept of a Person—An Essay in Language and Metaphysics	Shuan-fan Huang.....	421
19. 古漢語中單音詞與複音詞之關係.....	胡楚生.....	431
20. The Chinese Writing System: An Analysis of Its Systematic and Aesthetic Value.....	Li-fu Chen.....	445
21. 古代文字學之方法.....	白川靜.....	461
22. 說文與釋名聲訓比較研究.....	林尹.....	469
23. 轉注原論.....	江舉謙.....	483
24. 朝鮮初期受宋代文字論的影響.....	姜信沆.....	505
25. 六書精蘊新探.....	趙友培.....	515
26. 六書之新研究.....	杜學知.....	537
27. 從金文中的圖畫文字看漢字文字化過程.....	李孝定.....	577

DIALECT INFORMATION IN THE JIYUN 集韻

G. B. Downer

University of Leeds, ENGLAND

1. Background

Soon after the completion of the Guangyun 廣韻 (GY) in 1008 A.D., dissatisfaction was felt in some quarters about certain aspects of the work, such as the prolixity of some of the definitions, the use of earlier *fanqie* 反切 from the Tang period (the earlier rhyme-books will be referred to globally as Tangyun 唐韻 (TY) in this paper), the paucity of variant forms of characters, and in particular the incomplete coverage of words to be found in literature, in spite of the fact that GY was vastly more inclusive than the previous TY. The result of this dissatisfaction was the commissioning of Ding Du 丁度 and others to compile a new dictionary, eventually completed in 1039 A.D., which was given the title Jiyun 集韻 (JY). In it an attempt was made to avoid these faults, not altogether successfully, but in one way which is most pertinent to the present paper it was wholly successful, in that a large number of words not found in GY are included in the JY. Among these are many words of dialectal origin, many of which do not appear to be evidenced in literature at all.

The inclusion in dictionaries and commentaries of words of dialect origin, whether explicitly so marked or not, has a long history in China, dating at least from the Han dynasty. As it is common practice to include material from older sources, later dictionaries contain many citations of dialectal expressions which may in fact date from up to a thousand years earlier. The intention of this paper is to cut away the documentation from earlier sources and to pinpoint words which may reasonably be ascribed to the Song period (for which JY is the most complete source, to a lesser extent the GY), and to discuss the principles according to which the present writer believes must be applied when comparison with modern dialect material is attempted. The Song dynasty is an appropriate period for such an attempt, as it was near the end of the Middle Chinese (MC) period, soon to be followed by the documentation of Early Mandarin in the Zhong Yuan Yinyun 中原音韻 (ZYYY) of 1324 A.D. This is important, because once the dramatic phonological changes which gave rise to Mandarin had taken place, any mention of dialectal words involves the problem of phonetic versus phonological interpretation, that is to say, did X sound like Y to the writer, or did X sound like Y in the dialect concerned? This problem had of course always occurred; an obvious example from much earlier may be cited:

when in the Fangyan 方言 we find the statement that 蠅 MC *iəŋl¹ is in certain areas 'said' 羊 MC *iəŋl, it is impossible to know whether 'fly' in these dialects sounded like 'sheep' to the writer, or whether in these dialects 'fly' and 'sheep' were homonyms. The special feature of MC, including the dialect of the JY, is that phonological relationships in a direct historical line of development may be established for MC and all modern dialects except the colloquial layer of the Min dialects.² After this period the problem mentioned above becomes critical. On the other hand, earlier works (i. e. pre-MC) which cite dialect material are so far removed in time from our present dialects that, firstly, the problems of phonological association are enhanced (and, indeed, compounded by the fact that the earliest works were written in the pre-fangie period), and secondly, the geographical locations of these dialects is often not clear. The Song dynasty seems a suitable starting-point for an examination of dialect material which can be related both to MC and the modern dialects.

2. Method

The term 'dialect' is very vague for describing types of speech which may or may not be standard. Although Mand and Yue are both 'dialects', there is an important distinction between them, in that the standard is Mand, and more likely to influence the non-standard than the other way round. For instance, it can be argued that in modern Yue words such as 饅頭 maan21 thau21, 餃子 kaau35 ci35, 松子 soŋ53 ci35, 鹹水 kaan35 səy35 have pronunciations clearly influenced by Mand (on historico-phonological grounds); it would be very difficult to find examples in Mand where the *pronunciation* of a word could be said to be influenced by Yue. A distinction therefore must be made between standard and non-standard. This is indeed reflected in JY to a certain extent, where a standard item is simply defined, while the non-standard is often noted as belonging to a certain geographical area. Hereafter the terms 'dialect' and 'non-standard' will be used interchangeably for any particular period. In fact, since the Tang dynasty, the area of the standard has always been in what is now the Mand area, so that by Song times at least, the standard might be looked upon as a kind of pre-Mand.

For some centuries now there has been no lack of attempts to find etyma in classical (or at least ancient) works for words occurring in specific dialects, or specific varieties of the standard. In earlier times, and indeed until fairly recently, a certain laxity in phonological criteria has been apparent, with the formula *yisheng*

¹ Forms marked MC and starred are Qieyun 切韻 reconstructions, following Karlgren GSR (1964); starred forms without 'MC' are JY reconstructions, based on the work of S. F. Johnston, but not identical with it.

² The dialects treated here are Mand (arin), Wu, Hak (ka kejia 客家), Yue 粵 and Min, exemplified unless otherwise indicated, by Peking, Shanghai, Meixian 梅縣, Standard Cantonese, and Amoy 廈門. The Gan 贛 and Xiang 湘 dialects are too poorly documented to be used here.

zhi zhuan 一聲之轉 being applied with great abandon. Some examples may be gleaned from a work of the 1940's on a South Min dialect. For instance, the Min word *ta*⁵⁵ dry is derived there from *gan* 乾. The process is as follows: *gan* became *dān* (tan) by *dieyun* 登韻; *tan* became *ta* by *shuangsheng* 雙聲. Such works are often full of suggestive etyma, many of them plausible (and often from JY), but there is no control exercised in the suggestions about the course the phonological changes have followed. In other words, the modern assumption of regularity in phonological change is not made.³

The problem is a very straightforward one. What we have are dialect words of the 20th century (sometimes also from 19th century records), and we attempt to relate them to items found perhaps only once in works dating from centuries earlier. There is very often *no* historical evidence for these words in the period between. Therefore, unless we allow almost any development to have occurred, even if not found in words of comparable phonological make-up, it is necessary to be very cautious in suggesting possible etyma. It is, of course, recognized that words do not always develop regularly, or at least have undergone changes difficult to account for. For instance, as in other dialects, Yue agrees with MC in the feature 'aspiration' in the *qing* 清 series of plosives, so that,

當 : MC *taŋ1 Yue tɔ:ŋ53 Mand taŋ55, and
 湯 : MC *thaŋ1 Yue thɔ:ŋ53 Mand thaŋ55.

But many examples of words occur where Yue has aspirated plosives where other dialects have unaspirated:

爆 } : MC *pau3 { Yue pa:u33 } Mand pau51
 豹 } { Yue pha:u33 }
 急 } : MC *kiəp { Yue kap5 } Mand tɕi35
 級 } { Yue khap5 }
 金 } : MC *kiəm { Yue kam53 } Mand tɕin55
 襟 } { Yue kham53 }

No explanation has ever been offered for the anomalous aspirated forms of Yue. Nonetheless it would be unreal to deny the cognation of these items because of the irregular correspondence. A certain latitude is required to deal with some of the idiosyncrasies of language. The attitude taken in this paper is that, ideally, an etymon should agree both semantically and phonologically (from *fanqie* evidence) with the proposed modern reflex. Where this is not to be found, a plausible semantic development may be envisaged (e.g. Yue jim35 'scab' from 𪛗 MC *ɣiam^a, a covering', phonologically perfect); and certain phonological variations may be allowed, in particular between unaspirated plosives and aspirated homorganic plosives, be-

^a There is a large overlap in traditions here. A work such as C. P. Luo's on the Linchuan dialect (1940), has all the rigour on phonological regularity that would be expected today, while some later works still exhibit the laxity of earlier times.

tween unvoiced plosives and voiced homorganic plosives, and between unpalatalised and palatalised (roughly homorganic) plosives. Clearly more variations occur in real language, but as a first approximation to the facts, these shall serve as guidelines in this paper.

3. The Readings

The earliest substantial documentation of dialect words comes from the Fangyan and the Shuowen Jiezi 說文解字, both of Han times. These works, however, belong to the pre-*fanqie* period, so our knowledge of the pronunciation of the words is based to a large extent upon the *fanqie* of the Tang and Song rhyme-books, although earlier *fanqie* do exist, such as those of Guo Pu 郭璞 in his notes to the Fangyan. However, dialect words are usually rare or non-existent in literature, so that there would be no literary tradition of their pronunciation. The result must have been that later compilers of dictionaries, when faced with dialect words not familiar to them at the time, would rely largely on their views about the value of the phonetic element in the character. The dialect words from the older sources, therefore, would be treated like all older words for which there is no traditional reading, or for which the traditional reading has been lost. This is a situation probably found in all periods of the language. To take a modern example, 脛 GY (胡頂) and (胡定), is not used colloquially in any dialect now; the result is the readings Mand taiŋ51, Yue keŋ33 do not correspond to the *fanqie*, but are restructured from the phonetic element in the character.⁴ Another example is even more revealing: 盲 GY (武庚) MC *maŋ1 is a living word in Yue, maŋ21, a pronunciation that agrees perfectly with the MC form; the word has been replaced by 瞎, cia55 in Mand, and what is now a learned word is read maŋ35, clearly based on the phonetic element. It follows then that certain categories of words from pre-*fanqie* times, such as rare literary words and dialect words, must be treated with caution. It is likely that Tang and Song scholars were no more sure of the readings than modern scholars would be. Nonetheless the following early dialect words (among many others) might be cited, because modern dialects agree phonologically with the *fanqie*, and the phonetic element in the character is plausible for such a reading:

脛 TY (徒候) MC *dəu3. Found in Shuowen, 項也 and supported by texts. Only in Min, Fujou 福州 tau232 auk35 脛骨 and Hainan (Haikou 海口) dau23 di55.

疋 (匹弭) MC *pjie2: 瘡上甲也. This *fanqie* and definition are first found in the Guangya 廣雅 of Wei 魏 times. Only in Min, phi53. These two words were probably always dialectal, but presumably known to the compilers of the TY and Guangya respectively. A problem not directly relevant to this paper, since both standard and non-standard dialects are being considered, is that the further one goes back in

⁴ There is also a 'learned' Yue reading, heŋ23, which is clearly based on the *fanqie*, but is phonologically anomalous (if regular, should be Yue *jeŋ23).

time, the more difficult it is to determine what was standard vocabulary at any particular time. It is likely that, as in other languages with a known history, the *basic* vocabulary has remained largely unchanged for a very long time: words such as 手, 鼻, 見, 聽, and with some semantic change, 行 and 走 have remained standard, and, with appropriate phonological changes, are found in all dialects. Some which were once standard, have, of course, disappeared as free words: such are 足, 首. Others which appear from texts to have once been standard have become dialectal: such are 目 and 曝, apparently found only in Min now. Most difficult of all to pinpoint are those words which were once dialectal but have now become standard, because these were seldom written. Many present-day Mand words are undoubtedly in this category; but much more work is needed to identify them.

Later evidence is, of course, easier to deal with. When, for instance, we find in TY 倚 (渠綺): 立也 MC *gjiə2, the semantic and phonological correspondence is perfect, agreeing with modern Yue khei23, Min khia33, Hak khi33, all with the meaning 'to stand'. However, it is not until we arrive at the Song dynasty that we find a satisfyingly large number of such words.

4. Problems

The Song dynasty evidence for dialect forms is the most complete for the MC period. Here, a false distinction may be made between the dialect information in the GY and that in the JY. This is unnecessary. The essential point is that JY has a wider coverage than GY. Only very rarely does the JY omit dialect readings found in GY. Two examples were noted.

髡 TY and GY (匹朗): 髡, 吳人云髡 MC *phaŋ2 Wu phaŋ53. 龜 GY (居求) MC *kiəw, as against standard (居追 MC *kjiw1.) This is found rhyming with 牛 in Zhang Heng's Xijingfu 張衡西京賦 and is now found in Min ku55. Neither item occurs in JY.

Other problems are to be found in a study of JY dialect information. When dialect material is found in both GY and JY, in general JY is more consistent in indicating the dialect sources, but the converse sometimes holds true, as in

瀧 TY, GY (閩江) MC *lāŋ1. TY and GY have 南人名瀧, while JY has only 奔瀧也. More usually, we find JY to be more informative:

儂 (奴冬) MC* nuoŋ1. GY 我也 JY 我也, 吳語.

A problem in the JY occurs when a dialect source is provided for a word of ancient occurrence, but no older evidence for the source is known. The following word occurs twice, as it does in GY indeed, but with an added indication of dialect source in JY:

菌 JY (巨隕) MC *giwən2 菌也

菌 JY (窘遠) MC *giwən2 菌也, 巴蜀語.

This is an ancient word, found with the same definition in the Shuowen, and oc-

curing in the Zhuangzi 莊子. What is not entirely clear is whether the dialect information is from an older source so far not seen, or whether it refers to a contemporary pronunciation in the West of China. A similar example is the following, where the definition of the word is found in GY, but the JY adds the dialect source:

滌 JY (符袁) MC *biwɔn1: 楚人謂水暴溢爲滌

Now in this case the Kangxi Zidian 康熙字典 points out that the word almost certainly has been taken from a passage in the Huainanzi 淮南子 (it is, perhaps, a dialect variant of the commoner 溢 JY (步奔) MC *buən1). It is possible that the classical text, referring as it does to the southern region, has been taken as an indication of dialect, i.e. Huainan equals Chu 楚. Another pointer to an earlier but unknown source for the dialect indication, and not a contemporary source, is that the place-names referred to are more characteristic of place-names in the Shuowen and Fangyan, and not those of Tang and Song times (see below p. 29ff). At any rate, these are problems connected with material from older sources, and can be weeded out if material first appearing in Song times is concentrated upon.

Some JY readings are dubious. The second syllable of the Cantonese place-name Panyu 番禺 appears in the earlier rhyme-books as

禺 TY, GY (元俱) MC *ŋiu: 番禺, 縣在南海.

This agrees with modern Yue phon53 jy21, Taishan dialect phon33 ŋui22. This reading of the character is also found in JY, but not associated with the place-name. Instead, for the place-name, the JY has

禺 JY (魚容) *ŋioŋ1: 越地名.

There is no evidence whatsoever for the final nasal signalled in JY. Unless a dramatic change has occurred in this place-name (which is not impossible), the most likely explanation for this reading is simply that in JY, but not TY or GY, the reading of the character 鰭 has been attributed to this morpheme; in other words, it may be a purely fictitious pronunciation.

Another example of a fictitious word is probably to be seen in both GY and JY (but not found in TY):

堤 JY (衢遇) *gio3: 堤塘也

As pointed out already in the 17th-century Zhengzitong 正字通, somewhat tartly, 'this is a fictitious word; no-one calls dykes *ju*'. There are two words involved here (possibly originally related).

堤 GY, JY (必駕) pra3: 蜀人謂平川爲堤

壩 JY (必駕) pra3: 堰也

The first word is used in West China, the second in North China and elsewhere. It seems likely that the 堤 given above is simply a graphic error for 壩, with the meaning of the second word 壩.

Much more serious problems are caused by a few words which appear to have

appear to have very ancient forms. The first case to be mentioned will be 讎 which, in addition to its 'normal' *fanqie* (敷容) MC *phiwoŋ1 found in TY, GY and JY (and for that matter in the Jingdian Shiwén 經典釋文), the JY also has (匹甸), which can only be interpreted as *phioŋ1, as the JY is scrupulous in keeping *zhongchun* 重唇 and *qingchun* 輕唇 separate, unlike GY which of course follows TY. The only present-day dialects with initial aspirated bilabial plosives in this word are Hak and Min, with phuŋ33 and phaŋ55 respectively. The difficulty of identifying *phioŋ1 with the Hak and Min forms is that whereas the JY form is definitely palatalised, neither Hak nor Min is. So it seems unlikely that either of these dialects was the source of the JY readings. Instead, it is possible that this was an early attempt at the reconstruction of Ancient Chinese pronunciation (perhaps based on some early *fanqie* now lost). At any rate, although the above statement is pure speculation, it seems unlikely that this was a current reading in Song times, for as far as we know, the change from *zhongchun* to *qingchun* in some types of syllable had already taken place by the 8th century A.D.

Precisely the same problem is found in 楓 JY (悲廉) *piaml, as against the usual JY (方馮) *foŋ1 and the same remarks may be made about the initial as in the case outlined above—there is no reason to assume a plosive initial in the Song dynasty for words of this type. There is, however, an added complication here, which is the presence of a final bilabial nasal. Words such as this, while still rhyming with final -m in the Han dynasty (see Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumo 1958), had certainly ceased to do so by the Nanbeichao 南北朝 period (Wang Li 1958). Since no early *fanqie* exhibiting final -m has so far been discovered, it seems reasonable to assume that it is an attempt to provide a *fanqie* which would accord with Han and pre-Han rhyming practice. There is a further *fanqie* in JY from which the same conclusion may be drawn, this time without the added complication of the initial described above. This is

風, 楓 JY (甫凡) *fram1.

Indeed, we seem to have in these *fanqie* of JY examples of *xieyun* 協韻 a hundred years before the originator of the *xieyun* method, Wu Yu 吳棫 had proposed it.

5. JY Phonological Evidence

This section will deal with regular phonological developments in certain dialects which is suggested by the JY material. The dialects concerned are Wu 吳, otherwise known as Jiangdong 江東, and Guanzhong 關中. The evidence is meagre, but in the case of the latter dialect is very suggestive.

The Wu material points to one possible feature of Song dynasty Wu dialects, and is very tentative. It depends on two somewhat dubious examples, but as they are in general agreement with what we know of modern Wu dialects, they are worth mentioning. These are

甌 JY (淳沿) *siwan1 : 江東呼盆曰甌 : To be compared with 船 GY, JY (食川) *dsiwan1; for the semantic correspondence compare English 'vessel' is 1) 'ship', 2) basin, etc.

榭 JY (詞夜) zia3 吳人謂衣曰榭. To be compared with

襦 GY, JY (慈夜) dzia3 : 小兒衣,

These two proposed cognate pairs have one phonological feature in common: in both cases the Wu dialect form has a fricative initial which corresponds to an affricate in what may be taken as the standard form. Now this is a widespread feature of the modern Wu dialects, and can also be stated as a merger of fricative and affricate in the voiced series. To take modern example with the same MC initials:

屬 GY (市玉) MC *z'rwok (禪母) Shanghai, Sujou zo'2

贖 GY (神蜀) MC *dz'rwok (牀母)

詳 GY (似羊) MC *zraŋ (邪母) Shanghai, Sujou zia13.

牆 GY (在良) MC *dziaŋ (從母)

There is thus some evidence that this merger may already have taken place, at least in some parts of the Wu area, in Song times.

Evidence for phonological developments in the Guanzhong dialect is somewhat more extensive, but as far as the initials are concerned, there is an added difficulty in that JY appears to exemplify a development in this dialect (or at least one form of it) which is not known to exist at present. The primary evidence rests on two items which differ only in tone:

蛇 JY (余遮) *ja1 : 關中謂毒蟲曰蛇, contrasting with standard (時遮) *sia1.

射 JY (黃謝) *jia3 : 僕射, 關中語轉爲此音, an old reading also found in GY, but JY adds the dialect information. The standard form is, of course, (神夜) *sia3.

To these may possibly be added

船 JY (余專) *j'wan1, contrasting with standard (食川) *dsiwan1, although in this case no indication of dialect is provided, although it is certainly a non-standard dialect form. All three examples exhibit the same feature: in place of items with standard 牀三母 and 禪母, we find a dialect form with 喻四母. There is a further word attributed to the same dialect which may, perhaps, not be unrelated. This is 晨 JY (慈鄰) *dzien1 : 旦也, 關中語, as against standard (丞眞) *zien1. Although this example involves different initials from the previous three, all four have one thing in common: they all involve a shift, in *yuntu* 韻圖 terms, from a standard third-grade initial to a dialectal fourth grade initial. There is also a kind of flip-flop between affricate and fricative initials at play here. How this is to be interpreted, without finding more such dialect indications or a modern dialect with such features, is simply not known. However, the phenomenon is certainly restricted to the Guanzhong area.

Turning to final elements in this dialect, we find traces of an interchange between nasal and open finals. First, two examples where standard open final contrasts with dialectal nasal final:

耳 JY (仍拯) **niɛŋ*2 : 耳也, 關中河東語. Standard (忍止) **ni*2.

齒 JY (稱拯) **tʃiɛŋ*2 : 齒也, 河東語. Standard (醜止) **tʃhi*2.

Conversely, we find one case where standard nasal final contrast with dialectal open final:

仍 JY (人之) **ni*1 : 因也, 關中語. Standard (如蒸) **niɛŋ*1.

Possibly some kind of nasalisation of finals was involved in these cases, perhaps leading to neutralisation between certain open and nasal rhymes.

Finally, two words which in the standard dialect had *qusheng* 去聲 appear with Guanzhong forms in *rusheng* 入聲.

四 JY (息七) **si*et : 關中謂四數爲四. Standard (息利) **si*3.

淚 JY (劣戌) **liw*et : 關中謂目汁曰淚. Standard (力遂) **liw*i3.

Although both these words are reconstructed with dental stop finals of some kind for Old Chinese (OC), it is hardly likely that these lived on in the Guanzhong region almost a thousand years after their disappearance in all other known forms of Chinese. They are perhaps to be associated instead with an apparently older word:

日 JY (而力) **ni*ək : 太陽精也, 李舟說. Li Zhou came from Longxi 隴西 (roughly the present Gansu area), and may well have spoken a form of Guanzhong dialect. But the final consonant of the reading attributed to him would seem to be impossible: it has always and everywhere had a final -t. An explanation that could cover all three words is that, by the time of the JY, and presumably even in the Tang period of Li Zhou, at least one form of the Guanzhong dialect had reduced the final stops to a glottal stop, and that the *rusheng* and *qusheng* had coalesced, all ending in final glottal stop. As there is no possible means in the classical *fanqie* system to indicate a glottal stop finally, recourse was had to the use of *fanqie* with final stops (*rusheng*) to indicate the glottal closure. Since there no longer existed the traditional distinction between the three final stops, Li Zhou might quite naturally make use of a final -k in his *fanqie* to indicate the final glottal in his dialect.

Finally, an over-all view of what we know of the Guanzhong dialect raises some interesting possibilities. The development of the three final stops of *rusheng* into a single glottal stop need not detain us—this is something that has occurred in many forms of Chinese. The other features, however, deserve closer attention. The apparent loss of initial 牀母 is not, of course, attested in dialects coinciding geographically with the old Guanzhong area; it is, however, found very much farther South, in the West Min area, in the dialects of Jianyang 建陽 and Jian'ou 建瓯. Here we find that zero initial is the usual reflexion of 船母. Two examples are

蛇 : Jianyang, Jian'ou both ye2.⁵

船 : Jianyang yeŋ9, Jian'ou yeŋ3, thus corresponding exactly with the old Guanzhong forms. It is conceivable that modern West Min and Tang/Song dynasty Guanzhong

⁵ All examples from West Min are taken from Norman 1969.

dialects have preserved what was at one time a widespread reflex of 牀母, now lost elsewhere. The phonological implications of this for OC have yet to be explored. The West Min dialects share one other feature with Guanzhong, the unexpected existence of a final nasal in at least one word:

耳: Jianyang noiŋ⁵, Jian'ou neŋ⁴. As far as is known, West Min and Guanzhong are the only dialects to exhibit a final nasal in this word. Once again, this suggests a shared retention rather than a common innovation. It is to be noted that the two words with unexpected final nasal in Guanzhong, to wit, 耳 and 齒, are reconstructed with final -g in OC by Karlgren.⁶ It is precisely words with final -g in OC that turn up with final nasals in Yao.⁷ It is conceivable that in some very ancient form Of Chinese, the regular reflex of OC -g was a velar nasal final, hitherto unattested, and that we may see the last remnants of this feature in the Song dynasty Guanzhong dialect, in modern West Min, and in Yao.

6. JY Lexical Evidence

Once the older vocabulary elements have been weeded out, there remain a fairly large number of words which it would seem that the JY was the first to record. There is thus a good chance that these were current in Song times. Some of these may be identified with lexical items in modern dialects, whether standard or non-standard: a much larger number cannot be so identified. An exhaustive study of such words is beyond the scope of this paper; in a monograph on a particular dialect it would be possible to collect all the JY materials relevant to that dialect, but impossible in a paper devoted to the general aspects of dialect information in the JY. What follows, therefore, is intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive. It will be obvious, moreover, that the coverage of modern dialects is very incomplete; this is because the documentation of modern dialect lexicon is very uneven, although the situation is improving all the time.

Before going on to the lexical material, it might be pointed out that there is a striking number of what seem to be omissions in the JY, judging from the evidence of modern dialects. Three examples may be given to illustrate what is meant by this.

鼻 is given as GY, JY (毗至) MC *bjǝ3. This agrees with Yue pei²², Hak phi⁵³ and Min phǝ³³, but disagrees with Mand pi³⁵ and Wu bi², which are clearly *rusheng* at least in origin. An originally *rusheng* form, agreeing with modern Mand, is also found in the Zhongyuan Yinyun of 1324 A.D.⁸ It seems unlikely that such a widespread lexical item would not also have been partially current at the time of the JY, but there is no record of it. 滗 'To drain or strain off' is known to occur in Mand pi⁵¹ Hak pi⁵³, Yue pei³³ (and Yao pei³⁵), but the comparable word in GY

⁶ GSR 981 a, and 961 1, respectively.

⁷ See Downer 1973 p. 21

⁸ Misleadingly noted in ZYYY as 去聲作平聲.

and JY is 滄 JY (鄙密) *piat, which is almost certainly cognate to the modern word, but which cannot be the direct source of the modern word: the southern dialects do not lose MC final stops, and the tone is wrong for Mand. Once again the widespread occurrence of this word suggests that it may have been current in Song times, but it has gone unrecorded.

Finally, the word 'to hit' is found in Mand ta213, Yue taa35, and Hak ta31, but in the GY and JY only 打 JY (都冷) *teŋ2 occurs. About 50 years after the compilation of JY, the Mengxi Bitan 夢溪筆談 already characterises this as a Wu pronunciation (as it still is).⁹ The classical *fanqie* system could have dealt with this syllable (as it did with 地, 打); instead it went unrecorded.

On the positive side, JY clearly introduces and defines for the first time many words which can be recognized in modern dialects. In some cases words which once were probably dialectal, but which have now become universal in Chinese, are found for the first time in JY:

渣 JY (莊加) *tsral : 滓也. Mand tsa55, Wu tso53, Hak tsa33, Yue tsaa53, Min tse55;
 攪 JY (莫八) *mrat : 拭也. Mand ma55, Wu m 2, Hak mat22, Yue maat33, Min bua 2.: unusual, as all dialects except Wu have the *qing* 清 series of tones.

There are some which are probably universal, but documentation for one or more dialects is missing.

焙 JY (蒲妹) *bui3: 煨也. Man pei51, Hak phoi53, Yue pui22 Min pe33: Wu is missing.

Ocasional documentation is so poor one may only guess:

斡 JY (逋昆) *puen1 : 平木器, i.e. 'adze'. Mand pən55, but also in Yao puən33, so from a southern Chinese dialect.

The following are examples of words first appearing in JY, which are not specifically marked for dialect, but which are certainly dialectal now.

熅 JY (紆問) *piwən3 : 以火伸物, i.e. 'to iron'. Mand yn51, Hak iun53. The older word 熅 JY (紆勿) *piwət, still found in Min ut2, occurs in both GY and JY.

⁹ Mengxi Bitan p. 291: 如打字音丁梗反,……吳音也.

The author, Shen Kuo, lived from 1031 to 1095, and completed the work in the latter part of his life.

¹⁰ The JY tone is certainly wrong in terms of MC. In Yue and Min (Chaojou kim35) this item has *Zhuoshang* 濁上 tone; JY classes it as *zhuoqu* 濁去, as the rule 全濁上→濁去 had already applied in standard Chinese; compare, for instance, 旱, GY and JY (下罕 etc.) MC *ʔan2, but also JY (侯吁) *ʔan3, the result of the above rule.

The word 姪 is certainly the result of assimilation of the following m- initial in 舅母. A comparable word, 孀 JY (式荏) *siəm2 : 俗謂叔母 also occurs for the first time in JY (contra Kangxi Zidian). This term appears to be universal (except perhaps in Hak), and is possibly in Min the consequence of parallel development of some kind, with Amoy tsim 53 (from 叔 tsek2), but Chaojou sim53, as in other dialects.

搥 JY (損動) *soŋ2 : 推也. Also 攪 JY (筭勇) *sioŋ2 : 推也. Mand soŋ213, Hak suŋ31, perhaps Yue ʔoŋ35.

壩 JY (必駕) *pra3 : 堰也. Mand pa51, Wu po33, Hak pa53, Min pe21.

姪 JY (巨禁) *giəm3 : 俗謂舅母曰姪. Mand tcin51, Wu?, Yue kham23, Min kim 33.¹⁰

園 JY (口浪) *khaŋ3 : 藏也. Wu kh533, Hak khəŋ53, Min khŋ21.

圳 JY (朱聞) *tʃiwən3 : 溝也. Hak tsun51, Yue tsøn33, Min tsun21.

The Yue form may be obsolete.¹¹

限 JY (郎宕) *laŋ3 : 暴也. Wu ləŋ13, Yue ləŋ44. Surprisingly the Mand liaŋ51 occurs in neither GY nor JY.

簋 JY (火占) *hiam1 : 辛味. Min (Chaojou 潮州) hiam33.

攪 JY (紆勿) *ʔiwət : 拗戾也. Hak ut2, Yue wat5, Min ut2.

When we come to the vocabulary explicitly marked as dialectal in JY, the problems involved in identifying these items with modern dialect words becomes even more serious, largely as a result of insufficient documentation of modern dialect lexica. The following material is arranged according to the JY dialect indications, going roughly from North to South.

Guanzhong (Guannei 關內).

松 JY (思恭) *sioŋ1 : 木也, 關內語. Mand soŋ55, Wu soŋ53.

The rest of China has reflexes of JY (祥容) *zioŋ1, which was still apparently the standard in JY.

接 JY (儒科) *niua1 : 揉也, 關中語. Mand rua35. Identification tentative but likely. The *fanqie* here contrasts with JY (人奢) *nia1, which includes 若, 惹 etc., which are *kaikou*, so this entry must be *hekou*, thus justifying the rounded medial.

Wu.

渠 JY (求於) *gio1 : 吳人呼彼稱. Dubious identification in Wu: Changshu 常熟 gE33 (the vowel does not correspond). Also Hak ki21, Yue khøy 23 (the tone on the analogy of 我 ɲə 23, 你 nei23), which are phonologically exact reflexes.

揀 JY (烏瓦) *ʔwra2 : 吳俗講手爬物曰揀. Yue waa35 is the only documented reflex.

焮 JY (虛尤) *hiəul : 吳俗謂灰爲焮. Min hu55 is the only known reflex. For the vowel, compare 龜 above, p. 5.

Although there is a large number of items marked 'Wu', in fact among the new material in JY there is not one which can be definitely associated with modern Wu dialect words. A reason for this is suggested in the next section.

Yue.

颶 JY (衢遇) *gio3 : 越人謂具四方之風曰颶. i.e. 'typhoon'.

Given in Eitel 1877, possibly obsolete now. See also Guangdong Xinyu 廣東新語 p. 11.

¹¹ This form, with earlier Yue initial tʃ- (contrasting with 進 tsøn33) occurs in Fenyun Cuoyao 分韻撮要 (preface dated A.D. 1782, according to Williams 1856, p. xi), and recorded as tʃun53 (in the original, chun4) in McIver's dictionary of Hak (the Meixian dialect does not distinguish the initials ts- and tʃ-, except with certain vowels).

Min.

林 JY (之誅) *tʃiwi2 : 閩人謂水曰林. Min tsui 53.

困 JY (九件) *kian2 : 閩人呼兒曰困. Min kia53. Although this word may have come from a poem by (Tang) Gu Kuang 顧況, (see Zidian), the compilers might have had direct information of Min, judging from the inclusion of 'water' above.

Shu.

辟 JY (卜卦) *pra3 : 蜀中謂山谷間田曰辟. West Mand pa (*qusheng*).

Possibly the same as the earlier 埧 (see above, p.), but this definition fits exactly the modern usage. The reading in 卦 rhyme is unusual, but perhaps the development of 佳, 蟹, 卦 to -a occurred more often in some dialects: there are alternative readings in -a for 釵 (初加), 柴 (鋤加) 賣 (莫駕) in JY.

Finally, there is a considerable number of words for which a dialect source is noted, but which have not so far been identified with modern dialectal forms. A selection of these follows, for future investigation.

Guanzhong.

嬰 JY (於慶) *ʔiəŋ3 : 關中謂孩子曰嬰.

扞 JY (六直) *liək : 縛也, 關中語.

岱 JY (敵德) *dək : 關中謂蛇蠱毒曰岱.

羅 JY (直略) *diək : 關中謂買粟麥曰羅. Phonological distinction only, corresponds to standard (亭歷) *diək.

Shandong.

來 JY (龍都) *lo1 : 徠也, 山東語.

筆 JY (筆別) *piat : 山東謂筆.

扛 JY (虎項) *hraŋ : 山東人謂擔荷曰扛.

The Shandong material is curious, as there is no modern record of any of these three items.

Guandong 關東.

融 JY (力救) *liəu3 : 關東謂飢.

Guanxi 關西.

稻 JY (土皓) *thau2 : 杭也, 關西語.

Huainan 淮南.

粹 JY (辱紺) *nam3 : 淮南呼母.

Hang-Yue zhijian 杭越之間.

鯛 JY (古慕) *ko3 : 杭越之間謂魚胃爲鯛.

換 JY (胡計) *ɣei3 : 杭越之間謂換曰換. These two items are also found in GY (but not TY), and are presented here to establish the dialect area (see next section).

Shu.

塢 JY (逋鄧) *pəŋ3 : 蜀郡謂塘曰塢.

Wu.

簫 JY (傍丁) *phiəŋ1 : 吳人謂蠶曲爲簫.

𪛗 JY (於杏) *rəŋ2 : 吳人謂𪛗曰𪛗.

𪛗 JY (陟慮) *tio3 : 吳俗謂盛物於器曰𪛗 (= 著?).

𪛗 JY (彌計) *mei3 : 吳俗呼母曰𪛗.

𪛗 JY (彌遙) *miaul : 萍也, 江東語.

𪛗 JY (爲命) *wiəŋ3 : 江南謂食禾蟲曰𪛗. Jiangnan 江南 is probably to be associated with Wu, as is Jiangdong 江東.

7. The wider picture

The earliest important source of our knowledge of Chinese dialects is, of course, the Fangyan; there is also considerable dialect material in Shuowen, but it apparently mostly derives from the Fangyan. In the Fangyan, a large number of geographically-identified dialects appear, covering the whole of Chinese territory as it then was. According to Serruys 1959 (pp. 85-98) the large number of dialects may be reduced to 15 groups on the basis of the combinations of didialects which share the same lexical items. The picture is of extreme diversity; moreover, comparatively few of the dialectal expressions are to be found in later literature, although perhaps more of the terms labelled 自關以東 than those of other dialects later became standard. However, this is a study yet to be made.

The next major source is Guo Pu 郭璞 (A.D. 276-324) in his notes to the Fangyan and commentary to the Erya 爾雅. In addition to what may be translated 'standard words' 通語 and 'standard but not literary' 俗語, over twenty dialects are mentioned, most of which occur only once, and may simply be local dialectal words, not really constituting dialect areas. The dialects which recur in his material, and the number of occurrences, are

Jiangdong 江東 (over 100 in 爾雅注 alone)

Guanxi 關西, 12

Jianping 建平 (in Sichuan 四川), 8

Qi 齊, qingJou 青州 (probably to be equated: Shangdong) 7

Hebei 河北 5

Jiangnan 江南 5

Jingzhou 荊州 (presumably Hubei) 5

Huainan 淮南 3.

This is much more restricted geographically than the Fangyan, a fact which may be due simply to his lack of sources for more distant dialects, but may also be due to the confused political situation of his time. The preponderance of material from Jiangdong (equals Wu), however, suggests that there was already a distinct dichotomy between Wu and the (present) Mand area. This would fit in with statements in the preface to the Qieyun 切韻 and in the Yanshi Jiaxun 顏氏家訓¹² that at least up until early Tang there was a noticeable linguistic distinction between North and

¹² Yanshi Jiaxun, see Z.M. Zhou 1962, p. 412.

South. It is worth noting that Guo Pu was himself a Guanxi (i.e. Shanxi) man, so the predominance of Jiangdong dialect was not the consequence of its being his native dialect.

By the time that we arrive at the JY, the dialects referred to by name are even more limited:

Guan zhong (Hedong 河東).

Guandong (possibly the same as Guanzhong)

Guanxi 關西.

Huainan 淮南.

Hangyue zhiJian 杭越之間.

Shu 蜀.

Wu (equals Jiangdong).

Shandong 山東.

Min 閩.

Yue 越.

Shu, which occurs in only two new references in JY, may not be a real dialect area, but instead may simply represent two local words that occur in Shu area. Hangyue zhijian constitutes a geographical problem; it may, perhaps, refer to the Jiangxi 江西 area, but this is not certain. Apart from this, we have five areas that seem to belong to the present Mand area:

Guanzhong, Guandong, Guanxi, Huainan and Shandong, and Wu, Min and Yue, which are outside that area. In other words, for the first time we can recognize a dialect division that is roughly analogous to the dialect divisions that we find today, that is, Mand, Wu, Yue and Min, with the obvious gap of Hak, if, indeed, it was distinct from Gan 贛 at that period.

From this dictionary evidence alone, we can begin to get a picture of the history of the dialects in Chinese. In the Han dynasty, we find a large number of very disparate dialects, of which the lexica have largely disappeared. This seems to have been followed by a long period when, as far as the main body of Chinese speech was concerned, a conspicuous difference between North and South (Wu) existed. This lasted until well into the Tang dynasty, and is still reflected in the GY, when southern vocabulary was still noted as 'Wu', even if the item were merely 'southern' and not specifically Wu. This tradition persisted until the GY and even sometimes into JY, as witness:

鞣 GY (烏紅) *²on¹ : 吳人鞣鞣曰鞣.

鞣 JY (烏公) *²on¹ : 吳人謂鞣鞣曰鞣; also 鞣 (於用) *²ion³. 鞣鞣.

which is only documented as Min: ²an²¹ (Douglas, n.d. p. 6). By the time of the JY, by breaking with the TY tradition, we begin to see what appears to be the modern situation, with Mand, Wu, Yue and Min forming distinct groups.

Finally, it should be noted that the modern classification of dialects into Mand,

Wu, Hak, Yue and Min is based primarily, and indeed, exclusively, on phonological criteria. In past times this has not always been the case. We may see a certain development in the sources that have been mentioned above. The Fangyan and Shuowen belong to the pre-*fanqie* period, and dialects are defined by lexical evidence alone. By the 3rd-4th centuries, Guo Pu's notes define the dialects (with *fanqie*), chiefly by lexical criteria, but also with some phonological references in obviously cognate words. Later, in Sui and Tang times, in the preface to the Qieyun and in the Yanshi Jiaxun, purely phonological definitions are provided on the North-South dichotomy. In the 11th century JY, there is a kind of synthesis: although most of the dialect material consists of lexical items, some is clearly of phonological significance. It is clear that both types of classification are useful and important, and the JY attempts this (although perhaps not consciously). When the lexical classification is used carefully, as in the work of F. K. Li on Tai,¹³ it is a most convenient tool for classifying dialects that otherwise may exhibit phonological irregularities. As far as is known, such a classification has never been attempted with Chinese dialects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sources used (in rough chronological order).

爾雅, with 郭璞's notes.

方言, with 郭璞's notes.

說文解字, in 段玉裁's edition.

顏氏家訓, as found in Zhou 1943 (see below).

王仁昫刊謬補缺切韻, annotated by 龍宇純, 1968, Hongkong 中大.

十韻集編, annotated by 劉復 et al., 1963, Taipei 學生.

宋本廣韻, annotated by 林尹, 1976, Taipei 黎明.

集韻. 1959 Taipei 新興.

夢溪筆談, ed. 胡道靜 1957, Peking 中華.

中原音韻.

康熙字典.

分韻撮要. (Cantonese dictionary, preface of A.D. 1782).

廣東新語, by 屈大均, 康熙 period. 1974, Hongkong 中華.

Modern works.

Chao, Y. R. et al, 1948. 湖北方言調查報告. Shanghai 商務.

Douglas, Carstairs 1899. Chinese-English Dictionary of Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy.

Downer, G. B. 1973. Strata of Chinese Loanwords in the Mien Dialect of Yao. Asia Major 18; 1, 1-33.

江蘇省和上海市方言概況 1960. Nanking, 江蘇人民.

Johnstone, S. W. 1979. The historical phonology of Chinese Literary Dialects during the Sui and Tang Dynasties. Unpublished PhD. thesis, U. of Leeds.

Karlgren, B. 1957. Grammata Serica Recensa. Stockholm BMFEA 29.

¹³ F. K. Li, 1959.

- Li, F. K. 1959. Classification by Vocabulary: Tai Dialects. AL 1-2, 17-21.
- Li, Yongming 李永明 1959. 潮州方言. Peking 中華.
- Lo, C. P. 1940. 臨川音系. Shanghai 商務.
- McIver, D. 1926. A Chinese-English Dictionary-Hakka Dialect Shanghai.
- Norman, Jerry L. 1969. The Kienyang Dialect of Fukien. Berkeley, U. of California, unpublished PhD. thesis.
- Williams, S. Wells 1856. Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language (in the Canton Dialect). Canton.
- Zhou, Z. M. 周祖謨 1943. 顏氏家訓音辭篇注補, reprinted in 1966 問學集, Peking 中華, pp. 405-433.

THE KENG RIME-GROUP IN THE YÜ-P' IEN FAN-CH' IEH'S

Mantaro J. Hashimoto

*National Inter-University Research Institute of
Asian and African Languages and Cultures, Tokyo*

1. Introduction

If we include the Ancient Chinese rimes of the Chia and Chiang groups in the Kuo and Tang groups respectively because of the complementary distribution we observe between the Kuo and Chia rime-groups as well as between the Tang and Chiang rime-groups, the sixteen rime-groups or *she*'s of Late Ancient or Medieval Chinese established by the *teng-yun-hsueh* phonologists and adopted by modern Chinese linguists in order to define Ancient Chinese rime categories without referring to their phonetic-phonological shapes, can be reduced to fourteen. These fourteen rime-groups constitute eight, well-balanced outer-inner rime-classes, as shown in Table 1 where the rime-class definition represents what is phonologically interpreted in Hashimoto 1978-79, not those described in the *teng-yun-hsueh* literature by the pre-modern Chinese phonologists.

ending \ rime-class	outer	inner
-ø	Kuo-Chia	Yü
-i	Hsieh	Chih
-u	Hsiao	Liu
-m/-p	Hsien	Shen
-n/-t	Shan	Chen
-ʃ/c	Keng-a	Keng-b ¹
-n/-t	T'ung-a	T'ung-b ¹
-ŋ/-k	Tang-Chiang	Tseng

Table 1

The only seeming exception to this complementary distribution is the contrast between the division III syllables of the Kuo rime-group and those of the Chia rime-group. However, we know for sure that morphemes listed in the division III

¹ For dividing rimes of the traditional Keng-*she* and T'ung-*she* into two phonologically re-defined sub-rime-groups/rime-classes, see Hashimoto 1970 and 1973a respectively.

rimes of the Kuo group are only with the level tone and are limited to those having guttural initials, and almost all of them happen to be foreign loan-words² which survived in the Ancient Chinese sound system because of its accidental phonetic (but not phonological) gaps — Ancient Chinese allowed phoneme combinations of the *Ca, *Cua, *Cia, *Ca, *Cua and *Cia shapes (where an C stands for any syllable-initial consonant of Ancient Chinese) but neither *Cua nor those syllables having the final *-ia but preceded by guttural initials.³

Among these fourteen rime-groups of Ancient Chinese, the Keng rime-group remains as the most problematic in many respects.

- 1) First of all it is the only rime-group which does not contain division I rimes or finals — a fact which intrigues modern students of Chinese historical phonology and which has to be phonologically accounted for one way or another before we claim the well-balancedness between the outer and inner rime-classes of the fourteen rime-groups we established above.
- 2) Secondly, there have been some disagreements among the *teng-yun-hsueh* phonologists of the pre-modern period concerning the rime-class definition of this rime-group. Judging from the correspondence to Medieval Chinese and modern Mandarin, finals of this rime-group seem to be definable as an inner rime-class, while all the phonological natures of the correspondents of this rime-group in modern southern Chinese dialects indicate that this rime-group should have been outer class rimes in the proto-language of these modern dialects.
- 3) Thirdly, two distinct sources from pre-Ancient Chinese can be identified for this rime-group — one for the Keng II and III and Ch'ing(Blue) finals, and the other for the Ching and Ch'ing(Clear) finals.
- 4) Finally, the phonological characteristics of the entering-tone finals of this rime-group in modern Mandarin suggest that they came from Ancient Chinese finals having *a-vowels — the syllabic vowels peculiar to the outer rime-class in both Ancient Chinese and most modern dialects, while the non-entering-tone counterparts look as if they are from finals having *ə-vowels, characteristic of the inner rime-class.⁴

In order to provide an explanation which may consistently account for the above-mentioned phenomena, we proposed a hypothesis for Ancient Chinese palatal consonantal endings, *-ɲ and its entering-tone counterpart *-c, classifying the Keng II and III and Ch'ing(Blue) finals as the outer rime-class counterpart, while interpreting the Ching and Ch'ing(Clear) finals as belonging to the inner rime-class. We want to keep this in mind in reviewing some unique merger of finals/rimes in

² Hashimoto 1978-79, p. 343.

³ Hashimoto 1978-79, p. 31.

⁴ Hashimoto 1970-71.

the *fan-ch'ieh's* of the *Yü-p'ien* in this study.

2. The problem

The sound system reflected in the *fan-ch'ieh's* of the *Yü-p'ien* compiled in 543 AD by Ku Yeh-wang (519-581 A.D.) of the Liang dynasty, is quite similar to that of the *Ch'ieh-yun* — the outline of the sound system of the latter was determined by Lu Fa-yen and his friends around the same period, though this rime dictionary itself was compiled and the details of the sound system were worked out by Lu alone some half a century later in 601 A.D. There is, however, some minor difference between these two sound systems which much interests students of Chinese phonology. By examining a sound system slightly different from that of the *Ch'ieh-yun*, we should be able to shed some new light on the controvertial problems of Ancient Chinese phonology.

The major difference we are going to discuss in this paper is: among the four rimes belonging to the Keng rime-group, namely Keng, Ching, Ch'ing(Clear) and Ch'ing(Blue), the Ch'ing(Clear) rime syllables merged with the syllables of division III counterparts of the Keng rime but are kept distinct from the Ch'ing(Blue) rime syllables among the third-fourth division syllables, while the Keng rime syllables are consistently distinguished from the Ching rime syllables among the second division syllables, as shown in Table 2.

To students of Chinese historical phonology, this appears to be quite unexpected, since in both the *Wu-ching Wen-tzu*⁵ of 775-776 A.D. by Chang Ts'an and the *I-ch'ieh-ching Yin-i* of 788-810 A.D. by Hui-lin⁶ the Ch'ing(Clear) rime syllables

<div> <div>rime-class</div> <div>division</div> </div>	outer	inner	outer	inner
II	Keng-II	Ching	Keng-II	Ching
III	Keng-III	Ch'ing (Clear)	Keng-III	Ch'ing (Clear)
IV	Ch'ing (Blue)		Ch'ing (Blue)	
	Ancient Chinese		<u>Yü-p'ien</u> <u>fan-ch'ieh's</u>	

Table 2

⁵ Shao 1964, pp. 214-230.

⁶ Huang 1931, pp. 66-68.

<div> <div>rime-class</div> <div>division</div> </div>	outer	inner
II	Keng-II	Ching
III	Keng-III	Ch'ing (Clear)
IV	Ch'ing (Blue)	
	Wu-ching Wen-tzu	

Table 3

<div> <div>rime-class</div> <div>division</div> </div>	outer	inner
II	Keng-II	Ching
III	Keng-III	Ch'ing (Clear)
IV	Ch'ing (Blue)	
	l-ch'ieh-ching Yin-i	

Table 4











Ancient rime-index	Div.	Table 33	
		Other initials	Guttural initial
Geng	II	彭  p-hing	杭  g-eing
	III	平  p-ing	京  g-ing
Qing-III	IV	井  b-ing	勁  g-eing
Ancient rime-index	Div.	Table 35	
		Other initial	Guttural initial
Jing	II	迷  b-hing	耕  g-eing
Qing-III	III	/ /	/ /
Qing-IV	IV	瓶  p-ing	經  g-eing

Table 5

merged with the Ch'ing(Blue) rime syllables but not with the Keng rime syllables, though in the *Wu-ching Wen-tzu* the Keng rime syllables merged with the Ching rime syllables among the second division syllables, as shown in Tables 3 and 4 respectively. This merger in the sound system reflected in the *Yü-p'ien fan-ch'ieh*'s is also quite different from another puzzling merger of the Kengrime-group syllables which we witness in the *hP*'ags-pa transcription of Medieval Chinese sounds. The *hP*'ags-pa transcription assigns the same spelling to both the division II counterparts of the Keng rime syllables and the Ch'ing(Clear) rime syllables, e.g. 杭 *geing* and 勁 *geing*, in contrast to the division III counterparts of the Keng rime syllables such as 京 *ging*, so long as the syllables having the guttural initials are concerned,⁷ as shown in Table 5.

3. Previous studies

Chou Tsu-mo, who first sorted out the *fan-ch'ieh*'s of the *Yü-p'ien* preserved in Kuukai's *Tenrei Banshoo Myoogi* (completed between 830 and 835 A.D.) and to whom we owe much of our modern knowledge on the phonological system of the *Yü-p'ien fan-ch'ieh*'s, reconstructed the final *-ieng and *-iek for these merged finals of Keng III and Ch'ing(Clear), though he remained somewhat vague about the real distinctions among these syllables. Chou assumed that there were in fact two subgroups of the merged finals, the *a* and *b* groups, and reconstructed the finals *-ieng/-iek for the former (the correspondents to Ancient Chinese Ch'ing(Clear) finals except for those having retroflex stop initials) and *-iang/-iak for the latter (the division II counterparts of the Keng rime finals plus those Ch'ing(Clear) finals having retroflex stop initials),⁸ as shown in Table 6.

serial number	Chou's rime-index	medial & division	Chou's reconstruction	Ancient final
41	庚	open II closed II	ang ak uang uak	Keng II
42	盈	a, b open III a, b closed III	ieng iek iueng iusk	Keng III- Ch'ing(Clear)
43	耕	open II closed II	æng æk uæng uæk	Ching
44	青	open IV closed IV	ieng iek iueng iuek	Ch'ing(Blue)

Table 6

⁷ Hashimoto 1971.

⁸ Chou 1966, pp. 401-402.

When we compare them with Bernhard Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese Keng rime-group finals as shown in Table 7, we realize that Chou's reconstruction is a very modest modification of Karlgren's.⁹

serial number	Ancient rime-index	medial & division	Karlgren's reconstruction	Chou's rime-index
80	Keng	open II	ɛŋ ɛk	41 庚
81		closed II	wɛŋ wɛk	
82	Keng	open III	iɛŋ iɛk	42 盈
83		closed III	iwɛŋ iwɛk	
86	Ch'ing(Clear)	open III	isɛŋ isɛk	42 盈
87		closed III	iwɛŋ iwɛk	
84	Ching	open II	æŋ æk	43 耕
85		closed II	wæŋ wɛk	
88	Ch'ing(Blue)	open IV	iɛŋ iɛk	44 青
89		closed IV	iwɛŋ iwɛk	

Table 7

4. Data and facts

It is necessary at this stage to re-examine the actual extent or degree and the real manner of the merger between the Keng III and Ch'ing(Clear) syllables in the *Yü-p'ien fan-ch'ieh's*. Tables 8a and 8b list all the possible types of syllables having the Keng-III-Ch'ing(Clear) finals, together with the *fan-ch'ieh's* given in the *Yü-p'ien*. In the columns are given Chou Tsu-mo's rime indexes of *Yü-p'ien* for four tones, and in the rows the phonological categories and reconstructions of Ancient Chinese initial consonants arranged according to the traditional order of labials, dentals, retroflexes, palatals and gutturals. The *Ch'ieh-yun* rime indexes are given at the bottom in order to show the correspondence between Ancient Chinese and the sound system reflected in the *Yü-p'ien fan-ch'ieh's*.

Each column is divided into two sub-columns. In the left sub-columns we list head characters and *fan-ch'ieh's* of the Keng III final, and in the right sub-columns one can find those of the Ch'ing(Clear) final. *Fan-ch'ieh* characters showing the merger in question are circled in these tables.

From what is tabulated in these tables, we learn that the merger took place, as in fact has already been noticed by Chou, only with respect to characters, or, to be precise, syllables, having retroflex initials, whether it is a *fan-ch'ieh* lower character or a head character (i.e. a character whose pronunciation is defined with *fan-ch'ieh's*).

⁹ From Karlgren 1954, not from Karlgren 1915-26.

玉篇韻目		盈	井	政	亦
tone		level	rising	departing	entering
幫 p		兵彼榮	并俾盈	柄碑敬	○
滂 p'			○		碧彼戟
並 b		平皮兵	○		○
明 m		鳴莫京	皿明丙	命靡竟	○
端 t					
透 t'					
定 d					
泥 n					
來 l			領離 (京)	令力政	
精 ts			井子郭		積子亦
清 ts'					
從 dz				淨似勁	
心 s				姓胥政	昔思亦
邪 z					席徐亦
知 t		貞微 (京)			
徹 t'		裡勃 (鳴)	騁勃井	偵恥 (敬)	
澄 d		呈馳 (京)		鄭馳 (敬)	躑馳 (戟)
莊 ts					
初 ts'					
牀 dz					
山 s	生所京				
俟 z					
廣韻韻目		庚III	梗III	映III	陌III
		清	靜	勁	昔
Ancient finals					

Table 8a





玉篇韻目		盈	井	政	亦		
tone		level	rising	departing	entering		
照	tʃ	 征之盈 聲舒盈 誠是盈	 整之郢	 證抵盛 盛時政	 赤昌赤 石時赤		
穿	tʃ'						
神	dʒ						
審	ʃ						
禪	ʒ						
日	ʝ						
見	k	京居 貞 ○	景羈影 ○	敬羈竟 ○	勁居盛 ○	戟居逆 ○	
溪	k'			慶祛敬 ○	卻去戟 ○		
群	g				劇渠戟 ○		
疑	ŋ	迎宜京 ○			逆魚戟 ○		
曉	x						
匣	ɣ						
影	ʔ		影於景 ○	映於敬 ○	○	○	
喻	ɸ	盈余庚	郢以井			益於赤 亦余石	
Rounded syllables							
見	k		岡俱永 ○				
溪	k'						
群	g	○ 瓊求營					
疑	ŋ						
曉	x						
匣	ɣ	榮為明	永為岡	詠為命			
影	ʔ						
喻	ɸ	營胡瓊	穎役餅			役惟辟	
廣韻韻目		庚III	清	梗III	靜	映III	勁
		陌III					昔
Ancient finals							

Table 8b

Below we'll give an exhaustive list of *fan-chieh's* showing this merger.¹⁰ There is only one exception, i.e. the merger which took place with respect to a character representing a word syllable having a lateral initial, 領離景切. Throughout modern dialects of Chinese, we often witness lateral and retroflex initials giving some similar effects to the high-front vowels that follow these initials. That is the lowering of tongue position for the following high-front vowels, or the eventual loss of such vowels. We also know that retroflexion is a type of physiological movement of oral organs which conflicts with that for palatalization. Then the whole merger in question can be interpreted basically as an instance of the mergers between the outer rime-class words and the corresponding inner rime-class words which are conditioned by the presence of retroflex initials — a kind of widespread changes in modern Mandarin.

京 *kiɛŋ ¹	居貞 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	荆 *kiɛŋ ¹	景貞 *tɕiɛŋ ¹
驚 *kiɛŋ ¹	居貞 *tɕiɛŋ ¹		
貞 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	徵京 *kiɛŋ ¹	楨 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	知京 *kiɛŋ ¹
禎 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	忠平 *biɛŋ ¹	禎 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	徵京 *kiɛŋ ¹
隕 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	徵京 *kiɛŋ ¹		
攄 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	勅鳴 *miɛŋ ¹	經 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	恥荆 *kiɛŋ ¹
沚 *tɕiɛŋ ¹	恥京 *kiɛŋ ¹		
偵 *tɕiɛŋ ³	恥敬 *kiɛŋ ³	醜 *tɕiɛŋ ³	恥敬 *kiɛŋ ³
詞 *tɕiɛŋ ³	恥敬 *kiɛŋ ³		
呈 *dɕiɛŋ ¹	馳京 *kiɛŋ ¹	逞 *dɕiɛŋ ¹	除荆 *kiɛŋ ¹
程 *dɕiɛŋ ¹	除荆 *kiɛŋ ¹	醒 *dɕiɛŋ ¹	陳驚 *kiɛŋ ¹
鄭 *dɕiɛŋ ³	馳敬 *kiɛŋ ³		
躋 *dɕiɛk ⁴	馳戟 *kiɛk ⁴		
碧 *piɛk ⁴	彼戟 *kiɛk ⁴		

(碧字廣韻在昔韻，項跋本王韻在格韻（卽陌韻））

領 *liɛŋ³ 離景 *kiɛŋ³

The Ancient Chinese phonological distinction between the outer and inner rime-classes is behind most of the phonological contrasts between the /a/- and /ə/-vowels in modern Mandarin. Yet we find some very consistent exceptions to this regularity of correspondence only when the initial consonants of the exceptional words happened to be retroflex in Ancient Chinese (not always so in modern Mandarin).¹¹ For instance:

¹⁰ For an easier recognition of the mergers, we add Karlgren's reconstructions to all the head characters and lower characters of these *fan-chieh's*.

¹¹ Hashimoto 1973b. In identifying the Ancient Chinese rime indexes of each word, those for the level tone rimes represent indexes for other tone rimes in this paper for convenience of presentation.

篩 (**ʃiə*(Hashimoto's)/*ʃiə*(Karlgrén's)) is pronounced *shai*¹ (just as any syllable of the corresponding outer class rimes like *chai*¹(寨) of the Kuai(夬) rime, if we disregard the original, tonal difference), not *shih*¹ like 施, though both of them are from the Chih(支) rime syllables of the Chih rime-group, a typical inner class rime-group.

Both 揣 (**tʃ'ue*/*tʃ'wiə*) and 衰 (帥, 率) (**ʃuei*/*ʃwi*) are pronounced *ch'uai*³ and *shuai*¹ (*shuai*⁴, *shuai*⁴) respectively, not *ch'ui*³ like 吹 (though with a different tone) and *shui*¹ like 水 (though with a different tone) respectively. 揣 is from the Chih(支) rime and 衰, 帥 and 率 are all from the Chih(脂) rime, of the Chih rime-group.

簪 (**tʃiem*/*tʃiem*) of the Ch'in rime origin, a typical inner class rime, is normally pronounced *tsan*¹, though it has an alternative literary pronunciation of *tsen*¹. The former pronunciation sounds more like a syllable of the corresponding outer class rime such as Hsien(銜) or Yen(鹽), while the latter is a typical inner rime-class pronunciation for this type of syllables.

蟀 and 率 (**ʃuet*/*ʃiuet*) of the Chen(真) rime origin are both pronounced *shuai*⁴, though both of them have an alternative pronunciation of *shuo*⁴ which sounds definitely like an inner rime-class syllable.

Both 側 and 仄 (**tʃiek*/*tʃiək*) can be pronounced *chai*³, though both of them are of the Cheng(蒸) rime origin and thus can alternatively be pronounced *che*⁴; similarly both 色 and 𪚩 (**ʃiek*/*ʃiək*) are pronounced *shai*³, though the former has an alternative, inner rime-class pronunciation of *se*⁴.

It is interesting in this connection to know that 所 (**ʃü*/*ʃiwo*) of the Yu(魚) rime of the Yü group is pronounced *so*³ in modern Mandarin, not *shu*³ or *su*³ as it should be as an inner rime-class syllable. The pronunciation *so*³ sounds quite like a syllable of the Kuo rime-group, the outer class counterpart of the Yü group where the character/syllable 所 actually belongs. The colloquial pronunciation of 縮 (**ʃiə*/*ʃiuk*) is *so*¹, whose literary pronunciation *su*⁴ sounds more like an inner rime-class syllable, though, because of their unique endings, not even a single syllable of the Tung rime-group maintains traces of the Ancient *a-vowel in modern Mandarin¹².

To those who agree with our idea of interpreting the Ching rime as an inner class rime, and the Keng rime as the corresponding outer rime, we may point out the following as an additional piece of information related to our present discussion. 責 (**tʃəc*/*tʃək*) and 冊 (**tʃ'əc*/*tʃ'ək*) of the Ching rime are pronounced *chai*³ and *ch'ai*³ respectively in the colloquial speech (though they have literary pronunciations *tse*⁴/*tse*⁴ and *ts'e*⁴ respectively), just as in the case of 窄 (**tʃəc*/*tʃək*) of the Keng rime whose colloquial pronunciation is *chai*³ but literary pronuncia-

¹² Hashimoto 1975.

tion is tse³. We find the same type of pronunciations for syllables having retroflex stop¹³ initials, i.e. 摘 (*t̚ɛc/t̚æk) of the Ching rime (pronounced chai¹ and che³ in modern Mandarin) and 拆 (*t̚'ac/t̚'æk), 澤 (*ɖac/ɖ'æk) and 宅 (*ɖac/ɖ'æk) of the Keng rime (whose Mandarin pronunciations are ch'ai¹/ch'e⁴, chai³/tse³/tse⁴ and chai³/che⁴ respectively). To be objective, however, we ought to warn the reader that these examples from the entering-tone syllables of the Keng rime-group may not necessarily be relevant to our present discussion, since syllables of the Ching rime having initials other than retroflexes undergo the same type of outer-inner rime-class merger; e.g. 麥 (*m̚ɛc/m̚æk) of the Ching rime is pronounced mai⁴/mo⁴ and 百 (*p̚ac/p̚æk) of the Keng rime is pronounced pai³/po³ in modern Mandarin.

5. Retroflexion and vowels

The relevance of retroflexes to the change from *ə- to *a- vowels in Chinese has been noted for quite some time,¹⁴ yet we could not see any very clear physiological basis of the relevance because of some fundamental misconception on the function of the tongue height in analyzing and describing vowels in the traditional articulatory phonetics.

Meanwhile some related phonological/phonetic properties of retroflexes have been recorded or pointed out in various reports in the field of Asian linguistics, among which the following two deserve special attention. One is the "r" in standard Khmer (Cambodian) and the other is the phoneme /r/ in Chepang.

Richard B. Noss reports in his short but important article of 1965 that the spelling "r" of standard Khmer corresponds to the rising tone of the Phnomp-Penh dialect as shown in Table 9,¹⁵ where the rising tone is indicated with the acute

meaning	standard Khmer	Phnomp-Penh
five	pram	péam
straight	tróng	tóong
many	craən	cáoən
below	króom	kóom

Table 9

accent mark. In addition, the colloquial Phnomp-Penh forms corresponding to this standard Khmer spelling "r" are normally pharyngealized, though, according to Wu

¹³ Hashimoto 1978-79, p. 175.

¹⁴ The present author first pointed out this relevance in his talk given at the University of Washington in August 1972.

¹⁵ Noss 1965.

Tieh-pin and Sun T'ien-er,¹⁶ what is more conspicuous is the aspiration of the Phnomp-Penh forms. Thus the standard Khmer word for 'hundred' is spelled "roi," but is pronounced [hoi] with a rising tone in Phnomp-Penh. The Phnomp-Penh words given in Table 9 should then be transcribed as shown in Table 10, where the letter "h" stands for this aspiration.

meaning	standard Khmer	Phnomp-Penh
hundred	roi	hói
five	pram	phám
straight	trong	thóng
many	craən	cháən
below	krəom	kóom

Table 10

Ross Caughley found out that in Chepang, one of the Himalayan languages of the Bodo group by Robert Shafer or the Kiranti group by Paul K. Benedict, two distinct tones, high and low, are distinguished, the former occurring in words which end with voiceless sounds, and the latter with voiced sounds, and that any word having Cr- cluster is pronounced with a high tone regardless of the voicing of this C.¹⁷

Now, with these pieces of additional information or evidence for the retroflex's relevance to the change from *ə- to *a-vowels in Chinese, we are ready to discard the bias of traditional articulatory phonetics in determining vowels. With the development of experimental methods with the X-ray since the beginning of this century, and particularly with the advancement of such experimental technology as tomography (since 1960), ultra-sounds (since 1970), cineradiography (since 1971) and fibroscope (since 1971), the traditional theory for determining vowels with the highest point of the tongue for producing such vowels turned out to be quite groundless and misconceived.¹⁸ What was found out to be really relevant to the vowel production is the place and degree of constriction in the entire oral cavity — constrictions at (1) the hard palate, (2) the velum, (3) the upper pharynx, and (4) the lower pharynx. The constriction at the hard palate produces vowels like [i], [u], [e], at the velum [u], [o], at the upper pharynx [o], and at the lower pharynx [a], [a].

¹⁶ Personal conversation in Taipei in 1980.

¹⁷ Caughley 1970. Richard S. Pittman first drew my attention to this report, even before I met with Ross in Nepal during my fieldwork there in 1975-76.

¹⁸ Wood 1975.

Then we realize how important it was that Noss did not fail to observe some pharyngealization (perhaps with some subsidiary aspiration) in the Phnomp-Penh vowels corresponding to standard Khmer spelling "r", and that Caughley noted the high tone in Chepang words having the Cr- cluster. Retroflexion causes backward position of the tongue root, and any greater degree of this backward movement of the tongue root will constitute a narrower pharyngeal cavity — the so-called pharyngealization which, in turn, produces vowels with higher frequencies (not with higher tongue positions) on the one hand, and leads /ə/-vowels to /a/-vowels on the other since such backward movement of the tongue root is best achieved by the constriction at the lower pharynx. This is the physiological basis for the birth of the rising tone in Phnomp-Penh Khmer, the higher tone in Chepang, and the change from /ə/-vowels to /a/-vowels in Chinese.

6. Ancient Chinese division II rimes

Students of Chinese historical phonology will recall here that the phonological system of Ancient Chinese rimes has one conspicuous imbalance. That is: the inner rime-class as defined by the traditional phonologists does not contain any division II rimes — in other words, there are no division II rimes which belong to the inner rime-class, while in the corresponding outer class each rime-group includes at least one, often more than one, division II rimes, as shown in Table 11.

ending class group division	-ɸ		-i		-u		-m/p		-n/t		-ŋ/k		-ŋ/t		-p/c	
	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei
	果假	遇	蟹	止	効	流	咸	深	山	臻	宕	曾		通	梗	
I	歌	模	泰哈		豪	侯	談覃		寒	痕	唐	登		東冬		
II	麻		夫皆佳		肴		銜咸		刪山		江			庚耕		
III	(歌) 麻	魚虞	祭廢	支脂之微	宵	尤幽	鹽嚴凡	侵	仙元	(臻) 眞殷	陽	蒸		東鍾	庚清	
IV			齊		蕭		添		先						青	

Table 11

This imbalance was regarded as the most characteristic feature of inner class rimes, so that Shao Kuang-tsu, for example, used it in his *Chien-li* attached to the *Ch'ieh-yun Chih-chang-t'u* in order to characterize (not to define) the inner rime-class — a quite uninspiring phonological characterization of inner rime-class notorious for its vacuousness since the mere absence of division II rimes among the inner class does not mean anything more than that fact without uncovering the

reason why the inner class does not or even can not have division II rimes, or why no division II rimes can belong to the inner class.

Almost two decades ago, the present author speculated that the total lack of division II rimes among the inner rime-class as determined by the *teng-yun-hsueh* phonologists of the pre-modern period is due to a systematic merger of inner class division II rimes with those of the outer class during the pre-Ancient Chinese and pre-*teng-yun-hsueh* periods, as shown in Table 12.

ending class group division	-φ		-i		-u		-m/p		-n/t		-ng/k		-ŋ/l		-j/c	
	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei	wai	nei
	果假	遇	蟹	止	効	流	咸	深	由	臻	宕	曾	通 _a	通 _b	梗 _a	梗 _b
I	歌	模	泰	哈	豪	侯	談	覃	寒	痕	唐	登	東	冬		
II	麻	佳	夬	皆	肴	肴	銜	咸	刪	刪			江		庚	耕
III	(歌) 麻	魚虞	祭廢	支脂之微	宵	尤幽	鹽嚴凡	侵	仙元	(臻) 眞殷	陽	蒸	東	鍾	庚	清
IV			齊		蕭		添		先						青	

Table 12

The basis for this speculation was that a) those Ancient division II rimes which constitute pairs in the outer rime-classes as defined by the *teng-yun-hsueh* phonologists such as Kuai(夬) : Chieh(皆), Hsien(銜) : Hsien(咸), Shan(刪) : Shan(山), and Keng-II(庚) : Ching(耕), have parallel sources in pre-Ancient Chinese—the first members like Kuai(夬), Hsien(銜), etc. come from those pre-Ancient rimes for which many linguists assume some kind of *a-vowels, while the second members like Chieh(皆), Hsien(咸), etc. are from rimes having some kind of *ə- vowels, and b) although we find no modern dialects of Chinese maintaining distinctions between the descendants of these pair members, similar pairs in division I such as T'ai(泰) : Hai(哈), T'an(談) : T'an(覃), etc. have very clear traces of the *a : *ə distinctions in modern Wu dialects primarily in the form of contrast between /a/ and /ə/.¹⁹ In other words, we assumed that the merger between the outer and inner rime-classes took place earlier and more thoroughly with respect to division II rimes than to division I rimes, though we were then unable to establish any physiological basis for these changes.

Those division II rimes which do not constitute outer-inner pairs within each

¹⁹ Dragunov 1929, p. 12.

rime-group have their own reasons. What must have been the inner counterpart of the Ma(麻) rime was later included in the Hsieh rime-group as the Chia(佳) rime because of the subsequent acquisition of the *i-ending on the part of the Chia(佳) rime. The Yao(肴) rime clearly has two origins, one from the pre-Ancient *au and the other from the pre-Ancient *əu. In other words, the merger for the Yao(肴) rime took place so early that even Lu Fa-yen and his colleagues failed to uncover the trace in the historical phonological materials available to them, to say nothing of their contemporary dialects. For the Chiang(江) rime, the reader is referred to Hashimoto 1975.

The phonetic explanations for the merger of /a/ and /ə/ preceded by some kind of retroflex elements, established in the preceding section, provide us with the much-wanted physiological basis for this assumption of total merger of division II rimes between the outer and inner rime-classes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Caughley, Ross 1970. Pitch, intensity, and higher levels in Chepang. *Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*. 3: 1: Studies on Tone and Phonological Segments. 143-157.
- Chou, Tsu-mo 1966. Wan-hsiang ming-i chung chih yuan-pen Yü-p'ien yin-hsi [The sound system of the original Yü-p'ien preserved in the *Tenrei Banshoo Myoogi*]. *Wen-hsueh-chi* [Collections of Academic Inquiries]. 1. Peking: Chung-hua Shu-chü. 270-404.
- Dragunov, Aleksandr A. 1929. Contribution to the reconstruction of Ancient Chinese. *T'oung-Pao*. 26. 1-16.
- Hashimoto, Mantaro J. 1970. Internal evidence for Ancient Chinese palatal endings. *Language* 46: 2. 336-365.
- _____. 1970-71. Nasal and stop endings in Ancient Chinese. *Monumenta Serica Festschrift for Hellmut Wilhelm*. 29. 206-227.
- _____. 1971. The hP'ags-pa transcription of Geng-she syllables. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 4: 1-37. Also in Hashimoto 1978, 27-63.
- _____. 1973a. Retroflex endings in Ancient Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. 1: 2. 183-207.
- _____. 1973b. Han-gug han-ja-eum gwa jung-go jung-gug-eo go-gu-gae un-mi [Sino-Korean and two palatal endings in Ancient Chinese]. *Eo-hag Yeon-gu* [Language Research, Seoul National University]. 9: 1. 1-26. Japanese translation: Choosen kanjion to chuuko chuugo-kugo koo-koogaion. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 7 (1974). 53-74.
- _____. 1975. Implications of Ancient Chinese retroflex endings. *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages*. 1. 17-23.
- _____. 1978-79. *Phonology of Ancient Chinese*. 1 and 2. Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa Monograph Series. Nos. 10 and 11.

- _____. 1978. *hP'ags-pa Chinese*. Writing and Language Reference Materials, 1. Tokyo: Ministry of Education of Japan Special Research Project.
- Huang, Ts'ui-po 1931. *Hui-lin I-ch'ieh-ching Yin-i Fan-ch'ieh-k'ao* [A Study of Fan-ch'ieh's Attached to Hui-lin's I-ch'ieh-ching Yin-i]. Peking: Research Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
- Karlgren, K. Bernhard J. 1915-26. *Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise*. 1-4. Archives d'Etudes Orientales, 15.
- _____. 1954. Compendium of phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese. *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*. 22. 211-367.
- Noss, Richard 1965. [r] in two modern Khmer dialects. *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*. Ed. by Norman A. Zide. 89-95.
- Shao, Jung-fen 1964. *Wu-ching Wen-tzu te chih-yin ho fan-ch'ieh* [Phonetic notes and fan-ch'ieh's of the Five Classics Letters]. *Chung-kuo Yü-wen* [Chinese Language and Writing]. 130. 214-230.
- Wood, Sidney 1975. The weakness of the tongue-arching model of vowel articulation. *Working Papers, Phonetics Laboratory, Lund University*. 11. 57-107.

THE PROTO-MIN FINALS

Jerry Norman

University of Washington, U. S. A.

In two previous articles (Norman 1973, 1974) I outlined the tonal and initial systems of Proto-Min. In the present paper I have drawn up a tentative scheme for the Proto-Min finals. Most of the dialectal data are from my own field notes collected during several stays in Taiwan. Foochow data are taken from Chen and Norman (1965) and Maclay and Baldwin (1870). Amoy data are mainly from Douglas (1899); the source for Kityang data has been Choy (1976).¹

With the exception of a single syllabic nasal, the Proto-Min finals consist of an obligatory vocalic nucleus (V) plus a number of facultative adjuncts. The high vowels may serve as medials (M) before the nuclear vowel. Following the nuclear vowel either a vocalic offglide (G) or a consonant (C) may occur, but not both simultaneously; the vocalic off-glides are i and u, and the final consonants are limited to m, p, n, t, ɲ, and k. The PM final can be represented schematically as follows:

(M) V (G/C)

Not all possible combinations actually occur. The following tables show the finals which can actually be reconstructed for Proto-Min.

Simple Monophthongal Finals

i y e o a

Diphthongs

iu yi ui eu əi əu
oi au ai au
ie io ia au io uə
ye

Triphthongs

iau iai uai uai
uai yai

*Finals Ending in *m and *p*

im em əm am am ɲ
ip ep əp ap ap
iam iam
iap iap

¹ I would like to express my gratitude here to Professor Nicholas Bodman who has provided me with many valuable suggestions over the past fifteen or so years.

*Finals Ending in *n and *t*

in	yn	un	ən	on	an	an
it	yt	ut	ət	ot	at	at
		iun		ion	ian	ian
		iut		iot	iat	iat
				uon	uan	uan
				uot	uat	uat
					yan	

*Finals Ending in *ŋ and *k*

yŋ	eŋ	əŋ	oŋ	aŋ
yk	ek	ək	ok	ak
			ioŋ	iaŋ
			iok	iak
			uoŋ	uaŋ
			uok	uak
			yok	

There is an important distinction in Proto-Min between finals having close vocalic nuclei and those having open vocalic nuclei. The vowels *i*, *u*, *y*, *e*, *ə* are assumed to have been close and rather short in duration while the consonants following them are considered to have been relatively long or more strongly articulated. The open vowels were *o*, *a*, and *ɑ*; they were phonetically longer than the close vowels and the consonants which followed them are assumed to have been either short or weakly articulated. A similar situation can be observed in present day Standard Cantonese.²

An important consequence of this distinction is that in the Southern Min dialects (here exemplified by Amoy and Kityang), open vocalic finals ending in one of the nasals result in nasalized vowels: **am* > *ã*, **an* > *uã*, **ioŋ* > *iõ* > *iũ*, etc. Similarly, open vocalic finals ending in one of oral stops result in the final stop's becoming glottal stop: **at* > *uaʔ*, **ap* > *aʔ*, **ok* > *oʔ*, etc.

In the following sections the PM finals and their modern reflexes are given and discussed. The various types of initials often condition different reflexes. Since finals with homorganic nasal and stop endings generally develop in very similar ways, such pairs as **in*/**it*, **iam*/**iap*, **ioŋ*/**iok*, etc. will be presented together to bring out this similarity more clearly.

1. Monophthongs.

Proto-Min had eight contrasting vowels of which only five occurred as inde-

² This analysis is based on a scheme for the finals of Proto-Eastern Min outlined by Nicholas Bodman in a personal communication.

pendent finals: i, y, e, o, and a. The development of these finals is outlined in the following five sections.

1.1 *i

	Fuan	i/ei ^a	Kienow	i
	Foochow	i/ei	Kienyang	i, oi
	Amoy	i	Yungan	i, 1
	Kityang	i	Tsianglo	i
	<i>silk</i>	<i>scab</i>	<i>market</i>	<i>persimmon</i>
Fa	sei-1	phi-3	tshei-6	khei-6
Fc	si-1	phi-3	tshei-6	khei-6
Am	si-1	phi-3	tshi-6	khi-6
Kt	si-1	phi-3	tshi-4	—
Ko	si-1	phi-3	tshi-6	khi-6
Ky	soi-1	phoi-3	tshi-6	khi-5
Ya	si-1	phi-3	s1-5	khi-4
Tl	si-1	phi-3	ši-6	—

Kienyang has i after PM velars and alveopalatals, oi elsewhere. Yungan has 1 after PM alveopalatals, i elsewhere. The following chart illustrates the development of PM *i after the dental and alveopalatal sibilants in the modern dialects.

PM	Fa	Fc	Am	Kt	Ko	Ky	Ya	Tl
tsi	tsi/ei	tsi/ei	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsoi	tsi	tsi
tši	tsi/ei	tsi/ei	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi	ts1	tši
si	si/ei	si/ei	si	si	si	soi	si	si
ši	si/ei	si/ei	si	si	si	si	s1	ši

1.2 *y

	Fuan	i/øi	Kienow	y
	Foochow	y/øi	Kienyang	y
	Amoy	i, u	Yungan	y
	Kityang	u	Tsianglo	y
	<i>book</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>saw n.</i>	<i>chopsticks</i>
Fa	tsøi-1	tshi-3	køi-5	tøi-6
Fc	tsy-1	tshy-3	koi-5	tøi-6
Am	tsu-1	tshu-3	ku-5	ti-6
Kt	tsu-1	tshu-3	ku-5	tu-6
Ko	sy-1	tshy-3	ky-5	ty-6
Ky	sy-1	tshy-3	ky-5	ty-6
Ya	šy-1	tšhy-3	ky-5	ty-5
Tl	šy-1	tšhy-3	ky-5	thy-6

^a Fuan and Foochow finals are frequently cited as pairs. In the case of Fuan the first member of the pair occurs only in tone 3, the second variant occurs in all other tones. The first Foochow variant occurs in tones 1, 2, 3, and 8; the second variant in tones 5, 6, and 7.

Amoy has u after PM sibilant initials and sporadically after velars, i elsewhere.

1.3 *e

	Fuan	e	Kienow	ai
	Foochow	e/a	Kienyang	ai
	Amoy	ue	Yungan	e
	Kityang	oi	Tsianglo	ai
	<i>street</i>	<i>fine</i>	<i>plow</i>	<i>sell</i>
Fa	ke-1	se-5	le-2	me-6
Fc	ke-1	sa-5	le-2	ma-6
Am	kue-1	sue-5	lue-2	bue-6
Kt	koi-1	soi-5	loi-2	boi-6
Ko	kai-1	sai-5	lai-5	mai-6
Ky	kai-1	sai-5	lai-2	mai-6
Ya	ke-1	se-5	ne-2	me-5
Tl	kai-1	sai-5	lai-2	mai-6

PM *e is a vowel of rather limited occurrence; it has a strong tendency to diphthongize either to ai or ia in the various dialects.

1.4 *o

After labial initials

	Fuan	u	Kienow	io
	Foochow	uo	Kienyang	io
	Amoy	o	Yungan	u
	Kityang	ou	Tsianglo	io
	<i>mend</i>	<i>cloth</i>	<i>step, pace</i>	
Fa	pu-3	pu-5	pu-6	
Fc	puo-3	puo-5	puo-6	
Am	pɔ-3	pɔ-5	pɔ-6	
Kt	pou-3	pou-5	pou-6	
Ko	pio-5	pio-5	pio-6	
Ky	vio-3	pio-6	(vo-6)	
Ya	pu-3	pu-5	pu-6	
Tl	(phy-9)	pio-5	(phu-6)	

The Tl word for 'mend' is irregular; the Ky and Tl forms for 'step' are influenced by literary forms. It seems at first sight rather peculiar that some of the western dialects have developed a palatal medial with this final after labials. There was probably an intermediate stage with a back rounded medial (Foochow still reflects such a stage) which then dissimulated to a medial with a fronted articulation.

After non-labial initials

Fuan	u/ou	Kienow	u
------	------	--------	---

Foochow	u/ou	Kienyang	o
Amoy	ɔ	Yungan	u, au
Kityang	ou	Tsianglo	u

After other initials

	<i>coarse</i>	<i>mushroom</i>	<i>tiger</i>	<i>vomit v.</i>
Fa	tshou-1	kou-1	hu-3	thou-5
Fc	tshu-1	ku-1	hu-3	thou-5
Am	tshɔ-1	kɔ-1	hɔ-3	thɔ-5
Kt	tshou-1	kou-1	hɔu-3	thou-5
Ko	tshu-1	u-3	khu-3	thu-5
Ky	tho-1	o-3	kho-3	ho-5
Ya	tshau-1	u-1	hu-3	thau-5
Tl	tshu-1	ku-1	khu-3	thu-5

PM *o becomes Ya u after labials and velars, au elsewhere.

1.5 *a

	Fuan	a	Kienow	a
	Foochow	a	Kienyang	a
	Amoy	e	Yungan	ɔ
	Kityang	e	Tsianglo	a
	<i>climb</i>	<i>false</i>	<i>marry</i>	<i>descend</i>
Fa	pa-2	ka-3	ka-5	a-6
Fc	pa-2	ka-3	ka-5	a-6
Am	pe-2	ke-3	ke-5	e-6
Kt	pe-2	ke-3	ke-5	e-6
Ko	pa-5	ka-3	xa-5	a-4
Ky	pa-2	a-3	—	ha-5
Ya	pɔ-2	kɔ-3	kɔ-5	ɔ-4
Tl	pha-2	ka-3	ka-5	ha-9

2. Diphthongs

Proto-Min, like many of the modern Min dialects, possessed a relatively large number of diphthongs. These consisted of one of the high vowels in combination with vowels of all degrees of openness.

2.1 *iu

After labials

Fuan	u/ou	Kienow	y
Foochow	u/ou	Kienyang	o
Amoy	u	Yungan	u
Kityang	u	Tsianglo	y
<i>gourd</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>hatch (eggs)</i>	

Fa	pou-2	pou-6	pou-6
Fc	pu-2	pou-6	pou-6
Am	pu-2	pu-6	pu-6
Kt	pu-2	pu-4	pu-6
Ko	py-3	py-4	—
Ky	o-9	(mo-4)	—
Ka	pu-2	pu-4	pu-5
Tl	phy-2	phy-9	—

The forms given for 'woman' always occur in the word for 'daughter-in-law': *sin-biu ('new woman'). The irregular initial m- of the Ky form can be explained as sporadic assimilation to the nasal of the preceding syllable.

After Velars

	Fuan	u/ou	Kienyang	iu
	Foochow	u/ou	Kienyang	iu
	Amoy	u	Yungan	iau
	Kityang	u	Tsianglo	y, iu
	<i>cow</i>	<i>mortar</i>	<i>old (not new)</i>	
Fa	ŋou-2	khou-6	kou-6	
Fe	ŋu-2	khou-6	kou-6	
Am	gu-2	khu-6	ku-6	
Kt	gu-2	khu-4	ku-6	
Ko	niu-5	khiu-6	kiu-6	
Ky	niu-2	khiu-5	kiu-6	
Ya	(ŋu-2)	khiau-4	kiau-5	
Tl	ŋy-2	khy-9	khiu-6	

The Ya form for 'cow' has an irregular final; it is possibly a loan from an EM dialect. The reason for the two different Tl reflexes is unclear.

After other initials

	Fuan	iu/eu	Kienow	iu
	Foochow	iu	Kienow	iu
	Amoy	iu	Yungan	iau, au
	Kityang	iu	Tsianglo	iu
	<i>autumn</i>	<i>wine</i>	<i>hand</i>	
Fa	tsheu-1	tsiu-3	tshiu-3	
Fc	tshiu-1	tsiu-3	tshiu-3	
Am	tshiu-1	tsiu-3	tshiu-3	
Kt	tshiu-1	tsiu-3	tshiu-3	
Ko	tshiu-1	tsiu-3	siu-3	
Ky	tshiu-1	tsiu-3	siu-3	
Ya	tshiau-1	tsiau-3	tshau-3	
Tl	tshiu-1	tsiu-3	tshiu-3	

Yungan has the reflex -au after the alveopalatals, -iau elsewhere. The word for 'have, exist' behaves as if it had a velar initial: Fa ou-6, Fc ou-6, Am u-6, Kt u-4, Ko iu-3, Ky iu-3, Ya iau-3, Tl iu-3. A small number of common words with velar initials behave like 'autumn, wine,' etc. This is most likely due to literary influence; such forms could be reconstructed differently, say with a PM final *iəu, but it seems to me that they are due to influence from some type of literary Chinese.

2.2 *yi

	Fuan	i/phi	Kienow	y
	Foochow	ui	Kienyang	y
	Amoy	ui	Yungan	yi, uei
	Kityang	ui	Tsianglo	y
	<i>hammer</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>kneel</i>	<i>mouth</i>
Fa	thphi-2	tsi-3	kphi-6	tshphi-5
Fc	thui-2	tsui-3	kui-6	tshui-5
Am	thui-2	tsui-3	kui-6	tshui-5
Kt	thui-2	tsui-3	kui-4	tshui-5
Ko	thy-5	sy-3	ky-6	tshy-5
Ky	hy-2	sy-3	ky-6	tshy-5
Ya	thuei-2	šyi-3	kyi-4	(tse-3)
Tl	thy-2	šy-3	khy-6	tshy-5

Yungan has yi after velars and alveopalatals, uei elsewhere.

2.3 *ui

	Fuan	ui, i/ei	Kienow	i
	Foochow	ui, i/ei	Kienyang	i
	Amoy	ui	Yungan	i
	Kityang	ui	Tsianglo	i
	<i>clothing</i>	<i>how many?</i>	<i>breath</i>	
Fa	i-1	kui-3	khei-5	
Fc	i-1	kui-3	khei-5	
Am	ui-1	kui-3	khui-5	
Kt	ui-1	kui-3	khui-5	
Ko	i-1	ki-3	khi-5	
Ky	i-1	ki-3	khi-5	
Ya	i-1	ki-3	khi-5	
Tl	i-1	ki-3	khi-5	

This final, which occurs only with the velars and glottals, can generally be reconstructed only on the basis of Southern Min evidence; in the other dialects it has for the most part merged with PM *i. In the SM dialects ui-1 occurs in the word for placenta; that is, the 'clothing' of the fetus.

2.4 *eu

	Fuan	eu/eu	Kienow	iau
	Foochow	eu	Kienyang	io
	Amoy	iau	Yungan	o
	Kityang	iau	Tsianglo	iu, iau
	<i>hungry</i>	<i>carve</i>	<i>strip</i>	<i>bird</i>
Fa	eu-1	teu-1	teu-2	tseu-3
Fc	eu-1	teu-1	teu-2	tseu-3
Am	iau-1	tiau-1	tiau-2	tsiau-3
Kt	iau-1	tiau-1	tiau-2	tsiau-3
Ko	—	tiau-1	tiau-2	—
Ky	—	tio-1	tio-2	—
Ya	—	to-1	to-2	tso-3
Tl	—	tiau-1	thiau-2	tiu-3

The reason for the double reflex in the Tl forms is unclear.

2.5 *əi

	Fuan	ai	Kienow	e
	Foochow	ai	Kienyang	e
	Amoy	ai	Yungan	a
	Kityang	ai	Tsianglo	e
	<i>navel</i>	<i>use</i>	<i>vegetable</i>	<i>plant v.</i>
Fa	tsai-2	sai-3	tshai-5	tsai-1
Fc	sai-2	sai-3	tshai-5	tsai-1
Am	tsai-2	sai-3	tshai-5	tsai-1
Kt	tsai-2	sai-3	tshai-5	tsai-1
Ko	tshe-5	se-3	tshe-5	tse-1
Ky	the-2	se-3	the-5	tse-1
Ya	(tsi-5)	ša-3	tsha-5	tse-1
Tl	(tshi-2)	še-3	(tshy-5)	tse-1

There are few unmixed examples of this final for Min as a whole. It tends to alternate with PM *i in many forms; e.g., the word for 'come' in some dialects derives from *ləi (Am lai-2, Ky le-2) but in other dialects from *li (Fc li-2, Tl li-2). The following examples give further illustrations of this situation:

	<i>come</i>	<i>kill</i>	<i>feces</i>	<i>matter, affair</i>
Fa	lei-2	thai-2	sai-3	tai-6
Fc	li-2	thai-2	sai-3	tai-6
Am	lai-2	thai-2	sai-3	tai-6
Kt	lai-2	thai-2	sai-3	(su-6)
Ko	le-5	thi-5	si-3	ti-6
Ky	le-2	hoi-2	si-3	toi-6

Ya	la-2	thi-2	s1-3	(ša-5)
Tl	li-2	—	ši-3	(s1-6)

The form glossed 'matter' in Kienow and Kienyang generally means 'language' or 'talk'; the Kt, Ya, and Tl forms for this etymon are of literary origin.

26 *əu

	Fuan	ou/au	Kienow	e
	Foochow	au	Kienyang	eu
	Amoy	au	Yungan	φ
	Kityang	au	Tsianglo	eu
	<i>steal</i>	<i>peck m.</i>	<i>cough</i>	<i>leak</i>
Fa	thau-1	tou-3	sau-5	lau-5
Fc	thau-1	tau-3	sau-5	lau-5
Am	thau-1	tau-3	sau-5	lau-6
Kt	thau-1	tau-3	sau-5	lau-6
Ko	the-1	te-3	se-5	le-6
Ky	heu-1	teu-3	seu-5	leu-6
Ya	thφ-1	tφ-3	—	lφ-5
Tl	theu-1	teu-3	seu-5	leu-6

2.7 *oi

This final has different reflexes depending on the type of initial with which it occurs. First, the reflexes after dental and alveolar initials:

	Fuan	φi/oi	Kienow	o
	Foochow	φi/oi	Kienyang	ui
	Amoy	e	Yungan	ue
	Kityang	o	Tsianglo	uai
	<i>short</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>retreat</i>	<i>bag</i>
Fa	tφi-3	sai-6	thai-5	tai-6
Fc	tφi-3	soi-6	thoi-5	toi-6
Am	te-3	tse-6	the-5	te-6
Kt	to-3	tso-4	tho-5	to-6
Ko	to-3	tso-4	tho-5	to-6
Ky	tui-3	(tsue-8)	hui-5	lui-6
Ya	tue-3	tsue-4	thur-5	tue-6
Tl	(tuai-3)	tshuai-9	(thuei-5)	thuai-6

The reflexes after labial, velar, and glottal initials are as follows:

	Fuan	ui	Kienow	o
	Foochow	ui	Kienyang	ui
	Amoy	e	Yungan	ue
	Kityang	ue	Tsianglo	uai
	<i>plum</i>	<i>rice-cake</i>	<i>fire</i>	<i>roast</i>

Fa	mui-2	kui-3	hui-3	pui-6
Fc	mui-2	kui-3	hui-3	pui-6
Am	(m-2)	ke-3	he-3	pe-6
Kt	bue-2	kue-3	hue-3	pue-6
Ko	mo-5	ko-3	xo-3	po-6
Ky	mui-2	kui-3	khui-3	pui-6
Ya	mue-2	kue-3	hue-3	pue-5
Tl	muai-2	—	huai-3	phuai-6

2.8 *au

	Fuan	a	Kienow	au
	Foochow	a	Kienyang	au
	Amoy	a	Yungan	o
	Kityang	a	Tsianglo	au
	<i>glue</i>	<i>foot n.</i>	<i>fry</i>	<i>teach</i>
Fa	ka-1	kha-1	tsha-3	ka-5
Fc	ka-1	kha-1	tsha-3	ka-5
Am	ka-1	kha-1	tsha-3	ka-5
Kt	ka-1	kha-1	tsha-3	ka-5
Ko	kau-1	khau-1	tshau-3	kau-5
Ky	kau-1	khau-1	thau-3	xau-1
Ya	ko-1	kho-1	tsho-3	ko-5
Tl	kau-1	khau-1	tshau-3	kau-5

2.9 *ai

This final exhibits somewhat different developments depending on tone. In words of tonal category C, the following reflexes are found:

	Fuan	ai	Kienow	ue
	Foochow	ai	Kienyang	ue
	Amoy	ua	Yungan	uo
	Kityang	ua	Tsianglo	ai
	<i>belt</i>	<i>Tsai (surname)(蔡)</i>	<i>cover</i>	
Fa	tai-5	tshai-5	kai-5	
Fc	tai-5	tshai-5	kai-5	
Am	tua-5	tshua-5	kua-5	
Kt	tua-5	tshua-5	kua-5	
Ko	tue-5	tshue-5	kue-5	
Ky	tue-5	thue-5	kue-5	
Ya	tuo-5	(tsha-5)	kuo-5	
Tl	tai-5	tshai-5	(kuai-5)	

Reflexes with other tonal categories are shown by the following examples:

Fuan	o	Kienow	ue
------	---	--------	----

	Foochow	ai	Kienyang	ue
	Amoy	ua	Yungan	uo
	Kityang	ua	Tsianglo	ai
	<i>drag</i>	<i>sand</i>	<i>hamper</i> (籬)	
Fa	tho-1	so-1	lo-2	
Fc	(thua-1)	sai-1	lai-2	
Am	thua-1	sua-1	lua-2	
Kt	thua-1	sua-1	lua-2	
Ko	thue-1	sue-1	sue-5	
Ky	hue-1	sue-1	sue-2	
Ya	thuo-1	suo-1	suo-2	
Tl	thai-1	sai-1	šai-9	

There is reason to suspect that PM *ai may have come from an earlier *a plus some final consonant. Compare the strikingly parallel development of the following three finals:

	*an	*at	*ai
Amoy	uā	uaʔ	ua
Kityang	uā	uaʔ	ua
Kienow	ueŋ	ue	ue
Kienyang	ueŋ	ue	ue

These correspondences suggest that *ai comes from *a plus some final dental consonant. The most likely candidate seems to be *l since it shares the same point of articulation with *n and *t; it furthermore would explain the -ai of Foochow and Tsianglo, since syllable final -l readily vocalizes to -i. It is further possible that the somewhat divergent development of this final in tonal category C was originally due to another, different ending consonant.

2.10 *au

	Fuan	o	Kienow	au
	Foochow	o	Kienyang	au
	Amoy	o	Yungan	au
	Kityang	o	Tsianglo	o
	<i>knife</i>	<i>not have</i>	<i>peach</i>	<i>hat</i>
Fa	tɔ-1	mɔ-2	thɔ-2	mɔ-6
Fc	to-1	mo-2	tho-2	mo-6
Am	to-1	bo-2	tho-2	bo-6
Kt	to-1	bo-2	tho-2	bo-6
Ko	tau-1	mau-3	thau-5	mau-6
Ky	tau-1	mau-9	hau-2	mau-6
Ya	taw-1	maw-2	thaw-2	maw-5
Tl	to-1	mo-6	tho-9	mo-6

2.11 *ie

	Fuan	i	Kienow	i, ai
	Foochow	ie	Kienyang	ie, ai
	Amoy	i, ue	Yungan	e
	Kityang	i, oi	Tsianglo	ie,e
	<i>chicken</i>	<i>weep</i>	<i>younger brother</i>	<i>shave</i>
Fa	ki-1	thi-2,	ti-6	thi-5
Fc	kie-1	thie-2	tie-6	thie-5
Am	kue-11	thi-2	ti-6	thi-5
Kt	koi-1	thi-2	ti-4	thi-5
Ko	kai-1	thi-2	ti-6	thi-5
Ky	kai-1	hie-2	tie-5	hie-5
Ya	ke-1	the-2	te-4	the-5
Tl	ke-1	(thi-9)	thie-9	thie-5

Note that the Fa correspondence for this final is different from that for *i—i/ei. In all the dialects except Fuan and Foochow, *ie appears to have lost its medial *i after velars and then to have merged with PM *e (cf. § 1.3).

2.12 *io

Fuan	u	Kienow	y
Foochow	uo, io	Kienyang	o, y
Amoy	ɔ, u	Yungan	u, y
Kityang	ou, u	Tsianglo	y

Foochow has uo after labials, velars and glottals, io elsewhere. Amoy has ɔ after labials, velars and glottals, u elsewhere. Kityang has ou after labials, velars, and glottals, u elsewhere. Kienyang has o after labials, y elsewhere. Yungan has u after glottals, y elsewhere.

Reflexes after labials, velars, and glottals:

	<i>ax</i>	<i>dried stuffs</i>	<i>rain</i>	<i>taro</i>
Fa	pu-3	pu-3	hu-6	wu-6
Fc	puo-3	—	huo-6	uo-6
Am	po-3	po-3	ho-6	ɔ-6
Kt	pou-3	pou-3	hou-4	ou-6
Ko	py-5	py-3	xy-6	y-6
Ky	po-3	—	xy-5	y-6
Ya	pu-3	pu-3	hu-4	u-5
Tl	(pi-3)	—	fy-3	(io-6)

Examples after dentals and alveopalatals:

	<i>lose</i>	<i>kitchen</i>	<i>master</i>	<i>house</i>
Fa	su-1	tu-2	tsu-3	tshu-5
Fc	sio-1	tio-2	tsio-3	tshio-5

Am	su-1	tu-2	tsu-3	tshu-5
Kt	su-1	tu-2	tsu-3	tshu-5
Ko	sy-1	ty-5	tsy-3	(tshio-5)
Ky	sy-1	ty-2	tsy-3	(tshio-5)
Ya	šy-1	ty-2	tšy-3	(tšhw-5)
Tl	šy-1	thy-2	tšy-3	(tšho-5)

The WM words for 'house' are irregular (? loans from Eastern Min).

2.13 *ia

	Fuan	e	Kienow	ia
	Foochow	ia	Kienyang	ia
	Amoy	ia	Yungan	io, ɔ
	Kityang	ia	Tsianglo	ia
	<i>write</i>	<i>oblique</i>	<i>sugarcane</i>	<i>thank</i>
Fa	se-3	tshe-2	tse-5	se-6
Fc	sia-3	sia-2	tsia-5	sia-6
Am	sia-3	tshia-2	tsia-5	sia-6
Kt	sia-3	sia-2	tsia-5	sia-6
Ko	sia-3	tsia-3	tsia-5	sia-6
Ky	sia-3	lia-9	tsia-5	lia-6
Ya	sio-3	tsio-2	tšio-5	sio-5
Tl	sia-3	tshia-2	tšia-5	tshia-6

In Yungan, the medial i of this final is lost after the alveopalatals.

2.14 *ua

	Fuan	o	Kienow	ua
	Foochow	ua	Kienyang	ua
	Amoy	ue	Yungan	uo
	Kityang	ue	Tsianglo	ua, a, va
	<i>melon</i>	<i>flower</i>	<i>picture</i>	<i>speech</i>
Fa	ko-1	ho-1	wo-6	wo-6
Fc	kua-1	hua-1	ua-6	ua-6
Am	kue-1	hue-1	(ui-6)	ue-6
Kt	kue-1	hue-1	ue-6	ue-6
Ko	kua-1	xua-1	ua-4	ua-6
Ky	kua-1	xua-1	ua-5	ua-6
Ya	kuo-1	huo-5	huo-5	uo-5
Tl	kua-1	fa-1	fa-6	va-6

Tsianglo fa comes from an earlier *hua; ua derives from an earlier *ua. In the Western Min dialects, the forms under 'speech' are generally verbs and mean 'to speak, to say'.

2.15 *ia

Fuan	e	Kienow	i
Foochow	io	Kienyang	io
Amoy	io	Yungan	iɯ
Kityang	io	Tsianglo	io

There is only one example of this final: 'eggplant': Fa ke-2, Fc kio-2, Am kio-2, Kt kio-2, Ko kio-2, Ky kio-2, Ya kiɯ-2, Tl khio-2. This word is probably of foreign origin (cf. Thai ma-khīa) and a relatively late loan word in the Min dialects.

2.16 *uə

	Fuan	œ	Kienow	u, y
	Foochow	φ	Kienyang	o
	Amoy	ue	Yungan	au
	Kityang	o	Tsianglo	u, y
	<i>comb</i>	<i>sparse</i>	<i>beginning</i>	<i>flax</i>
Fa	sœ-1	sœ-1	tshœ-1	tœ-6
Fc	sφ-1	sφ-1	tshφ-1	tφ-6
Am	sue-1	sue-1	tshue-1	tue-6
Kt	—	so-1	tsho-1	—
Ko	su-1	su-1	tshu-1	ty-4
Ky	so-1	so-1	tho-1	—
Ya	sau-1	sau-1	tshau-1	tau-4
Tl	šu-1	šu-1	tshu-1	thy-9

This final is of very restricted occurrence; it is found only following the dentals, alveolars, and alveopalatals. Tsianglo has u following the alveopalatals, y elsewhere.

2.17 *ye

	Fuan	ui	Kienow	ye
	Foochow	ui	Kienyang	ye, ui
	Amoy	e	Yungan	ye, ue
	Kityang	ue	Tsianglo	φ
	<i>fly v.</i>	<i>blow</i>	<i>crisp</i>	<i>younger sister</i>
Fa	pui-1	tshui-1	tshui-5	mui-5
Fc	pui-1	tshui-1	tshui-5	mui-5
Am	pe-1	tshe-1	tshe-5	be-6
Kt	pue-1	tshue-1	(tshui-5)	muā-6
Ko	ye-3	tshye-1	—	mye-6
Ky	ye-9	tshye-1	tshye-5	mui-6
Ya	pue-1	tshye-1	tshue-5	mue-5
Tl	phφ-9	tshφ-1	tshφ-5	mφ-5

Kienyang has ui after labials, ye elsewhere; Yungan has ye after alveopalatals, ue elsewhere.

3. Triphthongs

The following six triphthongs are reconstructed for Proto-Min.

3.1 *iau

	Fuan	iu	Kienow	iau
	Foochow	iu	Kienyang	io
	Amoy	io	Yungan	iu, u
	Kityang	io	Tsianglo	iau
	<i>pepper</i>	<i>duckweed</i>	<i>few</i>	<i>laugh</i>
Fa	tsiu-1	phiu-2	tsiu-3	tshiu-5
Fc	tsiu-1	phiu-2	tsiu-3	tshiu-5
Am	tsio-1	phio-2	tsio-3	tshio-5
Kt	tsio-1	phio-2	tsio-3	tshio-5
Ko	tsiau-1	phiau-5	siau-3	siau-5
Ky	tsio-1	phio-2	sio-3	sio-5
Ya	tsiu-1	phiu-2	šiu-3	tšiu-5
Tl	tsiau-1	phiau-9	šiau-3	tšiau-5

In Yungan the medial i of this final is dropped after the alveopalatal initials.

3.2 *iai

	Fuan	e	Kienow	ye
	Foochow	ie	Kienyang	ye
	Amoy	ia, ua	Yungan	ya
	Kityang	ia, ua	Tsianglo	ie, e
	<i>snake</i>	<i>paper</i>	<i>stand v.</i>	<i>mail v.</i>
Fa	se-2	tse-3	khe-6	ke-5
Fc	sie-2	(tsai-3)	khie-6	kie-5
Am	tsua-2	tsua-3	khia-6	kia-5
Kt	tsua-2	tsua-3	khia-4	kia-5
Ko	ye-5	tsye-3	kye-4	kye-5
Ky	ye-2	tsye-3	kye-5	kye-5
Ya	šya-2	tšya-3	khya-4	kya-5
Tl	še-2	tše-3	khie-9	(ki-5)

In Amoy and Kityang the medial i of this final drops after sibilant initials and develops as shown. In Tsianglo the medial i drops after alveopalatal initials. (If it should be established that PM *ai derives from earlier *al, then this final could also be derived from *ial.)

3.3 *uai

Fuan	ɸi/ɔi	Kienow	o
Foochow	ɸi/oi	Kienyang	ui

	Amoy	ui	Yungan	uei
	Kityang	ui	Tsianglo	uei
	<i>pile</i>	<i>thunder</i>	<i>thigh</i>	<i>opposite</i>
Fa	tɔi-1	(lai-2)	thɔi-3	tɔi-5
Fc	tɔi-1	(lai-2)	thɔi-3	toi-5
Am	tui-1	lui-2	thui-3	tui-5
Kt	tui-1	lui-2	thui-3	tui-5
Ko	to-1	so-5	tho-3	to-5
Ky	tui-1	sui-2	hui-3	tui-5
Ya	tuei-1	(lue-2)	thuei-3	tuei-5
Tl	tuei-1	(lue-2)	thuei-3	tuei-5

This final occurs only after the dental and alveolar initials. There are few absolutely consistent examples of it due perhaps to contamination of literary forms.

3.4 *uəi

	Fuan	—	Kienow	o
	Foochow	ui	Kienyang	ui
	Amoy	ue	Yungan	ue
	Kityang	oi	Tsianglo	uai
	<i>steps</i>	<i>alter, correct</i>		

Fa	—	(kai-3)
Fc	—	kui-3
Am	kue-1	kue-3
Kt	koi-1	koi-3
Ko	ko-1	(kai-3)
Ky	kui-1	(kai-3)
Ya	kue-1	(ka-3)
Tl	—	kuai-3

This initial is set up on an ad hoc basis to account for these two correspondence sets.

3.5 *uai

	Fuan	o	Kienow	ue
	Foochow	uai	Kienyang	ue, oi
	Amoy	ua	Yungan	uo
	Kityang	ua	Tsianglo	ai
	<i>hemp</i>	<i>I, me</i>	<i>broken</i>	<i>large</i>
Fa	mo-2	ɲo-3	pho-5	tɔ-6
Fc	muai-3	ɲuai-3	phuai-5	tuai-6
Am	muā-2	gua-3	phua-5	tua-6
Kt	muā-2	ua-3	phua-5	tua-6

Ko	muε-5	uε-4	phuε-5	tuε-6
Ky	moi-2	ηue-9	phoi-5	tue-6
Ya	muo-2	ηuo-1	phuo-5	(tɔ-5)
Tl	mai-9	ηai-9	phai-5	thai-6

The nasalized vowels in the Am and Kt forms are an automatic result of the nasal initial. Kienyang has oi after labials; ue elsewhere. (This final, like *ai, may go to an earlier *ual or *al.)

3.6 *yəi

	Fuan	i/ϕi	Kienow	ye
	Foochow	ui	Kienyang	ye
	Amoy	ui	Yungan	ue
	Kityang	ui	Tsianglo	ϕ
	<i>open</i>	<i>hungry</i>		
Fa	khϕi-1	kϕi-1		
Fc	khui-1	kui-1		
Am	khui-1	—		
Kt	khui-1	—		
Ko	khyε-1	kyε-3		
Ky	khye-1	ye-9		
Ya	khue-1	kue-1		
Tl	(khuai-1)	khϕ-9		

This final is set up on an ad hoc basis to account for these two forms.

4. Finals Ending in * m, * p

Proto-Min had finals ending in eight different consonants: m, p, n, t, η, k. In general, finals ending in homorganic consonants (m and p, n and t, η and k) behaved in very similar ways; in this and the following two sections, such pairs will be given together, first the final ending in the nasal, then the final ending in the corresponding oral stop.

4.1 *im; *ip

	Fuan	im/em	ep	
	Foochow	iŋ/eiŋ	ik/eik	
	Amoy	im	ip	
	Kityang	im	ip	
	Kienow	eŋ	i	
	Kienyang	oiŋ, iŋ	oi, i	
	Yungan	iā, ā	i, 1	
	Tsianglo	iŋ	i	
	<i>heart</i>	<i>gold</i>	<i>aunt</i>	<i>enter</i>
Fa	sem-1	kem-1	kem-6	—
Fc	siŋ-1	kiŋ-1	keiŋ-6	—

Am	sim-1	kim-1	kim-6	dzip-8
Kt	sim-1	kim-1	kim-4	zip-8
Ko	seŋ-1	keŋ-1	keŋ-4	ni-4
Ky	soiŋ-1	kiŋ-1	kiŋ-5	noi-8
Ya	sā-1	kiā-1	kiā-4	ni-4
Tl	siŋ-1	kiŋ-1	khŋ-6	ŋi-8

Kienyang has iŋ (i) after PM velars and alveopalatals, oiŋ (oi) elsewhere. Yungan has iā after PM velars, ā elsewhere; for *ip Yungan has ɿ after PM alveopalatals, i elsewhere. There are few examples of *ip which are both of popular origin and widely used in the dialects; Fuan, Foochow employ totally different words for 'enter': Fa ti-3, Fc tie-3.

4.2 *em; *ep

After PM dentals:

	Fuan	em/ɛm	ɛp	
	Foochow	eiŋ/aŋ	eik/aik	
	Amoy	iam	iap	
	Kityang	iam	iap	
	Kienow	aŋ	a	
	Kienyang	aŋ	a	
	Yungan	i	a	
	Tsianglo	aŋ	a	
	<i>spot</i>	<i>shop</i>	<i>recite</i>	<i>paste up</i>
Fa	tem-3	tɛm-5	nɛm-6	thɛp-7
Fc	teiŋ-3	taiŋ-5	naiŋ-6	thaiŋ-7
Am	tiam-3	tiam-5	liam-6	thiap-7
Kt	tiam-3	tiam-5	niam-6	thiap-7
Ko	taŋ-3	taŋ-5	naŋ-6	tha-7
Ky	taŋ-3	taŋ-5	naŋ-6	ha-7
Ya	tĩ-3	tĩ-5	nĩ-5	tha-7
Tl	taŋ-3	taŋ-5	(nieŋ-6)	tha-3

After PM alveopalatals:

Fuan	em/ɛm	ɛp
Foochow	eiŋ/aŋ	eik/aik
Amoy	(i)am	(i)ap
Kityang	am	ap
Kienow	eŋ	i
Kienyang	iŋ	i
Yungan	ā	i
Tsianglo	iŋ	i
<i>needle</i>	<i>juice</i>	<i>ten</i>

Fa	tsem-1	tsep-7	sep-8
Fc	tseiŋ-1	tsaik-7	seik-8
Am	tsiam-1	tsiap-7	tsap-8
Kt	tsam-1	tsap-7	tsap-8
Ko	tseŋ-1	tsi-7	si-6
Ky	tsiŋ-1	tsi-7	si-8
Ya	tšā-1	tsi-7	si-4
Tl	tšŋ-1	tši-3	ši-8

This reconstruction seems appropriate in light of the Eastern Min reflexes even though the Western Min forms suggest a higher vowel. There are examples of PM *im/*ip after the alveopalatals, however, so it is not possible to derive these forms from *im/*ip; e.g. 'deep': Fa tshem-1, Fc tshiŋ-1, Am tshim-1, Kt tshim-1, Ko tseŋ-1, Ky tshiŋ-1, Ya tšā-1, Tl (tšhiuŋ-1).

There are two examples with velar initials which may also belong to this final although the Western Min reflexes seem rather aberrant:

	<i>salty</i>	<i>reduce</i>
Fa	kem-2	kem-3
Fc	keiŋ-2	keiŋ-3
Am	kiam-2	kiam-3
Kt	kiam-2	kiam-3
Ko	keŋ-3	kaŋ-3
Ky	kiŋ-9	kaŋ-3
Ya	kim-2	kɔ-3
Tl	hāi-2	kaŋ-3

4.3 *əm; *əp

		<i>south</i>	<i>hold in the mouth</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>dove</i>
Fa	Fuan	am	am	am-5	kap-7
Fc	Foochow	aŋ	aŋ	aŋ-5	kak-7
Am	Amoy	am	am	am-5	kap-7
Kt	Kityang	am	am	am-5	kap-7
Ko	Kienow	aŋ, oŋ	aŋ, oŋ	oŋ-5	kɔ-7
Ky	Kienyang	aŋ, ɔŋ	aŋ, ɔŋ	oŋ-5	kɔ-7
	Yungan	ɔ, ɔm	ɔ, ɔm	oŋ-5	kɔ-7
	Tsianglo	aŋ, oŋ	aŋ, oŋ	oŋ-5	kɔ-7

Ya	n5-2	(kīm-2)	ǝm-5	kɯ-7
Tl	naŋ-2	(fuŋ-2)	oŋ-5	ko-3

There are few good examples of this final that are well attested in a majority of dialects, but it is clearly necessary to account for words in Southern Min having the final -am; some of these words are undoubtedly of popular origin: e.g., 'wet': Fa tam-2, Am tam-2, Kt tam-2. This word is etymologically obscure and cannot be considered a loan from any Chinese source.

For 'hold in the mouth' Amoy has an alternate form kǎ-2. Yungan has ǝm with the zero initial and ɜ elsewhere.

4.4 *am *ap

	Fuan	em/ɛp	ɛp	
	Foochow	eiŋ/aŋ	eik/aik	
	Amoy	eŋ	ueɤ	
	Kityang	ǎi	oiɤ	
	Kienow	aŋ	a	
	Kienyang	aŋ	a	
	Yungan	am	a	
	Tsianglo	aŋ	a	
	<i>silkworm</i>	<i>cover v.</i>	<i>pinch</i>	<i>narrow</i>
Fa	tshem-2	khem-5	(kiep-8)	ɛp-8
Fc	tsheŋ-2	khaiŋ-5	keik-8	—
Am	tshen-2	(kham-5)	kueɤ-8	ueɤ-8
Kt	tshǎi-2	khǎi-5	koiɤ-8	oiɤ-8
Ko	tshaŋ-5	—	(kie-6)	—
Ky	thaŋ-2	—	ka-8	—
Ya	tham-2	—	—	a-4
Tl	tshaŋ-9	—	—	ha-8

These two finals are very poorly attested. In the Southern Min dialects as well as in Foochow the reflexes are the same as those for *an/*at, indicating that these two sets of finals merged at a relatively early point.

4.5 *am; *ap

	Fuan	am	ap	
	Foochow	aŋ	ak	
	Amoy	ǎ	aɤ	
	Kityang	ǎ	aɤ	
	Kienow	aŋ, oŋ	a	
	Kienyang	aŋ, ɔŋ	a, ɔ	
	Yungan	ɜ, am	ɔ, au	
	Tsianglo	aŋ, oŋ	a, o	
	<i>three</i>	<i>basket</i>	<i>dare</i>	<i>fit, agree</i>

Fa	sam-1	lam-2	kam-3	hap-8
Fc	saŋ-1	laŋ-2	kaŋ-3	hak-8
Am	sā-1	nā-2	kā-3	haʔ-8
Kt	sā-1	nā-2	kā-3	haʔ-8
Ko	saŋ-1	saŋ-5	koŋ-3	xɔ-6
Ky	saŋ-1	saŋ-2	koŋ-3	xɔ-8
Ya	sɔ-1	sɔ-2	kam-3	haɯ-4
Tl	saŋ-1	šaŋ-9	koŋ-3	ho-8

In the Western Min dialects PM *am becomes Ko oŋ, Ky ɔŋ, Ya am, Tl oŋ after velar initials. Likewise, PM *ap becomes Ko ɔ, Ky ɔ, Ya aɯ, Tl o after velar and glottal initials. For the development of PM *ap after other initials, cf. 'answer': Fa tap-7, Fc tak-7, Am taʔ -7, Kt (tap-7), Ko ta-7, Ky ta-7, Ya tɔ -7, Tl ta-7.

4.6 *iam; *iap

	Fuan	im	ip	
	Foochow	ieŋ	iek	
	Amoy	ĩ	iʔ	
	Kityang	ĩ	iʔ	
	Kienow	ieŋ	ie	
	Kienyang	ieŋ	ie	
	Yungan	(i)ě	ie	
	Tsianglo	ieŋ	ie	
	<i>pincers</i>	<i>salt</i>	<i>dye v.</i>	<i>receive</i>
Fa	khim-2	sim-2	nim-3	tsip-7
Fc	(khiŋ-2)	sieŋ-2	nieŋ-3	tsiek-7
Am	khĩ-2	sĩ-2	nĩ-3	tsiʔ-7
Kt	khĩ-2	(iam-2)	nĩ-3	tsiʔ-7
Ko	khieŋ-5	ieŋ-2	nieŋ-3	tsie-7
Ky	khieŋ-2	ieŋ-2	nieŋ-3	tsie-7
Ya	khě-2	iě-2	niě-3	tse-7
Tl	khieŋ-2	ieŋ-2	nieŋ-9	tsie-7

In Amoy the usual word for 'salt' is iam-2; the form cited occurs in the phrase iam-2 sĩ-2 "a white encrustation that forms on walls or clothes that have been damp (esp. by salt water) or on salted fish, etc." (Douglas 1899: 424). The other forms lacking initial s are of literary origin. Yungan has iě after the zero initial and ŋ-, ě elsewhere.

4.7 *iam; *iap

Fuan	iem	iep
Foochow	iaŋ	iak
Amoy	iā	iaʔ
Kityang	iā	iaʔ

	Kienow	iaŋ	ia	
	Kienyang	iaŋ	ia	
	Yungan	iʃ	iʃ	
	Tsianglo	iaŋ	ia	
	<i>lure v.</i>	<i>insipid</i>	<i>wave v.</i>	<i>clogs</i>
Fa	siem-2	tsiem-3	jiɛp-8	kiɛp-8
Fc	—	tsiaŋ-3	iak-8	khiak-8
Am	siã-2	tsiã-3	(iet-8)	kiaɿ-8
Kt	—	tsiã-3	iaɿ-8	kiaɿ-8
Ko	tshiaŋ-5	tsiaŋ-3	ia-4	kia-4
Ky	siaŋ-2	liaŋ-3	ia-8	kia-8
Ya	—	tsiʃ-3	iʃ-4	kiʃ-4
Tl	siaŋ-9	tshiaŋ-9	(ie-8)	khia-8

The Am and Tl forms for 'wave v.' may belong to an entirely different etymon. The Yungan reflex for *iap can also be seen in the word for 'wing': Fa siɛp-8, Ya siʃ-4.

4.8 *m

Proto-Min had a single syllabic nasal. This was the common preverbal negator corresponding in function to Standard Chinese bù. In the WM dialects, it has generally developed a prothetic vowel: Fa m-6, Fc ŋ-6, Am m-6, Kt m-4, Ko eŋ-6, Ky oiŋ-5~oŋ-5, Ya aʷ-5, Tl ŋ-6.

5. Finals ending in *n and *t

Finals ending in *n and *t outnumber both those ending in *m/*p and those ending in *ŋ/*k. Final *n and *t occur with all the PM vowels except *e. Moreover, unlike the finals ending in labial consonants, these finals are usually well-supplied with examples and their reflexes tend to be quite regular in the modern dialects.

5.1 *in; *it

	Fuan	in/en	et	
	Foochow	iŋ/eiŋ	ik/eik	
	Amoy	in	it	
	Kityang	eŋ	ek	
	Kienow	eŋ	i	
	Kienyang	iŋ, oiŋ	i, oi	
	Yungan	ã	i	
	Tsianglo	iŋ	i	
	<i>new</i>	<i>cold</i>	<i>recognize</i>	<i>pen</i>
Fa	sen-1	tshen-5	nen-6	pet-7
Fc	siŋ-1	tsheiŋ-5	neiŋ-6	peik-7

Am	sin-1	tshin-5	dzin-6	pit-7
Kt	seŋ-1	tshen-5	zen-6	pek-7
Ko	seŋ-1	tshen-5	nen-6	pi-7
Ky	soiŋ-1	thoiŋ-5	noiŋ-6	poi-7
Ya	sā-1	—	nā-5	pi-7
Tl	siŋ-1	tshiŋ-5	niŋ-6	pi-3

Kienyang has iŋ (i) after PM alveopalatals, velars, and glottals, oiŋ (oi) elsewhere. An example of *in with an alveopalatal initial is 'true': Fa tsen-1, Fc tsiŋ-1, Am tsin-1, Kt tseŋ-1, Ko tseŋ-1, Ky tsiŋ-1, Ya tšā-1, Tl tšīŋ-1.

5.2 *yn; *yt

	Fuan	in/ɸn	ɸk	
	Foochow	yŋ/ɸiŋ	yk/ɸik	
	Amoy	un	it	
	Kityang	eŋ	ek	
	Kienow	yeŋ	—	
	Kienyang	yeŋ	—	
	Yungan	uā	—	
	Tsianglo	ɸ̃	—	
	<i>sinew</i>	<i>root</i>	<i>near</i>	<i>viscous</i>
Fa	kɸn-1	kɸn-1	kɸn-6	kɸk-8
Fc	kyŋ-1	kyŋ-1	kɸiŋ-6	kyk-8
Am	kun-1	kun-1	kun-6	kit-8
Kt	keŋ-1	keŋ-1	keŋ-4	kek-8
Ko	kyeŋ-1	kyeŋ-1	kyeŋ-6	—
Ky	kyeŋ-1	kyeŋ-1	kyeŋ-5	—
Ya	kuā-1	kuā-1	kuā-4	—
Tl	kɸ̃-1	(kai-1)	(khɸ̃-9)	—

These finals occur only after velars. There are very few examples of *yt and they are limited to the eastern dialects.

5.3 *un; *ut

	Fuan	ɔn	ɔt	
	Foochow	ouŋ/auŋ	ouk/auk	
	Amoy	un	ut	
	Kityang	uŋ	uk	
	Kienow	oŋ	o	
	Kienyang	uŋ	ui	
	Yungan	uā	uei	
	Tsianglo	uāi	uei	
	<i>swallow v.</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>bone</i>	<i>slippery</i>
Fa	thən-1	khən-5	kɔt-7	kɔt-8

Fc	thouŋ-1	khaŋ-5	kauk-7	kouk-8
Am	thun-1	khun-5	kut-7	kut-8
Kt	thuŋ-1	khun-5	kuk-7	kuk-8
Ko	thoŋ-1	—	ko-7	ko-4
Ky	huŋ-1	—	kui-7	kui-8
Ya	thuā-1	—	kuei-7	kuei-4
Tl	thuāi-1	—	kuei-9	kuei-8

The word for 'sleep' given here occurs only in Eastern Min; the western dialects use various other forms. The Kt form for 'sleep' is quite regular, but the common word used for this notion in Kityang is i-4.

5.4 *ən; *ət

	Fuan	en/ɛn	et	
	Foochow	eiŋ/aiŋ	eik/aik	
	Amoy	an	at	
	Kityang	aŋ	ak	
	Kienow	aiŋ	ɛ	
	Kienyang	aiŋ	e	
	Yungan	ĩ	a	
	Tsianglo	āi	a	
	<i>field</i>	<i>slow</i>	<i>dense</i>	<i>thief</i>
Fa	tshen-2	men-2	met-8	tshet-8
Fc	tsheiq-2	maiŋ-6	meik-8	tsheik-8
Am	tshan-2	ban-6	bat-8	tshat-8
Kt	tshaŋ-2	maŋ-6	bak-8	tshak-8
Ko	tshaiŋ-5	maiŋ-6	mɛ-4	tshe-6
Ky	thaiŋ-2	maiŋ-6	me-8	the-8
Ya	tshĩ-2	mĩ-5	ma-4	tsha-4
Tl	tshāi-9	māi-6	(me-8)	tsha-5

In addition to these pure examples of *an/*at, there are numerous mixed cases where for a single etymon some forms derive from PM *ən/*ət and others from *in/*it; e.g., for 'strength' some dialects have forms going back to PM *lit (Fa let-8, Fc lik-8, Ya li-4) but others have forms deriving from Pm *lɛt (Am lat-8, Ky le-8). This situation is similar to that for *i and *ei; cf. 2.5. The following examples are further illustrations of this situation.

	<i>vase</i>	<i>fish scale</i>	<i>wait</i>	<i>straight</i>
Fa	pen-2	len-2	(tioŋ-3)	tet-8
Fc	piŋ-2	liŋ-2	tiŋ-3	tik-8
Am	pan-2	lan-2	tan-3	tit-8
Kt	paŋ-2	laŋ-2	taŋ-3	tek-3
Ko	paiŋ-3	saiŋ-5	taiŋ-3	tɛ-6
Ky	vaiŋ-9	saiŋ-2	taiŋ-3	te-8

Ya	pĩ-2	šĩ-2	tĩ-3	ti-4
Tl	phai-2	šai-2	tai-3	thi-8

5.5. *on; *ot

After labial initials:

	Fuan	un	ut	
	Foochow	uoŋ	uok	
	Amoy	ŋ	e?	
	Kityang	ŋ	ue?	
	Kienow	oŋ	—	
	Kienyang	uŋ	ui	
	Yungan	uā	uei	
	Tsianglo	un	—	
	<i>door</i>	<i>ask</i>	<i>volume</i>	<i>scum, froth</i>
Fa	mun-2	mun-5	pun-3	phut-8
Fc	muoŋ-2	muoŋ-5	puoŋ-3	phuok-8
Am	mŋ-2	mŋ-6	(pun-3)	phe?-8
Kt	mŋ-2	mŋ-6	pŋ-3	phue?-8
Ko	moŋ-5	moŋ-6	poŋ-3	—
Ky	muŋ-2	muŋ-6	puŋ-3	phui-8
Ta	muā-2	(mūi-5)	puā-3	phuei-4
Tl	mun-2	mun-5	pun-3	—

After other initials:

	Fuan	on/ɔn	ot	
	Foochow	ouŋ/auŋ	ouk/auk	
	Amoy	ŋ	e?	
	Kityang	ŋ	o?	
	Kienow	oŋ	—	
	Kienyang	uŋ	ue	
	Yungan	ūm	uo	
	Tsianglo	uāi	—	
	<i>sour</i>	<i>break</i>	<i>take off</i>	<i>seize</i>
Fa	sɔn-1	tɔn-6	thɔn-5	tɔt-8
Fc	souŋ-1	toŋ-3	thaŋ-5	touk-8
Am	sŋ-1	tŋ-6	thŋ-5	te?-8
Kt	sŋ-1	tŋ-4	thŋ-5	to?-8
Ko	soŋ-1	toŋ-6	thoŋ-5	—
Ky	suŋ-1	tuŋ-5	huŋ-5	lue-8
Ya	sūm-1	tūm-4	—	—
Tl	suāi-1	thuāi-9	thuāi-5	—

There are very few examples of PM *ot; perhaps the word for 'brush' should

be added here as an example of a special development of *ot after the alveopalatals:
Fa sɔt-7, Fc sauk-7 Am seɿ-7, Kt sueɿ-7, Ko so-7, Ky sui-7, Ya suei-7, Tl šuei-7.

5.6 *an; *at

	Fuan	en/ɛn	et	
	Foochow	eiŋ/aiŋ	eik/aik	
	Amoy	eŋ	ueɿ	
	Kityang	āi	oiɿ	
	Kienow	aiŋ	ai	
	Kienyang	aiŋ	ai	
	Yungan	ĩ	a	
	Tsianglo	āi	a	
	<i>thousand</i>	<i>leisure</i>	<i>turn over</i>	<i>festival</i>
Fa	tshen-1	ɛn-2	pen-3	tsɛt-7
Fc	(tshien-1)	eiŋ-2	peiŋ-3	tsaik-7
Am	tsheŋ-1	eŋ-2	peŋ-3	tsueɿ-7
Kt	tshāi-1	āi-2	pāi-3	tsoiɿ-7
Ko	tshaiŋ-1	aiŋ-3	paiŋ-3	tsai-7
Ky	thaiŋ-1	(xaiŋ-2)	vaiŋ-3	tsai-7
Ya	(tshē-1)	ĩ-2	pĩ-3	tsa-7
Tl	tshāi-1	hāi-2	phāi-9	tsa-3

5.7 *an; *at

	Fuan	an	at	
	Foochow	aŋ	ak	
	Amoy	uā	uaɿ	
	Kityang	uā	uaɿ	
	Kienow	ueŋ	ue	
	Kienyang	ueŋ	ue	
	Yungan	ũm	uo	
	Tsianglo	āi, uāi	ai, uai	
	<i>mountain</i>	<i>charcoal</i>	<i>rotten</i>	<i>dolichos</i> (葛)
Fa	san-1	than-5	lan-6	kat-7
Fc	saŋ-1	thaŋ-5	laŋ-6	kak-7
Am	suā-1	thuā-5	nuā-6	kuaɿ-7
Kt	suā-1	thuā-5	nuā-6	kuaɿ-7
Ko	sueŋ-1	thueŋ-5	lueŋ-6	kue-7
Ky	sueŋ-1	hueŋ-5	lueŋ-6	kue-7
Ya	sũm-1	thũm-5	nũm-6	kuo-7
Tl	šuai-1	thāi-5	lāi-6	kuai-7

Tsianglo has uāi (uai) after labiodentals (< *hũ-), velars, and alveopalatals and āi (ai) elsewhere.

5.8 *iun; *iut

	Fuan	un/on	ok	
	Foochow	uŋ/ouŋ	uk/ouk	
	Amoy	un	ut	
	Kityang	uŋ	uk	
	Kienow	oiŋ	y	
	Kienyang	eŋ	y	
	Yungan	uā	yi	
	Tsianglo	yn, un	y	
	<i>spring</i>	<i>cloud</i>	<i>bamboo shoot</i>	<i>go out</i>
Fa	tshon-1	hon-2	sun-3	tshok-7
Fc	tshuŋ-1	huŋ-2	suŋ-3	tshouk-7
Am	tshun-1	hun-2	sun-3	tshut-7
Kt	tshuŋ-1	huŋ-2	suŋ-3	tshuk-7
Ko	tshoiŋ-1	oiŋ-3	soiŋ-3	tshy-7
Ky	theŋ-1	eŋ-9	seŋ-3	tshy-7
Ya	tshuā-1	uā-2	suā-3	tshyi-7
Tl	tšhyn-1	fyn-2	sun-3	tshy-3

Tsianglo has yn after alveopalatals and velars, un elsewhere. Note: Tl fyn-2 'cloud' derives from an earlier *hyn.

5.9 *ion; *iot

Reflexes after Labials:

	Fuan	un	ut	
	Foochow	uoŋ	uok	
	Amoy	ŋ	u?	
	Kityang	ŋ	—	
	Kienow	yeŋ	u, (yε)	
	Kienyang	uŋ	oi	
	Yungan	ŭm	ue	
	Tsianglo	ϕ	—	
	<i>share</i>	<i>food</i>	<i>emit (發)</i>	<i>hair</i>
Fa	pun-1	pun-6	put-6	put-7
Fc	puoŋ-1	puoŋ-6	puok-7	puok-7
Am	(pun-1)	pŋ-6	pu?-7	—
Kt	(puŋ-1)	pŋ-6	—	—
Ko	pyeŋ-1	pyeŋ-6	pue-7	pue-7
Ky	puŋ-1	puŋ-6	voi-3	—
Ya	pŭm-1	pŭm-5	pue-7	pue-7
Tl	pϕ-1	phϕ-6	—	—

The Am and Kt forms for 'share' are probably of semi-literary origin. The

Ko forms for 'emit' and 'hair' are as I recorded them; the *Jianzhou bayin* gives pye-7 for both forms (Huang 1957: 266,299).

After Dentals and Alveopalatals:

	Fuan	un	ut	
	Foochow	ioŋ	iok	
	Amoy	ŋ	e?	
	Kityang	ŋ	o?	
	Kienow	yeŋ	ye	
	Kienyang	yeŋ	ye	
	Yungan	ẽ, iẽ, yẽ	e	
	Tsianglo	ϕ	ϕ	
	<i>brick</i>	<i>return</i>	<i>soft</i>	<i>snow</i>
Fa	tsun-1	tun-3	nun-3	sut-7
Fc	tsioŋ-1	tioŋ-3	nioŋ-3	siok-7
Am	tsŋ-1	tŋ-3	nŋ-3	se?-7
Kt	tsŋ-1	tŋ-3	nŋ-3	so?-7
Ko	tsyeŋ-1	tyeŋ-3	nyeŋ-3	syε-7
Ky	tsyeŋ-1	lyeŋ-3	nyeŋ-3	sye-7
Ya	tšyẽ-1	tẽ-3	ŋiẽ-3	se-7
Tl	tšϕ-1	thϕ-9	nϕ-9	sϕ-7

Yungan has iẽ after ŋ (from PM *n before *i), yẽ after alveopalatals, ẽ elsewhere.

After Velars and Glottals:

	Fuan	un	ut	
	Foochow	uoŋ	uok	
	Amoy	ŋ	e?	
	Kityang	ŋ	ue?	
	Kienow	yeŋ	ye	
	Kienyang	yeŋ	ye	
	Yungan	yẽ	ye	
	Tsianglo	ϕ	ϕ	
	<i>garden</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>advise</i>	<i>moon</i>
Fa	hun-2	hun-6	khun-5	ŋut-8
Fc	huoŋ-2	huoŋ-6	khuoŋ-5	ŋuok-8
Am	hŋ-2	hŋ-6	khŋ-5	ge?-8
Kt	hŋ-2	hŋ-4	khŋ-5	gue?-8
Ko	xyeŋ-5	—	khyeŋ-5	ŋye-4
Ky	xyeŋ-2	—	khyeŋ-5	ŋye-8
Ya	(yẽ-2)	šyẽ-4	khyẽ-5	ŋye-4
Tl	fϕ-2	(šẽ-3)	khϕ-5	ŋϕ-8

The Tl form for 'far' apparently comes from an earlier *hyē, but the development is in any case irregular. Kienow and Kienyang use unrelated forms for 'far'.

5.10 *ian; *iat

	Fuan	in	it	
	Foochow	ien	iek	
	Amoy	ĩ	iʔ	
	Kityang	ĩ	iʔ	
	Kienow	ien	ie	
	Kienyang	ien	ie	
	Yungan	ē, iē	e	
	Tsianglo	ien	ie	
	<i>sky</i>	<i>year</i>	<i>fan</i>	<i>splint</i>
Fa	thin-1	nin-2	sin-5	mit-8
Fc	thien-1	nieŋ-2	sien-5	miek-8
Am	thĩ-1	nĩ-2	sĩ-5	biʔ-8
Kt	thĩ-1	nĩ-2	sĩ-5	biʔ-8
Ko	thien-1	nieŋ-5	sien-5	mie-4
Ky	hieŋ-1	nieŋ-2	sien-5	mie-8
Ya	thē-1	niē-2	šē-5	mie-8
Tl	(thāi-1)	ŋien-9	šien-5	mie-8

5.11 *ian; *iat

	Fuan	ien	iet	
	Foochow	iaŋ	iak	
	Amoy	iā, uā	uaʔ	
	Kityang	iā, uā	uaʔ	
	Kienow	yeŋ	—	
	Kienyang	yeŋ	—	
	Yungan	yē, ē	—	
	Tsianglo	ien	—	
	<i>son</i>	<i>thread</i>	<i>eel</i>	<i>splatter</i>
Fa	kien-3	sien-5	tshien-6	tsiet-7
Fc	kiaŋ-3	siaŋ-5	tshiaŋ-6	tsiak-7
Am	kiā-3	suā-5	tshuā-6	tsuaʔ-7
Kt	kiā-3	suā-5	—	tsuaʔ-7
Ko	kyeŋ-3	syen-5	syen-6	—
Ky	kyeŋ-3	syen-5	syen-5	(lyeŋ-9)
Ya	kyē-3	sē-5	tšhyē-4	—
Tl	kien-3	sien-5	tšhien-3	—

Amoy and Kityang have iā after velars and uā elsewhere. The single example of PM *iat is attested only for the eastern dialects. Yungan has yē after velars

and alveopalatals, *ẽ* after other initials.

5.12 *uon; *uot

	Fuan	un	—
	Foochow	uon	ouk/aik
	Amoy	uāi	ui?
	Kityang	uē	ue?
	Kienow	yeŋ	—
	Kienyang	yeŋ	ue
	Yungan	ũm	uo
	Tsianglo	uāi	—
	<i>close</i>	<i>scrape</i>	
Fa	kun-1	(kuat-7)	
Fc	kuon-1	kauk-7	
Am	kuāi-1	kui?-7	
Kt	kuē-1	kue?-7	
Ko	kyeŋ-1	(kua-7)	
Ky	kyeŋ-1	kue-7	
Ya	kũm-1	kuo-7	
Tl	kuāi-1	(kua-3)	

These two finals are set up ad hoc to account for these two otherwise unattested correspondence sets. The forms in parentheses are probably of literary origin.

5.13 *uan; *uat

	Fuan	en/en	et
	Foochow	eiŋ/aŋ	eik/aik
	Amoy	uāi	ui?
	Kityang	uĩ	ue?
	Kienow	yeŋ	uai
	Kienyang	yeŋ	ue
	Yungan	yē, ẽ	ye
	Tsianglo	ieŋ	ia
	<i>tall</i>	<i>county</i>	<i>blood</i>
Fa	ken-2	ken-6	het-7
Fc	keiŋ-2	kain-6	haik-7
Am	huāi-2	kuāi-6	hui?-7
Kt	kuĩ-2	kuĩ-6	hue?-7
Ko	—	kyeŋ-6	xuai-7
Ky	—	kyeŋ-6	xue-7
Ya	kyē-2	(šē-5)	šye-7
Tl	—	šieŋ-6	fia-3

These two finals are poorly attested. The Yungan form for 'county' is of literary origin.

5.14 *uan; *uat

	Fuan	uan	uat	
	Foochow	uaŋ	uak	
	Amoy	uā	uaʔ	
	Kityang	uā	uaʔ	
	Kienow	ueŋ	ue	
	Kienyang	oiŋ, ueŋ	ue	
	Yungan	ūm	uo	
	Tsianglo	uāi	uai	
	<i>move</i>	<i>bowl</i>	<i>half</i>	<i>broad</i>
Fa	puan-1	uan-3	puan-5	khuat-7
Fc	puan-1	uaŋ-3	puan-5	khuak-7
Am	puā-1	uā-3	puā-5	khuaʔ-7
Kt	puā-1	uā-3	puā-5	khuaʔ-7
Ko	puen-1	ueŋ-3	puen-5	khue-7
Ky	voiŋ-9	ueŋ-3	poiŋ-5	khue-7
Ya	pūm-1	ūm-3	pūm-5	khuo-7
Tl	puāi-1	uāi-3	puāi-5	khuai-3

Kienyang has oiŋ after labials, ueŋ elsewhere.

5.15 *yan

	Fuan	in	Kienow	yeŋ
	Foochow	ien	Kienyang	yeŋ
	Amoy	ĩ	Yungan	yē
	Kityang	ĩ	Tsianglo	vǝ
	<i>round</i>	<i>courtyard</i>		
Fa	jīn-2	jīn-6		
Fc	ieŋ-2	ieŋ-6		
Am	ĩ-2	ĩ-6		
Kt	ĩ-2	ĩ-6		
Ko	yeŋ-3	yeŋ-6		
Ky	yeŋ-2	yeŋ-6		
Ya	yē-2	ye-5		
Tl	(uāi-2)	vǝ-6		

These are the only two examples of this final. There is no evidence for a PM *yat.

6. Finals Ending in *ŋ and *k

The finals ending in velar consonants show a somewhat restricted distribution with regard to the vowels: there are no finals having i or a as their main vowel.

It is also noteworthy that there are ten fewer finals ending in velars than those finals ending in the dental consonants.

6.1 *yŋ; *yk

	Fuan	uŋ/oŋ	ɸk	
	Foochow	yŋ/ɸiŋ	yk/ɸik	
	Amoy	eŋ	ek	
	Kityang	eŋ	ek	
	Kienow	oiŋ	y	
	Kienyang	eŋ	y	
	Yungan	em	y	
	Tsianglo	iuŋ	y	
	<i>bell</i>	<i>pine</i>	<i>wear</i>	<i>bamboo</i>
Fa	tsoŋ-1	soŋ-2	soŋ-6	tɸk-7
Fc	tsyŋ-1	syŋ-2	soiŋ-6	tɸik-7
Am	tseŋ-1	tsheŋ-2	tsheŋ-6	tek-7
Kt	tseŋ-1	(soŋ-2)	tsheŋ-6	tek-7
Ko	tsoiŋ-1	tsoiŋ-3	tsoiŋ-6	ty-7
Ky	tseŋ-1	leŋ-9	tseŋ-6	ty-7
Ya	tsem-1	tsem-2	tsem-6	ty-7
Tl	tšiuŋ-1	tšiuŋ-2	šiuŋ-6	ty-9

6.2 *eŋ; *ek

	Fuan	uŋ/oŋ	œk	
	Foochow	uŋ/ouŋ	ɸik/oik	
	Amoy	aŋ	ak	
	Kityang	aŋ	ak	
	Kienow	aiŋ	ε	
	Kienyang	aiŋ	e	
	Yungan	ĩ	a	
	Tsianglo	ãi	a	
	<i>collapse</i>	<i>north</i>	<i>ink</i>	
Fa	poŋ-1	pœk-7	mœk-8	
Fc	puŋ-1	poik-7	mɸik-8	
Am	paŋ-1	pak-7	bak-8	
Kt	paŋ-1	pak-7	bak-8	
Ko	paiŋ-3	pε-7	mε-4	
Ky	vaiŋ-9	pe-7	me-8	
Ya	pĩ-1	pa-7	ma-4	
Tl	phãi-9	pa-3	(me-8)	

6.3 *əŋ; *ək

After Labial Stops:

	Fuan	uŋ/ouŋ	ok	
	Foochow	uŋ/ouŋ	uk/ouk	
	Amoy	aŋ	ak	
	Kityang	aŋ	ak	
	Kienow	oŋ	u	
	Kienyang	oŋ	o	
	Yungan	ãu	u	
	Tsianglo	uŋ	u	
	<i>bee</i>	<i>room</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>belly</i>
Fa	phoŋ-1	poŋ-2	poŋ-5	pok-7
Fc	phuŋ-1	puŋ-2	pouŋ-5	pouk-7
Am	phaŋ-1	paŋ-2	paŋ-5	pak-7
Kt	phaŋ-1	paŋ-2	paŋ-5	pak-7
Ko	phoŋ-1	poŋ-3	poŋ-5	pu-7
Ky	phoŋ-1	(muŋ-9)	poŋ-5	pu-7
Ya	phãu-1	—	pãu-5	pu-7
Tl	phuŋ-1	—	(poŋ-5)	pu-3

After *m and other initials:

	Fuan	oŋ/œŋ	œk	
	Foochow	øiŋ/oiŋ	øik/oik	
	Amoy	aŋ	ak	
	Kityang	aŋ	ak	
	Kienow	oŋ	u	
	Kienyang	oŋ	o	
	Yungan	ãu	u	
	Tsianglo	uŋ	u	
	<i>winter</i>	<i>red</i>	<i>dream</i>	<i>hull</i>
Fa	tœŋ-1	œŋ-2	mœŋ-5	khœk-7
Fc	tøiŋ-1	øiŋ-2	moŋ-5	khoik-7
Am	taŋ-1	aŋ-2	baŋ-6	khak-7
Kt	taŋ-1	aŋ-2	maŋ-6	khak-7
Ko	toŋ-1	oŋ-3	moŋ-6	khu-7
Ky	toŋ-1	oŋ-9	moŋ-6	kho-7
Ya	tãu-1	hãu-2	mãu-5	khu-7
Tl	tun-1	fun-2	(mãi-9)	khu-9

The Tl form for 'dream' is probably etymologically unrelated to the other forms. It is clear that the original vowel of these finals was of the close type since the SM forms do not show nasalized vowels; schwa fits the bill well. PM *ə regularly becomes a in Southern Min, but in the other Min dialects such parallelism of development is not so apparent as the following table shows: ⁴

⁴ This reconstruction follows a suggestion made to me by Nicholas Bodman.

	*əi	*əu	*əm	*ən	*əŋ
Fa	ai	au	am	en	oŋ/œŋ
Fc	ai	au	aŋ	eiŋ	phiŋ/oiŋ
Am	ai	au	am	an	aŋ
Kt	ai	au	am	aŋ	aŋ
Ko	e	e	aŋ	aiŋ	oŋ
Ky	e	eu	aŋ	aiŋ	oŋ
Ya	a	φ	ɔ	ĩ	āu
Tl	e	eu	aŋ	ai	uŋ

We must assume that PM *ə developed considerable allophonic variation as it evolved in the various regions. In the case of *əŋ and *ək it is apparent that in a majority of the dialects used in this study it became rounded to some degree. Another possibility is that *əŋ and *ək derive from finals that had rounded vowels at an earlier stage of development and that this rounding was retained as an allophonic feature of the PM schwa. In Tsianglo such a state of affairs still persists: the final -uŋ has a free variant [əŋ], especially when it follows the non-velar initials. To sum up, we can say that Proto-Min had a phoneme *ə which exhibited a wide allophonic range depending on the following element in the syllable; before the velar endings it was realized as a short, close rounded vowel in many areas.

6.4 *oŋ; *ok

	Fuan	oŋ/əŋ	ɔʔ	
	Foochow	ouŋ/auŋ	oʔ	
	Amoy	ŋ	oʔ	
	Kityang	ŋ	oʔ	
	Kienow	oŋ	ɔ	
	Kienyang	oŋ	ɔ	
	Yungan	am	au	
	Tsianglo	oŋ	o	
	<i>frost</i>	<i>bed</i>	<i>store v.</i>	<i>table</i>
Fa	səŋ-1	tshəŋ-2	khəŋ-5	tɔʔ-7
Fc	souŋ-1	tshouŋ-2	khaŋ-5	toʔ-7
Am	sŋ-1	tshŋ-2	khŋ-5	toʔ-7
Kt	sŋ-1	tshŋ-2	khŋ-5	toʔ-7
Ko	soŋ-1	tshoŋ-5	khoŋ-5	tɔʔ-7
Ky	səŋ-1	thəŋ-2	khəŋ-5	tɔ-7
Ya	sam-1	tsham-2	kham-5	tsau-7
Tl	šəŋ-1	tshon-9	khon-5	tšo-9

Although none of the modern Min dialects has final -k for this final as well as for the following finals ending in -k (6.5-10), a PM final *k is reconstructed on

the basis of overall patterning and the fact that there are no grounds for a phonemic contrast between final *k and final glottal stop in Proto-Min.

6.5 *aŋ; *ak

	Fuan	aŋ	aʔ	
	Foochow	aŋ	aʔ	
	Amoy	ĩ	eʔ	
	Kityang	ẽ	eʔ	
	Kienow	aŋ	a	
	Kienyang	aŋ	a	
	Yungan	ɔ	ɔ	
	Tsianglo	aŋ, iaŋ	a	
	<i>give birth</i>	<i>pit</i>	<i>well n.</i>	<i>guest</i>
Fa	saŋ-1	khaŋ-1	tsaŋ-3	khaʔ-7
Fc	saŋ-1	khaŋ-1	tsaŋ-3	khaʔ-7
Am	sĩ-1	khĩ-1	tsĩ-3	kheʔ-7
Kt	sẽ-1	khẽ-1	tsẽ-3	kheʔ-7
Ko	saŋ-1	khaŋ-1	tsaŋ-3	kha-7
Ky	saŋ-1	khaŋ-1	tsaŋ-3	kha-7
Ya	sɔ-1	khɔ-1	tsɔ-3	khɔ-7
Tl	šaŋ-1	khaŋ-1	tsiaŋ-3	kha-3

Tsianglo has a number of words with the final -iaŋ where the other Min dialects have -aŋ. From the point of view of Proto-Min this is an unconditioned split.

6.6 *ioŋ; *iok

	Fuan	ioŋ/iəŋ	iʔ	
	Foochow	ioŋ	ioʔ	
	Amoy	iũ	ioʔ	
	Kityang	iõ	ioʔ	
	Kienow	ioŋ	iɔ	
	Kienyang	ioŋ	io	
	Yungan	iam, am	iɰ, ɰ	
	Tsianglo	ioŋ, oŋ	io, o	
	<i>ginger</i>	<i>wall</i>	<i>itch</i>	<i>leaf</i>
Fa	kioŋ-1	tshioŋ-2	sioŋ-6	niʔ-8
Fc	kioŋ-1	tsioŋ-2	sioŋ-6	nioʔ-8
Am	kiũ-1	tshiũ-2	tsiũ-6	hioʔ-8
Kt	kiõ-1	tshiõ-2	tsiõ-4	hioʔ-8
Ko	kioŋ-1	tsioŋ-5	tsioŋ-4	nio-4
Ky	kioŋ-1	tsioŋ-2	ioŋ-5	nio-8
Ya	kiam-1	tsiam-2	tsiam-4	niɰ-4
Tl	kioŋ-1	tshioŋ-2	tshioŋ-9	nio-5

Both Yungan and Tsianglo lose the palatal medial of this final after the alveopalatals as in the following example: 'top, above', Fa sioŋ-6, Fc sioŋ-6, Am tsiū-6, Kt tsiō-6, Ko tsioŋ-6, Ky tsioŋ-6, Ya šam-5, Tl šoŋ-6.

6.7 *iaŋ: *iak

	Fuan	iaŋ	eʔ	
	Foochow	iaŋ	ieʔ	
	Amoy	iā	iaʔ	
	Kityang	iā	iaʔ	
	Kienow	iaŋ	ia	
	Kienyang	iaŋ	ia	
	Yungan	iʃ, ʃ	iʃ, ʃ	
	Tsianglo	iaŋ	ia	
	<i>listen</i>	<i>afraid</i>	<i>life</i>	<i>wall</i>
Fa	thiaŋ-1	kiaŋ-1	miaŋ-6	peʔ-7
Fc	thiaŋ-1	kiaŋ-1	miaŋ-6	pieʔ-7
Am	thiā-1	kiā-1	miā-6	piaʔ-7
Kt	thiā-1	kiā-1	miā-6	piaʔ-7
Ko	thiaŋ-1	kiaŋ-1	miaŋ-6	pia-7
Ky	hiaŋ-1	kiaŋ-1	miaŋ-6	pia-7
Ya	thiʃ-1	kiʃ-1	miʃ-5	piʃ-7
Tl	thiaŋ-1	kiaŋ-1	miaŋ-6	pia-3

Yungan loses the palatal medial of this final after the alveopalatal initials.

6.8 *uoŋ: *uok

	Fuan	uŋ, wuŋ	uʔ	
	Foochow	uoŋ	uoʔ	
	Amoy	ŋ	eʔ	
	Kityang	ŋ	ueʔ	
	Kienow	uaŋ	ua	
	Kienyang	uoŋ	uo	
	Yungan	am, ūm	u	
	Tsianglo	oŋ, voŋ	o	
	<i>bright</i>	<i>yellow</i>	<i>Guo (a surname) (郭)</i>	
Fa	kuŋ-1	wuŋ-1	kuʔ-7	
Fc	kuoŋ-1	uoŋ-1	kuoʔ-7	
Am	kŋ-1	ŋ-2	keʔ-7	
Kt	kŋ-1	ŋ-2	kueʔ-7	
Ko	kuaŋ-1	uaŋ-2	kua-7	
Ky	kuoŋ-1	uoŋ-2	kuo-7	
Ya	kam-1	ūm-2	kɰ-7	
Tl	koŋ-1	voŋ-2	ko-9	

In Fuan, Yungan, and Tsianglo the second reflex given for *uaŋ in each case occurs when the modern dialects have zero initial.

6.9 *uaŋ; *uak

	Fuan	uaŋ	woʔ
	Foochow	uaŋ	uaʔ
	Amoy	uāi	uiʔ
	Kityang	uē	ueʔ
	Kienow	uaŋ	ua
	Kienyang	uaŋ	ua
	Yungan	ūm	uo
	Tsianglo	(u)aŋ	va
	<i>horizontal</i>	<i>strike</i>	
Fa	huaŋ-2	woʔ-8	
Fc	huaŋ-2	uoʔ-8	
Am	huāi-2	uiʔ-8	
Kt	huē-2	ueʔ-8	
Ko	xuaŋ-5	ua-4	
Ky	xuaŋ-2	—	
Ya	hūm-2	uo-4	
Tl	faŋ-9	va-8	

These are the only two examples of these two finals. The two Tl forms derive from earlier *huaŋ and *ua respectively.

6.10 *yok

After Labials:

	Fuan	uʔ	Kienow	u
	Foochow	uoʔ	Kienyang	o
	Amoy	ak	Yungan	"
	Kityang	ak	Tsianglo	io
	<i>peel v.</i>	<i>bind</i>	<i>sun v.</i>	
Fa	puʔ-7	puʔ-8	phuʔ-8	
Fc	puoʔ-7	puoʔ-8	phuoʔ-8	
Am	pak-8	pak-8	phak-8	
Kt	pak-7	pak-8	phak-8	
Ko	pu-7	pu-6	phu-6	
Ky	po-7	po-8	—	
Ya	pu-7	pu-4	phu-4	
Tl	pio-3	phio-8	phio-5	

After Velars:

	Fuan	uʔ	Kienow	y
	Foochow	uoʔ	Kienyang	y
	Amoy	ek	Yungan	y

	Kityang	ek	Tsianglo	y
	<i>melody</i>	<i>office</i>	<i>jade</i>	
Fa	khu?-7	ku?-8	nu?-8	
Fc	khu?-7	kuo?-8	nuo?-8	
Am	khek-7	kek-8	gek-8	
Kt	khek-7	kek-8	gek-8	
Ko	khy-7	ky-6	ny-4	
Ky	khy-7	ky-8	ny-8	
Ya	khy-7	ky-4	ny-4	
Tl	khy-7	(khiu-8)	ny-8	

After Dentals and Alveopalatals:

	Fuan	u?	Kienow	y
	Foochow	io?	Kienyang	y
	Amoy	ek	Yungan	y
	Kityang	ek	Tsianglo	y, o
	<i>candle</i>	<i>grain</i>	<i>green</i>	
Fa	tsu?-7	tshu?-7	lu?-8	
Fc	tsio?-7	tshio?-7	lio?-8	
Am	tsek-7	tshek-7	lek-8	
Kt	tsek-7	tshek-7	lek-8	
Ko	tsy-7	sy-7	ly-4	
Ky	tsy-7	sy-7	ly-8	
Ya	tšy-7	šy-7	ny-4	
Tl	tšy-3	tšho-3	ny-8	

This is the only final ending in an oral consonant that does not have a corresponding nasal final. The Tl form for 'grain' does not fit the general pattern and would appear to have a very archaic form.

Abbreviations

Am	Amoy	Ky	Kienyang
EM	Eastern Min	PM	Proto-Min
Fa	Fuan	Tl	Tsianglo
Fc	Foochow	WM	Western Min
Ko	Kienow	Ya	Yungan
Kt	Kityang		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chen, Leo and Norman, Jerry. 1965. *An Introduction to the Foochow Dialect*. San Francisco State College (mimeographed).
2. Choy, Chun-ming. 1976. *A Dictionary of the Chau-chow Dialect*. Taipei: Sanmin Shuju.
3. Douglas, Carstairs. 1899. *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy*. London: Presbyterian Church of England.

4. Huang, Diancheng. 1957. Jian'ou fangyan chutan. *Xiamen Daxue Xuebao*. 1: 255-279.
5. Maclay, R. S., and Baldwin, C. C. 1870. *An Alphabetic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Foochow Dialect*. Foochow: Methodist Episcopal Press.
6. Norman, Jerry. 1973. Tonal development in Min. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. 1.222-238.
7. Norman, Jerry. 1974. The Initials of Proto-Min. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. 2.27-36.

Appendix

Tonal Values for the Dialects Used in This Paper

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Fuan	43	11	52	—	35	213	<u>54</u>	<u>21</u>	—
Foochow	55	54	22	—	213	342	<u>24</u>	<u>55</u>	—
Amoy	55	24	51	—	11	33	<u>32</u>	<u>55</u>	—
Kityang	33	55	53	35	213	11	<u>22</u>	<u>55</u>	—
Kienow	54	—	21	<u>43</u>	22	44	35	—	—
Kienyang	53	33	<u>21</u>	—	32	43	35	<u>43</u>	31
Yungan	53	32	<u>21</u>	<u>43</u>	35	—	13	—	—
Tsianglo	44	13	31	—	24	52	—	<u>54</u>	<u>21</u>

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF VOWELS AND PEKINGESE PHONOLOGY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE*

Edwin G. Pulleyblank

University of British Columbia, Canada

1. Introduction — Distinctive Features

There have been numerous discussions of Pekingese phonology in the past half century by linguists of various theoretical persuasions. The present attempt differs from most previous analyses in that it is designed to form part of the introduction to an integrated historical study of the development of Chinese phonology from Early Middle Chinese (EMC, the language of the *Qieyun*), through Late Middle Chinese (LMC, the Tang standard language as represented by the *Yunjing*), Early Mandarin (EM, Yuan as presented by the *Menggu ziyun* and the *Zhongyuan yinyun*) to the present. Though it claims to be valid at a strictly synchronic level, it is also designed to be commensurate with the earlier stages of the language as available through historical reconstruction and to account in the simplest and most direct way for the evolution from these earlier stages to the present. While such a historically motivated analysis of a synchronic phonological system might have seemed heretical a few years ago, when structuralism, particularly in its American mode, was the dominant trend in linguistics, it is much more in keeping with the more recent trends that have appeared in the sixties and seventies.

Any attempt to explain historical sound change requires, implicitly or explicitly, some kind of distinctive feature theory, that is, some kind of classification of speech sounds in terms of shared phonetic properties. Nineteenth century comparative philology made use of available knowledge of general phonetics which became increasingly sophisticated as time went on. Articulatory parameters of speech sounds were defined and used to classify sounds among themselves and to describe the assimilatory and dissimilatory processes by which sounds appeared to have evolved through time. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is one product of this line of investigation.

The advent of structuralism, with the phoneme concept, introduced greater rigour in the phonological analysis of languages and greatly advanced the study of living languages as synchronic systems but had consequences that were less

* Søren Egerod, William S-Y. Wang, Moira Yip, Yvonne Hébert and Patricia Shaw have given useful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

fortunate for the study of diachronic change. By insisting that at each synchronic stage the phonemes of a language be defined negatively as a network of contrasts on the principle of complementary distribution rather than positively in terms of their phonetic content, structuralism made it difficult to conceive in a principled way how one such internally coherent system could give rise to a different system (Allen 1953). The way out of this dilemma was shown by the Prague school and especially by R. Jakobson, whose theory of universal distinctive features was incorporated into N. Chomsky's theory of transformational generative grammar. Unfortunately, though the theory, first in its original form based on acoustic parameters and more recently in a revised form based mainly on articulation (Chomsky and Halle 1968), has been widely used in both synchronic and diachronic studies, there are still many unresolved issues, affecting not merely specific applications but also basic principles. Ladefoged's feature system (1971, 1975) is more closely tied to what can be measured experimentally and makes use of multivalued instead of exclusively binary features. The latter characteristic makes it less suitable for formulating rules and there are other problems about fitting his features to what appears to be most relevant in accounting for sound change.

The system of features that I have adopted for my own purposes agrees with that of Chomsky and Halle in being based on binary oppositions but differs in a number of particulars. It is, I believe, better motivated in terms of phonological change. That is, it accounts better for the natural classes of sounds as revealed by their evolution through time. A fuller presentation of this system will be given elsewhere. The following points should be sufficient as an introduction to the application to Pekingese that follows.

(a) Complex segments

An important innovation in the standard Chomsky-Halle system that has been proposed by a number of scholars (Anderson 1974, Campbell 1974) is to allow a change of feature within a segment. For example, instead of using the single feature [+delayed release] to characterize affricates, it seems more natural to say that there is a change of feature from [-continuant] to [+continuant] within the segment. The difference between a sequence *ts*, as in English and an affricate *ts*, as in Chinese, is not a matter of the phonetic features involved but of the rules of segmentation that are imposed by the overall phonological structures of the two languages. I adopt the convention of writing +- or -+ within a single pair of square brackets to indicate such a change. Thus affricates are [-+continuant]. Prenasalized stops are [+ -nasal]. Secondary articulations such as palatalization and labialization may be treated similarly.

(b) The syllable

As suggested by Chomsky and Halle 1968, Chapter 8, I make use of the feature [syllabic] in place of [vocalic]. I regard the syllable as a fundamental organiza-

tional unit which, like the segment, is difficult to define in strictly measurable acoustic or articulatory terms but has to be recognized as part of the mental processing of speech.

(c) Tongue height

The Chomsky-Halle features [\pm high] [\pm low], together allowing for three degrees of tongue height since [+high, +low] is ruled out as contradictory, are regarded (contra Wang 1968, Ladefoged 1971) as sufficient to account for the contrasts found in natural languages. Certainly they are exactly the features required for the analysis of Chinese.

(d) Frontness and Labiality — the relation of vowels and consonants

Instead of the features [\pm back] [\pm rounded] used by Chomsky and Halle to define the horizontal dimensions of the tradition vowel diagram, I use the features [\pm front] and [\pm labial]. [front] is preferred to [palatal] (proposed by Wang 1968). It is defined as the forward movement of the tongue beyond the neutral position and thus includes dental, alveolar, retroflex and palatoalveolar articulations, as well as palatals. Dental, alveolar, retroflex and palato-alveolar articulations, which cannot produce true vowels, are distinguished from palatals, which are at the forward limit of vowel articulation, by the feature [+anterior] (redefined slightly from the Chomsky-Halle definition which places the boundary in front of palato-alveolar). In this way the feature [+front] not only accounts for palatalization rules involving non-high as well as high front vowels, which the Chomsky-Halle features conspicuously fail to do (Fromkin 1970), but also shows the relation between alveolars and front vowels and glides which is frequently encountered in Chinese phonology, as well as elsewhere.

Retroflex consonants are [+anterior, +front, +low], not [+high] as stated by Chomsky and Halle. This accounts for the lowering effect of retroflexives on neighbouring vowels that is often met with in historical phonology, in Chinese as well as English. Syllabic *r* differs from *ɛ*, which is also [+front, +low], in being [+anterior], i.e. beyond the limit of true vowel articulation.

The use of the feature [labial] makes rounding the primary feature of back-rounded vowels rather than back tongue position. Vowels that are [–front, +labial] are automatically back, but backness is no longer required as a classificatory feature. This excludes the possibility of central, as opposed to back, rounded vowels. Alleged occurrences of central-rounded vowels, as in Swedish, can, it is claimed, be handled differently. As in the Chomsky-Halle system, there is also no distinction between central-unrounded and back-unrounded. Both are [–front]. This seems preferable to the Chomsky-Halle system, in which central vowels are arbitrarily called [+back]. An important point to note is that the vowel *a*, which is considered to be the lowest *front* vowel in the IPA vowel diagram, is here defined as [–front, +low]. That is, it is treated as a central vowel. This agrees with

the observation made by Ladefoged that the lowest vowel in many languages is typically central rather than front or back (1971: 77). When it is necessary to distinguish a back low vowel α , as in French or Pekingese, this can be done other means (see below).

(e) Glides

An important principle in setting up the features of vowels so as to account in the most natural way for phonological change is their relation to glides and thereby to the features of true consonants. Thus the choice of the features [front] and [labial] correlates with the fact that i and u are not only two of the extreme points of the universal vowel triangle but also, through the corresponding glides j and w , which are almost, if not equally, universal, constitute bridges, as it were, to the consonantal articulations. This is shown by the way in which glides frequently give rise to consonants in the course of phonetic evolution, e.g.: $w > v$ (Latin to Romance, German, Sanskrit, etc.), $w > gw > g$ (Germanic words in Romance); $j > dʒ, z, dʒ$ (Romance, Vietnamese, etc.). Other high glides — y [+front, +labial] and \dot{y} [-front, -labial] are much less frequently encountered.

Besides the high glides j and w , corresponding to two extremities of the vowel triangle, we might expect to have a glide corresponding to the other extremity α . In the Chomsky-Halle system this position is occupied by the laryngeals ʔ and h , though, in fact, little use is made of this relationship. The treatment of these phonemes as glides is, however, objectionable since, according to normal criteria, they are voiceless and since they pattern as a stop and a voiceless fricative respectively in many situations. Voiced ɦ , which similarly patterns as a voiced fricative, is also an unsuitable candidate to be regarded as a glide corresponding to α . The true [+low] glide is smooth voiced onset, which is inaudible as distinct from a following vowel but can be recognized as a definite phonological element, since it contrasts with other, audible, laryngeal features. We shall write it as H . In feature specification it is [-syllabic, +low, -front, -labial] while α is [+syllabic, +low, -front, -labial]. We can therefore write it alternatively as ã , using the IPA sign for a nonsyllabic or consonantal vowel.

Falling diphthongs, with a centring offglide, can be analyzed as having ã as their second element, e.g. Southern British $[\text{ɪə}] = / \text{ĩã} /$, as in *beer*, $[\text{ʊə}] = / \text{uã} /$, as in *poor*, $[\text{eə}] = / \text{ẽã} /$, as in *fair*; so also the monophthongs that arise from the dropping of final *-r* in *fir* $[\text{fɜ}]$, *far* $[\text{fa}]$ can be analyzed as $/ \text{əã} /$ and $/ \text{aã} /$ respectively. This corresponds closely to the Bloch-Trager pandialectal analysis of English vowels which uses h as the second element of centring diphthongs and lengthened mid and low central vowels. The substitution of H , as defined above, for h makes the analysis phonetically more acceptable.

It seems reasonable also to regard the contrast between α and ã in French as between $/ \alpha /$ and $/ \text{ã} /$. Note that ã occurs only in closed syllables, as in

patte [pat] and that *a* typically occurs when a consonant has been lost historically, e.g. *pas* [pa], *pâte* [pat] (< *paste*), so that it is reasonable to regard /*ǣ*/ as a replacement for a lost consonantal element as it is in British English *far* [fa]. The fact that the contrast is perceived as one of vowel quality (backness) rather than length need not deter us from making this structural analysis.

The recognition of *H* or *ǣ* as a glide corresponding to the vowel *a* has other important implications for general phonological theory that will be discussed more fully elsewhere.

(f) Schwa *ə* is, appropriately, the most neutral of all vowels according to this analysis, being [–high, –low, –front, –labial]. This is preferable to the Chomsky-Halle system in which it must be classified as [+back]. It may be regarded as a minimal feature of vocalic syllabicity, and schwa insertion rules to restore syllabicity are the simplest and most appropriate way of accounting for a number of common types of phonetic change. For example, Early Mandarin *-uŋ* has been replaced by *-əŋ* after labial initials in Pekingese. This is clearly a case of labial dissimilation. A simple change of feature from [+labial] to [–labial] would, however, give *-iŋ*. There is no reason to think that this occurred even as a transition stage. It is better to interpret the change as (a) deletion of *u*, (b) automatic insertion of *ə* to restore syllabicity. A similar change occurred when *i* was replaced by *ə* after retroflex initials, as in 聲 “sound”, EM *ʂiŋ* Pek. *ʂəŋ*, 神 “spirit” EM *ʂin* Pek. *ʂən*. The same principle can be applied to the history of English. I assume, with Dobson (1957) and others and against Chomsky and Halle, that the first stage in the Great Vowel Shift was the centralization of the diphthongs *ij*, *uw*, derived from earlier *i:*, *u:*, to *əj*, *əw*. I interpret this as deletion of *i* and *u* by dissimilation from the following glides with schwa insertion to preserve syllabicity. There is no need to assume, as Chomsky and Halle do, that there were intermediate stages *ej*, *ow* in which the first elements of the diphthongs retained their frontness and back-roundedness. The opposite rule, by which schwa is deleted after a segment that changes from [–syllabic] to [+syllabic] must also be assumed to account for various changes that occur in the history of Chinese.

2. The Pekingese Vowel System

Pekingese has the following finals in a broad phonetic transcription.

Neutral	Anterior	Front	Labial	Front-labial
	<i>i</i> , <i>z</i> <i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>ɤ</i>	<i>əʔ</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>uɔ</i>	<i>yɛ</i>
<i>A</i>		<i>iA</i>	<i>uA</i>	
<i>ei</i>			<i>uei</i>	
<i>ai</i>		<i>iai</i>	<i>uai</i>	

ou	iou		
au	iau		
	in		yn
ən	ien	uən	
an		uan	yan
	ig	ug	iug
əŋ		uəŋ	
aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ	

The above table is based on Y. R. Chao (1968: 24) with slight modifications. Chao writes ʌŋ, uʌŋ instead of əŋ, uəŋ, and ɿ, iɿ instead of uŋ, iuŋ. These are allophonic distinctions that have no phonological significance and are often ignored even in phonetic descriptions. A is Chao's symbol for a low central unrounded vowel for which there is no symbol in the IPA chart. He thus distinguishes three low unrounded vowels at a phonetic level — front a, central A, and back ʌ. They are all in complementary distribution in the above table but, as we shall see, there are good phonological reasons for distinguishing at least a and A. Historically the distinction between A and ʌ is also required and we shall provisionally retain it for Pekingese.

Chao does not distinguish between the glides, j, w, ɥ, and the vowels, i, u, y, using vowel symbols for both. I have provisionally left his transcriptions unaltered. The practice of ignoring the glide/vowel distinction in this way is rather typical of studies of Chinese phonology but there is no *a priori* justification for it. In fact if we make such a distinction certain problems are immediately clarified. Consider, for example, the two finals uŋ and uəŋ in the above table. They are in complementary distribution since uəŋ occurs only with zero initial and uŋ only occurs after a consonant. The obvious explanation is that “u” in uəŋ, which is, of course phonetically a glide w, here functions as an initial consonant. We can derive #wəŋ# from #uŋ# (where # is a symbol for syllable or morpheme boundary) as follows:

(1) Glide prothesis

$$\phi \rightarrow w / \# \text{ — } u$$

Though onglides before initial high vowels are not distinctive in Pekingese and are usually ignored in phonetic descriptions, they are commonly present at the surface phonetic level. Most romanization systems write *yin, ying, wu, etc.*, rather than *in, ing, u*.

(2) Loss of u by dissimilation, followed by schwa insertion to preserve syllabicity (see p. above)

$$u \rightarrow \phi / \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{labial} \end{array} \right] \text{ — } C$$

$\phi \rightarrow \text{ə} / \# [-\text{syllabic}] \rightarrow [-\text{syllabic}] \#$

This is the rule for dissimilation of *u* after labial initials that changed Early Mandarin *puŋ*, *p'uŋ*, *muŋ*, *fuŋ* to Pekingese *pəŋ*, *p'əŋ*, *məŋ*, *fəŋ* (see p. 7 above) and is no doubt the same rule that was responsible diachronically for changing Early Mandarin *uŋ*, i.e. *wuŋ*, to *wəŋ*. We can also regard it as a redundancy rule governing morpheme structure in present day Pekingese. Some Mandarin dialects still have rounded vowels in such syllables. Chengdu has *foŋ* corresponding to Pekingese *fəŋ* "wind" and also *oŋ* corresponding to the surname *wəŋ*.

The arrangement in columns in the above table of Pekingese finals corresponds to the traditional four-way classification of the Qing dynasty rhyme tables: (a) *kaikou* "open month", i.e. neutral (including also coronal), (b) *qichi* "level teeth", i.e. palatal, (c) *hekou* "closed mouth", i.e. labial, (d) *cuokou* "pursed mouth", i.e. palatal-labial. In interpreting this system in western linguistic terms it is customary to refer to the palatal, labial and palatal-labial elements as "medials", even when they are the only vowels, as in *-i*, *-in*, *-iŋ*, *-u*, *-uŋ*, *-yn*. A justification for this is the kind of complementary distribution that exists between the finals *-uŋ* and *(w)əŋ* that has been discussed above, and also between *-ən*, *-wən* and *-in*, *-yn*. These finals are not only grouped together by traditional Chinese phonologists but are shown to be closely related by native intuition, since they rhyme together in poetry, both learned and popular. As Y. R. Chao suggested (1934), one can show the pattern by positing an underlying /ə/ which gets deleted or remains, depending on the particular final involved, e.g. /ən/ [ən], /iən/ [in], /uən/ [wən], /yən/ [yn]. Actually Chao proposed a more abstract dummy element, or phonological "zero", which was variously realized on the surface. It must, of course, be a "zero" with a definite location in order to preserve the fiction that /i/ and /y/ are "medials" in [in] [yn]. Chao's interpretation has been followed in one way or another by most students of Mandarin phonology. It is already anticipated in the reconstruction of the mediaeval rhyme tables by Karlgren, who has *-ən* *-iən* *-uən* *-iuən* corresponding to the finals in question. In the case of such reconstructed forms, however, it is not as obvious that /ə/ is a dummy element that need not appear on the surface. Another implication of interpreting the palatal, labial and palatal-labial elements in *in* *uŋ* *yn* as "medials" that has not been squarely faced is that the same /ə/ or other dummy element ought to be posited in the finals *-i*, *-u*, *-y* not followed by a consonant.

In a structuralist framework, such as Chao was working in, it was not necessary to be too precise about the phonetic nature of the dummy underlying rhyme vowel in a set like *ən*, *in*, *wən*, *yn*. Generative phonology requires, however, that it be specified in terms of universal phonetic features, and that there be rules for deriving the surface forms from the underlying forms. We can evidently either posit underlying /ə/ and delete it by appropriate rules where necessary,

or posit underlying zero and insert ə as required by appropriate rules. It will be suggested below that the latter approach provides the better solution.

Another aspect of overall patterning that emerges from the above table is that there are generally speaking two types of final with any one "medial" (or no medial) and any one type of closure, differing in tongue height: -ən / -an, -in / -ien, -wən / -wan, -yn / -yan, -ei / -ai, etc. There are some gaps, for example the absence of -yən. The apparent case of three heights in -uŋ / -wəŋ / -waŋ is disposed of by treating w as an initial and transferring wəŋ to the -əŋ slot, as explained above. The one glaring exception to the pattern is provided by the finals ending in an open vowel, in which we have -i / -ie / -iA, -u / -uo / -uA. How these finals are to be analyzed has been one of the main points of discussion in previous studies of Pekingese phonology. The usual practice has been to treat the mid line -ɿ, -ie, -uo, -ye as having an underlying /ə/ and the top line as having either an underlying zero or a higher dummy vowel such as /i/. In either case, however, one is forced to derive i in final i, and i in in and iŋ, from different underlying structures or to give up the assumption that ən and in, or əŋ and iŋ, have the same underlying vowel and differ only in the medial.

In a previous treatment of this question (1969) I suggested that the way out of the dilemma was to posit a final glide in the -ɿ and -A rows, making them parallel to the finals in -j and -w.* At the time I suggested a central high unrounded glide -ĩ. In the light of the above discussion of the features of vowels and glides, it is clear that we should analyze [ɿ] as /əĩ/, with a low, laryngeal, ə, rather than a high, velar, ĩ, as the glide in question. If we were to identify central [A] with the backer [ɑ] of the finals -aŋ, -aw, we could extend the same analysis to the -A line, identifying [ɑ] as structurally /aĩ/ as in French (p. 6), or as in the Bloch-Trager analysis of English in which /ah/ stands for the vowel in a word like *calm*. Since, however, we wish to maintain a distinction, we shall analyze [A] as /aa/ and [ɑ] as /aĩ/, assuming that gemination of /a/ maintains a fronter vowel quality.

It should be noted that the finals -ɿ, -ie, -uo, -ye, all have centering offglides. Chao suggests [ɿ^A], [ie], [uo^A], [ye] as narrow transcriptions. The first three finals are not too far from the vowels in English *fir* [fɜ], *dear* [diə], *poor* [pʰuə] as pronounced in southern British Received Pronunciation, corresponding to /əh/, /ih/, /uh/, in the Bloch-Trager system. Naturally the precise phonetic details are not the same in English and Chinese but the similarity is about as close as one could ask if one wants to regard the finals in question as language specific realizations of the same combinations of universal features.

We shall posit iā not only in the final ie but also in ien. There is no doubt that ien belongs in the -an line as far as the rhyme is concerned. Not only is

* For another, comparable, diphthongal analysis of Pekingese finals see Egerod 1956: 24.

this demanded by the overall patterning but it is justified by the fact that *ien* rhymes with *an* in poetry. Nevertheless the raised and fronted allophone has to be accounted for. Linguists have been embarrassed that *ie*, supposedly derived from /iə/ or /iɤ/, should overlap phonetically with *ien* derived from /ian/. Chao stresses the slight phonetic difference provided by the centering offglide in *ie* but he writes them with the same symbol. C. C. Cheng goes so far as to separate them completely, writing *ie* and *ien*, but this is an ad hoc solution based on the needs of his theory and is not objectively justified in terms of the surface phonetics. Cheng also requires a special rule, for which he has difficulty in providing motivation, to convert *ian* to *ien* at the end of his derivation. By positing the structure as *iän* we not only account for the surface phonetics but also show the structural connections both with the *-an* line and with the *-ä* line, where the glide functions as a syllable closure.

Historically there is very good reason for identifying the vowels in *ie* and *ien*. *ien* is derived from two LMC finals that have merged, placed in Grade II and Grades III/IV respectively in the rhyme tables. I reconstruct the former as *jaan* and the latter as *iän*, e.g. 間 *kjaan* "between" and 建 *kiän* "build". The distinction is still preserved in Cantonese, which has *ka:n* and *ki:n* respectively. There were also corresponding finals in *-t*, e.g. 戛 *kjaat* "lance", Cant. *ka:t*, 結 *kjiät* "knot", Cant. *ki:t*. In this case the distinction is still preserved in Pekingese, which has *toja* and *toie*, i.e. *-jaa*, *-iä*. In other words the only rule we need to derive the Pekingese finals in the entering tone category from the LMC forms is that deleting final *-t*. In the case of finals in *-n*, however, *-jaan* first simplified to *-jan*, a stage that had probably been reached in the Early Mandarin of the Yuan period, and then shifted to *-iän* by the transfer of syllabicity from the rhyme vowel to the preceding glide.

Another source of Pekingese *-ie* is LMC *-jaaj* (Grade II). (*-jäj* (Grades III/IV) also existed but it had shifted to *-i* by Northern Song through elision of *ä* between *i* and *j* and simplification of *-ij* to *-i*.) The development of *-jaaj* was parallel to that of *-jaan*. That is, it first shortened to *-jaj*, after which there was an interchange of syllabicity, giving *-iäj*. Then the final glide was dropped, giving *-iä*. When *j* was initial, not preceded by a consonant, *jaj* did not give **jiäj*, but remained as *jaj*, though this is now obsolescent in Pekingese speech. This was a difference from the corresponding *-n* final. Thus 眼 LMC *ɲjaan* "eye", EM *jan*, gives Pekingese *iän* [(j)ien]. The rules to account for this difference will be discussed below.

A similar historical relationship exists between *uä* (uo) and LMC *-uät* (Grade I, *hekou*), in contrast to *waa* [wa] derived from LMC *-waat* (Grade II, *hekou*), e.g. 活 LMC *xhuät* "alive", Pek. *xuä* [xuɔ] and 滑 LMC *xhwaat* "slippery", Pek. *xwaa* [xwa]. Cantonese has *wu:t* and *wa:t* respectively, showing a development precisely

parallel to that of *-iät* and *-jaat*. In this case the corresponding *-n* finals have merged as *wan* in Pekingese but are distinguished in Cantonese, e.g. 官 LMC *kuän* "official", Pek. *kwan*, Cant. *ku:n*; 關 LMC *kwaan* "pass", Pek. *kwan*, Cant. *kwa:n*.

This excursus into historical phonology gives valuable support to the correctness of our analysis of the finals *-ie*, *-ien*, *-uo*. The analysis of the morphology of the retroflex suffix provides a further test. Before turning to this, something more needs to be said about the vowels *e* and *o* that appear in certain finals, about *a* in the closed finals *-aŋ* *-jaŋ* *-waŋ* and *-aw* *-jaw*, and about the finals *-ɛ*, *-ɛ̃*, *ə̃*.

Because of the overall patterning into low/non-low pairs, one will certainly wish to derive *e* and *o* from *ə* by assimilation to the following glides *-j* and *-w* at some level of analysis. The rules of *-r* suffixation are simpler if we regard this assimilation as a low level rule of surface phonetics. A further complication is the difference in the pronunciation of the triphthongs written above as *-iou* and *-uei* depending on tone. It is agreed that the mid vowel in both cases has a higher and less prominent pronunciation in tones 1 and 2 than in tones 3 and 4. Chao believed that the distinction was maintained in tone sandhi when tone 3 became tone 2 before another tone 3 (1968: 54) but Wang and Li (1967) have shown experimentally that this is not the case. The variation is therefore to be regarded as an automatic concomitant of the tone. How it is to be described in precise phonetic terms has not, however, been clearly determined. For the present I shall assume that these finals are structurally *-wəj* and *-jəw* with varying degrees of fronting and raising of *ə* by assimilation to the following glides depending on the tone.

The reason for the differential effect of tones 1 and 2 as compared to tones 3 and 4 is an interesting question that has been largely ignored in studies of Mandarin phonology. It is probably to be correlated with the fact that the first pair end high while the second pair end low (assuming that the basic form of tone 3 is the so-called half third tone, without the terminal rise that occurs only in isolation before a pause). This is a question that will be left aside here, however.

The association of low vowel and lowered pitch is also found in the split of the *yin ru* tone in Cantonese into upper and lower tones depending on the height of the vowel.

If it were not for the fact that a minimal contrast between *A*, in open syllables, and *a*, before *-n* and *-j*, emerges in certain morphophonemic processes, one would be justified in regarding the three surface vowels, *a*, *A*, and *ə*, as allophones of a single underlying phoneme from a structuralist point of view. If we must distinguish *a* and *A*, however, *a* has either to be identified with the latter (as is done, for example, by Cheng 1973) or to be separated from both, since it would not make sense phonetically to regard front *a* and back *a* as allophones of one

phoneme and central A as another. There is, in fact, good reason to regard the difference between /an/ [an] and /aǎŋ/ [aŋ] as an inherited structural feature going back at least to LMC. This can be shown by the different histories of the Grade III finals in the *dang* 宕 and *shan* 山 rhyme groups between LMC and EM. In the *shan* group, as we have seen (p. 14 above), Grade II in -jaan (after velars) or -aan (after other initials) remained distinct from Grade III in -iǎn [ien] until well after the Yuan period. In the *dang* group, however, there was a merger of Grade III with Grade II (derived from the originally distinct *jiang* 江 group). I interpret this as having come about through the laxing of medial -i- in the Grade III final -iaǎŋ to a glide, yielding -jaǎŋ, which merged with the Grade II final -jaǎŋ derived from earlier -jaawŋ. (These LMC reconstructions differ somewhat from those in Pulleyblank 1970-71. They will be justified in detail elsewhere.) I assume that the laxing took place because in this case -i- was followed by a full vowel in contrast to the glide ǎ in -iǎn. That the merger took place in this way is shown by the hP'ags-pa orthography, which distinguishes -j- and medial -i- (Pulleyblank 1970). It is to be noted that when -i- laxed to -j-, it was lost altogether after retroflex initials: LMC ɕiaǎŋ > ɕjaǎŋ > EM ɕaǎŋ, spelt ɕaŋ in hP'ags-pa. A similar laxing of -i- to -j-, with loss after retroflexives and even sometimes after velars in the final -iwŋ: 弓 LMC kiwŋ > EM kjuŋ (hP'ags-pa), kuŋ (*Zhongyuan yinyun*); 中 LMC triwŋ > tɕjuŋ > EM tɕuŋ. Here i laxed to j when w became syllabic.

There is not such a clear historical reason for -aǎw as there is for -aǎg. In the -aw group in LMC there was the same three-way contrast as in the -an group: -aw (Grade I), -(j)aaw (Grade II), -iǎw [iew] (Grades III/IV). By Early Mandarin Grades I and II had largely merged but there is no clear evidence to show whether it was as-aaw rather than -aw. Grade III was still distinct.

The finals -r and -z are found only after homorganic retroflex and alveolar initials respectively. They are sometimes analyzed as having an underlying central high vowel -i. According to our analysis, however, such a vowel would have the feature [-front] which does not agree well with the apparent assimilation to the preceding initials. We shall regard them as they are transcribed by Chao, that is as syllabic forms of r and z respectively. It is true that z does not occur as an independent nonsyllabic phoneme but it has the place features of s, which always occurs before z either alone or as the second element in an affricate and we should expect that s would acquire voicing with the change of [-syllabic] to [+syllabic]. Historically -r has arisen by repeated applications of a rule deleting -i after retroflex continuants. Where i was followed by a consonant or final glide, it was replaced by ə (p. 7 above) but in the absence of a following segment syllabicity was maintained by syllabification of the preceding retroflex consonant. By contrast the change of -i to -z after alveolar sibilants occurred only once, in the

LMC period, and was not paralleled by loss of *i* after the same initials in other finals. The motivation for the shift is therefore less apparent but it is in some degree parallel to that of *-i* to *-r*:

The isolated final *ə^r* may be analyzed as *r*, with no initial. Historically it is derived from EM *rr*. Modern *rì* 日 "day", phonemically *rr* < EM *ri*, is often heard as *ər*, like 二 "two", phonemically *r*, showing the same tendency to drop initial *r* before syllabic *r*.

The above discussion has disposed of most of the questions that arise when we seek to introduce the distinction between high vowels and glides into Chao's table of finals. We find high vowels alone or before final consonants: *-i*, *-u*, *-y*, *-in*, *-yn*, *-iŋ*, *-uŋ* — and also before *ǎ* in *-iǎ*, *-iǎn*, *-uǎ*, *-yǎ*. Glides are found before those vowels — *a*, *aǎ*, *aa*, *ə* (and its allophones *e* and *o*) — that can occur independently in finals which have no "medial". The one final that remains problematical is *-iuŋ*. In terms of overall patterning this occupies the front-labial column corresponding to *-iŋ* and *-uŋ* and one is therefore tempted to treat it as *-yŋ*. This is how it is transcribed by Li Rong (1963), for example. Unfortunately this agrees poorly with its actual phonetic value. There is no doubt that the rhyme vowel is the same as in *-uŋ*, as is implied by Chao's transcription and, indeed, by most romanization systems. The problem is easily solved if we allow for the distinction between glides and vowels. I shall write it as *-juŋ*, though there is no doubt a degree of anticipatory rounding that would justify writing *-yŋ*. The lack of symmetry in overall patterning that is implied by the contrast between *-juŋ* and *-yn* can be explained on historical grounds, though it is no doubt reinforced by the agreement in frontness between rhyme vowels and final consonants — [+front] *y* and *n*, [–front] *u* and *ŋ*.

Analytical Table of Pekingese Finals

Neutral	Anterior <i>r, z</i> <i>ɿ</i>	Front <i>i</i>	Labial <i>u</i>	Front-Labial <i>y</i>
<i>əǎ</i> [ɤ [^]]		<i>iǎ</i> [iɛ]	<i>uǎ</i> [uɔ]	<i>yǎ</i> [ye]
<i>aa</i> [A]		<i>jaa</i> [jA]	<i>waa</i> [wA]	
<i>əj</i> [ej]			<i>wəj</i> [wej]	
<i>aj</i>		<i>jaj</i>	<i>waj</i>	
<i>əw</i> [ow]		<i>jew</i> [jow]		
<i>aǎw</i> [ɔw]		<i>jaǎw</i> [jɔw]		
		<i>in</i>		<i>yn</i>
<i>ən</i>		<i>iǎn</i> [ien]	<i>wən</i>	
<i>an</i>			<i>wan</i>	<i>yan</i>
		<i>iŋ</i>	<i>uŋ</i>	<i>juŋ</i>
<i>əŋ</i>			(<i>wəŋ</i>)	
<i>aǎŋ</i> [ɔŋ]		<i>jaǎŋ</i> [jɔŋ]	<i>waǎŋ</i> [wɔŋ]	

3. The Retroflex Suffix

There are few morphophonemic processes in Pekingese to reveal underlying phonological structures. The suffix *-r*, derived from 兒 *er* "child" and originally diminutive in meaning, does, however, result in a number of changes in the stems to which it is attached. It can be added to any other independent final except *er* itself. The syllables that result from *-r* suffixation are listed below:

$\dot{r} + r \rightarrow \text{ər}$	$i + r \rightarrow \text{jər}$	$u + r \rightarrow \text{ur}$	$y + r \rightarrow \text{ɥər}$
$\dot{z} + r \rightarrow \text{ər}$			
$\text{əǎ} + r \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{əǎr} [\text{ǎr}] \\ \text{ər}^* \end{cases}$	$\text{iǎ} + r \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{jəǎr} \\ \text{jər}^* \end{cases}$	$\text{uǎ} + r \rightarrow \text{uǎr} [\text{uǎr}]$	$\text{yǎ} + r \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{ɥəǎr} \\ \text{ɥər}^* \end{cases}$
$\text{aa} + r \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{aar} [\text{Ar}] \\ \text{ar}^{**} \end{cases}$	$\text{jaa} + r \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{jaar} \\ \text{jar}^{**} \end{cases}$	$\text{waa} + r \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{waar} \\ \text{war}^{**} \end{cases}$	
$\text{əj} + r \rightarrow \text{ər}$		$\text{wəj} + r \rightarrow \text{wər}$	
$\text{aj} + r \rightarrow \text{ar}$	$\text{ja} + r \rightarrow \text{jar}$	$\text{wa} + r \rightarrow \text{war}$	
$\text{əw} + r \rightarrow \text{əwr} [\text{owr}]$	$\text{jəw} + r \rightarrow \text{jəwr}$		
$\text{aǎw} + r \rightarrow \text{aǎwr} [\text{awr}]$	$\text{jaǎw} + r \rightarrow \text{jaǎwr}$		
$\text{ən} + r \rightarrow \text{ər}$	$\text{in} + r \rightarrow \text{jər}$	$\text{wən} + r \rightarrow \text{wər}$	$\text{yn} + r \rightarrow \text{ɥər}$
$\text{an} + r \rightarrow \text{ar}$	$\text{iǎn} + r \rightarrow \text{jar}$	$\text{wan} + r \rightarrow \text{war}$	$\text{ɥan} + r \rightarrow \text{ɥar}$
$\text{əŋ} + r \rightarrow \text{əŋr} [\text{ǎr}]$	$\text{iŋ} + r \rightarrow \text{jəŋr} [\text{jǎr}]$	$\text{uŋ} + r \rightarrow \text{uŋr} [\text{ūr}]$	$\text{jun} + r \rightarrow \text{junr}$
$\text{aǎŋ} + r \rightarrow \text{aǎŋr} [\text{ǎr}]$	$\text{jaǎŋ} + r \rightarrow \text{jaǎŋr}$	$\text{waǎŋ} + r \rightarrow \text{waǎŋr}$	

* *əǎr*, *jəǎr*, *ɥəǎr* are found in tones 1 and 2; *ər*, *jər*, *ɥər* are found in tones 3 and 4.

** *ar*, *jar*, *war* are usual for native speakers of the dialect. There is no distinction based on tone.

The distinction between *aar* [Ar] from *aa* + *r* and *ar* from *an* or *aj* + *r* is somewhat problematical. Chao claims not to have heard it and doubts its genuineness (1968: 52 n. 35). According to Wang Fushi, however, although it is not found in the pronunciation of older residents of Peking, it is presently on the increase, especially among newcomers who have recently immigrated into the city (1963: 117). This suggests that the deletion of *a* between *a* and *r* is a late rule in the derivation which is, perhaps, is not found in country dialects and is not always learned correctly by new speakers from other regions. Without the rule the relation between the suffixed forms and the independent morphemes on which they are based is more transparent.

The situation in the corresponding mid line is quite different. In this case the regular rule is that the *r*-suffixed forms derived from *əǎ*, *iǎ*, *yǎ* remain distinct from those derived from *ən*, *əj*, *i*, *in*, *y*, *yn* in tones 1 and 2 but merge with the latter in tones 3 and 4. Chao claims that this distinction is dying out even in tones 1 and 2 among the younger generation but no such tendency is mentioned by Wang Fushi and it may be questioned, therefore, whether this is true in Peking itself. According to Wang the difference between *i* + *r* and *iǎ* + *r* is that the latter

has a backer vowel in tones 1 and 2 than in tones 3 and 4. This implies that the fronting of *iä* [ie] is lost before *r*. Hartman's narrow phonetic transcription -jə̌ər also implies this and it agrees with my own auditory impression. It is contrary to the assumption of C. C. Cheng that this final, which he writes as -ie, retains a front vowel when -r is suffixed. The centralization of the vowel is correctly predicted by my assumption that *iä* changes to jə̌ä when *r* is added as a result of a general rule causing high front vowels to change to glides before -r (with automatic insertion of ə, see p. 7 above). The merger of ə̌ər, jə̌ər, qə̌ər with ə̌r, jər, qər in tones 3 and 4 implies a deletion of ä. The precise explanation why this should take place only in tones 3 and 4 remains to be determined. It is presumably related to the fact, noted above, that ə tends to have lower allophones in these tones.

Note that there is no merger, even in tones 3 and 4, between uār [uər] and wər derived from wən or wəj + *r*. Hartman's assumption that there is such a merger is certainly mistaken. The reason is that only high front vowels are changed to glides when *r* is added and the [-front] vowel *u* is not affected. Note that *u* + *r*, uŋ + *r* and juŋ + *r* also retain the vowel *u* unchanged.

The changes brought about by *r*-suffixation may be summarized as follows: (1) Syllabic *r* and *z* are deleted and replaced by ə. This is no doubt to be accounted for by a general phonotactic rule that allows syllabic consonants only in syllable final position. (2) High front vowels are replaced by glides. Syllabicity is restored by schwa insertion if no more than one segment comes between the glide and the suffix and by the change of ä to a in the case of the final iān. (3) The front segments -j and -n are deleted before *r*. The [-front] segments -ŋ and -w remain except that -ŋr is realized as simultaneous nasalization and retroflexion of the preceding vowel. (4) ä is dropped or retained before *r* according to the rules that have been already discussed.

The difference in treatment between *iä* + *r* and iān + *r*, the former giving jə̌ər through schwa insertion and the latter giving jər through change of ä from [-syllabic] to [+syllabic] followed by the deletion of *n*, may be compared to what happened historically in Mandarin when *i* was lost after retroflex initials. Early Mandarin had *i* after retroflexives in the following types of syllable, illustrated by examples: 世 *ʂi* "generation", 深 *ʂim* "deep", 神 *ʂin* "spirit", 聲 *ʂiŋ* "sound", 手 *ʂiw* "hand", 陝 *ʂiām* "Shensi", 扇 *ʂiān* "fan", 少 *ʂiāw* "few", 舌 *ʂiä* "tongue". (As noted above, -i- had already been lost after retroflexives where it had laxened to a glide before a full vowel between LMC and EM). The rules of syllabification that applied when *i* was deleted in the course of the evolution of Modern Mandarin were as follows: (a) when there was no final consonant or glide, the retroflex initial itself gave rise to a homorganic syllabic segment: *ʂi* > *ʂ* > *ʂr*; (b) when ä was followed by a final consonant or glide it changed from [-syllabic] to [+syl-

labic]: $\text{ɕiǎm} > \text{ɕam}$, $\text{ɕiǎn} > \text{ɕan}$, $\text{ɕiǎw} > \text{ɕaw}$; (c) otherwise ə was inserted before the final consonant or glide: $\text{ɕim} > \text{ɕəm}$, $\text{ɕin} > \text{ɕən}$, $\text{ɕiŋ} > \text{ɕəŋ}$, $\text{ɕiw} > \text{ɕəw}$, $\text{ɕiǎ} > \text{ɕǎ}$. With the subsequent change of $-\text{m}$ to $-\text{n}$ and of $-\text{aw}$ to aǎw , these rules give the correct forms for modern Pekingese. What emerges is that ǎ became syllabic when it was followed by another nonsyllabic segment but was treated as a closing glide when no other consonant or glide followed.

It is easy to see that, with the difference that i is not deleted but becomes a glide, rules (b) and (c) correspond to the rules for syllabification in r -suffixation. The only complication is that $-\text{r}$ counts as a final segment for schwa insertion when there is no final non-syllabic segment in the base form but not otherwise. Evidently we must apply the glide formation and syllabification rules cyclically, first before the deletion of the word boundary and then again after the deletion of the word boundary. After the first application of the glide formation rule, the analogue of rule (a) in the last paragraph would restore syllabic i and y . The derivation can be illustrated as follows.

	$\text{i}\#r\#$	$\text{in}\#r\#$	$\text{iǎ}\#r\#$	$\text{iǎn}\#r\#$	$\text{y}\#r\#$	$\text{yn}\#r\#$	$\text{yǎ}\#r\#$
glide formation	$\text{j}\#r\#$	$\text{jn}\#r\#$	$\text{jǎ}\#r\#$	$\text{jǎn}\#r\#$	$\text{ɥ}\#r\#$	$\text{ɥn}\#r\#$	$\text{ɥǎ}\#r\#$
syllabification	$\text{i}\#r\#$	$\text{iən}\#r\#$	$\text{iǎ}\#r\#$	$\text{ian}\#r\#$	$\text{y}\#r\#$	$\text{ɥən}\#r\#$	$\text{ɥǎ}\#r\#$
boundary deletion	$\text{ir}\#$	$\text{jən}\#r\#$	$\text{jǎ}\#r\#$	$\text{jan}\#r\#$	$\text{yr}\#$	$\text{ɥən}\#r\#$	$\text{ɥǎ}\#r\#$
glide formation	$\text{j}\#r\#$				$\text{ɥ}\#r\#$		
syllabification	$\text{jər}\#$				$\text{ɥər}\#$		
deletion of $-\text{n}$, $-\text{j}$		$\text{jər}\#$		$\text{ja}\#r\#$		$\text{ɥər}\#$	

An important point to note in the above derivations is that when i laxes to j it remains attached to a preceding initial consonant and does not become a syllable final glide. Otherwise one would expect the syllabification rule to insert ə in front of it: $\text{Ci}\#r\# \rightarrow \text{Cj}\#r\# \rightarrow *C\text{əj}\#r\#$, ultimately giving the incorrect form $*C\text{ər}$ (Where C stands for any consonant). This implies that, when i laxes to j , it forms a cluster with the initial: $\text{Ci} \rightarrow \text{Cj}$. The notion of a cluster is evidently related to that of a complex segment. We shall make use of it again in our discussion of Pekingese morpheme structure. It will greatly simplify our statement of formal rules if we assume that initials followed by high vowels are palatalized, labialized or both in all cases, thus:

$$C \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} C \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{front} \\ \beta\text{labial} \end{array} \right] / - \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{front} \\ \beta\text{labial} \end{array} \right]$$

Whether the glide which forms a cluster with the initial consonant is realized on the surface as a feature of the initial, as a medial glide segment, or simply as in the vowel, can be left to lower level phonetic rules.

We can now formally state the rules of r -suffixation as follows:

1. Deletion of high front vowels and anterior syllabics

$$[+syllab] \rightarrow \phi / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-----} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right] [-syllab]0 \quad (\#)r$$

2. Syllabification

(a)

$$\phi \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syllab} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ \alpha_{\text{low}} \end{array} \right] / \# \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syllab} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ \alpha_{\text{low}} \\ (-)+\text{contin} \end{array} \right] - \#$$

(b)

$$\phi \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syllab} \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha_{\text{front}} \\ \beta_{\text{labial}} \end{array} \right] / \# \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{high} \\ \alpha_{\text{front}} \\ \beta_{\text{labial}} \end{array} \right] - \#$$

(c)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \check{a} \rightarrow a \\ \phi \rightarrow \emptyset \end{array} \right\} / \# C - [-syllab] \#$$

(3) Deletion of word boundary

$$\# \rightarrow \phi / - r\#$$

Rules 1 and 2 apply both before and after the application of rule 3.

4. Deletion of -j and -n

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syllab} \\ +\text{front} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \phi / - r\#$$

5. Shortening of aa

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syllab} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \phi / \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syllab} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right] - r\#$$

This rule is omitted by some new speakers of the dialect. See above.

6. Deletion of ǎ

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{syllab} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \phi / \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syllab} \\ -\text{low} \end{array} \right] - r\# / \text{Tones 3, 4}$$

It should be noted that some marginal cases of morphophonemic alterations are also clarified by the interpretation of mid and low open vowel finals as having -ǎ. Thus, it becomes quite natural that the vowel in t'aa [t'Am] "they", derived from t'aa + mæn by the elision of the vowel and final consonant in the second syllable should be different from that in t'am "he" (polite form) derived from t'an by assimilation of the final -n to a following labial consonant (Chao 1968: 54). Chao also gives some examples where the vowel -ǎ, i.e. -ǎǎ, is reduced to ə in truncated forms such as tʂeʂ for tʂǎǎ ʂʂ "this is".

4. Pekingese Morpheme Structure

(a) The distribution of high vowels and glides as medials

Though previous investigators have noted the complementarity between such finals as -in, -wən; -an, -iən; -yn, -juŋ, they have seldom, to my knowledge, tried to explain the asymmetries in the surface forms. By distinguishing, as I have

done, between vowels and glides as “medial”, we can discern some patterns that provide, if not complete symmetry, at least something much closer to it. Thus, before the front ending *-n* we have syllabic [+front] *i* in both *-in* and *-iän* and, conversely, non-syllabic [-front] *w* in both *-wən* and *-wan*. Historically *-iän* represents the merger of EM *-iän* and *-jan*, while conversely, *-wən* comes from EM *-un*, and *-wan* represents the merger of EM *-wan* and *-uän*. That is, while the [+front] glide has been strengthened to a vowel before the [+front] ending, the [-front] vowel has been laxed to a glide in the same environment. The latter process might be termed de-assimilation, by which I mean the separation of segments that have opposite features so as to prevent assimilation. The laxing of [+high] *i* to *j* when *-r*, which is [+low], is suffixed is de-assimilatory in this sense.

The other front ending *-j* has had similar effects. Pekingese has *-waj* corresponding to *-wan*. This is not very significant in itself, since it merely continues EM *-waj*, LMC *-uäj* having already shifted to *-uj* by that period. The shift of *-uj* to *-waj* is, however, parallel to that of *-un* to *-wən*. (That it is not *-uj* is shown by *r*-suffixation, which gives *-wər*, not *-ur* as from *-u + r*.) The existence of *jaj*, rather than *iäj* [iej] in Pekingese, in contrast to *iän*, might seem to go contrary to the rule but this is illusory. In EM *-jaj*, like *-jan*, was found after velar initials in Grade II words generally. As in the case of *-jan*, the medial glide strengthened to a vowel and the following *a* became non-syllabic: *-jaj* → *-iäj*; after which the final glide was dropped, giving Pekingese *-iä*, e.g. 皆 “all” EM *kjaj* Pek. *tɕiä*. The exception was the case where *j* was initial. In this case *jaj* was unaffected, while *jan* became *iän* (phonetically *jiän*) by regular rule, e.g. 眼 “eye” LMC *ɲjaan* EM *jan* Pek. *iän*.

At present *jaj* is a strictly marginal syllable in the language. It is almost wholly confined to the one morpheme 崖 “cliff” which is more commonly pronounced *jaa*. It should be noted that the reading *jaa* does not derive from EM *jaj* but goes back to an alternative reading that probably already existed in LMC or even EMC. Such double readings are common in words which came from the *Qieyun jia* 佳 rhyme. Compare 佳 “beautiful” and 街 “street” which were homophones in the *Qieyun* and should regularly have given LMC *kjaaj*. The Pekingese reading *tɕiä* for the latter reflects this reading while the reading *tɕjaa* for the former reflects an alternative LMC reading *kjaa*. The existence of such alternative readings in LMC is shown by rhymes in Tang poetry. They probably reflect a mixture of dialects in Middle Chinese.

By analogy with *i*, we might expect that front-labial *y* would also appear as a vowel before *-n*, and this is true in *-yn*. We unexpectedly find *-yan*, however, instead of *-yän*. I am unable to account for this at present. There are, of course, Mandarin dialects which do have *-yän* [yən].

The finals with the [-front] endings -ŋ and -w show a less clear pattern than those with [+front] endings. The history of the finals in -aǎŋ and -aǎw has already been discussed. The change from EM -iw to Pek. -jəw, parallel to that of -uj to -wəj, could be called de-assimilatory. On the other hand -iŋ was not affected.

It has already been suggested that the contrast between the vowels in -juŋ and -yn shows a correlation in frontness between vowels and final consonants. Historically EM still had -yŋ as well as -juŋ and -wəŋ as well as -uŋ. This is how I interpret the double readings found in the *Zhongyuan yinyun* between the -əŋ and -uŋ rhymes, e.g. 肱 EM kwən, kuŋ, 榮 EM yŋ, juŋ. The existence of such double readings shows that the shift of -wəŋ to -uŋ and -yŋ to -juŋ was already in progress.

5. Conclusion

Several aspects of Pekingese phonology have not been dealt with in the above survey, most notably the tones (except in passing). Stress and intonation, including the reduction of segments in unstressed syllables, which are of much interest for synchronic analysis but of less concern in historical perspective, since historical evidence is largely absent, have not been touched on at all. The main concern has been to show the importance of certain concepts — the distinction between glides and high vowels, the recognition of the role of the [+low] glide ǣ (or H), the replacement of the features [back] and [rounded] by [front] and [labial] — that seem to me to be necessary to clarify the synchronic phonology of the language and also for a proper understanding of its historical development.

Abbreviations and Conventions

Cant.	Cantonese
EM	Early Mandarin
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
Pek.	Pekingese

Phonetic transcriptions are given in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in bold type. The symbols A, H, which do not appear in the IPA chart, are explained in the text. For typographical convenience r is used instead of ɻ for the retroflex continuant.

REFERENCES

- Allen, W. S., 1953. "Relationship in comparative linguistics," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 52-108.
- Anderson, Stephen R., 1974. *The organization of phonology*, Academic Press, New York.
- Bloch, Bernard, and G. L. Trager, 1942. *Outline of linguistic analysis*, Waverly Press, Baltimore.

- Campbell, Lyle, 1974. "Phonological features: problems and proposals" *Language* 50, 52-65.
- Chao, Yuenren, 1934. "The non-ubiqueness of phonemic solutions of phonemic systems," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 4, 363-397.
- 1968, *A grammar of spoken Chinese*, University of California Presse, Berkeley.
- Cheng, C. C., 1973. *A synchronic phonology of Mandarin Chinese*. Mouton.
- Chomsky, Noam, and Morris Halle, 1968. *The sound pattern of English*, Harper and Row, New York, Evanston and London.
- Dobson E. J., 1957, *English pronunciation 1500-1700*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Egerod, Søren, 1956. *The Lungtu Dialect: a descriptive and historical study of a south Chinese idiom*, Munksgaard, Copenhagen.
- Fromkin, Victoria A., 1970, "The concept of 'naturalness' in a universal phonetic theory", *Glossa* 4, 29-45.
- Hartman, Lawton M III, "The segmental phonemes of the Peiping dialect," *Language* 20, 28-42.
- Ladefoged, Peter, 1971. *Preliminaries to linguistic phonetics*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
- 1975, *A course in phonetics*, Harcourt Brace Janovich, Inc., New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Atlanta.
- Li, Rong, 1963. *Hanyu fangyan shouce*, Kexue chubanshe, Peking.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G., 1969, "The semivowel i in Vietnamese and Mandarin", *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 39, 203-218.
- 1970, "Notes on the fip'ags-pa alphabet for Chinese" in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch, ed., *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, Lund Humphries, London. pp. 358-375.
- 1970-71, "Late Middle Chinese", *Asia Major* 15, 197-239 and 16, 121-168.
- Wang, William S-Y., 1968. "Vowel features, paired variables and the English vowel shift," *Language* 44, 695-708.
- Wang, William S-Y. and Kung-pu Li, 1967. "Tone 3 in Pekingese", *Journal of speech and hearing research* 10, 629-636.
- Wang, Fushi, 1963. "Beijinghua yunmu de jige wenti", *Zhongguo yuwen* 123, 115-124.

Additional Note

The treatment of the syllable *er* as syllabic *r*, with no schwa vowel, represents a modification in the article as originally submitted. Apart from the historical argument presented briefly on p. 12, it makes possible an important simplification of the rules of retroflex suffixation. It makes unnecessary (a) cyclic application of the rule for glide formation, (b) the rule for boundary deletion. Unfortunately exigencies of publishing make it impossible to present the detailed argument here.

"ROUNDING" "BACKNESS" AND SYLLABICITY IN CHINESE ELSEWHERE AND IN GENERAL

Alexis Rygaloff

Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (C.R.L.A.O.)

Backness and rounding are two of the many so-called 'features' — explicitly 'substantive' features, and specifically in the present case phonetic and/or phonological features (neither semantic nor syntactic) that are hardly expected to be left with big problems: both are known to have been quite clearly and convincingly localized, described in full detail, unambiguously defined, provided with appropriately suggestive labels...; and both qualify for 'universality' beyond doubt.

Without therefore questioning either feature as such, and taking it that

1. no significant progress in the pursuit of 'universals' has been achieved since 12 years exactly — 1968: with the ultimate state of the matter presented in Chomsky and Halle *Sound Patterns of English* (SPE for brevity), prior to emendations of any kind: corrections — whether 'minor' or otherwise — occasional additions, extensions, improvements, 'adjustments', or re-adjustments, provisions for 'alternative solutions'...and therefore maximally consistent; whereas

2. Chinese studies on the other hand have developed meanwhile up to a point where further advance in the knowledge of universals may reasonably be expected to come from their quarters: with more enlightenment besides enrichment — progress in the understanding of things: languages and language, 'features and rules'...in addition to new findings, discoveries and rediscoveries..., I shall try in this paper to simply observe the way rounding and backness interact, and eventually reconsider the ways these two features are currently meant and made to operate and cooperate, whether generally or in Chinese and elsewhere; while assuming that one of the features, or both — or, for that matter, any feature of either kind (whether phonetic or syntactico-semantic), within any set and including therefore the ideally 'fullest' set at the uppermost limit — may very well fail to operate always and everywhere in precisely the very same fashion, without either any actual, really 'deep-seated' rule (ordering, or formal, by definition) having necessarily to be anywhere conceived of as 'specific' — objectively specific: otherwise than in contrast to norms, standards, models, theories..., whether institutional or scientific; or the feature itself bound to lose anything of its admitted universality, in the sense of intrinsic (substantive) naturalness.

I

It has been for some time a widely held idea — hopefully with enough serious credit still left — that all languages ('natural', and naturally 'human' languages) are identically positioned with respect to a hypothetic set of features by drawing on this unique set and having nowhere else to draw from; while in no case whatever either having or being free to make use of the whole set.

Just a subset of the features is then called for in every case, which should, from case to case, vary in composition, and appears to so do indeed — but to a considerable extent, and consequently within certain limits.

'Basicness' thus entails, to account for the idea of a 'minimal' subset of the features meant never and nowhere to be dispensed with — and therefore granted 'universality' in a narrow sense — while duly allowed to always and everywhere prove insufficient.

This is where rounding and backness would stand, to qualify for 'full universality': with phonological basicness in addition to phonetic obviousness; were it not for one of the features waiting controversy on this very phonological ground due to possible lack of universal 'distinctiveness'.

Presumably calling for such questioning is the former feature rather than backness, though rounding is hardly expected to be much less widespread, due to what human lips simply happen to be, and how to keep and work: with unquestionably universal ability to go either rounded or not, together with equally unquestionable universal inability to remain all along positioned in one way only, whether in the process of speaking or otherwise.

*
* *
*

Within the bulk of the phonetic features — among 'cavity' features: that is, 'segmental (non-prosodic)' features other than either 'major' or related to 'mode of articulation' — backness and rounding stand with respective initial minimal descriptive statements so worded as to allow their operating either together or independently of each other, with

— back sounds taken to be "produced by retracting the body of the tongue" (SPE 305); and

— rounded sounds "with narrowing of the lip orifice" (id 309), while leaving to further speculation, investigation and discussion questions as the following:

1. are (in phonologies) both features to be regarded as universally distinctive?
2. if not — and this seems to be case — is it that both rounding and backness may happen to be non-distinctive (and therefore 'redundant') concurrently: within a single 'language', or a 'grammar'? or rather
3. which again seems to be the case — that one of the features at least has, necessarily, to be non-redundant, always and everywhere, while the other one could

be left to occasional non-distinctiveness? and then

4. is it that both rounding and backness may so happen to be either redundant or distinctive? or rather that

5. wherever and whenever one feature lacks distinctiveness, the one that does is necessarily the very same in every case, to the exclusion of the other one?

Clearly enough, the final position is the one that has favour now, as backness is dealt with first (SPE 305) without any reference to rounding; while rounding, when further described is

(a) allowed to operate without backness in vowels and glides, if 'non-low' — but expected to generally go along with it; and

(b) taken to account for traditional labialization — in consonants, mainly velars: traditionally 'labio-velars', such consonants being in their turn expected either to prevail or not to.

*

While naturally allowing

(a) for rounded non-consonants (vowels and glides) to be on occasion 'non-high' besides just 'high' — that is (rather than 'low') 'neither low nor high': with features [-low, -high] pointing to / ɔ / in the first place — and

(b) for rounded consonants not to be uniquely velars: 'labiovelars'

it may reasonably be assumed that typically (once wanted: to be sufficient and necessary)

rounded non-back non-consonants are just that: the rounded non-back 'high vowel' / ü /

and that the rounded consonants and the labio-velars are one and the same thing.

Typical phonemic segments with rounding either there — distinctively or redundantly — or distinctively not there, should then be just the following (fig. 1), in current matrix representation reduced to minimum:

	vowels			glides			consonants					
	i	ü	u	y	ɥ	w	k	g	x	kʷ	gʷ	ɣʷ
major f: cons	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+
voc	+	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cavity: high	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
low	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
back	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
round	—	+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—	+	+	+

fig. 1

and taxonomic needs with respect to backness and rounding entirely met in first approximation with two types, X and Y, ending up in 4(3+1) classes:

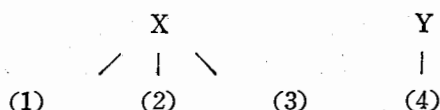


fig. 2

X is where rounding would be distinctive, necessarily

(1) due to / ü / being there (or possibly both / ü / and / w̃ /) and in spite of rounded consonants lacking — with French as a classical example;

(2) due to rounded consonants being there and in spite of non-back rounded non-consonants lacking — with English (as treated in SPE 175, with / k^w, g^w, x^w /)

(3) due to both types being there:

rounded non-consonants — one at least, a vowel if just one (rather than a glide), and then: / ü /

and consonants — and again one at least, which would be / k^w / — possibly with German (assuming *Quelle*, *Quantität* and the like to have / k^w / at the start); while Y (4) is where distinctiveness of rounding would be dubious; not to be taken for granted anyway, due to even neither / ü / nor / k^w / being there — with Russian.

Now, in directly observable (contemporary) Chinese

(a) rounded vocalic and near-vocalic (glide-like) non-back sounds admittedly occur everywhere to the only exception of Hakka and South-Min; while

(b) rounded consonants — precisely and uniquely labio-velars in actual fact — are generally assumed to prevail in Cantonese and nowhere else.

Is this to mean

1. that Cantonese, and this dialect only, should go along with German: in X3; whereas

2. the bulk of present-day Chinese would follow suit with French: into X1; both Cantonese and the rest of Chinese equally qualifying however for X, together with both French and German, in addition to X(2) English... — X appearing therefore to be the proper place for the whole of Chinese as well, were it not

3. for South-Min and Hakka to be left in Y(4), alone, to keep company with Russian?

And would it then be the case for French and the bulk of Chinese to better compare with each other than for Cantonese — besides of course Hakka and South-Min — with the rest of Chinese on the one hand, and for German with French on the other hand?

*

* *

Whether rare, very rare or not so rare..., rounded non-back segmental phonemes are certainly not universal; and are therefore 'marked' in this sense — in contradistinction to 'basic' (unmarked) phonemes, where rounding either would presumably be redundant or is plainly and evidently absent.

And likewise glides, in contrast to basicness of consonants and vowels, should be endowed with markedness when taken to exist phonologically: otherwise than as assumed either in classical 'non-' or 'pre-' phonological transcriptions, or in current 'phonetic representations' (SPE 163).

Non-consonants relevant for universal inter-linguistic testing of distinctive rounding should then stand as

/ i (ü) u /
/ (y (Ǟ) w) /

fig. 3

to yield nine possible typical subsets for diversity in this respect to be exhaustively predicted: nine types altogether (fig. 5) with totals for distinct phonemes ranging from 2 to 6 through 3 and 4 (fig. 4)

/ i u /
II
/ i ü u /
III
/ i ü u /
/ y Ǟ w /
VI
/ y w /
IV

fig. 4

<p>II / i u / (2)</p> <p>III / i ü u / (3)</p> <p>IV / i u / / y / (3)</p> <p> / i u / / w / (3)</p> <p> / i u / / y w / (4)</p>	<p>VI / i ü u / / y / (4)</p> <p> / i ü u / / w / (4)</p> <p> / i ü u / / y w / (5)</p> <p> / i ü u / / y Ǟ w / (6)</p>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

fig. 5

Should now French and German be taken to simply exemplify VI(6) and VI(5) respectively; and should "non-'Hakka + South-Min' Chinese" be classified with French? On the face of it, yes — actually however, as long only as

(A) intra-syllabic positioning of the glides is ignored

(B) glides go unchallenged as a special, separate class of segments other than phonetic: as 'negatively neutral' phonemes, neither consonants nor vowels (with 'major features': | - cons, - voc |);

(C) [ü] -type sounds and the phonemic vowel / ü / likewise go unchallenged with respect to each other: if meant to universally and systematically co-respond, / ü / as underlying [ü]'s, and [ü]'s as the surfacings of / ü /.

A.— If positioning of the glides is taken into account, then

(i) French and German, besides the latter language lacking | w̥ | and the former language having it, would appear (fig. 6) to stand in remarkable contrast to each another, with glides as a rule

— not allowed into post-vocalic positions by French, while

— not allowed into pre-vocalic positions, by German

to the single exception of | y |, in both languages; but only if to stand — and again in both languages — at one of the syllable-'ends': either initially (position | 1 | — in German), or finally (position | 5 | — in French):

Initial (pre-vocalic): | 1 | (F) but | 1-2 | (G)

y	G	<i>ja</i> 'yes'	F	<i>il y a</i> (y'a) 'there is'	. y _A
		<i>Jahr</i> 'year'		<i>billiard</i> 'billiard'	
		<i>jauchzen</i> 'rejoice'		<i>yaourt</i> 'yoghurt'	
w̥	*			<i>huit</i> 'eight'	. w̥ _A
w	*			<i>ouate</i> 'cotton-wool'	. w _A
				<i>ouaille</i> 'flock'	

Non-initial prevocalic: | 2 | (F only)

y	<i>pied</i> 'foot'	<i>tien</i> 'yours'	<i>quiet</i> 'quiet'	- y _A
w̥	<i>puis</i> 'then'	<i>tuile</i> 'tile'	<i>cuit</i> 'cooked'	- w̥ _A
	<i>puits</i> 'well'			
w	<i>pois</i> 'pea'	<i>toi</i> 'thou'	<i>quoi</i> 'what'	- w _A
	<i>poix</i> 'pitch'	<i>toit</i> 'roof'	<i>coi</i> 'speechless'	
	<i>poids</i> 'weight'			

Non-final post-vocalic: | 4 | (G only)

y	<i>Reich</i> 'State'	Δ y -
	<i>euch</i> 'to you'	
w	<i>laut</i> 'loud'	Δ w -
	<i>Brauch</i> 'custom'	
	<i>auch</i> 'too'	

Final (post-vocalic): |5| (G) but |4-5| (F)

|y| G *Ei* 'egg'

F *ail* 'garlic' (contrast diasyllabic |ay. |
hai 'hated')

frei 'free'

rail 'rail'
ouaille 'flock'

*

|w| *Au* 'meadow'

|aw. |

Frau 'lady'

(ii) Now, Chinese (Standard), in spite of having |w̥| in addition to |y| and |w|, like French and unlike German, would appear to best compare altogether with both languages complementing each other, insofar as the basic glides are, in this language, allowed into any position as a rule — excepting again |y|, but now for position |4| only, somehow like French (comp. chin. |ai| 'love' with fr. *ail* 'garlic'; and contrast within Chinese |har| — * |hair| 'small child' — with |haur| 'number')

Nevertheless, |w̥| is indeed absent from German, while admittedly present in both French and 'non-Hakka+South-Min Chinese'; and with similar distribution, as neither language happens to accept this particular glide post-vocally.

However

— post-vocalic |w̥| does seem to have some existence in Cantonese-Chinese (sub-standard);

— and in remarkable contrast to French, |w̥| appears to be in Chinese, uniquely (unlike basic |y| and |w|) totally incompatible with initial (pre-vocalic) position:

(1) |yang| 'sheep' |yi| 'one' |ying| 'hard' |.yA|
*|.w̥A|

|wang| 'king' |wu| 'five' |.wA|

(2) |pyen| 'cheat' |.yA|

|tyen| 'sky, day'

|chyen| 'money'

|xwān| 'choose' |ywān| 'round' |.w̥A|

|dwān| 'short' |.wA|

|hwan| 'return'

(4) *(would-be *|hayr| 'small child' is actual |har|) *|.ay-|

*

*|.aw̥-|

|awr| 'coat' |hawr| 'number' |.aw-|

(5) |ay| 'love' |lay| 'come' |.ay. |

*(but Canton.: |kōw̥| 'he, she' *|.aw̥. |

|aw| 'coat' |law| 'old' |.aw. |

	1	2	(3)	4	5	
y (w)	+			+	+	German
w	—			+	+	
y	+	+			+	French
w	+	+				
w	+	+				
y	+	+			+	Chinese
w	—	+			(Cant)	
w	+	+		+	+	

fig. 6

How are such facts to be accounted for (explained — rather than done away with)?

B.— Glides, in phonologies, are certainly not to be taken for granted: and may therefore reasonably be assumed to never and nowhere have any existence as such — that is to always and everywhere reflect 'basic' phonological entities. And insofar as, for uniform-tentative treatment, segments are to be given precedence a priori over non-(supra)-segments, full segments over subsegments, single segments over clusters, and vowels over consonants, then it becomes a matter of peripheral high vowels operating in (phonological) non-monophotongs: diphtongs and triptongs.

(i) If so, German and French could appear to have one triptong each:

G |iau| (*jauchzen*) and F |uai| (*ouailles*)

to sort of 'mirror' one another, in addition to diphtongs — 'ascending' in French, but 'descending' in German, as a rule.

But German orthographic *J* has no good reason not to retain its traditional face value: of a regular consonant; and French |(Λ)i| not to trade likewise, whether in southern (classically 'Oc') French, where it regularly comes out diasyllabically, in spite of norm; or in normally homosyllabic northern ('Oïl') French.

(ii) Chinese on the other hand — the bulk of it: with Standard and to the only exception of Cantonese (substandard) — may easily be endowed with triptongs, alongside diphtongs, now both ascending and descending. But it so happens that out of a theoretical set of 9 (in 'general') or 6 (for Chinese: presentday Standard), only 2 triptong-types are provided with actual support, and these turn out to be again 'symmetric' |iΛu| and |uΛi|:

|iau|: |iau| 'want' |piau| 'watch'

|iou| 'there is' |liou| 'six'

|uai| |uai| 'out' |huai| 'bad'

|uei| 'tail' |huei| 'meeting'

the 'basic cross'-type diphtongs (left out) being therefore

- (α) *| iaI | and *| $\text{u}\Delta\text{u}$ | — 'basic parallel'
 *| $\text{ü}\Delta\text{I}$ | and *| $\text{ü}\Delta\text{u}$ | — 'mixed reverse' (?) : | $\text{ü}+\text{i}/\text{u}$ |
 (β) **| $\text{ü}\Delta\text{ü}$ | — 'marked (non-basic) parallel'
 **| $\text{I}\Delta\text{ü}$ | and | $\text{u}\Delta\text{ü}$ | — 'mixed direct' (?) : | $\text{i}/\text{u}+\text{ü}$ |

In synchronic modern standard Chinese, (α) is unsupported though not unpredictable, whereas (β) is not to be predicted anyway. In Cantonese, however, the latter type would not be unpredictable, were it not for this dialect to be endowed with labio-velars — now 'rounded consonants' — and (partly for this reason) to be actually deprived of phonological triphthongs altogether — uniquely within Chinese, as it seems.

The only Cantonese would-be triphthong-type is admittedly | $\text{u}\Delta\text{I}$ |, and the ascending dipthong, again only, would be | $\text{u}\Delta$ | — yielding | $\text{u}\Delta(\text{i})$ | to account for both non-monophthongs with prevocalic distinctive rounding. But this may only either follow a velar (homosyllabic) consonant (ex: | kua | 'melon', | kuai | 'ghost'), or then stand at syllable-initial (ex: | ua | 'say', | uai | 'stomach'). Therefore, it can't be a case of vocalic / u / : it's consonantal here again, but now obviously not a case of 'one full consonant', as to actually underly is (and can't be anything but) |(C)*(Δ -)|.

C — In languages like French and German — Standards, these being not known to ever have been written otherwise than alphabetically — / ü / is in no way to be challenged as a single, full and full-fledged vowel.

1/ It is indeed one of the present-day French and German standard vocalic segments, insofar as, like any other vowel, it is entitled to full classical 'centrality' — or 'nuclearity' — enabling it to stand either at one of the syllable-ends, or at 'both ends' somehow, to account for the whole of a syllable all by itself, (albeit not otherwise, when monosyllabic, than as the 'name' of one of the vocalic letters). Examples (for French):

(1-2 : C +) V	V (3)	V (+ C : 4-5)
<i>rue</i> 'street'	<i>u</i> (the letter — read [ü]) <i>utile</i> 'useful'	<i>urne</i> 'urn; ballot-box'
<i>rat</i> 'rat'	<i>a</i> (the letter) <i>aride</i> 'arid'	<i>art</i> 'art'
<i>riz</i> 'rice'	<i>i</i> (the letter) <i>hideux</i> 'hideous'	<i>ire</i> 'ire'
<i>roue</i> 'wheel'	<i>ou</i> 'or' <i>où</i> 'where' <i>houx</i> 'holly' <i>houe</i> 'hoe'	<i>ours</i> 'bear'
<i>raie</i> 'stripe; skate'	<i>est</i> 'is' <i>et</i> 'and' <i>haie</i> 'hedge'	<i>est</i> 'east' <i>être</i> 'be' <i>herse</i> 'harrow'

ré 'D (mus.)'

été 'summer'

rot 'belch'

haut 'high'

autre 'other'

or 'gold'

2/ And therefore French (standard) once granted diphtongs — so far 'ascending' only, and 'descending' no more — might well trade with its /*ü*/ to qualify as peripheral in addition, alongside basic /*i*/ and /*u*/ — actually just pre-central peripheral, whether initial (1 : *huit*...) or non-initial (: *puis*...).

3/ Diphtongs, however, besides ascending and descending, may happen to be 'flat' (in a sense) — at least 'high flat': with high vowels in both periphery and center; and high flat diphtong; standard French may appear to have, with total number 6 at first glance (if not 7):

	i	ü	u	u	ü	i	
i	—	+	+	+	?	+	i
ü	+	—	—	—	—	—	ü
u	+	—	—	—	—	—	u
	üi	iü	iu	ui	(üi)	ii	
	ui						

fig. 7 (capitals are for 'central')

Yet, to stand on enough sufficiently solid ground, turns out to be not much more than just one single pair, insofar as — [*ri*] and [*vi*], however fully exemplified (with *bille* 'marble', *fille* 'girl; daughter' *quille* 'skittle', *trille* 'trill' — and *houille* 'coal', *bouille* 'mug', *nouille* 'noodle', *brouille* 'quarrel') are certainly to be discarded as obvious cases of consonantal /*y*/ (as above)

— while [*iv*] and [*iü*] on the one hand, [*ur*] and [*ür*] on the other hand, once paired and then exposed to lexical evidence, appear to near-complement each other insofar as

1. neither [*iv*] nor [*ur*] are borne out otherwise than 'very poorly' and altogether 'marginally' somehow: in rare items more or less 'marked' in some sense (proper nouns, borrowings, slang, swearwords, obsolete or special words, or then extremely trivial items).

whether initially:

[*iv*]: *youyou* 'dinghy', *Yougoslavie*, *youpin* 'Yid', *youtre* id., *yourte* 'yurt'

[*ur*]: *Ouigour*, *ouistiti* 'marmoset', *whisky*, *ouïe* 'hearing' and of course *oui* 'yes' or non-initially

in open-syllables

[*iv*]: *pioupiou* 'tommy', *Sioux* besides non (or less) — marginal *caillou* 'stone'

[*ur*]: *Louis*, *louis* 'gold louis', besides *enfoui* 'buried' or in checked syllables *chiourme* 'galley slave'

Louise, *mouise* 'wretchedness'

whereas

2. [iü] is OK if neither final (no exception) nor initial (with exceptions but poor and marginal again, now to the extreme: it's just Chinese *yuan* and west-indian-through-Spanish *yucca*, discounting proper nouns, like *Yucatan*):

diurne 'diurnal', *sciure* 'saw-dust' ..., *reliure* 'binding'

[ür] being just perfectly OK in any case:

huis 'door'

huit 'eight', *huile* 'oil', *huitre* 'oyster'

buis 'box-tree', *cuit* 'cooked', *fuit* 'runs away', *fruit* 'fruit', *lui* 'him', *nuit* 'night', *puis* 'then', *suie* 'soot'

cuir 'leather', *cuisse* 'thigh', *cuistre* 'prig', *druide* 'druid', *fuir* 'escape', *luire* 'gleam', *l'huile* 'the oil', *nuire* 'damage', *tuile* 'tile'...

Properly complementary, in the classical sense, members of pairs [iü : iö] and [ür : ur] are evidently not, as both /u/ and /ü/ benefit from more than enough support whether centrally (above, p.) or peripherally, to allow of minimal pairings, however restricted the set, and sundry the pairs:

	[I]	[E]	[ε]	[A]
{ u	(+)	+	+	+
{ ü	+	+	+	+
{ * <i>nuit</i> 'night'	{ <i>nouer</i> 'to knot' <i>nuée</i> 'thick cloud'	{ <i>nouais</i> 'was knotting' *	{ <i>noix</i> 'nut' *	
{ * <i>suie</i> 'soot'	{ * <i>suer</i> 'perspire'	{ <i>souhait</i> 'wish' <i>suait</i> 'was perspiring'	{ <i>soi</i> 'self' <i>sua</i> 'perspired'	
{ * <i>tuile</i> 'tile'	{ * <i>tuer</i> 'kill'	{ * <i>tuait</i> 'was killing'	{ <i>toi</i> 'thou' <i>tua</i> 'killed'	
	{ * <i>muer</i> 'moult'	{ * <i>muert</i> 'dumb'	{ <i>moi</i> 'me' <i>mua</i> 'moulted'	
	{ <i>rouer</i> 'beat' <i>ruer</i> 'kick'	{ <i>rouet</i> 'spinning wheel' <i>ruait</i> 'was kicking'	{ <i>roi</i> 'king' <i>rua</i> 'kicked'	
{ <i>enfouir</i> 'bury' <i>enfuir</i> 'escape'				
{ <i>oui</i> 'yes' <i>huis</i> 'door'			{ <i>oie</i> 'goose' *	

And to that extent, neither /ü/ stands a single chance of ever qualifying as an allophone of /u/ in synchronic French, nor indeed basic /u/ as an allophone of marked /ü/. And yet, complementation is certainly not far off, even of /ü/ by /u/ besides /u/ by /ü/, considering what 'French' purports to be, and is, on the one hand, and what a 'diphthong' is exactly, on the other hand.

(1) Though a classical case for distinctive rounding in non-consonants only, French, a rather 'young' language, is historically, as one of the Indo-European languages with Latin-through-Romance ascent, deeply connected with distinctive rounding in non-vowels. Furthermore it's a 'natural' language. For that reason it is a 'mixture'; and as a result it has 'norm'. Therefore, it's a linguistic standard in the very first place, meant to exclusively, entirely and ideally account for and deal with the whole of French-speaking population, whatever the differences and conflicts — and so, as any standard, Standard French does indeed: by having the entire community provided with and ruled by one unique set of overall models, allowing of (by definition) 'minor' departures and offences as a minimal though necessary cost of institutional uniformity and socio-geographic conformity.

(2) A 'diphthong' is exactly

— neither a monophthong

— nor a triphthong

while concurring with both triphthongs and monophthongs in being equally

(a) fully vocalic, and

(b) homosyllabic.

But these are heavy constraints: heavy enough as a matter of fact to more than often prove unbearable when exerted at the same time, and therefore to normally and necessarily call for and allow of a choice: either yield to (a) while withstanding (b), or contrarywise defer to (b) at the cost of (a). And this is precisely what French bears witness to.

Diphthongs in French have been observed either

(a) to split in the process time and again, ending up in two successive syllabic segments — typically in southern 'Oc'; or then

(b) to turn consonantal at some point — generally in northern 'Oïl'. And once viewed in this manner, with the two main segments of present-day French-speakers taken to antagonize and complement each other as a rule with respect to diphtongal constraints, then French diphtongs would most probably appear to be 'graded' in terms of intrinsic 'feasibility' — and 'probability' for very particular diphtong to meet with full success (fig. 8):

(1)	uA	üɾ
(1/2)	uɛ	üE
	uE	üɛ
(0)	uɾ	üA ...

fig. 8

thus to include, as a foursome of diphtongs, the 'more than easy' (0) pair | iA : üɾ |, fully contrasting with 'next to impossible' (1) | uA : uɾ |. And if so, then / u / and

/ü/ would indeed have to be regarded as not co-existing pre-centrally — or rather non-centrally: at periphery — otherwise than in synchronically artificial and theoretically institutional French (standard); while (near-) neutralizing each other 'archi-phonemic'-wise in non-standard, diachronic, socio-geographico-historical French linguistic pragma.

II

Both /ü/ and glides have problems for Chinese.

(i) Glides by themselves are not very much of a synchronic standard Chinese problem as long as basic |y| and |w| only are at stake, and allophones are allowed of occasional 'non-full'-ness. Then, it all becomes a matter of triphthongs, diphthongs, and monophthongs, with the two basic high monophthongal vowels /i/ and /u/ taken to operate non-centrally — in non-monophthongs: whether pre- or post-centrally, or then both pre- and post-centrally: to co-operate (cross-wise only) in triphthongs

monophthongs	/i/	and	/u/
non-monophthongs			
diphthongs			
ascending	/iA/	and	/uA/
descending	/Ai/	and	/Au/
triphthongs (cross)		/iAu/	
		/uAi/	

while, if 'central' (pos. 3) and '(near-) initial' (pos. 1-2), developing 'pre-initially' (in pos. 0 — or 1?) a parasitic (non-distinctive) congenial glide:

(0-3) /i/ : /i/ 'one' /in/ 'silver' /ing/ 'hard' |[y]i(N)|
 /u/ : /u/ 'five' |[w]u|

(1) /i/ : /iAng/ 'sheep'...

/u/ : /uAng/ 'king'...

(2) /i/ : /piAn/ 'cheat'...

/tiAn/ 'sky; day'...

/qiAn/ 'money'...

/u/ : /duAn/ 'short'...

/huAn/ 'change'...

(4) /i/ *

/u/ /Aur/ 'coat' ... /hAur/ 'number' ...

(5) /i/ /Ai/ 'love' ... /lai/ 'come' ...

/u/ /Au/ 'coat' ... /lAu/ 'old' ...

(ii) /ü/ on the other hand has problems anyway as

— neither |ü| nor |w̥| is allowed after center at all (in pos. 4-5 — except in Cantonese: p. 7)

— |ü| may be central but if non-initial — pos. (2-)3 — and whether final — pos.

3-5 — or non-final — pos. 3 (+ | n | in 4-5):

| nü | 'woman', | lü | 'green', | qü | 'go', | qün | 'skirt'.

| yü | 'fish', | yün | 'cloud'.

— | w̃ | may be central but only when non-initial — pos. 2—and if (in strong contrast to French) to follow is a *non*-high vocalic segment (* | w̃i |):

| xw̃ɛ | 'learn', | xw̃an | 'choose', | qw̃an | 'full'.

| yw̃ɛ | 'month', | yw̃an | 'round'.

whereas in 'pre- and/or initial position' (0-1) to actually come out instead of expected | w̃(u) | is | y |:

| yü(n) | in pos. 0-3 : | yü | 'fish', | yün | 'cloud', and

| yw̃(ɐ) | in pos. 0-2 : | yw̃ɛ | 'month', | yw̃an | 'round'

Hence fresh problems

— still for / ü / and again for glides; but in addition now

— for syllable-initial position on the one hand,

— and for the basic high vowels / i / and / u / on the other, but actually for intrasyllabic positioning in general (and therefore the syllable), and for vocalic segments — again in general (whether in Chinese, elsewhere or in theory) as mutually related.

*

A quite general rule is, as it seems

1. for vowels to be exclusively ingressed

(a) either immediately: 'smoothly', with congenial vocalicness as from the very start — | \emptyset + V |;

(b) or then mediately: through 'strong', non-congenially consonantal but (presumably) non-distinctive, parasitic ingress, this being classically 'non-nasal', 'voiceless', 'stop' (closure) and 'glotta' — | γ + V |; and

2. for (natural) languages to be given choice between just (a) and (b), so that every one particular language should be expected to trade uniquely and entirely with one of these two rules only, to the exclusion of either some combination of both rules or some other rule (or rules, or no rule...); and so apparently it is, with (a) for French, English, Russian...; or with (b) for German...; but not so for Chinese, or rather not quite so.

Rules (a) and (b) may be taken to allow of a second, 'broad' (non-literal) reading, for (a) simply to involve 'vocalicness', and therefore contrarywise for (b), just 'consonanticity'.

(I) Otherwise, present-day Chinese (standard) could be left with no rule at all for non-high vowels, insofar as it might be a case of (a) 'smooth ingress': | ɛ | 'hungry', | Ai | 'love'..., or alternatively some case of (b) as well, but then not necessarily either a 'stop' — | γ ɛ |, | Aɪ |... — rather than a friction, and voiceless

rather than voiced — [ʃE], [ʃAi]...; or 'glotta' rather than 'velar', besides non-nasal rather than nasal — [ŋE], [ŋAi]..., while having some rule for the high vowels; and then Chinese could be a case of (b), but quite special, especially if /ü/ is acknowledged in addition to /i/ and /u/.

Assuming [y] and [w] to be actually consonantal rather than vocalic — either fully consonantal (in pre-initial position 0) or partly consonantal (for 0 only in pos. 0-1) — the rule would be for the basic high vowels /i/ and /u/ to be (for some reason) ingressed through glide-like frictions instead of constrictions, and this friction to be (congenially) either rounded and back, or non-back and unrounded — but for /ü/ to have ingress (for some extra reason) through non-congenial basic [y] rather than either congenial [w̥] or again non-congenial though equally basic [w]...

(II) Now, on the other hand, with the broader reading of (a) and (b), present-day Chinese standard might possibly trade somehow as a case of (a) rather than (b) while being entitled to /ü/ — but with high cost and hard conditions:

- 1) accident of non-high vowels to be ignored, completely; and
- 2) non-distinctive initial glides to also be ignored (otherwise it would be (b) for high vowels, but (a) for non-high) and this would enable Chinese to retain /ü/ while sticking to a single rule for the ingress of its vowels — but with gross distortion of facts, whether synchronic or diachronic, and that would be a cost.

Most certainly however Chinese is a non-literal case of (b), not (a); already was as of old and nowadays still is.

In 'Ancient (Ch'ieh-yün) Chinese' standard, both ingress types were meant to co-exist, with respective categorizations in terms of traditional so-called 'initials':

— 影 for /ʔ-/

— and for /ϕ-/ a fuzzy set including 喻以云羊 and overlapping with 匣 */ʃ-/.

1. /ʔ-/ , and contrasting */ŋ-/ 疑 as well, used to freely combine with vowels whether non-high

ʔ	惡	愛	奧	暗
ŋ	餓	艾	傲	岸
	E	Ai	Au	An...

or high; while

2. /ϕ-/ was restricted to prospective high vowels only, thus to contrast with both /ʔ-/ and /ŋ-/ : mainly if the vowel were to be non-back, whether unrounded /i/:

影	央	因	燕	烟	優	要	謁	鴨	亞	益	意	衣	
硬	仰	銀	研	言		咬	業	牙	屹	疑	義	宜	
營	樣		沿	鹽	有	搖	藥	也	易	異	以	移	(8)

/i/ ia/ iau ian iang /

|yɿ| |yA yE| |yAU y^{1·2}| |yen yn| |yAng yng|

you^{3·4}

or rounded | ü | :

?	於	郁	約	冤	蘊	雍
9	魚	語	月			
ø	于	雨	日	圓	遠	院
					雲	
						永
						用

yu	yuE	yuAn	yün	yung
----	-----	------	-----	------

| yu yuE yuAn | yün yung |

3. restricted to this vowel, the additional initial 微 [$w(<*m^{(w)}-)$];

?	鳥	屋	蛙	挖	窩	沃	外	偃	餵	彎	碗	腕	汪	枉	翁	甕	
g	吾	五	兀	瓦	我	臥		危	僞	琬							
ø								爲	惟	位					往		
(r)											完	碗					
w	巫	無	武	物	襖		尾	未		晚	萬	文	向	亡	忘		

/u

uA. uAi uAn uAng

WA WO WAI WEI WAN WEN WANG WONG

The diachronic rule then has been for **/ŋ-/* to lose distinctiveness through optional denasalization, and this resulted

- for non-high vowels in regular though equally non-distinctive pre-initial [ɤ] allowing of free variation with [ŋ] (and [ϕ]).
- for basic high vowels to either partly or fully coalesce with pre-existing thus far properly consonantal congenial glides:
 - with */w-/ for back and rounded /u/
 - for non-back and unrounded /i/, with */y-/: assuming this consonant to actually underly the set of traditional initials 喻... 羊(匣) rather than just /ϕ/ (and instead of generally accepted 'vocalic ingress')

and for rounded non-back [ü] to be a problem here again, due to lack of anything more congenial than [y] to either coalesce with or be ingressed through.

So that, whether synchronic or diachronic, in order for the Chinese facts not to be distorted, Standard $|\ddot{u} \sim \ddot{w}|$ may hardly be accounted for otherwise than with basic /i/ and /u/ meant to immediately underly in succession — in this order — while simultaneously surfacing, in natural contrast to $|i\ddot{u}|$ or $|y\ddot{u}|$.

III

The general problem is threefold. It has to do

— with features, in general:

but 'backness' and 'rounding' in particular;

— with the exceptional and challenging fact of theoretically and phonetically simultaneous and therefore unordered features appearing to actually have order in phonological pragmatics;

— with intra-syllabic positioning of sub-syllabic segments, and therefore with phonemes and syllables.

I. Features, whether basic or not, and whether distinctive or redundant, are exclusively either P: 'phonetic and/or phonological'; or S: 'semantic' and /or syntactic' (technically syntactic while evidently semantic: by virtue of most labels when taken at face value, like 'mass', 'proper', 'count', 'common' etc...)

Some features, albeit implicitly, are paired; and some of the unpaired features are provided in SPE with optional non-negative counterparts to deal as alternative equivalents of self-negation.

But P-features 'backness' and 'rounding'

— unlike most S-features ('count'-mass', 'proper'-'common'...) and some of the P-features ('high'-'low', 'consonantal'-'vocalic') are not paired

neither with each other, though closely akin

nor either 'rounding' or 'backness' with any other feature — and unlike some of the unpaired features: 'sonorant — nonsonorant (obstruent)', 'continuant — noncontinuant (stop)', 'tense — nontense (lax)'... neither feature is in SPE provided with any explicit non-negative counterpart.

Thus, in SPE, 'rounding' and 'backness', rather than both halves of one single pair or distinct halves of two different pairs, stand as two separate P-features, both with no match but self-negation; both features being therefore obviously meant to qualify as equally autonomous and full-fledged features, although one basic and distinctive (presumably 'backness'), and the other one marked and redundant ('rounding').

Tentatively however, as an alternative, 'rounding' and 'backness' may easily be paired — even twice: first with each other, and then paired again, together, with two additional though equally classical P-features: 'spreading' and 'frontness' (as distinct from 'anteriority', so defined in SPE — 304 — as to prevent it's positively operating in non-consonants), in order for a foursome of feature to obtain:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'front' : 'back'} \\ \text{'spread' : 'round'} \end{array} \right\}$$

A second: (Z), 'vertical' pairing now shows to be allowed, in addition to and conflicting with classical — 'horizontal' — pairing: (A); for both members in either pair, whether in (A) or in (Z), to qualify at will either as single features, each one in its own right, or, in relation to the opposite member of the same pair, as the explicit non-negative equivalent of its negative counterpart.

(A) is .

front (non-back)	back (non-front)
spread (non-round)	round (non-spread)

Three non-conflicting matrix representations may agree with it:

1) current 'economical' and 'less explicit' A-1:

	i	ü	u
high	+	+	+
low	—	—	—
back	—	—	+
round	—	+	+

2) equally economical and implicit 'symmetric' A-2

...			
front	+	+	—
spread	+	—	—
	i	ü	u

3) fully explicit though uneconomical A-3:

back	—	—	+	+
front	+	+	—	—
round	—	+	—	+
spread	+	—	+	—
	i	ü	ɨ	u

In any case, however, (A) is agreeable to current theory and practice, insofar as

— features are unordered and therefore prevented from ever operating otherwise than in simultaneous bundles

— and within the yield /ü/ is always included, albeit in A-3 alongside possibly uncalled for /ɨ/ (at least in French, where it is definitely unwanted as a phoneme, but wanted as an allophone of /i/: in /ui/, ex. *oui* 'yes').

(Z) on the other hand would be

front (non-spread)	back (non-round)
spread (non-front)	round (non-back)

and here

- the features do have order
- but for /ü/ to be left with no room.

This is therefore no more agreeable to current practice and theory. But it does agree with Chinese; and at least for this reason, whatever the consensus, Chinese had better not qualify as one of the /ü/ -languages.

II. An obviously natural prerequisite of language, the syllable is furthermore (for that reason) a unique, naturally universal, irreplaceable device for languages to exist: be discovered (or invented), learned, practiced, taught, studied, promoted... for competence to develop and for 'grammars' to be worked out. It is therefore tied up with writing, once writing is at hand, and whatever the writing: whether alphabetic or otherwise, and however conventionally oriented: vertically or horizontally (from left to right or right to left). And depending on the system of writing, the syllable may be approached and conceived of in different ways.

(i) A syllable admittedly has two parts:

- a 'segmental' (non-prosodic) part
- a 'prosodic' (non-segmental: classically 'supra-' segmental) part; and three main points:
 - onset
 - peak (or center)
 - coda

And a system of writing is in principle necessarily and exclusively either

(Z) (near) syllabic (and non-segmental); or

(A) segmental: non-syllabic and non-prosodic; and then it's either

1. near-phonemic: not properly alphabetic — if (or as long as) 'vowels' are not provided for in addition to would-be (prospective) 'consonants' or

2. fully phonemic: properly 'alpha' and 'betic', to include both consonants and vowels, now in contrast.

(ii) Whether (1) or (2), a 'segmental (A) grammar' either ignores the syllable altogether, or views it as a construct — a 'concatenation' — concomitantly varying in terms of 'length' and 'complexity' as arithmetically measured and controlled by positive integer ($n \geq 1$) of unitary literal and/or phonetic signs and naturally building 'upwards': from shortest and simplest (1 sign) to more complex and longer up

neither of which is specifiable in terms of 'major' features, in contrast to regularly specifiable 'non-vocalic (nor prosodic) and therefore consonantal' (*c*) (上) on the one hand, and 'non-consonantal but vocalic and/or prosodic' [*Λ*] on the other hand. Both (*x*) and (*y*), however, are clearly specifiable otherwise — in terms of 'non-major P' features — as these are in any case the proper points for the four P-features 'front' and 'spread', 'round' and 'back' to operate — however paired, whether it's just one of the pairs or both, with or without order, and whether in conjunction with other features or not so.

The latest and present-day standard rule is

1. for these four features to be paired as (*z*) above (p. 113)
2. for the members of the resulting single pair to be mutually exclusive and unordered at (*y*), but ordered and not mutually exclusive at (*x*); and
3. to operate at (*y*) in conjunction with a second pair of features: 'nasal (non-oral)' vs 'oral (non-nasal)', otherwise operating at *c* — but not so at (*x*).

(ii) (*x*) is special in many respects, and this is the main issue.

1. Although normally in tradition a part of 下 rather than of 上, it shows to have been (and may easily be shown to still be) the main point for 上 and 下 to more than often actually overlap, thus allowing to alternatively be regarded:

— either as a 'third', intermediary (or 'conjunctive': 介 — if not properly 'central': 中 —) part, 'neutral' with respect to classical 上/下 distinction: whether 'positively' (belonging to both 上 and 下) or 'negatively' neutral (belonging to neither)
 — or then, albeit marginally, as an exclusive property of 上, now *c*: |(C)^x|.

2. And though meant for the single pair only, but with both members and with order, (*x*) does not positively disallow of tolerable departures, which possibly include:

— typically present-day Hakka and South-Min unordering of the pair
 — or of typically Cantonese exclusive 'raising' of (*x*) with only reading [^w] to account for consonantal rounding if not for the eventuality for (*x*) and corresponding features to be not segmental but prosodic, as in Altaic languages (to account for traditional vowel harmony); or to stand for the final outcome of either pre-or non-Han phenomena reminiscent of 'infixation', which naturally are no more matters for P-features only to have relevance.

PRESUPPOSITIONS IN CHINESE LINGUISTICS

Paul B. Denlinger

Soochow University

I find that in linguistics, as in philosophy, many of the serious arguments are not really differences over the conclusion so much as differences over assumptions. The real differences start with a different set of assumptions. I am engaged in what for me is a very exciting piece of research. I believe that I have the evidence to demonstrate conclusively the inadequacy and incorrectness of Bernard Karlgren's "Ancient Chinese". If "Ancient Chinese" falls, "*Archaic Chinese" falls too, for it is simply a projection from "Ancient Chinese". I have finished the first unit in this study for *Monumenta Serica* in an article which was too long for this conference, entitled "Vowel Length in Mandarin". My results are so different from what everyone else has been doing in Chinese historical linguistics, and so much simpler, that some of my closest friends cannot accept them. I find that the places where we really differ is in our presuppositions, so I will try to set some of them in a context in this short paper.

Karlgren began his studies when European dialect studies were delighted with the new tool of phonetic writing that had just been discovered. This phonetic writing had just been applied successfully to Swedish dialect studies, so Karlgren used this new device in Chinese. He was very fortunate because the millenium of Chinese linguistic studies that stretched from the Sung to the end of the Ch'ing Dynasties lacked the convenience of phonetic or phonemic writing. Karlgren supplied a phonetic writing and thus exerted a powerful stimulus on the whole field. The major problem is that phonetic writing was not the kind of tool, nor as useful, as Karlgren thought it was. He was aware of its advantages, but blind to its limitations.

American structural linguistics discovered the phoneme, and the principle of phonemic writing. This proved to be an "open sesame" in general linguistic studies, and led to an impressive burgeoning of the field. The phoneme is the theoretical unit on which all alphabetic writing is based. Phonemic theory is thus important for an understanding of the linguistic history of Western culture and for almost all the modern work that has been done in reducing languages to writing. It has had enormous practical significance. Hockett, Hartmann, and Martin worked hardest on the application of this type of linguistics to Chinese language material with rather disappointing results.

The first European reaction to American linguistics was a reaction to the philosophical presuppositions of American linguistics which deserves more attention than it has so far received. I prefer to call it, in a term they usually resent, philosophical linguistics". It has distinguished roots going back to de Saussure and Bloomfield, and extending through Hjelmslev and Martinet to Hockett and Mulder. Modern people ignore philosophy, with the result that much modern scholarship is an elaborate superstructure on weak and unstable foundations. When scholarship is taken more seriously, these people will receive more respect.

J. R. Firth led the University of London into a different school of linguistics which they call "prosodic analysis". It is built on the phonetic foundations of Daniel Jones but is more comprehensive than American phonemic theory. Eugenie J. A. Henderson led most of the staff of the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies in the application of this approach to the study of South East and East Asian languages, including Chinese.

Noam Chomsky and others developed a new type of American linguistics, radically different from phonemic theory and more closely related to traditional linguistics except that its linguistic statements were severely mathematical and geared to the computer. This transformational or generative grammar seems to have peaked with relatively modest contributions to Chinese language study.

Like the Christian church after the Reformation, or Eastern Europe after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, these fragmented and competing linguistic schools have severely discredited the whole field of linguistics and contributed to a general decline in morale.

One of the "prosodic analysis" criticisms of American phonemics seems particularly relevant to Chinese Linguistics. Londoners insist that the American approach focuses too much attention on one phonological level, the level at which the phoneme operates, and thus distorts our understanding of the way Chinese languages operate. Tung T'ung-ho made the same criticism from a traditional Chinese point of view in one of his last articles. I think they are both right.

The traditional Chinese "ch'ing/cho" 清, 濁 distinction was interpreted, under the influence of American phonemic theory, as a contrast between voiced and unvoiced initials. Since voiced and unvoiced initials are in complementary distribution we may call them allophones of one phoneme and even make "ch'ing/cho" allophones. This is why Li Fang-kuei names the "p'ing, shang, ch'u, ju" tone classes A, B, C, D and talks about their split in terms of linguistic development. This is also why a few Chinese try to combine the "ju sheng" with other tones and talk of "allotones". Mainland Chinese much more simply mark tone classes "1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8" — "ch'ing is odd, "cho" is even.

American phonemic analysis presupposes that Chinese phonemes are just as independent as Western or English phonemes. But the phoneme level is secondary in

the Chinese language; the syllable remains primary. Chinese phonological studies have to start with the syllable and can never really lose sight of the syllable. All syllables belong to one of eight contrasting tone-classes, or some derivative of these eight. These contrasting tone-classes are marked redundantly in several different ways. One of them happens to be phonetic tone (levels and contours); one of them happens to be consonant endings; one of them happens to be initials. The markers may be phonemes, or allophones, or something less. Their status is not as important as what they mark. I have found an additional set of markers, long and short phonemic vowels, which greatly simplifies the description of the syllable in all varieties of Chinese. This is what excites me now in Chinese linguistics. Whenever we isolate phonemes, and talk of them as having a life independent of the syllable, we distort the operations of the Chinese languages.

In traditional Chinese linguistics we talk about tone classes, "sheng mu" and "yun mu", and all of these are derivatives of the syllable. Prosodic analysis says American phonemic theory focuses too much attention on only one phonological level. I heartily agree. This is doubly unfortunate in that the level they treat is below the syllable level.

All schools have their strengths and weaknesses. At another point it seems to me that the prosodic analysis people misunderstand "tone" in Sino-Tibetan. Phonetic tone is used in most varieties of Chinese to mark a syllable's membership in a particular tone-class. But it also has another important use. It is related to the stress and intonation patterns of the sentence and occasionally related to grammatical categories. In its second use it is just one of several markers, and so is redundant. Particularly in Burmese, prosodic analysts ignore the tone-class syllable category and on the basis of redundancy point out that in stress and intonation phonetic tone is not phonemic. Then they confidently state that Burmese is not really a "tone language" and not necessarily related to Chinese. Here they have made exactly the same mistake that American phonemicists made in Chinese. They have concentrated exclusively on one phonological level and ignored another. This is exactly what they criticized; it is certainly harder to see the beam than the mote.

I assume that one of the major characteristics of Sino-Tibetan is that the syllable must be classified into one of eight contrasting tone-classes, or some derivative of these eight classes. This is what all Sino-Tibetan languages have in common. All these classes are marked redundantly and in different ways. Some mark it by phonetic tone, some by vowel length, some by contrasting initials, or contrasting initials, or contrasting final consonants. Phonemes are important in the study of all these languages, but only as they are related to the more important syllable classes. What American phonemicists used to call "supra-segmental" features are also important, but they must be carefully separated from the canonical

shape of the isolated individual syllable.

I get different results in Chinese linguistics because I carefully, explicitly and consistently follow these principles.

NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF THE HAN BUDDHIST TRANSCRIPTIONS

W. South Coblin

University of Iowa, U. S. A

Abbreviations and Signs

*	Reconstructed EH Forms
**	Reconstructed OC Forms
AM	<i>Asia Major</i>
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Forms cited after Edgerton 1953)
BIHP	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica</i>
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London</i>
BTD	Buddhist Transcription Dialect(s)
EH	Eastern Han (A.D. 25-220)
Gd.	Gāndhārī (Forms cited after Brough 1962 unless otherwise indicated)
GSR	<i>Grammata Serica Recensa</i> (Karlgren 1964)
GY	<i>Guangyun</i> 廣韻
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCL	<i>Journal of Chinese Linguistics</i>
JY	<i>Jiyun</i> 集韻
MC	Middle Chinese or Ancient Chinese
MS	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
OC	Old Chinese or Archaic Chinese
P.	Pali
Pkt.	Prakrit (Forms cited after Pischel 1900)
QHXB	<i>Qsinghua xuebao</i> 清華學報
QY	<i>Qieyun</i> 切韻
Skt.	Sanskrit
SM	<i>Shiming</i> 釋名 (Cited according to Bodman 1954 unless otherwise indicated)
T	<i>Taishō Tripitaka</i>
WJ	Wei-Jin 魏晉 (A.D. 264-419)
YJXB	<i>Yanjing xuebao</i> 燕京學報

I. Introduction

1.1. An important source of information on the language of the late EH period is the body of transcribed names and technical terms in the earliest Chinese Buddhist texts. The object of the present study has been to collect several hundred of these, to discuss some of the problems involved in their interpretation, and to attempt a number of phonological reconstructions on the basis of them.¹

1.2 Early Chinese Buddhist transcriptions have been of interest to sinologists, Buddhologists, and Central Asian specialists for at least a century. In particular the works of Paul Pelliot contain numerous notes on transcriptional problems. Two more recent articles of considerable interest are Bailey (1946) and Zhou (1956). However, the transcriptional studies which have had the greatest implications for Chinese historical phonology are the works of E. G. Pulleyblank, which make extensive use of transcriptional evidence. Most of the data bearing on EH problems can be found in Pulleyblank (1962). It is probably safe to say that in this work most of the important conclusions of earlier investigators have been collected and evaluated; but, in addition, a great deal of new material is also introduced. For example, though not expressly stated, it seems clear that Pulleyblank has comprehensively sifted the extensive *Daoxing banruo jing* 道行般若經 (T 224) for transcriptional forms. Transcriptions are not presented as a discrete body but are cited throughout the study, wherever they can be brought to bear on particular problems. When all the various forms, together with Pulleyblank's remarks on them, are cross-referenced and brought together they form an impressive corpus and a very insightful essay on the nature and interpretation of transcriptional materials.

Pulleyblank's use of transcriptional evidence in historical reconstruction has been criticised by Karlgren (1963-7: 18-19) and Ting (1975: 32-3). It is important to note that neither Karlgren nor Ting flatly reject the use of transcriptions as linguistic data. Karlgren says of them: "Some general phenomena can be gleaned but details in the ancient Chinese pronunciation cannot be ascertained through them..."; and Ting remarks that they "may be used as important references, but may not serve as primary evidence for systematic reconstruction." The consensus in the field today is probably best expressed by Bodman (1967: 27) who says that "transcriptions can never be made the chief basis for reconstruction" and Zürcher (1977: 179) who concludes, "I feel that early Buddhist transcriptions can best be used as a secondary tool, corroborating (or invalidating) certain conclusions reached by other ways and means."

In sum, it would seem that the disagreement between Pulleyblank and his critics involves the extent to which transcriptional evidence should be used rather than the question of whether or not it should be used. Pulleyblank seems overly

¹⁾ I am grateful to Professor E. G. Pulleyblank for arousing my interest in the Han Buddhist transcriptions by insisting that other work I was doing on Han phonology would be incomplete without consideration of this evidence. My indebtedness to his published work on transcriptions will quickly become self-evident. In addition I owe a special debt of gratitude to my colleague, Professor S. I. Pollock, who devoted many hours of his valuable time to helping me with problems involving Sanskrit and Middle Indic dialects. Without his collaboration it would not have been possible for me to work with these materials. Needless to say, I am responsible for all errors of fact and opinion which remain.

defensive in his assumptions that transcriptions are "in disrepute" (1973: 368) or that others are "unwilling to consider the evidence supplied by this kind of material" (1977: 131). On the other hand, it is probably true that his critics have not fully appreciated the degree to which methodological advances in this area have enhanced the value of transcriptional evidence as linguistic data.

The position adopted in the present study lies somewhere between that of Pulleyblank and his critics. Rather than using the transcriptions as secondary evidence to shed light on problems raised by other types of material such as poetic rimes and sound glosses, I have assumed as a working hypothesis that they represent a particular EH dialect or group of dialects, which I call BTD, whose sound system(s) may have differed from those of the "gloss dialects" and "poetic dialects". On the other hand, I do not think that BTD can be reconstructed in detail on the basis of the transcriptional evidence alone, and I have consequently made liberal use of what is known about the gloss and poetic dialects and the OC and WJ languages to elucidate a number of moot points in BTD.

1.3 The development of Buddhism in China during the EH period is treated in two important works, Tang (1938) and Zürcher (1959). Of particular importance for the study of EH Buddhist translations is the more recent article, Zürcher (1977). The following brief remarks are based on Zürcher's findings.

The EH Buddhist translations with which we are concerned are probably the products of a number of foreign missionaries working with Chinese or sinicized assistants. Zürcher (1959: 31) gives the following description of the way the translation work was carried out:²

The master either had a manuscript of the original text at his disposal or he recited it from memory. If he had enough knowledge of Chinese (which was seldom the case) he gave an oral translation, otherwise the preliminary translation was made, "transmitted", by a bilingual intermediary. Chinese assistants — monks as well as laymen — noted down the translation, after which the text was subjected to a final revision.

Zürcher (1959: 30-32; 1977: 177) holds that these translations were made in the Luoyang area, which he believes was the seat of the early Buddhist "Church of Luoyang". Of the seventy-eight texts in the *Taishō Tripitaka* which are attributed to Han translators, Zürcher (1977: 177-8) has selected twenty-nine which he feels "may be safely regarded as genuine Han translations made at Loyang between ca. 150 A.D. and ca. 220 A.D. by five different translation teams."³

It is well known that the Han Buddhist translations teem with transcriptions of foreign names and terms. A basic problem in working with these materials is

⁽²⁾ See also Hrdličková (1958) for a discussion of Han Buddhist translation procedures.

⁽³⁾ Zürcher's selection criteria are outlined only briefly. A forthcoming article is promised in which these criteria will be discussed in detail.

that of deciding what Chinese dialect or dialects served as the "target language(s)" of the translators. As will become apparent in sections II and III there is evidence that more than one dialect may have been involved, but it is my belief that the material is homogeneous enough to be treated as a single source. Zürcher (1977: 179) has concluded that lexically and grammatically the Buddhist translations "form a somewhat formalized but nevertheless closer reflexion of the living language of second century Loyang." As a working hypothesis I have supposed that most of the transcriptions in these texts may reflect the sound system of the Luoyang dialect of the same period.

An equally important and even more difficult problem is that of identifying the original languages upon which the transcriptions are based, which Zürcher says (p. 179) "may be Sanskrit, any kind of Prakrit, or even some Central Asian idiom." In fact it may not be possible to make such an identification with certainty. However, it is my belief that by careful inspection of the BTM material and the judicious use of those facets of the MC sound system which are reasonably well understood it may be possible to develop a sketch of certain salient features of the underlying language (or, more probably, languages) which may then be used to throw light on the phonology of BTM. A sketch of this sort is attempted in section 1.5 below.

Several further potentially obscuring factors pointed out by Zürcher (p. 179) are: (1) possible distortions introduced into the pronunciation of Indic words by Central Asian missionaries, (2) imperfect perception of foreign sounds by the Chinese assistants who made the transliterations, (3) difficulties involved in segmenting foreign polysyllabic words in order to transcribe them with Chinese characters. These problems make it very difficult to arrive at values for the sounds of BTM without reference to the EH gloss and poetic dialects.

1.4 The procedure used in assembling the BTM data in Part V was to arrange according to translators the reliably datable texts listed by Zürcher (1977: 202-3), to place them in roughly chronological order, and then to extract the transcriptions from them. Once a term had been excerpted it was usually ignored when it occurred again in later texts. However, certain items, when occurring as parts of larger compounds, appear repeatedly in the data. Variant forms of the same term were included in most cases. A number of texts were eliminated entirely from the corpus because they merely repeated transcriptions which had already been found elsewhere.

The next step was to identify foreign (usually Sanskrit) equivalents for the Chinese transcriptions. In many cases standard handbooks, dictionaries, and glossaries were used for this purpose. Previous studies, especially that of Pulleyblank (1962), were also very helpful. Some items in T 224 were identified by comparison with lists of names given in Kirfel (1920) and with parallel passages in the San-

skrit version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. For two texts Sanskrit forms were reconstructed by comparison with later Chinese translations of the same works where the terms in question were either transliterated in different ways or translated rather than transliterated:

1. T 224 was compared with T 225 and 226.
2. T 280 was compared with T 278 and 279.

For T 313 some Sanskrit forms were reconstructed on the basis of Chinese semantic glosses or marginalia inserted after the transliterated terms.⁴ All reconstructed Sanskrit forms given in Part V are starred.⁵ In citing Sanskrit, Pali, Gāndhārī and certain other forms in Part V it is not my claim that the original texts were written in any one of these languages. On the contrary it is merely hoped that these forms may serve as starting points from which we can begin to visualize what approximate phonetic shapes the original words may have had in whatever languages they represent. Only transcriptions which could be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty were included in the final BTD corpus. Many items remain problematical or completely unidentified and deserve further study.

The BTD data in Part V derive from sixteen texts which are ascribed to the following translators:

A. An Shigao 安世高 (Zürcher 1959: 32-34) was a Parthian who in 148 A.D. settled at Luoyang, where he spent more than twenty years.

1. T 13 *Chang ehan shi baofa jing* 長阿含十報法經
2. T 14 *Ren benyu sheng jing* 人本欲生經
3. T 31 *Yiqie liu she shou yin jing* 一切流攝守因經
4. T 32 *Si di jing* 四諦經
5. T 98 *Pu fayi jing* 普法義經
6. T 150 *Qi chu san guan jing* 七處三觀經
7. T 602 *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經
8. T 607 *Daodi jing* 道地經

B. Zhi Loujiaqian 支婁迦讖/Lokakṣema (?) (Zürcher 1959: 35-36) was an Indoscythian who arrived in Luoyang during the period 168-188 A.D. Among his collaborators were one Indian and three Chinese laymen, one from Luoyang, one from Nan-yang (He-nan), and one from Nanhai (Canton).

1. T 224 *Daoxing banruo jing* 道行般若經
2. T 280 *Dousha jing* 兜沙經
3. T 313 *Echu foguo jing* 阿闍佛國經

⁴ On the origin of notes of this type see Zürcher (1959: 31).

⁵ It is a pleasure to acknowledge again the help of Professor S. I. Pollock without whose collaboration the comparison of Sanskrit text versions and the reconstruction of Sanskrit forms would never have been possible.

4. T 418 *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經
5. T 458 *Wenshushili wen pusa shu jing* 文殊師利問菩薩署經
6. T 626 *Esheshi wang jing* 阿闍世王經

C. Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 (Zürcher 1959: 36) was a Sogdian who worked at Luoyang at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, indicating that the Buddhist community had survived the devastation of the area in 190 A.D. He worked with two Indian collaborators.

1. T 184 *Xiu xing benqi jing* 修行本起經
2. T 196 *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經

1.5 Bailey (1946) has shown that the MC readings of early Chinese transcriptions can be used to make deductions about the languages of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese in Han times. Since a good deal is known about the sound systems of various Middle Indic dialects and the ways they differed from that of Sanskrit, the Chinese forms sometimes allow us to guess whether the original language of a particular text had a certain feature in common with Sanskrit or was more similar to one or more of the Prakrits. When care is taken to avoid circularity, information obtained in this way can, I believe, be safely used in the reconstruction of BTD. We shall now consider several features of various Middle Indic dialects, which may or may not have existed in the underlying language(s) of the Chinese Buddhist texts, and which are of particular importance for the interpretation of the BTD material. All examples from the BTD data are numbered as in Part V.

1. Sanskrit dental stops + *y* often correspond to Prakrit palatals (Woolner 1928: 21; Pischel 1900: 197, section 280; Burrow 1937: 15). In the BTD data Sanskrit dental + *y* clusters invariably correspond to MC palatals, e.g.⁽⁶⁾

27	術闍	dźjwet źja	Skt. vidyā; cf. Gd. vija
166a	阿旃陀	ʔa tśjān dā	Skt. atyanta; cf. P. accanta, Gd. acada

The MC palatals are widely thought to have developed from OC dental stops, but in BTD they regularly correspond to Sanskrit palatals, e.g.

185	晨那	źjen nā	Skt. jina
186	質多	tśjet tā	Skt. citta

It therefore seems safe to conclude that earlier dentals followed by *y* had become palatalized in the underlying language(s) of the BTD texts.

2. Sanskrit intervocalic *c* and *j* were often lost in the Prakrits (Woolner 1928: 11). In Gāndhārī they became -*y*- (Burrow 1937: 6; Brough 1962: 86). In the BTD data Sanskrit medial *c* and *j* often correspond to the MC palatals and occasionally also to the sibilants, e.g.

160	阿闍	ʔa źja	Skt. ācāra
-----	----	--------	------------

⁽⁶⁾ On the MC forms see section 1.6 below.

233 阿闍世 ʔa ʒja ʃjai- Skt. ajātaśatru

251 險旬 jiu zjwen Skt. yojana

It is thus unlikely that earlier *-c-* and *-j-* had been lost in the language(s) underlying the BTB texts.

3. Sanskrit medial *p*, *t*, *k*, and *c* are voiced in some Prakrits (Pischel 1900: 143, section 192 and p. 149, section 202; Woolner 1928: 12; Burrow 1937: 6). In the BTB data Skt. *-t-* and *-c-* are represented fairly consistently by MC *d-* and *ʒ-*, e.g.

37 須菩提 sju bwo diei Skt. subhūti

330 拘律陀 kəu lɿwət dā
kju Skt. kolita

160 (See item 2 above.)

Skt. *-p-* and *-k-* are often rendered by MC *b-* and *g-* but there are exceptions to this tendency, e.g.

67b 優婆塞 ʔjəu bwā sək Skt. upāsaka

329 優波替 ʔjəu pwā thiei- Skt. upatīṣya

221 羅憐那竭 lā lien nā gʒāt Skt. ratnākara

105 阿迦貳吒 ʔa kja ʒzi- ʔa-
ka Skt. akaniṣṭha

Sanskrit medial *-t-* and *-c-* were probably voiced in the underlying language(s). The extent to which *-p-* and *-k-* were voiced remains problematical.

4. Sanskrit intervocalic *p* sometimes became *-v-* in the Prakrits (Pischel 1900: 147, section 199; Woolner 1928: 14; Burrow 1937: 8; Brough 1962: 87). In a number of cases Skt. *-p-* is rendered by MC *ɣw-*, *jw-*, and *jiw-* in BTB. These initials are regularly used to transcribe Skt. *v*, e.g.

15 迦羅越 kja lā jwət
ka Skt. kulapati

148 憍陀越 gʒen: dā jwət
gʒān Skt. gāndhāvātī

62 波耶和提 pwā jia ɣwā diei
zja Skt. prajāpati

253 和論 ɣwā lɿwən
lwən- Skt. varuṇa

291 迦維羅衛 kja jiwi lā jwāi-
ka Skt. kapilavastu

344 維衛 jiwi jwāi- Skt. vipaśyin

5. In Gandhārī earlier intervocalic *dh* (< *-dh-*, *-th-*) is thought to have developed to [ʒ] through the intermediate stage of [δ] (Brough 1962: 94). Bailey (1946: 777) and Pulleyblank (1932: 217; 1973: 370) have suggested that such a development may be reflected in certain early Chinese transcriptions. There is also sporadic evidence for the development of intervocalic *d* to a fricative in Gandhārī (Brough 1962: 94-95). Sanskrit intervocalic *d* is rendered by MC fricatives in at least one and per-

haps two examples in the BTd data:

189 俱耶匿 kju jia ɲək Skt. godāṇiya
zja

261 三陂謨 sām pje ʒje: Skt. sampadī

On the other hand, in dozens of cases it corresponds to MC *d-*, e.g.

248 須達 sju dāt Skt. sudatta

324 那提迦葉 na diei kja jiāp Skt. nadīkāśyapa
ka

Skt. *-dh-* is never transcribed by MC affricates or fricatives in our BTd material.

On the contrary, it corresponds to MC *d-* in the following examples:

154 摩竭提 mwā gjāt diei Skt. māgadha⁷

286 惟首陀 jiwi śjəu da Skt. viśodha

292 尼拘陀 niei- gju da Skt. nyagrodha; cf. P. nigrodha
ɲi kəu
kju

It seems questionable to what extent either Skt. *-dh-* or *-d-* became spirants in the major underlying languages represented in the BTd data.

6. The Sanskrit diphthongs *au* and *ai* often became Pkt. *o* and *e* respectively (Pischel 1900: 58-62, sections 60 and 61; Woolner 1928: 26). Skt. *au* frequently corresponds to MC *u* and *əu*, suggesting that it had become a back rounded vowel in the underlying language(s) of the texts, e.g.

54 拘翼 kəu jiək Skt. kauśika
kju

184 俱譚滑提 kju dəm ɣwāt diei Skt. *gautamapati

We may guess that the development was to *o* as in the other Prakrits. Skt. *ai* corresponds to MC *e* in a number of examples, e.g.

40 彌勒 mjie lək Skt. maitreya

183 墮樓延 xjwie ləu jian Skt. vairocana

It had probably become *e* in the underlying language(s).

7. Sanskrit intervocalic *ḍ* often became *ʈ* (Pischel 1900: 172, section 240; Woolner 1928: 15), and this was sometimes also true of *-ṭ-* (Pischel 1900: 171, section 238). Sanskrit intervocalic *ḍ* and *ṭ* usually correspond to MC *l-* in the BTd data, e.g.

85 迦樓羅 kja ləu lā Skt. garuḍa

175 拘利 kəu lji- Skt. koṭi
kju

8. Sanskrit intervocalic *bh* often became Pkt. *-h-* (Woolner 1928: 13). In the BTd data Sanskrit intervocalic *bh* occasionally corresponds to MC *x-*, e.g.

97 首呵 śjəu: xā Skt. śubha

In *Gāndhārī*, Sanskrit intervocalic *bh* sometimes became *-v-* or *-vh-* (Brough 1962:

⁷ The Chinese transcription may reflect a derivative such as the feminine adjectival form, *māgadhiḥ*.

66, 96-7). In BTd Skt. *-bh-* sometimes corresponds to MC *ɣw-* and *jiw-* which, as we have seen above, are commonly used to transcribe foreign *v*, e.g.

68	阿會互	ʔa ɣwai- sjwān	Skt. ābhāsvara
107	阿惟三佛	ʔa jiwi sām bjwət	Skt. abhisambuddha

9. Skt. *r* yields Pkt. *ri* initially and various vowels elsewhere (Pischel 1900: 51-57, sections 47-56; Woolner 1928: 25-26). Similar changes had probably occurred in the language(s) underlying the BTd texts, as can be seen from the following examples:

35	耆闍崛	gji ʒja gjwət	Skt. ṛḍhrakūṭa; cf. P. gijjhakūṭa
101	阿惟潘	ʔa jiwi phwān	Skt. avṛha; cf. P. aviha
103	須臾	sju tiei-	Skt. sudṛśa; cf. P. sudassa
182	鼓(<鼓)師薩沈	ʒje- ʃi sāt ɖjəm	Skt. *ṛṣisaptama; cf. P. isisattama, Gd. iṣi (=Skt. ṛṣi)

This brief sketch touches only on certain salient points regarding the original language(s) of the texts translated by the EH missionaries. The data bristle with problems which require further study.

1.6 The reconstructions posited for BTd in Parts II and III are backward projections of the MC sound system as reconstructed by Karlgren (1954; GSR) and emended by F. K. Li. This system is summarized in Li (1971: 4-7) and (1974-5: 224-227). The following further notational changes have been made:

1. *· -* will be written as *ʔ -*.
2. *â* and *ǎ* will be written as *ə*.
3. *ě* will be written as *e*.
4. Medial *-u-* will be written as *-w-*.

OC reconstructions follow the system devised by Li (1971) and (1976) unless otherwise indicated.

The system of EH rime categories adopted here is essentially that proposed by Luo and Zhou (1958: Chapter 3). All departures from their arrangement are noted.

Following suggestions of Baxter (1977: 33) initial velars and laryngeals, as members of a natural class, will be termed "gutturals". Velars, laryngeals, and labials, which share privileges of occurrence, will be called "grave" initials, with the remaining consonants designated as "acute" initials.

In citing examples characters in the transcriptions will be identified with letters. For example, in 36 摩訶, 摩 is 36*a* and 訶 is 36*b*. All examples are numbered as in Part V.

II. Reconstruction of the BTd Initials

2.1 MC *p ph b m*. In the BTd data the MC labials tend to correspond to Indic *p*, *ph*, *b* ~ *bh*, and *m* respectively, e.g.

20	鉢	pwāt	Skt. pātra
----	---	------	------------

175	潘利	phwān lji-	Skt. sphaṭikā; cf. P. phalikā
1	佛	bjwət	Skt. buddha
178	鞞陀	bwāt dā	Skt. bhadrā
36	摩訶	mwā xā	Skt. mahā

MC *b-* occasionally corresponds to Indic *v*, e.g.

278	阿鼻	ṛā bi-	Skt. avīci
-----	----	--------	------------

Cases of this type show no correlation with those MC labial initials which later became labiodentals.

We can reconstruct the MC labials as BTD **p-*, **ph-*, **b-*, and **m-*.

2.2 MC *t th d n*. MC *t-*, *d-*, and *n-* correspond for the most part to Indic *t*, *d* ~ *dh*, and *n* ~ *ṇ*, e.g.

153	兜沙	təu ʃa	Skt. tuṣara
81	檀	dān	Skt. dāna
162	檀那師利	dān nā ʃi lji-	Skt. dhanaśrī
163	阿輪那	ṛā ljwen nā	Skt. aruṇa

The MC sounds can be reconstructed as BTD **t-*, **d-*, and **n-*.

MC *th-* occurs in the following transcriptions:

29	天竺	thien tʃuk	Old Iranian hinduka ~ hindukka
33	那替	nā thiei-	Skt. nadī
329	優波替	ʔjəu pwā thiei-	Skt. upatiṣya

Examples 33 and 329 suggest that MC *th-* was a dental stop in BTD, while 29 points to a value of *x-* or *h-*. Example 29 has been discussed in considerable detail by Pulleyblank (1962: 90, 108, 117) who observes (p. 108) that its occurrence in the HHS account of the Western Regions indicates that it must have been current in China by 120 A.D., almost thirty years before the first BTD translators began work at Luoyang. The underlying form, Hinduka, was already known to the Chinese in Western Han times (Wu 1928; Pulleyblank 1979: 33). It is thus quite possible that this transcription does not reflect the sound system of the major transcriptional dialect(s).⁸ For this reason it is probably safest to reconstruct MC *th-* as EH **th-* in BTD.

2.3 MC *t th d n*. The MC retroflex stops and nasal correspond to foreign dentals, retroflexes, and clusters such as *tr*, *tṛ*, *dr*, *ṣṭh*, etc. For example:

44	阿惟越致	ṛā jiwi jwāt ʃi-	Skt. avivartika ~ avaiavartika
105	阿迦貳吒	ṛā kja ŋzi- ʃa	Skt. akaniṣṭha; cf. P. akaniṭṭha
		ka	
260	賴吒和羅	lai- ʃa- ɣwā lā	Skt. rāṣṭrapala
257	摩訶拘絺	mwā xā kəu ʃi	Skt. mahākauṣṭhila

⁽⁸⁾ That there must have been EH dialects which pronounced the word 天 with an initial velar or laryngeal fricative is indicated by two famous examples from SM which have been thoroughly discussed by Bodman (1954: 28-9) and Pulleyblank (1962: 117).

		kju	
61	因坻	ɹjien ɬi	Skt. indra
229	阿難邠坻	ɹa nân pjen ɬi	Skt. anāthapiṇḍika
169	鬱沈	ɹjwət ɬjem	Skt. uttama
66	比丘尼	bi khjəu ɲi	Skt. bhikṣuṇī
		bi-	
79	波斯匿	pwā sje ɲjək	Skt. prasenajit

It is now widely believed that the majority of MC retroflexes evolved from OC dentals followed by a medial element which served as conditioning factor. Pulleyblank (1964: 205), Li (1971: 11), and others reconstruct this medial as OC ***-r-*. We can reconstruct the MC retroflex stops as BTD **tr-*, **thr-*, **dr-*, and **nr-* and suspect that they were phonetically retroflex allophones of the EH dentals, conditioned by the presence of **-r-*.⁹

2.4 MC *l*. MC *l-* usually renders foreign *l*, *ɭ*, and *r*,¹⁰ e.g.

14	舍利弗	śja- lji- pjwət	Skt. śāriputra
222	墮舍利	xjwie śja- lji-	Skt. vaiśālī
315	摩南拘利	mwa nəm kəu lji-	Skt. mahānāmakoḷiya
		kju	

It seems reasonable to reconstruct it as BTD **l-*. In a few cases this sound corresponds to foreign dental stops, e.g.

73	閼浮利	jiām bjəu lji-	Skt. jambudvīpa
133	羅麟那	la ljen nā	Skt. ratna; cf. P. and BHS ratana, Pkt. radaṇa, ladaṇa
144	拘文羅	kəu mjwən la	Skt. kumuda
		kju	

This may indicate that **l-* was a flap or tap in at least some of the dialects represented in the BTD data.

2.5 MC *ts tsh dz s z*. MC *s-* usually corresponds to foreign *s* in the transcriptions, e.g.

49	三拔致	sām bwāt ɬi-	Skt. sampatti
207	阿脩羅	ɹa sjəu la	Skt. asura

It can be reconstructed as BTD **s-*.

The remaining sibilants are rare in the BTD data. MC *ts-* (or *dz*) occurs in the following example:

136	犍陀訶盡	gjen: ɬā xā tsjen:	Skt. gandhahastin
		dzjen:	

⁽⁹⁾ A similar situation may have existed in the language of the WJ period. See Coblin (1974-5: 305).

⁽¹⁰⁾ In a number of cases MC *l-* also corresponds to Skt. *ḷ* and *ḍ*; but, as noted in section 1.5, it is possible that these sounds had become *l* or *ɭ* in the language(s) of the original texts.

With Pulleyblank (1962: 133) we may suspect that this points to **ts-* as the origin of MC *ts-* in BTD.

MC *tsh-* corresponds to foreign *s-* in the following case:

179 蔡阿 tshai-xa Skt. sahā (lokadhātu)

Perhaps we can reconstruct *tsh-* as BTD **tsh-*.

MC *z-* corresponds to Skt. *j* in the following transcription:¹¹

251 隴旬 jiu zjwen Skt. yojana

It is probably best to project *z-* back to BTD unchanged.

2.6 MC *tṣ tṣh dṣ ṣ*. MC *tṣ-* and *dṣ-* are not attested in the data. MC *ṣ-* renders Indic *ṣ*, *s*, *ś*, and *śr*, e.g.

7 沙門 ṣa mwən Skt. śramaṇa; cf. Gd. ṣamaṇo

63 伊沙 ṣi ṣa Skt. īśāna

78 併沙 bieng ṣa Skt. bimbisāra

153 兜沙 təu ṣa Skt. tuṣara

MC *tṣh-* corresponds exclusively to Skt. *kṣ* in the data, e.g.

31 羅刹 la tṣhat Skt. rākṣasa

83 羼提 tṣhān: diei Skt. kṣānti
tṣhān-

127 阿闍 ṛa tṣhjuk Skt. akṣobhya

268 達儼 dāt tṣhjen- Skt. dakṣiṇā

Pulleyblank (1964: 207) suggests that in these cases MC *tṣh-* may have been **khs-* or **khṣ-* in earlier periods, but this seems unnecessary. One can assume that the Chinese used *tṣh-* (< **tshr-*) to represent foreign *kṣ* for want of a better substitute. We may guess that in BTD the MC retroflex sibilants were retroflex allophones of the dental sibilants conditioned by medial **-r-*.

2.7 MC *tś tṣh ṅz ś ž*. MC *tṣh-* does not occur in the data. MC *tś-* and *ž-* usually correspond to the Sanskrit palatals *c* and *j* or to *ty* and *dy* ~ *dhy*, which had probably become Pkt. *c* and *j* in the underlying language(s) (see section 1.5), e.g.

146 占甸 tśjām bək Skt. campaka

218 般舟三昧 pwān tśjəu sām mwəi- Skt. pratyutpannasamādhi

9 禪 žjān Skt. dhyāna

319 泥蘭禪 niei lān žjān Skt. nairāñjana

They can be reconstructed as BTD **tś-* and **dž-*.

MC *ṅz-* corresponds four times to Skt. *ñ* and once to *n*, e.g.

45 薩芸若 sāt jwən ṅzja: Skt. sarvajña

105 阿迦貳吒 ṛa kja ṅzi- ṭa- Skt. akaniṣṭha; cf. P. akaniṭṭha
ka

¹¹ The characters 邪 and 耶 (both MC *jia*, *zja*) occur in a number of transcriptions. Since they frequently transcribe Indic palatals and never correspond to dental sibilants, I suspect that they were to be read as MC *jia* (< **ž-*) in the BTD materials. On the reconstruction of **ž-* see section 2.8.

We can account for these examples by assuming that in BTd *ńz-* was phonetically a palatal allophone of **n-* conditioned by medial **-j-*.

MC *ś-* corresponds almost exclusively to Indic *ś* and can be restored as BTd **ś-*, e.g.

65 釋迦文 śjak kja mjwən Skt. śākyamuni
ka

84 尸 śi Skt. śīla

2.8 MC *ji-* and *dž-*. MC *ji-* corresponds to Skt. *y*, *s*, and the palatals *c*, *j-*, and *ś*, e.g.

A. Skt. *y* Correspondences

48 摩訶衍 mwā xā jiān: Skt. mahāyāna
jiān-

251 踰旬 jiu zjwen Skt. yojana

B. Skt. *c*, *j*, *ś*, and *s* Correspondences

73 閼浮利 jiām bjəu lji- Skt. jambudvīpa

172 活逸 ɣwāt jiet Skt. vajra; P. and BHS vajira

183 墮樓延 xjwie ləu jiān Skt. vairocana

256 迦葉 kja jiāp Skt. kāśyapa

300 阿夷 ʔa jii Skt. asita

317 悅頭檀 jiwāt dəu dān Skt. śuddhodana

To account for examples of type B it seems necessary to reconstruct MC *ji-* as a fricative or affricate of some sort in BTd. It is not possible to interpret correspondences of type A as indications of a glide value for *ji-* in BTd because there are cases where one and the same Chinese *ji-* initial word corresponds both to Skt. *y* and to the palatals and the dental sibilants, e.g.

夷
53 梵迦夷 bjwəm kja jii Skt. brahmakāyika
ka

67b 優婆夷 ʔjəu bwā jii Skt. upāsika

177 惟夷羅 jiwi jii la Skt. vicāra

翼
54 拘翼 kəu jiək Skt. kauśika
kju

80 迦翼 kja jiək Skt. kāyika
ka

閑
34 羅閑祇 la jiwāt gjie Skt. rājagṛha
tśje

58 閑叉 jiwāt tśha Skt. yakṣa

鹽

192	鹽	jiām	Skt. yāma
335	拘鹽尼	kāu jiām niei- kju ni	Skt. kauśāmbī

Sanskrit initial *y-* became *j-* in a number of Prakrits (Pischel 1900: 179, section 252; Woolner 1928: 10). To account for the BTD data it seems necessary to assume that earlier *y* became a fricative or affricate both initially and medially in the language(s) underlying our texts, and this has in fact been proposed by Pulleyblank (1962: 115). He further suggests that MC *ji-* was **ž-* in the language we have called BTD, and this seems quite reasonable. Two words having this initial are frequently used to render Indic *v*,¹² e.g.

	惟 (used by Lokakṣema)		
277	惟摩羅	jiwi mwā la	Skt. vimāla
286	惟首陀	jiwi śjəu dā	Skt. viśodha
	維 (used by Kang Mengxiang)		
340	維耶離	jiwi jia lje zja	Skt. vaiśālī
344	維衛	jiwi jwāi-	Skt. vipaśyin

Both these words have the MC labial *-w-*, which I also reconstruct for the EH period;¹³ and their use in transcribing foreign *v* was probably occasioned by the lack of initial *v-* in BTD. We shall return to this question in section 2.10 below.

Pulleyblank (1962) and Li (1971) have convincingly argued that MC *dž-* (which Pulleyblank writes as *ž*) did not have a distinct origin in OC, with Pulleyblank (1962: 68) suggesting that it may have arisen as a variant of MC *ji-* and Li (1971: 12) considering it a variant of MC *ž-*, derived from his OC ***dj-*. I suspect that it may derive from both earlier sources (1978: 59). It occurs in the following BTD transcriptions:

27	術闍	džjwet žja	Skt. vidyā; cf. Gd. vija, P. vijja
89	兜術陀	təu džjwet dā	Skt. tuṣṭita
215	那術	nā džjwet	Skt. nayuta
274	荼毘	džja bji	P. jhāpita

The use of 術 to transcribe Indic *v* in example 27 is identical with the way labialized MC *ji-* initial words were employed in the examples discussed above, and we may consequently guess that it had EH *ž-* in BTD. The word 荼 in 274 could be reconstructed with either **ž-* or **dž-*. The point is uncertain.

2.9 MC *k kh g ng x ɣ*. MC *ng-* does not occur in the data.

⁽¹²⁾ In several cases they are also used for Sanskrit intervocalic *-p-* and *-bh-*, which may have become *-v-* in the underlying language. See section 1.5 above.

⁽¹³⁾ See section 3.1.1 below.

⁽¹⁴⁾ In fact there is evidence in the gloss dialects which hints that **ž-* may be the correct choice. This will be taken up in a forthcoming study.

MC *k-* and *g-* are primarily used to represent foreign *k* and *g* ~ *gh*, e.g.

21	袈裟	ka ʃa	Skt. kaṣāya
30	僧伽	səŋ gja	Skt. saṃgha
165	群那	gɟwən nā	Skt. guṇa

They can be reconstructed as BTD **k-* and **g-*.

MC *kh-* occurs in the following examples:

10	比丘	bi khjəu	Skt. bhikṣu; cf. Gd. bhikhu
		bi-	
66	比丘尼	bi khjəu ɳi	Skt. bhikṣuṇī
		bi- niei-	

In section 2.6 we saw that Skt. *kṣ* is usually rendered by MC *tʃh-* (<**tshr-*) in the BTD materials. I suspect that the transcriptions for *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī* pre-date the BTD translations and reflect a language where earlier *kṣ* is represented by Pkt. *kh*.¹⁵ I consequently reconstruct MC *kh-* as BTD **kh-*.

MC *x-* usually corresponds to Indic *h* or occasionally *-bh-*, which had probably become *-h-* in at least some of the underlying languages (see section 1.5), e.g.

56	阿羅呵	ʔā lā xā	Skt. arhat; cf. Gd. araha
97	首呵	ʃjəu xā	Skt. śubha

We can reconstruct it as BTD **h-*. There are three cases where words with this initial render Indic *v*:

166b	墮陀	xjwie dā	Skt. veda (?)
183	墮樓延	xjwie ləu jian	Skt. vairocana
222	墮舍利	xjwie ʃja- lji-	Skt. vaiśālī

The word 墮 has the MC labial medial *-w-* (<EH **-w-*) and is probably employed here for want of a better way to transcribe foreign *v*. Its use is analogous to that of MC *ji-* and *dʒ-* initial words with labial medials discussed in section 2.8 above.

MC *ʔ-* is used primarily to transcribe foreign syllables with vowel or glide on-set,¹⁶ e.g.

24	安般	ʔān pwān	Skt. ānāpāna
137	沙羅伊檀	ʃa lā ʔi dān	Skt. ṣaḍāyatana

It can be projected directly back to BTD.

2.10 MC *ʔ-* and *j-*. MC *ʔ-* has two origins in BTD. In MC labialized syllables it corresponds in dozens of cases to Indic *v* or to Skt. *-p-* or *-bh-*, which may have become *-v-* in the underlying language(s), e.g.

⁽¹⁵⁾ An analogous situation is found in Gāndhārī which usually has *kṣ* for Skt. *kṣ* but where *bhikṣu* is Gd. *bhikhu*. Brough (1962: 102) attributes this form to the "source dialect" from which the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* was translated.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Exceptions are 117 and 213. The former is discussed by Pulleyblank (1962: 90).

19	須陀洹	sju da ɣwān	Skt. srotāpanna
74	薩和	sāt ɣwā	Skt. sattva
172	活逸	ɣwat jiet	Skt. vajra; cf. BHS vajira

Here we may suspect that Chinese labialized syllables of this type were chosen to render foreign *v* due to the absence of this consonant in BTD. We have seen in sections 2.8 and 2.9 above that words having the EH fricatives *ʒ- and *h- + medial *-w- in BTD could be employed to transcribe Indic *v*; but, on the other hand, there are no cases in the data where stop initial words (other than those with labials) are so used. It is therefore probable that in words of this type MC ɣ- was a fricative, *ɣ-, in BTD.

In MC non-labialized syllables MC ɣ- corresponds to Indic *g*-:

2	阿舍	ʔa ɣəm	Skt. āgama
17	阿那舍	ʔa na ɣəm	Skt. anāgāmin
18	斯陀舍	sje da ɣəm	Skt. sakṛdagāmin
75	恒	ɣəŋ	Skt. gaṅgā

The only exception to this is the following case where it renders Skt. -h-:

88	摩睺勒	mwā ɣəu lək	mahoraga
		ɣəu-	

Since BTD *g- (> MC g-) as reconstructed above occurs only in syllables having medial -j- while MC ɣ- never appears in this environment, we may reconstruct MC ɣ- as *g- in 2, 17, 18, and 75 above. However, in example 88 this will not do, for here, as noted by Pulleyblank (1962: 87), it was almost certainly a fricative. As we shall see in section 3.3.5 below the word 睺 in 88 probably had EH final *-ou in BTD, and it is possible that the vocalism of the final conditioned the development of the initial.¹⁷ We may consequently suggest that in BTD MC ɣ- be reconstructed as EH *ɣ- in syllables which were labialized or had EH rounded vowels, and as *g- elsewhere.

In the WJ period MC ɣ- and j- were almost certainly a single initial, which can be reconstructed as WJ ɣ- (Coblin 1974-5: 303). When followed by medial -j- WJ ɣ- became later j-. Elsewhere it remained unchanged. In the BTD data MC j- is used primarily to transcribe foreign *v*, whether original or derived from earlier -p-, e.g.

148	毘陀越	gjen: da jwət	Skt. gandhavatī
		gjān	
188	弗于逮	pjwət ju diei-	Skt. pūrvavideha
		dəi-	

On the other hand it also corresponds to Indic intervocalic *h* in the following examples:

¹⁷ Example 88 is in fact the only case where MC ɣ- occurs before an EH rounded vowel in the BTD data.

100	惟于潘	jiwi ju phwān	Skt. bṛhatphala; cf. P. vehapphala
298	羅雲	lā jwān	Skt. rāhula

We may thus suspect that MC *j-* was **ɣj-* in BTD and that in labialized syllables, where it occurs almost exclusively, it could be used to render *v*. The treatment of foreign *v* in BTD can now be summarized. In addition to being occasionally represented by BTD **p-* and **b-*, in foreign syllables having the vowels *i* or *e* it is usually rendered by BTD **ɣjw-* or **hɣw-*. Elsewhere it is usually transcribed by **ɣ(j)w-*.

III. Reconstruction of the BTD Finals

3.1 The Medials

3.1.1 EH *-*w-*. Chao (1940: 217-223) has shown that medial *-w-* was not distinctive in MC labial initial syllables, and we can therefore discount it in that environment when reconstructing earlier stages of the language. Elsewhere MC *-w-* can be projected back to BTD.

3.1.2 EH *-*r-*. We have seen in sections 2.3 and 2.6 that the reconstruction of EH medial *-*r-* enables us to account for the behavior of the MC retroflexes in the BTD data. As is the case in many of the reconstructed OC systems it also allows us to account for the development of the Division II vowels in MC. For this reason we shall reconstruct *-*r-* in all Division II finals in BTD.

We have noted above that *-*r-* may have served as the conditioning factor for retroflex allophones of the BTD dental stops and sibilants. This may indicate that it was itself a retroflex element of some sort. Cases where *-*r-* clearly corresponds to Indic *r* are rather rare, e.g.

7	沙門	(* <i>sr-</i> >) ʃa mwān	Skt. śramaṇa, cf. Gd. śamaṇo
---	----	--------------------------	------------------------------

It is possible that the form underlying this transcription had Pkt. ʃ rather than ʃr.

61	因底	ɣjien (* <i>dr-</i> >) ɣi	Skt. indra
187	遮加起	tśja (* <i>kr-</i> >) ka ɣwā	Skt. cakravāla

Pulleyblank (1964: 204) has suggested that the character 加 in words of this type is actually a corruption of 迦 (MC *kja*, *ka*); and, in fact, the word cakravāla is written with the latter graph in example 288.

On the other hand, there are in the data a number of cases where words with EH *-*r-* transcribe foreign syllables which had no *r*-like sound, e.g.

21	袈裟	(* <i>kr-</i> >) ka ʃa	Skt. kaṣāya
184	俱譚滑提	kju dām (* <i>ɣwr-</i> >) ɣwāt diei	Skt. *gautamapati
235	沙竭	ʃa gɣāt	Skt. sāgara

These points suggest that in BTD EH *-*r-* may not have been, to use Pulleyblank's parlance (1964: 205), a "discrete consonantal element". Perhaps it was

phonetically a retroflex glide or simply *r*-color of some sort. In any case, on the phonemic level we can continue to transcribe it as **-r-* in BTD.

The Chinese word 梵 (MC *bjwəm-*) occurs a number of times in the data, where it corresponds to Skt. *brahmā*. Bodman (Ms., section 7.2) suggests that it be reconstructed with medial *-r-* (cf. also Pulleyblank 1962: 231). Indic *-r-* was preserved after *b-* in Gandhārī (Brough 1962) but was lost in many other Middle Indic dialects (Pischel 1900, section 287). The following example may indicate that it was retained in the language(s) of the BTD texts:

263 婆羅門 *bwā lā mwən* Skt. *brāhmaṇa*

I tentatively follow Bodman and write **-r-* in parentheses in the pertinent examples.

3.1.3 EH **-j-*. In MC, syllables possessing medial *-j-* contrast with those which do not; and it is consequently necessary to account for the presence of MC *-j-* when positing EH reconstructions. The simplest way to do this would seem to be project *-j-* back to the EH period. However, Pulleyblank (1962: 99) has pointed out that in Han transcriptions Chinese words with MC *-j-* frequently represent foreign syllables where no *y*-sound seems to have been present, although the Chinese certainly had *j*-less syllables available for use in their transcriptions. Among the examples he gives are a number of early Buddhist transcriptions; and, in fact, there are scores of such cases in our BTD material. In order to explain this state of affairs Pulleyblank proposed that MC *-j-* did not exist as a segmental phoneme in the Han period, but arose later in syllables which had OC long vowels. He has subsequently abandoned this theory in favor of another which posits OC syllables possessing two morae, with the development of later *-j-* dependent on which mora was accented (1973: 119-20). With certain modifications Bodman (Ms., section 10.34) accepts Pulleyblank's overall scheme as a useful analytical device, but expresses doubt about what actual phonological feature could have led to the development of MC *-j-*.

In reconstructing earlier stages of languages we are sometimes forced by our data to resort to purely theoretical formulations for which we are not yet able to supply convincing phonological detail. The question before us now must be whether or not we are compelled to take such a step in dealing with MC *-j-* in the BTD data. Put another way, can we with reasonable certainty say that the Chinese would not have used words with *-j-* to transcribe foreign syllables which had no such medial? I do not believe that we can. As a case in point let us consider the Chinese transcriptions of Tibetan words found in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-822.¹⁸ This inscription dates from well into the MC period when there can be no doubt about the existence of medial *-j-*. In fact, MC *-j-* transcribes Tibetan *y*

¹⁸ The version of this text used here is that of Li (1957). I am grateful to Professor Li for drawing my attention to these examples. Cf. also Luo (1933: 172-4). For several further examples see Li (1979).

in the text, e.g.

	Tibetan Original	Chinese Transcription
North Face 1. 33	myes ma	名摩 mjāng mwā

On the other hand, MC *-j-* syllables are sometimes used to transcribe Tibetan syllables which had no medial *-y-*:

	Tibetan Original	Chinese Transcription
North Face 1. 10	sum	心 sjəm
29	bka'	伽 gja
35	ka	伽 gja
35	ken	乾 gjan ¹⁹
36	zigs	昔 zjak

It would thus seem that in Tang times the Chinese could and did use words with medial *-j-* to transcribe foreign syllables which had no *y*-like medial. Can we be certain that this was not so in Han times? That MC *-j-* may be the reflex of something other than *-j-* in earlier stages of the language is of course possible, but until we can find compelling evidence that this was so and convincing testimony for what the earlier element could have been it seems safest to project medial *-j-* back to the EH period unchanged.

3.2 The Final Consonants

3.2.1 EH **-p*, **-t*, **-k*, **-m*. In general, MC *-p*, *-t*, *-k*, and *-m* can be projected back to BTD unchanged. However, there are occasional examples where these consonants do not seem to correspond to analogous foreign sounds, e.g.

26	辟支	pjak tsje	Skt. pratyeka; cf P. pacceka
283	拘邀摩	kəu suk mwā	Skt. kusuma
		kju	

I have been unable to detect patterns of any sort in examples of this type, but there remains the possibility that they reflect the loss or merger of final consonants in some of the dialects underlying BTD. Karlgren (1932: 180), in studying the rimes of the *Yilin* 易林, suspected that this text might represent a Han dialect in which certain finals had become weakened, and Luo and Zhou (1958: 94) suggested that in some EH dialects *-p*, *-t*, and *-k* might have been lost or merged as a glottal stop. Perhaps comparison of the BTD examples with data from the gloss and poetic dialects will throw further light on the matter.

3.2.2 EH *-k-* and *-t-*. The MC final *-wəi-* corresponds to a foreign syllable ending in *k* in the following example:

161	占倍渥	tsjam bwəi- ɣwān	Skt. *campakavarṇa
-----	-----	------------------	--------------------

There is evidence that *qu* 去 tone finals of this type had final velar occlusion in a

⁽¹⁹⁾ This character is also read MC *kān*, but it is unlikely that this was the intended reading here, for MC *ā* usually corresponds to Tibetan *a* in the text, e.g. 1. 37 Tib. *rgan* Chin. 幹 *kān*.

number of gloss dialects (Coblin 1979: 184-7; Ms. 1, section 2.2; Ms. 2, section 2.2), and it seems probable that the present example also reflects this phenomenon. We can reconstruct final **-k-* in the final in question and assume that this consonant was lost under the influence of whatever EH element later gave rise to the MC *qu* tone.

Finals of the EH *ji* rime category are open and have the *qu* tone in MC. They have contacts with Sanskrit syllables ending in *s*, *ṣ*, *ś*, *th*, *t* in the BTD data:

A. Contacts with Skt. *-s*, *-ṣ*, *-ś* Syllables

250	賴毘	lai- bji	Skt. raśmi
260	賴吒和羅	lai- ṭa ṛwa la	Skt. raṣṭrapāla
291	迦維羅衛	kja jiwi la jwāi- ka	Skt. kapilavastu

Other examples: 3, 68, 103, 104(?), 120, 194, 227, 310, 316, 344.

B. Contacts with Skt. *-t* Syllables

233	阿闍世	ṛa ṣja śjai-	Skt. ajātaśatru
294	提和衛	diei ṛwa jwāi-	Skt. devāvatāra
309	貝多	pwāi- tā	Skt. pattra

C. Contact with Skt. *-th* Syllable

245	偈	gjāi-	Skt. gāthā; cf. Gd. gadha
-----	---	-------	---------------------------

Pulleyblank (1973: 370) has suggested that Sanskrit intervocalic *-th-* may have become a fricative *ð* or *z* in the underlying language(s) of the BTD texts, but as pointed out in section 1.5 this seems questionable. In any case these examples suggest that BTD had a final consonant of some sort in the finals of the *ji* category. Transcriptions of type A indicate that this consonant was not a simple stop, while those of type B suggest that it was similar to the dental stops in some way. A possible solution to this problem is to assume that the consonant in question was phonetically a spirant, perhaps [θ], which was an allophone of **-t* conditioned by whatever feature gave rise to the MC *qu* tone. We can write it phonemically as **-t-*. This sound would presumably have been preferred as a substitute for Indic *-s*, *-ś*, and *ṣ*. Only rarely (i.e. once in our data) was **-t*, phonetically [t], used for such unfamiliar foreign sounds:

31	羅刹	la tṣhat	Skt. rākṣasa
----	----	----------	--------------

EH **-t* was preferred in rendering Indic *-t*, and its allophone **-t-* was only occasionally used for this purpose.

A similar situation is found in certain finals of the EH *zhi* 脂 rime category, for here the MC *qu* tone finals *-wāi-*, *-jwēi-*, and possibly *-jwi-* (when derived from the OC *wei* 微 rime group) correspond to Sanskrit syllables ending in *ṣ* and *dh*:

108	三昧	sām mwāi-	Skt. samādhi
-----	----	-----------	--------------

Cf. also 218.

310	提謂	diei jwei-	Skt. trapaṣa
333	尼拘類	niei- gju ljwi- ni kəu	Skt. nyagrodha; cf. P. nigrodha

(333 *c* may correspond to Skt. *-rodh-*; the point is uncertain.)

Pulleyblank (1962: 217; 1973: 370) has suggested that intervocalic *-dh-* may have become a fricative δ or z in the underlying language of the texts. As pointed out in section 1.5 above, this is uncertain; but in any case, it seems reasonable to reconstruct EH **-t-* [θ] for the words in question here.

MC *-(j)i-* (< OC ***-jidh*) occurs in several transcriptions which Pulleyblank feels point to the existence of earlier final consonants:

43	忉利	tāu lji-	Skt. trāyastriṃśa; cf. Khotanese ttāva-trīśa and other Central Asian forms given in Part V.
105	阿迦貳吒	ʔa kja nízi- ʔa- ka	Skt. akaniṣṭha; cf. P. akaniṭṭha

I hesitate to follow him here because this final also renders Indic open syllables in the data, e.g.

5	舍利	śja- lji-	Skt. śārī
41	文殊師利	mjwən zju ʃi lji-	Skt. mañjuśrī
222	墮舍利	xjwie śja- lji-	Skt. vaiśālī

It is of course possible that the data reflect several Han dialects, one or more of which had preserved a final consonant in MC *-(j)i-*.

3.2.3 EH **-ng* and **-n*. Finals of the EH *dong* 冬, *dong* 東, and *yang* categories are not attested in the BTD data. *Zheng* category finals correspond for the most part to Sanskrit syllables ending in \tilde{n} , e.g.

50	阿僧祇	ʔa səng gjie	Skt. asaṅkhyā ~ asaṅkhyeyā
75	恒	ʔəng	Skt. gaṅgā

Geng category words appear in the following transcriptions:

78	泐沙	bieng ʃa	Skt. bimbisāra ~ bimbasāra
306	瓶沙	bieng ʃa	Skt. bimbisāra ~ bimbasāra

In BTD we shall reconstruct final **-əm* and **-am*, but no final **-im*. It seems possible that BTD had final **-ing* in the *geng* category, and that this was used as a makeshift sound substitute for foreign *-im* here.

MC *-n* corresponds to Indic *n*, \tilde{n} , and \tilde{n} in scores of examples, and it seems safe to conclude that it should be reconstructed as EH **-n* in BTD. However, there are also a few cases where MC *-n* words render foreign syllables which have no *n*, e.g.

71	阿須倫	ʔa sju ljwen	Skt. asura
----	-----	--------------	------------

Several of the gloss dialects seem to have lost final *-n* (Coblin 1979: 194-5; Ms. 1,

section 2.5). Perhaps examples of this sort reflect the influence of dialects of this type.

We also find examples in the data where MC *-n* corresponds to Indic *r*, *l*, and *d*, e.g.

93	梵波產	bjwəm- pwa šän:	Skt. brahmapāriṣadya
190	鬱單曰	ɣjwət tən jwət	Skt. uttarakuravaḥ
298	羅雲	la jwən	Skt. rāhula

Pulleyblank (1962: 228) has suggested that in some Han dialects final **-n* may have had an *r*-like quality. Perhaps examples of the sort cited here reflect a dialect of this type.

3.2.4 The MC Tone Categories. The earlier origins of the MC tones have been much discussed. Dong (1954: 183) held that the Chinese language has been tonal since time immemorial. Haudricourt (1954a, 1954b) introduced the hypothesis that OC had no tones and suggested that the MC *qu* tone was a reflex of earlier ***s*. Pulleyblank (1962: 217) accepted this proposal and, analogizing on the basis of Haudricourt's theories of tonogenesis in Vietnamese, suggested that the MC *shang* tone was a reflex of an earlier final glottal stop (1962: 225). The latter idea has been developed at some length by Mei (1970).

Information on the nature of the EH feature which gave rise to the *shang* tone is lacking in the data. On the other hand, for the *qu* tone we have one bit of evidence. In section 3.2.2 we have seen that whatever element later became the *qu* tone may have been the conditioning factor for the allophone of EH **-t* which we have speculated was a spirant of some sort in BTD. Now there are indications from various quarters that the *qu* tone may once have been characterized by final aspiration or breathiness. Haudricourt (1954b: 363-4) has pointed out that, among the oldest Chinese loanwords in Vietnamese, words corresponding to Chinese *qu* tone syllables have tones which he believes descend from earlier *-h* (ultimately derived from *-s*). Gedney (1978) has assembled Siamese evidence that the B tone of early Tai, which is found in a number of Tai words that correspond to Chinese *qu* tone syllables (probably indicating old loans in one direction or the other), may have earlier had final *-h*. Finally, Pulleyblank, on the basis of transcriptional evidence, maintains that final *-h* was present in certain *qu* tone rimes in pre-QY times (1962: 223, 231-2; 1977: 2). With these points in mind we may note that aspiration is known to have accompanied the development of stops to fricatives in various languages, e.g. Classical Greek *ph*, *th*, and *kh* became Modern Greek [*f*], [*θ*], and [*x*] or [*ç*] respectively (Allen 1968: 16); in Old Iranian, Proto-Aryan voiceless aspirates (when not standing after a sibilant or between a nasal and a sonant), became voiceless spirants (Brugmann 1897: 645-6). A similar development might have produced the [*θ*] allophone in BTD. It is thus possible that *qu* tone words were characterized by final breathiness of some sort in the EH period. Unfor-

unately, the evidence seems too scant to establish this with certainty. Consequently it is probably best to adopt the marks used in the MC transcription (i.e. “:” and “-”) as notational symbols for the EH syllables which later had the MC *shang* and *qu* tones.

3.3 The Vowels — Rime Categories

3.3.1 The *Zhi* 之 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

- A. Division I (1) -əi, (2) -wəi, (3) -əu
 II (4) -āi, (5) -wāi
 III (6) -ji, (7) -jī, (8) -jwi
 B. III (9) -jəu

Finals of type A are usually reconstructed with the vowel **ə* in OC. Ting (1975) reconstructs them with *ə* for the WJ period as well.²⁰ Final (2) occurs in the following example, where it corresponds to a syllable having Indic *a*:

161 占信涇 tśjäm bwəi- ɣwän Skt. *campakavarṇa

Pulleyblank (1962: 99) has pointed out the tendency for Chinese *ə* to be used for Indic short *a* in the Buddhist transcriptions. It is probably safe to posit **ə* as the main vowel for final (2) in BTD. MC *-i* can be considered the reflex of earlier **-k-* as reconstructed in section 3.2.2.

Final (9) occurs in the following examples where it corresponds to Sanskrit syllables having the vowel *u*:

10	比丘	bi khjəu	Skt. bhikṣu; Gd. bhikhu
		bi-	
66	比丘尼	bi khjəu ɳi	Skt. bhikṣuṇī
		bi- niei-	
112	梵富樓	bjwəm- pjəu ləu	Skt. brahmapurohita
143	不那利	pjəu nā lji-	Skt. puṇḍarīka
		pjwət	

We may suppose that MC *-əu* in this final derives from the vowel **u* in BTD. Our two BTD finals can then be reconstructed as follows:

- (2) **-jək-* (9) **-ju*

3.3.2 The *You* 幽 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

- Division I (1) -āu, (2) -əu
 II (3) -au
 III (4) -jəu, (5) -jiəu
 IV (6) -ieu

Final (4) frequently transcribes Indic *u*-syllables and less often renders Indic *-o-* or *-au-* (=Pkt. *-o-*) syllables, e.g.

A. Indic *-u-* Syllables

⁽²⁰⁾ Final (3) is not discussed by Ting. Cf. Coblin (1979: 242, n. 23).

97	首呵	śjəu xā	Skt. śubha; cf. Gd. śuha-
204	迦留羅	kja ljəu la ka	Skt. garuḍa; cf. P. garuḷa

B. Indic -o- Syllables

206	摩休勒	mwā xjəu lək	Skt. mahoraga
286	惟首陀	jiwi śjəu dā	Skt. viśodha

Examples of type A make up 88% of the cases while those of type B occur only 12% of the time. For this reason we may suspect that the main vowel of final (4) was *u.

Final (6) occurs in the following examples:

232	和輪調	ɣwā ljwen dieu	Skt. varuṇadeva
304	調達	dieu dāt	Skt. devadatta

Pulleyblank (1962: 101) has suggested that final (6) ended in *-eu in the language of the early Buddhist transcriptions, and I believe this is correct. As written, *-eu contrasts with all other finals reconstructed for BTD, and it is consequently unnecessary to reconstruct EH *-i- in this final.

Our two EH finals can thus be reconstructed as follows:

(4) *-ju (6) *-eu

3.3.3 The *Xiao* 宵 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -āu

II (2) -au

III (3) -jāu

III/IV (4) -jiāu

IV (5) -ieū

Finals (1) and (3) occur in the data:

43	忉利	tāu lji-	Skt. trāyastriṃśa; cf. Khotanese ttāva-trīśa, P. tavaṭṭiśa
191	照頭摩羅	tśjāu dəu mwā la	Skt. caturmahārājika
246	三藐菩提	sām mjāu: sām bwo diei māk	Skt. samyaksambodhi; cf. P. sammāsam-bodhi

In example 43 the Central Asian and Pali forms suggest the reconstruction of an -au diphthong for BTD. Example 191 and possibly 246 point to an a-like monophthong of some sort, as does the Sanskrit form in example 43. It is possible that these materials reflect different dialect types, one of which had a diphthong -au while the other did not. For the moment I prefer to be guided by 191 which is the easiest example to interpret. In section 3.3.6 we shall reconstruct plain *a for the *ge* category of BTD, and we must suppose that the main vowel of the *xiao* category differed from this *a in some way. Some of the gloss dialects may have had a back vowel -ɔ in this category (Coblin Ms. 1, section 2.17; Ms. 2, section 2.12). Comparing with them we may speculate that the vowel in question

here was a back α , which we can transcribe as $*\hat{a}$.

The finals of this group can thus be reconstructed as follows:

- (1) $-\hat{a}$ (3) $-\hat{ja}$

3.3.4 The *Yu* 魚 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) $-\text{wo}$

III (2) $-\text{jwo}$, (3) $-\text{ju}$

Final (1) occurs in the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 37 | 須菩提 | sju bwo diei | Skt. subhūti |
| 39 | 菩薩 | bwo sāt | Skt. bodhisattva |
| 246 | 三藐三菩提 | sām mjāu: sām bwo diei | Skt. samyaksambodhi |
| | | māk | |

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------|----------------------------|
| 305 | 阿奴摩 | ʔā nwo mwā | Skt. anomiya; cf. P. anomā |
|-----|-----|------------|----------------------------|

This final corresponds primarily to foreign syllables having the vowel o , and we may consequently suspect that its main vowel was $*o$ in BTd.

Final (3) occurs in the following examples:

- | | | | |
|--------|-----|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| A. 141 | 曇無竭 | dām mju gjāt | Skt. dharmodgata |
| 336 | 瞿師羅 | gju ʃi la | Skt. ghoṣila |
| | | kju | |
| B. 100 | 惟于潘 | jiwi ju phwān | Skt. br̥hatphala; cf. P. vehapphala |
| 188 | 弗于逮 | pjwət ju diei- | Skt. pūrvavideha |
| | | dai- | |

The examples in group A suggest that final (3) had o -vocalism in BTd. After labial initials it can be reconstructed as $*-jo$. After velars it may have had a labial element such as $*-w-$ or $*-u-$ which distinguished it from final (2).³¹ This is of course purely conjectural since final (2) is not represented in the data at all. The examples in group B, which involve the character 于, point to $*a$ rather than $*o$ as the main vowel for final (3). It is possible that these cases reflect a different dialect from that which underlay the examples in group A. An alternate explanation, which I prefer, is that following MC $j-$ ($< *ɣjw-$) final (3) had EH $*a$, while elsewhere it had $*o$.

In summary, the finals of the group can be reconstructed as follows:

- (1) $*-o$ (3) $*-j(w)o$, $*-jwa$

3.3.5 The *Hou* 侯 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) $-\text{əu}$

III (2) $-\text{ju}$

Luo and Zhou (1958) place these finals in the EH *yu* category, but the evidence suggests that they formed a separate rime group BTd. They correspond to Indic u -syllable in 61% and to o or au (=Pkt. o) syllables in 39% of the examples, e.g.

A. Indic u Syllables

³¹ Note that Ting (1975: 207) reconstructs final (3) as $-juo$ for the WJ period.

85 迦樓羅 kja ləu lā Skt. garuḍa; cf. P. garuḷa
ka

131 須彌 sju mjie: Skt. sumeru

B. Indic *o* Syllables

19 須陀洹 sju dā ɣwān Skt. srotāpanna; cf. P. sotāpanna

183 墮樓延 xjwie ləu jian Skt. vairocana

It seems clear that the vowels of these finals must have been primarily u-like in quality but also somewhat more similar to foreign *o* than the vowels of the *you* category. I suggest that the finals of the *hou* category be reconstructed with **ou* diphthongs, as follows:

(1) -ou (2) -jou

3.3.6 The *Ge* 歌 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -ā, (2) -wā

II (3) -a, (4) -wa

III (5) -ja

These finals correspond to Indic *a* or *ā* syllables in literally hundreds of examples, e.g.

(1) -ā

2 阿含 ʔā ɣəm Skt. āgama

308 娑羅 sā lā Skt. sāla

(2) -wā

74 薩和 sāt ɣwā Skt. sattva

199 魔羅 mwā lā Skt. māra

(3) -a

21 袈裟 ka ʂa Skt. kaṣāya

105 阿迦貳吒 ʔa kja ŋzi- ʈa-
ka Skt. akaniṣṭha

(5) -ja

30 僧伽 səŋ gja Skt. saṃgha

288 遮迦和 tʂja kja ɣwā
ka Skt. cakravāla

It is probable that the finals of this group had **a* as main vowel in BTD. They can be reconstructed as follows:

(1) -a (2) -wa

(3) -ra (5) -ja

3.3.7 The *Zhi* 支 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division II (1) -ai, (2) -wai

III (3) -je, (4) -jwe

III/IV (5) -jie, (6) -jwie

IV (7) -iei, (8) -iwei

These finals correspond for the most part to Skt. *i*, *ī*, *e*, and *ai* (=Pkt. *e*) vowel syllables in the data, e.g.

(3) -je

26	辟支	pjak tsje	Skt. pratyeka; cf. P. pacceka
79	波斯匿	pwa sje ɲək	Skt. prasenajit
225	波羅斯	pwa la sje	Skt. pārasika
284	羅陀那羯頭	la da na kje dəu	Skt. ratnaketu

(4) -jwe

318	優爲羅	ɔjəu jwe la	Skt. uruvilvā; P. uruvela
-----	-----	-------------	---------------------------

(5) -jie

50	阿僧祇	ɔa səŋ gje tsje	Skt. asaṅkhyā ~ asaṅkhyeya
70	摩祇	mwā gje	Skt. maghī
131	須彌	sju mjie mjie:	Skt. sumeru
240	阿彌陀	ɔa mjie da mjie:	Skt. amitābha

(6) -jwie

183	墮樓延	xjwie ləu jian	Skt. vairocana
-----	-----	----------------	----------------

(7) -iei

64	提和竭羅	diei ɣwā gjat la	Skt. dīpaṃkara
294	提和衛	diei ɣwā jwāi-	Skt. devāvatāra

The finals of this group are reconstructed with WJ *-ei* by Ting (1975). This value might account for the correspondences we have observed in the BTD data. Finals (5) and (6) are *chongniu* 重紐 rime doublets. How they differed from finals (3) and (4) in BTD is not clear. We can distinguish them notationally by preserving their *-ie-* diphthongs in the EH reconstruction. The vowel **e* in this group does not occur in words which have MC Division I finals. For this reason it is unnecessary to reconstruct EH **-i-* for final (7).

The finals of this group can be reconstructed as follows:

(3) **-jei* (4) **-jwei* (5) **-jie* (6) **-jiwei* (7) **-ei*

3.3.8 The *Zhi* 脂 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) *-əi*, (2) *-wəi*

II (3) *-āi*, (4) *-wāi*

III (5) *-jei*, (6) *-jwei*, (7) *-ji*, (8) *-jwi*

III/IV (9) *-i*, (10) *-wi*

IV (11) *-iei* (12) *-iwei*

Final (2) has the MC vowel *-ə-*. It is also reconstructed with this vowel by Ting for the WJ period and by most investigators for OC. In BTD it has the following contacts:

- 108 三昧 sām mwai- Skt. samādhi
 218 般舟三昧 pwān tsjəu sām mwai- Skt. pratyutpannasamādhi

We may guess that this final had EH *ə in BTD.

Finals (7), (8), (9), and (11) frequently correspond to Sanskrit syllables having the vowels *i* or *ī*. On the other hand they sometimes render syllables having *a*, *e*, or *ai* (= Pkt. *e*), e.g.

(7) -ji

- 229 阿難那地 ʔa nān pjen ɖi Skt. anāthapiṇḍika
 230 因底達 ʔjien ɖi dat Skt. indradatta
 67b 優婆夷 ʔjəu bwa jii Skt. upāsikā
 177 惟夷羅 jiwi jii la Skt. vicāra

(8) -jwi

- 130 尼惟先 niei- jiwi sien Skt. naivasam (jñānasamjñāyatanopaga)
 ɳi
 135 摩訶惟曰羅 mwā xā jiwi jwət la Skt. mahāvaiṇḍya
 171 惟闍 jiwi zja Skt. vīrya

(9) -i

- 63 伊沙 ʔi ʂa Skt. īśana
 137 沙羅伊檀 ʂa la ʔi dān Skt. śaḍāyatana

(11) -iei

- 121 泥犁 niei liei Skt. niraya
 lji
 319 泥蘭禪 niei lān zjan Skt. nairāṇjana

It is possible that the BTD data reflect different dialects, some of which had the main vowel **i* in the finals in question while others had **ə*. The reconstruction of final *-*jai*, *-*jiəi*, and *-*iəi* as suggested by Ting (1975) for the WJ language and the Han poetic dialects might also account for the behavior of these finals in the transcriptions. For the nonce I prefer this solution.

Final (9) is a *chongniu* rime doublet. How it differed from final (7) in BTD is uncertain.

Final (6) occurs in the following example:

- 310 提謂 diei- jwei- Skt. trapuṣa; cf. P. tapussa, Khotanese
 ttrāvāysa-

The original on which the Chinese transcription is based is difficult to determine. Bailey (1946: 786) posits a hypothetical Gandhārī form *(*r*)iviz on the basis of the Khotanese and Chinese forms. It seems safest to restore final (6) as *-*jwət*- for BTD.

The finals of this category can now be reconstructed as follows:

- (2) *-ət- (5) *-jwət- (7) and (9) *-jiəi (8) *-jwəi (11) *-iəi

3.3.9 The *Ji* 祭 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -ai, (2) -wai

II (3) -ai, (4) -wai, (5) -äi, (6) -wäi

III (7) -jēi, (8) -jwēi, (9) -jāi, (10) -jwāi

III/IV (11) -jiāi, (12) -jwiāi

IV (13) -iei, (14) -iwei

Finals (1), (2), (9), and (13) occur in the data, e.g.

(1) -ai

316 波羅奈 pwā la nai- Skt. varāṇasī

(2) -wāi

68 阿會亘修 ʔa ɣwāi- sjwān sju Skt. abhasvara + śu(bha)

309 貝多 pwāi- ta Skt. pattra

(9) -jāi

233 阿闍世 ʔa ʒja śjāi- Skt. ajataśatru

245 偈 gjāi- Skt. gāthā

(13) -iei

104 須臾祇褥 sju tiei- tśje nau Skt. sudarśana

The main vowel in this category was clearly **a*. Final (9) can be reconstructed as **-jat-*. It is possible that it should be reconstructed as **-jiat-* after grave initials to distinguish it from final (7) *-jēi-* (< BTD **-jat-* ?), as has been done by Li (1971: 39) for OC and Ting (1975) for the WJ language; but this is somewhat uncertain, since final (7) does not occur in the data.

To differentiate final (13) from the other finals MC *-i-* can be projected back to BTD. We must assume that this element, whatever it was in this period, was ignored in the transcriptions.

The finals of this category can be reconstructed as follows:

(1) **-at-* (2) **-wat-* (9) **-jat-*, **-jiat-* (13) **-iat-*

3.3.10 The *Zheng* 蒸 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -əng, (2) -wəng, (3) -ung

II (4) -ɛng, (5) -wɛng

III (6) -jəng

Only final (1) appears in the data, e.g.

30 僧伽 səng gja Skt. saṃgha

75 恒 ɣəng Skt. gaṅgā

It can be projected back to the EH period as BTD **-əng*.

3.3.11 The *Dong* 冬, *Dong*, 東 and *Yang* 陽 Categories. Finals of these groups do not appear in the data.

3.3.12 The *Geng* 耕 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division II (1) -ɛng, (2) -wɛng, (3) -ɛng, (4) -wɛng

III (5) -jɛng, (6) -jwɛng, (7) -jāng, (8) -jwāng

IV (9) -iɛng, (10) -iwɛng

Only final (9) is attested in the data:

78	泚沙	bieng ʃa	Skt. bimbisāra
306	瓶沙	bieng ʃa	Skt. bimbisāra

As mentioned in section 3.2.3 we can reconstruct it as EH **-ing* and assume that it was a makeshift substitute for foreign **-im*.

3.3.13 The *Zhen* 眞 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -ən, (2) -wən

II (3) -ǎn, (4) -wǎn

III (5) -jən, (6) -jwən, (7) -jen, (8) -jwen, (9) -jen

III/IV (10) -jien, (11) -jwien

IV (12) -ien, (13) -iwen

The finals of this category correspond to Indic syllables having the vowels *i*, *a*, and *u*, e.g.

(2) -wən

242	須門	sju mwən	Skt. sumanā
-----	----	----------	-------------

(6) -jwən

41	文殊師利	mjwən ʒju ʃi lji-	Skt. mañjuśrī
65	釋迦文	ʃjak kja mjwən ka	Skt. śākyamuni

(7) -jen

46	邠那文陀弗	pjen nā mjwən dā pjwət	Skt. pūrṇamaitrāyaṇīputra; cf. P. puṇṇa- mantānīputta
----	-------	------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------

229	阿難邠坻	ʔa nān pjen ɖi	Skt. anāthapiṇḍika
-----	------	----------------	--------------------

151	陀隣尼	dā ljen ɳi	Skt. dharaṇī
-----	-----	------------	--------------

(8) -jwen

71	阿須倫	ʔa sju ljwen	Skt. asura
----	-----	--------------	------------

163	阿輪那	ʔa ljwen nā	Skt. aruṇa
-----	-----	-------------	------------

251	踰旬	jiu zjwen	Skt. yojana
-----	----	-----------	-------------

(10) -jien

61	因坻	ʔjien ɖi	Skt. indra
----	----	----------	------------

343	頻頭	bjien dəu	Skt. bandhumā
-----	----	-----------	---------------

(12) -ien

219	摩訶桓迦憐	mwā xā ɣwān kja lien ka	Skt. mahāvana + karaṇḍa
-----	-------	----------------------------	-------------------------

313	拘憐	kəu lien kju	Skt. kauṇḍinya
-----	----	-----------------	----------------

333	優填	ʔjəu dien	Skt. udayana
-----	----	-----------	--------------

This category is the nasal final analogue of the *zhi* 脂 (**-əi*, **-ət-*) group, and contacts with foreign a-vowel syllables suggest that we can posit **ə* as the main vowel here. Correspondences with foreign i-vowel syllables can be accounted for by reconstructing **-jiən* and **-iən* and assuming that they were used in the absence

of EH finals such as **-jin* and **-in*. When **ə* occurred in words with labial initials or medial **-w-* it may have had a "u-coloring" which made it suitable for rendering foreign u-vowel syllables. Note that we cannot simply reconstruct **u* in such words, for they are also employed to transcribe foreign a- and i-vowel syllables. Compare, for example, the use of 文 in examples 41 and 65 or 郛 in 46 and 229. Final (10) is a rime doublet. How it differed from final (7) is uncertain.

In summary, the following finals are reconstructed for this category:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| (2) <i>*-(w)ən</i> | (6) <i>*j(w)ən</i> | (7) and (10) <i>*-jien</i> |
| (8) <i>*-jwən²²</i> | (12) <i>*-ien</i> | |

3.3.14 The *Yuan* 元 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) *-än*, (2) *-wän*

II (3) *-an*, (4) *-wan*, (5) *-än*, (6) *-wän*

III (7) *-jen*, (8) *-jwen*, (9) *-jän*, (10) *-jwän*

III/IV (11) *-jiän*, (12) *-jwiän*

IV (13) *-ien*, (14) *-iwen*

Finals (1), (2), (5), (7), (8), and (9) occur in the data, e.g.

(1) *-än*

32	栴檀	tšjan dan	Skt. candana
----	----	-----------	--------------

(2) *-wän*

22	泥洹	niei wän	Skt. nirvāṇa
----	----	----------	--------------

24	安般	an pwän	Skt. ānāpāna
----	----	---------	--------------

(5) *-än*

83	羴提	tšhän-: diei	Skt. kṣānti
		tšhän-	

(7) *-jen*

109	健陀羅	gjen- dà la	Skt. gandhārva ~ gāndhārva
-----	-----	-------------	----------------------------

(8) *-jwen*

150	鳩垣	kjəu jwen	Skt. kupana
-----	----	-----------	-------------

(9) *-jän*

87	乾陀羅	gjän dà la	Skt. gandhārva ~ gāndhārva
----	-----	------------	----------------------------

156	訖連桓	kjet ljan wän	Skt. *hiraṇyavarṇa
-----	-----	---------------	--------------------

The main vowel in this category is clearly **a*. Final (5) belongs to Division II and must be reconstructed with **-r-*. Li (1971: 41) and Ting (1975) reconstruct it with a diphthong *-ia-* in OC and the WJ language to distinguish it from final (3). I suspect this should also be done in BTD, though the absence of final (3) from the data makes the point uncertain. Final (7), which occurs only after grave initials, can be reconstructed as EH **-jan*. This same value can also be posited for final (9) when it occurs after acute initials. After grave initials I follow Li (1971: 41)

⁽²²⁾ Note that finals (6) and (8) do not conflict since the former occurs only after grave initials while the latter does not appear in this environment.

in reconstructing it as **-jian*, to distinguish it from final (7). The element **-i-* in finals (5) and (9) was presumably ignored in making transcriptions.

The finals of this group can be reconstructed as follows:

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) <i>*-an</i> | (2) <i>*-(w)an</i> | (5) <i>*-rian</i> |
| (7) <i>*-jan</i> | (8) <i>*-j(w)an</i> | (9) <i>*-jan, *-jian</i> |

3.3.15 The *Tan* 談 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

- Division I (1) *-ām*
 II (2) *-am*, (3) *-ām*
 III (4) *-jəm*, (5) *-jwəm*, (6) *-jām*
 III/IV (7) *-jiām*
 IV (8) *-iem*

Finals (1), (5), and (6) occur in the data, e.g.

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| (1) <i>-ām</i> | | |
| 173 曇摩 | dām mwā | Skt. dharma; cf. Gd. dhama |
| (5) <i>-jwəm</i> | | |
| 6 梵 | bjwəm- | Skt. brahmā |
| (6) <i>-jām</i> | | |
| 146 占甸 | tśjām bək | Skt. campaka |
| | bjuk | |

This category can be reconstructed with EH **a*. Final (5) occurs only in labial initial words in the data while (6) appears only in acute initial syllables. Both can be reconstructed as EH **-jam*.

3.3.15 The *Qin* 侵 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

- Division I (1) *-əm*
 II (2) *-ām*
 III (3) *-jəm*, (4) *-jung*
 III/IV (5) *-jiəm*
 IV (6) *-iem*

Finals (1), (3), and (4) occur in the data, e.g.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (1) <i>-əm</i> | | |
| 2 阿含 | ʔā ʔəm | Skt. āgama |
| (3) <i>-jəm</i> | | |
| 226 須深 | sju śjəm | Skt. susamprasthita |
| (4) | | |
| 174 楓摩 | pjung mwā | Skt. brahmā |

Several finals in this group have the MC vowel *-ə-*. In our data they correspond to foreign a-vowel syllables, suggesting that EH **ə* was the main vowel in this category in BTD. Final (4) is reconstructed as WJ *-jong* by Ting (1975) but as ***-jəm* by Li (1971: 34) for OC. The latter value accounts best for the BTD data. We can thus reconstruct the finals of this group as follows:

(1) -əm (3) and (4) -jəm²³

3.3.16 The *Zhi* 職 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

- A. Division I (1) -ək, (2) -wək
 II (3) -ek, (4) -wək
 III (5) -jək, (6) -jwək
 B. III (7) -juk

Finals (1), (5), and possibly (7) occur in the data, e.g.

(1) -ək		
323	阿摩勒	ʔa mwā lək Skt. āmalaka
(5) -jək		
54	拘翼	kəu jiək Skt. kauśika
		kju
321	闍逼	jiām pjək Skt. campaka
(7) -juk		
146	占蔔	tšjām bək Skt. campaka
		bjuk

Most finals of this category have MC -ə- as main vowel. Their correspondences with foreign *a* suggest that they can be reconstructed with *ə in BTD. Li (1971: 28) derives final (5) in labial initials syllables from OC **-jiək and thereby distinguishes it from final (7), which he reconstructs as OC **-jək. This arrangement can be adopted for BTD, yielding the following EH reconstructions:

(1) *-ək, (5) *jək, *-jiək (7) *-jək

3.3.17 The *Wo* 沃 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

- Division I (1) -wok
 II (2) -ək
 III (3) -juk
 IV (4) -iek

Final (3) of this group occurs in the following examples:

13	目犍連	mjuk gjen: ljan Skt. maudgalyāyana; cf. P. moggallāna
		gjan
also: 255	目犍蘭	mjuk gjen: lan Sct. maudgalyāyana; cf. P. moggallāna
29	天竺	thien tjuk Old Iranian hinduka ~ hindukka
		twok
		tuk
127	阿闍	ʔa tšhjuk Skt. akṣobhya

In examples 13, 127, and 255 this final corresponds to Indic syllables having Skt. *o* or *au* (= Pkt. *o*). In example 29 the correspondence is with Iranian *u*. As noted in section 2.2 above this transcription predates the BTD period and may reflect a

⁽²³⁾ Final (4) occurs in labial initial words, while final (3) does not appear in this environment.

language which differed from the dialect(s) underlying BTD. It seems best to assume that the *wo* category had EH **o* as main vowel in BTD.

3.3.18 The *Yao* 藥 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -āk, (2) -uok, (3) -uk

II (4) -āk

III (5) -jak

IV (6) -iek

Final (4) may occur in the following example:

246 三藐三菩提 sān mǎu: sān bwo diei Skt. samyaksambodhi; cf. P. sammāsam-
māk bodhi

Which reading of the word 藐 is intended here seems uncertain. If MC *māk* is the correct reading, then, in parallel with the *xiao* category, we can perhaps reconstruct the syllable in question as EH **mrāk* for BTD.

3.3.19 The *Wu* 屋 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -uk

II (2) -āk

III (3) -jwok

Final (1) occurs in the following examples:

281 拘速 kəu suk Skt. kusuma
kju

283 拘遯摩 kəu suk mwā Skt. kusuma
kju

These point to EH **u* as the vowel for this final in BTD.

3.3.20 The *Duo* 鐸 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -āk, (2) -wāk

II (2) -ək, (4) -wək, (5) -ək

III (6) -jak (7) -jwak, (8) -jāk, (9) jək

Finals (6) and (8) occur in the following examples:

(6) -jak

176 憍那師利 ŋzjak nā ʃi lji- Skt. jñānaśrī

(8) -jan

52 釋提桓因 śjak diei ɣwān ɣjien Skt. śakro devānām indra

65 釋迦文 śjak kja mjwən Skt. śākyamuni
ka

The main vowel in this category was clearly **a*. Final (6) can be reconstructed as *-*jak*. Following Li (1971: 43) final (8) can be differentiated from (6) by reconstructing it as *-*jiak*.

3.3.21 The *Xi* 錫 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division II (1) -ək, (2) -wək

III (3) -jāk, (4) -jwāk

IV (5) -iek, (6) -iwek

Final (3) occurs in the following example:

26 辟支 pjāk tśje Skt. pratyeka; cf. P. pacceka

In a number of gloss dialects the main vowel of this category was probably *a (cf., for example, Coblin 1979: 222-3). Perhaps this was also the case in BTD. We can reconstruct final (3) as EH *-jiak.

3.3.22 The *Zhi* 質 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -ət, (2) -wət

II (3) -āt, (4) -wāt

III (5) -jət, (6) -jwət, (7) -jet, (8) -jwet, (9) -jet

III/IV (10) -jiet, (11) -jiwet

IV (12) -iet, (13) -iwet

The finals of this category correspond to Indic syllables having the vowels *i*, *ī*, *e*, *a*, and *u*, e.g.

(5) -jət

156 訖連桓 kjət ljan ɣwān Skt. *hiraṇyavarṇa

(6) -jwət

1 佛 bjwət Skt. buddha

169 鬱沈 ɣjwət djəm Skt. uttama

(7) -jet

98 波栗多修呵 pwa ljet tā sjəu xā Skt. parittaśubha

(8) -jwet

27 術闍 źjwet dźja Skt. vidya

89 兜術陀 təu dźjwet dā Skt. tuṣita

215 那術 nā dźjwet Skt. nayuta

259 阿難律 ɣā nān ljwet Skt. aniruddha

330 拘律陀 kəu ljwet dā Skt. kolita

kju

(10) -jiet

42 般若波羅密 pwān ńzja: pwa lā mjiet Skt. prajñāpāramita

(12) -iet

47 僧那僧涅 səng nā səng niet Skt. sannahasannaddha

168 涅羅師利 niet lā ʃi lji- Skt. netraśrī

This category is the checked final analogue of the *zhen* category. In parallel with that group, we can guess that finals reconstructed with *-iə-, or perhaps even with *-jə- were suitable for transcribing foreign *i*, *ī*, and *e*, while *ə rendered foreign *a*. The presence of *-w- may have given rise to "u-coloring", making it possible for final (8) to transcribe foreign *u* as in examples 215 and 259. Final (6) is used exclusively to render foreign u-syllables in the data, and we could safely reconstruct it with *u for BTD. However, it seems more consistent to assume, as we have done for final (8) and also for finals (6) and (8) of the *zhen* group, that

we have here a main vowel *ə which has been phonetically colored by medial *-w-.³⁴

Final (10) is a rime doublet. How it differed from final (7) is uncertain.

In summary, we can reconstruct the following EH finals for this category:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| (5) *-jət | (6) *-jwət | (7) and (10) *-jiət |
| (8) *-jwət ³⁵ | (12) *-iet | |

3.3.23 The *Yue* 月 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -āt, (2) -wāt

II (3) -at, (4) -wat, (5) -ät, (6) -wät

III (7) -jət, (8) -jwət, (9) -jät, (10) -jwät

III/IV (11) -jiät, (12) -jiwät

IV (13) -iet, (14) -iwet

Finals (1), (2), (3), (8), (9), and (10) occur in the data, e.g.

	(1) -āt		
74	薩和	sāt ɣwā	Skt. sattva
	(2) -wāt		
172	活逸	ɣwāt jiet	Skt. vajra; cf. P. vajira
	(3) -at		
249	刹利	tʃhat lji-	Skt. kṣatriya
	(8) -jwət		
148	鍵陀越	gʃen: dā jwət gʃän	Skt. gandhavatī
	(9) -jät		
141	曇無竭	dām mju gjät	Skt. dharmodgata
	(10) -jwät		
34	羅閱祇	lä jiwät gjie	Skt. rājagṛha

This group is the checked final analogue of the *yuan* category, and its main vowel was probably *a. In parallel with the *yuan* group finals we can guess that final (9) should be reconstructed with EH *-ia- to differentiate it from final (7), though we have no examples of final (7) in the data. Final (10) occurs only in acute initial words in our data; and like final (8), which appears in grave initial words, it can be reconstructed as EH *jwät.

In two examples words with initial -w- correspond to Indic u-syllables:

135	摩訶惟曰羅	mwā xā jiwi jwət lä	Skt. mahāvaipulya
317	悅頭檀	jiwät dəu dān	Skt. śuddhodana

In parallel with our conclusions regarding the *zhen* and *zhi* 質 categories, we may

⁽³⁴⁾ This same effect is observable in the finals of the *yue* (*-at) category. Cf. section 3.3.23 below.

⁽³⁵⁾ Final (8) occurs only after acute initials, while final (6) never appears in this environment.

attribute this to phonetic u-coloring of the vowel *a by the presence of *-w- in the syllables in question.

We can reconstruct the finals of this group as follows:

- (1) *-at (2) *-wat (3) *rat (8) and (10) *-jwat (9) *-jiat

3.3.24 The *He* 盍 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -āp

II (2) -ap, (3) -āp

III (4) -jēp, (5) jwēp, (6) -jāp

III/IV (7) -jiāp

IV (8) -iep

Finals (1), (4) and (6) are attested in the data, e.g.

(1) -āp

94b 盧 ṛāp Skt. abha

(4) jēp

23 劫 kjēp Skt. kalpa; Gd. kapa

(6) -jāp

256 迦葉 kja jiāp Skt. kāsāyapa
ka

The main vowel of this group is certainly *a. Final (4) occurs only after grave initials, while (6) does not appear in this environment in our data. The following forms can be reconstructed for BTD:

- (1) *-ap (4) and (6) *-jap

3.3.25 The *Qi* 緝 Category. This category contains the following MC finals:

Division I (1) -əp

II (2) -ǎp

III (3) -jēp, (4) -jǎp

III/IV (5) -jiēp

Final (1) occurs in the following example:

202 捷奢𪛗 gjan: dəp ɣwā Skt. gandhārva
gjan

It is probably best to project MC -əp back to BTD unchanged.

IV. Conclusion

4.1 Summary. The following sound system has been reconstructed for BTD:

A. Initial Consonants

p	ph	b	m	
t	th	d	n	l
ts	tsh	dz	s	z
tś	—	dź	ś	ź
k	kh	g	—	h ɣ ʔ

B. Final Consonants

p	t [t, θ]	k
m	n	ng

C. Medials

-w-, -r-, -j-

D. Vowels

i	u
e ə	o
a	â

4.2 Closing Remarks. As mentioned in section 1.4 I was unable to identify a number of the transcriptions found in the BTB sources. These are an important source of further information on BTB and should be studied by specialists in Buddhist texts.

It is not possible to say with certainty that any of the transcriptions found in the Han sutras appear there for the first time. But the occurrence of a word does establish for it a *terminus ante quem*, and in transcriptional studies of later texts it will be possible to exclude such forms from consideration. By moving downward in time, text by text, we will be able to more accurately determine the time depth of much of the Buddhist transcriptional data. All of the BTB data should be carefully examined by Prakritists and specialists in the various languages spoken in Central Asia during the EH period. A special effort should be made to deal with the material source by source. Studies of this type may eventually enable us to identify with more certainty the original languages in which the translated texts were written.

V. The Data

Introduction

These data are arranged according to the translators (or translation teams) discussed in section 1.4, i.e.

1. An Shigao
2. Zhi Loujiaqian/Lokakṣema
3. Kang Mengxiang

Under each translator the texts are arranged in their order of appearance in the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*. Individual transcriptions are ordered according to page numbers in the *Tripiṭaka* texts.

For each entry the following information is given: (1) page and section numbers in the *Tripiṭaka*, (2) Chinese transcriptions; (3) EH > MC reconstructions for the Chinese forms, (4) Indic (usually Sanskrit) forms.

Following the data is a section of supplementary notes. These are numbered according to the entries to which they refer. Entries to which notes are appended are marked with a star.

A. Listing of the Data

1. An Shigao

1. T 13.233.1	佛	*bjət > bjwət	Skt. buddha
2. T 13.233.2	阿舍	*ʔa gəm > ʔa ɣəm	Skt. āgama
3. T 13.233.2*	舍衛	*śja- ɣjwat- > śja- jwäi-	Skt. śrāvastī
4. T 13.233.2	祇	*tśjei > tśje *gjiei gjie	Skt. jetavana
5. T 13.238.2	舍利	*śja- ljiəi- > śja- lji-	Skt. śārī
6. T 13.236.2	梵	*b(r)jam- > bjwəm-	Skt. brahmā
7. T 13.236.3	沙門	*sra mən > ʃa mwən	Skt. śramaṇa; cf. Gd. śamaṇo
8. T 13.236.3	波羅門	*pa la mən > pwā lā mwən	Skt. brāmaṇa
9. T 13.240.1	禪	*dźjan > źjan	Skt. dhyāna; cf. Gd. jaṇa
10. T 13.241.1	比丘	*bjiəi khju > bi khjəu bjiəi- bi-	Skt. bhikṣu; cf. Gd. bhikhu, P. bhikkhu
11. T 14.241.3	阿難	*ʔa nan > ʔa nān	Skt. ānanda
12. T 31.813.1	拘留	*kou lju > kəu ljəu kjou kju	Skt. krakucchandha
13. T 32.814.2	目犍連	*mjok gjan: ljan > mjuk gjen: ljan gjian gjän	Skt. maudgalyāyana; P. moggallāna
14. T 98.992.2	舍利弗	*śja- ljiəi- pjət > śja- lji- pjwət	Skt. śāriputra
15. T 150.875.3	迦羅越	*kra la ɣjwat > ka lā jwət kja kja	Skt. kulapati
16. T 150.876.3	魔	*ma > mwā	Skt. māra
17. T 150.877.1	阿那含	*ʔa na gəm > ʔa nā ɣəm	Skt. anāgamin
18. T 150.877.1	斯陀含	*sjei da gəm > sje dā ɣəm	Skt. sakṛdagāmin
19. T 150.877.1	須陀洹	*sjou da ɣwan > sju dā ɣwān	Skt. srotāpanna; cf. P. sotāpanna
20. T 150.879.1	鉢	*pat > pwāt	Skt. pātra
21. T 150.879.1	袈裟	*kra sra > ka ʃa	Skt. kaṣāya
22. T 150.880.2	泥洹	*niəi ɣwan > niei ɣwān	Skt. nirvāṇa; cf. Gd. nivaṇa
23. T 150.880.2	劫	*kja > kjep	Skt. kalpa; cf. Gd. kapa, P. kappa
24. T 602.163.3	安般	*ʔan pan > ʔān pwān	Skt. ānāpāna
25. T 602.167.2	阿羅漢	*ʔa la han- > ʔā lā xān-	Skt. arhat, arhant; cf. P. and BHS arahant, Gd. araha

- | | | | |
|------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 26. T 602.170.2 | 辟支 | *pjiak tsjei > pjak tsje | Skt. pratyeka; cf. P. pacceka |
| 27. T 602.173.1 | 術闍 | *zjwət dzja > dzjwet zja | Skt. vidyā; cf. Gd. vija, P. vijjā |
| 28. T 602.173.1 | 沙羅 | *sra la > ʃa lā | Skt. sala ~ śala |
| 29. T 607.230.3* | 天竺 | *thiən (or *hiən ?) trjok thien tjuk
tok twok
tuk tuk | Old Iranian hinduka
~ hindukka |
| 30. T 607.230.3 | 僧伽 | *səng gja > səng gja | Skt. saṃgha |
| 31. T 607.230.3 | 羅刹 | *la tshrat > lā tʃhat | Skt. rākṣasa |
| 32. T 607.232.3 | 栴檀 | *tsjan dan > tsjan dan | Skt. candana |
| 33. T 607.232.3 | 那替 | *na thiəi- > nā thiei- | Skt. nadī |
2. Zhi Loujiaqian/Lokakṣema
- | | | | |
|------------------|-------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 34. T 224.425.3 | 羅閱祇 | *la zjwat gjiei > lā jiwāt gjie
tsjei tsje | Skt. rājagṛha; cf. P. rājagaha |
| 35. T 224.425.3 | 耆闍崛 | *gjiei dzja gjwət > gjī zja gjwət | Skt. ṛḍhrakūṭa; cf. P. gijjhakūṭa |
| 36. T 224.425.3 | 摩訶 | *ma ha > mwā xā | Skt. mahā |
| 37. T 224.425.3* | 須菩提 | *sjou bo dei > sju bwo diei | Skt. subhūti |
| 38. T 224.425.3 | 摩訶薩 | *ma ha sat > mwā xā sāt | Skt. mahāsattva |
| 39. T 224.425.3 | 菩薩 | bo sat > bwo sāt | Skt. bodhisattva |
| 40. T 224.425.3 | 彌勒 | *mjiei lək > mjie lək | Skt. maitreya; cf. Kuchean maitrak, Agnean metrak (Bailey 1946: 780-81) |
| 41. T 224.425.3 | 文殊師利 | *mjən dzjou srjiei ljiəi- > mjwən zju ʃi lji- | Skt. mañjuśrī; cf. BHS mañjuśrī |
| 42. T 224.425.3 | 般若波羅蜜 | *pan nja: pa la mjiet > pwān n̄zja: pwā lā mjiet | Skt. prajñāpāramitā; cf. P. pañña, Gd. praña (=Skt. prajñā) |
| 43. T 224.425.3 | 忉利 | *tā ljiəi- > tau lji- | Skt. trāyastriṃśā; cf. Khotanese ttavatrīśā, Agnean tāpatrīś, Kuchean tapattrīś (Bailey 1946: 780); also P. tāvatīṃsa |
| 44. T 224.426.1 | 阿惟越致 | *ʔa zjwəi ʔjwat trjiei- > ʔa jiwi jwat ti- | Skt. avivartin ~ avivartika ~ avavar-tika |

45. T 224.426.2 薩芸若 *sat ɣjwən nja: > sāt jwən n̄zja: Skt. sarvajña
46. T 224.427.2* 那那文陀弗 *pjien na mjən da pjət > pjen nā mjwən dā pjwət Skt. pūrṇamaitrā-yaṇīputra; cf. P. puṇṇamantānīputta
47. T 224.427.2-3 僧那僧涅 *səng na səng niət > səng nā səng niet Skt. sannāhasannad-dha
48. T 224.427.3 摩訶衍 ma ha źjan: > mwā xā jiān: Skt. mahayana
źjan- jiān-
49. T 224.427.3* 三拔致 *səm bat trjiəi- > sām bwāt ti- Skt. sampatti
50. T 224.427.3 阿僧祇 *ʔa səng gjiəi > ʔa səng gjiəi Skt. asaṅkhyā ~ asaṅkhyeya
tśjei tśje
51. T 224.427.3 般泥洹 *pan niəi ɣwan > pwān niei ɣwān Skt. parinirvāṇa
52. T 224.429.1 釋提桓因 *śjiak dei ɣwan ɣjiən > śjāk diei ɣwān ɣjien Skt. śakro devānam indra
53. T 224.429.1 梵迦夷 *b(r)jam- kja źjiəi > bjwəm- kja jii Skt. brahmakayika
ka ka
54. T 224.429.1 拘翼 *kou źjək > kəu jiək Skt. kauśika
kjou kju
55. T 224.429.1* 恒薩阿竭 (陀) *tat sat ʔa gjiat (da) > Skt. tathāgata
tāt sāt ʔa gjāt (dā)
56. T 224.429.1 阿羅呵 *ʔa la ha > ʔa lā xā Skt. arhat; cf. Gd. araha
57. T 224.429.1 三耶三佛 *səm źja səm bjət > sām jia sām bjwət Skt. samyaksambud-dha; cf. Gd. same-sabudha
zja zja
58. T 224.429.3 閼叉 *źjwat tshra > jiwāt tsha Skt. yakṣa
59. T 224.430.1 摩訶拘私 *ma ha kou sjiei > mwā xā kəu si Skt. mahākauṣṭhila;
kjou kju cf. BHS mahā-koṣ-ṭhila
60. T 224.430.1 摩訶旃旃延 ma ha kja tśjan źjan > Skt. mahākātyāyana;
kra cf. P. mahākaccāna
mwā xā kja tśjan jiān
ka
61. T 224.431.1 因坻 *ɣjiən drjiəi > ɣjien ɖi Skt. indra
62. T 224.431.1 波耶和提 *pa źja ɣwa dei > pwā jia ɣwā diei Skt. prajāpati
zja zja
63. T 224.431.1 伊沙 *ɣjiəi sra > ɣi ša Skt. īśāna
64. T 224.431.1 提和竭羅 *dei ɣwa gjiat la > diei ɣwā gjāt la Skt. dīpaṃkara
65. T 224.431.1 釋迦文 *śjiak kja mjən > śjāk kja mjwən Skt. śākyamuni
kra ka

66. T 224.431.1 比丘尼 *bjiei khju nrjiei > bi khjəu ɲi Skt. bhikṣuṇī
niēi- bi- niei-
- 67a. T 224.431.1 優婆塞 *ɔju ba sək > ɔjəu bwā sək Skt. upāsaka
- 67b. T 224.431.1 優婆夷 *ɔju ba zjiēi > ɔjəu bwa jii Skt. upāsika
68. T 224.431.1 阿會互修 *ɔa ɣwat- sjwan sju > Skt. abhāsvara + śu
ɔa ɣwāi- sjwān sjəu (bha)
69. T 224.431.1* 梵摩三鉢 *b(r)jam- ma səm pat > Skt. brahmāsaham-
bjwəm- mwā sām pwāt pati
70. T 224.431.2 摩祇 *ma gjiei > mwā gjie Skt. maghī
71. T 224.432.1 阿須倫 *ɔa sjou ljwən > ɔa sju ljwen Skt. asura
72. T 224.432.1 阿耨多羅 *ɔa nou ta la > ɔa nəu tā lā Skt. anuttara
73. T 224.432.1 閻浮利 *zjam bju ljiēi- > jiām bjəu lji- Skt. jambudvīpa
74. T 224.433.1* 薩和 *sat ɣwa > sāt ɣwā Skt. sattva
75. T 224.433.1 恒 *gəng > ɣəng Skt. gaṅgā
76. T 224.433.3 般遮旬 *pan tsja zjwən > pwān tsja zjwen Skt. pañcābhijñāna
77. T 224.433.3* 溫和拘舍羅 *ɔou ɣwa kou śja- la > Skt. upāyakaśālya
ɔəu ɣwā (?) kəu śja- lā
78. T 224.434.1 泚沙 *bing sra > bieng ʃa Skt. bimbisāra ~
bimbasāra
79. T 224.434.1* 波斯匿 *pa sjei nrjək > pwā sje ɲjək Skt. prasenajit
80. T 224.434.1 迦翼 *kja zjək > kja jiək Skt. kāyika
kra ka
81. T 224.434.2 檀 *dan > dān Skt. dāna
82. T 224.434.2 惟逮 *zjwəi diei- > jiwi diei- Skt. vīrya
dət- dēi-
83. T 224.434.2 羼提 *tshrian: dei > tʃhān: diei Skt. kṣānti
tshrian- tʃhān-
84. T 224.434.2 尸 *śjiēi > śi Skt. śīla
85. T 224.434.2 迦樓羅 *kja lou la > kja ləu la Skt. garuḍa; cf. P.
kra ka garuḍa
86. T 224.434.3-435.1 甄陀羅 *kjian da la > kjān dā lā Skt. kiṃnara
tśjiən tśjen
87. T 224.435.1 乾陀羅 *gjian da la > gjān dā lā Skt. gandharva ~
kan kām gandharva
88. T 224.435.1 摩睺勒 *ma ɣou lək > mwā ɣəu lək Skt. mahoraga
ɣou- ɣəu-
89. T 224.435.1 兜術陀 *təu zjwət da > təu dźjwət da Skt. tuṣṭita
90. T 224.435.1 尼摩羅提 *niēi- ma la dei > niei- mwā lā diei Skt. nirmāṇarati
nrjiei ɲi

91. T 224.435.1 波羅尼蜜 *pa la niəi- mjiət ɣwa źja bat trjiəi> Skt. paranirmitava-
和邪拔致 nrjiəi zja śavartin (~ -vaśa-
pwā la niei- mjiət ɣwā jia bwāt ɿi vartī)
ɳi zja
92. T 224.435.1 梵弗逮 *b(r)jam- pjət diəi- > Skt. brahmapurohita
dət-
bjwəm- pjwət diei-
dəi-
93. T 224.435.1 梵波產 *b(r)jam- pa srian: >bjwəm- pwā sǎn: Skt. brahmapāriṣadya
- 94a. T 224.435.1 摩呵梵 *ma ha b(r)jam->mwā xā bjwəm- Skt. mahābrahmāṇaḥ
- 94b. T 224.435.1 嚧 *ʔap > ʔap Skt. ābha
95. T 224.435.1 波利陀 *pa ljiəi- da > pwā lji- dā Skt. parittabha
96. T 224.435.1 嚧波摩那 *ʔap pa ma na > ʔap pwā mwā nā Skt. apramāṇabha
97. T 224.435.1 首呵 *śju: ha > śjəu: xā Skt. śubha; cf. Gd.
śuhasūhu (= Skt.
śubhāśubha)
98. T 224.435.1 波栗多修呵 *pa ljiət ta sju ha>pwā ljet tā sjəu xā Skt. parittaśubha
99. T 224.435.1 阿波摩修 *ʔa pa ma sju > ʔa pwā mwā sjəu Skt. apramāṇaśubha
100. T 224.435.1 惟于潘 *źjwəi ɣjwa phan > jiwi ju phwān Skt. bṛhatphala; cf.
P. vehapphala
101. T 224.425.1 阿惟潘 *ʔa źjwəi phan > ʔa jiwi phwān Skt. avṛha; cf. P.
aviha
102. T 224.435.1 阿陀波 *ʔa da pa > ʔa dā pwā Skt. atapa
103. T 224.435.1 須臾 *sjou tiat- > sju tiei- Skt. sudṛśa; cf. P.
sudassa
104. T 224.435.1 須臾祇褥 *sjou tiat- tsjei nou>sju tiei- tsje nōu Skt. sudarśana; cf.
gjie gjie P. sudassi
105. T 224.435.1 阿迦貳吒 *ʔa kja njiəi- tra > ʔa kja ńzi- ɿa- Skt. akaniṣṭha; cf.
ka ka P. akaniṭṭha
106. T 224.435.1 刹 *tshrat > tṣhat Skt. kṣetra; cf. BHS
kṣatra
107. T 224.438.1 阿惟三佛 *ʔa źjwəi səm bjət > Skt. abhisambudha
ʔa jiwi sām bjwət
108. T 224.438.1 三昧 *səm mət- > sām mwəi- Skt. samādhi
109. T 224.438.3 健陀羅 *gjan- da la > gjen- dā lā Skt. gandhārva
110. T 224.439.3 炎 *źjam- > jiām- Skt. yāma
ɣjam(?) jām
111. T 224.439.3* 波羅尼密 *pa la niəi- mjiət ɣwa źja bat trjiəi > Skt. paranirmitava-
和耶拔致 nrjiəi zja śavartin (~ -vaśa-
pwā la niei- mjiət ɣwā jia bwāt ɿi vartī)
ɳi zja

112. T 224.493.3 梵富樓 *b(r)jam- pju- lou > bjwəm- pjəu- ləu Skt. brahmapurohita
113. T 224.439.3 梵波利產 *b(r)jam- pa ljiəi- srian: > Skt. brahmapāri-
bjwəm- pwā lji- šān: śadya
114. T 224.439.3 波利首訶 *pa ljiəi- šju: ha > pwā lji- šjəu: xā Skt. parittaśubha
115. T 224.439.3 阿波摩首訶 *ʔa pa ma šju: ha > Skt. apramaṇaśubha
ʔa pwā mwā šjəu xā
116. T 224.439.3 首訶迦 *šju: ha kja > šjəu: xā kja Skt. śubhakṛtsna
kra ka
117. T 224.439.3 比伊潘羅 *bjiei ʔjiei phan la > bi ʔi phwān la Skt. bṛhatphala
bjiei- bi-
118. T 224.439.3* 阿比耶陀 *ʔa bjiei źja da > ʔa bi jia da Skt. avṛha
bjiei- zja bi- zja
119. T 224.439.3 須陀施尼 *sjou da šjei niei- > sju da šje niei- Skt. sudarśana
nrjiei ɳi
120. T 224.440.1 首陀衛 *šju: da ʔjwat- > šjəu: da jwāi- Skt. śuddhāvāsa
121. T 224.440.2 泥犁 *niei liei > niei liei Skt. niraya
ljiei lji
122. T 224.441.1 佛刹 *bjət tshrat > bjwət tšhat Skt. buddhakṣetra
123. T 224.447.2 遮迦越羅 *tśja kra ʔjwat la > tśja ka jwət la Skt. cakravartirāja
kja kja
124. T 224.451.1 婆羅劫 *ba la kjap > bwā lā kjəp Skt. bhadrakalpa
125. T 224.452.2 阿闍浮 *ʔa dźja bju > ʔa źja bjəu Skt. acapala
126. T 224.454.1 分漫陀尼弗 *pjən man da nrjiei pjət > Skt. pūrṇamaitṛa-
niei- yaṇīputra; cf. P.
pjwən mwān dā ɳi pjwət punṇamantānīputta
niei-
127. T 224.458.1 阿閼 *ʔa tshrjok > ʔa tšhjuk Skt. akṣobhya
128. T 224.462.1 舍怛羅 *śja- tat la > śja- tāt la Skt. śāstarah
129. T 224.465.1* 薛荔 *bei- lei- > biei- liei- Skt. pre(ta)
130. T 224.465.1 尼惟先 *niei- źjwēi sien > niei- jiwi sien Skt. naivasam (jñā-
nrjiei ɳi nāsamjñāyatanopa-
ga); cf. P. nevasaṇ (ñānāsaṇñāyatanū-
paga)
131. T 224.467.1 須彌 *sjou mjiei > sju mjie Skt. sumeru
mjiei: mjie:
132. T 224.465.3 文陀羅 *mjən da la > mjwən dā la Skt. mandāra
133. T 224.467.3 羅麟那 *la ljiən na > lā ljen nā Skt. ratna; cf. P. and
BHS ratana; also
various Pkt. forms:

- e.g. radana, ladana
(Pischel 1900, section 132)
134. T 224.468.2 波羅劫 *pa la kjap > pwa la kjap Skt. bhadrakalpa
135. T 224.468.2 摩訶惟日羅 *ma ha zjwæi ɣjwat la > mwā xā jiwi jwet la Skt. mahāvaiṣṭyā
136. T 224.470.1 健陀訶盡 *gjan: da ha tsjien: > gjian dzjien: Skt. gandhahastin
gjen: dā xā tsjen:
gjan dzjen:
137. T 224.470.1 沙羅伊檀 *sra la ɣjiæi dan > ʃa lā ɣi dān Skt. śaḍāyatana
138. T 224.470.3 薩陀波倫 *sat da pa ljwən > sāt dā pwa ljwen Skt. sadāprarudita
139. T 224.470.3 健陀羅耶 *gjan: da la zja > gjen: dā lā jia Skt. gandhālaya ~
gjian zja gjan zja gandhālaya
140. T 224.470.3* 尼遮健 *niæi- tsja gjan: da pa mjæt > Skt. *nityagandha-
陀波勿 nrjiæi gjian pramuditā (?)
niei- tsja gjen: dā pwa mjwæt
ni gjan
141. T 224.471.1 曇無竭 *dam mjo gjat > dām mju gjät Skt. dharmodgata
142. T 224.471.3 優鉢羅 *ɣju pat la > ɣjəu pwāt la Skt. utpala; cf. P.
uppala, Gd. upada
(= Skt. utpada)
143. T 224.471.3* 不那利 *pju na ljiæi- > pjəu nā lji Skt. puṇḍarīka
pjæt pjwæt
144. T 224.471.3 拘文羅 *kou mjən la > kəu mjwən la Skt. kumuda
kjou kju
145. T 224.471.3 須臾提 *sjou gjan: dei > sju gjen: diei Skt. sugandhika
gjian gjan
146. T 224.471.3 占蔔 *tsjam bək > tsjam bək Skt. campaka
bjək (?) bjuk
147. T 224.471.3 難檀桓 *nan dan ɣwan > nān dān ɣwān Skt. nandanavana
148. T 224.471.3 健陀越 *gjan: da ɣjwat > gjen: dā jwæt Skt. gandhavatī
gjian gjan
149. T 224.475.2 迦留勒 *kja lju lək > kja ljəu lək Skt. garuḍa
kra ka
150. T 224.475.2* 鳩桓 *kju ɣjwan > kjəu jwən Skt. kupana
151. T 224.477.1 陀隣尼 *da ljiæn nrjiæi > dā ljen ni Skt. dhāraṇī
niei- niei-
152. T 224.477.2* 迦摩 *kja ma > kja mwā Skt. kāma
kra ka

153. T 280.445.1 兜沙 **tou sra* > *təu ʃa* Skt. *tuṣara*
154. T 280.445.1* 摩竭提 **ma gjiat dei* > *mwā gjät diei* Skt. *magadha*
155. T 280.445.2 阿逝 **ʔa džjat-* > *ʔa źjai-* Set. *acalā*
156. T 280.445.2 訖連桓 **kjət ljan ɾwan* > *kjət ljan ɾwān* Skt. **hiraṇyavarṇa*
157. T 280.445.2* 樓耆涇 **lou gjiəi ɾwan* > *ləu gji ɾwān* Skt. **rucivarṇa*
158. T 280.445.2 波頭涇 **pa dou ɾwan* > *pwā dəu ɾwān* Skt. **padmavarṇa*;
cf. P. and BHS
paduma (= Skt.
padma)
159. T 280.445.1 羅隣師利 **la ljiən srjiəi ljiəi* > *lā ljen ʃi lji-* Skt. *ratnaśrī*
160. T 280.445.1 阿闍 **ʔa džja* > *ʔa źja* Skt. *ācāra*
161. T 280.445.2 占倍涇 **tśjam bək- ɾwan* > *tśjam bwəi- ɾwān* Skt. **campakavarṇa*
162. T 280.445.2 檀那師利 **dan na srjiəi ljiəi-* > *dān nā ʃi lji-* Skt. *dhanaśrī*
163. T 280.445.3 阿輪那 **ʔa ljwən na* > *ʔa ljwen nā* Skt. *aruṇa*
164. T 280.445.3 優波涇 **ʔju pa ɾwan* > *ʔəu pwā ɾwān* Skt. *utpalavarṇa*
165. T 280.445.3 群那 **gɟwən na* > *gɟwən nā* Skt. *guṇa*
- 166a. T 280.445.3 阿旃陀 **ʔa tśjan da* > *ʔa tśjān dā* Skt. *atyanta*; cf. P.
accanta, Gd. *acada*
- 166b. T 280.445.3* 墮陀 **hjiwei da* > *xjwie dā* Skt. *veda* (?)
167. T 280.445.3 鍵闍涇 **kjan džja ɾwan* > *kjen źja ɾwān* Skt. *kañcanavarṇa*
168. T 280.445.3 涅羅師利 **niət la srjiəi ljiəi-* > *niet lā ʃi lji-* Skt. *netraśrī*
169. T 280.445.3 鬱沈 **ʔjwət drjəm* > *ʔjwət djəm* Skt. *uttama*
170. T 280.445.3 羅隣涇 **la ljiən ɾwan* > *lā ljen ɾwān* Skt. **ratnavarṇa*
171. T 280.445.3 惟闍 **źjwəi džja* > *jiwi źja* Skt. *vīrya*; cf. Gd.
viya
172. T 280.445.3 活逸 **ɾwat źjiət* > *ɾwāt jiet* Skt. *vajra*; cf. P. and
BHS *vajira*
173. T 280.445.3 曇摩 **dam ma* > *dām mwā* Skt. *dharma*; cf. P.
dhamma, Gd. *dhama*
174. T 280.445.3 楓摩 **p(r)jəm ma* > *pjuŋ mwā* Skt. *brahmā*
175. T 280.445.3 潘利 *phan ljiəi-* > *phwān lji-* Skt. *sphaṭikā*; cf. P.
phalikā
176. T 280.445.3 倍那師利 **njak na srjiəi ljiəi-* > *ńźjak nā ʃi lji* Skt. *jñānaśrī*; cf. P.
ñāṇa (=Skt. *jñāna*),
Gd. *ñatva* (= Skt.
jñātva)
177. T 280.446.2 惟夷羅 **źjwəi źjiəi la* > *jiwi jii lā* Skt. *vicāra*
178. T 280.445.3 輓陀 **bat da* > *bwāt dā* Skt. *bhadra*
179. T 280.446.1 蔡呵 **tshat- ha* > *tshāi- xā* Skt. *sahā*(*lokadhātu*)

180. T 280.446.1* 世世漫陀 *śjat- śjat- man- da > Skt. *śaśimaṇḍala
śjai- śjai- mwān- dā
181. T 280.446.1 夷呵那抵提 źjiəi ha na drjiəi dei > Skt. siṃhanāda; cf. P.
jii xā nā di diei siṃhanāda, sihanādi-
ka, Gd. siha (=Skt.
siṃha)
182. T 280.446.1* (鼓=) *dźjei- srjiəi sat drjəm > Skt. *ṛṣisaptama; cf.
鼓師薩沈 źje- ši sāt dǰəm P. isi sattama; Gd.
iṣi (= Skt. ṛṣi)
183. T 280.446.1 墮樓延 *hjiwei lou źjan > xjwie ləu jian Skt. vairocana
184. T 280.446.1 俱讀滑提 *kjou dəm ʔwriat dei > Skt. *gautamapati
kju dəm ʔwāt diei
185. T 280.446.1 晨那 *dźjiən na > źjen nā Skt. jina
186. T 280.446.1 質多 *tśjiət ta > tśjet tā Skt. citta
187. T 280.446.1 遮加想 *tśja kra ʔwa > tśja ka ʔwā Skt. cakravāla
188. T 280.446.1 弗于逮 *pjət ʔjwa diəi- > pjwət ju diei- Skt. pūrvavideha
dət- dāi-
189. T 280.446.1 俱耶匿 *kjou źja nrjək > kju jia ɲjək Skt. godānīya
zja zja
190. T 280.446.1 薛單曰 *ɲjwət tan ʔjwat > ɲjwət tən jwət Skt. uttarakuravaḥ
191. T 280.446.1 照頭摩羅 *tśja dou ma la > tśjau dəu mwā la Skt. cāturmahārajika
192. T 280.446.1 鹽 *źjam > jiam Skt. yāma
193. Deleted
194. T 280.446.1 阿會亘差 *ʔa ʔwat- sjwan sju > Skt. abhāsvara + śu
ʔa ʔwāi- sjwān sjəu (bha)
195. T 280.446.1 波栗差訶 *pa ljiət sju ha > pwā ljet sjəu xā Skt. parittaśubha
196. T 280.446.1 阿波摩差 *ʔa pa ma sju > ʔa pwā mwā sjəu Skt. apramāṇaśubha
197. T 280.446.1 差訖 *sju kjət > sjəu kjət Skt. śubhakṛtsna
198. T 313.751.3 阿比羅提 *ʔa bjiəi la dei > ʔa bi lā diei Skt. abhirati
bjiəi- bi-
199. T 313.752.2 魔羅 *ma la > mwā lā Skt. māra
200. T 313.753.2* 陂陀劫 *pjei da kjap > pje dā kjəp Skt. bhadrakalpa
201. T 313.753.2 提洹竭 *dei ʔwan gjiat > diei ʔwān gjāt Skt. dīpamkara
202. T 313.753.3 捷查想 *gjan: dəp ʔwa > gjən: dəp ʔwā Skt. gandhārva
gjian gjān
203. T 313.753.3 阿須倫 *ʔa sjou ljwən > ʔa sju ljwen Skt. asura
204. T 313.753.3 迦留羅 *kja lju la > kja ljəu lā Skt. garuḍa
kra ka
205. T 313.753.3 眞陀羅 *tśjiən da la > tśjen dā lā Skt. kimnara
206. T 313.753.3 摩休勒 *ma hju lək > mwā xjəu lək Skt. mahoraga

207. T 313.753.3 阿脩羅 *ʔa sju la > ʔa sjəu la Skt. asura
208. T 313.754.1 分陀利 *pjən da ljiəi- > pjwən da lji- Skt. puṇḍarīka
209. T 313.756.1 壽單越 *ʔjwət tan ʔjwat > ʔjwət tən jwet Skt. uttarakuravaḥ
210. T 313.757.1 波頭犁 *pa dou liei > pwā dəu liei Skt. padmaniraya
ljiəi lji
211. T 313.757.1 阿羅羅 *ʔa la la > ʔa lā lā Skt. aṭaṭa
212. T 313.757.1 阿比舍 *ʔa bjiəi śja- > ʔa bi śja- Skt. avīci
bjiəi- bi-
213. T 313.757.1 阿優陀 *ʔa ʔju da > ʔa ʔjəu da Skt. arbuda
214. T 313.757.1 波羅尼蜜 *pa la niei- mjiət ʔwa źja ʔjwat > Skt. paranirmitaya-
和耶越 nrjiəi zja śavartin
pwā lā niei- mjiət ʔwā jia jwet
ni zja
215. T 313.758.3 那術 *na źjwət > nā dźjwet Skt. nayuta
216. T 313.759.1 和耶越致 *ʔwa źja ʔjwat trjiəi > ʔwā jia jwet ti- Skt. vaśavartin (~
zja zja vaśavartī)
217. T 313.760.2-3 羞洹那洹 *sju ʔwan na ʔwan pa dou ma > Skt. *suvarṇavarṇa-
波頭摩 sjəu ʔwān nā ʔwān pwā dəu mwā padma
218. T 418.902.3 般舟三昧 *pan tsju səm mət- > Skt. pratyutpanna-
pwān tsjəu sām mwəi- samādhi
219. T 418.902.3 摩訶桓迦憐 *ma ha ʔwan kja liən > Skt. mahāvana +
kra karaṇḍa
mwā xā ʔwān kja lien
ka
220. T 418.902.3 跋陀和 *bat da ʔwa > bwāt da ʔwā Skt. bhadrapāla
221. T 418.903.1 羅憐那竭 *la liən na gjiat > lā lien nā gjāt Skt. ratnākara
222. T 418.903.1 墮舍利 *hjiwei śja- ljiəi- > xjwie śja- lji- Skt. vaiśālī
223. T 418.903.1 占波 *tsjam pa > tsjam pwā Skt. campā
224. T 418.903.1 那羅達 *na la dat > nā lā dāt Skt. naradatta
225. T 418.903.1 (彼 >) *pa la sjei > pwā lā sje Skt. pārasīka
波羅斯
226. T 418.903.1 須深 *sjou śjəm > sju śjəm Skt. susamprasthita
227. T 418.903.1 加羅衛 *kra la ʔjwat- > ka lā jwāi- Skt. kapilavastu
228. T 418.903.1 摩訶須薩和 *ma ha sjou sat ʔwa > Skt. mahāsusārtha-
mwā xā sju sāt ʔwā vaha
229. T 418.903.1 阿難那低 *ʔa nan pjien drjiəi > Skt. anathapiṇḍika
ʔa nān pjen ɖi
230. T 418.903.1 因低達 *ʔjien drjiəi dat > ʔjien ɖi dāt Skt. indradatta
231. T 418.903.1 鳩睺睺 *kju śjam: mjiei > kjəu śjam: mjie Skt. kauśambī; cf. P.
mjiei: mjiei: kosambī

232.	T 418.903.1	和輪調	*rwa ljwən deu > rwa ljwen dieu	Skt. varuṇadeva
233.	T 418.903.1	阿闍世	*ʔa dʒja śjat- > ʔa ʒja śjai-	Skt. ajataśatru
234.	T 418.903.1	難頭和難	*nan dou rwa nan > nān dəu rwa nān	Skt. nandopananda
235.	T 418.903.1	沙竭	*sra gjiat > ʃa gjāt	Skt. sāgara
236.	T 418.903.1	摩難斯	*ma nan sjei > mwā nān sje	Skt. manasvī
237.	T 418.903.1	阿耨達	*ʔa nou dat > ʔa nəu dāt	Skt. anavatapta; cf. P. anotatta
238.	T 418.903.1	甄多羅	*kjian ta la > kjian tā lā tśjiən tśjen	Skt. kiṃnara
239.	T 418.903.3	陀隣尼	*da liən nrjiəi > dā lien nī niəi- niei-	Skt. dhāraṇī
240.	T 418.905.1	阿彌陀	*ʔa mjiei da > ʔa mjie dā mjiei: mjie:	Skt. amitābha
241.	T 418.905.1	須摩提	*sjou ma dei > sju mwā diei	Skt. sumati
242.	T 418.905.1	須門	*sjou mən > sju mwən	Skt. sumanā
243.	T 418.905.1	阿凡和梨	*ʔa bjam rwa ljiəi > ʔa bjwəm rwa lji	Skt. amrapālī; cf. P. ambapālī
244.	T 418.905.1	優婆洹	*ʔju ba rwan > ʔjəu bwā rwān	Skt. utpalavarṇa
245.	T 418.906.1	偈	*gjiat- > gjai-	Skt. gāthā; cf. Gd. gadha
246.	T 418.908.3	三藐三菩提	*səm mjā: səm bo dei > mrāk sām mjāu: sām bwo diei māk	Skt. samyaksam- bodhi; cf. P. sam- masambodhi
247.	T 418.912.3	鳩洹	*kju rwan > kjəu rwān	Skt. kupana
248.	T 418.913.3	須達	*sjou dat > sju dāt	Skt. sudatta
249.	T 418.913.3	刹利	*tshrat ljiəi- > tʃhat lji-	Skt. kṣatriya
250.	T 418.913.3	賴毘	*lat- bjiəi > lai- bji	Skt. rāsmi
251.	T 418.917.3	踰旬	*ʒjou ʒjwən > jiu zjwen	Skt. yojana
252.	T 418.917.3	拘利	*kou ljiəi- > kəu lji- kjou kju	Skt. koṭi
253.	T 418.918.3	和論	*rwa ljwən > rwa ljwen lwən- lwən-	Skt. varuṇa
254.	T 418.919.2	舍利弗羅	*śja- ljiəi- pjət la > śja- lji- pjwət lā	Skt. śāriputra
255.	T 458.435.2	目健蘭	*mjok gjan: lan > mjuk gjən: lān gjan gjān	Skt. maudgalyāyana; cf. P. moggallāna
256.	T 458.435.2	迦葉	*kja ʒjap > kja jiāp kra ka	Skt. kāśyapa
257.	T 458.435.2	摩訶拘絺	*ma ha kou thrjiəi > mwā xā kəu ʈhi kjou kju	Skt. mahakauṣṭhila

258. T 458.435.2 邠耨文陀弗 *pjien nou mjən dā pjət >
pjien nou mjwən dā pjwət Skt. pūrṇamaitra-
yaṇīputra; cf. P.
pūrṇamantaṇīputta
259. T 458.435.2 阿難律 *ʔa nan lɿwət > ʔa nān lɿwet Skt. aniruddha
260. T 458.437.2 賴吒和羅 *lat- tra- ɾwa la > lái- ɾa- ɾwa la Skt. raṣṭrapāla
261. T 458.437.2* 三陂謨 *səm pjei dźjei > sām pje źje: Skt. sampadī
262. T 458.437.2 三摩 *səm ma > sām mwā Skt. sāmā
263. T 458.438.1 婆羅門 *ba la mən > bwā lā mwən Skt. brahmaṇa
264. T 458.538.1 羞桓 *sju ɾwan > sjəu ɾwān Skt. suvarṇa
265. T 458.438.2 摩訶迦婁那 *ma ha kja lou na >
kra lɿjou
mwā xā kja ləu nā
ka lɿju
266. T 458.438.3 祇洹 *tsjei ɾwan > tsje ɾwān Skt. jetavana
gjiei gjie
267. T 458.440.1 阿藍 *ʔa lam > ʔa lām Skt. ārama
268. T 458.440.2 達儀 *dat tshrjien- > dat tshjen- Skt. dakṣiṇā
269. T 626.389.1 若那師利 *nja: na srjiei lɿiei- > nźja: nā ɕi lɿi- Skt. jñānaśrī
270. T 626.389.1 樓陀羅 *lou da la > ləu dā lā Skt. rudra
271. T 626.389.1 和波 *ɾwa pa > ɾwā pwā Skt. vāṣpa; cf. p. vappa
272. T 626.391.1 溫和拘舍羅 *ʔou ɾwa kou śja- la >
ʔou- kjou
ʔəu ɾwa kəu śja- la
ʔəu- kju
273. T 626.391.3 波坻槃拘利 *pa tiei: ban kou lɿiei- > Skt. pratibhānakūṭa
kjou
pwā tiei: bwān kəu lɿi-
kju
274. T 626.393.1 荼毘 *źja ~ dźja bɿiei > dźja bɿi P. jhāpita
275. T 626.393.1 羅耶 *la źja > lā jia Skt. rāja
zja zja
276. T 626.394.1* 阿波羅耆陀 *ʔa pa la gɿiei da > ʔa pwā lā gɿi dā Skt. aparajita
277. T 626.394.2 惟摩羅 *źjwəi ma la > jiwi mwā lā Skt. vimāla
278. T 626.395.1 阿鼻 *ʔa bɿiei- > ʔa bi- Skt. avīci
279. T 626.397.1 沙呵 *sra ha > ɕa xā Skt. sahā
280. T 626.399.1 羅毘 *la bɿiei > lā bɿi Skt. raśmi
281. T 626.399.1 拘束 *kou suk > kəu suk Skt. kusuma
kjou kju
282. T 626.400.1 三摩陀 *səm ma da > sām mwā dā Skt. samanta
283. T 626.401.3 拘遯摩 *kou suk ma > kəu suk mwā Skt. kusuma
kjou kju

284. T 626.404.2 羅陀那鞞頭 *la da na kjei dou > Skt. ratnaketu
 lā dā nā kje dəu
285. T 626.404.2 阿迦曇 *ʔa kja dam > ʔa kja dām Skt. agadam
 kra ka
286. T 626.404.2 惟首陀 *ʒjwəi šju da > jiwi šjəu da Skt. viśodha
287. T 626.404.2 惟沙耶 *ʒjwəi sra ʒja > jiwi ʃa jia Skt. bhaiṣajya
 zja zja
288. T 626.404.3 遮迦和 *tśja kra rwa > tśja ka rwa Skt. cakravāla
 kja kja
289. T 626.405.1 提和竭 *dei rwa gjiat > diei rwa gjät Skt. dīpaṃkara
290. T 626.405.1 跋陀 *bat da > bwāt dā Skt. bhadra
3. Kang Mengxiang
291. T 184.461.1 迦維羅衛 *kja ʒjwəi lā rjwat- > Skt. kapilavastu
 kra
 kja jiwi lā jwāi-
 ka
292. T 184.461.1 尼拘陀 *niəi- gjou da > niei- gju dā Skt. nyagrodha; cf.
 nrjiəi kou ɳi kəu P. nigrodha
 kjou kju
293. T 184.461.1 尼健 *niəi- gjan: > niei- gjen: Skt. nirgrantha; cf.
 nrjiəi gian ɳi gjan P. nigaṇṭha
294. T 184.461.2 提和衛 *dei rwa rjwat- > diei rwa jwāi- Skt. devāvatāra
295. T 184.462.2 波陀 *pa da > pwa dā Skt. bhadra
296. T 184.462.2 摩耶 *ma ʒja > mwā jia Skt. māyā
 zja zja
297. T 184.462.2 裘夷 *gju ʒjiəi > gjəu jii Skt. gopī ~ gopikā
 ~ gopā
298. T 184.462.2 羅雲 *la rjwən > lā jwən Skt. rāhula
299. T 184.463.3 迦羅 *kja lā > kja lā Skt. kāla
 kra ka
300. T 184.464.1 阿夷 *ʔa ʒjiəi > ʔa jii Skt. asita
301. T 184.464.2 優曇鉢 *ʔju dam pat > ʔjəu dām pwat Skt. uḍumbara ~
 udumbara
302. T 184.465.2 須波佛 *sjou pa bjət > sju pwa bjwət Skt. suprabudha
303. T 184.465.3 優陀 *ʔju da > ʔjəu dā Skt. udayin
304. T 184.465.3 調達 *deu dat > dieu dāt Skt. devadatta
305. T 184.468.1 阿奴摩 *ʔa no ma > ʔā nwo mwā Skt. anomiya; cf. P.
 anomā
306. T 184.468.1 瓶沙 *bing sra > bieng ʃa Skt. bimbisāra ~
 bimbasāra

307. T 184.469.2 阿蘭迦蘭 *a lan kja lan > ʔa lan kja lan
kra ka Skt. arāḍakālāma
308. T 184.469.3 娑羅 *sa la > sà la Skt. sāla ~ śāla
309. T 184.472.2 貝多 *pat- ta > pwai- tā Skt. pattra
310. T 186.147.3 提謂 *dei ʔjwət- > diei- jwei- Skt. trapuṣa; cf. P. tapussa, Khotanese ttrāvāysa- (Bailey 1946: 786)
311. T 196.147.3 波利 *pa lji- > pwā lji- Skt. bhallika
312. T 196.147.3 鬱頭藍弗 *ʔjwət dou lam pjət > ʔjwət dəu lām pjwət Skt. udrakarāmaputra
313. T 196.147.3 拘憐 *kou liən > kən lien kjou kju Skt. kauṇḍinya; cf. P. koṇḍañña
314. T 196.147.3 拔提 *bat dei > bwat diei Skt. bhadrīka; cf. P. bhaddiya
315. T 196.147.3 摩南拘利 *ma nəm kou lji- > kjou mwā nəm kəu lji- kju Skt. mahānāmako- liya
316. T 196.147.3 波羅奈 *pa la nat- > pwā lā nai- Skt. vārāṇasī; cf. P. bārāṇasī
317. T 196.148.1 悅頭檀 *ʔjwat dou dan > jiwāt dəu dān Skt. śuddhodana
318. T 196.149.3 優爲羅 *ʔju ʔjwei la > ʔjəu jwe lā Skt. uruvilvā; P. uruvela
319. T 196.149.3 泥蘭禪 *niəi lan dʒjan > niei lān ʒjan Skt. nairāṇjana; cf. P. nerāṇjarā ~ niraṇjarā
320. T 196.149.3 鬱俾羅 *ʔjwət-pjie: la > ʔjwət pjie: lā Skt. uruvilvā; cf. P. uruvela
321. T 196.150.3 閼逼 *ʒjam pjiek > jiām pjək Skt. campaka
322. T 196.150.3 拘耶尼 *kou ʒja ni- > kəu jia niei- kjou zja nrjiei kju zja ɳi Skt. kauśāmbī
323. T 196.150.3 阿摩勒 *ʔa ma lək > ʔa mwā lək Skt. āmalaka
324. T 196.151.3 那提迦葉 *na dei kja ʒjap > nā diei kja jiap kra ka Skt. nadīkaśyapa
325. T 196.151.3 迦耶迦葉 *kja ʒja kja ʒjap > kja jia kja jiap kra zja kra ka zja ka Skt. gayakaśyapa
326. T 196.153.1 迦蘭陀 *kja lan da > kja lān dā kra ka Skt. kalandaka
327. T 196.151.3 迦耶悉 *kja ʒja sjiət > kja jia sjet kra zja ka zja Skt. gayaśīrṣa

328.	T 196.153.3	那羅陀	*na la da > nā lā dā	Skt. nārada
329.	T 195.153.3	優波替	*ɲu pa thiei- > ɲəu pwa thiei-	Skt. upatīṣya
330.	T 196.153.3	拘律陀	*kou ljwət da > kəu ljwet dā kjou kju	Skt. kolita
331.	T 196.154.1	迦維羅越	*kja źjwəi la ɾjwat > kra kja jiwi lā jwət ka	Skt. kapilavastu
332.	T 196.155.1	阿樓那	*ʔa lou na > ʔā ləu nā	Skt. aruṇa
333.	T 196.155.2*	尼拘類	*niəi- gjou ljwət- (?) > nrjiəi kou ljwəi- (?) kjou niei- gju ljwi- ɳi kəu kju	Skt. nyagrodha; cf. P. nigrodha
334.	T 196.156.3	祇陀	*tśjei da > tśje dā gjiəi gjie	Skt. jetavana
335.	T 196.157.1	拘 (藍=) 鹽尼	*kou źjam niəi- > kəu jiam niei- kjou nrjiəi kju ɳi	Skt. kauśāmbī
336.	T 196.157.1	瞿師羅	*gj(w)o srjiəi la > gju si la kj(w)o kju	Skt. ghoṣila
337.	T 196.157.2	優填	*ɲu diən > ɲəu dien	Skt. udayana
338.	T 196.161.2	文陀竭	*mjən da gjiat > mjwən dā gjāt	Skt. mūrdhagata
339.	T 196.161.2*	拔耆	*bat gjie > bwāt gjī	Skt. vṛji; cf. P. vajji
340.	T 196.161.2	維耶離	*źjwəi źja ljei > jiwi jia lje zja zja	Skt. vaiśālī
341.	T 196.161.2	阿凡和利	*ʔa bjam ɾwa ljiəi- > ʔā bjwem ɾwā lji-	Skt. āmrāpālī; cf. P. āmbapālī
342.	T 196.163.2	盤頭越	*ban dou ɾjwat > bwān dəu jwət	Skt. bandhumatī
343.	T 196.163.2	頻頭	*bjien dou > bjien dəu	Skt. bandhuma
344.	T 196.163.2	維衛	*źjwəi ɾjwat- > jiwi jwāi-	Skt. vipaśyin

Notes to the Data

- EH *-jwat- in 3b should yield MC *-jwvi-* here; but as pointed out by Li (1971: 39), this final does not occur after initial *j-* in MC.
- Cited after Mayrhofer (1973: 159 and 325). On the reading of *a* see section 2.2. For *b* GY reads MC *tjuk*, *tuk*, and *twok*, identifying *tjuk* as the correct reading in this word. It is possible that the GY tradition postdates BTD and that *tuk* or *twok* is the correct reading.
- B* is also read MC *bəi:*, *bək*, and *pjəu:*. GY indicates that it is read MC *bwo* in the word *bodhisattva* (§39 below).

46. For *b* the text reads 那, which we emend to 那 following Pulleyblank (1962: 124).
49. The rime development in 49a is irregular, for EH -*am* should yield MC -*am*. Perhaps the word should be reconstructed as **sam* for BTd.
55. This word is usually written in the text with characters *a* — *d*. Character *e* is added in T 224.464.3.
68. The MC reading of *c* is attested only in JY.
74. After *b* the text repeats *a* (i.e. *sât ṛwā sât*). This may be a copyist's error.
77. *B* does not appear in lexicographical sources. It may be a variant from 𣎵 (MC *ṛwā*).
79. Perhaps *c* is an error for 𣎵 (MC *ṛjet*).
111. *C* and *d* are reversed in the text.
118. This item may in fact be a copyist's fusion of transcriptions for *avṛha* and *atapa* (cf. 101 and 102 above) which frequently occur together in lists of *brahmaloka*. See Kirfel (1920: 192) and Edgerton (1953.2: 270).
129. *A* is also read as MC *pek*. GY indicates that it should be read MC *biei-* in this compound.
140. The identification of this transcription is problematical. Pulleyblank (1962: 227) suggests Skt. *gandharvavati*.
143. *A* is also read as MC *pjəu*: and *pjəu-*.
150. This Sanskrit form is given in Soothill and Hodous (1934: 419) but I have not found it elsewhere. Various other sources equate the Chinese form with Skt. *kumbhāṇḍa*.
152. This item is part of a longer compound which I have been unable to identify.
154. The Chinese transcription may reflect a derivation such as the feminine adjectival form *magadhika*.
157. *B* is probably an error for 𣎵 (*zi-* < **džjiəi-*).
- 166b. The identification of this item is uncertain. It occurs several times in this T 280 passage in variant forms such as 𣎵, 𣎵羅 (MC *xjwie lā*), 𣎵國陀 (the graph 國 here may be a corruption), 𣎵大 (MC *xjwie dāi-*); and in later translations of the original Indic text (e.g. T 278.418.2-3, T 279.58.1-2) it is consistently rendered as 智 "wisdom". It seems unlikely that our transcription could represent *vidyā* "wisdom" since Skt. -*dy-* should probably correspond to Indic -*j-* in the language transcribed by BTd. Cf. #27 above.
180. The identification of this expression is uncertain. It is rendered in T 278.419.1 as 滿月 "full moon" and in T 279.58.3 as 圓滿月 "round full moon". The reconstructed Sanskrit form means "disc of the moon". Cf. Edgerton (1953.2: 524) *śaṣīmaṇḍalābha* "name of a Buddha".
200. *A* is probably an error for 波 (MC *proā*) or some other similarly written graph.
261. *B* may be an error for 波 or some similarly written graph.
276. *D* is probably an error for 𣎵 (*zi-* < **džjiəi-*).
333. Interpretation of this example is problematical. Perhaps 333c corresponds to Skt. -*rodh-*.
339. *B* may be an error for 𣎵.

B. Index of Sanskrit Words in the Data

This index is arranged according to the order of the Latin alphabet. Diacritics are ignored in the alphabetization.

ābha	94b	atyanta	166a
ābhāsvara + śu(bha)	68, 194	avīci	212, 278
abhirati	198	avivartin, avivartika	44
abhisambuddha	107	avṛha	101, 118
acalā	155	bandhumā	343
acapala	125	bandhumatī	342
ācāra	160	bhadra	124, 134, 178, 200, 290, 295
agadam	285	bhadrāpālā	220
āgama	2	bhadrīka	314
ajātaśatru	233	bhaiṣajya	287
akaniṣṭha	105	bhallika	311
akṣobhya	127	bhikṣu	10
āmalaka	323	bhikṣuṇī	66
amitabha	240	bimbisāra ~ bimbasāra	78, 306
āmrapālī	243, 341	bodhisattva	39
anāgamin	17	brahmā	6, 174
ananda	11	brahmakāyika	53
anāpāna	24	brāhmaṇa	8, 263
anāthapiṇḍika	229	brahmapāriṣadya	93, 113
anavatapta	237	brahmapurohita	92, 112
aniruddha	259	brahmasahampati	69
anomiya	305	br̥hatphala	100, 117
anuttara	72	buddha	1
aparājita	276	buddhakṣetra	122
apramāṇābha	96	cakravāla	187, 288
apramāṇaśubha	99, 115, 196	cakravartirāja	123
ārāḍakālāma	307	campā	223
ārāma	267	campaka	146, 321
arbuda	213	*campakavarṇa	161
arhant, arhan, arhat	25, 26	candana	32
aruṇa	163, 332	cāturmahārājika	191
asaṅkhyā ~ asaṅkhyeya	50	citta	186
asita	300	dakṣiṇā	268
asura	71, 203, 207	dāna	81
atapa	102	devadatta	304
aṭaṭa	211	devāvatāra	294

dhaṇaśrī	162	kauśambi	231, 322, 335
dhāraṇī	151, 239	kausika	54
dharma	173	kāyika	80
dharmodgata	141	kiṃnara	86, 205, 238
dhyāna	9	kolita	330
dīpaṃkara	64, 201, 289	koṭi	251
gandhahastin	136	krakucchandha	12
gandhalaya ~ gandhalaya	139	kṣānti	83
gandhārva	87, 109, 202	kṣatriya	249
gandhavatī	148	kṣetra	106
gaṅga	75	kulapati	15
garuḍa	85, 149, 204	kumuda	144
gāthā	245	kupana (or: kumbhāṇḍa ?)	150, 247
gautamapati	184	kusuma	281, 283
gayakaśyapa	325	magadha	154
gayāśīrṣa	327	maghī	70
ghoṣila	336	mahā	36
godānīya	189	mahābrahmanah	94a
gopī	297	mahākaruṇa	265
gr̥dhrakūṭa	35	mahākātyāyana	60
guṇa	165	mahākauṣṭhila	59, 257
hinduka (Old Iranian)	29	mahānamakoliya	315
*hiraṇyavarṇa	156	mahāsattva	38
indra	61	mahāsusārthavāha	228
indradatta	230	mahāvaipulya	135
īśāna	63	mahāvana + karaṇḍa	219
jambudvīpa	73	mahāyana	48
jetavana	4, 266, 334	mahoraga	88, 206,
jhapita (Pali)	274	maitreya	40
jina	185	mandārava	132
jñānaśrī	176, 269	manasvī	236
kala	299	mañjuśrī	41
kalandaka	326	māra	16, 199
kalpa	23	maudgalyāyana	13, 255
kāma	152	māyā	296
kāñcanaavarṇa	167	mūrdhagata	338
kapilavastu	227, 291, 331	nadī	33
kaśāya	21	nadīkaśyapa	324
kāśyapa	256	nairāñjanā	319
kaunḍinya	313	naivasamjñānasamjñāyatanopaga	130

nandanavana	147	ratnaketu	284
nandopananda	234	ratnaśrī	159
nārada	328	*ratnavarṇa	170
naradatta	224	*ṛṣisaptama	182
nayuta	215	*rucivarṇa	157
netraśrī	168	rudra	270
niraya	121	sadāprarudita	138
nirgrantha	293	ṣaḍāyatana	137
nirmāṇarati	90	sāgara	235
nirvāṇa	22	sahā	179, 279
*nityagandhapramuditā (?)	140	sakṛdagāmin	18
nyagrodha	292, 333	śakro devānām indra	52
padmaniraya	210	śākyamuni	65
*padmavarṇa	158	sāla ~ śāla	28, 308
pañcabhijāna	76	sāma	262
paranirmitavaśavartin	91, 111, 214	samādhi	108
pārasika	225	samanta	282
parinirvāṇa	51	saṃgha	30
parīttabha	95	sampadī	261
parīttasubha	98, 114, 195	sampatti	49
pātra	20	samyaksambodhi	246
pattra	310	samyaksambuddha	57
prajāpati	62	sannāhasannaddha	47
prajñāpāramitā	42	śārī	5
prasenajit	79	śāriputra	14, 254
pratibhānakūṭa	273	sarvajña	45
pratyeka	26	*śaśimaṇḍala	180
pratyutpannasamādhi	218	śāstarah	128
preta	129	sattva	74
pūṇḍarika	143, 208	śīla	84
pūrṇamaitrāyaṇīputra	46, 126, 258	siṃhanāda	181
pūrvavideha	188	sphaṭika	175
rāhula	298	śramaṇa	7
rāja	275	śrāvastī	3
rājagṛha	34	srotāpanna	19
rakṣasa	31	śubha	97
raśmi	250, 280	śubhakṛtsna	116, 197
rāṣṭrapala	260	subhūti	37
ratna	133	sudarśana	104, 119
ratnakara	221	sudatta	248

śuddhāvāsa	120	uruvilvā	318, 320
śuddhodana	317	utpala	142
sudṛśa	103	utpalavarṇa	164, 244
sugandhika	145	uttama	169
sumanā	242	uttarakuravaḥ	190, 209
sumati	241	vairocana	183
sumeru	131	vaiśālī	222, 340
suprabuddha	302	vajra	172
susamprasthita	226	vārāṇasī	316
suvarṇa	264	varuṇa	253
*suvarṇavarṇapadma	217	varuṇadeva	232
tathāgata	55	vaśavartin	216
trapuṣa	310	vāṣpa	271
trāyastriṃśa	43	veda (?)	166b
tuṣara	153	vicāra	177
tuṣita	89	vidyā	27
udayana	337	vimala	277
udayin	303	vipaśyin	344
udrakarāmaputra	312	virya	82, 171
udumbara ~ udumbara	301	viśodha	286
upāsaka	67a	vṛjī	339
upāsikā	67b	yakṣa	58
upatiṣya	329	yāma	110, 192
upāyakauśalya	77, 272	yojana	251

C. Stroke Order Index of Chinese Characters in the Data

Three Strokes

三 49, 57, 69, 107, 108, 218,
246, 261, 262, 282
凡 243, 341
于 100, 188
叉 58
尸 84

Four Strokes

不 143
分 126, 208
勿 140
天 29
支 26

文 41, 46, 65, 132, 144, 258,
338
日 135, 190
比 10, 66, 117, 118, 198, 212

Five Strokes

世 180, 180, 233
丘 10, 66
加 187, 227
占 146, 161, 223
奴 305
尼 66, 90, 91, 111, 119, 126,
130, 140, 151, 214, 239,
292, 293, 322, 333, 335

弗 14, 46, 92, 126, 188, 254,
258, 312

初 43
目 13, 255

Six Strokes

亘 68, 194
伊 63, 117, 137
休 206
先 130
吒 105, 260
多 72, 98, 186, 238, 309
因 52, 61, 230
夷 53, 67b, 177, 181, 297,
300

安 24
旬 76, 251
舟 218

Seven Strokes

伽 30
佛 1, 57, 107, 122, 302
利 5, 14, 41, 43, 73, 95,
113, 114, 143, 159, 168,
175, 208, 208, 222, 249,
252, 254, 269, 273, 311,
315, 341
劫 23, 124, 134, 200
含 2, 17, 18
坭 181
延 60, 183
杖 133
沈 169, 182
沙 7, 28, 63, 78, 137, 153,
235, 279, 281, 306
私 59
貝 309
邠 46, 229, 258
那 17, 33, 46, 47, 96, 133,
143, 162, 163, 165, 176,
181, 185, 215, 217, 221,
224, 265, 269, 284, 324,
328, 332
邪 91

Eight Strokes

刹 31, 106, 122, 249
呵 56, 59, 60, 94, 97, 98,
179, 181, 265, 279
和 62, 64, 74, 91, 111, 214,
216, 220, 228, 232, 234,
243, 253, 260, 288, 294,
341
坻 61, 229, 230, 273
奈 316

恒 55, 128
拔 49, 91, 111, 314, 339
拘 12, 54, 59, 77, 144, 252,
257, 272, 273, 281, 283,
292, 313, 315, 322, 330,
333, 335
沓 202
波 8, 42, 62, 79, 91, 93, 95,
96, 98, 99, 102, 111, 113,
114, 115, 134, 138, 140,
158, 164, 195, 196, 210,
214, 217, 223, 225, 271,
273, 276, 295, 302, 311,
316, 329
泥 22, 51, 121, 319
炎 110
竺 29
舍 3, 5, 14, 77, 128, 212,
222, 254, 272
芸 45
門 7, 8, 242, 263
阿 2, 11, 17, 25, 44, 50, 55,
56, 68, 71, 72, 99, 101,
102, 105, 107, 115, 118,
125, 127, 155, 160, 163,
166a, 194, 196, 198, 203,
207, 211, 212, 213, 229,
233, 237, 240, 243, 259,
267, 276, 278, 285, 300,
305, 307, 323, 332, 341
陀 18, 19, 46, 86, 87, 89,
95, 109, 118, 119, 120,
126, 132, 136, 138, 139,
140, 148, 151, 166a,
166b, 178, 180, 200, 205,
208, 213, 220, 239, 240,
258, 270, 276, 282, 284,
286, 290, 292, 295, 303,
326, 328, 330, 334, 338
陂 200, 261

Nine Strokes

南 315
垣 150
律 259, 330
恒 75
施 119
昧 108, 218
昆 250, 274, 280
洹 19, 22, 51, 157, 158, 161,
164, 167, 170, 201, 217,
244, 266
活 172
祇 4, 34, 50, 70, 104, 266,
334
耶 57, 62, 111, 118, 139,
189, 214, 216, 275, 287,
296, 322, 325, 327, 340
若 42, 45, 269
衍 48
迦 15, 53, 60, 65, 80, 85,
105, 116, 123, 149, 152,
204, 219, 256, 265, 285,
288, 291, 299, 307, 324,
325, 326, 327
首 97, 114, 115, 116, 120,
286

Ten Strokes

修 68, 98, 99
俱 184, 189
俾 320
倍 161
倫 71, 138, 203
婆 308
師 41, 159, 168, 182, 269,
336
悅 317
旃 60, 166a
栗 98, 195

栴 32
桓 52, 147, 156, 219, 264
殊 41
浮 73, 125
涅 47, 168
留 12, 149, 204
眞 205
耆 35, 157, 276, 339
致 44, 49, 91, 216
般 24, 42, 51, 76, 218
荔 129
訖 156, 197

Eleven Strokes

乾 87
偈 245
健 109
勒 40, 88, 149, 206, 323
匍 146
匿 79, 189
婁 265
婆 67a, 67b, 124, 244, 263
密 111
崛 35
悉 327
惟 44, 82, 100, 101, 107, 130, 135, 171, 177, 277, 286, 287
晨 185
梨 243
梵 6, 53, 69, 92, 93, 94a, 112, 113
泝 78
深 226
犁 121, 210
產 93, 113
羞 194, 195, 196, 197, 217, 264
脩 207
茶 274

術 27, 89, 215
袈 21
鼓 182
逝 155
速 281
連 13, 156

Twelve Strokes

兜 89, 153
單 190, 209
富 112
憩 187, 202, 271, 289
惛 176
提 37, 52, 62, 64, 83, 90, 145, 154, 184, 198, 201, 241, 289, 294, 310, 314, 324
捷 13, 136, 139, 140, 145, 148, 202, 255, 293
斯 18, 79, 225, 236
替 33, 329
無 141
和 77
爲 318
菩 37, 39, 246
訶 36, 38, 48, 114, 115, 116, 135, 136, 195, 219, 228, 257
貳 105
越 15, 44, 123, 148, 209, 214, 216, 331, 342
輟 178
逮 82, 92, 188
逸 172
雲 298
須 19, 37, 71, 103, 104, 119, 131, 145, 203, 226, 228, 241, 242, 248, 302

Thirteen Strokes

塞 67a
墳 337
靈 94b
會 68, 194
楓 174
滑 184
照 191
鍵 167
瓶 306
睽 231
緇 257
群 165
葉 256, 324, 325
裘 297
娑 21
辟 26
逼 321
達 224, 230, 237, 248, 269, 304
鉢 20, 69, 142, 301
鳩 150, 231, 247

Fourteen Strokes

僧 30, 47, 50
槃 273
漚 77, 272
漢 25
漫 126, 180
甄 86, 238
盡 136
睽 88
竭 55, 64, 141, 154, 201, 221, 235, 289, 338
維 291, 331, 340, 344
蜜 42, 91, 214
閤 127
馱 220, 290
鼻 278

Fifteen Strokes

墮 166b, 183, 222
 憐 219, 221, 239, 313
 摩 36, 38, 48, 59, 60, 69,
 70, 88, 90, 94a, 96, 115,
 135, 152, 154, 173, 174,
 191, 196, 206, 217, 219,
 228, 236, 241, 257, 262,
 265, 277, 282, 283, 296,
 305, 315, 323
 樓 85, 112, 157, 183, 270,
 332
 潘 100, 101, 117, 175
 億 96
 盤 342
 蔡 179
 衛 3, 120, 227, 291, 294,
 344
 調 232, 304
 論 253
 質 186
 輪 163, 232
 遯 283
 遮 76, 123, 140, 187, 288
 閱 34, 58
 隣 151, 159, 170

Sixteen Strokes

曇 141, 173, 285, 301

轉 72, 104, 237, 258
 提 261
 謂 310
 賴 250, 260
 踰 252
 閭 73, 321
 頭 158, 191, 210, 217, 234,
 284, 312, 317, 342, 343
 頻 343

Seventeen Strokes

優 67a, 67b, 142, 164, 213,
 244, 301, 303, 318, 329,
 337
 彌 40, 131, 231, 240
 檀 32, 81, 137, 147, 162,
 317
 禪 9, 319
 翼 54, 80
 薛 129
 薩 38, 39, 45, 55, 74, 74,
 138, 182, 228
 闍 27, 35, 125, 160, 167,
 171, 233

Eighteen Strokes

儼 268
 瞿 336
 藍 267, 312
 藐 246
 覲 103, 104

離 340

Nineteen Strokes

難 11, 147, 229, 234, 236,
 259
 羅 8, 15, 25, 28, 31, 34, 42,
 56, 64, 72, 77, 85, 86, 87,
 90, 91, 109, 111, 117,
 123, 124, 128, 132, 133,
 134, 135, 137, 139, 142,
 144, 159, 168, 170, 177,
 191, 198, 199, 204, 205,
 207, 211, 214, 221, 224,
 225, 227, 238, 254, 260,
 263, 270, 272, 275, 276,
 277, 280, 284, 291, 298,
 299, 308, 316, 318, 320,
 328, 331, 336

類 333

Twenty—Twenty-six Strokes

讀 184
 釋 52, 65
 羈 83
 蘭 255, 307, 319, 326
 魔 16, 199
 羈 284
 麟 133
 鹽 192, 335
 壽 169, 190, 209, 312, 320

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, W.S. 1968. *Vox Graeca*. Cambridge.
 Bailey, H.W. 1946. "Gāndhārī". BSOAS 11.764-797.
 Baxter, W.H. 1977. *Old Chinese Origins of the Middle Chinese Chongniu Doublets: A Study Using Multiple Character Readings*. Cornell University Ph.D. Dissertation. University Microfilms. Ann Arbor, Michigan.
 Bodman, N.C. 1954. *A Linguistic Study of the Shih Ming*. Cambridge, Mass.
 1967. "Historical Linguistics", in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. II, pp. 3-58. The Hague and Paris.
 Ms. "Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan: data towards establishing the nature of the relationship". To appear in *Contributions to Historical Linguistics: Issues and Materials*. Frans van Goetsen and Linda Waugh, eds. Leiden, E.J. Brill.

- Brough, John. 1962. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. London.
- Brugmann, Karl. 1897. *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der IndoGermanischen Sprachen*. Erster Band: Einleitung und Laut-Lehre. Strassburg.
- Burrow, T. 1937. *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. Cambridge.
- Chao, Y.R. 1940. "Distinctions within Ancient Chinese". HJAS 5.203-233.
- Coblin, W. South. 1974-5. "The Initials of the Wei-Chin Period as Revealed in the Phonological Glosses of Kuo P'u and Others". MS 31.288-318.
- 1978. "The Initials of Xu Shen's Language as Reflected in the *Shuowen Duruo* Glosses. JCL 6.27-75.
- 1979. "The Finals of Xu Shen's Language as Reflected in the *Shuowen Duruo* Glosses. JCL 7.181-245.
- Ms. 1. "The Finals of Cheng Hsüan's Language as Reflected Phonological Glosses". To appear in MS 34.
- Ms. 2. "The Finals of the *Shiming* Language". Forthcoming.
- Dong, Tonghe 董同龢. 1954. *Zhongguo yuyinshi* 中國語音史. Taipei.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. New Haven.
- Gedney, W.J. 1978. "Speculations on Early Tai Tones." Paper presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, University of Arizona, Tucson.
- Haudricourt, A.G. 1954a. "Comment reconstruire le chinois archaïque". *Word* 10.351-369.
- 1954b. "De l'origine des tons en vietnamien", *Journal asiatique* 242.68-82.
- Hrdličková, V. 1958. "The First Translations of Buddhist Sūtras in Chinese Literature and their Place in the Development of Story Telling". *Archiv Orientální* 26.114-144.
- Karlgren, Bernhard. 1932. "Shi King Researches". BMFEA 4.117-185.
- 1954. "Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese". BMFEA 26.211-367.
- 1963-7. "Loan Characters in Pre-Han Texts". BMFEA 35-39.
- 1964. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Stockholm.
- Kirfel, Willibald. 1920. *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Bonn and Leipzig (repr. Hildesheim, 1967).
- Li, Fang-kuei 李方桂. 1971. "Shanggu yin yanjiu" 上古音研究. QHXB 9.1-60.
- 1974-5. "Studies on Archaic Chinese". English translation of Li (1971) by G. L. Mattos. MS 31.219-287.
- 1976. "Jige shanggu shengmu wenti" 幾個上古聲母問題. *Jiangsong shishi zhounian jinian wenji* 蔣公逝世周年紀念論文集. Taipei. pp. 1143-1150.
- 1979. "The Chinese Transcription of Tibetan Consonant Clusters". BIHP 50.231-240.
- Luo, Changpei 羅常培. 1933. *Tang Wudai xibei fangyin* 唐五代西北方音. Shanghai.
- Luo, Changpei and Zhou Zumo 周祖謨. 1958. *Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yunbu yanbian yanjiu* 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究. Peking.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1973. *Onomastica Persepolitana*. Vienna.
- Mei, Tsu-lin. 1970. "Tones and Prosody in Middle Chinese and the Origin of the Rising Tone". HJAS 30.86-110.
- Pischel, Richard. 1900. *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*. Strassburg. (Edition: *Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages*, translated by Subhadra Jha. Second edition. Delhi, 1965).
- Pulleyblank, E.G. 1962. "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese". Pt. 1, AM (n.s.) 9.58-144 and Pt. 2, AM (n.s.) 9.206-265.
- 1964. "The Transcription of Sanskrit *k* and *kh* in Chinese". AM (n.s.) 11.199-210.
- 1973. "Some Further Evidence regarding Old Chinese -s and its Time of Disappearance". BSOAS 36.368-381.
- 1977. Review of Ting (1975). JCL 5.127-133.
- "The Chinese Cyclical Signs as Phonograms". JAOS 99.24-38.

- Soothill, W. E. and Lewis Hodous. 1934. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. London, 1934.
- Tang, Yongtong 湯用彤. 1938. *Han Wei liang-Jin Nanbeichao fojiaoshi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史. Shanghai.
- Ting, Pang-hsin. 1975. *Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin Period: Reconstruction of the Finals as Reflected in Poetry*. Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publications No. 15. Taipei.
- Woolner A.C. 1928. *Introduction to Prakrit*. Lahore.
- Wu, Qichang 吳其昌. 1928. "Yindu shiming" 印度釋名. YJXB 4.717-743.
- Zhou, Fagao 周法高. 1956. "Lun Futu yu Fo" 論浮屠與佛. BIHP 27.197-203.
- Zürcher, E. 1959. *The Buddhist Conquest China*. (Reprinted in 1972 with additions and corrections.) Leiden.
- 1977. "Late Han Vernacular Elements of the Earliest Buddhist Translations". *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers' Association* 12.177-203.

A COMMON ETYMON FOR 之 *CHIH* AND 其 *CHI* AND RELATED PROBLEMS IN OLD CHINESE PHONOLOGY

Tsu-lin Mei

Cornell University, U. S. A.

Contents

1. A common etymon for *chih* and *ch'i*
 - 1.1. Similarities between *chih* and *ch'i*; 1.2. Li Fang-kuei's 1976 theory;
 - 1.3. Early Old Chinese value of 之 and 止; 1.4. *K_{rj}- > *K_j- in Min
 - 1.5. Implication for Sino-Tibetan
2. **K_{rj}- > *T_{rj}- > *T_j-
 - 2.1. Further problems; 2.2. A reformulation of Li's theory;
 - 2.3. Comparative evidence and Chinese doublets; 2.4. *T_j- ~ *T_i;
 - 2.5. The date of **K_{rj}- > *T_j-; 2.6. Interpretation of the rules
3. Conclusions

Abbreviations used in this paper are:

STC: Paul Benedict, Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus

GRS: Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*

LHT: Li Hsiao-ting 李孝定, 甲骨文字集釋 (A compendium of the analyses and interpretations of oracle bone script)

OB: Oracle bone script

WB: Written Burmese

WT: Written Tibetan

EOC: Early Old Chinese; LOC: Late Old Chinese; PC: Pre-Chinese
Old Chinese is transcribed according to Li Fang-kuei's system (Li 1971, 1976), but I adopt Chang and Chang's (1976) practise of transcribing the OC 幽 category as **əuK* (instead of Li's *-*əKw*), the OC 宵 category as *-*auK* (instead of Li's *-*aKw*). Middle Chinese is transcribed according to Karlgren, with modifications as recommended by Li (1971); MC -*ĩ* is written as -*i*. Linguistic forms in Karlgren's GRS are referred to by their number preceded by "K", e.g. "K961z". A linguistic form preceded by a single star "*" is LOC transcribed according to Li's system; my own reconstruction of EOC or PC is preceded by two stars "**"

I am grateful to Nicholas Bodman and Jerry Norman for their helpful suggestions and criticisms.

The purpose of the present paper is twofold: first, to propose a common etymon for 之 *chih* and 其 *ch'i*, and second, to construct and then justify a set of phonological rules which permit the derivation of *chih* and *ch'i* from the common etymon. The rules are:

**Krj- > *Trj- > *Tj- > MC Tšj-

**Krj- > *Kj- > MC Kj-

where K-, T-, Tš- respectively stand for the class of velar, dental, and palatal initials. A date will be given for the completion of **Krj- > *Tj-, and I will point out the implication of that date for the analysis of phonetic series.

1. A common etymon for *chih* and *ch'i*

1.1 Similarities between *chih* and *ch'i*

The particles 之 *chih* and 其 *ch'i* share several grammatical and phonological features in common. First, they both serve as the subordinate suffix.

(1.1) (1.1.1) 衛侯之弟黑背率師侵鄭 (公羊傳, 成公十年)

Hei-pei, the younger brother of the marquis of Wei, led a force and made an incursion into Cheng.

(1.1.2) 朕其弟, 小子封 (書·康誥)

My younger brother, youngster Feng!

(1.1.3) 罔不配天其澤 (書·多士)

There was none who did not deserve Heaven's bounty.

Second, they are both demonstratives; *chih* is the near demonstrative and *ch'i* is the distant demonstrative. It is not uncommon for a near demonstrative to change to a distant demonstrative or vice versa, and the distinction between the two may be absent in earlier times. For example in Meihsien Hakka *ke ke* is both "this one" and "that one". The expression *kə kə* means "that one" in Cantonese but "this one" in nearby Yangchiang (Peking University 1964: 410). The antecedent of *kə* 'this, that' is 箇 MC *kā*, which also serves as the near demonstrative during the T'ang (Chang 1973: 346). Third, *chih* and *ch'i* are both third person pronouns; *ch'i* occupies the agentive and possessive position while *chih* follows the verb.

These two particles are also similar in phonetic shape. Their OC finals are identical: 之 category 3rd Division. The *Chi'eh-yün* gives MC *g-* for 其 *ch'i*, and the *Kuang-yün* adds another, MC *k-*. Their respective values are:

(1.2) 之 *tjæg > tši 其 *gjæg > gji, *kjæg > kji.

Alternation between voiced and voiceless plosives is common and need not concern us. The only significant difference is that 之 has a dental initial in OC while 其 has a velar initial.

According to some grammarians, very early stages of Chinese did not have any subordinate suffix at all and the subordinate suffix in Late Old Chinese (LOC) was derived from the demonstrative (Chou 1959: 7; Wang 1958: 335). This may be true but the statement concerning the grammatical similarities between the two forms

remains valid; for the source of the subordinate suffix 之 *chih*, if derived, must be the demonstrative *chih*, and the source of the subordinate suffix 其 *ch'i* must be the demonstrative *ch'i*.

The striking similarities between *chih* and *ch'i* did not escape the attention of previous scholars. Kao Ming-k'ai for example was led to raise the possibility that these two particles are cognates (Kao 1957(1948): 294 ff.). After a long discussion he finally rejected this possibility. His reason is that although grammatical similarities make a compelling case, there are insuperable difficulties in terms of historical phonology. In 1957, when Kao wrote, it was indeed difficult to relate MC palatals (*tʃi*) to MC velars (*kji*, *gji*).

Recent advances in historical phonology provide a new way to approach the problem which stymied Kao. For this reason I will attempt to derive these two particles from a common source. But first, a brief review of previous phonological studies is in order.

1.2 Li Fang-kuei's 1976 theory

Tung T'ung-ho (1944) pointed out that there is frequent contact between MC palatal and velar initials in phonetic series, and to account for this phenomenon he reconstructed two sets of velars, *K- and *K̂-, the latter being back velars. In the intervening years several scholars discussed this problem, often providing valuable clues. Partly on the basis of these previous efforts, Li Fang-kuei in 1976 revised his 1971 system for Old Chinese and proposed a new theory, which is: MC palatals which show contact with MC velars came from OC velar clusters with *-rj, thus *K_{rj}- > Tʃj-. He gave three reasons for the new theory. First, in the 1971 system *grj- is the only cluster of its type and extremely defective in its distribution. But that cluster is in some instances well supported by Sino-Tibetan comparisons and therefore cannot be eliminated, for example 'salt' Ch. 鹽 *grjam: WT rgyam < *gryam. With the addition of *krj-, *khrj-, *ngrj, *hrj-, the system now has an entire set of such clusters. Second, medial -r- has the centralizing effect, which, when applied to back initial consonants such as velars, causes them to move towards the front. Medial -j- then causes such fronted velars to become palatals. Third, the 1971 system posits *sKj- as the source for those MC palatals which show contact with velars. Li (1976) now thinks such palatals are not generated by the presence of the *s- prefix before velars. The following are some of his examples.

(1.3) *krj- > tʃj-

枝 [支] *krjig > tʃje

只 *krjig, -x > tʃje

蒸 *krjəŋ > tʃjəŋ

箴 *krjəm > tʃjəm

*khrj- > tʃhj-

處 *khrjagh > tʃhjwo

赤 *khrjak > tʃhjək

車 *khrjiag > tʃhja

杵 *khrjug > tʃhju

*grj- > ź-, dź- (rare), ji-

氏 *grjigx > źje

視 *grjidx, h > źji

鼓 *grjigh > źje

丞 *grjəng > źjəng

示 *grjidh > dźji

鹽 *grjam > jiām

欲 *grjuk > jiwok

*ngrj- > nźj-

饒 *ngrjagw > nźjau

肉 *ngrjəkw > nźjuk

兒 *ngrjig > nźje

*hrj- > śj-

收 *hrjəgw > śjəu

守 *hrjəgwx > śjəu

赦 *hrjigh > śja

In what follows I will try to support Li's theory with Sino-Tibetan comparisons. But the number of good examples are relatively few. Therefore all we can assert now is that some MC palatals come from *Krij-. But there is not enough evidence to conclude that Li's theory is the only explanation for MC palatals which show contact with velars. There may be other sources as well.

1.3 The Early Old Chinese value of 之 and 止

In the oracle bone inscriptions (hereafter OB), 之 (𠄎) and 止 (止, 止) 'foot' are written with the same graph or variants of the same graph (GRS K961, K962; Li Hsiao-ting 1965: 2061 ff). They are also sometimes used interchangeably when occurring as part of another graph, for example 時 *shih* 'time' 𠄎 and 𠄎; 往 (𠄎) *wang* 'to go' 𠄎 and 𠄎 (Li 1965: 2065, 2175).

In Ode 218 "Chü Hsia 車臺" we find the lines 高山仰止, 景行行止 "The high mountains, I look up at them; the great road, I travel it" (Karlgren's translation). Here 止 is the pronominal object usually written as 之. These lines are quoted in the "Piao Chi 表記" chapter of the *Li Chi*. The *Ching-tien shih-wen* 經典釋文 in commenting on the latter text says, "仰止 has a variant 仰之 in the original; 行止 has a variant 行之 in the original". Conversely the line 歌以詠之 "by my song I reprimand him" of Ode 141 appears in the Lu version (魯詩) and the Han version (韓詩) as 歌以詠止 and 歌以詠止. Kennedy (1947) expressed the interesting view that since 之 and 止 differ in tone, this usage of 止 represents a fusion of 之 and 矣. There is a remote chance that the Kennedy theory is valid for lines in which 之 is preceded by 既 "perfective marker", such as 亦既見止, 亦既覯止 "when I have seen him, when I have met him" of Ode 14. The majority of cases are however better explained as archaism in graphic representation. According to Yü Hsing-wu (1963), there are altogether 69 instances of 止 used to write 之 in the *Book of Odes*.

Since 之 and 止 were originally the same graph and since they are homonymous in MC except for tone, we can determine the OC value of 之 via 止.

In an earlier paper, I reconstructed 止 'foot' as *krjəg for the following reasons (Mei 1979). First, the word for 'foot' in WB (Written Burmese) is *khre*, Proto Lolo-Burmese *khriy*. Second, Kachin *Ras kre* 'to be finished, brought to a close' (Hanson 1954(1906): 279). It is natural to connect this word with another meaning of 止 *chih*, namely "to stop, to rest". Third, 止 *chih* is the phonetic of 齒 *ch'ih*

'tooth', which has Proto-Min initial **kh-*; Amoy, Foochow, Chinchiang 'khi 'tooth', Ting-an 'xi. Fourth, several words with 之 or 止 as their phonetic have doublets with velar initials.

- (1.4) (a) 'foundation' 趾 **krjæg* > *tši* (Shuo-wen) 基 **kjæg* > *kji* (K952g)
 (b) 'time' 時 **grjæg* > *ží* (K961z) 期 **gjæg* > *gji* (K952k)
 (c) 'record, remember' 志 **krjæg*h > *tši* (K962e-f) 記 **kjæg*h > *kji* (K953j)

The reasons given above, I think, are sufficient to support the reconstruction of 止 'foot' as **krjæg*. Since in the OB 之 and 止 are variants of the same graph, the OC value of 之 must also be **krjæg*. Li's theory permits a derivation of the correct MC value *tši* from **krjæg* 之 (=止).

Compare **krjæg* and **gjæg* 其, and it is immediately obvious that the latter lacks the medial *-r-. The *r*-loss rule **Krj-* > **Kj-*, which we will assume, is supported by the doublets and multiple readings in (a), (b), (c) above and (d), (e), (f) below.

- (1.5) **Krj-* **Krj-* > **Kj-*
 (d) 'chariot, carriage' 車 **khrijag* > *tshja* (K74a) 車 **kjag* > *kiwo* (K74a)
 輿 **grjag* > *jiwo* (K89j)
 輅 **g-ragh* > *luo* (K766n')
 (e) 'dwell, reside' 處 **khrijagh* > *tshjwo* (K85a) 居 **kjag* > *kjwo* (K49c')
 (f) 'collect' 蓄 **krjæuk* > **trjæuk* (K1018c) 蓄 **hjæuk* (K1018c)

Further examples of **Krj-* > **Kj-* will be given later.

To sum up: we have just presented a common etymon for *chih* and *ch'i*:

- (1.6) **krjæg* > *tši* > *chih* 之
 **grjæg* > **gjæg* > *gji* > *ch'i* 其

For the sake of convenience, I will ignore the alternation between voiced and voiceless initials and write the common etymon simply as ***krjæg*.

1.4 **Krj-* > **Kj-* in Min

Kao Ming-k'ai (1957: 259) considered the possibility that *chih* and *ch'i* are dialect doublets, but rejected it on the ground that these two subordinate suffixes occur in the same text. If they are dialect doublets, Kao argues, then texts based upon one dialect would use *chih* and texts based upon another dialect would use *ch'i*. In our view, it is the chancy process of transmission which introduced *chih* into texts which once had only *ch'i* and vice versa. Moreover, modern dialect data makes clear that during the Han 之 **tjæg* and 其 **gjæg* were indeed dialect doublets.

The subordinate suffix in Mandarin dialects is 底 *ti* or 的 *tə*, which is descended from 之 **tjæg*; thus **tjæg* > **tiæg* > 底 MC *tiei* > *ti*. As an unstressed syllable *ti* becomes *tə*, just as 呢 is both *ni* and *nə*. A slightly different etymology has been proposed by Lü Shu-hsiang (1944), who observed that from the Han to the Sung the subordinate suffix is frequently written as 者 **tjag* instead of 之 **tjæg*. He then concluded that **tjag* is another source of *ti* and *tə*. 之 **tjæg* > 者 **tjag* is probably a dialect phenomenon centered around Ch'ang-an. The two theories differ only in

detail; 之 *tjæg either gives rise to *ti* or *tə* directly, or via 者 *tjag, the intermediate stage.

The etymon of the subordinate suffix in Min is 其. For Foochow, the subordinate suffix 其 *i* is an allomorph of 其 *ki* after open syllables in rapid speech, and MC 其 *gji* > Min 其 *ki* is regular. Amoy has 其 *e* and Ch'aouchou has 其 *kai*. As pointed out by Norman (1979), Min forms in the MC 之 rhyme (to which 其 belongs) have a tendency to alternate between [i] and [ai] in the various dialects, and in Kien-ou and Kien-yang [ɛ] and [e] respectively are the regular correspondences to Eastern Min [ai]. The range of variation in Min forms of the subordinate suffix fits this pattern, which shows that they are all descended from 其 *gjæg.

Mandarin dialects, then, use the descendants of 之 *tjæg as the subordinate suffix but do not use the descendants of 其 *gjæg. In contrast, Min dialects use the descendants of *gjæg but do not use the descendants of *tjæg—certainly not in the vernacular. The first migration into Min took place during the Han, which means that up to that time there were *tjæg-dialects as well as *gjæg-dialects.

The source of the subordinate suffix in Min is *gjæg, which comes from *grjæg via *r*-loss. Proto-Min has several other words with velar initials where MC has palatal initials. According to Li's theory, these words have *K_{rj}- in OC, and according to our theory, *K_{rj}- > *K_j- applies to Min as well. Below, I use Amoy forms to illustrate what is true of Min in general.

(1.7)	OC		r-loss		Amoy	MC
指 'finger'	*krjidx	>	kjid	>	°ki	tšji
枝 'branch'	*krjig	>	kjig	>	°ki	tšje
柿 'persimmon'	*grjægx	>	gjæg	>	khi°	zi
齒 'tooth'	*khrjægx	>	khjæg	>	°khi	tšhi
痣 'birthmark'	*krjəgh	>	kjəgh	>	ki°	tši
處 'place'	*khrjagh	>	khjag	>	°khi	tšhjwo
麋 'barking deer'	*krjang	>	kjang	>	°kiu	tšjang

Except for 其 *khi* 'place', which seems to be isolated in Amoy, the other words cited also occur in other Min dialects with velar initials.

The fact that *K_{rj}- > *K_j- applies to Min is related to two other phenomena. First, we saw in (1.4) and (1.5) that OC has several doublets "趾, 基", "時, 期", "志, 記", "處, 居" which illustrate the divergent of *K- before -rj-: *K_{rj}- > MC Tšj- and *K_{rj}- > *K_j-. We just saw that the latter rule applies to Min as well. Second, it is well known that OC *Tr- and *T-merged in Min. In other words, medial -r- is lost after dental initials: *Tr- > *T-

(1.8)	OC		r-loss		Amoy	MC
直 'straight'	drjək	>	djək	>	tit	djək
得 'get'	dək		>		tit	dək
珍 'precious'	trjin	>	tjin	>	tin	tjen
暢 'free flowing'	thrjang	>	thjang	>	thiang	thjang

If Min lost *-r-* after dental initials, then it is reasonable to assume that it lost *-r-* after velar initials (*Krj-) as well. In this sense, Min is a *-r-*-losing dialect.

1.5 Implication for Sino-Tibetan

It has long been recognized that the WT genitive suffix *kyi*, *gyi*, *gi*, *'i*, *yi* is cognate to the subordinate suffix 之 *tjæg and 其 *gjæg (Konow 1909; Yü Min 1949). Tibetanists are still debating whether the proto-form of the genitive suffix is **kyi*, **gyi*, or **ʔyi* (Gong 1977: 208). However, there is general agreement that the original initial of the proto-base must be a velar. Let us write it as **Kyi*. Previous attempts to connect the Tibetan form with the Chinese forms run into two types of difficulty. If Tibetan **Kyi* is to be connected with **gjæg*, then **tjæg*, the most common form of the subordinate suffix, is left out. If **Kyi* is to be connected with **tjæg*, then one has to explain the alternation between velar and dental initials. Our etymon for **tjeg* and **gjæg* establishes the initial of the proto-Chinese form as **Kr-* and resolves the dilemma. The Proto-Sino-Tibetan form remains uncertain; **Krjə*, **Krjæg*, **Krə*, **Kræg* are all possibilities.

2. **Krj- > *Trj- > *Tj-

2.1 Further problems

There are two issues which require our immediate attention.

First, our derivation of 之 and 其 from a common etymon is in part based upon Li's theory, which needs confirming evidence. Otherwise the skeptic can reject our etymology on the ground that it is based upon an unproven or invalid premise.

Moreover, Li's theory only tells us that OC **Krj-* changes into MC *Tšj-*. The period between OC and MC is extremely long, about one thousand years if we take the *Book of Odes* and the *Ch'ieh-yün* as the beginning and end point, and almost two thousand years if we include the oracle bone inscriptions. What happened to **Krj-* between Old Chinese and Middle Chinese? Here the subordinate suffix provides a valuable clue. At one stage of its evolution, the value of 之 must have been **tjæg*, with a dental initial, because it is known to be the source of 底 *tiei* and 的 *tə*. How then can 之 be both **krjæg* and **tjæg* in OC? This is one problem we will have to consider.

The double value for 之 is not an isolated phenomenon. Consider the following two sets of triplets.

(2.1)	'subord. suffix'	之 (=止) *krjæg	之 *tjæg	其 *kjæg(*gjæg)
	'record, remember'	志 *krjəgh	識 *tjəgh	記 *kjəgh
	'sign, mark'			

The word 織 **tjək* 'to weave' is cognate to WT *thag* 'to weave'. 織 and 識 have the same phonetic. This suggests that when the phonetic compound 識 was formed, its value must have been **tjəgh*, as shown above. We reconstruct 志 as **krjəgh* from its MC value *tši* because it has a doublet 記 *kji* and because its phonetic is

之. The latter assertion is based upon one version of the *Shuo-wen* but some scholars do not accept this analysis. Further support comes from the following Sino-Tibetan comparison.

(1) WT *rgya* < **grya* 'sign, mark'

CH 志, 誌 **krjəgh* 'sign, mark, emblem' (K962e-f)

識 **tjəgh* 'id.' (K920k)

記 **kjəgh* 'id.' (K953j)

Correspondence of WT *a* : OC *-əg* is regular; cf. 'ear' WT *rna* : Ch. 耳 **njəg*; WT *tsha* 'grandchild' : Ch. 子 **tsjəg* 'child, son'. The metathesis assumed for WT *rgya* < **grya* has a parallel in 'salt' WT *rgyam* < **gryam*. The meaning of 'mark, sign' for 志, 誌 is still preserved in the expression 標誌 *piao-chih* 'sign', also written as 標識, 標幟, and 標記 *piao-chi*. Another cognate with the same phonetic is 痣 'birth-mark', a word with a late graph which inherited the etymological meaning. As we saw in (1.7) 'birthmark' is one of the words with a velar initial **k-* in Proto-Min.

I would like to make a brief excursion into the etymology of the word 'poetry' which may be of interest to students of Chinese literature. "詩言志 *shih yen chih*" is a phrase which occurs in the "Shun-tien 舜典" section of the *Book of Documents*; similar expressions also occur in the *Li-chi*, the *Tso-chuan*, and the *Shuo-wen*. The most influential interpretation of this phrase in the twentieth century is probably the theory jointly developed by Yang Shu-ta, Wen I-to, and Chu Tzu-ch'ing (see Chow 1968: 164-66 for summary). According to this theory, 詩 *shih* 'poetry' is cognate to 志 *chih* 'record, remember' and the phrase means either "poetry is a verbal record" or "poetry is commemorative words." If this etymology is valid, then the earliest reconstructible cognate of 'poetry' is the word 志 **krjəg* 'record, sign', which Chinese inherited from Sino-Tibetan. The word 詩 *shih* 'poetry' itself has the value OC **hrjəg* > MC *śi*, and it is interesting to note that Bodman (forthcoming) compares this word to Lushai *hlaa* 'song'.

Returning now to our problem, let us note that there are two sets of triplets, each with the same variation in the initials and each supported by comparisons with WT or WB. Both sets of triplets pose the same questions. What is the relation between **krj-* and **kj-*? This we have answered in part. What is the relation between **krj-* and **tj-*? This question is next on our agenda.

2.2 A reformulation of Li's theory

In order to explain the two OC values **krjəg* and **tjəg* for 之, we will assume that **krjəg* is prior in time. The value **krjəg* for 止 is based upon comparative evidence, and oracle bone evidence links it to 之; both types of evidence imply a greater time depth. The value **tjəg* on the other hand is based upon MC *tí* 之, and hence only valid for Late Old Chinese. Since it is necessary to stratify Old Chinese into two distinct periods, we will from now on adopt the following convention: a double star "*" means earlier than LOC, a single star "*" means LOC.

As a general theory, I will propose the following rule:

(2.2) **Krj- > *Trj- > *Tj- > MC Tšj-.

Let me explain the various components one by one.

(a) **Krj- > *Trj-: This rule says velars are fronted to dentals before *-rj-. Li (1971) pointed out that the medial -r- centralizes the following vowel and this insight enabled him to simplify the vowel system of OC. We are now extending the theory to initial consonants. For back consonants such as velars, the effect of centralizing is fronting. Fronting of *K- to *T- before *-r- has already been proposed by Betty Shefts Chang and Kun Chang (1976); they also proposed fronting and backing rules for Pre-Written Tibetan.

(b) *Trj- > *Tj-: Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1727-1784) in his classical essay "*She-yin lei-ke chih-shuo pu k'e-hsin* 舌音類隔之說不可信" pointed out that there is frequent contact between what we would now call 知系 (*Tr-) and 端系 (*T-) in OC. As we saw, Proto-Min underwent *Tr- > *T-. The present rule assumes r-loss after dental initials in a special environment, namely, *Trj- > *Tj-. This is controversial because the rule assumes the existence of clusters of the type *Trj- during and before LOC; it is not at all certain that -j- existed after *Tr- at such an early time. The best justification I can give is that *Trj- is the logical intermediate stage between **Krj- and *Tj-.

(c) *Tj- > MC Tšj-: This is the well established rule for palatalization of dentals.

The theory just proposed is a refinement of Li's theory but there are several differences. First, I have interposed two intermediate stages between **Krj- and Tšj-. Second, whereas Li seems to view palatalization of velars as a separate, one-step process, I view it as part of the general process of palatalization of dentals. Third, in proposing *-rj- as the fronting condition for velars, I am extending Li's observation that -r- has the centralizing effect and that centralizing for velars means fronting. But following Chang and Chang (1976), I assume that the result of fronting is not a fronted variety of velars but actually dentals. The phonetic reason is that in *Krj-, the medial -j- fronts the central -r- which in turn fronts the preceding velar initial.

2.3 Comparative evidence and Chinese doublets

The data assembled below are intended to support the two rules which constitute the core of our theory:

(2.3) (A) **Krj- > *Trj- > *Tj- > Tšj-

(B) **Krj- > *Kj- > Kj-

The presence of two intermediate stages *Trj- and *Tj- is a special feature of our theory. In what follows I will try to show that **Krj- sometimes yields *Trj-, and sometimes *Tj-. The underlying assumption is that some OC dialects undergo **Krj- > *Trj- (which yields MC Tj-) while others undergo a further stage *Trj-

> *Tj- (which yields MC Tšj-). There are also two types of Sino-Tibetan correspondences.

(2.4) (a) WT: Kr- : LOC *Tj- > MC Tšj-

(b) WT: Kr- : LOC *Trj- > MC Tj-

Examples illustrating (a) lend support to Li's 1976 theory.

In assembling the comparative evidence, I have tried to choose examples generally accepted by comparativists. Those taken from Chang and Chang (1976) are marked "CC". Some Sino-Tibetan comparisons proposed by me are speculative; they are relegated to the end of a series. Some sets contain both Sino-Tibetan cognates and Chinese doublets. The reader may wish to reject the former while accepting the latter or vice versa. Some items presented as doublets may turn out to be morphologically related cognates, but they illustrate the same point. The main argument holds as long as a sufficient number of examples survive critical scrutiny.

In addition to rules (A) and (B), I will use in my derivations three additional rules: *Tj- > *Ti-, **Krj- > *Kwj-, *Kj- > *Ki-. The first I will attempt to justify in 2.4; the second is adopted from Bodman (forthcoming); the third is used informally. For the reconstructed forms in a derivation, the last item with a single star "*" is LOC transcribed according to Li's system; the other items with a single star represent stages in the derivation, which usually begins with a form preceded by a double star "**". From here on I will number the examples supporting the main argument consecutively, beginning with (1) in section 2.1.

(2) WT gru 'elbow'

CH 肘 **krjəugx > *trjəug > t̚jəu (K1073a)

The velar initial reconstructed for 肘 can be justified independently by epigraphic evidence. The oracle bone form of 肘 was 𠂔. Still earlier 肘 was written simply as 𠂔, a pictograph of the elbow. The latter oracle bone form was used as a loan graph to write the number "nine", 九 *kəugx. Because '9' was a high frequency word, the graph became firmly associated with it, and lost its original, pictographic meaning. To distinguish '9' and 'elbow', an extra stroke ~ was added to 𠂔 to indicate the position of the elbow. The corrupt form of 𠂔 is the modern graph 肘. In addition, a phonetic compound 肘 was created to write the word 'elbow', and this graph, with the phonetic deformed, yields the modern 肘 (LHT 1507, 4189).

To summarize, we have as the initial step:

(2.5) 'elbow' 𠂔 *trjəugx : WT gru

'nine' 九 *kəugx : WT dgu : WB kuw

The next step is to reconstruct 'elbow' with a velar initial, **krjəugx. Compare the values **krjəugx and *trjəugx, and we see that **k- is fronted to *t- before *-rj-.

This example is of considerable importance for our purpose. In addition to

gru-mo, WT has *dre-bo* and *gre-bo* for 'elbow'. On the basis of Tibetan evidence alone, two explanations are equally plausible. The Pre-Written Tibetan forms could have been **dru* and **dre* which yield *gru* and *gre* by backing. This is indeed the explanation given by Chang and Chang (1975: 492), who assumed that Pre-Written Tibetan **dr-* gives WT *gr-*. Alternatively, we can assume **gr-* gives WT *dr-* by fronting. WT *gru* : LOC **trjəugx* still leaves the issue unresolved. It is the oracle bone evidence linking 'elbow' ***krjəugx* and '9' which tips the scale in favor of **Kr-* for Pre-Chinese and Proto-Sino-Tibetan.

The number '6' is another example illustrating the alternation between velars and dentals.

(2.6) '6' WT *drug*, WB *khrok*, Proto-Thai **xrok*

CH ***g-ruk* > **d-ruk* > **ljəuk* > MC *ljuk*

Sometime ago Jerry Norman and I reconstructed a consonant cluster **dr-* for the numeral '6' in Chinese (Mei and Norman 1971). The immediate purpose then was to explain the initial *s-* in four Northern Min dialects for this and sixteen other words which have MC *l-*. The philological evidence we used to reconstruct **dr-* indicates that the value is valid for LOC. I would now propose **gr-* for ST '6', which implies that both Tibetan and Chinese underwent **gr-* > **dr-*.

(3) WT *gru* 'boat'

CH 舟 ***krjəug* > **trjəug* > **tjəug* > MC *tšjəu* (K1084a)

Gong (1978) reconstructs 舟 as **krjəgw* (**krjəug*) on the basis of 𦨭 **gak*, to which he attaches a question mark. Li (1971) gives the value **tjəgw* (**tjəug*). According to our theory, these are earlier and later values of the same word. Li's LOC value is supported by the loan of 雕 **tiəug* for 舟 **tjəug* in the *K'ao-kung chi* 考工記: 玉柳雕矢磬; 注: 故書雕或爲舟 (Ch'ien Ta-hsin). Further confirmation comes from Hsu Shen's mistaken identification of the phonetic of 朝 **trjaug* as 舟 in the *Shuo-wen*.

(4) 支 ***krjig* > **trjig* > **tjig* > *tšje* (K864a) ~ 鞮 **tig* > *tiei* (K866h)

支 LOC **tjig* interchanges with 鞮 **tig*. As Ch'ien Ta-hsin has observed, the person called 苑支 **ʷwjan- *tjig* in the "晉語 Chin-yü" section of the *Kuo-yü* is called 焉鞮 **gwjan- *tig* in the *Tso-chuan*.

(5) WT grogs 'friend, companion' (CC)

CH 友 ***grjəugx* > **gwjəugx* > **gwjəgx* (K955e)

僞, 𨾏 ***grjəug* > **drjəug* > *ɟjəu* (K1090k-1)

仇 (K992p), 逌 (K1066k) ***grjəug* > **gjəug*

(6) WT 'khogs-pa 'weak from old age, decrepit, decayed'

CH 考 **khəugx* (**khləugx?*) 'longevity' (K1014d)

壽 ***grjəugx* > **drjəugx* > *ʒjəu* 'longevity' (K1090g)

久 ***krjəugx* > **kjəugx* 'long, a long, time' (K993a)

(7) WT *gru* 'place, village, town, country' as in *yul-gru*; also part of the name of country as in *gru-gu* and *gru-sa*; also 'edge, border'

- CH 疇 **grjəug > *drjəug > dǰəu 'territory' (K1090 1)
 州 **krjəug > *trjəug > *tjəug > tsǰəu 'province, district' (K1086a)
 域 **grjəuk > *gwjəuk > *gwjək 'territory, state, boundary' (K929e)
 國 **krəuk > *kwəuk > *kwək 'state, country' (K929 o-p)
- (8) WT rgyug-pa 'to hasten' (CC)
 CH 趙 **grjaug > *drjaug > dǰäu (K1149 u-v)
- (9) WT gyang, rgyang (Balt.) 'wall'
 CH 城 **grjang > *drjang > *drjing > *djing > źjang 'city wall' (K818e)
- (10) WT grang 'measure'
 CH 量 *liang (K737a)
 程 **grjang > *drjang > *drjing > dǰang 'measure of (capacity, weight, or length)' (K835t)
- (11) WT rkang 'stalk, stem'
 CH 莖 *gring (K831u)
 莖 *ding 'stem, stalk' (Chuang) (K835 1); derivation: **grjang > *drjang > *drjing > *djing > *ding
- For justification of the last step, *djing > *ding, see 2.4.
- (12) WT khrimś 'law, rule' (CC)
 CH 經 *king (< **krjing) (K831c-d)
 政 **krjing > *trjing > *tjing > tsǰang (K833r-s)
- Chang and Chang (1976: 604) treat (12) and (14) below differently. They "tentatively posit a velar to dental change in Chinese before *-j-" in addition to a similar change before *-r-. Thus they would have
- (12a) 政 *kjing > *king
 經 *kjing > *tjing
- The difference between Chang's theory and ours will be discussed in 2.6
- (13) WT grems 'to display'
 CH 陳 **grjin, h > *drjin, h > dǰən (K373a)
- (14) WT khrol-khrol 'bright' (CC)
 CH 昭 **krjaug > *trjaug > *tjaug > tsǰäu (K1131m)
 的 *tiauk < *tjauk (K1120h)
 敝 (K1162b), 皎 (K1166y) **krjaug > *kjaug > *kiaug
- (15) WT 'grags-pa, grags 'cry out' (CC)
 CH 喊 **grjag > *drjag > *drjig > *dig (Lü) (K870d)
 啼 *dig (Tso) (K877g)
 (Cf: 呼 *gag 'call out, shout' (K55h))
- (16) WT rgyag 'to throw, cast, fling'; mda rgyag-pa 'to shoot arrows'
 CH 射 **grjiagh > *drjiagh > *djiagh > dzǰa 'shoot with arrow' (K807a)
 **grjagh > jia (Li(1971): *riagh)
- (17) WT khrag 'blood'

CH 赤 **khrjak > *thrjak > *thjak > tshjak 'red' (K793a)

赫 *hrak 'red, fire-red' (K779a)

? 赭 **krjag > *trjag > *tjag > tsja 'red earth, red pigment' (K45d)

- (18) Kachin hkrawn 'to be through, as a pole through an opening or a thread through a needle' (Hanson 1954: 328)

CH 串, 貫 *kwan (< *kluan (?)) (K159a, e)

穿 **khrjuan > *thrjuan > *thjuan > tshjuan (K232a)

- (19) WT gcig-ka, gcig-pu (*b-kryig > b-tyig > g-tyig > g-cig) 'only'

CH 祇, 只 **krjig > *trjig > *tjig > tsje 'only'

(Cf. WT gcig, cig 'one' : CH. 一 *jit < **jik)

Here we assume parallel innovation in Chinese and Tibetan. GRS K867i says 祇 *gjig 'earth spirit' is a loan for *tjig > MC tsje 'only'. The word 'only' is written either as 祇 or 祇. The fact that the two phonetics 氏 *grjigx and 氏 *tigx are often confused (K590, K867) supports our view that 氏 undergoes **grj- > *drj- > *djig. But this also makes the OC value of "only" uncertain. On the other hand OC 'only' is cognate to 'one' *jit and both are cognate to WT gcig 'one, only'. OC 'one' also have a variant graph 弌 with 弌 *rək as the phonetic; the *-ək final of the variant graph supports the value **jik reconstructed for 'one'. Since OC 'one' has glottal stop as its initial, there is further reason to believe that 'only' also has a velar initial in EOC.

It has long been recognized that WT C- < *Ty-. Here we suggest that *Ty- has *Kry- as one of its sources. For *b- > WT g- before dental initials see Betty Shefts Chang 1971: 737ff.

- (20) WT chab (< *thyab < *khryab) "water" (honorific)

CH 汁 **krjəp > *trjəp > *tjəp > tsjəp 'juice, sap' (K686f)

協 *giəp 'id.' (Fang-yen) (K639b)

斟 **krjəm > *trjəm > *tjəm > tsjəm 'id.' (Fang-yen) (K658h)

(Cf. WB khap 'to dip up, draw water' : Ch. 汲 *kjəp 'to draw water' (K681h); 斟 *tjəm 'to ladle out, serve' (K658h))

The dialect forms given above are based upon the Fang-yen, which says, "in Northern Yen and Korea along the River Lieh it is called 斟 *tjəm, east of the Pass it is called 協 *giəp, west of the Pass it is called 汁 *tjəp 'sap, juice'". In Tai Cheng's 戴震 commentary to this passage he cites other examples of interchange between 汁 and 協 in OC texts.

- (21) WT chan (< *thjan < **khryan) 'boiled corn or barley'

CH 饘 **krjan, x > *trjan > *tjan > tsjan 'gruel, thick congee' (K 148m)

饘, a variant of 饘 (K197c); the phonetic 衍 is *grjanx > jian.

I owe the last two examples and the derivation in Tibetan to Professor Bodman.

I will now propose a set of etymologies and derivations, which, if accepted, require some revision of Li's theory. According to Li (1976), plain velars form

clusters with **-rj-*, and **Krij-* becomes *Tšj-*. But for labiovelars **KW-*, he has only **gwrj-* > *ju-* or *jw-*; for example 勻 **gwrjin* > *jiuən*, 捐 **gwrjan* < *jiwän*. The following examples, transcribed in the notation of ***KWrij-* for the entire class of labiovelars, seem to show that Li's system has to admit **kwrj-* as well.

(22) Kachin hkwi 'to hunt, chase, pursue' (Hanson 1954: 329)

CH 追 ***kwrjəd* > **trjuəd* > *twi* (K543d-g)

(23) 維 ***gwrjəd* > *jiwi* 'rope, to tie, to bind together' (K575o-p)

繩 ***gwrjədh* (***gwrjərɥh?*) > **drjuəd* > *ɥwiə* 'rope' (K543h) (Li has **drjarh*)

(Cf. WT rgyud (**gryud*) 'string, cord', rgyud-pa 'to fasten on a string';

結 **kit* 'to tie, a knot' (K393p); 纜 **kwjit*, **gwjit* 'well-rope' (K507h))

(24) 誰 ***gwrjəd* > **drjuəd* > **djuəd* > *zwi* 'who' (K575u)

(25) 隹 ***kwrjəd* > **trjuəd* > **tjuəd* > *tswi* 'a kind of dove' (K575a)

(Cf. Kachin khru, WB khyui ~ khruai 'dove' STC 118)

Both 启 and 隹 as phonetics have contact with velar initials.

(2.7) 启 MC tuai (K543a) : 歸 **kwjəd* > *kjwei* (K570)

追 ***kwrjəd*

隹 MC tswi (K575) : 淮 **gwrəd* > *ɥwāi* (K601)

維 ***gwrjəd*

Once labiovelars are reconstructed for 歸 and 淮, which Li's system requires, it seems entirely reasonable to reconstruct **kwrjəd* for 追 and ***gwrjəd* for 維. In the former case, **-r-* is needed to account for the retroflexed dental in MC. In the latter case, there is additional evidence for the proposed reconstruction. The river 淮 is sometimes called 灘 in OC texts; in the oracle bone inscriptions 夷 (惠) **gwidh* writes the grammatical particle later written in the *Odes* as 維 ***gwrjəd* (LHT 1417 ff.).

For the word 誰 'who', there is also additional evidence showing contact with velar initials. The 史記索隱 *Shih-chi suo-yin* mentions that the people east of the Yellow River pronounced 誰 like 葵 **gwjidɣ* (?) > *gwi* 河東人呼誰與葵同. Here 葵 belongs to the OC 脂 category, and 誰 to the 微 category. These two categories are often confused.

Now if 隹 is the phonetic of 維, 淮, and 誰, each of which has either **gwr-* or **gwrj-*, then it seems necessary to assume that the phonetic itself has **kwrj-*. The result in Li's system is **kwrjəd* > *tswi*.

In an alternative treatment of the above, instead of reconstructing **kwrj-*, we may choose to adopt a six-vowel system for Pre-Chinese as an alternative to Li's four-vowel system, and eliminate some of the labiovelars posited by Li. Let us review briefly the motivation for reconstructing labiovelars.

Eliminating MC rounded medial (合口) from OC is one of Yakhontov's more radical innovations (Yakhontov 1970(1960)). Li Fang-kuei adopted it and formulated a general program. One, the *k'ai-k'ou* / *ho-k'ou* opposition is non-distinctive after

labial initials. Two, if rounded syllables co-occur with velar initials in MC, then we reconstruct labiovelars for OC. Three, in the special case of the OC 微 category (*-əD) and 文 category (*-ən), medial -u- is a late development, conditioned by a dental initial followed by a dental final, e.g. 卒 *tsjət > *tsjuət, 突 *dət > duət, 臀 *dən > duən. If plain velars are fronted to dentals before *-rj-, then these two types of initials cannot be given Li's separate but equal treatment. The question also arises whether labiovelars undergo the same type of fronting. If they do, then we have **Kwrj- > *Trju- > *Tju-, and the medial -u- is inherited from the labiovelar. If they do not, it is difficult to see how we can account for the examples given above.

In a six-vowel system with two back vowels PC -u- and -o- (Baxter forthcoming; Bodman forthcoming), some of the difficulties can be avoided. Li already assumed breaking of *-u- before dental finals. *-uD *-uaD. We assume breaking for both *-o- (Li's -u-) and *-u-.

(2.8)

** -uD > *-uəD	WT	CH
'finish'	sdud	卒 **tsjut > *tsjuət
'to turn around'	'khor-ba	歸 **kjud > *kjuəd (Li's *kwjəd)
'to revolve'	'khor-ba	回 **gud > *guəd (Li's *gwəd)
** -oD > *-uaD		
'to elapse, of time'	skyod	歲 **sgjots > *skjuadh (Li's *skwjadh)
'to pass'	skyod	越 **gjot > *gjuat (Li's *gwjat)

By assuming a six-vowel system or simply the presence of a rounded medial in OC, we can rewrite (22) to (25) and present them as evidence for **Krij- > *Trj- > *Tj-.

(22') 追 **krjuəd > *trjuəd > t̥wi (K543d-g)

(23') 維 **grjuəd > jiwi (K575o-p)

縋 **grjuədh > *drjuədh > d̥wiə (K543h)

(24') 誰 **grjuəd > *drjuəd > *djuəd > žwi (K575u)

(25') 佳 **krjuəd > *trjuəd > *tjuəd > t̥wi (K575a)

2.4 *Tj- > *Ti-

We just saw that 舟 **krij- > *trj- > *tjəug is written as 雕 *tiəug in the *K'ao-kung chi*. Similarly 支 **krij- > *trj- > *tjig in the *Kuo-yü* is written as 鞮 *tig in the *Tso-chuan*. This phenomenon may be described in terms of two rules:

(2.9) **Krij- > *Trj- > *Tj-

*Tj- ~ *Ti- or *Tji- > *Ti-

That is, after **Krij- had become Tj-, the 3rd Division *Tj- is replaced by 4th Division *Ti- in certain OC dialects. I will now present several sets of doublets as further illustration of this phenomenon.

(26) 視 **grjidx, h > *drjidx, h > *djidx, h 'to look' (Shih) (K553h)

睇 **dīdh, *thīd (< *djīdh, *thjīd) (Li Chi) (K591k)

題 *dīgh 'see, look' (Shih, Ode 196 "題彼脊令") (K866p)

Li (1976) reconstructs 視 as **grjīdx, h on the basis of 祁 MC g-, 獅 MC ng-. 睇 *dīdh was derived from 視 at the time when the latter had the value *djīdh. 題 *dīgh is a phonetic loan used to write the same word; the interchange between *-ig and *-id is either because final consonants did not exist in these two words, or because the *Book of Odes* was edited at a time when *-ig > -iei and *-id > -iai had already occurred, which is the case for the Han. This example is also interesting because 睇 *dīdh, *thīd, which also occurs in the *Ch'u Tz'u*, survives in modern Chinese as Cantonese (thai and Ch'aouchou (thōi. Though the tonal correspondence is not exact and nasalization in Ch'aouchou is difficult to explain, I do not think we can seriously doubt the fact that 睇 has modern descendents.

(27) 階 *krid (< **krjīd) 'steps, stairs' (Shih) (K599e)

梯 *thīd (< *thjīd < *thrjīd < **khrjīd) (Kuoyü) (K591 l)

墀 *drjīd (< **grjīd) 'raised path from the gate to the hall of a palace' (Hanfei) (K595c)

(Cf: WT skad, skas-ka 'ladder')

(28) 止 (趾) **krjæg > *tjæg (~ *tiæg > *tig) 'foot' (Cf. Ode 11 麟之趾)

蹄 *dig, 蹄 *tik 'animal foot, hoof' (Chuang, Shih) (K877h, o)

also 蹠 *dig 'id' (Yi), not listed in GRS

The alternation between *tjæg and *dig has a parallel in the near demonstratives 時 *djæg and 是 *djīg, discussed below.

Reason have already been given for reconstructing 之 as **krjæg and 時 as **grjæg. To review: (1) 之 is written with the same graph as 止 **krjæg, and it has a doublet 其; (2) 時 has a doublet 期 *gjæg, and its phonetic in the OB is 之 or 止. I will now show that the EOC value of 是 is **grjæg (> MC žje).

Kuo Muo-jo proposed a brilliant etymology for the graph 氏 'clan, family', which Li Fang-kuei reconstructed as **grjīg > žje. The same phonetic series has 氏, 祇, 祇, all MC gjīě. According to Kuo, the OB form of 氏 (𠂔) is a pictograph of the side view of a spoon or ladle, later written as 匙 MC žje. That is, the pictograph for 'spoon' was used in OB as a phonetic loan to write 氏 'clan'. Moreover, Kuo identifies the bronze form of 是 (𠂔, 𠂔) also as the pictograph of 'spoon, ladle'. 𠂔 is the frontal view of the spoon; the horizontal stroke(s) 𠂔 (又 'hand') or — specifies the handle. 止 is 趾 'heel', specifying the heel of the spoon, whose hook-like shape made it possible to hang the spoon on the lip of the pot. Because 是 'spoon' is the same word as 氏 'spoon', it inherited the lexical function of the latter as a loan graph for 氏 'clan, family'. That is why we find 是 meaning 'clan' in the *Yi-li*, the *Ch'ü-li*, and numerous Han texts and inscriptions (LHT: 3723 ff., 2679ff.). To summarize, we have:

(29) 'spoon, ladle'

**grjīg > žje 氏, 是, 匙

'clan, family' **grjigx > 𡵓 氏, 是

I propose a Sino-Tibetan comparison which also supports our reconstruction for 是:

(30) WT 'grig-pa 'to be right'

CH 是 **grjigx > 𡵓 'to be right' (K866a)

We are now ready to derive a MC form of the near demonstrative.

(31) 是 **grjigx > *drjigx > *djigx

底 tiei < diei < *digx < *djigx

di> (dhiq) < *dik < *djik < *drjik < **grjik 寔

The T'ang historian 劉知幾 Liu Chi-chi said 渠們底箇, 江左彼此之辭 (*Shih-t'ung* 史通, ch'uan 17). In this statement he mentioned 底 tiei (< *tidx) as one of the near demonstratives used in the Chiang-nan area. The term still exists in the Wu dialect of Shanghai, Sung-chiang 松江, etc. as di> (or dhiq in Y. R. Chao's (1928) notation). If di> has an epenthetic glottal stop, then it could be derived from 是; otherwise, from 寔.

In a similar way I would derive the subordinate suffix 底 in those Mandarin dialects that have this form.

(32) 底 ti < MC tiei < *tiei < *tiæg < tjàg 之 (Cf. Kao 1957: 297)

The last example concerns Sino-Tai.

(33) Tai: kiing (Lungchow) < Proto-Tai *g- A2 'tripod'

CH 鼎 **krjingx > *trjingx > *tjingx > tingx (K834a)

(34) 貞 **krjing > *trjing 'divination enquiry' (K834g)

(35) JP khyeng 'be red' (STC: 162 *kyeng)

CH 赭 (K834m), 經 (K831x) **khrjing > *thrjing > tjàng

(34) and (35) are intended as supporting evidence for (33); in the OB "tripod" and "divination enquiry" are written with the same graph. The phonetic series K831, which includes 經, has other contacts with dental initials; see (11) and (12). I assume that the Lungchow form was borrowed from an -r- losing dialect in the South. For a different treatment of (35) involving *kh-l-, see Bodman (forthcoming), example (204).

The general conclusion I wish to draw is this. When we find *Ti- in contact with velars, *Ti- may be explained by a two-step process: (a) **Krj- > *Trj- > *Tj- in the Standard Northern dialect, and (b) *Tj- ~ *Ti- or *Tji- > *Ti- in a non-standard dialect. It may be necessary to posit *K-l- for contact between dentals and velars in the 1st and 2nd Division (Bodman 1979). But for the 3rd and 4th Division, the theory just presented seems more plausible.

2.4 The date of **Krj- > *Trj- or *Tj-

Ch'ien Ta-hsin in his classical essay 舌音類隔之說不可信 gave many examples of phonetic loans between *Ti- words on the one hand and *Tj- or *Trj- words on the other. As we saw in 2.3, some of the *Tj- or *Trj- words discussed by Ch'ien

came from **Krj-. In (a) to (e) below I put Ch'ien's philological data alongside with the results obtained in 2.3. The aim is to solve our dating problem; when **Krj- words are written with *Ti- words, **Krj- must have already become *Trj- or *Tj-. Examples (f) to (i) have been discussed in 2.4; they serve the same purpose.

(36)

		Textual locus	
		of *Ti- word	Consult
**Krj- > *Trj- or *Tj-			
(a)	舟 **krj- > *trj- > *tjəug	雕 *tiəug	考工記 (3)
(b)	支 **krj- > *trj- > *tjig	鞮 *tig	左傳 (4)
(c)	追 **krj- > *trjuəd	堆 *tiuəd	儀禮 (22)
(d)	趙 **grj- > *drjaug	摑 *tiaug	(詩經/考工記/荀子) (8)
(e)	陳 **grj- > *drjin	田 *din	(13)
	陳完	田完	史記
	陳駢	田駢	荀子, 呂覽
(f)	視 **grj- > drj- > *djidh	睇 *didh, thid	禮記 (26)
		題 *digh	詩經
(g)	階 *krid	梯 *thid	國語 (27)
(h)	趾 **krj- > *trj- > *tjəg	蹄, 蹠 *dig	穀梁傳, 易經, 莊子 (28)
		臍 *tik	詩經
(i)	莖 *gring	莖 *ding	莊子 (11)

It is well known that the *Book of Odes* was transmitted in four versions, Comparison of the Mao version, now standard, with surviving fragments of the other three versions shows many textual variations. For this reason I will not use the items which occur in the *Odes* as a basis for determining date. The loan of *tiaug for *drjaug in (d) is based on what Han and later commentators said. It cannot be used for dating either, and hence the texts involved are put in parentheses. This leaves us with 10 items and 12 texts.

The majority of the earlier texts listed above have a Ch'i 齊 or Lu 魯 locus. Cheng Hsüan's 鄭玄 commentary to the *K'ao-kung chi* explains many lexical items in that text as Ch'i words. The *Tso-chuan* is a history of the state of Lu. The *Kuo-yü* and the *Tso-chuan* share several phonological and grammatical features (Karlgren 1926; Lin Yu-t'ang 1928). Certain chapters of the *Li Chi* have specific grammatical features also found in the *Tso-chuan*, the *Analects*, and the *Mencius*, all Lu texts in a wider sense (Karlgren 1926; Ting 1935; Hung 1957). Hsün-tzu taught at the Ch'i capital Chi-hsia 稷下 and had the honor of serving as the *doyen*. In general, the state of Lu preserved many texts and old practises of the Early Chou, the state of Ch'i at the height of its power was one of the great cultural centers of ancient China, and during the Han the "correct" pronunciation of the Classics was transmitted by professors who came from the Ch'i-Lu area. It is

therefore not at all surprising that the Ch'i-Lu dialect intrudes so noticeably into the later Classics and the *Kuo-yü*.

It is also well known that the surnames 陳 **drjin* and 田 **din* are used interchangeably in LOC. Presumably it was because the Ch'i pronunciation of **drjin* was **din* that persons from Ch'i with the surname 陳 were known elsewhere as 田. What Ssu-ma Ch'ien told us in the *Shih-chi* concerning Ch'en Wan's 陳完 taking refuge in Ch'i and changing his name to T'ien Wan 田完 is an all probability an instance of folk etymology based on phonological facts not well understood. This and the other examples listed above bear upon our problem in the following way: since **Ti-* not only interchanges with **Tj-* but also with **Trj-*, such interchanges do not tell us whether **Krj-* had become **Trj-* or **Tj-* in the non-Ch'i-Lu dialect.

All the texts involved are either late or have controversial dating problems. It would take us too far afield to review these problems one by one. On the other hand, since a total of 12 texts are involved, we cannot very well argue that in each and every case the interchange or the doublet reflects a late (i.e. Han) phenomenon. A conservative estimate based on the evidence presented above would put the date between the 4th and 2nd century B.C. In other words by the 4th to the 2nd century B.C., ***Krj-* had already become **Trj-* or **Tj-* in the standard language of the North; and Ch'i-Lu dialect went one step further and replaced **Trj-* or **Tj-* with **Ti-*.

The second dating criterion is based upon fusion equations. There are two types of formula, one in which 之 occurs as the first component. 諸 = 之乎, 之於 belongs to this type. These formulas are universally accepted. However, they are not very useful for the present purpose. There is reason to believe that phonetic series K45 headed by 者 has some velar initials; in any case the contrary has not been proven. If 諸 **tjag* comes from an earlier ***krjag*, it would evolve in synchrony with 之 ***krjag*. This possibility vitiates any date based upon these formula.


In the second type of fusion equation, 之 or 時 occurs as the second element (Boodberg 1937; Ting 1935, 1948; Lü 1949; Graham 1952).

- (37) (a) 弗 = 不之 **pjət* = **pjæg* + **tjæg*
 (b) 勿 = 毋之 **mjət* = **mjæg* + **tjæg*
 (c) 曷 = 何時 **gat* = **gar* + **djæg*
 (c') 害 = 何時 **gad* = **gar* + **djæg*
 (a') 弗 = 不之 **pjət* ≠ **pjək* = **pjæg* + ***krjæg*

At the time when 之 was ***krjæg*, we would get (a'), and the fusion equation has no phonological validity. Ting Sheng-shu's 1935 study has shown that (a) holds for the *Book of Odes*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, the *Tso-chuan*, the *Li-chi*, etc., that is almost all Pre-Han texts. The same holds for (b), though the distinction between **mjət* and **mjæg* is not as sharp. To the familiar reasons given for (a) and (b),

I would like to add another. When occurring after a negative, the phrase Verb + Object undergoes obligatory inversion and becomes Object + Verb. This rule applies to 1st and 2nd person pronouns (Chou 1963: 108ff). The 3rd person pronoun 之 undergoes the same inversion, and thus inverted, it occurs directly after *pjæg or *mjæg. (a) or (b) takes place as the next step. A competing theory is the stress hypothesis which holds that 弗 and 勿 are stressed forms of 不 and 毋. As Graham (1969: 40) has observed, the linguist's judgment of the presence of stress and emphasis in OC texts is, by the very nature of the evidence, based upon his subjective impression. Hence the stress hypothesis can never be proven.

It has been pointed out that equations (a) and (b) do not hold for oracle bone and bronze inscriptions; nor do they hold for the *Book of Documents* (Chou 1959: 43-44). One scholar even used this fact as the reason for rejecting equation (a) (Huang 1958). There is no reason why these equations should hold at an earlier time when the value of 之 was **krjæg.

In order to use (c) and (c') as the bases for dating, we must first determine the value of 時. I propose to reconstruct 時 as **grjæg on the following grounds, some of which have already been mentioned: (1) it has a doublet 期 *gjæg, (2) it has 之 or 止 as its phonetic in the oracle bone inscriptions: 時 (), (3) it appears in the *Documents* and the *Odes* as the near demonstrative, thus succeeding 之 **krjæg of the OB.

With a value of **grjæg, 時 would also evolve according to the rule **grj- > *drj- > *dj-. At the time when 時 was **grjæg, we would get (d) and (f), and the fusion equations (c) and (c') have no phonological validity.

(37') (d) 曷 ≠ 何時 *gat ≠ *gag(*gak) = *gar + **grjæg

(f) 害 ≠ 何時 *gad ≠ *gag = *gar + *grjæg

We can use this fact to ascertain the date of **Krj- > *Trj > *Tj-.

Ting Sheng-shu (1948) has shown that 曷 meaning "what time", which is what the fusion equation requires, is a distinctive usage of the *Odes*. It also occurs in the *Documents* in the famous line 時日曷喪 'at what time will this sun disappear', cited in the *Mencius* as 時日害喪. In LOC texts this precise and distinctive usage is blunted, so that 曷 occurs interchangeably with 何 *gar, for example, in the *Hsün-tzu* and the *Kung-yang chuan* (Dobson 1959: 145-146, footnote 14). This shift in usage precludes the possibility that the use of 曷 as 'that time' in the *Odes* was a very late intrusion. A conservative date based upon this criterion is the 7th or 8th century B.C., when the latest part of the *Odes* was composed. This date is surprising early. To make it later, we may wish to assume that *gat came into the *Odes* and the *Documents* when they were edited during the time of Confucius (551-479 B.C.). This still gives the date as the 5th or 6th century B.C.

To sum up: between the 4th and 8th century B.C., **Krj- had become *Trj- or *Tj- in the standard language spoken in the eastern part of North China.

The argument just presented has an interesting implication for the analysis of phonetic series. It has been tacitly assumed by many students, including myself, that a phonetic series must be homogeneous with respect to the root initials of its members; that is, apart from the presence of prefixes, the initials of a phonetic series must all be labials, dentals, or velars, etc. The assumption is untenable. No one knows exactly when each of the phonetic compounds was formed. Graphs attested in oracle bone or bronze inscriptions represent a small corpus; about 1200 oracle bone graphs and 1900 bronze graphs have been identified so far. All we know is that most of the current graphs, including phonetic compounds, were already formed by the time of Hsü Shen (121 A.D.), whose *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* is traditionally said to contain 9353 distinct graphs plus 1163 variants. Now if ****Krj- > *Tj-** was completed by the 5th or 6th century or earlier, then there would be ample time for a morpheme with an original dental initial to come into a phonetic series whose phonetic is of the ****Krj- > *Tj-** type. Conversely, an etymon of the ****Krj-** type may generate descendents with initials ****Krj-**, ***Tj-**, and ***Kj-** in various dialects in the course of its evolution, and these descendents will be written by phonetics with the corresponding initials. Let me illustrate.

The initials of the triplet 志, 識, 記 'remember, to record, record' may be a source of puzzlement at first. The underlying etymon is ****krjəgh**, which has an *-r-* losing variant ***kjəgh** written as 記. When ****krjəgh** evolves into ***tjəgh**, it can then be written as 識, a graph whose phonetic probably has a dental initial in Pre-Chinese. This is why 識 can be the phonetic of both 識 ***tjəgh < **krjəgh** and 織 ***tjək < **tjək** 'weave'. At any time of its evolution ****krjəgh** can be written as 志 with phonetic 之 ****krjəg**. Available epigraphic evidence seems to indicate that 志 is a late graph (Cf. Chow 1968).

The graph 鑄 "to cast (metal)" (K1090a') has a variant 針 with 寸 (肘) as the phonetic during the third and fourth century B.C. (Chu and Ch'iu 1979: 42). The Chinese word "to cast" is cognate to WT *lugs*, *ldugs* (< ***dl-** < ***N-dl-** < ***N-l-**) "to cast". When the phonetic compound 針 was formed, 針 was LOC ***tjug** (> MC *tšju*) and 寸 (肘) was ***trjəugx**. But as we saw in (2), a millennium earlier in the oracle bone inscriptions 肘 ****krjəugx** 'elbow' was used to write 九 ***kjəugx** '9'.

2.6 Interpretation of the rules

It seems appropriate to consider at this time what our theory really says and to what extent it may be true. The theory asserts.

(2.10) (A) ****Krj- > *Trj- > *Tj-**

(B) ****Krj- > *Kj-**

and it has these components

(i) Velar Fronting: **Krj- > Trj-**

(ii) *-r-* loss, with two subrules:

Velar *-r-* loss: **Krj- > Kj-**

Dental -r- loss: Trj- > Tj-
and a minor rule

(iii) Tj- > Ti-

The theory says velars are fronted to dentals before ***rj-* unless ***r-* is lost first, in which case velars are preserved as velars. In terms of the full theory, the derivation of 之 and 其 may be stated once again as follows:

(2.11) 之 ***krjæg* > **trjæg* > **tjæg* > MC *tši*

其 ***grjæg* > **gjæg* > MC *gji*

The theory is intended to answer two questions. The first is: why did some velars palatalize between OC and MC? Li's 1976 theory, which answers this question, is reformulated by us as (A). The second is: why did some ***Krj-* words fail to palatalize and remain as velars? The concrete data to be explained consist of doublets such as 時期, 陞基, 志記 and **K-* words in Min which have *Tšj-* initials in MC. Our answer is given in terms of (B).

When did velar palatalization take place? This is a question that has puzzled many students of Chinese historical phonology, including the present author. The question takes an odd twist in our theory. In the North, ***Krj-* becomes **Tj-*, and the latter has other sources as well. Therefore to date Velar Palatalization is to date Dental Palatalization: **Tj-* > *Tšj-*. The answer to the question for Old Southern Chinese as preserved in the oldest stratum of Min is quite simple, namely "Never", because it has lost the condition for Velar Fronting, which is the step prior to the so-called Velar Palatalization. It is possible that ***rj-* gave rise to **krj-* after the original stock of ***Krj-* had undergone Velar Fronting, and **krj-* (< ***rj-*) might have become MC *tšj-* via an one-step process at a later time.

The present theory is formulated in terms of Li's transcription of Old Chinese, which is a conservative notation in that it projects MC *-j-* (for the 3rd Division) and *-i-* (for the 4th Division) backwards onto OC. This notation has two substantive implications for our theory. First, where comparative evidence from WT or WB is available, the non-Chinese form has *Kr-*, but the Chinese form has ***Krj-*; see (2), (3), (5), (7), (10) etc. The implicit assumption is that Chinese generated the epenthetic *-j-* after ***Kr-* very early, under conditions which remain mysterious. Second, Li's system distinguishes among *-r-*, *-rj-*, and *-j-*. In terms of this notation, our theory asserts that there is only one fronting condition, not two or three: ***K-* > **T-* occurs before **-rj-*, but not before ***j-* or **-r-*.

The strength and weakness of our theory can be seen by comparing it with alternative solutions: one, the Chang and Chang (1976) theory, and two, the Pulleyblank (1973) — Bodman (forthcoming) theory. As a preliminary step, let us try an alternative set of assumptions: (a) do not assume automatic generation of ***j-* after ***Kr-*, (b) assume ***r-* > **-j-* by vocalization. Let *-v-* stand for a vowel. Then under this alternative set of assumptions, our theory would be formulated as

follows.

(2.12) (A') Krv- > Trv- > Tjv-

(B') Krv- > Kjv-

and it has these components:

(i') Velar Fronting: Krv- > Trv-

(ii') -r- Vocalization: -r- > -j-

The theory then says: a velar is fronted to a dental before -r- unless the latter first vocalizes into -j-. Note that in both formulations, the difference between palatalizing and non-palatalizing dialects is explained by the timing of a change affecting -r-.

Chang and Chang (1976) assumed (i') for examples (5) 友, 疇 and (8) 趙; and (ii') for (15) which they treated as follows: WT 'grags-pa, grags: CH 嘸 *grag > *gjag > *gijg > *dig. They also tentatively assumed that K- is fronted to T- before -j- (< -r-); see (15) just cited and (12a) 政, 經. We disagree. If K- can be fronted both before -r(j)- and -j-, then there is no way for us to describe the difference between fronting and non-fronting dialects. This is why we need to insist that there is only one fronting condition, however it may be formulated, and not two.

A closely related concept is the hypothesis **Kj- > *Tj- for primary yod. This is an attractive idea but I am unable to give it a self-consistent formulation. How do we reconstruct **Kj- with a primary yod? We find *Kj- in OC, match it up with Ky- in WT or WB, and reconstruct **Kj- for PC. According to the hypothesis, **Kj- yields *Tj-, which contradicts the initial assumption. To escape this contradiction, the hypothesis assumes that one OC dialect has *Kj- and another has *Tj-. There are actual examples of such doublets: "subordinate suffix" *tjæg, *gjæg; "record, remember" *tjæggh, *kjæggh; "demonstrative" MC tiei, *gjæg etc. Comparative evidence seem to show that the PC etyma for these words have **Kj- and not **Tj-.

I will now illustrate the envisaged notation and the underlying assumptions ((A'), (B'), (i'), (ii')) with a few examples.

(2.13) (a) 之 **kræg > *træg > *tjæg

其 **græg > *gjæg

(b = (2)) WT gru 'elbow'

CH 肘 **kræg > *træg > *trjæg

(c = (3)) WT gru 'boat'

CH 舟 **kræg > *træg > *tjæg

(d = (5)) WT grogs 'friend, companion'

CH 友 **græg > *gwæg > *gwjæg > *gwjæg

儔, 疇 **græg > *dræg > *drjæg

仇, 逌 **græg > *gjæg

(e = (6)) 考 **khəug 'longevity'

壽 **grəug > *drəug > *djəug

The new notation also assume the development of the epenthetic *-j-* but at a later time; see (c) and (d).

The main objection to the new notation is that it cannot distinguish 2nd Division and 3rd division syllables. In Li's system, we already have.

(2.14) 巧 *khrəugx (*khrəgw) > khau; 膠 *krəug (*krəgw) > kau;

敷 *grəugh (*grəgh) > ɣau

Therefore it is not possible to use *Krv- to write 3rd Division syllables, which is what the new notation requires. It is of course possible to make further modifications. For example Pulleyblank (1973) and Bodman (forthcoming) attempt to distinguish 2nd Division and 3rd Division syllables, not by the presence or absence of *-j-* alone, but also by accent or length. Bodman further remarks that approximately one half of MC forms include the medial yod *-j-*. This is indeed very strong reason for assuming that some type of suprasegmental feature is the source of epenthetic *-j-*.

The second objection is that the new notation makes it necessary to adopt (A'), which assumes that the fronting condition is ***-r-*, not ***-rj-*. Some OC 2nd Division syllables with **K- evidently did not undergo fronting according to (A'), for example 'armor, shell' WT *khrab*: Ch. 甲 **krap*; 'rouse' WT *dkrog*: Ch. 覺 **krəuk*. To explain such exceptions in terms of accent or length raises the suspicion that the suprasegmental feature is used as *deus ex machina*. For this reason I have chosen to formulate the present theory in terms of Li's notation, adopting *ad hoc* assumptions whenever necessary. In this way the weaknesses of our theory, thus made apparent, will become topics of further research.

The first *ad hoc* assumption is that under some unknown conditions, Chinese generated the epenthetic *-j-* very early. With that assumption, our theory in the original form is a statement of the necessary and sufficient condition for Velar Fronting in the following sense. Given a Proto-Chinese syllable of the type **Krv-, then:

- (a) if no epenthetic *-j-* is generated, **Krv- by definition becomes a 2nd Division syllable, and no Velar Fronting takes place. Example: 'armor, shell' WT *khrab*: Ch. **krap*.
- (b) if the epenthetic *-j-* is generated under conditions which remain mysterious, then **Krv- becomes 3rd Division **Krvj-, and Velar Fronting, and eventually Dental Palatalization, must take place.
- (c) if *-r-* can vocalize into *-j-*, then **Krv- becomes the other type of 3rd Division syllable *Kvj-. In this case, as in (a), no Velar Fronting takes place.

For (c), we leave open the question whether Krv- > Kvj- directly via *-r-* Vocali-

zation, or *Krv-* > *Krjv-* via *-r-* loss after the generation of the epenthetic *-j-*.

The second weakness of our theory is that it assumes **Trj-* sometimes remains unchanged in OC and sometimes yields **Tj-*. The theory explains this divergent development in terms of dialect. This is not entirely plausible. It would be far more satisfactory to explain the divergence in terms of two different phonological environments in the same dialect. But I am unable to find the conditioning factor.

3. Conclusions

The main conclusions reached in the present study are:

(1) ***Krv-* underwent divergent development in two types of Old Chinese dialects: ***Krv-* > **Trj-* > **Tj-* and ***Krv-* > **Kj-*.

(2) The time of Velar Fronting, ***Krv-* > **Trj-* or **Tj-*, is the 5th or 6th century B.C.

(3) ***krjæg* (之 = 止) is the common etymon of 之 **tjæg* and 其 **gjæg*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baxter, William H. forthcoming: "Some proposals on Old Chinese phonology".
 Benedict, Paul 1972: *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus*.
 Bodman, Nicholas forthcoming: "Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan. Data towards establishing the nature of the relationship", ms.
 1979: "Dvidence for *l* and *r* medials in Old Chinese", paper presented to the 12th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics.
 Boodberg, Peter 1937: "Some proleptical remarks on the evolution of Archaic Chinese", *HJAS* 2. 329-72.
 Chang, Betty Shefts 1971: "The Tibetan causative: Phonology" *BIHP* 42. 4. 623-766.
 Chang, Betty Shefts and Kun Chang 1975: "Gyarong historical phonology", *BIHP* 46. 391-524.
 1976: "Chinese **s*-Nasal initials" *BIHP* 47. 4. 587-609.
 1977: "Tibetan prenasalized initials", *BIHP* 48. 2. 229-243.
 Chang, Hsiang 1973: 張相, 詩詞曲語辭源釋 (A dictionary of vernacular terms in *shih*, *tz'u* and *ch'ü*) (1973 Taiwan edition).
 Chao, Yuen-ren 1928: 趙元任, 現代吳語的研究 (Studies in modern Wu dialects).
 Ch'ien Ta-hsin, *Yang-hsin lu*: 錢大昕, 養新錄 "舌音類隔之說不可信".
 Chou, Fa-kao 1959: 周法高, 中國古代語法, 稱代編 (A historical grammar of ancient Chinese; part III: substitution).
 1963: "古代漢語的詞序和省略 (Word order and deletion in ancient Chinese)" in 中國語文論叢 (Essays on Chinese language and literature), 99-131.
 Chow, Tse-tsung (Chou Ts'e-tsung) 1968: "The early history of the Chinese word *shih* (poetry)", in Chow ed., *Wen-lin* (1968), 151-210.
 Chu, Te-hsi and Ch'iu Hsi-kuei 1979: 朱德熙, 裘錫圭 "平山中山王墓器銘文的初步研究" (A preliminary study of the inscriptions on vessels discovered in the tomb of the King of Chung-shan at P'ing-shan) *Wenwu* 1979. 1. 42-52.
 Demiéville, Paul 1950: "Archaïsme de prononciation en Chinoise vulgaire", *TP* 40. 1-59.
 Dobson, W.A.C.H. 1959: *Late Archaic Chinese*.
 Gong, Hwang-cherng 1977: 龔煌城, "古藏文的 *y* 及其相關問題 (The Classical Tibetan *y* and its related problems)", *BIHP* 48. 2. 205-227.
 1978: "A comparative study of the Chinese, Tibetan, and Burmese vowel systems", paper presented to the 11th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics.
 Graham, A.C. 1952: "A probable fusion word 勿 wuh = 毋 wu + 之 iy", *BSOAS* 14. 139-48.
 1969: "The Archaic Chinese pronouns", *Asia Major* 15. 1. 17-61.

- Hanson, O. 1954 (1906): Dictionary of the Kachin language.
- Huang, Ching-hsin 1958: 黃景欣, “秦漢以前古漢語中否定詞‘弗’‘不’研究 (The negation words *fu* (弗) and *bu* (不) in Pre-Han Chinese)”, *Yü-yen yen-chiu* 3. 11-23.
- Hung, Chün--lieh 1958: 洪君烈, “依據語法鑑定古籍的一個例子 (An example of using grammatical criteria to authenticate ancient texts)”, 漢語論叢 *Han-yü lun-ts'ung* (1958). 161-174.
- Jaeschke, H. A. 1965 (1881): Tibetan-English Dictionary.
- Kao, Ming-k'ai 1957 (1948): 高名凱, 漢語語法論 (A treatise on Chinese grammar).
- Karlgren, Bernhard 1926: “On the authenticity and nature of the *Tso-chuan*”, Göteborgs Högskolas årskrift 32. 3. 1-65.
- 1957: “Grammata Serica Recensa”, BMFEA 29. 1-332.
- Kennedy, George 1947: “Equation no. 5 (Chinese fusion words)”, JAOS 67. 1. 56-59.
- Konow, Sten 1909: see G.A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III, part I, p. 26.
- Li, Fang-kuei 1971: 李方桂, “上古音研究 (Studies in Archaic Chinese phonology)”, Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies 9. 1-2. 1-61.
- 1976: “幾個上古聲母問題 (Certain problems concerning the initials of Archaic Chinese)” 總統蔣公逝世週年紀念論文集 (Academia Sinica). 1143-50.
- 1977: A handbook of comparative Tai.
- Li, Hsiao-ting 1965: 李孝定, 甲骨文字集釋 (A compendium of the analyses of the graphs in oracle bone inscriptions).
- Lin, Yu-t'ang 1957 (1933): 林語堂, 左傳真偽與上古方音 (On the authenticity of the *Tso-chuan* and Old Chinese dialects), in 語言學論叢 *Yü-yen hsüeh lun-ts'ung* (1957, Taiwan). 92-132.
- Lü, Shu-hsiang 1943: 呂叔湘, “論底地之辨兼及底字的由來 (Notes on the etymology of the particle *te* (的))” (1943) in 漢語語法論文集 *Han-yü yü-fa lun-wen chi* (1955). 51-58.
- 1941: 論毋與勿 (The particles of negation *wu* (毋) and *wu* (勿)), in op. cit., 12-35.
- Mei, Tsu-lin 1979: “Sino-Tibetan ‘year’, ‘month’, ‘foot’ and ‘vulva’”, Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies 14. 117-133.
- Mei, Tsu-lin and Jerry Norman 1971: 梅祖麟, 羅杰瑞 “試論幾個閩北方音中的來母 *s-* 聲字 (C1- > *s-* in some Northern Min dialects)”, Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies 9. 1-2. 96-105.
- Norman, Jerry 1979: “The verb 治 - a note on Min etymology”, *Fang-yen* 3. 179-181.
- Peking University 1964: 北京大學中國語言文學教研室, 漢語方言詞匯 (A dialect lexicon of Chinese).
- Pulleyblank, Edwin 1962: “The consonantal system of Old Chinese, Part I”, Asia Major 9. 1. 58-144.
- 1973: “Some new hypothesis concerning word families in Chinese”, Journal of Chinese Linguistics 1. 1. 111-125.
- Ting, Sheng-shu 1935: 丁聲樹, “釋否定詞‘弗’‘不’ (An analysis of the negatives 弗 *for* and 不 *pu*)”, in *Studies presented to Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei on his 65th birthday* (Academia Sinica). 967-96.
- 1948: “論詩經中的何曷胡 (On the particles *he*, *he*, *hu* in the Odes)” BIHP 1-3. 49-70.
- Tung, T'ung-ho 1944: 董同龢, “上古音韻表稿 (Archaic Chinese phonological charts)”, Lithographed ms. 1944; BIHP 18 (1948). 1-249.
- Wang, Li 1958: 王力, 漢語史稿 (History of Chinese: preliminary version), vol. II.
- Yakhontov, S. E. 1970 (1960): The phonology of Chinese of the First Millennium B. C. (Rounded Vowels), J. Norman trans. Unicorn 6. 52-75.
- Yü, Hsin-wu 1963: 于省吾, “詩經中「止」字的辨釋 (An analysis and exegesis of the word 止 in the Odes)”, in 中華文史論叢 *Chung-hua wen-shih lun-ts'ung* vol. 3 (1963). 121-132.
- Yü, Min 1949: 俞敏, “漢語的‘其’跟藏語的 *gji* (Chinese 其 *ch'i* and Tibetan *gji*)” Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies 37. 57-94.

“之”“其”同源說及其相關的幾個上古聲母問題

梅祖麟

本文給“之”和“其”擬構了個共同的語源 *krjæg/*grjæg, 同時也提出了兩套音變規律

(A) **K_{rj}- > *T_{rj}- > *T_j- > 中古 T_{śj}-

(B) **K_{rj}- > *K_j- > 中古 K_j-

來說明何以“之”“其”同源分流：

****krjæg > *trjæg > *tjæg > tsi 之**

****grjæg > gjæg > gj 其**

“之”和“其”在語法和聲韻兩方面都很相似。在語法方面，“之”和“其”都是上古漢語的規定詞，指示詞，和第三身代詞。在音韻方面，“之”和“其”都是之部三等，所不同處只是“之”字舌尖音聲母，“其”字舌根音聲母。這兩個字同源的可能相當大。

甲骨文“之”(𠄎)和“止”(止，𠄎)同字，詩經裡也有同用的例，而且中古除了聲調以外，這兩個字聲韻俱同，所以可以用“止”字來推尋“之”字的上古音。“止”字的上古音是 *krjæg，因為(1)“止”的意思是脚，緬甸文的同源詞“脚”是 khré (2)“齒”由“止”得聲，而“齒”在閩語一般念舌根音，比如福州，廈門，晉江 (khi (3)若干由“之”“止”得聲的字有舌根聲母的同源詞，比如“趾” tsi: “基” kji (說文：“趾，基也”)；“時” ži: “期” gj (釋名：“時，期也”)；“志” tsi: “記” kji (周禮鄭注：“志謂記也”)。“之”(“止”)的上古音既是 *krjæg，用李方桂先生“幾個上古聲母問題”的理論，可得中古音 tsi。

“其” *gjæg 是 *grjæg 在舌根音聲母後失落 -r- 的結果，音規 (B) 列出這條音韻變化，證據有幾：(1) 用同樣的音規可以解釋“趾基”，“志記”，“時期”，“處居”，“壽久”，“車 tshja, 車 kjwo”這幾對同源詞的音變，(2) 閩語的規定詞是舌根聲母的“其”，和照三的“之”字同源，此外還有若干照三系聲母的字閩語念舌根音：“指”，“枝”，“柿”，“齒”，“處”，“痣”，“癰”，這些字可以假設上古有複輔音聲母 *Krj-，中古變成照三 Tšj-，在閩語失落 -r- 介音，保留舌根音聲母。

音規 (A) 是引伸李先生的理論，其中包括幾步：(1) *Krj- > *Trj- 是說舌根音在 -rj- 前推前變成舌尖音，例如藏文 gru 和“肘” **krjæg > *trjæg > tšəu 同源，甲骨文假“肘”(𠄎)為“九” *kjæg，可見“肘”最初是舌根聲母，推前以後變成知母。(2) *Trj- > *Tj- 是說在某些方言裡或某種音韻環境下 -r- 介音在舌尖聲母後失落，閩語中知系和端系合流，錢大昕“舌音類隔之說不可信”所舉古籍中的假借，都是這個現象。(3) *Tj > Tšj 是說舌尖塞音顎化變成舌面塞音 (照三)。關於 (A) 的論證用的是漢藏比較和漢語內部同源詞的材料。

此外本文也說明“之”，“時”，“是”這三個上古漢語的近指詞，聲母都是 *Krj- 型，又用“弗 = 不之”，“勿 = 毋之”，“曷 = 何時”，“害 = 何時”這幾個合音以及其他資料，把 *Krj- 變成 *Trj- 的音變時間訂在公元前四至八世紀。

輕脣音之演變條件

杜 其 容

國立臺灣大學

部份三等韻重脣變輕脣的現象，向來爲學者所注意，並紛紛對演變條件提出不同的看法。舉其要者，如商克 (Schaank) 說：

1. 古雙脣音在一、二、四等是保存着的。

2. 在三等裏，這些脣音是：

(a) 開口仍舊保存着；

(b) 合口就變成脣齒音了。¹

高本漢 (B. Karlgren) 說：

$P, P', b' > f, f', v$ 這種變化不是無故而變的，也不是全體都變的，而只是在某種條件之下才變。必須：

a、聲母 j 化（韻表的三等）；

b、聲母後面隨着一個 $u(w)$ 。

因爲韻表裏所謂合口類恰好就是說主要元音前有脣元音，或即以脣元音爲主要元音的意思，所以這個現象應該限於三等合口類，在這一類裏不許有例外。可是實際上並不如此。²

以下是高氏自己提出的一些問題與所作的解釋。³

第一個問題是：

在韻表合口的三等裏（ j 化的聲母＋脣元音）， $P > f$ 等演變照例是有的，不過有些重要的字類倒沒有經過這個演變。這是爲什麼？

答案是：

1. 梗攝的些字（兵、秉、丙、柄、平、評、病），在近代任何方言，都沒有合口（ u ）的痕跡，我們就可以穩穩當當的斷定說，這些字雖然一定是合口，可是在 pju (pjw) $> fu$ (fw) 的傾向出現以前，這些字的合口已經失掉了。所以這些

¹ 據高本漢中國音韻學研究（中譯本，商務）頁37引文。

² 見前引書頁417。

³ 高氏原文冗長，此下乃據原文整理摘要而成。詳見原書頁417至419，又頁40。

字才保存了它們的雙唇音。

2. 止攝脂跟支兩韻類的字（碑、悲、彼、俾、鄙、轡、祕、丕、備）保留雙唇音，而這一攝的微韻類（非、俳、飛、痲、妃、費、肥），卻變成了齒唇音，是由於元音的不同。

第二個問題是：

在韻表的三等開口（j 化聲母後面不隨着 u）的字，普通是不受 $P > f$ 等變化的，可是在有些重要的例子裏，還是發生這個演變。這又是為什麼？

答案是：

1. 在宕攝的幾個字（方、紡、彷彿、訪），它們的反切都不可靠（如訪的切字是開口亮，而給合口況作切字等）⁴，這些字雖然拼作開口，可是由近代方言裏——方，福州 $huo\eta$ ，汕頭 $hua\eta$ ，文水 $xu\tilde{a}$ ——清清楚楚的看出來，實在是合口，所以它們變成 f, f' 是當然的。
2. 在咸攝的凡韻類有些個字（法、凡、帆、犯、範、梵、乏），這些字在古代漢語是有 $-m, -p$ 韻尾的，切韻指掌圖跟切韻指南都把它們放在開口類裏，而韻鏡卻認它們作合口。韻鏡是根據反切來構擬古音的書，所以把它們放在合口，是很對的。這樣，這些齒唇音就是完全有規則的。
3. 在流攝也有幾個字（否、副、浮、負、婦、阜）它們本是開口，卻變成了齒唇音，其原因即在於它們有一個強的唇音韻尾（ $-u$ 尾）。

先師董同龢先生說：

以韻書的韻爲單位，我們可以就他們的內容以及韻圖的排法，把三等韻分作兩大類：

(1) 只有唇牙喉音字，而且韻圖全部排在三等的——微、廢、欣、文、元、嚴、凡。

(2) 其他各韻。

拿第一類各韻和同攝三等韻比照起來（如微與支脂之；廢與祭……）看他們的演變，有一點值得注意的就是唇音字在前者都變輕唇，而在後者則全保持重唇。所有三等韻的介音既都是 $-j-$ ，第一類韻當在元音方面有個共同的特徵足以使唇音變化，自無疑義。由於元韻在韻書裏都是和痕魂兩韻列在一處，後來又入山攝，而痕魂的元音是 ə ，山攝則是低元音，我們可以假定元韻的元音是中間性的 e ，更進一步，又可以推測，凡第一類的韻和同攝三等韻比起來，主要元音總偏於央

⁴ 按廣韻訪數亮切，況許訪切。

的部位。⁵

又說：

三等韻母當有四個類型：

甲類：純三等而脣音後來變輕脣音的——微、廢、(欣)、文、元、(嚴)、凡——主要元音偏央。⁶

王力說：

雙脣音一部份字分化爲脣齒音，分化的條件是合口三等。合口三等是帶有韻頭 *iu* 的韻母。凡合口三等的雙脣字，到了後來一律變了脣齒音。表面上有一個例外，就是尤韻的開口三等字如浮、婦、負、富等，實際這並不是例外，因為這些字在沒有變爲脣齒音以前，已經轉到虞韻去了，而虞韻正是 *iu* 音。⁷

李榮說：

重脣音變輕脣音的條件是個困難問題。高本漢接受 Edkins、Volpicelli、Schaank 跟 Maspero 的說法，認爲雙脣音變脣齒音的條件是三等合口。脣音字不能分開合，倒過來就說變輕脣音的就是合口，這樣子就走入循環論證的圈子。“Distinction” 葉 223—227 提出重脣變輕脣的條件是三等，主要元音是央元音或後元音，把微改成 *[j(w)əi]*，幽改成 *[jěu]*。這個說法很吸引人。可是後來走進庚韻的死胡同，只好說，除列舉廢、凡、元、陽、虞、微、尤、文、東丑、鍾十韻雙脣音變脣齒音外，沒有別的辦法。⁸

李方桂先生說：

輕脣音只發生在三等韻裏，但是三等韻的脣音不完全變輕脣，這裏頭的條件不十分清楚。我以爲重脣 + *j-* 變輕脣，重脣 + *j+i-* 仍爲重脣。其中也稍有要特別解釋的，如韻尾有 *-u* 的宵攝字不輕脣化，明母字也有特別不輕脣化的地方。⁹

周師子範先生說：

關於脣音演變問題，過去認爲三等合口脣音演變爲輕脣音，其缺點很多，已經不爲大家所承認了，現在擬構切韻音的時候，就要從元音方面決定輕脣音演變條件。¹⁰

⁵ 見所著漢語音韻學（蘭臺）頁163。

⁶ 見前引書頁164。

⁷ 見所著漢語史稿頁114。

⁸ 見所著切韻音系頁136。

⁹ 見所著上古音研究（清華學報新九卷，一、二期合刊）頁17。

¹⁰ 見所著論切韻音（香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報一卷頁93。）

又說：

三等韻脣音的演變如下：有 -ia, -iæ, -ie, -il 作為韻母的一部份的字在方言裏不變輕脣；有 -ia, -iə, -iu, -io 作為韻母的一部份的字在方言裏變輕脣。換言之在前元音前面，重脣不變輕脣；在後元音或央元音前面，重脣變輕脣。¹¹

商克以為重脣變輕脣是以三等合口為條件，但他根據什麼說變輕脣的韻為合口，並沒有交代。這其中並非沒有可以討論的地方，如陽韻脣音韻圖分明列在開口轉；尤韻是否合口韻，各家意見亦不一致；而嚴格的合口觀念，當是就具有介音 u、y 者而言，因此即連東韻亦需要有所說明。

高本漢的說法，基本上與商克無異，但所謂合口包括主要元音為脣元音在內，東韻的問題便不再存在。尤韻所以變輕脣，高氏以為是韻尾 -u 所使然，這與李方桂先生以宵攝有 -u 尾故不變輕脣音的意見正好相反，恐都不是確切的解釋。據現代方言證陽韻原係合口，此說雖不無見地，終與韻鏡不合；韻鏡的排法，有七音略支持，恐怕不能不予以客觀的尊重。至若高氏提出來的一些問題，反倒是由於自己的誤解。譬如高氏所發現的梗攝的兵、秉、丙、柄、平、評、病，止攝的脂、支兩韻的碑、悲、俾、鄙、霽、祕、丕、備，這些字要依韻鏡卻都列在開口轉。高氏所以認為原是合口字，是因為：

秉、丙、皿是用永字切的，所以是合口。

病、命互相切，柄也用病字切，詠、營用命字切；所以這些字都是合口。

丕、眉跟好些別的字用悲字切，悲字是合口，因為帷字是用它切的。

靡、陂、碑跟好些別的字用「爲」字切：合口。

美跟鄙互相切，並且美字切洧字，所以是合口。

裨、俾跟好些別的字都用弭字切，弭字跟好些別的字用婢字切，婢字切隨字，因為隨字是合口，所以那些字是合口¹²。

其實在反切裏，有合口字用開口字為其下字者，亦有開口字而用合口字為其下字者。如宕攝合口況，許訪切，訪字依韻圖列在開口；梗攝開口辟，息營切，營則屬合口。廣韻紙韻跬字丘弭切，企字丘弭切，一合一開；獮韻有兩個土免切，一切開口之棧，一切合口之撰；也都表示脣音為下字，未必與其被切字開合行為一致。因此，在高氏

¹¹ 見前引文頁106。按周文之先，趙元任先生亦主三等韻主要元音為央元音或後元音為輕脣音之演變條件；見所著 *Distinctions With Ancient Chinese* (哈佛燕京學報五卷二期)；日人平山久雄亦主三等韻介音接後元音為輕脣音演變條件，見所著 *唐代音韻史に於ける輕脣音化の問題* (北海道大學文學部紀要第十五號)。

¹² 見所著 *中國音韻學研究* 頁40。

所舉這羣字裏，僅管所用下字皆合口，卻無以證明這些字必是合口。

除此之外，若止攝脂、支兩韻字不變輕唇而微韻獨變輕唇，高氏不去注意韻圖脂、支兩韻唇音皆在開口（合口唇音無字），微韻變輕唇各字則在合口，而用元音的不同去作解釋，使自己說法陷於矛盾；而據指掌圖與切韻指南誤認凡韻字皆屬開口，再據韻鏡而指為合口，也是莫須有的周折。

先師董同龢先生沒有談到所有各韻輕唇音的變化條件，僅指出只具唇牙喉音的微、廢、文、元、凡五韻主要元音偏央為其共同特徵。但儘是這一點，我認為不一定有什麼樣的意義。除非其他變輕唇音的也都是央元音或偏央的元音，而不變輕唇音的其他三等韻，又都不是央元音或偏央的元音，不然微文五韻雖同有具偏央元音的事實，也只是一種巧合，不應該當着特徵來看待；因為重唇音變不變輕唇，應該只需看他本身韻母上具不具備什麼樣的條件，而不需同時管他同韻有沒有舌齒音字。實際上依先師的擬音，東三為 juŋ，鍾為 juoŋ，虞為 juo，陽為 jaŋ，尤為 ju，俱為後元音，亦皆變了輕唇；而庚三為 jeŋ，幽為 jəu，元音一央一偏央，卻又都不變輕唇。可見在微、廢、文、元、凡五韻中，元音偏央的事實，並不是應該與唇音變輕唇一事連繫在一起來看的。

王力只看到一個例外的尤韻，陽韻的問題未談。他認為尤韻唇音字在沒有變唇齒音以前已經轉到虞韻去了；可是三十六字母已有輕唇，這些字在廣韻、集韻仍屬尤韻未入虞韻，直到古今韻會舉要，亦仍屬浮字母韻，而不屬孤字母韻。顯然它們與虞韻字合流是在變輕唇很久之後的現象，說未變之前已入虞韻，實在並無根據。

李榮對前人以重唇變輕唇之條件主要元音為央元音一點，從庚韻提出批評是不錯的，但他認為唇音不能分開合，則顯然出於誤解¹³。前人稱變輕唇音的是合口，其主要依據應該是韻圖的排列——輕唇各韻多列合口轉，而不必如李氏所想，在唇音不能分開合的了解下「倒過來就說變輕唇音的是合口」。李氏雖批評前人，自己所採取的卻是不了了之的態度：只承認十韻變輕唇的事實而不辨其原委。因此，留下來的仍舊是未獲解決的老問題。

李方桂先生以為重唇 + j 變輕唇，重唇 + j + i 則仍重唇；但依方桂先生擬音：

三等（及重紐四等）

止攝開口	支韻	jě (jiě)
效攝	宵韻	jǎu (jiǎu)

¹³ 所著切韻音系將東鍾虞尤諸韻一律歸諸開口（見頁150切韻韻母表）。按：唇音出現在各韻開合的情形是，見於開口則合口無字，見於合口則開口無字，充份表現開合口實有分別。且若哈與灰開合對立，而二韻並具唇音，尤足證明唇音具開合之分。

咸攝	鹽韻	jām (jiām)
臻攝開口	真韻	jěn (jiěn)
宕攝開口	庚韻	jəng
曾攝開口	蒸韻	jəng ¹⁴

其中重紐四等部份爲 j 後+i, 自是符合先生所謂「重脣+j+i 仍重脣」的說法, 宵韻先生亦解釋說:

宵韻脣音聲母 *pj- 不變輕脣, 因為後面-u的異化作用阻止pj-的圓脣作用¹⁵。但其餘支、鹽、真、庚、蒸五韻三等部份之脣音亦皆未變輕脣, 先生則未作任何說明¹⁶。先生對宵韻的解釋, 如果我們想到高本漢「尤韻變輕脣是受了韻尾-u的影響」的說法,¹⁷也許對這個解釋還要採取保留的態度。

周師子範說「過去認為三等合口脣音演變為輕脣音, 其缺點很多」, 但缺點究竟何所指, 未曾明言。也許就是指陽、尤二韻之不符合此一條件。周師從元音方面去決定輕脣音演變條件, 但何以央元音或後元音即能促使重脣變輕脣, 卻也沒有交代。另外尤韻從王力擬作 iəu, 也缺少根據。如果拿上古侯東對轉, 以及韻書中還存有速侯切涑的切語來看¹⁸, 尤韻的主要元音與東三相同, 應該是最為妥善的安排。先師同龢先生擬尤韻為ju, 實在不能說是沒有理由。

綜合言之, 商克、高本漢、王力是以三等合口為輕脣音演變條件; 李方桂先生以重脣+j 為演變條件; 周師子範以央元音或後元音為演變條件; 先師董同龢先生以元音偏央為文、元五韻變輕脣之條件。顯然大多是根據自己所擬各韻介音或主要元音所展現的一種「共象」, 以為即其演變條件。然觀諸家所說, 可以發現:

(一)、或所謂「共象」而非輕脣各韻所共有。如商克、高本漢、王力以三等合口為條件, 而陽韻變輕脣並不具「合口」之條件; 尤韻變輕脣, 韻圖亦置開口。

(二)、或雖為各韻所共有, 未必不是主觀擬音的結果。如子範師以央元音或後元音為演變條件, 就必須在他自己的擬音——幽韻作 iɪu, 庚韻作 iaɪ, 蒸韻作 ieɪ 之情況下方感其「符合條件」。因各該韻皆具前元音, 無一央元音或後元音, 故皆不變輕脣。設若他家擬音未可盡廢, 如先師董同龢先生擬幽韻為 jəu, 庚韻為 jɛɪ, 蒸韻為 iəɪ, 各該韻俱是央元音, 便皆無從解說了。

¹⁴ 見所著上古音研究頁47。

¹⁵ 見前引文頁6—7。

¹⁶ 按其餘各韻擬音在介音j後既不出現i, 又不出現-u尾。

¹⁷ 參本文頁2。

¹⁸ 參拙著「由韻書中罕見上字推論反切結構」(載臺灣大學文史哲學報第21期)

(三)、或雖係同具「共象」之各韻，又不皆變輕唇。如方桂先生以重唇 +j 變輕唇，重唇 +j+i 仍重唇，而就其自家擬音而言，支韻作 jě，宵韻作 jǎu，鹽韻作 jām，真韻作 jěn，庚韻作 jēng，蒸韻作 jəng，並具介音 j，換言之，皆具重唇 +j 之條件（且 j 後並不出現 i 元音）而都不變輕唇。其中對宵韻雖特別提出 -u 尾可以阻擋唇音輕唇化的說法，但與高本漢指尤韻之所以變輕唇正得力於有個強的唇音 -u 尾恰恰相反，說已見前，這種說法顯然也大有問題。再若先師同龢先生，雖未明言所有各韻變輕唇之條件為何，至少肯定了微、廢、文、元、凡五韻之變輕唇，與其具有偏央之元音有關；然而先師所擬庚三爲 jɛŋ，幽韻爲 jəu，元音非央即偏央，又皆不變輕唇。

凡此，都不能視為問題已告解決。李榮根本不談演變條件何在，更是一個存而不論的態度。

本文的看法以爲，要徹底了解重唇變輕唇的條件為何，必須以客觀的材料爲依據；各家擬音則不免主觀成份。因此，早期韻圖才應該是值得信賴的，各家擬音則只能用作參考。

從韻圖的排列來看，重唇變輕唇各韻，韻圖都列在三等，「三等韻」當是變化條件之一。一般以三等韻同具 j 介音，換言之，-j- 便是這個變化條件。三等韻具介音之說，在目前是個值得信賴的說法。但不是所有三等韻都變輕唇¹⁹，是-j-爲條件之外，尚有其他條件可知。這些都是學者共有的認識。

此外，在韻圖所顯示的，除去東三、鍾、虞、尤、陽五韻：或不屬開合對立的合口，如東三、鍾、虞、尤；或雖屬開合對立的韻而韻圖則列於開口轉，如陽韻。其他各變輕唇的韻（微、廢、文、元、凡），韻圖沒有不列於合口轉者。合口韻，學者以爲具有介音 -u-。鍾、虞二韻雖無對立的開口音，除李榮外²⁰，學者莫不以其讀音爲合口，東韻亦莫不以其主要元音爲 u，是亦介音 -j- 之後接 u 元音，與上述諸韻無不相同。尤韻學者多以其主要元音爲 u，本文前已指出，根據上古侯東對轉以及韻書中尚有速侯切凍的切語來看，尤韻主要元音同於東三應該是沒有疑問的。然則，除陽韻而外，諸韻同具 -j- 後接 u 的「共象」，自然是值得注意的一點。同時，如果我們仔細去觀察一些中古原來並非唇音，而在現代許多方言裏卻讀爲輕唇音的字，就會發現，這些字竟然原先十九都屬合口，即使非合口，也都具有合唇元音：下表中各字，

¹⁹ 如開口轉之支、魚、臻、眞、欣、嚴六韻唇音無字，幽韻不變輕唇。屬開合對立轉之陽韻合口唇音無字；支、脂、仙、宵、庚、清、鹽、祭、元、廢十韻合口除元、廢二韻外，唇音無字，開口各韻唇音亦並不變輕唇。

²⁰ 參注¹³。

方 言 點	中古聲韻																	
	曉			母			匣母	溪母	書母			船母			禪母			生母
	麻合	模合	姥合	禡合	賄合	耕合	模合	戈合	果合	屋三開合	魚開	虞開合	稭合	諄合	虞開合	廢開合	鎋合	魚開
例字	花	呼	虎	化	悔	蕪	湖	棵	顆	叔	書	術	順	脣	殊	豎	刷	疏
西 安										ɛ fu	ɛ fu	ɛ fu	fē ^o	ɛ fē	ɛ fu	fu ^o	ɛ fa	ɛ fu
梅 縣	ɛ fa	ɛ fu	ɛ fu	fa ^o	fi ^o	ɛ fuŋ	ɛ fu											
廣 州	ɛ fa	ɛ fu	ɛ fu	fa ^o	fui ^o			ɛ fo	ɛ fo									
成 都		ɛ fu	ɛ fu				ɛ fu											
溫 州		ɛ fu	ɛ fu		fai ^o													
長 沙	ɛ fa	ɛ fu	ɛ fu															

泰半屬合口。屋、虞韻雖無對立之開口，一般以為合口，說已見前。魚韻雖屬開口，學者擬其元音為合脣之 o 。此一現象，實在已足夠讓我們想到：一個合脣元音對於輕脣音的形成，是有其絕對促成力的。

因此，我以為最早的商克跟高本漢的舊說——三等合口變輕脣，反倒是抓住了問題的核心。剩下來要討論的，只在陽韻應該如何解釋。

首先我們要確定中古陽韻的元音是什麼。學者或擬為 a ，如高本漢、先師董同龢先生及周師子範先生等；或擬為 a ，如王力、李榮。切三歌韻伽下云：「無反語，噓之平聲」。噓屬藥韻，藥為陽之入聲。今云藥韻噓為歌韻伽之平聲，歌韻學者無不以其元音為 a ，包括王力、李榮在內，是陽韻元音為 a 確無可疑。更從切韻系韻書中一見或二見罕用反切上字觀察，全王鐸韻臈字呵各反，宕韻盍字阿浪反，歌韻頗字滂何反，箇韻默字唐佐反，廣韻歌韻那字諾何切，佗字託何切，過韻磨字模臥切，唾字湯臥切²¹，都顯示歌韻一等字為唐韻、鐸韻的陰聲。唐鐸二韻學者擬其元音為 a ，更參上一例歌韻三等字為陽韻的陰聲，也證明陽韻元音為 a ，王力、李榮的擬音顯然犯了錯誤。

a 是個具1號合脣度的元音，有的學者為了表示其此一屬性，特別寫為 v ，以與開脣的 a 相對，一般則不加分別²²。這個 a 元音，從現代方言來看，它可以使韻圖列於開口轉的陽韻字變為合脣度更高的其他元音，甚至使其韻母變為合口讀法：

²¹ 參注¹⁸。

²² 此據高本漢中國音韻學研究。

表 一

中古 聲韻 方 例 字 音 點	陽 韻 開 口										
	非 母	敷 母	敷 母	奉 母	知 母	昌 母	見 母	影 母	喻四	來 母	日 母
	方	芳	妨	防	張	昌	疆	央	羊	兩	瓢
南 昌	c ^h uɑŋ	c ^h uɑŋ	f ^h uɑŋ ^o	f ^h uɑŋ ^o	ct ^h ɑŋ	ct ^h ɑŋ	ct ^h ɑŋ	c ^h ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ ^o	cl ^h ɑŋ	lɑŋ ^o
梅 縣	c ^h ɑŋ	c ^h ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ	ɿɑŋ	ct ^h ɑŋ	ct ^h ɑŋ	ck ^h ɑŋ	c ^h ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ	cl ^h ɑŋ	
廣 州	c ^h ɑŋ	c ^h ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ	ɿɑŋ ^o	ct ^h ɑŋ	ct ^h ɑŋ	ck ^h ɑŋ	c ^h ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ	cl ^h ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ ^o
厦 門	chɑŋ chŋ	chɑŋ c ^h p'ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ	ɿɑŋ ɿhŋ	ct ^h ɑŋ ct ^h iu	ct ^h ɑŋ	ck ^h ɑŋ	c ^h ɑŋ cŋ	ɿɑŋ ɿiũ	c ^h niũ nŋ ^o cl ^h ɑŋ	ɿnŋ
福 州	c ^h uɑŋ	c ^h uɑŋ	c ^h uɑŋ	ɿuɑŋ	ct ^h uɑŋ	ct ^h uɑŋ	ck ^h ɑŋ	c ^h ɑŋ	ɿɑŋ	cl ^h ɑŋ	ɿlouŋ

表 二

中古 聲韻 國 語 與 方 音 字	陽 韻 開 口										
	莊 母	莊 母	莊 母	初 母	初 母	初 母	崇 母	崇 母	生 母	生 母	生 母
	莊	裝	壯	瘡	闌	創	狀	牀	霜	雙	爽
國 語	ct ^h ʂuɑŋ	ct ^h ʂuɑŋ	t ^h ʂuɑŋ ^o	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	t ^h ʂ'uaŋ ^o	t ^h ʂuɑŋ ^o	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ɿʂuɑŋ	ɿʂuɑŋ	c ^h ʂuɑŋ
濟 南	ct ^h ʂuɑŋ	ct ^h ʂuɑŋ	t ^h ʂuɑŋ ^o	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	t ^h ʂ'uaŋ ^o	t ^h ʂuɑŋ ^o	t ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ɿʂuɑŋ	ɿʂuɑŋ	c ^h ʂuɑŋ
太 原	ctsuʂ	ctsuʂ	tsuʂ ^o	ct ^h ʂ'uʂ	ct ^h ʂ'uʂ	ts'uʂ ^o	tsuʂ ^o	ct ^h ʂ'uʂ	c ^h suʂ	c ^h suʂ	c ^h suʂ ^o
漢 口	ctsuɑŋ	ctsuɑŋ	tsuɑŋ ^o tsɑŋ ^o tɕɿɑŋ	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ts'uaŋ ^o	tsuɑŋ ^o	ɿts'uaŋ	c ^h suɑŋ	c ^h suɑŋ	c ^h suɑŋ
成 都	ctsuɑŋ	ctsuɑŋ	tsuɑŋ ^o	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ts'uaŋ ^o	tsuɑŋ ^o	ɿts'uaŋ	c ^h suɑŋ	c ^h suɑŋ	c ^h suɑŋ
揚 州	ctsuɑŋ	ctsuɑŋ	tsuɑŋ ^o	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ct ^h ʂ'uaŋ	ts'uaŋ ^o	tsuɑŋ ^o	ɿts'uaŋ	c ^h suɑŋ	c ^h suɑŋ	c ^h suɑŋ
長 沙	ctɕyan	ctɕyan	tɕyan ^o	ctɕ'yan	ctɕ'yan	ctɕ'yan	tɕyan ^o tɕyan ^o	ctɕ'yan	cɕyan	cɕyan	cɕyan

從表一、表二中，已可得到明驗。如果更從下列表三及表四來看：更全部是合口音。這些字在其他方言中或與國語同為合口，或讀 0、ɔ 等合唇度更高的元音，為免繁冗，不更舉例。就廣韻二百零六韻而言，除卻少數韻偶有一、二開口唇音字今國語讀為合口者外²⁴，像陽唐二韻入聲的藥及鐸，有這麼多開口字今國語均讀合口的情形，可說是絕無僅有；這些現象，過去學者似都不能解釋²⁵。我則認為都是這 1 號合

脣度元音 *a* 的遺跡。

表 三

中古 聲韻 例 字	藥 韻 開 口															
	微母	知母	徹母	澄母	日母	日母	章母	昌母	書母	禪母	溪母	疑母	精母	清母	心母	影母
	縛	芍	疋	濁	若	弱	灼	綽	鏢	杓	却	虐	爵	鵲	削	約
國 語	fuo ²	ʃuo ²	tʃuo ²	tʃuo ²	ʒou ²	ʒuo ²	tʃuo ²	tʃuo ²	ʃuo ²	ʃuo ²	tʃ'ye ²	nye ²	tʃ'ye ²	tʃ'ye ²	tʃ'ye ²	lye ²

表 四

中古 聲韻 例 字	鐸 韻 開 口										
	幫 母	並 母	明 母	透 母	定 母	泥 母	精 母	清 母	從 母	心 母	來 母
	搏	泊	莫	託	鐸	諾	作	錯	昨	索	落
國 語	ɿpuo ²	p'uo ²	muo ²	t'uo ²	tuo ²	nuo ²	tsuo ²	ts'uo ²	tsuo ²	tsuo ²	luo ²

現在回到陽韻脣音上來，切韻三等韻主要元音為 *a* 而有脣音的，只得一個陽韻，那麼這個可使方言中陽韻開口字讀更高合脣度元音或合口音的 *a* 元音，自然便是陽韻脣音字變輕脣音除介音 *j* 之外的「另一條件」。

所以，本文最後的結論就是：三等韻介音 *j* 後再接合脣元音（無論為介音、為主要元音），便是重脣音變輕脣音的充份條件。

²³ 本文諸表俱據漢語方音字匯。

²⁴ 如登、庚二韻之入聲開口脣音墨、伯二字，今國語即讀合口：muo、puo。以字數極少且二韻之脣音又非皆讀合口（若與墨同韻之北 pei，與伯同韻之拍 p'ai、白 pai，皆仍讀開口），可視為例外。

²⁵ 如先師同蘇先生即曾說：「陽韻開口莊系字官話多變合口，頗不好解釋」。（見所著漢語音韻學頁175。）

羣 母 古 讀 考

陳 新 雄

國立臺灣師範大學

蘄春黃季剛先生在與人論治小學書裏曾列表說明廣韻四十一聲類中，有本聲、有變聲。其中有些聲母的正變，是發音部位的改變，像本聲有舌頭音的端、透、定、泥；變聲有舌上音的知、徹、澄、娘；正齒音的照、穿、神、審、禪；半齒音的日。本聲有齒頭音的精、清、從、心；變聲有正齒音的莊、初、床、疏。本聲有重脣音幫、滂、並、明；變聲有輕脣音的非、敷、奉、微等。凡屬於發音部位改變的，黃先生統名之爲輕重相變。除此之外，又有些聲母的正變，是由於發音方法的改變。像本聲有喉音的影；變聲有喉音的爲、喻，本聲有牙音的溪，變聲有牙音的羣；本聲有齒頭音的心，變聲有齒頭音的邪。這類發音方法改變的正變聲母，在本聲都是清聲，在變聲都是濁聲。所以黃先生統名之爲清濁相變。現在把黃侃的本聲變聲表抄錄於後：¹

本 聲	變 聲	本 聲	變 聲
(喉)	(喉)	(半舌)	
影清	爲濁 喻濁 (清濁相變)	來濁	
曉清		(齒頭)	(齒頭) (正齒)
匣濁		精清	莊清
(牙)	(牙)	清清	初清
見清		從濁	牀濁
溪清	羣濁 (清濁相變)	心清	邪濁 (清濁相變) 疏清
疑濁		(重脣)	(輕脣)
(舌頭)	(舌上) (正齒) (半齒)	幫清	非清
端清	知清 照清	滂清	敷清
透清	徹清 穿清 審清	並濁	奉濁
定濁	澄濁 神濁 禪濁	明濁	微濁
泥濁	娘濁 日濁	本音凡十九類	變音凡二十二類

¹ 黃侃論學雜著一五五至一五六頁，參考林尹中國聲韻學通論四四至四六頁，及劉鵬聲韻學表解二〇至二二頁。

黃先生並且說：「變聲與本聲同列者，明其在古不分。」上表中，凡是屬於部位改變的正變聲母，經過歷來學者的討論，幾乎均已證明其正確性。關於方法改變的正變聲母，則其可靠性大成問題。譬如在喉音方面，黃先生認為爲、喻兩母都是影母的變聲。而曾運乾的喻母古讀考一文，則考明「喻母三等字^{即黃氏爲母字}古隸牙聲匣母。」「喻母四等字^{即黃氏爲母字}古隸舌聲定母。」² 羅常培先生曾譽「曾運乾的喻母古讀考，在錢大昕古無輕脣音和舌音類隔之說不可信以後，對於古聲母的考證上，是一篇很有貢獻的文章。」³在齒頭音方面，黃先生認為邪母是心母的變聲，而錢玄同先生有古無邪紐證一文⁴，戴君仁先生有古音無邪紐補證一文⁵，都證明邪紐古歸定紐。後世論者，都許與錢大昕、章太炎之作，同其不刊。黃先生的本聲變聲表，談到清濁相變的共有三處，那就是喉音的影、爲、喻；齒頭音的心、邪；及牙音的溪、羣。喉音與齒頭音的本聲與變聲之清濁相變，既經曾運乾、錢玄同、戴君仁三先生證明其不確，則剩下來的牙音溪羣清濁相變的可靠性也就相對的減少了。所以在我撰寫古音學發微⁶的時候，對於溪羣的清濁相變的說法，曾大爲置疑。並經考明羣與匣古應同出一源，絕非溪紐之變聲。當時因限於體例及時間，未曾詳加闡發，今願就羣紐的古讀問題，再詳加申說，以補古音學發微的不足，並就教於海內外諸博雅君子。

爲探索羣母的古讀究竟何似之前，且先瞭解羣母古讀的歷史。首先論及羣母古讀的，當然是蘄春黃季剛先生，黃氏在音略裏說：「羣、此溪之變聲，今音讀羣者，求古音皆當改入溪類。」⁷至於羣紐何以爲溪紐之變聲，則未曾解說。蓋黃先生據錢大昕、章炳麟之所考，得知非、敷、奉、微；知、徹、澄、娘、日九紐爲變聲，於是創一紐經韻緯表，此持古音所無之九紐，進察廣韻二百零六韻，凡無此九紐之韻或韻類，亦必無喻、爲、羣、照、穿、神、審、禪、莊、初、牀、疏、邪等十三紐。則此十三紐必與非、敷、奉、微、知、徹、澄、娘、日九紐同一性質，即亦應屬於變聲，黃氏由此考得羣紐爲變聲。而自方以智、江永以來，談到聲母的發音方法，都把牙音的溪、羣兩紐當作送氣聲，戴震的聲類表亦將溪羣兩母列入喉牙音的第二位爲位同，所以黃先生就根據舊說而認為羣母爲溪母的變聲。

符定一編的聯縣字典，有羣紐古讀同見證一文⁸，列出五類證據，證明見羣二紐

² 曾運乾喻母古讀考見東北大學季刊第二期，又見楊樹達輯古聲韻討論集（學生書局印行）

³ 見羅常培經典釋文和原本玉篇反切中的匣于兩紐史語所集刊第八本第一分，又載羅常培語言學論文選集一一七至一二一頁。

⁴ 錢玄同古音無邪紐證見師大國學叢刊。

⁵ 戴君仁古音無邪紐補證見輔仁學誌十二卷一、二期合刊。

⁶ 拙著古音學發微（文史哲出版社）一二二頁至一二四頁曾談及此問題與本文之解釋稍有不同。

⁷ 黃侃音略見論學雜著六二至九二頁。

⁸ 符定一羣紐古讀同見證見聯縣字典六七至七七頁。

古聲相同，今節錄其說於后：

甲、見紐羣紐字經典互用，足徵見羣古同聲也。此類之證十有八。易小畜：月幾望。

釋文：幾徐音祈，又音機，子夏傳作近。說文：幾、機、居衣切見，祈、渠稀切，近、渠遼切羣，證一。……

乙、見紐羣紐字說文互讀，足徵見羣古同聲也。此類之證有九。虜部虔讀若矜，渠焉切羣，矜、居陵切見，證一。……

丙、一字具有見羣二紐，足徵見羣古同聲也。此類之證有二十。詩小雅庭燎：夜如何其。釋文：其音基。基見紐，詩曹風候人：彼其之子。釋文：其音記、記、居吏切見，證一。……

丁、見紐字孳乳爲羣紐者，足證其本通羣也。此類之證，二十有九。說文：𠂔、居良切見，𠂔聲之𠂔，強之籀文𠂔，𠂔之古文𠂔。均巨良切，𠂔聲之𠂔，渠京切羣，證一。……

戊、凡羣紐字孳乳爲見紐者，足徵羣本通見也。此類之證有八。說文：局、渠緣切羣，局聲之揭、居玉切見，證一。……

符氏的結語說：「已上所列八十四證，足以搞定見羣二紐古通。」

敖士英關於研究古音的一個商榷一文⁹，根據羣經異字同讀的音，推論出羣紐應併入見紐，並且進一層認爲匣紐也應該併入見紐。敖氏說：

「匣紐字：合於牙聲，這是更明瞭的事實，不過這紐的字既然相同於牙聲，就可以併入牙聲相同的紐，不必在牙聲另立一目。攷牙聲各紐——見、溪、羣、疑——羣紐應併入見，溪、見相近，古聲亦多相雜，但二紐有發聲送氣的分別，是否古人有沒有這種區別，不敢斷定；因爲傍紐相雜，各類都同，不是顯無別異的，暫不相併。匣紐字和見溪二紐字古音實同，即可將匣併入該紐。」

敖氏雖說匣與見溪二紐字古音實同，而實際上他是把匣紐並入於見紐的。敖氏云：

「淺喉一類——見、溪、羣、疑——羣、見相併，曉、匣在古音亦當入淺喉；但匣紐字與見溪二紐字既同，不必再另立一紐，在前類已經說過了。不過曾先生主張喻紐三等字（于）本屬於牙音匣紐，現在將匣紐併於見，于紐豈不又無所附麼？」

因爲敖氏主張匣羣兩母古音併於見，所以後來在古代濁聲考一文¹⁰，也就特別強調匣見與羣見關係之密切。敖氏說：

⁹ 敖士英關於研究古音的一個商榷載北大國學季刊二卷三期。

¹⁰ 敖士英古代濁聲考載輔仁學誌二卷一期。

「匣母字偏旁的聲類，見母居然占了五分之四，我們就此一點，可以看出匣母和見母的關係是非常密切。」

又說：

「把羣母的偏旁聲類總括起來，見母實占全部的最多數。」

敖氏根據諧聲字的關係及羣經異字同讀的證據，而考證出，羣匣兩母古併入見之說，不但把羣母歸入見母，又把匣母也一併歸入了見母。

謝雲飛先生從諧聲中考匣紐古讀一文¹¹，是繼敖氏後，主張匣母古讀同見母考證最詳的一篇文章，謝氏此文收錄廣韻全部匣紐字一〇六四字，逐字予以考證，以各字不同的情況而加以分析。謝氏說：

「其第一類爲諧聲於今於古皆屬見紐，而所諧之字於後世屬匣紐者，則以文字發生之先後論，證明諧聲偏旁早出於所諧之字，而認定所諧之字應從偏旁之古音而歸於見紐。此類匣紐字最多，計有七五諧聲偏旁，統六四一字。第二類爲諧聲偏旁於今屬匣紐，而其所諧之字於今於古皆有屬於見紐者，則據所諧之見紐字以證諧聲偏旁本屬見紐，以語音多變之故，諧聲偏旁至後世已變爲匣紐，而所諧之字尙保留古之見紐，既證此一匣紐之偏旁古屬見紐矣，則從此一偏旁所諧之字；於後世雖亦爲匣紐，而其上古必見紐也。此類字計有十八諧聲偏旁，統二〇〇字。第三類爲諧聲偏旁屬見系，或其所諧之字有屬見系而與見紐僅發聲、送氣或清濁之小異者，則據前文『匣紐古歸見』之假設及第一類、第二類以諧聲爲證之事實結果，而證此類見系之音，上古本屬見紐，至後世始漸次衍變至見系其它三紐者，故第三類考證即在求此類匣紐字本爲見系，而與見紐爲子姓之關係，以其關係如此，故亦認定其爲古見紐字。此類字計有十四諧聲偏旁，統六二字。第四類爲捨前述三種現象外，其於後世爲匣紐字，而以音訓、假借、或體、讀若、又音及方音可考其古音屬見紐者。此類字計有四二諧聲偏旁，統一六二字。以上四類共爲九六五字，皆可考其古歸見紐之由者也。」

上來所引各家的說法，他們認爲羣母及匣母古音應併入見母，主要的依據就是諧聲字中，羣與匣都大量的跟見母諧聲。事實上諧聲系統並沒有充分的證據，足以證明羣匣二母應歸見母，充其量只不過可以說明羣母跟匣母與見母的聲母發音部位相同罷了。其實羣匣二母不但跟見母在諧聲上大量接觸，跟所有的舌根聲母甚至於喉音的影母也常接觸。下面的例子，是從沈兼士的廣韻聲系¹²摘錄下來的。我把它分成八類，現在彙錄於後。

¹¹ 謝雲飛從諧聲中考匣紐古讀載南洋大學學報第四期，謝氏匣古歸見說又見所著中國聲韻學大綱（蘭臺書局印行）二九八至二九九頁。

¹² 沈兼士廣韻聲系臺灣中華書局印行。

第一類：諧聲字的聲符屬見母，而所諧的字遍及牙喉各母。例如：

- ①工 (古紅切 k-)：空 (苦紅切 k'-) 𠂔 (呼東切 x-) 紅 (戶公切 ɣ-) 蚤 (渠容切 g'-)
- ②共 (九容切 k-)：恭 (九容切 k-) 𡗗 (渠容切 g'-) 烘 (呼東切 x-) 洪 (戶公切 ɣ-) 渠用切 g'-)
- ③奇 (居宜切 k-)：畸 (居宜切 k-) 騎 (渠羈切 g'-) 𨔵 (去奇切 k'-) 鎡 (魚倚切 ɣ-) 渠羈切 g'-)
- 猗 (於離切 ɣ-)
- ④規 (居隋切 k-)：槻 (居隋切 k-) 闕 (去隨切 k'-) 𡙇 (求癸切 g'-) 𡙈 (胡典切 ɣ-)
- ⑤𠂔 (舉朱切 k-)：瞿 (九遇切 k-) 𡙇 (況于切 x-) 𡙈 (舉朱切 k-) 𡙉 (其俱切 g'-) 其俱切 g'-)
- 𡙊 (居縛切 k-) 𡙋 (丘縛切 k'-) 𡙌 (具縛切 g'-) 𡙍 (憂縛切 ɣ-) 𡙎 (王縛切 j-)
- 𡙏 (許縛切 x-)
- ⑥圭 (古攜切 k-)：佳 (古溪切 k-) 奎 (苦圭切 k'-) 崖 (五佳切 ɣ-) 娃 (烏攜切 ɣ-)
- 𡙑 (許規切 x-) 𡙒 (戶圭切 ɣ-)
- ⑦君 (舉云切 k-)：拑 (舉云切 k-) 𡙓 (去倫切 k'-) 羣 (渠云切 g'-) 𡙔 (於倫切 ɣ-)
- 𡙕 (許云切 x-) 𡙖 (五還切 ɣ-)
- ⑧軍 (舉云切 k-)：𡙗 (舉云切 k-) 𡙘 (五困切 ɣ-) 𡙙 (丘愧切 k'-) 運 (王問切 j-)
- 𡙚 (於粉切 ɣ-) 𡙛 (許歸切 x-) 𡙜 (戶昆切 ɣ-)
- ⑨斤 (舉欣切 x-)：𡙝 (居依切 k-) 𡙞 (丘謹切 k'-) 𡙟 (渠希切 g'-) 近 (其謹切 g'-) 居依切 k-)
- 𡙠 (語斤切 ɣ-) 𡙡 (許斤切 x-) 𡙢 (胡輩切 ɣ-)
- ⑩干 (古寒切 k-)：汗 (古寒切 k-) 𡙣 (苦寒切 k'-) 𡙤 (巨言切 g'-) 𡙥 (俄寒切 ɣ-) 胡安切 ɣ-)
- 𡙦 (呼旱切 x-) 𡙧 (胡安切 ɣ-)
- ⑪官 (古丸切 k-)：棺 (古丸切 k-) 𡙨 (一九切 ɣ-) 𡙩 (胡玩切 ɣ-)
- ⑫𡙪 (古賢切 k-)：𡙫 (苦寒切 k'-) 𡙬 (五堅切 ɣ-) 𡙭 (呼煙切 x-) 𡙮 (戶圭切 ɣ-)
- ⑬𡙯 (舉喬切 k-)：𡙰 (舉喬切 k-) 𡙱 (巨嬌切 g'-) 𡙲 (去遙切 k'-) 𡙳 (許嬌切 x-) 巨嬌切 g'-)
- ⑭交 (古肴切 k-)：𡙴 (口交切 k'-) 𡙵 (五巧切 ɣ-) 𡙶 (於交切 ɣ-) 𡙷 (呼教切 x-)
- 𡙸 (胡教切 ɣ-)
- ⑮高 (古勞切 k-)：膏 (古勞切 k-) 𡙹 (口交切 k'-) 蒿 (呼毛切 x-) 豪 (胡刀切 ɣ-)
- ⑯皐 (古勞切 k-)：𡙺 (古勞切 k-) 𡙻 (呼毛切 x-) 𡙼 (胡刀切 ɣ-) 𡙽 (五勞切 ɣ-)
- ⑰瓜 (古華切 k-)：孤 (古胡切 k-) 𡙿 (苦瓜切 k'-) 𡚀 (烏瓜切 ɣ-) 𡚁 (況于切 x-)
- 𡚂 (戶吳切 ɣ-)
- ⑱加 (古牙切 k-)：嘉 (古牙切 k-) 伽 (求迦切 g'-) 𡚃 (烏何切 ɣ-) 賀 (胡箇切 ɣ-)
- ⑲亢 (古郎切 k-)：𡚄 (古行切 k-) 𡚅 (苦浪切 k'-) 𡚆 (呼郎切 x-) 𡚇 (胡郎切 ɣ-) 苦浪切 k'-)
- ⑳光 (古黃切 k-)：𡚈 (古黃切 k-) 𡚉 (苦光切 k'-) 𡚊 (烏光切 ɣ-) 𡚋 (胡光切 ɣ-)

- 脛 (呼晃切 x-)
- ②①京 (舉卿切 k-) : 景 (居影切 k-) 勛 (渠京切 g'-) 影 (於丙切 ?-)
- ②②同 (古登切 k-) : 炯 (古迴切 k-) 迴 (戶頂切 ?-) 綱 (口迴切 k'-) 訶 (火迴切 x-)
- ②③厶 (古弘切 k-) : 宏 (古橫切 k-) 雄 (羽弓切 j-) 宏 (戶萌切 ?-) 泓 (烏宏切 ?-)
- 強 (巨良切 g'-)
- ②④句 (古侯切 k-) : 鉤 (古侯切 k-) 詢 (格侯切 k'-) 劬 (其俱切 g'-) 歛 (況于切 x-)
- 詢 (胡邊切 ?-)
- ②⑤今 (居吟切 k-) : 金 (居吟切 k-) 殄 (口含切 k'-) 黔 (巨今切 g'-) 吟 (魚金切 ?-)
- 霽 (於金切 ?-) 欒 (許兼切 x-) 含 (胡男切 ?-)
- ②⑥甘 (古三切 k-) : 柑 (古三切 k-) 嚙 (口含切 k'-) 黠 (巨今切 g'-) 蚶 (呼談切 x-)
- 酣 (胡甘切 ?-)
- ②⑦兼 (古甜切 k-) : 鵝 (古甜切 k-) 謙 (苦兼切 k'-) 讎 (語廉切 ?-) 嫌 (戶兼切 ?-)
- ②⑧鬼 (居偉切 k-) : 瑰 (公同切 k-) 魁 (苦回切 k'-) 餽 (求位切 g'-) 嵬 (五灰切 ?-)
- 魄 (於鬼切 ?-) 槐 (戶恢切 ?-)
- ②⑨古 (公戶切 k-) : 罟 (公戶切 k-) 苦 (康杜切 k'-) 胡 (戶吳切 ?-) � (強魚切 g'-)
- 葫 (荒烏切 x-)
- ②⑩解 (古險切 k-) : 懈 (佳買切 k-) 蟹 (胡買切 ?-) 夥 (苦駭切 k'-)
- ②⑪果 (古火切 k-) : 裹 (古火切 k-) 窠 (苦禾切 k'-) 嫫 (烏果切 ?-) 夥 (胡果切 ?-)
- ②⑫段 (古疋切 k-) : 假 (古疋切 k-) 骸 (枯駕切 k'-) 煨 (許加切 x-) 遐 (胡加切 ?-)
- ②⑬丹 (古瓦切 k-) : 緇 (苦烏切 k'-) 拐 (求蟹切 g'-) 過 (古禾切 k-) 渦 (烏禾切 ?-)
- 調 (呼封切 x-) 禍 (胡果切 ?-)
- ②⑭九 (舉有切 k-) : 鳩 (居求切 k-) 尻 (苦刀切 k'-) 仇 (巨鳩切 g'-) 虢 (許交切 x-)
- 荅 (烏侯切 ?-)
- ②⑮无 (居家切 k-) : 既 (居家切 k'-) 悉 (烏代切 ?-) 既 (許既切 x-) 慨 (苦蓋切 k'-)
- 暨 (具冀切 g'-)
- ②⑯囚 (古太切 k-) : 曷 (胡葛切 ?-) 葛 (古達切 k-) 渴 (苦曷切 k'-) 握 (其謁切 g'-)
- 餽 (於葛切 ?-) 歇 (許謁切 x-)
- ②⑰戒 (古拜切 k-) : 誠 (古拜切 k-) 械 (苦戒切 k'-) 噦 (許介切 x-) 械 (胡介切 ?-)
- ②⑱丰 (古拜切 k-) : 判 (格八切 k'-) 害 (胡蓋切 ?-) 絜 (古屑切 k-) 齧 (五結切 ?-)
- 齧 (火轄切 x-) 窳 (於計切 ?-)
- ②⑲夬 (古賣切 k-) : 決 (古穴切 k-) 快 (苦夬切 k'-) 挾 (於決切 ?-) 闕 (呼決切 x-)

- ③⑦ 艮 (古根切 k-) : 根 (古痕切 k-) 猥 (苦痕切 k'-) 痕 (戶恩切 ɣ-) 銀 (語巾切 ɣ-)
- ③⑧ 見 (古電切 k-) : 覲 (古典切 k-) 峴 (胡典切 ɣ-) 覲 (苦甸切 k'-) 硯 (吾甸切 ɣ-)
峴 (呼典切 x-)
- ③⑨ 告 (古到切 k-) : 誥 (古到切 k-) 誥 (苦浩切 k'-) 皓 (胡老切 ɣ-)
- ④⑩ 竟 (居慶切 k-) : 境 (居影切 k-) 穉 (渠京切 g'-) 境 (於丙切 ʔ-)
- ④⑪ 臼 (居玉切 k-) : 學 (胡覺切 ɣ-) 覺 (古岳切 k-) 響 (苦沃切 k'-) 響 (五角切 ɣ-)
脣 (烏谷切 ʔ-)
- ④⑫ 吉 (居質切 k-) : 拮 (居質切 k-) 咎 (詰利切 k'-) 姑 (巨乙切 g'-) 聒 (五鎔切 ɣ-)
壹 (於悉切 ʔ-) 故 (許吉切 x-) 黠 (胡八切 ɣ-)
- ④⑬ 𠂔 (居月切 k-) : 舌 (下刮切 ɣ-) 括 (古活切 k-) 蛞 (苦括切 k'-) 科 (烏括切 ʔ-)
𦵏 (火怪切 x-)
- ④⑭ 𠂔 (居月切 k-) : 戊 (王伐切 j-) 𦵏 (呼括切 x-) 越 (戶括切 ɣ-)
王伐切 j-)
- ④⑮ 𠂔 (居月切 k-) : 𦵏 (去月切 k'-) 𦵏 (居月切 k-) 𦵏 (其月切 g'-)
- ④⑯ 骨 (古忽切 k-) : 𦵏 (古忽切 k-) 𦵏 (苦同切 k'-) 𦵏 (烏沒切 ʔ-) 滑 (戶骨切 ɣ-)
- ④⑰ 各 (古落切 k-) : 𦵏 (古落切 k-) 𦵏 (苦各切 k'-) 𦵏 (其九切 g'-) 𦵏 (五陌切 ɣ-)
𦵏 (下各切 ɣ-) 𦵏 (許尤切 x-)
- ④⑱ 郭 (古博切 k-) : 廓 (苦郭切 k'-) 𦵏 (虛郭切 x-)
- ④⑲ 隔 (古核切 k-) : 隔 (古核切 k-) 𦵏 (楷革切 k'-) 𦵏 (五革切 ɣ-) 𦵏 (許激切 x-)
𦵏 (下革切 ɣ-)
- ⑤⑰ 合 (古沓切 k-) : 𦵏 (古沓切 k-) 𦵏 (侯閤切 ɣ-) 𦵏 (其輒切 g'-) 哈 (五合切 ɣ-)
侯閤切 ɣ-)
𦵏 (呼洽切 x-) 𦵏 (衣儉切 ʔ-)
- ⑤⑱ 夾 (古洽切 k-) : 𦵏 (苦協切 k'-) 𦵏 (呼蹀切 x-) 𦵏 (胡類切 ɣ-) 𦵏 (於計切 ʔ-)
- ⑤⑲ 甲 (古狎切 k-) : 𦵏 (古盍切 k-) 𦵏 (烏甲切 ʔ-) 𦵏 (呼甲切 x-) 𦵏 (胡甲切 ɣ-)

第二類：諧聲字的聲符屬溪紐，而所諧的字遍及牙喉各母。例如：

- ① 𠂔 (去魚切 k'-) : 去 (羌舉切 k'-) 𦵏 (居許切 k-) 𦵏 (居業切 k-) 𦵏 (於輒切 ʔ-)
𦵏 (胡臘切 ɣ-)
- ② 𦵏 (豈俱切 k'-) : 𦵏 (豈俱切 k'-) 𦵏 (烏侯切 ʔ-) 𦵏 (香甸切 x-)
- ③ 𦵏 (苦感切 k'-) : 𦵏 (苦紺切 k'-) 𦵏 (戶鎔切 ɣ-) 𦵏 (古覺切 k-) 𦵏 (乙咸切 ʔ-)
𦵏 (呼寬切 x-)
- ④ 𦵏 (去既切 k'-) : 𦵏 (許訖切 x-) 𦵏 (居乞切 k-) 𦵏 (渠希切 g'-) 𦵏 (魚迄切 ɣ-)
𦵏 (下沒切 ɣ-)

⑤ 𪔐 (苦角切 k'-) : 𪔐 (苦角切 k'-) 𪔐 (古祿切 k-) 𪔐 (呼木切 x-) 𪔐 (胡各切 ɣ-)

⑥ 𪔐 (苦擊切 k'-) : 𪔐 (古詣切 k-) 𪔐 (呼麥切 x-)

第三類：諧聲字聲符屬羣母，而與喉牙各母相諧聲。例如：

① 𪔐 (巨巾切 g'-) : 𪔐 (巨斤切 g'-) 𪔐 (居隱切 k-) 𪔐 (奔忍切 k'-) 𪔐 (語斤切 ɣ-)
𪔐 (呼肝切 x-)

② 𪔐 (巨王切 g'-) : 𪔐 (巨王切 g'-) 𪔐 (去王切 k'-) 𪔐 (烏光切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (于兩切 j-)
𪔐 (乎曠切 ɣ-)

③ 𪔐 (巨鳩切 g'-) : 𪔐 (居祐切 k-) 𪔐 (許尤切 x-)

④ 𪔐 (求位切 g'-) : 𪔐 (居胃切 k-) 𪔐 (丘愧切 k'-) 𪔐 (五怪切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (荒內切 x-)
𪔐 (胡罪切 ɣ-)

⑤ 𪔐 (其唐切 g'-) : 𪔐 (居勺切 k-) 𪔐 (丘樓切 k'-) 𪔐 (下革切 ɣ-)

⑥ 𪔐 (其立切 g'-) : 𪔐 (居立切 k-) 𪔐 (去劫切 k'-) 𪔐 (魚及切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (許及切 x-)

第四類：諧聲字聲符屬疑母，而與喉牙各母相諧聲。例如：

① 𪔐 (魚爲切 ɣ-) : 𪔐 (過委切 k-) 𪔐 (去委切 k'-)
𪔐 (果委切 g'-)

② 𪔐 (五聊切 ɣ-) : 𪔐 (古堯切 k-) 𪔐 (苦玄切 k'-) 𪔐 (渠遙切 g'-) 𪔐 (於霄切 ɣ-)
𪔐 (許玄切 x-)

③ 𪔐 (五勞切 ɣ-) : 𪔐 (胡刀切 ɣ-)

④ 𪔐 (愚袁切 ɣ-) : 𪔐 (古丸切 k-) 𪔐 (胡官切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (苦管切 k'-) 𪔐 (王眷切 j-)

第五類：諧聲字聲符屬影母，而與喉牙各母相諧聲。例如：

① 𪔐 (於乾切 ɣ-) : 𪔐 (許延切 x-) 𪔐 (戶恩切 ɣ-)

② 𪔐 (於幪切 ɣ-) : 𪔐 (古案切 k-) 𪔐 (苦寒切 k'-) 𪔐 (渠焉切 g'-) 𪔐 (胡安切 ɣ-)

③ 𪔐 (一貌切 ɣ-) : 𪔐 (胡麥切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (一貌切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (求獲切 g'-) 𪔐 (五郭切 ɣ-)
𪔐 (王縛切 j-) 𪔐 (許縛切 x-)

第六類：諧聲字聲符屬爲母，而與喉牙各母相通諧。例如：

① 𪔐 (雨非切 j-) : 𪔐 (雨非切 j-) 𪔐 (王分切 j-) 𪔐 (烏縣切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (古玄切 k-)

𪔐 (火玄切 x-) 𪔐 (狂充切 g'-) 𪔐 (胡映切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (魚祭切 ɣ-)

② 𪔐 (蓬支切 j-) : 𪔐 (居爲切 k-) 𪔐 (五禾切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (於爲切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (許爲切 x-)

𪔐 (苦鍋切 k'-)

③ 𪔐 (羽俱切 j-) : 𪔐 (苦胡切 k'-) 𪔐 (憶俱切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (況于切 x-) 𪔐 (戶花切 ɣ-)

④ 𪔐 (于救切 j-) : 𪔐 (云久切 j-) 𪔐 (戶恢切 ɣ-) 𪔐 (古亥切 k-) 𪔐 (於六切 x-)

𪔐 (呼罪切 x-)

第七類：諸聲字聲符屬曉母，而與喉牙各母相通諧。例如：

- ① 𦉳 (荒烏切 x-)：虛 (朽居切 x-) 𦉳 (語居切 ɣ-) 𦉳 (強魚切 g'-)
 ② 𦉳 (虎何切 x-)：𦉳 (枯我切 k'-) 𦉳 (古我切 k-) 何 (胡歌切 ɣ-) 阿 (烏何切 ɣ-)
 𦉳 (虎何切 x-)
 ③ 𦉳 (許縣切 x-)：𦉳 (火玄切 x-) 𦉳 (古縣切 k-) 𦉳 (渠營切 g'-) 𦉳 (胡官切 ɣ-)
 ④ 孝 (呼教切 x-)：𦉳 (古孝切 k-) 𦉳 (五教切 ɣ-)

第八類：諸聲字聲符屬匣母，而與喉牙音各聲母互相通諧。例如：

- ① 𦉳 (下江切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古巷切 k-) 𦉳 (苦感切 k'-) 𦉳 (呼孔切 x-)
 ② 𦉳 (胡鷄切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (五稽切 ɣ-) 𦉳 (烏奚切 ɣ-) 𦉳 (呼鷄切 x-)
 ③ 寒 (胡安切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (居偃切 k-) 𦉳 (去乾切 k'-) 𦉳 (其偃切 g'-) 𦉳 (虛言切 x-)
 ④ 玄 (胡涓切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (姑滋切 k-) 𦉳 (苦堅切 k'-) 𦉳 (許縣切 x-)
 ⑤ 爻 (胡茅切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古肴切 k-) 𦉳 (許交切 x-) 𦉳 (烏晤切 ɣ-)
 ⑥ 皇 (胡光切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (永兵切 j-) 𦉳 (虎橫切 x-)
 ⑦ 𦉳 (戶肩切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (口迴切 k'-) 𦉳 (渠營切 g'-) 𦉳 (烏莖切 ɣ-) 𦉳 (永兵切 j-)
 𦉳 (虎橫切 x-)
 ⑧ 恒 (胡登切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古恒切 k-) 𦉳 (丘伽切 k'-) 𦉳 (況曉切 x-)
 ⑨ 威 (胡譏切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古威切 k-) 𦉳 (丘廉切 k'-) 𦉳 (巨淹切 g'-) 𦉳 (五威切 ɣ-)
 𦉳 (呼覽切 x-)
 ⑩ 戶 (候古切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古暮切 k-) 𦉳 (呼古切 x-)
 ⑪ 亥 (胡改切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古亥切 k-) 𦉳 (苦哀切 k'-) 𦉳 (五溉切 ɣ-) 𦉳 (於特切 ɣ-)
 ⑫ 后 (胡口切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古厚切 k-) 𦉳 (苦后切 k'-) 𦉳 (呼漏切 x-)
 ⑬ 𦉳 (胡沃切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古岳切 k-) 𦉳 (苦角切 k'-) 𦉳 (五角切 ɣ-) 𦉳 (呼木切 x-)
 ⑭ 夏 (胡雅切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古下切 k-) 𦉳 (於轄切 ɣ-)
 ⑮ 或 (胡國切 ɣ-)：𦉳 (古獲切 k-) 𦉳 (於六切 ɣ-) 𦉳 (雨逼切 j-) 𦉳 (呼麥切 x-)

從以上八類九十四個諸聲聲符跟喉牙音各母通諧情況的普遍看來，在形聲字上實在看不出羣匣二母有歸見母的跡象。如果因為羣匣二母可以跟見母諧聲，就斷定羣匣歸見。那末，溪疑影曉各母都可以跟見母諧聲，是否也可以說古音裏頭，這幾個聲母也都歸見母呢？答案顯然是否定的。高本漢在中文分析字典¹⁸說：

「諸聲的部分跟全字不必完全同音。例如威、減、𦉳、感四字在古音時 ɣam, kam,

¹⁸ B. Karlgren: "Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese", 1923. 本字典的敘論趙元任譯作高本漢的諸聲說轉載於上古音討論集 (學藝出版社)

xam, kām 四個音，假如在上古音的時候是完全同音的而到古音的時候各自變成那四個不同的音了，那照一切語言史的經驗上看起來是不會有的事情。」

高氏又說：

「在有一大類的字，差不多佔諧聲字的大多數，它的主諧字跟被諧字，就說在古音中也是有相同或相近的聲母輔音。……假如在古音中主諧字跟被諧字的聲母不同，至少大都是發音部位相同的。例如古 kuo：苦 k'uo，干 kân：罕 xân，干 kân：旱 ǎn 等等都是舌根音，或般 puân：盤 b'uân，半 puân：判 p'uân 等等都是脣音。」

從高本漢這兩段話看來，非常明顯的，我們不能根據般：盤的諧聲關係，就把並母 b'- 併入幫母 p-；也不能根據半：判的諧聲關係，把滂母 p'- 併入幫母 p-；當然，干、罕的諧聲關係，也不能把曉母 x- 併入見母 k-。那麼，怎麼可能根據干：旱的諧聲關係，把匣母 ǎ- 併入見母 k- 呢？或者根據甘 kâm：鉗 g'jâm 的諧聲關係，把羣母 g'- 併入見母 k- 呢？由此可知，純就形聲字的諧聲關係來說，還無法證明見匣羣是同出一源的。頂多根據諧聲通則，它們在古音裏頭聲母的發音部位相同罷了。

不過，符定一、敖士英、謝雲飛等人，除了諧聲的關係外，他們又引用了一些羣經異字同讀的音及音訓等作為證據。我也承認這些證據在考證古聲上的重要性，現在且讓我們來檢查一下這些證據的可靠性的程度。錢大昕在十駕齋養新錄裏的古無輕脣音跟舌音類隔之說不可信兩文，是第一個引用異文假借來考證古聲母的人。現在就從這兩篇文章各選一個例子來說明。錢氏在古無輕脣音一文裏舉例說：「書：『方鳩倭功』，說文兩引一作『旁逖倭功』，一作『旁救辱功』」那就是說方旁兩字是異文假借，這個例子也只能說明古音方與旁的聲母發音部位相同，並不能證明方的聲母非 pf-，與旁的聲母並 b'-，在古音裏是一個聲母。錢氏在舌音類隔之說不可信一文也舉過這樣的例子：「詩：『綠竹猗猗』釋文：『韓詩竹作蕩。』」也是在說明竹蕩兩字為異文假借，但也只能說明竹蕩的聲母在古音裏頭發音部位相同，亦還不能證明竹的聲母知 t'-，與蕩的聲母定 d'-，在古音裏頭是一個聲母。可見異文假借的功用還是有一定的局限性，並不能證明兩個異文的音是完全相等的。至於音訓材料，聲母完全相同的固然很多，但也不是說凡是用來作為音訓的字聲母一定相同。包擬古的釋名研究¹⁴就這樣說過：

¹⁴ Nicholas Cleaveland Bodman: "A Linguistic Study of the Shih Ming", 1954. 本節所引譯自原文 P. 9. 又原書第三章竺家寧譯作釋名複聲母研究見六十八年六月國立臺灣師範大學國立研究所畢業同學會編中國學術年刊第三期五九至八三頁。

「仍有許多音訓的字組顯示出不可忽視相異的程度，有些（聲母）的差異，由於作者從寬解釋而被認為是合乎標準的。那就是某些見母 $k-$ 字用羣母 $g-$ 或溪母 $k'-$ 來解釋的例子。」

由此可見音訓也並沒有嚴格地要求聲母完全相同的程度，像說文：「天、顛也。」就是一個很好的例子，天顛的韻母完全相同，而聲母則天屬透母 $t-$ ，顛為端母 $t-$ ，我們不能根據這個例子，推斷說透母跟端母在古音裏原是一個聲母。如此說來，儘管有了諧聲、異文、音訓等方面的證據，還得加上其他的資料與合理的解說才行。

從以上的資料，固然符氏等人不足以證明羣匣與見母是同出一源，但我仍沒有證實絕不可同出一源。所以還得從別的方面來設想。我國文字有一字兩音，而往往有意義上的差別，也就是所謂「以聲別義」。高本漢稱為形態變化 (morphology)¹⁵。周祖謨的四聲別義釋例一文¹⁶，歸納漢語文法形態的變化，約有四端：(a)聲調變讀，(b)變調兼變聲母，(c)變調兼變韻母，(d)調值不變僅變聲韻。並且認為這種來源，遠自漢代即已開始。周法高先生語音區別詞類說一文的結論說：¹⁷

「根據記載上和現代語中所保留的用語音上的差異來區別詞類或相近意義的現象，我們可以推知這種區別可能是自上古遺留下來的；不過好些讀音上的區別（尤其是漢以後書本上的讀音）卻是後來依據相似的規律而創造的。」¹⁸

周氏在文中又說：

「我們現在要問：那些語音上的差異，來區別詞類或相近的意義的現象，是不是後起的呢？我覺得有兩點須先弄清楚。第一、某字的讀音最先見於記載的時期和它存在於語言中的時期並不見得一致。它可能在見諸記載以前早已存在於口語中，也可能雖見於記載而只是書本上的讀法，在口語裏並不存在。根據此點，那些討論一字兩讀起於葛洪、徐邈，抑或起於後漢的人，只能證明其最早出現於記載的時期，而不能斷定其在語言中使用的時期。第二、某些字讀法上的區別發生是後起的，並不能證明所有屬於這類型的讀音上的區別都是後起的，可能某些字讀音的區別發生很早，而某些則是後來依着這類型而創造的。」¹⁹

周法高先生這一看法，非常中肯，而且也很重要，這對於我們分析上古的聲母有極大的助益。因為在一字兩讀而具有區別意義的作用上，有許多的例子，韻母跟聲調

¹⁵ 見 B. Karlgren: "Compendium of Phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese," 1979 P. 275. 此書張洪年譯作中國聲韻學大綱（中華叢書委員會）。

¹⁶ 周祖謨四聲別義釋例載輔仁學誌第十三卷一二合期。

¹⁷ 周法高語音區別詞類說載杜其容譯中國語之性質及歷史附錄二，一五一頁至一七三頁。

¹⁸ 見周法高語音區別詞類說一七〇頁至一七一頁。

¹⁹ 前文一六七頁至一六八頁。

完全相同，用來區別意義的，只是聲母的不同，往往是用一個全清的聲母跟一個全濁的聲母來對比。下面我們按着脣、舌、齒各種部位舉一些例子來看看它們的對比的情形：

一、脣音幫 p~並 b'- 的對比：

別 離別，皮列切並母 b'-；分別，彼列切幫母 p-。

敗 自破曰敗，薄邁切並母 b'-；破他曰敗，補邁切幫母 p-。

般 般樂，薄官切並母 b'-；般運，北潘切幫母 p-。

蕃 蕃息，附袁切奉母古屬並母 b'-；蕃屏，甫煩切非母古屬幫母 p-。

藩 藩菜，附袁切奉母古屬並母 b'-；藩籬，甫煩切非母古屬幫母 p-。

方 縣名，符方切奉母古屬並母 b'-；四方，府良切非母古屬幫母 p-。

二、舌音端 t~定 d'- 的對比：

斷 斷絕，都管切端母 t-；已絕，徒管切定母 d'-。

襖 衣袖，當口切端母 t-；短衣，徒口切定母 d'-。

殿 宮殿，堂練切定母 d'-；殿後，都甸切端母 t-。

朝 朝旦，陟遙切知母古屬端母 t-；朝見，直遙切澄母古屬定母 d'-。

著 附著，陟略切知母古屬端母 t-；置定，直略切澄母古屬定母 d'-。

柱 支柱，知庚切知母古屬端母 t-；支木，直主切澄母古屬定母 d'-。

折 自折曰折，市列切禪母古屬定母 d'-；見折曰折，之舌切照母古屬端母 t-。

屬 屬辭，章玉切照母古讀端母 t-；係屬，時玉切禪母古屬定母 d'-。

三、齒音精 ts~從 dz'- 的對比：

湔 水名，則前切精母 ts-；藥名，昨先切從母 dz'-。

盡 極盡，即忍切精母 ts-；終竭，慈忍切從母 dz'-。

載 年載，作代切精母 ts-；載運，昨代切從母 dz'-。

埴 埴池，土耕切床母古屬從母 dz'-；理治，側莖切莊母古屬精母 ts-。

曾 姓氏，作滕切精母 ts-；曾經，昨棱切母從母 dz'-。

從以上脣、舌、齒三類以全清跟全濁的聲母作為區別意義的標準來看，那末，脣音的幫母就絕不可能合併於並母。同理，舌音的端母不可能合併於定母，齒音的精母也不可能合併於從母。否則，就無法用聲母來區別意義了。那麼，牙音的情形是如何呢？牙音裏作為形態變化的，常以見匣作為對比，也有以見羣作為對比的。分別逐錄於後：

(一)牙音全清見 k~全濁匣 ɣ- 的對比：

- 紅 女紅，古紅切見母 k-；紅色，戶公切匣母 ɣ-。
 泄 水流 兗，古諧切見母 k-；風雨不止，戶皆切匣母 ɣ-。
 汗 可汗，胡安切匣母 ɣ-；餘汗縣名，古寒切見母 k-。
 閒 中間，古閑切見母 k-；空閒，戶閒切匣母 ɣ-。
 解 解釋，佳買切見母 k-；既釋，胡買切適匣母 ɣ-。
 解 解除，古隘切見母 k-；曲解，胡懈切匣母 ɣ-。
 夏 諸夏，胡雅切見母 k-；夏楚，古疋切匣母 ɣ-。
 繫 縛繫，古詣切匣母 ɣ-；繫屬，胡計切見母 k-。
 會 合會，黃外切見母 k-；會計，古外切匣母 k-。
 壞 自壞，戶怪切匣母 ɣ-；毀之，古壞切見母 k-。
 見 看見，古甸切匣母 ɣ-；見露，胡甸切見母 ɣ-。
 滑 滑稽，古忽切見母 k-；滑亂，戶骨切匣母 ɣ-。
 活 水流聲，古活切見母 k-；不死，戶括切匣母 ɣ-。
 合 合同，侯閣切見母 k-；合集，古沓切匣母 ɣ-。
 郤 郤姓，侯閣切匣母 ɣ-；水名，古沓切見母 k-。
 嗑 噬嗑，卦名，胡獵切匣母 ɣ-；多言，古盍切見母 k-。
 蓋 苦蓋，胡獵切匣母 ɣ-；姓氏，古沓切見母 k-。

(二) 牙音全清見 k-~全濁羣 g'- 的對比：

- 奇 奇異，渠羈切羣母 g'-；不偶，居宜切見母 k-。
 其 不其邑名，居之切羣母 g'-；語辭，渠之切見母 k-。
 幾 幾近，渠希切見母 k-；廉幾，居依切羣母 g'-。
 刳 以血塗門，渠希切羣母 g'-；斷切，居依切見母 k-。
 喬 高，巨嬌切羣母 g'-；句如羽喬，舉喬切見母 k-。
 鞠 推窮，居六切見母 k-；踢鞠，渠竹切羣母 g'。

從牙音見匣的對比跟見羣的對比看來，如果脣音的並母 b'- 不可合併於幫母 p-；舌音的定母 d'- 不可合併於端母 t-，齒音的從母 dz'- 不可合併於精母 ts-；則牙音的匣 ɣ- 跟羣 g'- 當然也不可合併於見了 k-。至於溪母 k'- 與羣母 g'- 的關係，差不多跟見羣的關係是相平行的。現在也舉出若干例子爲證：

- 蹻蹻慢，巨嬌切羣母 g'-。舉足高，去遙切溪母 k'-。
 跪跪拜，去委切溪母 k'-；跟跪，渠委切羣母 g'-。
 櫝木名，求位切羣母 g'-；櫝椐，丘愧切溪母 k'-。

這樣看來，羣母 g'- 當然也不能合併於溪母 k'- 了。

那末，羣母 g'- 既不能合併於見 k-，那它的古音究竟如何呢？我覺得從分配上羣母應可與匣母合併為一個聲母，因為見 k- ~ 匣 ɣ- 的對比只限於一二四等的字，一等字有紅、汗、滑、會、活、合、郃、嗑、蓋；二等字有渚、解、閒、夏、壞；四等字有繫、見；而見 k- ~ 羣 g'- 的對比全部都是三等字。正像脣、舌、齒的全濁聲母並 b'-、定 d'-、從 dz'- 一樣本來都是兼備四等的，後來起了分化一二四等為匣，三等變羣，這是很可能的。否則，不應有牙音見匣的對比，見羣的對比，正像脣音幫並，舌音端定，齒音精從一樣。

我們說匣羣同源，在異文跟音讀方面也可以得到一些證據，足以支持我們這一看法。儀禮士昏禮：「加于橋。」注：「今文橋為鎬。」按橋廣韻巨嬌切，羣母；鎬，胡老切，匣母；春秋左氏昭公十二年經：「大夫成熊。」穀梁作「成虔」。熊、羽弓切，為母古歸匣母，虔、渠焉切，羣母。說文：「𡗗，艸木妄生也。讀若皇。」𡗗、巨王切，羣母，皇、戶光切，匣母。書微子：「我其發出狂」，史記宋世家引作「往」。狂、巨王切，羣母，往、于兩切，為母古歸匣母；水經泗水注：「澧水又東合黃水，時人謂之狂水，蓋狂黃聲相近，俗傳失實也。」按：狂、巨王切，羣母；黃、戶光切，匣母。孟子萬章：「晉亥唐」，抱朴子逸民作「期唐」。亥、胡改切，匣母；期，渠之切，羣母。說文：「𡗗、華榮也。从舜𡗗聲。讀若皇。爾雅曰𡗗，華也。𡗗、𡗗或从艸皇。」𡗗从𡗗聲、𡗗巨王切，羣母，𡗗从皇聲，皇、戶光切，匣母。𡗗或作𡗗。𡗗从狂聲，狂、巨王切，羣母；𡗗从往聲，往、于兩切，為母古歸匣母。從以上的證據看來，我們說羣匣同源，應該是說得通的。

匣羣同源的前題決定了，那末，究竟羣是從匣分出來的，還是匣從羣分出來的。這又需要作進一步的考索了。高本漢在中文分析字典的敘論裏說：

「關於舌根音——g- 或——ɣ- 不難就得到一個結論。咱們已經知道 k-, k'-, l- 等聲母在古音或是簡單的跟韻母相接：哥 kâ, 古 ku, 見 kien 或是有舌面附顎作用的 (yodicized 就是加 j)：蹇 kjiän, 几 kji, 可是匣 ɣ- 母的字總是用在沒有附顎作用的韻母前的 (何 ɣâ, 胡 ɣu, 縣 ɣien) 而羣 g' 母的字總是用在有附顎作用的韻母前的 (乾 g'jiän 強 g'jiang, 其 g'ji) 那麼說它在上古音本來是一個聲母，到後來因韻母的不同而分歧為兩個聲母，倒也是近理的說法。現在所以有兩種可能：

上古 (Arch.)	古 (Anc.)
1. { 何 g'â —————> ɣâ	
其 g'i —————> g'ji	或是

2. { 何 ʔa ————— ʔa
其 ʔi ————— g'ji

從這上不難看出前者比後者較合乎音理一點。而且古音的 ʔ- 母的確是從上古的 g'- 來的，還可以從諧聲上頭證出來。從字典裏可以看出 k-:x- (干 kân:罕 xân) 相諧的例極罕，而 k-:ʔ (古 kuo: 胡 ʔuo) 相諧的例很多——總有幾百個例。前者的 k-:x- 都是清音，豈不比後者 k-:ʔ- 一清一濁更切近一點？假如古音的 ʔ- 就是上古的 ʔ- 傳下來的，那麼 k-:ʔ- 多於 k-:x- 的例就不可解了。可是假如咱們假定 ʔ- 是從上古的 g'- 來的，那個問題就解釋了。因為 k-:x- (一個破裂音，一個摩擦音) 相諧雖是罕見，而 k-:g'- (兩個都是破裂音，常常相諧那倒是當然的事情了。)²⁰

後來高氏在中國聲韻學大綱裏，因鑒於爲母也只在三等韻出現，因此在三等跟匣(一二四等)互補的究竟應該是爲？還是羣？也一併提出來討論。高本漢說：

「在中古韻裏，我們看到非常突出的現象，匣 ʔ- 只出現於未軟化的韻母前 (何 ʔa, 寒 ʔân, 見 ʔien, 痕 ʔên, 胡 ʔuo, 紅 ʔung 等) 卽是一、二、四等韻中，而另一方面，羣 g'- 只出現三等軟化韻母前 (乾 g'ïän, 強 g'ïang, 喬 g'ïäu, 求 g'ïeu, 窮 g'ïung, 其 g'ji 等)，恰巧上述 g——j 列 (王 jïwang, 爰 jïwên, 域 jïwək, 爲 jwie) 失去舌根聲母的，正是有關軟化韻母的問題。現在最合理的推想是：一二四的匣 ʔ- 和三等中另一個聲母互補，所以二者來自同一個上古聲母，後來因為不同的韻母，而在中古音中分裂成兩個聲母。這本可自圓其說，但是問題跟着來了，在三等韻裏的到底是羣 g'-，還是爲 j- 來跟一二四的匣 ʔ- 相配呢？換言之，我們應當擬作：

上古音	中古音
皇 *g'wâng	ʔwâng
王 *g'ïwang	g'ïwang

或是

皇 *ʔwâng	ʔwâng
王 *ʔïwang	jïwang

前者表示中古的 ʔ- 是從上古的 g'- 而來，在一二四等韻中出現 (*g'â > ʔâ, *g'ân > ʔân, *g'ien > ʔien, *g'ên > ʔên, *g'ung > ʔung)，後者則表示上古音中本作 ʔ- (ʔâ, ʔân 等)，而在三等韻母裏變成 j- (*ʔïwang > jïwang, *ʔïwân > jïwên, *ʔïwək > jïwək)。

²⁰ B. Karlgren "Analytic Dictionary" PP. 21-22, 趙譯高本漢的諧聲說十頁至十二頁。

其間取舍，不容置疑，自然是前者正確，理由有幾點：

首先可從諧聲字證明，一個塞音 *k-* 和一個擦音 *x-* 雖然都是清音，但卻很少互諧，（例如干古音 *kân*，罕古音 *xân*）如果把 *k-* 和 *ʃ-* 關連起來，更無可能，因為前者是清塞音，後者是濁擦音。但事實上互諧的情形卻極普通：古 *Anc. kuo* 是胡 *Anc. ʃuo* 的音符，干 *Anc. kân* 是旱 *Anc. ʃân* 的聲符等，假如採用第一種說法；古音的 *ʃ-* 是從上古的 *g'-* 變來，那麼在系統上顯得更為自然。**kuo* 是 *g'uo* 的聲符，*kân* 是 *g'ân* 的聲符——雙方都是以塞音為聲母。

其次，從語言形態學中，亦可得到不少助益，上古音中一個字根通常而必然的分化，是介於不送氣清音及送氣濁音之間：*k-:g'-*；*t-:d'-*；*p-:b'-*；*ts-:dz'-*等，如乾 *Anc. kân* 及 *g'iân*；分 *Anc. pjuæn* 及 *bjuæn*；長 *Anc. fjang* 及 *djang*；中 *Anc. fjung* 及 *djung*；曾 *Anc. tsəng* 及 *dz'əng*。總有好幾百個例子。我們現在看到見 *Anc. kien* 及 *ʃien*；解 *Anc. kai* 及 *ʃai*；干 *Anc. kân* 及 *ʃân* 等，我們如果說中古的 *ʃ-* 來源為上古的 *g'-*（見 *k-*；*g'-*，解 *k-*；*g'-*，干 *k-*；托 *g'-*）那麼這些字便能很自然地、很適合地歸入上面的大類中，以送氣清濁與否來分辨異義，這項證據真的非常有力。

既然這個失去的舌根聲母（上表 *g—k* 行）不可能是上古的 *ʃ-*，而上古音的 *k-*，*k'-*，*g'-* 又本見於其他組別中，我們很自然而有把握地採納我們剛才的假定——這是一個普通的 *g'-*，而上古音中也就整套俱存了：*k*（光 **kwāng*）*k*（匡 **k'iwang*）（王 **giwang*）*g'*（狂 **g'iwang*）。

但假如王字上古作 **giwang* 而不是 **ʃiawang*，那麼，有的地方可以看得出來，從 **giwang* 到 *jiwang* 的演變過程中，這個聲母實在是經過了一個擦音階段：**giwang > ʃiawang > jiwang*。而最後的 *j-* 一定是很晚才告定型，恐怕只在中古韻以前因為甚至在切韻之中，尚有些未變的例子，如在一種寫本中，雲上古音 **giwən*，還是作戶分切 *ʃ(uo)-(p)tuən = ʃjuən*。²¹

為母的上古音讀，經過曾運乾、葛毅卿²²、羅常培、董同龢諸人的討論，可以說已闡發無餘了。董同龢先生說：

「假定匣于（爲）上古爲一，事實上也不是毫無理由。除六世紀的情形比切韻可用一點之外，我們還可以參看 *k-k'-ng-x-* 的辦法。依反切，所謂『見溪疑曉』諸母不

²¹ B. Karlgren "Compendium" PP274-275, 張譯中國聲學大綱 pp 93-95.

²² 葛毅卿 "On the Consonantal Value of 喻-Class Words" (通報 1932), 又喻三入匣再證, 史語所集刊八本一分。

是分成一二四等的 $k-k'-ng-x-$ 與三等的 $k_i-k'_i-ng_i-x_i-$ 嗎？又在上古音的擬測過程中，不是誰都毫不猶疑的暫信 $k-k'-ng-x-$ 與 $k_i-k'_i-ng_i-x_i-$ 都從 $*k-*k'-*ng-*x-$ 來嗎？既然如此，又何必單獨不信六世紀的 γ 與 γ_i 同是從一個 $*\gamma-$ 來呢！²³

因此董先生認為匣于的演變情形爲：

$\gamma-$ (六世紀初) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{一二四等韻} \longrightarrow \gamma \text{ (切韻匣母)} \\ \text{三等韻} \longrightarrow j- \text{ (切韻于母)}^{24} \end{array} \right.$

不過于母在變 $j-$ 之前還經過了一個 $\gamma(i)$ 的階段。

高本漢根據諧聲匣 $\gamma-$ 常與見 $k-$ 溪 $k'-$ 諧，而曉 $x-$ 則不跟見 $k-$ 等諧，故認為匣 $\gamma-$ 原本是塞音 $g'-$ ，這點董同龢已明白指出高氏所據材料的不當，並舉出 $x-$ 與 $k-k'-$ 相諧的例子作為反證。例如：²⁵

灰 $xwâi$ ：恢 $k'uâi$

蒿 $xâu$ ：高 $kâu$

盧 xuo ：虧 $k'iwě$

𠂔 $xân$ ：雁 $ngan$ ：彥 $ngiân$ ：𠂔 $ngât$

𠂔 $xiwen$ ：諷 $kiwen$ ：瓊 $g'iwäng$

化 xwa ：訛 $nguâ$

曉 $xieu$ ：饒 $kieu$ ：曉 $k'au$ ：堯 $ngieu$

皂 $xjang$ ：卿 $k'jang$

旭 $xiwok$ ：九 $k_i\varnothing u$ ：𡗗 $k_i\varnothing u$ ：仇 $g'ieu$ ：𡗗 $án(-*gn)\varnothing u$

𡗗 $x_i\varnothing u$ ：救 $k_i\varnothing u$ ：求 $g'ieu$

猶 $x_iä u$ ：驕 $k_iä u$ ：騮 $k_iä u$ ：喬 $g'iau$

𡗗 x_iak ：𡗗 $k'iek$

𡗗 x_iu ：𡗗 k_iu ：𡗗 $g'iu$

𡗗 $x_iëi$ ：氣 $k'iei$

𡗗 $x_iëi$ ：𡗗 $k_iëi$

𡗗 $x_iëi$ ：𡗗 $k_iëi$ ：𡗗 $k'âi$ ：𡗗 $g'i$

吸 $x_i\varnothing p$ ：𡗗 $k_i\varnothing p$ ：及 $g'iap$

𡗗 x_iwong ：𡗗 k_iwong ：𡗗 $k'iweng$ ：𡗗 $g'iwong$ (又音)

²³ 見董同龢上古音表稿三七頁。

²⁴ 見董氏上古音韻表稿三三頁。

²⁵ 下列例證見董著表稿三五頁至三六頁。

設 x₁uŋ: 宮 k₁uŋ: 營 k' ₁uŋ:

忻 x₁ən: 斤 k₁ən: 近 g' ₁ən: 听 ng₁ən

厥 xiəm: 欽 k' ₁əm: 厥 ng₁əm

朽 x₁əu: 丂 k' ₁au

洵 x₁əu: 句 kəu, k₁u:; 洵 k' ₁u:; 勛 g' ₁u

郭 xuāk: 郭 kuāk: 鞞 k' ₁uāk

權 xuân: 藿 kuân: 勸 k' ₁uan: 權 g' ₁wän

繻 xau, kau: 教 kau

疾 x₁wat, k₁wet: 夬 kwai: 缺 k' ₁wät

𣎵 xiwei: 枅 kiei: 羿 ngiei

疑 x₁ai, ng₁ai: 疑 ngi

𤝵 x₁ak: 虐 ng₁ak

許 xuo: 許 x₁wo: 午 nguo

頊 x₁wok, ng₁wok: 曲 k' ₁wok: 玉 ng₁wok

義 x₁iě: 義 ng₁iě

從這些純粹 x- 跟 k-k'- 等相諧的例子看來, x- 跟 k-k'- 等的關係不可說不深。所以董氏說:

「在這種情形下, 如果以爲 x- 在上古是個擦音, 就絕對沒有理由說 ʎ- 當來自塞音 (無論是 g'- 或是 g-)。」²⁶

據董氏此說, 那麼, 高本漢認爲匣 ʎ- 在上古原是塞音的說法, 實在站不住腳。匣既非塞音, 但卻一定是個舌根音, 在舌根音裏頭找尋濁音, 除去 g'-g- 以外, 就只有 ʎ- 了。匣應爲濁擦音 ʎ-, 從匣跟曉常諧聲的事實看來, 也可得到證明。就像董同龢所舉的例:²⁷

乎 ʎo: 呼 xuo

曷 ʎât: 喝 xât

𠵹 x₁wän: 患 ʎwan

脅 x₁əp: 協 ʎiep

曉匣相諧的例子, 在全部諧聲系統中, 數目也不在少數, 曉既認爲是摩擦音 x-, 則匣自應爲摩擦音 ʎ- 了。

高本漢又認爲在語言形態學中, 像解 Anc. kai 及 ʎai 等的變化, 也是一項強有力的證據、證明 ʎ- 來自上古的 g'-, 這樣可與 t-: d', p-: b', ts-: dz'- 的變

²⁶ 見董著表稿三六頁。

²⁷ 下列例證見董著表稿三七頁。

化相當。關於這一點，我們且先觀察別的聲母中形態變化，再作推論。現在且舉一些曉母與匣母相變的例。

葫 葫瓜，戶吳切匣母 ɣ-；大蒜，荒烏切曉母 x-。

絃 弓絃，胡田切匣母 ɣ-；文彩，許縣切曉母 x-。

華 草盛，戶花切匣母 ɣ-；華荂，呼瓜切曉母 x-。

嗶 泣聲，戶盲切匣母 ɣ-；眾聲，虎橫切曉母 x-。

辱 辱斗，呼古切曉母 x-；抒也，侯古切匣母 ɣ-。

蜺 縊女，胡典切匣母 ɣ-；小蛤，呼典切曉母 x-。

呬 欲吐，胡口切匣母 ɣ-；厚怒聲，呼后切曉母 x-。

詛 休市，荒內切曉母 x-；胡市，胡對切匣母 ɣ-。

坑 穴，呼決切曉母 x-；空深貌，胡決切匣母 ɣ-。²⁸

從這些例子看來，如果 ɣ- 是從上古的 g'- 變來，則一個清擦音跟一個濁塞音，也可以構成形態的變化。反之，一個清塞音跟一個濁擦音當然也可構成形態的變化，正因為牙音裏頭既有見匣的形態變化，又有曉匣的形態變化，所以匣母正可保留它為 ɣ-，並不需要跟唇音的 p-；b'-，舌音 t-；d'- 一樣完全相同。也就是說，在舌根音裏 ɣ- 就相當於唇音的 b'-，舌音的 d'-，都可以跟不送氣的清塞音聲母，構成形態的變化，來區別意義。至於曉匣的對比，正是以 x-：ɣ- 擦音的清濁作形為態的變化。因為舌根音裏有一個清擦音曉 x-，跟唇音、舌音之無清擦音者不同，所以在舌根音一類可以有一個全濁的擦音 ɣ-。匣既然是個摩擦音 ɣ-，匣羣在上古又同出一源，則羣自亦應讀 ɣ- 為宜。如此，則匣羣的關係，當以高氏在中文分析字典敘論裏的後一項假設為是。即：

上古 Arch. 中古 Anc.

何 ɣa —————> ɣa

其 ɣi —————> g'ji

然若作此假設，而羣紐 g'- 與爲紐 j- 同在中古三等韻出現，又發生衝突，我們應該怎樣來解釋上古的 ɣ-，演變到中古的三等韻裏既變 j- 又變 g'- 的現象呢？關於這一點，李方桂先生上古音研究提出富有啓示性的解釋。李先生說：

「舌根音中還有匣母 ɣ- 跟羣母 g-，喻母三等 j- 的相配合的問題。高本漢以匣母跟羣母相配合，擬為上古的 *gh-，在一二四等韻前變為中古的匣母，在三等韻前變為羣母，他又把喻母三等認為是從上古的 *g- 來的。董同龢以匣母跟喻母三等相

²⁸ 以上資料來源見廣韻及金周生廣韻一字多音現象初探（六十八年五月輔大中文研究所碩士論文）

配合，擬爲上古的 *ɣ-，一二四等字在中古的仍保留爲 ɣ-，三等字則變爲 j-，他把羣母仍擬爲 *gh-，又擬了一個 *g- 來代表與舌根音諧聲的喻母四等字。我們既然認爲上古音系中沒有分辨濁母吐氣或不吐氣的必要，所以他們的擬測不容易接受。最值得注意的是喻母三等多數是合口字（其中少數的開口字可以暫時保留另有解釋），因此我們可以認爲喻母三等是從圓脣舌根濁音 *gw+j- 來的，羣母是不圓脣的舌根濁音 *g+j- 來的，或者是 *gw+j+i- 來的，開口的喻母三等字常見的爲矣 ji，焉 jän 都是語助詞，語助詞在音韻的演變上往往有例外的地方（失去合口成分）。其他喻三開口字也多數可以用脣音異化作用（dissimilation）去解釋，如鴟 jäu 可以認爲是 *gwjagw>*jwäu>jäu，燁 jǎp 可以認爲是 *gwjap>*jwǎp>jǎp 等的演變程式。此外雖然仍有不易解釋的例子還要進一步的研究，但是大體上我們只須要有 *g- 及 gw- 就可以解釋大多數的字，其演變律如下：

上古 *g+j-（三等）>中古羣母 g+j-

上古 *g+（一、二、四等韻母）>中古匣母 ɣ-

上古 *gw+j>中古喻三 jw-

上古 *gw+j+i>中古羣母 g+j+w-

上古 *gw+（一、二、四等韻母）>中古匣母 ɣ+w-²⁹

李先生此種解釋，對於匣爲羣三紐的關係頗爲透徹，但仍存在一個問題。董同龢先生批評高本漢說：

「我覺得他用了 g'- 非但是沒有可靠的憑藉，而且也有背古代送氣濁塞音演變的通例，既有 *b'→b-； *d'→d-，*d→d'-； *d'→dz'-； *g'→dz'-，何以 *g'- 只三等變 g'-，而一二四等卻變 ɣ-呢！」³⁰

也許李先生主張古無濁擦音，而 g->ɣ- 也較合於語音演變的通則。但是董同龢先生指出來的問題依然存在。在李先生所擬的古聲母系統中，幾乎所有的單純聲母，在一四等韻前，都保持它們原來的形式而不變，在三等韻前則多半變成別的聲母，然則何以 *g- 跟 *gw- 卻正好相反呢？通常我們認爲三等韻的特徵，最足以影響聲母的變化，而今卻維持原來的形式不變，一四等韻，特別是一等韻，因爲沒有任何介音，聲母最不易起變化，而卻改變成了別的音，這實在是一個值得深思的問題。

我想我們應該檢討的是上古漢語到底有沒有濁擦音的問題。首先，從現代方言來看，也許可找出一些線索。漢語方音字匯收了十七個現代方言，具有濁擦音的方

²⁹ 李方桂上古音研究清華學報新九卷第一二期合刊。見十三頁至十四頁。

³⁰ 見董著表稿三五頁。

言計有北平、濟南、西安、太原、成都、蘇州、溫州、長沙、雙峯、梅縣、廣州等十一處方言，沒有濁擦音的方言有漢口、揚州、南昌、廈門、潮州、福州等六處方言。但是這六處沒有濁擦音的方言，仍有探究的餘地。事實上漢口的 ɹ- 大致相當於成都的 z- ，也應算作是濁擦音，最少也是濁擦音變來的。至於揚州、南昌、福州三處則全是由於濁音清化的結果，因為這三處方言中，連濁的塞音跟塞擦音也都清化了。我們不能因為它們的塞音跟塞擦音清化了，就說上古沒有濁塞音跟濁塞擦音，所以也不能說沒有濁擦音。只有廈門跟潮州特別一些，這兩處方言都有濁塞音跟濁塞擦音，卻沒有濁擦音，好像顯示出上古沒有濁擦音的痕跡。但是根據羅常培³¹、周辨明³²、袁家驊³³的研究，廈門話裏濁塞音跟濁塞擦音並不是保留住原來的音，實在是後來的鼻音、邊音跟鼻塞擦音變來的，原來的濁塞音跟濁塞擦音也都清化了。所以我們也不能說它們原來就沒有濁擦音。潮州話跟廈門話是相近的，也是同樣的情形。我們雖然不能根據現代方言有濁擦音的事實斷然認定上古一定有濁擦音，但最低限度可以反證上古音中沒有濁擦音的話，並不是十分可靠的。

丁邦新先生漢語上古音中 g- 、 gw- 、 ɣ- 、 ɣw- 把李先生 g- 、 gw- 的演變規則改定為：

$\text{g} + \text{j} \rightarrow$ 羣母開口 (gi-)

$\text{gw} + \text{j} \rightarrow$ 羣母合口 (giu-)

$\text{ɣ} + \text{j} \rightarrow$ 云母開口 (j-)

$\text{ɣw} + \text{j} \rightarrow$ 云母合口 (ju-)

$\text{ɣ} +$ 非 j 韻母 \rightarrow 匣母開口 (ɣ-)

$\text{ɣw} +$ 非 j 韻母 \rightarrow 匣母合口 (ɣu-)³⁴

如此可把李先生系統中的例外字，變得規則些，雖然他把匣云合成一類，羣另立一類，跟我們前面說的匣爲羣來源不同，但是承認上古有濁擦音，是值得參考的。周法高先生的論上古音一文³⁵，把羣紐跟匣紐擬作 g- ，喻云紐擬作 z- ，也認為上古音中具有濁擦音³⁶。蒲立本的古音中的聲母系統一文也爲上古音構擬出了 h-hw 一類的濁擦音³⁷。最可注意的是包擬古的釋名研究，根據禍毀、號呼、執煥一類音訓的例子，認為最保險的說法就是在釋名的時代或劉熙的方言，僅有一個 ɣ- 代表中古的

³¹ 羅常培廈門音系（古亭書屋）。

³² 周辨明廈語音韻聲調之構造與性質及其於中國音韻學上某項問題之關係（古亭書屋）

³³ 袁家驊漢語方言概要二四三頁至二四五頁。

³⁴ 丁邦新說見六十二年九月十九日油印討論大綱，題目爲「漢語上古音中的 g, gw, ɣ, rw」

³⁵ 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（1969）抽印本。

³⁶ 見周著論上古音一三八頁。

³⁷ 見 E. G. Pulleyblank: "The Consonantal system of old Chinese." Part I. Asia Major 9. P. 141 (1962)

ɣ-。並以爲釋名裏頭 gi- (爲母) 不跟 ki 或 k'i 相訓，卻有四個跟 g'(ɣ)，兩個跟 xi 相訓，這些資料顯示出來 gi 是個濁擦音，也就是那時期的 ɣi。在音韻結構上這個軟化的聲母跟 ɣ- 相配合。³⁸

這樣說來，上古漢語既有濁擦音。因此，我覺得仍可採用董同龢先生的一些說法來解決匣爲羣三母同源的問題。董先生說：

「于母（僅見於切韻三等韻）在六世紀初年跟匣母（僅見於切韻一二四等韻）本爲一體的事實已經由許多不同的方面得到了充分的證明，其演變情形爲：

ɣ(六世紀初) $\begin{cases} \text{一二四等韻} \rightarrow \text{ɣ (切韻匣母)} \\ \text{三等} \rightarrow \text{j (切韻于母)} \end{cases}$

有了這一點新知識，我們非但可以確認中古匣母所以獨缺三等音的緣由，並且更進一步的得知于母在變 j- 之前還經過了一個 ɣ(i)- 的階段。³⁹

根據包擬古的研究，這個 ɣ(i)- 的來源很早，在釋名時代已經形成了⁴⁰，而羅常培更把它推到了上古。這樣說來，我們在擬音的時候，只要把爲紐在寫法上區別開來，把爲紐寫作 ɣj-，在上古跟匣羣的 ɣ- 相配成一個聲母，像 k-, k'- 與 kj-, k'j- 的相配一樣就可以了。下面是我的擬音及其演變的情形：

上古	釋名到六世紀初	切韻
*ɣ	$\begin{cases} + \text{非 } i \text{ 韻母} \rightarrow \text{ɣ- (匣母)} \\ + i \text{ 韻母} \rightarrow \text{g'- (羣母)} \\ \text{ɣj-} + i \text{ 韻母} \rightarrow \text{j- (爲母)} \end{cases}$	

這樣構擬，我們既不違背漢語聲母在一等韻前不變的通則，也能照顧到匣爲羣同源的關係，演變到上古也沒有例外，只是我們把爲的 ɣj- 時間稍向前推就是了，至於爲何這樣分化，我只根據包擬古研究的事實說明，也許承認切韻論「古今通塞，南北是非」的性質就好瞭解了⁴²。或者說 ɣj- 的時代在某種韻母前較早形成就好了。至於像廣韻文韻雲王分切，羣渠云切；仙韻溪王權切，權巨員切；宵韻鴟于嬌切，喬巨嬌切；陽韻王雨方切，狂巨王切等衝突的音，李先生的上古音研究寫作下面的樣子：

雲 *gwjən > juən	羣 *gwjiən > gjwən
溪 *gwjan > jwän	權 *gwjian > gjwän ⁴³

³⁸ 見 Nicholas C. Badman: "A Linguistic study of the shih Ming" P. 25.

³⁹ 見董著上古音韻表稿三八頁。

⁴⁰ 參見附註³⁸。

⁴¹ 見羅常培經典釋文和原本玉篇反切中的匣于兩紐一二〇頁。

⁴² 參見拙著切韻性質的再檢討六十八年六月中國學術年刊第三期。

⁴³ 溪權二李字先生原文無，今據其所擬古音系統增補。

鴟 *gwjagw > jǎu 喬 *gjagw > gjǎu

王 *gwjang > jwang 狂 *gwjang > gjwang

它們的韻母相同，甚麼樣的音為 gw+j-，甚麼樣的音為 gw+j+i-，如果不是着眼在聲母本來不同的立場，就韻母來說，實在無從區別。然則我們從聲母本來不同的立場，把羣寫作 ʃ+i-，為寫作 ʃj+i- 也無所不可了。這幾個衝突的字，照我的擬音，可改寫作

雲 *ʃjiuən > jiuən 羣 *ʃiuən > g'iuən

援 *ʃjiuan > jiuǎn 權 *ʃjiuan > g'iuǎn

鴟 ʃjiǎu > jiǎu 喬 *ʃjiǎu > g'jiǎu

王 *ʃjiuaʔ > jiuaʔ 狂 *ʃjiuaʔ > g'jiuaʔ

也就沒有甚麼例外了。也許有人會說，以 *ʃ → g'- 有無語言史上的先例。我想三等的羣母 g'-i-，在音值上應該是舌面中的送氣濁塞音即 j'-，只不過在音位上因與 k-, k'-, ɣ-, x- 等相配的關係，把它寫作 g'-i- 罷了。Henry M. Hoenigswald 所著的 "Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction" 一書，曾舉出原始閃語 (proto-Semitic) c 與 ʃ (設構擬正確) 在多數閃語中 (例如希伯來 Hebrew) 就語音而言 (約如符號 cʃ 所示) ʃ 音變向 c。如後圖所示：

c	ʃ 原始閃語	希伯來語
c > c	ʃ > c	c

如此說來，則語言史上舌根濁擦音 ʃ- 變成舌面塞音也是有先例可循的。ʃ- 之所以變 j'- 很可能就是受 -i- 介音的影響，把發音部位拉前升高的結果。

或者還有人說，你把匣羣的分化定在這這麼晚，有甚麼證據。我面前曾引了些異文假借跟音讀的例證，其中有葛洪的抱朴子跟酈道元的水經注，據晉書葛洪大約與王導 (A.D. 267-330) 同時⁴⁵，酈道元卒於西元五二七年，距切韻的成書六〇一年，相去僅七十四年⁴⁶，他寫水經注的時候，正是所謂的六世紀初。最可注意的是無論是葛洪或酈道元，他們的資料都顯示出匣 ʃ- 跟羣 g'- 的接觸，那麼，我們說匣羣比較接近，也不是沒有緣故的。

李榮根據閩語方言像「寒、汗、猴、厚、懸、咬」等連母字讀塞音的例子，寫了一篇從現代方言論古羣母有一、二、四等的文章⁴⁷，好像跟我的說法 *ʃ → g'- 有

⁴⁵ Henry M. Hoenigswald: "Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction" P. 91. 此承吳教授為余解說翻譯，特此致謝。

⁴⁶ 見晉書葛洪傳。

⁴⁷ 參見酈道元水經注裏所見的語音現象一文，六十七年六月中國學術年刊第二期。

⁴⁸ 李榮從現代方言論古羣母有一二四等中國語文一九六五年第五期。

些衝突。關於這點，我沒有甚麼更好的理由來反駁。但是切韻的匣母字現代方言讀擦音的仍最多，即以閩語而論，切韻的匣母字仍是以讀擦音爲多，而且漢字的偏旁，跟一字兩音的讀法也會影響讀音。縱然這不算甚麼證據，我們可從曉母字提一旁證，曉母字大家都認爲是 *x→x 的清擦音，但是曉母的呼字，廈門讀 ˩kʷ，高福州讀 ˩kʷ，況北平、濟南、西安、漢口、成都、揚州、潮州讀 kʷaŋ²，太原讀 kʷa²，長沙讀 kʷan，雙峯讀 kaŋ²，南昌讀 ˩kʷaŋ²，梅縣讀 ˩kʷaŋ²，都是塞音⁴⁸。我們不能根據這類塞音的讀法，說曉母古代也是塞音。以此類推，自也不能根據匣母少數塞音的讀法說匣母是個塞音。我想這點非常值得我們參考。

六十九年六月十五日脫稿於臺北鏤不捨齋

⁴⁸ 本文所引的方言資料悉見漢語方音字匯。

論照穿牀審四母兩類上字讀音

龍 宇 純

中央研究院歷史語言研究所，國立臺灣大學

清人陳澧首由系聯廣韻反切，發現照穿牀審四母各有兩類不相系聯的上字，以為原是不同的讀音的聲母，由於字母家的舉措失當而合併為一。他在切韻考外篇卷三說：

廣韻切語上字四十類，字母家分併為三十六，有得有失。……照穿牀審四母……，廣韻切語上字各分兩類，而字母家兩兩合併之。然如照母之周鄒^{職流切}，側鳩，穿母之樞^{昌朱切}，牀母之碩^{仕就切}，審母之收^{式州切}，……出音皆截然不同，安能併為一母乎？此則字母之病也。

陳氏所說的兩類反切上字，在廣韻中幾乎¹處於完全不能系聯的狀態，這個看法看來是十分合理的。不過陳氏說周鄒、樞等字反切出音截然不同，恐怕仍是根據反切上字屬於不同的類別而言之，以陳氏的時代與屬籍論，似不當有方音的根據。這是首先要指出的。在韻圖（如韻鏡，下同）上，這些不同類的反切上字也都處於對立狀態，無論其彼此間為同韻為不同韻，都分別列於二等或三等地位，不相雜廁。因此陳氏的意見很少有人提出異議；即使有，也未能引起共鳴，有人最後且放棄了其先不同於陳氏的主張²。現代學者可以說普遍接受了陳氏的意見，有人甚至分別給以不同的類名為之區別，如稱韻圖列於二等的為莊、初、崇、生，列於三等的為章、昌、船、書；擬測中古音時，一般也給以不同音標代表不同音讀。如高本漢、李榮、周法高先生擬莊、初、崇、生為 $tʃ$ 、 $tʃ'$ 、 $dʒ^{(‘)}$ 、 $ʃ$ ，章、昌、船、書為 $tʃ$ 、 $tʃ'$ 、 $dʒ^{(‘)}$ 、 $ʃ$ ；王力、陸志韋、董同龢先師則分別擬作 $tʃ$ 、 $tʃ'$ 、 $dʒ^{(‘)}$ 、 $ʃ$ 及 $tʃ$ 、 $tʃ'$ 、 $(d)ʃ^{(‘)}$ 、 $ʃ$ ；蒲立本又擬為 $tʃ$ 、 $tʃh$ 、 $dʒ$ 、 $ʃ$ 及 c 、 ch 、 j 、 $ś$ 。也有一二學者擬以相同音標，而在聲母之後予以不同表幟，如馬丁擬莊系為 cr 、 crh 、 $crh̄$ 、 sr ，章系為 cj 、 cjh 、 $cjh̄$ 、 sj ；蔭堂明保則分擬為 cr 、 $c'r$ 、 $dʒr$ 、 sr 及 crj 、 $c'rj$ 、 $dʒrj$ 、 srj ³。但二人皆不曾對莊章

¹ 廣韻真字音側鄰切，側與真異類，所以用「幾乎」二字。

² 羅常培先生初為切韻探源，主張照穿牀審四母但有四音，其後廢棄此說。見王力漢語音韻學第二十節「廣韻的聲母」注文引羅氏清華大學中國音韻沿革講義。

³ 送氣符號加括號者，以示諸家主張或有或無，意見不一。下同。

⁴ 上列諸家擬音，除蔭堂明保係依據其所著中國語音韻論一書外，餘均據周法高先生論上古音和切韻音一文之「諸家切韻聲類及擬音比較表」。文載香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報第三卷第二期。

二系聲母之爲同音爲異音提出討論，似乎是音位的觀點，爲節省音標所作的設計成分爲多，可視爲與陳氏意見並無異致。

從基本上講，說莊章兩系上字原代表 $ts/t\check{s}$ 、 $t\check{s}/tc$ 或 ts/c 的不同讀音，而字母家竟能將之合爲一母，實在不容易想像；究竟是否字母家以一個字母涵攝了兩個不同的聲母讀音，陳氏也沒有舉出任何證據來支持自己的看法。不過是站在系聯反切的立場，以爲上字既是兩類，當是聲母的不同，於是逕指爲「字母之病」。假定說，韻母上的對立也足以構成聲母上的類別，對字母家的譴責，便成莫須有了。所以，如果有人相信字母家之所爲，一便是一，二便是二，勢必要說兩類上字所表現的是韻母的不同，並非聲母異樣。因此，相信反切系聯或相信字母的出發點不同，所導致的結果，適成相反。這就是說，系聯反切所得的兩類上字，只是一種表象，其深層原因則有兩種可能，究竟何者爲其真相，還須經過嚴密的分析和探討。

切韻考外篇卷三說：

照穿牀審四母及喻母，當依切語上字各分二母。字母家必合併之者，審與禪一清一濁相配，影與喻一清一濁相配。禪影皆一類，故審喻亦皆一類以配之也。然物之不齊，物之情也；本不整齊，而強使分配整齊，是其病也。

這裏陳氏提出了字母家所以合兩類上字爲一字母的解釋，但也只是陳氏個人的推測，字母家並沒有任何類似的說明，且亦無從證明這便是字母家合兩類上字爲一字母的理由。反之，這個推測本身倒有可議之處。禪母只有一類的說法，過去不成問題。自王仁昫刊謬補缺切韻傳世以來，卻帶來了爭論。董同龢先師曾經系聯此書反切，發現蔡、俟二字自爲一類，不與牀母系聯，以爲卽是禪母的二等字；李榮的切韻音系主張相同。案王韻不僅蔡字音俟滂反，與俟字音蔡史反互爲上字；之韻荏字土之反，止韻土字鋤里反，分別與蔡俟二字對立。廣韻雖俟字音牀史切，仍與土字爲二小韻。據陳氏分析條例，二字聲母似應別爲一類。⁵ 影母字一二三四等俱全，與喻母但出現三等韻，韻圖僅見三四兩等地位者情形亦並不相同。陳氏在此節文字下加注說：

影母切語上字本可以分二類，惟汙烏路切，又一故切，則烏、一二字同類，故不能分二類耳。

切韻考卷二“聲類考”列影母反切上字：於、央、億、伊、依、衣、憂、一、乙、握、謁、紆、挹、烏、哀、安、煙、驚、愛，共十九字，注云：

烏以下六字與上十三字不系聯，實同一類。於、央二字互用，烏哀二字互用，則不能兩相系聯耳。十遇汙烏路切，十一模汙哀都切又一故切，一故卽

⁵ 丁邦新兄在本院史語所第二組同仁茶會席間，曾就禪母有無二等字一問題提出討論，則主張禪母僅有一類。

烏路之音，是烏、一二字同一類也。

換言之，如不用補充條例而單用基本條例，影母實際上字亦分兩類。陳氏用此爲字母家合兩類上字爲一喻母的說解，其法自係可商。用又切與正切互勘，雖然將正切系聯爲一，問題是正切本身何以能形成兩不相系聯的類別？更值得注意的是，與影母發音部位相同相近的見、溪、曉三個字母，其上字正切亦並不能系聯，胥賴又切爲之彌縫，情形與影母相同。這種現象決不因一二又切的聯綴即不復存在。而且「一」字韻圖列在四等，與喻母的以類字列於四等者相同，所謂「一故卽烏路之音」，是否兩類影母字系聯爲一的證據，仍有斟酌餘地。這些下文都還要討論到。總之，陳氏此一推測，並非最後定論。

切韻考外篇卷三又云：

一切經音義載大般涅槃經文字品凡有四十七字爲一切字本字音十四字：哀烏反阿壹伊塢烏古反烏理重釐力之反鷲烏反謫汗奧烏故反菴惡此二字是前惡阿兩字之餘音；比聲二十五字：迦佉伽佞其柯反俄魚賀反舌根聲凡五字中第四字與第，遮重車闍膳時若耳賀反舌齒音，吒重咤丑茶咤訖賈拏上哥聲，多他陀馱徒何反奴奴舌頭聲，婆頗婆婆去摩莫个屑助聲，她重邏盧羅李躬縛奢沙婆（字純案：婆當爲娑）呵，此八字超聲。養新錄云：涅槃所載比音二十五字，與今所傳見溪羣疑之譜小異而大同。前所列字音十四字，卽影喻來諸母。然則唐人所撰三十六字母，實采涅槃之文，參以中華音韻而去取之，謂出於華嚴則妄矣。澧案：錢氏謂比音二十五字與見溪羣疑之譜小異大同者，迦佉伽佞卽見溪羣疑也伽佞皆羣母，遮車闍膳卽照穿禪闍膳皆禪母，若卽日也，吒咤茶咤拏卽知徹澄孃也茶咤皆澄母，多他陀馱那卽端透定泥也陀馱皆定母，婆疑當婆婆摩卽幫滂並明也。字音之理釐二字卽來母，其餘哀阿諸字皆影母也。超聲之她字牀母（字純案：錢氏以她爲喻母是也），邏羅亦來母，縛牽母，奢沙審母，呵曉母也。非敷微精清從心邪喻匣十母，則涅槃所無（案：超聲之婆爲娑字之誤，屬心母，她屬喻母，陳說誤）。可見三十六母據中華之音，非據梵音也。其爲涅槃所有者，次第與涅槃同，可見其依涅槃也。

因爲三十六字母的創立，無疑受到梵文的影響，而梵文只有一套齒音，我們似乎可以爲照等四母兩類上字併爲一字母提供一個解釋：梵文的齒音相當於我們照等四母的某一類，另一類因爲沒有相當的梵文音，所以就合併成一個。然而這個解釋也是不會爲人首肯的。誠如錢、陳二氏所說，三十六字母的創立，只是受了梵文的啓發，並非不知變通的一味抄襲：梵文所獨有的，我們固然沒有移植過來；我們所專有的，如非、敷、微、匣、精、清、從、邪，也不曾因爲梵文所無而從闕；且其中精清從邪四

者亦屬齒音，四者既能溢出梵文之外，何獨於照等四母卻非合併不可？又何況梵文雖不具與切韻三類齒音上字完全相當的聲母，自有與心、審相當的娑、沙、奢三個齒音，如果說製字母者必須仿照梵文，也似不難據此而更立四母。所以，這個理由顯見得十分牽強。再從另一角度看，部分唇音字從重唇分化為輕唇，於是不、芳、並、明四母變為幫、非等八母；二、三等韻舌鼻音字方言中有分化現象，不同於一、四等字，於是泥之外有娘；三等韻正齒音全濁聲母方言中讀音不盡相同，於是禪之外有牀；則謂照等四母各有兩不同讀音，因遷就梵文而未有獨立，自然不能令人信服。

這麼說來，陳氏提出的意見，無法讓人接受；我們想為陳氏找出一個合理的解釋，竟也不可得。再從下節引文來看，陳氏且幾乎等於推翻了自己所認定的兩類上字代表不同聲母的主張。切韻考外篇卷三說：

同韻同類皆三等，而雜以四等者，又因切語上字用喻母余夷諸字也。廣韻切語上字余夷諸字與于羽諸字不同類，字母家併為喻母，而分于羽諸字為三等，余夷諸字為四等，此乃遷就，以求不背於古切語耳。何不順其自然分爲兩母乎？又何不竟以當時之音爲斷，不分兩母，亦不分兩等，使同韻同類之切語不相雜乎？

這是說廣韻喻母分兩類，代表的是隋代陸法言的切韻音。三十六字母代表的是唐末音⁶，其時則喻母兩類音已合而爲一。字母家一方面不肯違背切語所代表的切韻「古音」，卻又不能順乎自然分爲兩母；一方面從其當時之「今音」合兩類上字爲一喻母，而又不能徹底，使喻母字在韻圖上只出現於一個三等的位置。這種非古非今依違不定的舉措，在陳氏看來自不免要視爲字母家之病。但可以注意的是，陳氏至少也承認三十六字母時代兩類喻母讀音的相同，只是不合切韻的「古音」而已。陳氏隨即又說：

同韻同類皆三等，而雜以二等者，因切語上字用莊爭諸字，初楚諸字、牀鋤諸字、山疏諸字也。廣韻切語上字莊爭諸字與之止諸字不同類，初楚諸字與昌尺諸字不同類，牀鋤諸字與神乘諸字不同類，山疏諸字與書舒諸字不同類，字母家以八類併為照穿牀審四母，而分之止，昌尺、神乘、書舒諸字為三等，莊爭，初楚、牀鋤、山疏諸字為二等，此亦遷就之法，何不分爲八母乎？

依前一節論喻母的引文引申，陳氏也當認為廣韻莊章兩系不相系聯之上字，在三十六字母時代其發音相同。日本學者藤堂明保以為三等韻莊系字切韻與韻圖兩時代讀音不同，大抵即受此說之影響。周法高先生也以為莊章二系聲母本是二音，至宋代而

⁶ 語見切韻考外篇卷三。

此種分別已不存在⁷。可是這個看法的不妥當，宋以後韻書顯示得十分清楚。廣韻便是宋人編撰的韻書；不過廣韻反切大體因襲孫愐的唐韻，其成書時代雖較韻鏡等韻圖爲晚，仍可以說實際代表的是切韻的「古音」，不是宋代的「今音」。集韻時代又略下於廣韻，其反切且不因襲切韻以來諸書，但系聯集韻反切，照穿牀審喻五母仍各具兩不相系聯的類別⁸。而另一方面，廣韻中唇音、舌音、齒音諸類隔切在此書不復可見，是集韻一書對聲母之同不同音繩之甚嚴。所以論莊章二系上字同音或不同音，都要自切韻起計，自切韻至集韻此一段時期中，兩者讀音是不曾有過變化的。如果說三十六字母時代照穿牀審喻五母兩類上字同音，這現象應自切韻時即已開始。所以我說，陳氏以爲三十六字時代照穿牀審喻五母兩類上字同音的看法，幾乎等於推翻了自己對系聯反切所作的認定。

此下我要從各種角度，說明照等四母兩類上字本是同音，其所以形成兩類上字，乃是由於韻母的對立。

〔壹〕陳氏所持以論定照等四母各具兩類聲母的唯一理由，就是四者各具兩不相系聯的上字。可是根據陳氏系聯反切所顯示，同一字母出現兩類上字者，至少尚有見、溪、影、曉、幫、滂、並、明等八母。雖其中如見、溪、影、曉等陳氏據又切系聯爲一，本文已指出，四者發音部位相同相近，其正切本身竟一致的形成絕不相通的界限，這個現象顯然是值得注意的，並不因一二又切的可以系聯便可忽視。在這裏我更強調，以等韻言之，這些字母的兩類上字，並一二四等韻爲一類，三等韻別爲一類，現象竟亦如出一轍，更表示兩類上字的形成必不是無因的。然而它們並不代表聲母的不同，則爲學者一致的主張。以此類推，安見照等四母的兩類上字便當是聲母的差異！

陳氏系聯反切，只是將廣韻中諸上字本身的反切加以系聯。這些字在作爲上字使用時的全盤情形如何？如果集中這些上字的所有被切字一起觀察，是否將改變原先的系聯狀態？抑或對原先的系聯狀態更能加強？或有其他深一層的認識？這些陳氏都不曾措意。可是對系聯反切的意義作用而言，卻是必不可少的步驟。譬如陳氏系聯照母上字，因爲只注意上字本身的反切，於是其結果：之止止章諸征諸章煮章支職之正之旨職占職脂旨。十二字爲一類，莊側爭側阻側呂側鄉側簪側吟側仄側另七字別爲一類。如果又注意這些上字的所有被切字，則眞字廣韻音側鄰切，爲軫字章忍切、震字章刃切及質字之日切的平聲，便可以發現如非之莊兩類上字可以系聯，便當是眞下用側字有誤，二

⁷ 見所著論上古音和切韻音「切韻的聲母」。

⁸ 據白滌洲集韻聲類考，載本院史語所集刊第三本第二分。參注¹⁵。

⁹ 移當作夷。

者必居其一；切韻考則一面主張之、莊分類，一面錄眞字側鄰切而不疑。又如以溪母而論，陳氏系聯的兩類上字，其一分布在一二四等韻中，其一分布在三等韻，前者爲康^苦枯^苦牽^苦空^苦謙^苦口^苦楷^苦客^苦恪^苦苦^苦康，後者爲去丘^去據^去丘^去墟^去祛^去詰^去吉^去窺^去隨^去羌^去欽^去金^去傾^去起^去墟^去綺^去墟^去豈^去祛^去區^去驅^去貴，可見上字出現不同的類別，與等韻脫離不了干係。但實情如何，不將所有被切字觀察一過，無法卽下斷語。因此觀察上字全部使用情況是有其必要的。白滌洲有廣韻聲紐韻類之統計一文¹⁰，對各字母所有上字出現各等韻的次數有詳細統計，如見系上字何者見於一二四等韻，何者見於三等韻，其間有無出入，各有幾次，都備列明白，一索可得。可惜沒有將廣韻三千八百餘反切列爲一表，需要知道互有出入的是那些反切，以求更進一步的了解，一時間便無從檢尋，應用不便。現在根據李榮切韻音系將王仁昫刊謬補缺切韻書中見溪疑影曉五母上字全部資料予以分析。王韻較廣韻時代爲早，更能代表切韻原貌，當然更是本文所以用李書而不用白文的主要原因。

見母：

一等韻：古55公2各2姑1（一等韻60）〔60〕

二等韻：古52姑1孤1公1（一等韻55）加1格1（二等韻2）〔57〕

四等韻：古25（一等韻25）居1紀1（三等韻2）〔27〕

三等韻：居71舉10几4俱3九2久2紀2詭1癸1軌1吉1駒1基1君1¹¹（三等韻101）〔101〕

總計出現各上字共245次，其中一二四等韻及三等韻分用者，順次爲 142 及 101次，三等韻用一二四等韻者無有，一二四等韻用三等韻者僅居、紀二字共2次。

溪母：

一等韻：苦44口5康3空2枯2恪1（一等韻57）〔57〕

二等韻：苦19口10枯1（一等韻30）客4（二等韻4）〔34〕

四等韻：苦17口2康1（一等韻20）去2（三等韻2）〔22〕

三等韻：去44丘 20 墟4綺3區2驅2起2氣2羌1卻1匡1窺1詰1傾1（三等韻85）〔85〕

總計出現爲198次，一二四等韻及三等韻分用者爲111次及85次，三等韻用一二四等韻者無有，僅四等韻兩用三等韻之去字。

¹⁰ 文載女師大學術季刊第二卷第一期。

¹¹ 全王支韻嬌字君爲反，君實爲居字之誤。切二、切三、王二、廣韻並音居爲。

疑母：

一等韻：五35吾3吳1（一等韻39）牛1（三等韻1）〔40〕

二等韻：五27吾2吳1（一等韻30）牛1（三等韻1）〔31〕

四等韻：五9吾1（一等韻10）〔10〕

三等韻：魚35語19牛7宜4虞4愚1危1（三等韻71）〔71〕

總計152次，一二四等及三等韻分用者爲79及71次，三等韻用一二四等韻者無有，一二四等韻用三等韻者僅牛字二次。

影母：

一等韻：烏44阿2安2愛1哀1（一等韻50）於4—1（三等韻5）〔55〕

二等韻：烏23（一等韻23）於9乙4—2（三等韻15）〔38〕

四等韻：烏10（一等韻10）於8—1（三等韻9）〔19〕

三等韻：於88伊3紆3乙3應2英2憂1央1憶1依1謁1（三等韻106）〔106〕

總計218次，一二四等韻及三等韻分用者爲83及106次，三等韻用一二四等韻字者無有，一二四等韻用三等韻者29次，計於字21次、一字4次、乙字4次。

曉母：

一等韻：呼35虎4火3荒2海1呵1（一等韻46）許2（三等韻2）〔48〕

二等韻：呼14火6虎2荒1霍1（一等韻24）許13（三等韻13）〔37〕

四等韻：呼10虎2火1呵1（一等韻14）許4（三等韻4）〔18〕

三等韻：許55虛12香5況5義3希3興2（三等韻85）火1（一等韻1）〔86〕

總計189次，一二四等韻及三等韻分用者爲84及85次，三等韻用一二四等韻者僅火字一見，一二四等韻用三等韻者僅一許字共19次。

根據以上分析，牙喉音見等五母總計上字共出現1002次，其中一二四等韻及三等韻分用者順次爲499及448次，三等韻用一二四等韻者僅有火字一見，一二四等韻用三等韻者54次，計紀居二字各1次，去牛二字各2次，一乙二字各4次，許字19次，於字21次。以居去二字用於三等韻分別爲71（實有72次，參注¹¹）或44次而用於一二四等韻僅一或二次，及魚字用於三等韻35次而不見一用於一二四等韻，古苦五烏呼五字用於一二四等韻分別爲132、80、71、77、59次亦不見一用於三等韻等現象例之，於許二字用於三等韻分別爲88及55次而用於一二四等韻乃有21及19次之多，現象極爲突出；一字不見用於三等韻，乙字用於三等韻僅三次，二者用於一二四等韻反各有4次，情況亦顯特殊；其餘紀居去牛火五字則並可視爲偶然現象。

可是上述等第間互有出入的上字絕對多數是可以有各別解釋的。於字本有哀都、

央魚二音，並爲習見讀法，高本漢、李榮等以爲於字用於一二四等韻者音哀都切，用於三等韻者音央魚切。許字亦有虛呂、呼古二音，分屬三等韻與一等韻，後者見於詩經伐木的「伐木許許」，釋文僅「沈呼古反」一讀；淮南子道應篇「今夫舉大木者前呼邪許，後亦應之」，許注亦音許爲虎，對於古時讀書人而言，也是個熟悉的讀音。一字韻圖列在四等地位，屬質韻重紐，與乙字對立，疑其介音與四等韻相同（參下文），故用爲一二四等韻上字，而不見用於三等韻。乙字用於二等韻者疑原非甲乙之乙，而是𠂔字或體的𠂔字，本是二等韻字¹²，因形近而誤爲甲乙之乙。牛字二見，一爲蟹韻𠂔字牛買反，一爲魂韻𠂔字牛昆反。前者爲切三所無，集韻云「五買切博雅視也」，蓋據廣雅音收入，後者切三同，廣韻云出纂文。疑兩者反切本不合切韻系統（案：廣韻不收𠂔字），又疑牛並是午字之誤，午與五同音，屬一等姥韻，曹憲廣雅音𠂔字音五買反，蓋其證。去字二見，一爲遇韻𠂔字去挺反，一爲錫韻𠂔字去激反。前者切三、王一、廣韻同，後者切三、王一、王二同，當是切韻以來之舊音；唐韻、廣韻音苦擊反（切），苦與𠂔字同類。居字一見爲添韻𠂔字居點反，切三無此字，王一、王二同全王，當是王韻所增，非切韻舊有；廣韻音兼玷切，兼與𠂔同四等。紀字一見爲禡韻𠂔字紀念反，王一、王二、唐韻、廣韻並同，但無更早殘卷可驗，注云疾行兒，形聲會意不可確知，同韻又有兼字音古念反，爲添韻兼字的去聲，則此字反切有無譌誤，基本上便是疑問。火字一見爲至韻𠂔字火季反，字在韻末，前有𠂔字音許鼻反，當是增加字，爲切韻所無；王二云「詩曰閼宮有𠂔」，與釋文云「𠂔，況域反一音火季反」吻合，蓋本不屬切韻系統之反切。以此言之，上列一二四等與三等混用之上字，或本無所謂混用，如於、許、一；或有譌誤，如乙、牛；或爲切韻所無，不屬切韻反切系統，如牛、居、火；其真逾越界限者，不過去紀二字共三見，而紀字可能尚有問題。以視見等五母上字之總數1002次，實在是微不足道的例外情形。經過這樣的分析，對切韻一書見等五母出現於一二三四等韻的狀況的了解，自比陳氏系聯廣韻反切所予人的印象更爲深刻。熟視了這種情況，如果對於陳氏照等四母兩類上字代表兩不同讀音的主張能無所疑，恐怕是不容易的了。

當然我們也有必要了解一下照等四母全部上字出現時的情況，而不是光看陳氏的反切系聯。這方面王韻沒有任何兩類上字互用的現象，其他韻書中則偶有發現。過去也有學者用陳氏系聯見溪影曉兩類上字的辦法，以又切與正切互勘，系聯照等字母

¹² 𠂔字說文大徐音烏轄切，小徐音尼戛反，並屬二等。陸機文賦「思𠂔𠂔其若拙」，一本𠂔作𠂔，是𠂔讀二等音之證。切三、全王、王二、唐韻、廣韻並收𠂔字於甲乙之乙下，即誤𠂔爲乙字之例。廣韻乙下云：「本烏轄切。」與說文大徐音合，可見唐韻尚有收𠂔字於點韻之本，與蔣斧藏本異音。

的兩類上字。如張煊舉廣韻震韻章刃切振字「又之人切」即真韻「側鄰切」，灰韻他回切推字「又昌佳切」即脂韻「又佳切」，以爲照穿兩類上字可以系聯¹³。羅常培先生又以廣韻與切韻殘卷互勘，舉出切韻真韻真字職鄰反即廣韻側鄰切，彌韻弄字旨充反即廣韻莊卷切，緝韻執字側什反即廣韻之入切，脂韻推字尺佳反即廣韻又佳切，東韻忬字初中反即廣韻敕中切，以支持張氏的主張¹⁴。不過張、羅二氏所舉證據不盡可信。如推字的又昌佳切固然便是脂韻的又佳切；廣韻的又佳切與切三的尺佳反相當，又尺形近，又當是尺字之誤。又如羅氏所舉忬字一例，初中反的依據是切三、王二，但諦視初是勅字，勅與敕同；全王作勅中反，尤爲明證。弄字一例，切三旨充反又庄卷反，廣韻亦旨充切下云又莊眷切，線韻且收弄字音莊眷切，庄卷即莊眷，亦不如羅氏所說。但切三、全王真字音職鄰反，廣韻音側鄰切；執字切三音側什反，全王、唐韻、廣韻音之入反(切)，王二音之十反，職之二字與側字形既不近，其差異當由字音所引起。此外，大徐說文真、禎二篆並音側鄰切，與廣韻同。廣韻切語因襲唐韻，大徐說文亦用唐韻音，兩者來源本同，似不足異；但大徐與廣韻前後共三次轉寫唐韻，如果說「側鄰切」切不出真禎二字的正確讀法，這種現象也許不致發生。何況切三的執字音側什反，又無獨有偶，所以我認爲這誠然是一個可以注意之點。

此外，集韻也有一些可以注意的材料。根據白滌洲的集韻聲類考，此書照穿牀審四母上字形成不相系聯的兩類，情形與廣韻相同¹⁵。從集韻改廣韻真字的側鄰切爲之人切，及改廣韻推字的又佳切爲川佳切看來，更可見此書對照等聲母兩類上字的選用是十分謹慎的。可是廣韻祭韻曩字楚稅切，集韻作充芮切；櫛韻齟字崩瑟切，集韻作食櫛切；陌韻鉏字鋤陌切，集韻作實窄切；職韻剋字士力切，集韻作實側切；洽韻達字士洽切，集韻作實洽切。假定說這表示莊章二系聲母不同，這些字卻沒有一個具有可以堅持非讀章系音不可的理由(案諧聲顯示應讀莊系)，因此我們只有說集韻在這裏又透露了穿牀二母兩類上字實際讀音無別的消息。那麼，其反切上字之不相系聯必因韻母之對立無可疑。推之至於廣韻，至於切韻，並當作如是觀。

〔貳〕切韻臻櫛二韻僅有少數齒音字而獨立成韻，此少數字又正是真質二韻所當有而缺少者，這種現象最令人感到迷惘。具體而言：一、切韻三等韻凡齒音有字者，一般二三四等同時有字。二、脂韻是真質的陰聲，以臻真、櫛質分別相加，真質的內容便與脂同，齒音三等俱足。三、諄術爲真質的合口，術韻有莊紐的黹字和生紐的率

¹³ 見進步齋音論，戴國故月刊一至四期。

¹⁴ 見切韻探源，載中山大學語史所周刊第三集。

¹⁵ 白氏此文所用系聯方法頗可商榷。如用與廣韻反切互勘法，仍可得出照等四母各具兩類上字之結果。以其不影響本文之討論，故用之。

字，以臻眞、櫛質相加，則質的內容便與術合。在在都表示臻櫛便是眞質的莊系字。但這種看法必不能爲主張三等韻莊章二系字韻母相同的學者所接受，因爲他們沒法解釋臻櫛在甚麼條件之下會獨立成韻的。他們認爲臻櫛既然獨立於眞質之外，必其韻母與眞質不同，所以認爲臻櫛爲二等韻，韻母與眞質有具不具介音 $-j-$ 之異。可是切韻二等韻一般除有齒音字而外，又具脣舌牙喉半舌半齒諸音，臻櫛則齒音而外無他字，兩者絕不相同。所以臻櫛爲二等韻的說法，實際仍有疑問。

王仁昫刊謬補缺切韻平聲韻目臻下注云：「呂、陽、杜與眞同、夏侯別，今依夏侯。」從這裏我們知道切韻之分臻眞，是依從夏侯該的韻略；呂靜韻集、陽休之韻略、杜臺卿韻略都不分臻眞。後者臻當然就是眞的莊系字。入聲櫛下注云：「呂、夏侯與質同，今別。」又可知櫛質之分，是切韻的舉措（可能是音韻系統的觀點，平聲既分臻眞爲二，故入聲亦分櫛質；當然也可能是參考了呂、夏侯以外的諸家韻書），在呂、夏侯的韻書裏，櫛則只是質的莊系字。此外，日僧安然悉曇藏卷二載唐武玄之韻銓的目錄，其中琴韻之外別有岑韻。岑琴二字切韻同在侵韻，岑琴二韻當與切韻之一侵韻相當。韻銓一書不傳，其內容以切韻臻眞二韻方之，岑韻蓋但有莊系字，琴韻則是一般三等韻而獨缺此莊系字，合之則是切韻之一侵，分之則是韻銓的岑琴。韻目中又有臻、春二韻，當分別與切韻臻、眞（諄）相當，與岑韻之以莊系字獨爲一韻彼此可以互證。臻櫛非二等韻，本可由王韻目錄所載呂、陽、杜或呂、夏侯各家韻書知之；又得切韻與韻銓侵韻分合不同的參驗，更可斷定這些都只是分韻觀點的不同，與語音並無干係，正是切韻序所說的，「欲廣文路，自可清濁皆通；若賞知音，卽須輕重有異。」夏侯該韻略於平聲分臻眞，入聲則不分櫛質，同是一人之書，而平入的分合不一，這裏面應該沒有方言的問題，更足以支持“分韻觀點不同”的看法。所以臻（櫛）岑的讀音便是臻（櫛）岑的讀音，並不因其或分或合於眞（質）琴的不同，而有屬二等韻或屬三等韻卽具不具介音 $-j-$ 的不同。但無論如何，臻（櫛）岑的讀法必與眞（質）侵韻的章系字有所異，且其異必然在韻母，不然便不具獨立爲韻的條件。這就是說，三等韻莊章二系字韻母原不相同，推之而知照等四母兩類上字的形成，乃是基於韻母的對立。

〔叁〕莊系字出現於切韻二等韻及三等韻彼此間情況如何，對於討論莊章二系上字的讀音具有值得深入探討的價值。過去學者已經發現兩者從不衝突，這一點在韻圖上尤其容易見出。先師董先生說：

側、初、土、所類的字，有出現於二等韻的，也有與之、昌之類同時出現於三等韻的。前者排在照穿牀審禪五母二等下無問題；後者則在此五母下要與

同韻母之、昌之類字衝突。恰巧凡在這種情形發生的時候，同轉都完全沒有二等音，於是他們就得以向外侵佔了正齒音下二等的地位。

最令我們感興趣的是，當三等韻的莊系字韻圖必須排列二等地位時，何以二等韻便恰巧完全無字？這裏代表了什麼樣的背景？韻圖將三等韻的莊系字列於齒音二等地位，算不算是向外侵佔地盤？我認為都是值得深究的。

根據檢查，二等韻莊系字與三等韻莊系字出現於韻圖的實際情況，並非一端。其一、照穿牀審四母下二等地位，或全屬二等韻，或全屬三等韻：二等韻有字，即三等韻無字；三等韻有字，即二等韻無字，合於語言學中所說的互補現象。其二、或同時屬於二等韻及三等韻，而犬牙交錯：二等韻有字，即三等韻無字；三等韻有字，即二等韻無字，亦成互補現象。其三、偶有同一處二等韻及三等韻同時應有字的，出乎意外的是，竟都可以用相同的一字代表不同的兩韻，形成一字重出現象。詳細列舉於下：

前二者如：韻鏡第十三轉去聲怪、祭同圖，照母之瘵、穿母之瘵屬怪韻，祭韻正無字。第十四轉去聲怪、祭同圖，穿母之桑、審母之啍屬祭韻¹⁶，怪韻正無字。第二十一轉山、元同圖，平聲穿母之彈、牀母之戢、審母之山屬山韻，元韻正無字；上聲照母之醴、穿母之剗、牀母之棧、審母之產屬產韻，阮韻正無字；入聲照母之鐏、穿母之剗屬鐏韻，月韻正無字。第二十二轉山、元同圖，入聲穿母之簫、審母之刷屬鐏韻，月韻正無字；去聲願韻澹漱等字音又万反（切），當入穿母處¹⁷，禿韻正無字。第二十三轉刪、仙同圖，平聲牀母之潺、審母之刪屬刪韻，仙韻正無字；上聲照母之詐、穿母之獫、審母之消屬消韻，獫韻正無字；去聲穿母之鎗、牀母之輓、審母之訕屬諫韻，線韻正無字；入聲照母之札、穿母之察屬黠韻，薛韻正無字。第二十四轉刪、仙同圖，上聲穿母之慙屬消韻，獫韻正無字；去聲穿母之篡屬諫韻，線韻正無字；照母之弄¹⁸、牀母之饌屬線韻，諫韻正無字；入聲穿母之剿¹⁹、審母之刷屬薛韻，黠韻正無字。第二十五轉肴、宵同圖，平上去三聲並屬肴效韻，宵小笑三韻正無字。第三十五轉耕、清同圖，平聲照母之爭、穿母之琤、牀母之崢屬耕韻，清韻正無字；去聲照母之諍屬諍韻，勁韻正無字；入聲照母之責、穿母之策、牀母之贓、審母之桼屬麥韻，昔韻正無字。第三十六轉耕、清同圖，入聲照母之擗、牀母之赴、審母之攢屬麥韻，昔韻正無字。第三十九轉咸、鹽同圖，平聲牀母之讒、審母之攢屬咸韻，鹽韻正無字；上聲照母之斬、穿母之臘、牀母之瀧、審母之慘屬鹽韻，琰韻正無

¹⁶ 詳拙著韻鏡校注（以下簡稱校注，臺北藝文）14及16。

¹⁷ 詳校注16。

¹⁸ 詳校注31。

¹⁹ 詳校注37。

的空隙；牀母之齟既見櫛韻音崩瑟切，又見質韻音仕叱切；一者互補，一者重出，當然充分顯示兩者間讀音關係的不可分割。三、切韻麻、庚二韻同時具二等三等，而莊系字不見有重紐現象。結合以上三點，很明顯的指向一個解釋：切韻三等韻的莊系字與二等韻的莊系字型態實際相同，如果說二等韻莊系字聲韻之間無介音存在，則三等韻莊系字聲韻之間亦無介音存在。正因為如此，所以與鐸韻黨字相為去入的齟字王二、廣韻收在願韻，實與入於禡韻無異；臻眞、櫛質的或分或合，以及刺、齟二字的互補、重出，也正都是基於彼此只是一音，所關者不過是分韻的觀點不同，和各韻收字之標準未盡劃一；麻、庚二韻莊系字之所以不見重紐，當然也可以說正因為三等韻莊系字本與二等韻莊系字同音。有此一解釋，可以說一切問題無不迎刃而解。至於本節所列各二三等韻間的互補重出現象，也自然都是同一原因。四、切韻系韻書三、四等韻都可能有精系字，韻圖同時列於四等地位。這種字既不出現上述互補現象，也不出現上述重出現象，因為其彼此間確乎是不同讀音的（參下文）。所以見於韻圖者，凡與四等韻同轉之三等韻，其精系字必因地位衝突而別列於相近之他轉，無一例外。以彼例此，二、三等韻莊系字韻母相同的主張，無異得到有力的明證。換言之，莊章兩系上字的形成正是由於韻母的對立。

〔肆〕習見的四聲等子一書，所載門法有「正音憑切」門，其說云：

照等五母下爲切；切逢第二，韻逢二三四，並切第二，名「正音憑切」門。所謂「五母下爲切」、「切逢第二」及「正音憑切」的切字，等於後人所說的反切上字；所謂「韻逢二三四」的韻字，等於反切下字。意思說凡照等五母爲反切上字，而此等字韻圖列在齒音二等地位，則無論其反切下字屬於韻圖的二等、三等或四等，都要以二等論，切出二等讀音，這就是「正音憑切」，也就是憑反切上字確定韻母的等第，確定反切下字所代表的韻母讀音。舉例而言，如魚韻疏字所菹切，所、菹二字並見二等，是爲音和切，切出的疏字讀音當然屬於二等；韻逢三等的如脂韻衰字所追切，韻逢四等的如師字所夷切，也都仍然切二等音，不從追字、夷字所在的等第讀三等或四等。以此而言，三等韻韻圖列在二等的莊系字與列在三等或四等的字，韻母分明並不相同，過去學者以爲三等韻莊系字韻母同章系字，顯然是一錯誤。反切本有憑上字定韻母等第的傾向²⁴，只要屬於一個可以叶韻的範圍，反切下字與被切字同不同等不是很重要，特別是以韻圖上有特定地位而非四等俱全的字爲切上字者爲然，門法之所以有「正音憑切」門，其背景就在於此。假定說莊系章系同韻母，則

²⁴ 詳拙著例外反切的研究，載本院史語所集刊第三十六本。

又何須有此門法乎！所以我說莊章二系上字的不能系聯，緣於韻母的對立，於此不啻又獲一證。四聲等子的時代，與所謂韻鏡、七音略等早期韻圖不相上下²⁵，皆去隋唐未遠，它對於中古音的認識，當然值得信賴，只是一般學者有一錯誤觀念，總以其時代較韻鏡等為晚，而不甚重視。此外，近代發現的守溫韻學殘卷有「兩字同一韻憑切定端的」一例，正與等子「正音憑切」所說相同，所舉各組反切為：

諸_反章_魚辰_反常_鄰禪_反市_連朱_反章_俱承_反署_陵賞_反書_兩
 道_反側_魚神_反食_鄰潺_反士_連傷_反莊_俱細_反食_陵爽_反疎_兩

說明下字相同的兩切，其被切字韻母憑上字來作決定，其中第一、第三、第四、第六各組上字，正分屬照等字母兩個不相系聯的類，可見我們說莊章二系上字之別，在韻不在聲，原是古有明訓的。

庚、梗、敬（映）、陌四韻，各具二、三兩等；其齒音諸字，上字並屬莊系，屬於二等韻字，自然沒有疑問。本文前節已指出，此四韻莊系字無重紐，即由於三等韻莊系字本與二等韻莊系字同音。在此更要指出：自切韻至廣韻，庚韻齒音三字，鎗字楚庚反（切），倫字助庚反（切），生字則音所京反（切）；梗韻齒音僅有一省字，音所景反（切）；敬（映）韻齒音二字，灝字楚敬反（切），生字所敬反（切）；陌韻齒音四字，迕字側伯反（切），齏字鋤陌反（切），柵字索字則分別為測戟反（切）及所（山）戟反（切）。其中下字京、景、敬、戟都屬三等韻。集韻庚韻生字及陌韻柵、索二字雖已改為音和切，梗韻省字仍音所景切，映韻灝、生二字音楚慶切或所慶切，慶字也屬三等韻。這些下字的被切字，究竟應屬二等韻，應屬三等韻，過去學者雖然並沒有走上岔道，理論上卻無法交代。根據本文的了解，當然清清楚楚都是不具介音-j-的二等字，上述門法便是指引迷津的明燈。

〔伍〕三等韻莊、章二系字之異在韻不在聲，還可以從黃公紹、熊忠的古今韻會舉要及蘭茂的韻略易通觀察得知。

在古今韻會舉要裏，除公字母韻崇終兩紐字同一韻母之外，切韻三等韻莊系字皆與章系字分道揚鑣。其詳情分別言之：一、或獨立成韻。如莊字母韻（舉平以該上去，下同）即是切韻陽韻的莊系字。簪字母韻即是切韻侵韻的莊系字。櫛字母韻即是切韻的櫛韻字和緝韻的莊系字。二、或與同韻精系字合韻，這些精系字今天都讀開口洪音。此為贊字母韻，即切韻支脂之三韻的精莊系字。三、或與切韻一二等韻字合為一韻。如孤字母韻即合切韻模韻字、魚韻莊系字及虞韻非莊兩系字而成。乖字母韻即合切韻皆佳兩韻合口字及支脂兩韻合口莊系字而成。根字母韻即合切韻痕韻字及臻韻字而

²⁵ 等子作者，潘重規先生以為即為龍龜手鑑作序的智光，其時代在五代宋初。見所著韻學碎金，載幼獅學誌第十四卷第二期。

成。鈎字母韻即合切韻侯韻（除幫系）字及尤韻莊系字而成。穀字母韻即合切韻屋韻一等字、屋韻三等非莊兩系字、沒韻字及術韻莊系字而成。克字母韻即合切韻德韻字及職韻莊系字而成。三類之中，不雜一個章系字。尤其可以注意的是，切韻三等韻莊系字，除上述有與二等韻莊系字合流者外，其行徑與二等韻字無不相同。從歷史語音來追溯這種現象，自然表示切韻三等韻莊系字型態與二等韻莊系字相同；而與三等韻的章系字對立。如果說三等韻照系字與二等韻照系字的不同在於 -j- 介音之有無，三等韻章系字與同韻莊系字的分別，當然也在於具不具 -j- 介音。現在將切韻二等韻在此書中的情況述之如下：

一、或仍爲一獨立韻，或與其他二等韻字合韻。如關字母韻即切韻刪山兩韻合口字。牙字母韻即切韻麻韻二等開口幫知莊三系字及疑母之牙字。瓜字母韻即切韻麻韻二等合口字。刮字母韻即切韻黠鎋兩韻合口字。額字母韻即切韻陌韻二等字及麥韻開口字（除見影系）。

二、或與切韻一等韻字及原屬三等韻而後世變爲洪音之字合韻。如該字母韻即合切韻哈韻字、皆佳兩韻開口幫莊兩系字而成。干字母韻即合切韻寒韻字、刪山兩韻幫莊兩系字及元韻非系字（如翻）而成。高字母韻即合切韻豪韻字及肴韻幫知莊三系字而成。桓字母韻即合切韻登韻開口字及庚韻二等與耕韻開口幫知莊三系字而成。甘字母韻即合切韻覃談兩韻字、咸銜兩韻莊系字及凡韻非系字（如凡）而成。郭字母韻即合切韻鐸韻合口字、藥韻合口非系字（如縛）及覺韻知莊兩系字及來母字而成。怛字母韻即合切韻曷合盍三韻端精兩系字、黠鎋兩韻開口知莊系字、洽狎兩韻知莊系字及月乏兩韻非系字（分別如伐、法）而成。

此外，還有可以注意的一點是，根字母韻中臻等字即切韻臻韻字，櫛字母韻中櫛等字即切韻櫛韻字，戢澀等字當即韻銓岑韻入聲字，簪字母韻當即韻銓岑韻字，讓我們更能體會到切韻及韻銓所以分臻及岑的道理，這些字在切韻時代，其韻母必不得與章系字相同。

韻略易通一書，一方面如支辭韻枝母的菑與之、上母的師與尸及東洪韻春母的崇與充同音。一方面則江陽韻枝母的莊與章對立，春母的瘡與昌對立，上母的霜與商對立；真文韻枝母的臻與真及櫛與質對立，春母的蓀與臚及黠與叱對立，上母的莘與身及瑟與失對立；庚晴韻枝母的爭與征、責與隻及側與職對立，春母的儉與成、策與尺及戢與執對立，上母的生與聲、索與釋及色與識對立；侵尋韻枝母的簪與針、春母的岑與沈（沈本屬澄母，本書澄穿聲母不別，故以爲例）對立，上母的森與深及澀與濕對立；蕭豪韻枝母的爪與沼對立，春母的燭與黠對立，上母的梢與燒對立；幽樓韻枝母的鄒與周對立，春母的鞫與醜對立，上母的搜與收對立；又山寒韻枝母的陞（平）、

札(入)與先全韻的專(平)、折(入)對立，春母的潺(平)、察(入)與闌(上)、掣(入)對立，上母的刪(平)、殺(入)與羶(平)、設(入)對立；緘威韻枝母的斬(上)、眨(入)與廉纖韻的颺(上)、儼(入)對立，春母的讎(平)與覘(平)，本讀徹母，此書徹與穿同聲對立，上母的衫(平)、霎(入)與苦(平)、攝(入)對立；呼模韻枝母的阻與居魚韻的煮對立，春母的芻與樞對立，上母的疏與書對立；皆來韻枝母的齋(平)、寮(去)與西微韻的制(去)對立，春母的差(平)、瘥(去)與戀(去)對立，上母的曬(上)與世(去)對立。對於推求切韻莊章二系字讀音的不同，後者當然也都指向聲同韻異的道路；前者在此書少見，苗與之等兩者韻母相同，自是後世的偶然音變現象。

〔陸〕從現代方言推測，照等四母兩類上字也顯示係由於韻母的對立。根據漢語方音字滙選其彼此間變異較大者舉例列表如下：

	國語	蘇州	溫州	長沙	雙峯	南昌	梅縣	廣州	廈門	潮州	福州
莊	ɕtɕuaŋ	ɕtsʊŋ	ɕtsɔ	ɕtɕyan	ɕtsaŋ	ɕtsɔŋ	ɕtsɔŋ	ɕtɕɔŋ	ɕtsɔŋ	ɕtsuŋ	ɕtsouŋ
章	ɕtɕaŋ	ɕtsʊŋ	ɕtɕi	ɕtɕan	ɕtaŋ	ɕtsɔŋ	ɕtsɔŋ	ɕtɕœŋ	ɕtiɔŋ	ɕtsiaŋ	ɕtsuɔŋ
瘡	ɕtɕ'uaŋ	ɕts'ʊŋ	ɕts'ɔ	ɕtɕ'yan	ɕts'aŋ	ɕts'ɔŋ	ɕts'ɔŋ	ɕtɕ'ɔŋ	ɕts'ɔŋ	ɕts'uŋ	ɕts'ouŋ
昌	ɕtɕ'aŋ	ɕts'aŋ	ɕtɕ'i	ɕtɕ'an	ɕt'aŋ	ɕts'ɔŋ	ɕts'ɔŋ	ɕtɕ'œŋ	ɕts'ioŋ	ɕts'iaŋ	ɕts'uɔŋ
霜	ɕɕuaŋ	ɕsʊŋ	ɕɕyɔ	ɕɕyan	ɕsaŋ	ɕsɔŋ	ɕsɔŋ	ɕɕœŋ	ɕsɔŋ	ɕsuŋ	ɕsouŋ
商	ɕɕaŋ	ɕsaŋ	ɕɕi	ɕɕan	ɕɕiaŋ	ɕsɔŋ	ɕsɔŋ	ɕɕœŋ	ɕsiɔŋ	ɕsiaŋ	ɕsuɔŋ
爭	ɕtɕəŋ	ɕtsən	ɕtsie	ɕtsən	ɕtɕiẽ	ɕtsən	ɕtsən	ɕtɕa:ŋ	ɕtsɪŋ	ɕtsẽ	ɕtseiŋ
征	ɕtɕəŋ	ɕtsən	ɕtseŋ	ɕtɕən	ɕtɕin	ɕtsən	ɕtsən	ɕtɕɪŋ	ɕtsɪŋ	ɕtseŋ	ɕtsiŋ
生	ɕɕəŋ	ɕsən	ɕsis	ɕsən	ɕɕiẽ ɕsõ	ɕsən	ɕseŋ	ɕɕa:ŋ	ɕsɪŋ	ɕsẽ	ɕseiŋ
聲	ɕɕəŋ	ɕsən	ɕseŋ	ɕɕən	ɕɕin ɕɕio	ɕsən	ɕsaŋ	ɕsɪŋ	ɕsɪŋ	ɕsiã	ɕsiŋ
爪	ɕ'tɕsau	ɕ'tsæ	ɕ'tsɔ	ɕ'tsau	ɕ'tsə	ɕ'tsau	ɕ'tsau	ɕ'tɕa:u	ɕ'dziau	ɕ'ziəu	ɕ'tsɔ
昭	ɕ'tɕsau	ɕ'tsæ	ɕ'tɕis	ɕ'tɕsau	ɕ'tɕiə	ɕ'tseu	ɕ'tsau	ɕ'tɕiu	ɕ'tsiau	ɕ'tsiəu	ɕ'tsieu
梢	ɕ'sau	ɕ'sæ	ɕ'sɔ	ɕ'sau	ɕ'sə	ɕ'sau	ɕ'sau	ɕ'sa:u	ɕ'siau	ɕ'siəu	ɕ'sau
燒	ɕ'sau	ɕ'sæ	ɕ'ɕis	ɕ'sau	ɕ'ɕiu	ɕ'seu	ɕ'sau	ɕ'siu	ɕ'siau	ɕ'sie	ɕ'sieu
鄒	ɕ'tsou	ɕ'tsɔy	ɕ'tsau	ɕ'tsɔu	ɕ'tɕie	ɕ'tseu	ɕ'tseu	ɕ'tɕau	ɕ'tsɔ	ɕ'tsou	ɕ'tseu
周	ɕ'tɕsou	ɕ'tsy	ɕ'tɕiu	ɕ'tɕɔu	ɕ'tɕiu	ɕ'tsəu	ɕ'tsu	ɕ'tɕau	ɕ'tsiu	ɕ'tsiu	ɕ'tsieu
搜	ɕ'sou	ɕ'sɔy	ɕ'sau	ɕ'sɔu	ɕ'ɕie	ɕ'seu	ɕ'seu	ɕ'ɕau	ɕ'sɔ	ɕ'siəu	ɕ'seu
收	ɕ'sou	ɕ'sɔy	ɕ'ɕiu	ɕ'sɔu	ɕ'ɕiu	ɕ'səu	ɕ'su	ɕ'ɕau	ɕ'siu	ɕ'siu	ɕ'sieu

疏	ɕsu	ɕsəu	ɕsl	ɕsɤu	ɕsəu	ɕsu	ɕsl	ɕʃɔ	ɕsl	ɕso	ɕsu
書	ɕsu	ɕsɥ	ɕsl	ɕɣy	ɕɣy	ɕɣy	ɕsu	ɕsy	ɕsu	ɕtsl	ɕtsy
色	sɤ°	sɤ°	sɤ°	sɤ°	ɕɣie	set°	set°	sɪk°	sɪk°	sek°	sai°?
識	ɕsl	sɤ°	sei°	ɕsl	ɕsl	sət°	sət°	sɪk°	sɪk°	sek°	sei°?
森	ɕsən	ɕsən	ɕsaʔ	ɕsən	ɕɣie	ɕsən	ɕsem	ɕʃam	ɕsim	ɕsiem	ɕseiʔ
深	ɕsən	ɕsən	ɕsaʔ	ɕsən	ɕɣin	ɕsəm	ɕts'əm	ɕʃam	ɕts'im	ɕts'im	ɕsiʔ

從這些例看來，可以歸納為如下幾點：一、有同音者；二、有聲同韻異者；三、有韻同聲異者；四、韻異者大致莊系字主要元音較章系字為低，即其讀音較洪；五、聲異者大致莊系為舌尖音，章系為捲舌音或舌面前音。其同音者，可能其始韻同，亦可能其始聲同，後乃演為同音。聲同韻異者，當是其始如此。韻同聲異者，ts/tɕ、s/ɕ的對立，前者無介音，後者必含 -i- 介音，可見其始聲母相同，因介音 -i- 之影響而歧分為二；ts/tɕ、s/ɕ 的對立，也可能受韻母不同的影響所致。其中也有例外情形，如長沙莊是 tɕyan，而章是 tɕʃan，似乎莊系字其始反較章系字音細。但莊字讀 tɕyan 與江韻窗字、雙字音 tɕ'yan、ɕyan 行為一致，麻韻灑字音 °ɕyai，現象亦正平行。江麻為二等韻，其始無介音 -j-，可見長沙莊字並不支持切韻三等韻莊系字原有 -j- 介音的說法。

總結上文所提出的六點論證，無一不顯示照等四母兩類上字實際所表現的為韻母的對立，並非二者聲母上有何不同。由於見溪疑影曉五母四等聲母無不相同，卻可因具不具 -j- 介音而形成兩類上字；因此本文主張照等四母因韻母的對立而形成上字的類別，應該是不容懷疑的。不但如此，我們甚至還可以比擬見等五母說，此四者韻母的對立，也便是具不具 -j- 介音的不同。於是不僅如過去學者所說，不同韻而韻圖同轉之二等韻莊系字與三等韻章系字其別在於 -j- 介音之有無（其間除臻真而外，當然還有元音之不同）；與二等韻在韻圖中成立互補或重出的三等韻莊系字，其與同韻章系字之異，也可以是具不具 -j- 介音的差別。這樣便只需將過去學者所擬三等韻莊系字的 -j- 介音除去，再將莊章二系的聲母擬為同音，一切問題都可以解決了。舉例而言，假如擬定莊章兩母並為 tɕ-，則如陽韻側羊切的莊字音為 tɕaʔ，而諸良切的章字音為 tɕjaʔ，本身既足以區別，亦足以解釋何以上字出現不相系聯的類別。可是我們不難想到，莊字韻母既然為 aʔ，則何以不入唐韻？且何故一切與一等韻同元音同韻尾的三等韻（如蒸之與登）莊系字無一字入一等韻者？可見問題並非如此簡單。但是前列六節俱顯示三等韻莊系字不當具 -j- 介音，又確然無可疑。因此我設想，凡韻圖列於二等之字，無論其為二等韻，或屬三等韻，都一律具 -e- 介音，因為有此介音，所以莊 tɕeaʔ 與章

tʃjaŋ 合爲一陽韻，而不以莊入於韻母爲 aŋ 的唐韻；又因 -e- 爲純元音，與 -j- 爲半元音性質不同，在三等韻中形成韻母上的對立，遂令照等四母出現兩類上字，情形與見等五母三、四等韻以半元音之介音 -j- 及純元音之介音 -i- 的不同，形成韻母對立而出現兩類上字者，也可以相互參驗。二等韻字現代方言往往有顎化現象，如江字由 k- 變 tɕ-，敲字由 k'- 變 tɕ'-，軒字由 ɣ- 變 ɕ-，遐字亦由 ɣ- 變 ɕ-，或者亦正支持 -e- 介音的構想。因此過去學者所定的中古音，以同龢先師中國語音史爲例，便當略有不同：如崇原爲 dz'juŋ，而今爲 dz'euŋ；鄒原爲 tʃju，而今爲 tʃeu，植原爲 tʃa，而今爲 tʃea；其餘類推。唯臻、簪等字，以其元音爲“e”，不必更有 -e- 介音，故原爲 tʃ(j)en 及 tʃjem，而今爲 tʃen 及 tʃem。

要了解一件事情的真相，必須注意其相關的各種現象；當現象彼此間構成矛盾的時候，尤其必須能解除矛盾，而不是取其一端，而遺其另一端。照等四母出現兩類上字，只是一種現象；字母家只有四母，正是同等重要的另一現象。究竟照等四母代表幾個不同的聲母，其解答必須能滿足此相互衝突的兩種現象，方爲可能。陳澧的主張顯然是取一遺一，本文從韻母對立的觀點提出來的看法，則是兼顧兩面，在目前應屬唯一可以調和衝突的合理說解。

五十三年，我作例外反切的研究一文²⁶，發現陳澧所說反切以上字定聲、下字定韻的法則只是反切結構的一種；上字與被切字具有疊韻關係（包括韻母全同或具陰、陽、入之關係）的反切，所佔比例甚大，有時被切字韻母的開合洪細且根本係由上字表示，下字的開合洪細反與被切字不同。這類反切，在時代愈早的韻書中愈多見，充分說明反切的結構原非一端；上字與被切字之間，是否同具 -j- 介音，其一致的情況尤爲突出。見等五母之各有兩類上字，卽其顯例。故本文之主張莊章二系上字聲母相同，而以具不具 -j- 介音爲別，實由彼文發展而來。爲了切實認識本文觀點，讀者宜取彼文一觀，並請參考內子杜其容女士由韻書中罕見上字推論反切結構一文。²⁷

最後，要將其他相關的問題，扼要述之如下。依個人了解：

一、凡喻母字皆爲零聲母，其所以出現不相系聯的兩類上字，也是由於韻母對立的關係。具體言之，韻圖列於第三等的于類字爲 -j- 介音，列於第四等的以類字爲 -i- 介音。

二、凡韻圖列於四等地位的精系字，無論爲三等韻的精清從心邪，或者爲四等韻的精清從心，介音皆爲元音性的 -i-，其間的不同在於主要元音。因爲三等韻精系字

²⁶ 參注²⁴。

²⁷ 載國立臺灣大學文史哲學報第二十一期。

的介音並非 -j-，所以上字不出現兩類。

三、不僅上述韻圖列於四等地位的精清從心邪喻六母字介音爲 -i-，即支脂真諄祭仙宵諸韻圖列於四等的重紐字，其介音亦莫不爲 -i-。前列全王上字，影母的「一」字雖屬三等韻，但不作韻圖列於三等地位的影母字的上字，四次作爲上字，見於一、四等韻各一次，見於二等韻二次，其道理正在於此。曾經提到陳氏以汙字「一故卽烏路」，系聯影母二類上字，以爲其法有斟酌餘地，就是這個觀點。我曾作廣韻重紐音值試論一文²³，以爲此等字及喻母以類字介音爲 -ji-，其說實誤。

四、凡知系字無論爲二等韻，爲三等韻，其介音相同。過去學者以爲二等韻知系字無介音，唯三等韻知系字具介音 -j-。果如此說，知系反切上字似當形成兩不相系聯的類。今觀其上字，見於二等韻者極少，二等韻多用三等韻者爲上字；而且如以說文所收之字爲斷限，二、三等韻知系字出現互補狀態，故知此說不實。麻庚二韻同時具二、三兩等，而知系字只有見於二等者一類，亦可見知系字無對立之韻母。過去高本漢曾經注意到二、三等韻知系字通用不別的現象，以爲或並爲單純聲母，或並爲 -j- 化聲母，且傾向於 -j- 化聲母的看法。我則認爲兩者同爲單純聲母，而並有 -e- 介音。

六十九年七月十八日宇純誌

²³ 載香港中文大學崇基學報第九卷第二期。

漢語聲調源於韻尾說之檢討

丁 邦 新

中央研究院歷史語言研究所，國立臺灣大學

一、緒 論

關於漢語聲調起源的探討，可以分從兩個層次來說。第一層，是研究漢語的聲調從哪裏來。是古已有之，還是另有來源；如果另有來源，是什麼樣的來源？從詞頭變來，還是從詞尾變來？這些問題難以解決，因為漢語的歷史不知道要比中國文字的歷史早多少年。換句話說，漢語聲調的起源可能比文字要早，從文字以前的史前史中，無法找出確切的資料來加以證明，只能有不同的學說。我們也難以辨明各種學說的可靠與否，因為實在拿不出證據來。第二層，暫時不管最早的起源如何，可以根據上古漢語的資料，分析後代不同聲調的字在上古的情形，從種種跡象來推測，究竟在上古漢語中有聲調，還是沒有聲調。舉例來說，如果我們能肯定在詩經時代已經有跟後代相同的聲調，那麼即使這些聲調可能在更早的時候別有來源，那也是詩經時代以前的事。本文所作的正是屬於第二層次的工作。

明清兩代音韻學家對聲調的研究在於討論周秦上古音有沒有聲調，如果有聲調究有幾類？例如陳第讀詩拙言說「四聲之辨古人未有」；顧炎武音論認為「四聲一貫」；段玉裁六書音均表認為上古只有平上入三聲；孔廣森詩聲類認為除閉口韻外，其餘各部皆無入聲，而去聲有長言短言之分；最後江有誥唐韻四聲正提出「古人實有四聲，特古人所讀之聲與後人不同」的說法，並且得到王念孫的贊同，成為清人聲調說的定論。¹

近人對於上古漢語的聲調也有種種學說，我以前曾經加以評述。（見Ting Pang-hsin 1975 及丁邦新 1975 b.）認為承認上古有四個聲調是比較妥當的辦法，至於去入聲的密切關連，可用先師董同龢先生的四聲三調說來解釋。

各家的說法之中，有一說可以稱之為「聲調源於韻尾說」，我也曾經從上古漢語

*本文承李方桂先生審閱教正，復承周法高、龍宇純、李壬癸、龔煌城、Jerry Norman、South Coblin 諸先生賜教，謹此致謝。

¹ 見唐韻四聲正卷首「石驥先生復書」。關於明清各家聲調說的檢討，見周祖謨「古音有無上去二聲辨」頁三二—一四〇；董同龢 1954: 182—185；王力 1957: 451—455。

的一種構詞型式立論反駁(1975 b)，指出並列語成分排列的次序有百分之八十受聲調的約制。如果當時的漢語沒有聲調，只有韻尾輔音，就難以解釋這種構詞上的現象。例如論語、孟子、詩經中，有「損益、溝洫、賓客、商賈、選擇、琴瑟、飢渴、麻麥」等詞，何以不說「益損、洫溝、客賓、賈商、擇選、瑟琴、渴飢、麥麻」？尤其國名，有「陳蔡、魯衛、秦楚、齊楚、韓魏」，何以不說「蔡陳、衛魯、楚秦、楚齊、魏韓」？我的規則是：

「在雙音節並列語中，如有平聲字，它總用爲第一成分；如有入聲字，它總用爲第二成分；在沒有平、入聲字時，上聲總用爲第一成分。」(1975 b:35)自然，這條規則是歸納性的結果，只能解釋百分之八十的現象，例如國名就有「晉楚」一條不合規則。但我們不能忽略，這種構詞型式只是語言中的一種自然趨勢，並不是鐵的規律。因此，有百分之二十的現象不能解釋，本來是自然的事。材料部分容或有值得斟酌之處，例如「魯衛」一條的形成，也可能因爲孔子是魯人，才把魯放在前面。即使剔除一部分材料，我的分析仍然能解釋大部分的現象。這種構詞的型式在現代國語中也還有類似的傾向(丁邦新 1969)。假如上古漢語沒有聲調，平聲字具有 -m、-n、-ŋ 或 -b、-d、-r、-g 尾，上聲字來自韻尾 -ʔ，去聲字來自韻尾 -s，入聲字有 -p、-t、-k 尾，我們有什麼理由解釋，一個有 -n 尾的音節通常都要出現在另一個有 -ʔ 或 -s 尾音節的前面？或者一個有 -ʔ 尾的音節何以總是出現在有 -p、-t、-k 尾的音節的前面？只有從聲調音高不同的角度才能加以圓滿的解釋。

關於聲調源於韻尾的問題，李方桂先生在上古音研究中說：

「詩經的用韻究竟反映上古有聲調，還是上古有不同的韻尾，這個問題不容易決定。如果詩經用韻嚴格到只有同調類的字相押，我們也許要疑心所謂同調的字是有同樣的韻尾輔音，不同調的字有不同的韻尾輔音。但是詩經用韻並不如此嚴格，不同調類的字相押的例子，也有相當的數目。如果不同調的字是有不同的韻尾輔音，這類的韻似乎不易解釋，不如把不同調類的字仍認爲聲調不同。」

他的意見說得很清楚。有一點需要略加補充的，就是隋唐之後，韻書用四聲分韻，詩人用韻非常嚴格，只有同調類的字相押，我們並不懷疑隋唐的四聲有四種韻尾，主要有三點原因：第一，詩經的性質和隋唐詩歌的性質不同；第二，切韻序已有「秦隴則去聲爲入，梁益則平聲似去」的話，可見當時的聲調不會指韻尾輔音的不同；第三，根據現代方言的擬測，隋唐的入聲其實具有 -p、-t、-k 三種韻尾，可見入聲是涵蓋三種不同韻尾的一種名稱，很可能是指真正的聲調而言。

十幾年來，主張聲調源於韻尾說的人陸續提出新的證據，並把這種韻尾存在的時代慢慢向下拉到唐代，我們不能不仔細注意這一種學說。以下先檢討這種學說的內容及證據，再從古代異調字押韻的現象提出反駁的意見。

二、聲調源於韻尾說的檢討

中古漢語的「平上去入」四聲追溯到上古，平聲字無論有鼻音尾、元音尾或濁輔音尾，都可以和入聲字的清塞音尾截然分開，聲調可以是次要的問題。如果上聲去聲各有不同於上述韻尾的其他韻尾，自然就四聲的區別而言，音高的問題更可以不必考慮了。例如：

平	上	去	入
-d	-dʔ	-ds (-ts)	-t
-n	-nʔ	-ns	

四聲的區別只是韻尾的不同而已。這就是聲調源於韻尾說的大致內容。由於平聲入聲一向爭論較少，因此主要的重點就放在上聲去聲來源的討論上。

一九五四年，Haudricourt (1954 a, 馬學進譯文 1977) 第一次提出漢語去聲調源於韻尾 -s 的說法，主要的證明是古漢越語的漢語借字。他發現漢語的去聲相當於越語的「問聲」(hỏi) 和「跌聲」(ngã)，² 根據馬伯樂 (Maspero 1916) 的研究，早已證明越語的這兩種聲調源於韻尾 -h，而 -h 又是從 -s 變來的。因此 Haudricourt 假設上古漢語的去聲字也有一個類似的 -s 尾。他舉出下列五個例字 (1954 a: 364):

寄 gỏi 義 nghiã 露 lỏ 訴 tỏ 墓 mã

其中「寄訴墓」三字是問聲，「義露」二字是跌聲，越語原來都有 -s 尾。這幾個少數的例字自然不夠證明，在他 (1954 b) 另一篇文章裏列舉二十一個漢語借字顯示兩者的關係。除去「寄義露」三字重複外，尚有：

卦 quẻ	芥 cải	嫁 gả	膾 goi	櫃櫃 củi	款 thả
試 thử	歲 tuôi	兔 thỏ	帶 dãi	肺 phổi	慰 ủi
助 chũ	箸 dũa	袋 dãi	帽 mũ	易 dễ	利 lãi

前十二字都是問聲，後六字則是跌聲。這一個假設後來由於 Pulleyblank 的引用與推衍，增加許多對音的證明。現在我們先來檢討 Haudricourt 的論點。

² 「問聲、跌聲」兩詞是王力漢越語研究 (1958:298) 中的名稱，其餘四聲是平聲 (bang)、弦聲 (huyền)、銳聲 (sắc) 和重聲 (nặng)。

第一，對於古漢越語中漢語借字的時代無法肯定。例如他 (1954 a:361) 討論韻母時，舉出「庫、苦、午、兔、渡、戶、弩、訴、爐、露」等字相當於越語的 -o，然後又舉「墓、五、弩、午」四字，指出「墓」字讀 mǎ，「弩」字讀 ná，而「五、午」兩字的共同泰語則為「hnga」及「sanga」。³ 他說：

「漢藏語系的比較可以證明這個韻母來自古代的 -a，因此可以想（見）從上古漢語一直到漢朝（弩大約是在漢朝時發明及傳播的）都有 -a。然後漸漸地合併起來，到了第七世紀是個開 o [即 o]（越語借詞），到了第九世紀是個合併起來的 o [即 o]（漢越語），而最後變為現代漢語的 -u。」

特別值得注意的是這些字都是中古模姥暮韻的字，其中「露、訴、墓」三字正是討論去聲尾時所舉的例字。如果「墓」讀 mǎ 是漢代的借字，而「露、訴」讀 lǒ、tǒ 是七世紀的借字，時代上相差至少五百年，究竟從中國哪一個方言借到越南，實在難說。即使聲調的對當表面上有一致性，放在一起來作為證明，仍然令人不能無疑。換句話說，借字的時代層次不分辨清楚，無法討論對應的問題。

第二，同屬真韻的「寄、義」二字在上古同在歌部，而越語的讀法 gỏi 和 nghĩa 相差很遠，也令人覺得不像是同一時代同一方言的借字，正好同一篇文章裏又有支韻的「移、騎」二字，讀 dòi 及 côi (或 cũi)，與「寄」字的讀音類似，可見「義」字的讀音可能代表另一時代。同時「移、騎」都是平聲字，何以越語的聲調不同？「移」讀弦聲是正例，「騎」字讀跌聲就是例外了。⁴

第三，漢語同一種去聲字，在什麼條件之下分讀問聲及跌聲兩種聲調呢？從 Haudricourt 所舉的二十三個例字中，可以歸納出下列的條件，在於聲母的不同：

	問聲	跌聲
去聲	清聲母 14	
	濁聲母	3
	次濁聲母 1	5

如果這個條件不錯，清聲母字讀問聲，濁及次濁聲母字讀跌聲，那麼讀問聲的次濁聲母字就是例外，這個字正好是「墓」mǎ。(Jerry Norman先生指出「墓」字在閩南語的讀法顯示有清聲母的來源，也許不是次濁聲母。)

第四，在別人研究古漢越語的材料裏有不一致的現象，以王力漢越語研究一文中所舉的去聲字為例，在越語分讀各聲的情形可以列表說明如下：

³ 參 Li Fang-Kuei 1977, 「五」字古泰語為 *ha, 「午」字未見。

⁴ 「騎」字原文有法文語義，是 chevaucher (動詞) 不是 cheaucher (名詞)，所以不會讀去聲。

平聲	弦聲	間聲	跌聲	銳聲	重聲
繡 theu		芥 cái	價 cǎ	信 tin	
販 buon		嫁 gǎ			
清聲母 放 buong		卦 quě			
豹 beo					
慣 quen					
<hr/>					
濁聲母	夏 hè	箸 dūa	地 dia ⁵		
		畫 vĕ			
<hr/>					
雁 ngan	霧 mù	墓 mǎ	義 nghĩa	御 ngya	
次濁聲母	味 mùi			命 mang	
	未 mùi				

這些字跟 Haudricourt 所指出的聲調對應頗有不合之處，讀問聲和跌聲的八個字中，有六個字都見於 Haudricourt 的字表，可見王力的研究跟 Haudricourt 的看法相當接近。可是王氏所指出的其他各字，清聲母相當於平聲，濁和次濁聲母相當於弦聲的，以及相當於銳聲、重聲的「信、地、御、命」等字，Haudricourt 卻一字未舉。即使兩人的看法不同，也不應該有如此大的差距，顯示 Haudricourt 的材料本身可能有以偏概全的問題。

根據以上四點，我認為 Haudricourt 所說漢語借字去聲相當於越語問聲及跌聲的證據不夠堅強。例字的時代問題不易解決，究竟哪些字是古漢語借字，完全在於各人的認定，缺乏客觀可靠的規則。借字的方言問題也不易解決，究竟是從漢語的哪一種方言借進越南？廣東、廣西，還是雲南？值得注意的是廣東的粵語和廣西、雲南的西南官話現在音系大不相同，在漢代前後的漢語中自然也有不可避免的方言問題。王力的借字研究顯示聲調的不一致性，很可能正表示這些借字來源的不同。因此要是認為越語的問聲跌聲來自於韵尾 -s，進而推論古漢語的去聲字也有 -s 韵尾，實在不能令人信服。退一步說，即使 Haudricourt 的例字都沒有問題，能不能肯定漢語和越語具有同樣的演變，也不敢肯定，只能算是一種無證據的類比學說而已。

其次，我們來看 Pulleyblank (1963、1973、1979) 在對音方面提出的論證。他的說法根據 Haudricourt 的看法而來，上文雖然已經懷疑 Haudricourt 的學說不可信，但是並不能就推翻 Pulleyblank 的論證，他儘可以從對音本身認定上古的去

⁵ Jerry Norman 先生指出此音可能為「地下」二字之合音。

聲有 -s 尾。最近 (1978)，他說去聲的 -s 尾一直到六世紀還保存在某些韻裏，在其他各韻，去聲 -s 已經變爲 -h 了。後來最後的一部分 -s 也完全變爲 -h。到切韻時代，上聲字有 -ʔ，去聲字有 -h，所以平聲和仄聲的分別，是「平」屬於開尾音節 (unchecked)，而「仄」屬於閉尾音節 (checked)。其中仄聲包括有 -ʔ 的上聲，有 -h 的去聲，以及有清塞音尾的入聲。

我以前 (Ting 1975) 曾經指出對音的材料只能用爲旁證，因爲材料本身的時代和方言問題都無法解決。從性質上說，對音的材料有兩類：一類是專名，主要的是地名。我們不知道一個見於史籍的地名究竟是哪一個地方，個人的認定未必可靠，常常需要縝密的考證才能確定。確定之後，我們又不知道某一個譯名在史官著錄之前已經沿用了多少年，也不知道原來音譯爲漢語的人說哪一種方言，更不知道原來的外語到現在我們所找到的讀音之間有過什麼樣的變化，這樣的材料實在不宜用爲主要的材料。另一類是佛經中的大量譯音。這些譯音早期根據的可能不是梵文，而是印度中北部的方言 Prakrit (Karlgren 1954:226)。唐代前後，梵文已經成爲遠東的佛教語言 (Pulleyblank 1973:369)，那以後的譯經工作才有清楚的系統，但是我們仍舊不知道譯經者的方言背景。這一類材料比前一類可靠，可是用起來還是要謹慎。

Pulleyblank 的主要發現是中國人用去聲字代替外國語言有 -s 尾的音節，例如「都賴」是 Talas，「罽賓」是 Kashmir，「貴霜」是 Kushan，「貳師」是 Nesefer。最後兩個字我曾經指出，外語的 -s 及 -sh 已經用第二個漢字的聲母代替了，因此「貴、貳」兩字未必有 -s 尾 (Ting 1975:43, 丁邦新 1975 b:24)。前兩個例子似乎很可靠，問題在於如果當時漢語根本沒有帶 -s 尾的字，也得要設法音譯，那麼最接近的音節是什麼呢？這幾個例證都見於漢書，以我所擬測的漢代音來說，「賴」是 lad，「罽」是 kjiad，正好都有 -d 尾。這個發現有重要的意義。我們知道陰聲字尾的擬定主要是由於同部的陰聲字和入聲字押韻的緣故，因此要假定去聲來自韻尾的話，必須要擬測 -ts、-ks、-ps 及 -ds (-ðs)、-gs (-ŋs)、-ns、-ŋs、-ms 等韻尾，Pulleyblank (1963:219-224, 231) 原來就是這樣擬定的。問題是對譯外國語的 -s，無論用漢語的哪一種去聲，都多出一個不必要的成分 -p、-t、-k、-d、-g(-ð、-ŋ) 或 -m、-n、-ŋ。自然最接近的可能是 -ts 或 -ds，可是會不會偶爾有例外的情形出現一個 -ks 或 -gs 呢？我們就 Pulleyblank 認爲可靠的例子作一次徹底的檢討：

外國語原名	漢語譯音	去聲字之中古 韻及上古韻部	南北期以前 擬音韻尾
1. Skt. Vārāṇasī	波羅奈	泰<祭	-d
2. Skt. Samādhi	三昧	隊<微	西漢 -d> 東漢 -i
3. Skt. Trapuṣa (Khot. ttrāvāysa)	提謂	未<微	-d
4. Skt. trāyastriṃśa (Khot. ttāvātrīsa)	忉利	至<脂	-d
5. Khot. amgusdā (或 Tokh. ankwas)	阿魏 或央匱	未<微 至<脂	-d -d
6. Skt. Śrāvasti	舍衛	祭<祭	-d
7. Skt. Kapilavastu	迦維羅衛	祭<祭	-d
8. Skt. Abhāsvara	阿會亘	泰<祭	-d
9. Skt. Akaniṣṭha	阿迦貳吒	至<脂	-d
10. Skt. Śuddhāvāsa	首陀衛	祭<祭	-d
11. Skt. Sudrśa	須躡	祭、泰<祭	-d
12. Jap. Tusima	對馬	隊<微	西漢 -d> 東漢 -i
13. Talas	都賴	泰<祭	-d
14. Kashmir	闍賓	祭<祭	-d
15. Skt. gāthā	偈	祭<祭	-d

這十五個例子之中就有許多問題。第一，例 4 trāyastriṃśa 和漢語對音「忉利」距離很遠，雖然對音中不乏省略音節的例子，這裏省略的情形太特別了。即使從 Khotanese 的拼法 ttavātrīsa 看來，還是不了解何以省去 va，而以「利」字對譯 trī。何況我們對梵文和 Khotanese 之間的關係並無深入的了解。第二，例 8 Abhāsvara 的漢譯是「阿會亘」，「亘」字中古音讀 kəŋg，不可能對譯 vara，大藏經卷 224 確實寫作「亘」，用「阿會亘差」譯 Abhāsvara+śu (bha)，而 Pulleyblank (1963: 218) 的注音是 siwen，似乎他採取集韻荀緣切的讀法，和「宣」字同音，如果真是如此，那麼「亘」對譯 svara，就是用「亘」字的聲母表示 -s- 了。第三，例 12 的「對馬」是對譯日文的 Tusima，根據有坂秀世 (1957) 的研究，第二個音節 si 可能來自於早期日文的塞擦音 tʃ 或 ts。因此，「對」字是不是對譯 tusi 還有問題。第四，例 14 的「闍賓」未必是 Kashmir 的對音，「賓」何以用來對譯 mir？漢語中

一直有 m- 起頭的字，爲何偏要選用「賓」字？有人認爲「闍賓」指的是 Kapisa，或 Kophes 或 Kophen，這個字對音的可靠性有問題。第五，例 2 的「三昧」Samādhi 和例 15 的「偈」gāthā，都是用去聲字對譯梵文 Samādhi 和 gāthā 的一部分「mādh」和「gāth」，Pulleyblank 引用別人的說法，認爲梵文的 dh 和 th 到 Prakrit 語在元音之間變爲 ð，然後再變爲 z。這是一種可能的解釋，是否就是眞象，也不敢說定。尤其「偈」字早有入聲一讀，廣韻爲渠列切，中古音是 giet，很可能是對譯「gāth」，未必讀去聲，以後又有「偈他」、「伽陀」等其他的譯名。第六，例 5「阿魏」amgusdā，例 6「舍衛」Śrāvasti 和例 7「迦維羅衛」Kapilavastu，漢語譯音和梵文相比，都把梵文的最後一個音節省去，正好省去的這一個音節的聲母都是舌尖音 d 或 t，很可能譯爲漢語時把前後兩個音節合在一起，gusdā 縮減爲 gud，vasti 成爲 vat，而 vastu 也成爲 vat，而「魏、衛」兩字在南北朝以前正好都是收 -d 尾的。

以上在十五個例字中指出八個可能有問題，即使暫時不管枝節的問題，這些例字何以全部都屬於南北朝以前收 -d 尾的韻部，也值得深入探討。這個 -d 尾是我根據漢、魏晉及南北朝詩文用韻的情形擬測的。（見 Ting 1975:240-241）即使 -ts 或 -ds 最接近外國語的 -s，難道連一個例外的 -ks 或 -gs 都沒有？會不會根本就是收 -d 尾的字，因爲舌尖音接近的關係用來代替外國語的 -s？而入聲的 -t 由於聲調短促，比較不適合表現外國語帶 -s 的不短促的音節？⁶

可能由於 -ts 或 -ds 在對音解釋上不大合適，Pulleyblank (1973) 改變早年 (1963) 的看法，直接把「貴」擬爲 kus，「闍」是 kias，「賴」是 las，「對」是 tos，這樣一來，對譯外國語的帶 -s 的音節自然很合適，但是其他「之、幽、宵、侯、魚、佳、歌」等韻部的去聲字是否也直接把 -s 加在主要元音之後呢？如果確實如此，那麼如何解釋只有少數幾部的字專用於對音？如果另外設想和入聲相配的擦音給去聲字，如 -t: -s, -k: -h, -p: -f (或 -v)，一方面爲去聲字打破了上古音擬測的整個系統，因爲和去聲字來往的平上聲難以解決；另一方面，我們不能忘記 Haudricourt 擬測 -s 尾的時候是爲全體去聲字設想的，原來舉證的例字就有「寄、義、露、箸、帽」等字根本不跟舌尖音有任何關連。因此，如果要擬測 kus, las 這樣的音節，必須要注意這些音節在整個上古漢語中的地位，不能爲部分的方便忽略系統的問題。現在從種種跡象判斷，依我看來，只有採取收 -d 尾的擬測法最容易解釋。

Pulleyblank (1979) 又討論梁代僧伽婆羅所翻譯的孔雀王咒經中對音的問題，

⁶ 請參閱 South Coblin, *Notes on the Dialect of the Han Buddhist Transcriptions* 3.2.2 節，見於本論文集。Coblin 認爲我所說的 -d 尾在語音上可能是一種擦音如 [θ]，也許是 -t 尾的一個同位音。我想這個韻尾既可對應梵文的 -s, -ś 和 -t, -th，仍然可能是 -d。

指出到梁代「泰」韻的字還有 -s, 例如:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 16. apasmāra | 阿 <u>貝</u> 摩羅, 阿 <u>貝</u> 莎摩羅 |
| 17. apasmāranam | 阿 <u>貝</u> 莎摩羅南 |
| 18. Vipasyi | 毘 <u>貝</u> 尸 |
| 19. Dhṛtarāṣṭra | 提頭賴吒 |
| 20. Dhṛtarāṣṭrāya | 陀里多賴多羅耶 |
| 21. Saraśvati | 莎賴婆底 |
| 22. Purastya或Pulastya | 富賴沙他 |
| 23. Asvalāyana | 藹娑羅耶那 (「娑」可能為「婆」之誤字) |
| 24. Aṣṭamaka | 藹沙多娑摩 |
| 25. Bṛhaspati | 毗里害波底, 毗梨害娑波底 |

其實 16、17、18、22、23、24、25 等七條之中, 在漢字譯音的後面還有一個帶舌尖或捲舌擦音的「莎、娑、尸、沙」等字, 正可反證當時漢語沒有 -s 尾, 否則前面的去聲字已經有了適合於譯音的 -s 尾, 哪裏需要再增加一個帶 s- 類聲母的字, 去音譯外國語的同一個 -s 呢? 16、25 兩條尤可證明, 兩種不同的譯法表示翻譯者不滿意於用「貝」代 pas, 用「害」代 has。同時這些資料也可以證明泰韻的去聲字還有 -d, 否則何以專用泰韻字音譯有 -s 尾的音節呢? 根據我研究南北朝詩人押韻的現象, 恰好只有泰韻具有 -ad 尾, 合於這些字的對音現象。(見 Ting 1975:241) Pulleyblank 正有一例顯示這種現象: Bṛhadratha 是「毗梨害羅他」(1973:371, 1979:318)。如果當時「害」字沒有 -d 尾, 何以不用收 -t 尾的入聲字去代替? 可見「害」字是最合適的音節。

現在再說上聲的問題。

Haudricourt (1954 b) 討論越南的聲調, 認為銳聲 (sác) 和重聲 (ṇang) 源於早期的喉塞音 -ʔ。本來跟漢語毫無關係, 可是 Pulleyblank (1963) 認為越南語的 -s 既然移植到漢語來得到很大的成功, 那麼不妨把喉塞音也移植過來。越南的銳聲是升調, 因此可能漢語的上聲原來就是從 -ʔ 韻尾演變而來。這種說法純粹是類比, 本來只是很薄弱的理論, 但經過梅祖麟 (Tsu-lin Mei 1970) 的證明⁷, 得到有力的支持。

梅祖麟提出三種證據來推定上古漢語到漢代時, 上聲字還有喉塞音尾。第一種證據是現代的方言, 溫州、浦城、建陽、定安、文昌的上聲字還保存喉塞音尾。第二是

⁷ 梅祖麟 1970 有中譯, 見黃宣範 1977。

佛經中有關中古漢語的材料可以證明中古漢語的上聲字還是短調，從實驗語音學看來，短調正是早期有喉塞音尾的特徵。第三是古漢越語的借字，顯示漢代的上聲字相當於越南語的銳聲和重聲，這兩種聲調正是從-ʔ韻尾變來的。其中第二種證據牽涉中古漢語上聲調值的問題，我曾經在「平仄新考」一文中加以詳細的分析，利用所有悉曇藏中佛經的材料，證明上聲不是短調，只是高升調而已（見丁邦新 1975 a），現在不再說明，只來檢討其餘兩種證據。

現代方言中有的上聲字還有喉塞音尾的現象，恐怕不能追溯到上古去。根據我們調查海南島方言的結果，海口、萬寧、澄邁的上聲字因為是低降調的關係，有一個附屬的喉塞音，例如「馬」ma ɿ，有時候好像是 maʔa ɿ，其實調值是 21 或 212，因為降得太低，所以產生一個喉塞音。建陽、定安、文昌都是偏低的上聲調，情形非常相像。尤其是崖縣的軍話，陽平調是 21，韻尾也收喉塞音，可見是後起的現象。（參詹伯慧 1959:128）徐州話中陰平調的字因為是低降升調的關係，聽起來也有喉塞音或喉頭緊縮的作用，⁸沒有人認為是早期語音的遺留，可見有些地方上聲字附帶的喉塞音也難以推到上古去。另外龍州的泰語也有一個低降的21調，同時帶喉塞音尾，李方桂先生認為是調的特別成分而不真是一個輔音，可以作為旁證。（Fang-kuei Li 1977:11）至於溫州、浦城的上聲調並不低，分別為 45、24 及 55、54，何以也有喉塞音尾，不敢說定，但是恐怕也是後起的現象。追溯到上古漢語的喉塞音尾，證據仍嫌不足。

古漢越語的問題和上文討論去聲字一樣，借字的時代仍然不敢肯定，Haudricourt 以為從漢代到唐初，梅祖麟直接說是漢代，不知有何證據？他指出上古上聲字和越南聲調對應的規律是：清聲母和次濁聲母讀銳聲，只有全濁聲母讀重聲。次濁聲母類他舉出「舞、藕、瓦、染」四字都讀銳聲，但是 Haudricourt (1954 b:77)的字表中就有「染、忍、午、酉、禮、每、冷」七字都是讀重聲的。材料顯示的現象並不一致。究竟哪些字是借字並無客觀的標準，因此，古漢越語的材料恐怕還不能作為肯定的證據。

梅祖麟也提到現代緬甸語的高聲調，可能是由帶喉塞音尾的音節演變而來，但是我們發現緬甸語的高聲調和漢語的上聲並不配合，例如：

漢語	藏文	古緬甸文
五	lŋa	ŋa
九	dga	kûi

⁸ 這一現象承李方桂先生賜告。

苦 k'a khá

在古緬甸文中，這三個字都是重聲調 (heavy tone)，而不是高聲調的 creaky tone。即使高聲調來自於喉塞音尾，和漢語的上聲字並無對當的關係。⁹

至於 Pulleyblank (1978:175) 把上聲的 -ʔ 和去聲的 -h (<-s) 向下拉到切韵時代，認為「平仄」之分就是開尾音節和閉尾音節的不同，更是看不出任何證據。平仄的區別我已在平仄新考中分析過了，從佛經記載中一點看不出音節是開尾或閉尾的痕跡。同時，如果當時有上聲的 -aʔ，作韵書的人根據什麼把 -at、-ak、-ap 歸在一起算入聲類，獨獨把 -aʔ 歸為上聲？切韵序說：「泰隴則去聲爲入，梁益則平聲似去」，如果不用聲調來解釋，第二句話是絕對無法說得通的。Pulleyblank (1973:372) 只解釋第一句，認為可能當時有的方言去聲的 -s 和入聲的 -t 相混，可是對於第二句，卻沒有提出解釋。

三、上古音中異調字押韵的現象

上文對聲調源於韵尾說的檢討分成三個方面：一、從古漢越語的材料說明 Haudricourt 原來的學說難以成立；二、用 Pulleyblank 自己的對音材料指出他解釋的缺失；三、用中國方言以及古漢越語的材料說明梅祖麟論據的可疑之處。等於是從基本的材料上指出論證不可靠的地方，但是出發點還是大致依照他們本來的角度。現在，再從另外一個角度提出聲調源於韵尾說的不可信從的原因。

如果在上古漢語中沒有聲調，只有不同的韵尾，舉例來說，同一部中有 -ad、-adʔ、-ads、(或 -ats, 或 -as)、-at, 或者只有 -a -aʔ、-as、-at、無論哪一種辦法都無法解釋詩經中異調字押韵的現象。我們知道，對於陰聲韵部去入聲押韵的解釋，一般的說法除去韵尾一濁一清以外，還要說明可能調值相近，才能使 -ad、-at 彼此押韵。現在根本沒有聲調了，卻要人相信 -ats 和 -at, 或 -as 和 -at 可以押韵，實在困難。同時，如果牽涉三個以上的聲調，例如平上去通押，就要說 -ad、-adʔ、-ads (或 -ats) 可以押韵，似乎韵尾在押韵的行爲上毫無作用的樣子，更是難以置信。我想上古時代說漢語的人不可能有這種奇特的押韵習慣。

詩經裏究竟有多少異調字押韵的例子呢？根據張日昇 (1968:165-6) 的統計，可以列成簡表如下：

	上	去	入
平	361	293	10

⁹ 此點承龔煌城兄指出。

上 166 39

去 161

其中上去相押，就要說 -ad² 和 -ads (或 -ats) 押韻；上入相押，就要說 -ad² 和 -at 押韻，已經很奇怪，不易令人採信；但是詩經中還有三種調類的字押韻的例子，也根據張日昇 (162-163) 的材料重新分類，結果如下：

平上去通押：24 平上去入通押：4

平上入通押：1

平去入通押：4

上去入通押：5

例子雖然不多，仍然是夠表現幾種聲調來往的現象。我們能不能相信 -d、-d²、-ds (-ts) 或類似的韻尾可以有二十四處押韻的章節？只要牽涉三種以上的調就難以解釋。我寧可採信 -d、-d、-d 同樣的韻尾由於聲調音高的高低不同而押韻，正如宋詞的情形一樣。至於平、上、去、入通押的例子只有四條，但是更令人相信有 -g、-g、-g、-k 偶爾押韻的可能，不相信有 -g、-g²、-gs (-ks)、-k 四種韻尾的混押現象。當然這裏只是以 -d、-g 為例，別人的擬音縱有不同，只要認為聲調源自韻尾，大致的格式都是一樣的。至於王力的辦法，根本不承認上古有去聲字，把後來的去聲字歸之於平、上及長入，自然是另外一個問題了。¹⁰ 以下列出詩經中三調以上押韻的例子作為註腳，辨認韻字如有不同的看法，均見於註釋。本文根據張日昇的分析，不詳加討論。

一、平 上 去

1. 漢廣一章：廣泳永方
2. 君子偕老三章：展綵顏媛
3. 兔爰二章：學造憂覺
4. 野有蔓草一章：縛婉願
5. 伐木三章：阪衍踐遠愆
6. 采芣一章：芣畝止試止騏¹¹
7. 我行其野一章：野樛故居家¹²
8. 斯干一章：苞茂好猶

¹⁰ 我以前曾經批評過王力的看法，見 Ting 1975:41-43。

¹¹ 「騏」字是不是入韻，各家看法不同。江有誥以為「騏」字不入韻，近人江舉謙從之；而高本漢、陸志韋則以為「騏」字與芣畝等字為韻。

¹² 各家對本章韻字的看法亦有不同，見陸志韋 1948:69，江舉謙 1964:64、66。

9. 斯干九章：地瓦儀儀羅
10. 小旻三章：猶就咎道
11. 角弓五章：駒後軀取
12. 何草不黃三章：虎野夫暇
13. 生民五章：道草茂苞褒秀好
14. 行葦三章：句候樹侮
15. 洞酌一章：玆饎子母¹³
16. 民勞五章：安殘縈反諫
17. 板一章：板痺然遠管亶遠諫
18. 桑柔二章：翩泯燼頻
19. 崧高七章：番嘽翰憲
20. 烝民六章：舉圖舉助補
21. 韓奕五章：土訐甫嘖虎居譽
22. 召旻七章：里里哉舊
23. 訪落：考悠就¹⁴
24. 泮水二章：藻蹻蹻昭笑教

二、平 上 入

1. 清人三章：軸陶抽好

三、平 去 入

1. 中谷有蓷二章：脩黼黻淑
2. 出車一章：牧來載棘
3. 車二章：鷁敎射¹⁵
4. 行葦四章：背翼祺福¹⁶

四、上 去 入

1. 谷風五章：愔讐售鞠覆育毒¹⁷
2. 杕杜四章（小雅）：至恤借邇

¹³ 江有誥以「玆饎」爲平聲韵，「子母」爲上聲韵；而顧炎武則認爲是平上去合韵，見江舉謙 1964:6。

¹⁴ 這一篇詩的韵脚問題較多，顧炎武以爲「考就」二字或可爲韵；江有誥則以「考」字與上句「止」字爲之幽通韵，「悠就」二字不入韵；陸志韋以爲「悠就」或可爲韵；江舉謙則從江有誥。

¹⁵ 這一章韵字的辨認可能有誤，各家大致皆以「鷁敎」爲宵部平去通韵，而「射」字與上句「譽」字爲魚部去入通韵。

¹⁶ 江有誥以爲「祺」字不入韵，江舉謙從之，其餘顧炎武、陸志韋皆以「背翼祺福」爲平去入通韵。

¹⁷ 參看江舉謙1964:30、31。

3. 楚茨一章：棘稷翼億食祀侑福
4. 旱麓四章：載備祀福
5. 瞻卬四章：忒背極愿倍識事織¹⁸

五、平上去入

1. 揚之水二章（唐風）：皓繡鵲憂
2. 大東四章：子來子服子裘子試¹⁹
3. 抑十一章：昭樂懌藐教虐耄
4. 清廟：廟士德廟斯²⁰

以上三十八條資料之中，辨認韻字各家看法不同的有十條（參見註釋），只有「車索、清廟」兩條可能是真正的錯誤，因此對我們的討論無大影響。所有的韻字之中，除陰聲、入聲字以外，也有收鼻音尾的陽聲字。要是認為上聲有 -ʔ 尾，去聲有 -s 尾，只好假定 -n、-nʔ、-ns 可以互相押韻。現在我不承認有這些不合理的押韻現象，就要說，收同一個 -n 尾而聲調不同的字可以押韻，那就自然得多了。同時，詩篇的分配很平均，國風、小雅、大雅、頌都有，可見不是偏頗的現象。

四、結 論

從以上所說的種種跡象看來，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。我們知道，在鼻音韻部之中，am、an、aŋ 並不能自由押韻，縱有例外，為數也很少。如果去聲字真有 -s，何以 -as（或 -ats）能夠和 -at 自由押韻，實在令人無法相信。如果再把在上古漢語中不可能存在的上聲的 -ʔ 和去聲的 -s（>-h）向下拉到切韻時代，更是沒有確切證據的說法。

參 考 書 目

一、中文及日文

丁 邦 新

1969 「國語中雙音節並列語兩成分間的聲調關係」，歷史語言研究所集刊 39 本，155—173。

1975a 「平仄新考」，歷史語言研究所集刊 47 本 1 分，1—15。

¹⁸ 江有誥不以「倍事」二字入韻，江舉謙從之。顧炎武則以「倍事」入韻，陸志韋從之。

¹⁹ 此章如果「子」字不算韻字，就要改入「平去入」類。

²⁰ 此詩韻字的辨認可能有誤，各家皆以為無韻，此處張日昇從高本漢說。

- 1975 b 「論語、孟子及詩經中並列語成分之間的聲調關係」，同上，17—52。
- 1979 「上古漢語的音節結構」，歷史語言研究所集刊 50 本 4 分，717—739。
- 三根谷徹
- 1972 越南漢字音的研究，東洋文庫，東京。
- 王 力
- 1957 漢語音韻學。
- 1958 「漢越語研究」，見所著漢語史論文集，290—406。
- 孔 廣 森 詩聲類。
- 有坂秀世
- 1957 「上代に於けるサ行の頭音」，見所著國語音韻史之研究，145—159。
- 江 有 誥 詩經韻讀。
- 唐韻四聲正。
- 江 舉 謙
- 1964 詩經韻譜，東海大學，臺中。
- 李 方 桂
- 1971 「上古音研究」，清華學報新九卷一、二期合刊，1—61。
- 周 法 高
- 1969 「論上古音」，香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報二卷一期，109—178。
- 1970 「論上古音和切韻音」，同上，三卷二期，321—457。
- 周 祖 謨
- 1966 「古音有無上去二聲辨」，見所著問學集，32—80。
- 段 玉 裁 六書音均表。
- 馬 學 進 (Robert Matthews) 譯 A.G. Haudricourt 1954 a
- 1977 「怎樣擬測上古漢語」，中國語言學論集，198—226。
- 陳 第 毛詩古音考：附錄讀詩拙言。
- 陳 新 雄
- 1972 古音學發微，嘉新基金會，臺北。
- 張 日 昇
- 1968 「試論上古四聲」，香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報 1 卷，113—170。
- 陸 志 韋
- 1948 詩韻譜，燕京學報專號之二十一。
- 黃宣範譯 Mei, Tsu-lin 1970
- 1977 「中古漢語的聲調與上聲的起源」，中國語言學論集，175—197。
- 董 同 龢
- 1944 上古音韻表稿，四川。
- 1954 中國語音史，臺北。

詹伯慧

1959 「海南島軍話語音概述」, 語言學論叢第三輯, 127—149。

顧炎武 詩本音

二、西文

Haudricourt A. G.

1954a Comment reconstruire le chinois archaïque, *Word* 10, 351-64.

1954b De l'origine des tons en vietnamien, *Journal Asiatique* 242, 69-82.

Karlgren B.

1954 Compendium of phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese, *BMFEA* 22, 221-367.

Li, Fang Kuei

1977a *A Handbook of Comparative Tai*, The University Press of Hawaii.

1977b Laryngeal Features and Tone Development, *Working Papers in Linguistics*, Dept. of Linguistics, U. of Hawaii.

Maspero H.

1916 Etudes sur la Phonetique historique de la langue annamite: les initiales, *BEFEO* 12.

Mei, Tsu-lin

1970 Tones and prosody in Middle Chinese and the Origin of the rising tone, *HJAS* 30, 86-110.

Pulleyblank, E. G.

1963 The consonantal system of Old Chinese, Part 2, *Asia Major* 9, 205-265.

1973 Some further evidence regarding Old Chinese -s and its time of disappearance, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 36, Part 2, 368-373.

1978 The nature of the Middle Chinese tones and their development to Early Mandarin, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 6.2, 173-203.

1979 Some examples of colloquial pronunciation from the southern

Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502-556). *Studia Sino-Mongolica, Nünch-ener Ostasiatische Studien*, Band 25.

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* No. 65.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE PHONOLOGY OF MANDARIN

FINALS (國語韻母系統上的幾個問題)

Yi-Chin Fu (傅一勤)

National Taiwan Normal University

(國立臺灣師範大學)

In a paper presented at the Ninth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences (Copenhagen, 1979), I proposed a reanalysis of the phonological structure of Mandarin finals on the basis of the phonological behavior of the retroflex suffix /-r/. In the present paper, I wish to deal with a few problems which arise as a consequence of the 1979 study. But before going on, for ease of reference during our present discussion, let me reproduce here the two tables given in the previous paper: Table 1 showing the traditional analysis of Mandarin finals and Table 2 my proposed reanalysis.

The primary propose of my 1979 paper was to show that the retroflex suffixation in Mandarin speech was not a rather complicated process, as has been claimed by some linguists, but rather a simple and regular one. That is, in addition to retroflexing the vocalic nucleus of the stem syllable, it always and only causes the loss of its post-nucleus terminal segment. Thus, I posited a Terminal Truncation rule:

(1) Terminal $\rightarrow \emptyset$ / _____ + r #

which directly applies to the forms of columns 1-3, Table 2, and derive the corresponding /-r/ forms in columns a-c. In the case of columns 4 and 5, the Terminal Truncation rule will interact with two other general rules: a Nasalization rule, as in (2), and a Rounding rule, as in (3), which are independently motivated and needed anyway for Mandarin phonology.¹

(2) V \rightarrow [+nasal] / _____ η^1

(3) V \rightarrow [+round] / _____ w

More specifically, the Terminal Truncation rule is required to be ordered after the Nasalization rule in the case of column 4 forms, and after the Rounding rule in the case of column 5 forms. What the Nasalization and Rounding rules do is to convert the underlying vowels /i, a/ to [ĩ, ā] and [v, ɔ], respectively, whether their terminal segments / η , w/ eventually get truncated or not.

¹ The conditioning factor of the Nasalization rule is restricted to the velar nasal /-ŋ/ for the time being; in case the nasal is non-velar, the Nasalization rule would be blocked by Terminal Truncation due to articulatory constraints.

The proposed reanalysis of Mandarin finals as presented in Table 2 makes striking claims about the underlying structure of Mandarin phonology in connection with (1) the length of /i, ʃ, a/, (2) the analysis of [i, u, y], (3) the vowel identity of /i, in, iŋ/, and (4) the derivation of [ʊr, ɔr]—which require justification and discussion.

TABLE 1
TRADITIONAL ANALYSIS OF MANDARIN FINALS

	Base Forms					/-r/ Suffixed Forms				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Group 1.	i					ər				
	ʃ	əi	ən	əŋ	ou	ʃr	ər	ər	ər	our
	a	ai	an	aŋ	au	ar	ar	ar	ār	aur
Group 2.	i		in	iŋ		ir		ir	ĩr	
	ie				iou	ier				iour
	ia		ian	iaŋ	iau	iar		iar	iār	iaur
Group 3.	u			uŋ		ur			ũr	
	uo	uəi	uən			uor	uər	uər		
	ua	uai	uan	uaŋ		uar	uar	uar	uār	
Group 4.	y		yn	yŋ		yr		yr	yŷr	
	ye					yer				
			yan					yar		

NOTE: The analysis is based on Tung (1953) and the arrangement on Hockett (1947).

TABLE 2
PROPOSED REANALYSIS OF MANDARIN FINALS

	Underlying Form					Derived /-r/ Forms				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Group 1.	ih	ij	in	iŋ	iw	ir	ir	ir	ĩr	ur
	eh					ʃr				
	ah	aj	an	aŋ	aw	ar	ar	ar	ār	or
Group 2.	jih		jīn	jīŋ	jiw	jir		jir	jĩr	jur
	jeh					jer				
	jah		jan	jaŋ	jaw	jar		jar	jār	jor
Group 3.	wih	wij	win	wiŋ		wur	wir	wir	wĩr	
	weh					wor				
	wah	waj	wan	waŋ		war	war	war	wār	
Group 4.	qih		qīn	qīŋ		qir		qir	qĩr	
	qeh					qer				
			qan					qar		

1. *The Length of /i, ʃ, a/*. In all previous analyses of Mandarin vowel phonemes, there were always included a number of 'simple' vowels, such as /i, ʃ, a/ in contrast to diphthongs like /ai, au/, as can be seen in Table 1. Although the authors never explicitly stated that the 'simple' vowels are necessarily shorter in duration than the diphthongs,² we want to emphasize that these simple-looking vowels cannot be shorter than the diphthongs but that all vowels, 'simple' or diphthong, are of the same duration in speech, because the actual length of a Mandarin syllable is always conditioned by the various tone types. In other words, all vowels under the same tone configuration must be of equal length.³ A logical way to express this fact is, of course, to give the 'simple' vowels /i, ʃ, a/ a complex representation something like /ih, eh, ah/ (with /-h/ standing for a glide of approximately the same quality as the preceding main vowel), which not only provides a more accurate description of the vowel-tone relationship but serves to explain in a revealing way the regularity of the retroflex suffixation process. Hence our conclusion: Mandarin finals contain no *simple* vowels, but all of them are complex units: (glide) + vowel + glide/nasal.

2. *The Analysis of [i, u, y]*. Of all Mandarin phonologists, Hartman is the only one who insists, as we do, that Mandarin finals are built upon a three-vowel system, which consists of only one high vowel /i/,⁴ one mid vowel /e/, and one low vowel /a/. A consequence of taking this stance is that one would have to consider a componential analysis for the vowels [i, u, y], which are traditionally treated as 'simple' vowels. According to Hartman (1944: 118), since we have already established a high-vowel phoneme /i/, with its phonetic qualities determined by the preceding consonants /ts, ts', s/ or /tʃ, tʃ', ʃ, r/, it is possible, by the same approach, to interpret [i] as a cluster consisting of the glide consonant /j/ followed by the high vowel /i/, namely, /ji/ (=my /jih/), with the quality of /i/ determined by /j/. Similarly, [u] may be analyzed as /wi/ (=my /wih/). In the case of [y], he prefers the representation /jwi/ (=my /qih/) rather than /qi/ for reasons that do not concern us here. What is of interest here is that Hartman's study and ours, based on different kinds of evidence, turn out to support each other perfectly. My argument for [i, u, y] to be analyzed as /jih, wih, qih/ is based on homophony relations. Consider the pairs (a) /jih/ 'clothes' and /jin/ 'cloudy' and (b) /qih/ 'fish' and /qin/ 'cloud'. The forms in each pair become homophonous after retroflex suffixation, as shown in:

² This is at least implied in their /-r/ suffixation rules when they say that, during /-r/ suffixation, nothing happens to the simple vowels but some diphthongs lose their post-vocalic glides. See, e.g., Tung (1953: 16).

³ This is a matter that hardly needs any scientific proof. But recent instrumental studies such as Brotzman (1965) and Woo (1969) do lend support to our observation here.

⁴ I have changed Hartman's symbolization /i/ to /i/ to avoid confusion with the [i] under consideration.

- (4) a. jih + r → jir 'clothes'
 jin + r → jir 'cloudy'
 b. qih + r → qir 'fish'
 qin + r → qir 'cloud'

The resulting homophony of the forms in each pair after retroflex suffixation is neatly captured by our Terminal Truncation rule. Without postulating an initial consonant in the underlying forms, one would have a hard time trying to explain why an initial consonant should pop up in the derived forms [jir] and [qir], since the existence of an initial consonant in [jir] and [qir] seems to have gained unanimous recognition.⁵

3. *The Vowel Identity of /ij, in, iy/*. There is no doubt that all works on Mandarin phonology agree that the /-r/ suffixed forms of words containing the finals /ij/ and /in/ rhyme with those containing /ih/, as, for example:

- (5) a. pij + r → pir 'cup'
 b. kin + r → kir 'root'
 c. sih + r → sir 'silk'

The rhyming of [pir] (5a) and [kir] (5b) with [sir] (5c) is, in our view, due to the fact that (5a, b) contain the same vocalic /i/ as (5c), and this is precisely predicted by our uniform representations /ij, in, ih/ underlying the non-suffixed forms. In terms of previous analyses (see Table 1), the rhyming triplets of (5) would be demonstrated thus:

- (6) a. pɛi + r → pər 'cup' (by glide deletion)
 b. kən + r → kər 'root' (by nasal deletion)
 c. si + r → sər 'silk' (by vowel changing)

What is to be noticed here is that, while the non-suffixed form /si/ (6c) has a high vowel, its /-r/ suffixed form [sər] contains a mid vowel. This can only mean that the rhyming of the /-r/ forms of (6a, b, c) comes out of the fact that (6c) contains the same vocalic [ə] as (6a, b), rather than the other way around. This treatment is rather implausible at least in two respects. First, the analyst seems to have overlooked a three-level vowel contrast as exhibited in both the non-suffixed and suffixed forms of word triplets such as:

- (7) a. sih + r → sir 'silk'
 b. seh + r → sɿr 'cork'
 c. san + r → sar 'three'

⁵ Cf. C. C. Cheng (1971: 21), e.g., where he treats [i] and [ü] as simple vowels, but gives the retroflex suffixed forms [iər] and [üər] for [i] 'clothes' and [ü] 'rain', respectively. Interestingly enough, Tung (1961: 682) might have given a wrong interpretation to the following *fanchieh* formula:

'sheep' 'official' 'differ'
 /ɔ(jəŋ)/ + /(l)ɪ/ → /ɔɪ/

In my view, what the *fanchieh* example really means seems to be:

/j(əŋ)/ + /(l)ɪ/ → /jɪ/

If /sih/ has to have /i/ in order to keep the three-level contrast among the non-suffixed forms, why should not [sir] have the same vowel /i/ to keep the three-level contrast among the /-r/ suffixed forms? And if the /-r/ forms of (5a, b, c) above are to rhyme with one another, their shared vocalic, it seems to me, cannot be other than the high vowel /i/. Additional examples of such three-level vowel contrast are:

- (8) a. jih + r → jir 'clothes'
 b. jeh + r → jer 'leaf'
 c. jah + r → jar 'duck'
 (9) a. wih + r → wur 'hut'
 b. weh + r → wor 'nest'
 c. wah + r → war 'frog'

Next, granting a mid vowel [ə], instead of the high vowel /i/, in words like /kən/ 'root', which yields [kər] after retroflex suffixation—would create a serious problem in handling the two mid vowels in [ʃr] and [ər]. Can [ʃ] and [ə] be phonetic variants of the same phoneme (or underlying phonological segment)? Certainly not, because there are minimal pairs such as [kʃr] 'song' and [kər] 'root', which has occupied a lot of attention in past works. To distinguish 'song' from 'root' by the contrast of [ʃ] vs. [ə] is, in fact, exactly what C. C. Cheng proposes to do. As regards the [ʃ]:[ə] contrast, C. C. Cheng (1971: 29) explains: "[ʃ] is tense while [ə] is lax, and hence [ʃ] is longer than [ə]." Whatever he means by 'tense', 'lax', etc., the interesting thing is that one does not find [ə] in his list of underlying forms postulated for Mandarin finals (p. 19). Thus, it seems that the segment [ə] is forced to serve both a phonemic and a phonetic function in his work. However, once we assume /kin/, instead of /kən/, as the underlying form for 'root', everything would be cleared, for now the contrast cited above is accounted for in a simple and natural way:⁶

- (10) kin + r → kir 'root'
 keh + r → kʃr 'song'

The form /iŋ/ is assigned a high vowel on the analogy of /in/, since the two forms are considered as having the same vocalic in any system found in the literature. A partial support for /iŋ/ is furnished by the traditional form /iŋ/ (see Table 1, Group 2), which is supposed to be derived from /iəŋ/ (=my /jiŋ/), but placed in the high-vowel row rather than the mid-vowel row, where /əŋ/ is located (see Group 1). This seems to indicate that the traditional analyst already had the feeling that the form /iŋ/ contains some kind of a high vowel, and the representa-

⁶ In this connection, one may want to compare some other proposals: thus, Hockett (1947: 221) offers /ker/ 'song' vs. /keir/ 'root', which, at best, may be viewed as a kind of orthographical device rather than a phonological representation; and Hartman (1944: 120) suggests /keer/ 'song' vs. /ker/ 'root', which might have given C. C. Cheng some inspiration for his tense-lax theory.

tion /iŋ/ simply reflects a confusion of the glide /j/ with the vowel /i/. (A similar case can be made with regard to the form /in/ of the same group.)

4. *The Derivation of [ur, ʊr].* The form [ʊr], in our analysis, is derived from /iʷ + r/ in two stages:

- (11)
$$\begin{array}{ll} iW + r \# & \text{(underlying representation)} \\ uW + r \# & \text{(by Rounding rule)} \\ \hline [ur] & \text{(by Terminal Truncation)} \end{array}$$

There is possibly a stylistic variation here. The form [ʊr], as in words like [kʊr] 'hook', is intended to represent what we find in rapid speech, where the vowel is seen to be more or less a monophthong in the high back region. In careful speech (or citation form) one may also feel a diphthongal quality in the stem vowel, namely, [kʊwr] 'hook'. In this situation, careful speech may be said to have a constraint imposed on the Terminal Truncation rule such that it applies only if Terminal \neq back glide. In other words, the derivation of [ʊr] or [ʊwr] depends on whether or not the Terminal Truncation rule has applied. The corresponding traditional representation of [ou] and [our] with a mid-vowel nucleus [o] (or [ə] or [ʊ]) simply represents a tradition that originates at a time when the nature of the high vowel [i] was not fully comprehended;⁷ and an inherent shortcoming of [our] (as against [ʊwr]) is that it would make it hard to account for the systematic nature of the [ʊr] ~ [ʊwr] variation in a principled way.

The derivation of [ɔr] from /aw + r/ and the variation of [ɔr] ~ [ɔwr] are exactly parallel to those of [vr].

Finally, there is one more point to be mentioned here, which concerns the vowel quality of the morphemes 'child', 'ear', 'two', etc. In our view, these are to be represented by /iɹ/ on the basis of its rhyming with [tsiɹ] 'word' and [ts'iɹ] 'thorn', whose vowels have been established. In the literature, they are mostly given as [æɹ]. But it is worth noting that, in Chao (1934: 41), we do find [iɹ] cited (in contrast to the American [æɹ]) as a *retroflex vowel from Peiping*, which Chao quoted from Daniel Jones and Amerindo Camilli (1933) without comment. It seems to me that that [iɹ] cannot be anything other than the sound of 'child', 'ear', 'two', etc.

To sum up, we have argued, on the basis of the phonological behavior of the retroflex suffix, that all Mandarin finals are complex units—(glide)+vowel+glide/-nasal; Mandarin phonology operates on a three-vowel system in underlying structure, and the phonetically simple-sounding vowels [i, u, y] structurally function as complex units /jɪh, wɪh, ʏɪh/ in Mandarin; and the forms /ij, in, ɪn, iw/ contain

* Here, it may be of interest to note that Hartman (1944:117) recorded both [juw] and [jow] for words like 'oil' in his phonetic data, but chose to represent the phoneme by /ow/ rather than /uw/ or /iw/.

a high vowel rather than a mid vowel as previously believed. Mandarin syllables look relatively simple in surface structure, but their underlying phonology provides a rich field for continual research.

REFERENCES

- Brotzman, R. (1965): "Progress report on Mandarin tone study", *POLA* 1 : 8, 1-35.
- Chao, Y.R. (1934): "The non-uniqueness of phonemic solutions of phonetic systems", *BIHP* IV: 4, 363-97. Also in Joos (1957), 38-54.
- Chao, Y.R. (1968): *A grammar of spoken Chinese*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Cheng, C.C. (1971): "A synchronic phonology of Mandarin Chinese", *POLA* 2: 14, 1-105.
- Cheng, R.L. (1966): "Mandarin phonological structure", *JL* 2, 135-58.
- Chomsky, N. and M. Halle (1968): *The sound pattern of English*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Fu, Y.C. (1979): "The /-r/ suffixation and the phonological structure of Mandarin finals", paper read at the Ninth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences (Copenhagen, 1979).
- Hartman, L.M., III. (1944): "The segmental phonemes of the Peiping dialect", *Lg.* 20, 28-42. Also in Joos (1957), 116-23.
- Hockett, C.F. (1947): "Peiping phonology", *JAOS* 67, 253-67. Also in Joos (1957), 217-28.
- Hockett, C.F. (1950): "Peiping morphophonemics", *Lg.* 26, 63-85. Also in Joos (1957), 315-28.
- Jones, D. and A. Camilli (1933): *Fondamenti di grafia fonetica*, Aube and London. (As quoted in Chao 1934.)
- Joos, M. (1957): *Readings in linguistics: the development of descriptive linguistics in America since 1925*, Washington, D.C.: ACLS.
- Tung, T.H. (1953): *A history of Chinese phonetics* (rep. 1973), Yangming Shan, Taipei: Hwa Kang Press.
- Tung, T.H. (1961): "The concept of 'initial and final' and modern theories on linguistic analysis", *BIHP* extra vol. 4, 681-91.
- Woo, N. (1969): *Prosody and phonology*, Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

CATHOLIC MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF TIBETO-BURMAN, MIAO-YAO, AND TAI LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN SOUTHWESTERN CHINA*

Paul Fu-mien Yang, S. J.,

Georgetown University U. S. A.

Catholic missionaries were among the first Europeans who traveled through and lived in the various parts of southwestern China that included Tibet, Yunnan, Szechwan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Hainan. In these regions, besides Chinese people, there were many national minorities, such as Tibetan, Lisu, Lolo, Tai, and Miao, all of which had their own individual languages or dialects. Linguistically, these languages can today be divided into three main groups: Tibeto-Burman, Miao-Yao, and Tai.

During the seventeenth century, Catholic missionaries attempted and succeeded in founding missions in these areas that lasted for more than two hundred years. To live and work among these peoples, these missionaries learned the respective foreign languages and adapted themselves to their customs. In order to facilitate the study of these languages or dialects, missionaries spent many years painstakingly compiling dictionaries, grammar books, and textbooks to be used by themselves and their confreres. Their pioneer linguistic works, though varied in quantity and quality, are the source of our knowledge of many then unknown or lesser known languages or dialects. This paper provides an overall survey and evaluation of some of the more important publications that have appeared since the middle of the eighteenth century.

Between 1624 and 1640, several groups of Jesuits succeeded in reaching western and central Tibet, and founding a mission in 1625 at Tsaparang (Toscano 1951: 97; Wessels 1937: 3). These Jesuits were the first group of Catholic missionaries who lived among the Tibetans and learned their languages and/or dialects. A century later, Ippolito Desideri, S.J. (1684-1733) traveled to Tibet, and in 1716, founded a mission at Lhasa. He stayed there for five years, and mastered the Tibetan language (Desideri 1937: 30). In his famous *Account of Tibet* (1712-1727), Desideri wrote the first detailed description of the Tibetan people and their culture. An entire chapter (Chap. XV) dealt with the letters and alphabet of the Tibetan language and the proficiency of the Tibetans in the humanities and the arts. He remarked:

* This article is a revised and enlarged version of a paper delivered at the 22nd International Conference of Orientalists in Japan, Tokyo, June 10-11, 1977. A summary was published in the *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 22, 1977, 100-102, under the title of "Languages of the National Minorities in Southwestern China: A Study of Catholic Missionary Contributions."

"Their peculiar language has no connection or affinity with any other, and it is made of words generally monosyllabic or dissyllabic... The vowels *e, i, o, u* are not individually represented, but are expressed by signs placed above or below the consonants. On the other hand, the alphabet contains one sign for the vowel *a* and one sign for the double *a*. *F* and *x* do not exist in the Tibetan alphabet; the sounds of *b, d, g, z*, are expressed by the combination of other letters... The *z* is expressed by three different combinations." (Desideri 1937: 184-185). Concerning Tibetan grammar he said: "I shall mention only the great difficulty for a stranger to read their books and to master their language before having got used to it through long practice. It is so constructed that the genitive goes before the nominative which governs it, and both always precede their articles, and there are many inversions so that one has to read the whole period to understand it and sometimes reread it from bottom to top in order to get its constructions clear." (Desideri 1937: 185). Here, however, we should note that Desideri's statement concerning the linguistic affinity of Tibetan with other languages was incorrect. Modern linguists have now proved its close affinity with Burmese and several other related languages which are classified under the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family, and its affinity with Chinese which is classified under the same family.

Between 1707 and 1745, several Italian Capuchin Fathers also worked among the Tibetans in central Tibet (Goré 1935: 650). One of them, Domenico da Fano, a superior of the Tibetan Mission, compiled a Latin-Tibetan vocabulary, which was probably the first of its kind known in Europe (Goré 1935: 650). Later, an Augustinian Friar named Antonio Antonio Giorgi (? -1797) published his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome: Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1762; see Figure 1). His information on the Tibetan language was given to him by the Capuchin Fathers who were contemporaries of Desideri, especially by Casiano Belgatti of Macerata (Wessels 1937: 37). This was the first book with Tibetan scripts to be printed in Europe. The first part contains a discussion of the origin of Tibetan names, customs, superstitions and a refutation of Manichaeism. The second part dealt with the Tibetan language and literary arts. His treatment of the Tibetan language included its alphabet, pronunciation, etc. His handling of the phonetics and writing system of Tibetan is quite methodical and precise in that for the original texts both romanization and Latin translations are also given. Appendix I contains a Tibetan version of several common prayers including the Sign of the Cross, Our Father, Hail Mary, the Apostle's Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Throughout the entire book, Giorgi attempted to prove his hypothesis that Tibetan was derived from Hebrew. In light of current modern scientific evidence, this position can be seen to be based on fallacious reasoning. However, during the time of Giorgi, it was common among both theologians and some other scholars to take the view

that all the languages of the world were derived from or related to Hebrew.

During the middle of the nineteenth century, the Paris Foreign Mission Society (Missions Étrangères de Paris, abbreviated as M.E.P.) founded numerous Catholic missions in southwestern China and Tibet. Although busily doing their missionary work, many of the M.E.P. members were also able to write books or articles concerning the language and culture of the peoples among whom they lived. During the past one hundred and thirty years, M.E.P. missionaries have published a great many dictionaries, grammar books, and religious books in the language or dialects that they learned and used everyday in their adopted countries or districts. These publications are recognized as among the very few scholarly contributions to the study of various hitherto unknown or little known languages and dialects spoken by various tribes in southwestern China and the border areas between China and Burma.

In the following sections, a short biographical sketch of each missionary will first be presented. The data concerning the life of each missionary will be indicated by small Roman letters as follows: a. Date and place of birth; b. Date of ordination to the priesthood; c. Date of departure for China mission; d. Date and place of death; e. Important linguistic contributions and special activities (positions held). Each missionary's works, grouped under a general linguistic classification, will then be reviewed.

1. BIET, César-Alexandre: a. September 20, 1836, Langres; b. June 18, 1859; c. July 10, 1859, Tibet; d. May 29, 1891, Hong Kong; e. Lisu.

2. DESGODINS, Auguste: a. October 16, 1826, Manheulles (Meuse); b. May 25, 1850; c. July 15, 1855, Szechwan (Yerkalo); d. March 14, 1913, Padang, near Darjeeling; e. Tibetan language, geography, ethnography; Corresponding member of the Société de Géographie de Paris.

3. ESQUIROL, Joseph: a. November 23, 1870, Francillion (Aveyron); b. June 30, 1895; c. August 15, 1896, Kweichow; d. August 8, 1934, Anlung (Nanlung); e. Black Miao dialects; Tai.

4. FAGE, Jean-Charles: a. October 6, 1824, Ladignac; b. May 29, 1847; c. September 16, 1847, Tibet; d. August 19, 1888, Chaotung, Yunnan; e. Tibetan.

5. GIRAudeau, Mgr. Pierre-Philippe: a. March 17, 1850, Nantes; b. June 29, 1876; c. July 11, 1878, Tibet; d. November 13, 1941, Tatsienlu (Kangting), Sikang; e. Tibetan; Vicar Apostolic of Tatsienlu.

6. GORÉ, François Louis-Noël: a. December 25, 1883; b. August 7, 1907; c. 1907, Tibet; d. October 14, 1954, Voiron; e. Tibetan language, history and geography; Chinese; Officier d'Académie (1922); Chevalier du Dragon d'Annam (1924); Corresponding member of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia and Société Géographique de France.

7. LIÉTARD, Alfred: a. December 31, 1872, Vieux-Condé (Nord); b. June 28,

1891; c. July 29, 1896, Yunnan; d. July 5, 1912, Chaotung (Yunnan); e. A-hi dialects of Lolo; Minkia.

8. RENO, Charles-René: a. August 22, 1812, Vernantes; b. May 20, 1837; c. May 15, 1838, Szechwan; d. October 18, 1863, Kiangka; e. Tibetan.

9. SAVINA, François-Marie: a. March 20, 1876, Mahalon (Finistère); b. June 23, 1901; c. July 24, 1901, Indochina; d. July 23, 1941, Hanoi; e. Many languages and dialects of Indochina and southern China: Vietnamese, Chinese, Tai, Miao, Nung, etc.; Corresponding member of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi. Savina was one of the most learned and productive missionary linguists.

10. VIAL, Paul Félix-Angèle: a. January 3, 1855, Voiron (Isère); b. September 20, 1879; c. October 29, 1880, Yunnan; d. December 7, 1917, Tsinshankou (Yunnan); e. Lolo dialects. Vial was the first Catholic missionary to work and live among the Lolo tribes.

11. WILLIATTE, Gustave: a. May 8, 1872, Auberschicourt; b. June 28, 1896; c. August 26, 1896, Kweichow; d. November 29, 1944, Anlung, Kweichow; e. Tai dialect (Dioi).

I. TIBETO-BURMAN

A. Tibetan

1. Desgodins, Auguste, et al.: *Dictionnaire Thibétain-Latin-Français*. — Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Étrangères (hereafter abbreviated as ISME), 1899, xii, 1087 p. See Figure 2.

This is one of the most important dictionaries published by M.E.P. missionaries. Its principal contributors and compilers were Renou, Fage, Desgodins, and Giraudeau. Renou started the compilation in 1852; Fage joined him in 1856. The final draft was completed by Desgodins, and later this draft was sent to Giraudeau to make final corrections. The printing was done during 1894-1899 under the supervision of Desgodins. The data was collected by the compilers and other missionaries. They compared their data with that found in both Alexander Csoma de Körös' *Essay towards a Tibetan and English dictionary* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1834, xxii, 351 p.) and H.A. Jäschke's *A Tibetan-English dictionary* (London: The Secretary of State for India in Council, 1881, xxii, 671 p.). All entries were said to be carefully selected and critically discussed by the compilers, including the distinctions between literary and colloquial Tibetan. Under each entry the Tibetan word is given according to the alphabetical ordering system of Tibetan. Data taken from other sources is indicated in parentheses. Translations in Latin and French are entered; then, compounds, phrases, sentences, and idiomatic expressions are given. Since Latin was the common language used and understood by the majority of scholars in Europe at that time, the compilers at first are said to have intended to use Latin only, but for the convenience of French speakers,

they added French during the time of printing. Since its publication, this dictionary has been an invaluable tool to missionaries and students for more than seventy years. Today, it still remains a standard reference work in Tibetan lexicography (cf. Simon 1934: 92).

2. Giraudeau, Mgr. Pierre-Philippe: *Dictionarium Latino-Tibetanum*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1916, xvi, 696 p. See Figure 3.

This dictionary may be considered a companion to the *Dictionnaire Thibétain-Latin-Français*. It was compiled for the use of Chinese and Tibetan students. At the beginning of this dictionary, a concise Tibetan grammar is given (pp. iii-xv). In the main body of the text, under each entry, first a Latin word and then its Tibetan equivalent with illustrative phrases and sentences are entered.

3. Giraudeau, Mgr. Pierre-Philippe and Goré, François Louis-Ncé: *Dictionnaire Français-Tibétain* (Tibet Oriental). — Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1956, 310, 24 p.

Thus far, this is the last French-Tibetan dictionary published by M.E.P. missionaries. The French text was typewritten; the Tibetan scripts were handwritten. The printing was done by photo-offset. It was based on materials left by Giraudeau. The format for entries in this dictionary is the same as the preceding one: first, a French word is entered; then, its Tibetan equivalent, often with illustrative examples in French translated into colloquial Tibetan, follows. These illustrative examples are most helpful for beginning students. In the appendix, there is a brief account of Tibetan religions and history. Due to a number of errors in transcriptions and translations, the work should be used with caution.

4. Desgodins, Auguste: *Essai de grammaire Thibétaine pour le langage parlé, avec alphabet et prononciation*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1899, vii, 91 p.

This is a concise grammar of colloquial Tibetan. As stated by the author in his preface, there were two Tibetan grammars published before this one: one was by Csoma de Kőrös, *A grammar of the Tibetan language in English* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1834, xii, 204 p.); the other was by Philippe Édouard Foucaux, *Grammaire de la langue Tibétaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1858, xxxii, 231 p.). However, both of these dealt only with the written language. This little book is divided into thirteen sections. Classification and grammatical notes are based on Foucaux's system. The sections deal with the alphabetic system, parts of speech, particles, articles, substantives, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, conjugations, prepositions, numerals, construction of phrases, and practice exercises. The appendix presents exercises on the ways of telling time, etc. in Tibetan. All examples are first given in Tibetan; then its romanization and French translation follow. It is very handy and practical but an incomplete grammar of spoken Tibetan.

B. Lisu

1. Biet, Alexandre: "Vocabulaire Lyssou, recueilli à Tsékou sur les rives du

Lan-tsang-kiang, Lakiou ou Haut-Mékong, accompagné des notes, d'une introduction et d'un vocabulaire Lyssou-Français par M. le Marquis de Croizier". — *Mémoires de la Société Académique Indochinoise* 1, 1877, 21-41; also separately printed at Saint-Quentin: Jules Moureau, 1877, 20 p.

This is a very useful vocabulary list of the Lisu language spoken in Tseku on the Lantsangchiang in Yunnan and includes a Lisu-French vocabulary list by de Croizier.

2. Desgodins, Auguste: "Mots principaux des langues de certaines tribus qui habitent le bords du Lan-tsang-kiang, du Lou-tse-kiang et Irrawaddy". — *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, ser. 6, vol. 5, 1873, 144-150.

This article lists commonly used words of certain tribes dwelling in the border areas of Lantsangchiang, Nuchiang and Irrawaddy. It includes Lisu words.

3. Liétart, Alfred: "Au Yun-nan, Min-kia, La-ma jen". — *Anthropos* 7, 1912, 677-705. Lisu words are listed on pp. 692-702.

C. Lolo

1. Vial, Paul: *De la langue et de l'écriture indigène au Yun-nan*. — Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890, 23 p.

This was the first brief introduction to the language and writing system of the Gni-p'a tribe of the Lolos living in Ch'uchingfu, Yunnan. The Lolo language is monosyllabic like Chinese, but all syllables are open without any consonantal endings. Compound words are made from combinations of monosyllables. Lolo is a tonal language, but Vial did not give any description of the tones. The writing system of Lolo is logographic and similar to Chinese.

2. Vial, Paul: *Les Lolos: histoire, religion, moeurs, langue, écriture*. — Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1898, 75 p.

This is a new version of the author's *De la langue*, etc. It consists of nine short chapters. Chapter III. Language of the Lolos and Chapter IX. Writing system of the Lolos are pertinent here. The remaining chapters deal with history, traditions, literature, customs, birth, marriage, and death of the Lolos. Chapter VII describes Chungchiatzu (Tchong-kia-tse) and Miaotzu (Miao-tse) tribes; Chapter VIII contains additional notes. This was probably the first brief but reliable description of the Lolo peoples and their culture.

3. Vial, Paul: "Petit lexique Français-Gni (Lo-lo)". — *T'oung Pao* 9, 1908, 566-576.

This is a small French-Lolo lexicon appended to Claudius Madrolle's "Quelques peuplades Lo-lo" (*T'oung Pao* 9, 1908, 529-576). It consists of a short note on Lolo grammar and about three hundred simple French words with Lolo equivalents.

4. Vial, Paul: *Dictionnaire Français-Lolo, dialecte Gni tribu située dans les sous-préfectures de Lou nan tcheou 路南州 Lou leang tcheou 陸涼州 Kouang-si tcheou 廣西州 Province du Yunnan*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1909, 103, 350 p.

This is the first Lolo dictionary printed in Lolo script. The first two sections contain both a Lolo grammar that includes phonetics and grammatical rules and several Lolo texts with literal French translations. In the main body of the text, first a French word is entered; then an explanation in both romanized and original Lolo script is given. Altogether, roughly 430 Lolo characters are used in this dictionary. The work was awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien by the French Academy.

5. Liétard, Alfred: "Essai de dictionnaire Lo-lo-Français, reproduisant le dialecte parlé par la tribu des A-hi suivi d'un vocabulaire Français-Lo-lo (A-hi)". — *T'oung Pao* 12, 1911, 1-37, 123-156, 316-346, 544-558; 13, 1912, 1-42 (vocabulaire).

This is the first and only A-hi-French dictionary published thus far. The materials in this dictionary were collected during 1898-1904 by the author in the village of Lanniching, Lunan, Yunnan. In 1908, Liétard was sent to l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi to do research work on Lolo dialects. While there, he published his "Notions de grammaire Lo-lo" (see below) and finished the draft of this dictionary. The opening sections contain three religious (Catholic) texts and one sample of a lamentation for burial services. The dictionary entries present an A-hi word in romanized form and its French equivalent with phrases and sentences illustrating proper usage. Chinese loan words are given first in A-hi pronunciation and then in Chinese pronunciation with Chinese characters in parentheses. The *Vocabulaire* (French-Lolo) consists of simple words only and, as the author indicates, it would serve as a French index to the Lolo words found in the main body of the dictionary. Since A-hi lacked a writing system at this time, Liétard was the first to devise a romanization system for this dialect.

6. Liétard, Alfred: "Notions de grammaire Lo-lo". — *BEFEO* 9, 1909, 285-314; *T'oung Pao* 12, 1911, 625-663.

This work consists of sixteen short chapters which briefly describe the phonetics and parts of speech of the A-hi dialect. After the general grammatical rules, A-hi phrases and sentences are then given as illustrations. At the end of the grammatical section, the Parable of the Prodigal Son is given in A-hi followed by both a literal and a free French translation.

7. Liétard, Alfred: "Notes sur les dialects Lo-lo". — *BEFEO* 9, 1909, 549-572. This article contains linguistic notes on various Lolo dialects, with a short vocabulary list of each dialect, compiled by the author or by other scholars.

8. Liétard, Alfred: "Au Yun-nan, Min-kia 民家 et La-ma jen 那馬人". — *Anthropos* 7, 1912, 677-705.

This article deals with the Min-kia (Minchia) and La-ma jen tribes and their language, including vocabulary (pp. 692-702) and phrases (pp. 703-704).

9. Liétard, Alfred: *Au Yun-nan. Les Lo-lo-p'o, une tribu des aborigènes de la Chine méridionale*. — Münster: Aschendorff, 1913, vii, 272 p.; Bibliothek Anthropos,

Vol. 1, pt. 5.

This book describes the Lolo tribes, their tribal divisions and geographical distribution, their physical and psychical life, and their language. Included is a vocabulary of Lo-lo-p'o. This vocabulary was later included in George Abraham Grierson's *The linguistic survey of India* (Calcutta: India Government, 1928), Vol. I, pt. 2. Comparative vocabulary.

II. MIAO-YAO

1. Savina, François-Marie: *Dictionnaire Miao-tseu-Français, précédé d'un précis de grammaire Miao-tseu*. — Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1917, xxii, 246 p. Reprinted from *BEFEO* 16, 1917.

This is a dictionary of the dialects spoken by the Black Miao and White Miao who emigrated from China and were then living in the province of Yen-bay, Vietnam. In the introductory part of this book, Savina first presents a brief note on the history and culture of the Miao tribes. This is followed by a short grammar of Miao dialects that includes phonetic and grammatical rules. In the main body of the dictionary Miao words are first followed by phrases and sentences in romanization and then by their French equivalents. Chinese loan words are given in brackets with Chinese characters and pronunciation. The last section in the work is a French-Miao-tseu vocabulary that only lists simple words. It serves as a French index to the first part.

2. Savina, François-Marie: *Histoire des Miao*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1924, xxii, 304 p.; plates, map.

This book is divided into four chapters with an appendix: Chap. I. Comparative study of the Miao language; Chap. II. The Miao people in history; Chap. III. The domestic scene of the Miao people; Chap. IV. The beliefs of the Miao people; Appendix. The future of the Miao people. This is one of the few works on the language, the history, the customs and the religious beliefs of the Miao people ever published. Concerning their history, Savina first cited different authors, then added his own criticism and opinion. In the account of Miao culture and customs, Savina described their regions, villages and dwellings, domestic animals, hygiene and health, clothing and ornaments, professions, celebration of the new year's day, birthday, marriage, funeral, hunting and fishing, etc. In describing Miao beliefs, Savina discussed them in general, then the creation of the world and of man, the deluge, the tower of languages, the confusion of languages and the dispersion of the peoples, death and an afterlife, etc. For the linguist the first chapter is pertinent. At first, Savina listed five hundred most commonly used words with useful phrases and sentences. These words are classified into ten categories: heaven, earth, family, human body, clothing, dwelling, fauna, flora, verbs and adjectives. Following these, there is a synoptic and comparative table of two hundred and

fifty words in ten languages, namely Miao, Man (Yao), Lolo, Thai, Annamite (Vietnamese), Chinese (Mandarin), Tibetan, Tartar (Manchu), Malay and Stieng (See Figure 4). Thereafter, the author commented on the classification and migrations of various races and gave a general description of these same ten peoples. He concluded that before asserting any genetic or linguistic affinity among the Miao and Man, Lolo and Tibetan, etc., additional data and research are needed.

3. Savina, François-Marie: *Dictionnaire Français-Man, précédé d'une note sur les Man Kim-di-mun et leur langue*. — Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1927, 255 p. Reprinted from the *BEFEO* 26, 1926.

The Man is one of the Yao tribes who lived in the regions of Haininh, Vietnam, and in Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hainan Island, China. The language described by Savina was the Man variety of Kim-di-mun, closely related to Man Côt with heavy borrowings from Cantonese. This was probably the first French-Man dictionary ever published. The main body of the dictionary is preceded by an interesting brief description of the Kim-di-mun people and their language. Since at the time of the compilation of this dictionary the Man people did not have their own writing system, Savina adapted the Vietnamese Quốc-ngũ system of transcription to this language.

4. Esquirol, Joseph: *Dictionnaire 'Ka-nao-Français et Français-'Ka-nao*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1931, xliii, 519 p. See Figure 5.

'Ka-nao are Black Miao living in Kweichow province. The author was a missionary in Nanlung, Kweichow. In this dictionary, there is a short grammar of Miao (pp. vii-xvii), with an Appendix. A classified common vocabulary (pp. xix-xliii) contains two wedding songs and one legend entitled "Pseudo-creation." The entries in the main body of the dictionary are arranged according to the following order: 'Ka-nao word, French explanation and equivalent, phrases and sentences. Chinese loan words are indicated by Chinese characters given in parentheses. The second part of the composite work is a French-'Ka-nao dictionary which follows the same format as that of the first part. The second part differs from the first part in that a lesser number of phrases and sentences are given. At the end of the work, there is a section entitled "*Petit tableau montrant la compénétration des trois principales langues en présence aux frontières méridionales de Kouy Tcheou Sud-Ouest*."

This is a comparative vocabulary of 'Ka-nao, Dìoi, and Chinese spoken in the border areas of southwestern Kweichow. The author's intent here was to show the linguistic contacts of these languages and the effects they have had on each other.

5. Savina, François-Marie: *Guide linguistique de l'Indochine Française*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1939, 2 vols., xvii, 1193 p.; *Supplément*, 107 p. (appended to the end of the first volume). See Figure 6.

This was the last and the most voluminous linguistic work to be published by

Savina before his death in 1941. It is an extensive collection of lexical materials from some of the more important languages spoken in the border regions between Vietnam and China, namely, Vietnamese, Thô (i.e. Nung), Mán, Mèo (i.e. Miao), Cantonese, Hoclo (i.e. Hainan South Min), and Mandarin (Southwestern). Each entry was printed in eight columns, first in French, then in the seven languages just mentioned. All of these languages are transcribed in a unified romanization system which includes tone marks that were devised by Savina. Chinese characters for Cantonese, Mandarin, and Hoclo are printed under the Hoclo column. Although Savina's purpose was "*philologie comparée des langues monosyllabiques*" (subtitle), he did not make any theoretical statements concerning their linguistic affinities or relationships. Nevertheless, the work is still a very valuable linguistic source for further comparative studies. Since this book was published on the eve of World War II, unfortunately it has not been widely known nor extensively used by linguists.

III. TAI

1. Esquirol, Joseph and Williate, Gustave: *Essai de dictionnaire Dioi-Français, reproduisant la langue parlée par les tribus Thai de la haute Rivière de l'Ouest (西江), suivi d'un vocabulaire Français-Dioi*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1908, lvi, 669 p. See Figure 7.

This is one of the best dictionaries published so far for the Dioi dialect of the Tai group spoken by the Pu Man tribe in Ts'ehengchow, southwestern Kweichow. This dictionary begins with a short grammar which includes phonetics and parts of speech. The grammatical section is then followed by Appendix I, a classified vocabulary. Appendix II has a list of 173 proverbs and sayings in Dioi with French translations, wedding songs, a song of congratulation for a new house, and a song of sorrow. The main body of the dictionary includes Dioi words, then French explanations and equivalents, and then illustrative phrases and sentences. *Vocabulaire Français-Dioi* focuses on simple words with phrases and sentences added occasionally. The seven tones are marked by arabic numerals. This work was awarded a prize by the French Academy.

2. Savina, François-Marie: *Dictionnaire étymologique Français-Nùng-Chinois*. — Hong Kong: ISME, 1924, xvi, 528 p. See Figure 8.

Savina, like some other linguists, believed in a genetic and linguistic relationship between the Chinese and Tai people. The main purpose of this dictionary was to prove this relationship by comparing these two languages. The use of the word *étymologique* in his title ostensibly reveals this. Nung is a Tai variety spoken in the northern provinces of Vietnam and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China, including Kwangsi, Kweichow, and Yunnan. The preface is a short account of the history of the Tai people living in different regions under different names. Here, it can be seen that the author believes these people have a close

relationship to the Chinese people. For each entry in the main body of the dictionary, a French word is given first and then its Nung equivalent which is often illustrated with phrases and sentences. Chinese equivalents are represented by the Cantonese dialect with Chinese characters and Cantonese romanization in parentheses according to Louis Aubazac's *Dictionnaire Français-Cantonais* (Hong Kong: ISME, 1909). After the main section (pp. 461-488), there is a table comparing Cantonese and Nung. It lists the Chinese characters appearing in this dictionary with French and Nung equivalents. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order using Cantonese romanization. After this table, Savina added a final section (pp. 489-527) on the beliefs and observances of the Nung people based on Nung texts translated into French.

3. Savina, François-Marie: "Lexique-Fay-Français, accompagné d'un petit lexique Français-Fay et d'un tableau des différences dialectales". — *BEFEO* 31, 1931, 103-199.

This is a Fay-French lexicon with a small French-Fay vocabulary and a table comparing dialectal differences of Tai dialects spoken in central and southern Hainan.

4. Savina, François-Marie: *Lexique Hiàì-ao-Français et Français-Hiàì-ao*. — Hanoi, 1930, [not seen].

Hiàì-ao is a Tai variety spoken in central and southern Hainan.

5. Savina, François-Marie: *Dictionnaire Tày-Annamite-Français, précédé d'un précis de grammaire Tày et suivi d'un vocabulaire Français-Tày*. — Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1910, xv, 488 p.

This is a Tai variety spoken by the White Tai people of northern Vietnam, particularly along the basin of the Clear river. Savina gathered the most commonly used words in this dictionary and provided Vietnamese and French equivalents. The main body of this work is preceded by a French-Tày grammar and is followed by a French-Tày vocabulary. This work was awarded a prize by the French Academy.

6. Savina, François-Marie, ed. by Haudricourt, A.G.: *Le vocabulaire Bê*. — Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1965, 170 p., 1 map.

This vocabulary was originally compiled by Savina and entitled *Dictionnaire Français-Bê*. It was in manuscript form and was preserved in the library of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Haudricourt discovered it and published it with some minor modifications. Bê is a Tai variety spoken by a very small community in the northwestern part of Hainan. At Savina's time, they numbered only about 100,000 to 200,000 individuals; all of them are bilinguals of Bê and Hoclo (a South Min variety spoken in Hainan). The data recorded for this almost extinct language are very valuable for linguistic studies. In editing this work, Haudricourt took time in putting together the relevant linguistic materials for making comparisons

between Chinese, Common Tai, Chuang, and Li languages. He compared them by showing their phonematic correspondences.

This article is an attempt to present some of the important linguistic publications completed by the M.E.P. missionaries and their precursors. It is by no means complete or exhaustive. Difficulties in obtaining some of these early — and by now scarce — publications in the United States of America have precluded discussion of them thus far. In the future more materials will be added to this preliminary survey which is but a sampling of the contributions of some Catholic missionaries to the study of the languages or dialects spoken in southwestern China and its environs.

REFERENCES*

- Burgmann, A.: "Missionary contributions to linguistics". — *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 8, 776-781.
- Desideri, Ippolito, S.J. Ed. by Filippo de Filippi: *An account of Tibet, travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoria, S.J., 1712-1727*. — London: George Routledge & Sons, 1937, rev. ed.
- Escalière, L.: "La collaboration des Missionnaires Catholiques aux travaux de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient." — *Bulletin M.E.P.* 1936, 463-482, 553-562, 634-636, 694-701.
- Goré, François: "Bibliographie Tibétaine catholique". — *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis* 8, 1935, 650-654.
- Hambye, E.R.: "Tibet". — *New Catholic encyclopedia*, Vol. 14, 151-152.
- Simon, Walter: "Tibetan lexicography and etymological research." — *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1964, 85-107.
- Toscano, Giuseppe M.: *La prima Missione Cattolica nel Tibet*. — Parma: Istituto Missioni Estere, 1951.
- Wessels, C., S.J.: Introduction to Desideri's *An account of Tibet*. See Desideri.
- Yang, Paul, S.J.: "The Catholic missionary contribution to the study of Chinese dialects". — *Orbis* 9, 1960, 158-185.

* Materials for the biographical sketch of each M.E.P. missionary were provided by Rev. H. Simonin, Archivist of M.E.P., Paris, and by Rev. Émile Louis-Tisserand, M.E.P., Hong Kong. To both of them I would like to express my deep gratitude and appreciation for their kind assistance.

Yang: CATHOLIC MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF TIBETO-BURMAN.

ALPHABETUM TIBETANUM

MISSIONUM APOSTOLICARUM

COMMODO EDITUM.

PRÆMISSA EST DISQUISITIO

*QUA DE VARIO LITTERARUM AC REGIONIS NOMINE, GENTIS ORIGINE
MORIBUS, SUPERSTITIONE, AC MANICHÆISMO FUSE DISSERITUR.*

BEAUSOBRII CALUMNIÆ IN SANCTUM AUGUSTINUM,
ALIOSQUE ECCLESIAE PATRES REFUTANTUR.

STUDIO ET LABORE

FR. AUGUSTINI ANTONII GEORGII

EREMITÆ AUGUSTINIANI.



ROMÆ MDCCLXII.

TYPIS SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.

SUPERIORUM FACULTATE.

Figure 1

DICTIONNAIRE

THIBETAIN-LATIN-FRANÇAIS.



1^a Littera alphabeti; quando est simplex, semper pronunciatur kă.

1^{re} Lettre de l'alphabet; quand elle est simple, elle se prononce toujours kă.

ཀ་ 1° In seriis, quando adhibetur ut numerale, valet unum; et est idem ac ཀ་པ་

1^{us}, v. g.: volumen inscriptum ཀ་ est vol.

1^m operis, employé comme nombre dans les séries égale 1 et 1^{er}.

2° Post priores numeros, est quasi artic. definit. significans: ipsi, omnes simul; apres les premiers nombres est comme un artic. défini, signifiant: les, eux-mêmes, tous; v. g.: བཞིམ་ཀ་ duo, ambo, deux, les deux; བཞིམ་ཀ་ tres simul, les trois ensemble.

3° Post quædam verba, indicat tempus, après quelques mots, indique le temps, v. g.: དབྱར་ཀ་ æstas, été; ལྷོ་ཀ་ autumnus, automne; རྒྱུ་ཀ་ mane, matin.

4° Est etiam syllaba inhærens multis verbis dissyllabis, sine sensu proprio, s'ajoute à quelques mots sans avoir de sens propre, et forme un dissyllabe;

v. g.: བཅར་ཀ་ baculus, bâton; ལས་ཀ་ opus, ouvrage; སྐྱུ་ཀ་ avis pica, pie.

ཀ་ A=R ཀྱ་ Vocandi modus: Hé! Ho! manière d'appeler.

ཀ་ཀ་ Cornix, corneille.

ཀ་ཀ་ནི་ Parva moneta in antiqua India, valet 20 parvas conchas, (cowries), petite monnaie valant 20 coquilles.

ཀ་ཀ་མ་ཏ་ Corvus magnus, gros corbeau, cujus syn. est: ཀ་ཀ་མ་ཏ་, i. e. habens duo ཀ་ (in suo nomine), ayant deux K (dans son nom); vulg. ཏུ་རེ་ཀ་

ཀ་ཀ་ར་ Species cucumeris, espèce de concombre.

ཀ་ཀ་མ་ཡ་ (S) = Thib. མོ་མུང་ Clematis sinensis, planta medicinalis.

ཀ་ཀོ་ལ་ ཀ་ཀོ་ལ་ (S) Amomum medium, plan-

DICTIONARIUM LATINO-THIBETANUM.

A

- A, ab, abs, præp.** ཅས་། ལས་། གིས་། **Venio** གཏོང་། རྒྱུ་ཅན་ནས་ཐོང་ཡིན། **A ferâ oc-
ciscus** གཅན་གཟན་གྱིས་བསད་ཚར། **Ferire baculo**
ཐེར་གས་རྩང་། **Amor a Deo** གནས་ཀྱི་བདག་པོས་
ང་ལ་དགའ།
- Aaron, n. p. m.** ཚས་རྩིང་པའི་དུས་མཚན་པ་པོ་ཞིག་
གི་མིང། **Nomen unius summi sacerdotis**
sub veteri Testamento.
- Abactor, oris, m.** འཕྲོག་མཁན།
- Abactus, a, um, part. p. v. Abigo.**
- Abactus, ūs, m.** འཕྲོག་གི་ཕ་བ།
- Abalieno, as, avi, atum, are, v. a.**
འཛང་། རྩྭ་། འཕྲོག་། ཡར་ལེན། རྩོད་རྒྱུ་བྱེད། རྩོད་ཁ་
བཅོ། — **hæreditatem** ཡ་མའི་སྐལ་བ་འཛང་། —
sensus རྩྭ་པ་བཅོ། — **animos** མི་རྩོད་རྒྱུ་བྱེད།
- Abax, cis, = Abacus, i, m.** འཛེང་ལེབ། རྩང་ལེབ། རྩང་ལེབ་པ།
- Abdicatio, onis, f.** རྩོད་གི་ཕ་བ།
- Abdicatus, a, um, part. p. v. Abdico.**
- Abdico, as, avi, atum, are, v. a.** རྩོད།
— **regiam dignitatem** རྒྱལ་པོའི་གོ་ས་རྩོད།
— **officium suum** ལས་རྩོད་རྩོད།
- Abdico, cis, xi, ctum, cere, v. a. V.**
Denego, Abnuo.
- Abdite, adv.** རྩོག་ཏུ།
- Abditus, a, um, part. p. v. Abdo.**
- Abdo, is, idi, itum, ere, v. a.** མཐའ་རྩྭ་
གཏོང་། རྩྭ་། རྩྭ་གསང་། གཤམ་མཐའ་རྩྭ་གཏོང་། **Se
abdidit in castris** དམག་ར་ནང་གཤམ་མཐའ་རྩྭ་། —
rem sub vestem གོས་ཞབས་མོ་ར་ཐ།
- Abdomen, inis, n. V. Venter.**
- Abduco, cis, xi, ctum, cere, v. a.**
འཐིད། རྩྭ་འཐིད། འཐྱོལ། — **aliquem ab aratro**
ut dictator sit རྩྭ་དཔོན་བཅོ་ས་མི་ཞིག་ཐོང་མ་ནས་
རྩྭ་འཐིད། — **aliquem extra convivium**
རྩྭ་མོ་ནས་མི་ཞིག་ཕར་འཐིད། — **animum a cor-
pore** རྩམ་པོ་ལས་སེམས་བཞོལ། **V. Duco.**
- Abductio, onis, f.** ཕར་འཐིད་གི་ཕ་བ།
- Abductor, oris, m.** འཕྲོག་མཁན།
- Abductus, a, um, part. p. v. Abduco.**
- Abecedarium, i, n.** ཀ་ཁའི་དཔེ། ཀ་ཁ་ག་ང་
ཡི་ལ།
- Abel, n. p. m.** ཨ་འདས་ཀྱི་ཕ་གཉིས་པ།
- Abeo, is, ivi, vel ii, itum, ire, v. n.**
འཕྱོ། ཞེལ། ཡར་འཕྱོ། — **ab urbe** རྒྱུ་ཅན་ལས་ཡར་
འཕྱོ། — **deambulatum** འབྲམ་ས་འཕྱོ། **Abeat**
quo libuerit ག་འཕྱོ་དགོས་ན་འཕྱོ་ཚེག། — **e vitâ**
ཞི་འཕྱོ། **Abiit sol** ཉེ་མ་ཀྱལ་ཞེལ།
- Abequito, as, avi, atum, are, v. n.**
རྩྭ་ཕར་འཕྱོ། **V. Equito.**
- Aberceo, es, ere, v. a. V. Arceo.**

SYNOPTIQUE.

RATION.

TABLEAU

NUMÉ

Miao	Man	Lolo	Thai	Annamite	Chinois	Thibétain	Tartare	Malais	Stieng
1 (1)	Yál	Ti	Nung : deo	Mól	—	Ki	Einou	Salou : asa ; sa	Doul
2 (2)	Y	Oni	Xong	Hai	—	Uni	Tchouo	Doua	Bar
3 (3)	Pua	Seu	Xam	Ba	—	Song	Ilan	Tiga	Pèi
4 (4)	Piè	Shiè	Xi	Bón	—	Je	Touin	Ampat	Puón
5 (5)	Péa	thā	Hā	Nām	—	Nga	Sountcha	Lima	Pram
6 (6)	Chui	K'ou	Hóo	Sáu	—	Tehrou	Ningoun	Anam	Prao
7 (7)	Nia	Ché	Chét	Báy	—	Dun	Nadan	Toudiouth	Pak
8 (8)	Hién	Pé	Pét	Tām	—	Gyé	Tchakoun	Salapan ; dela-	Tham ; pham
					—			pan	
9 (9)	Đuá	Ké	Cáu	Chin	—	Gió	Ouin	Sambilan	Tjin ; shin
10 (10)	Chiem	Ts'è	Xip	Mười	—	Kio	Tchouan	Sa-pouloh	Yét
100 (100)	Pék	Tiā	Páo	Trám	—	Gya	Tangou	Sa-ratous	Dour riéng
1000 (1000)	Nhin	Ti'ou	Xin	Nghin	—	Tong lehra ki	Mingan	Sa-rihou	Yét riéng

(1) An lieu de : xong, xam, xi, xip, xin, 2, 3, 4, 10, 1000, on dit aussi : stong, xlam, xli, xlip, xlin, ou encore : stong, tham, thi thip, thin. En thai, comme dans la plupart des langues de ce tableau, les adjectifs numéraux varient avec les dialectes : mais il est impossible de signaler ici les diverses différences dialectales de toutes ces langues.

(2) Nous avons suivi dans ce travail la prononciation donnée par le Père J. Gazzeli dans son dictionnaire Français-Chinois. Pour plus de clarté, nous avons fait suivre chaque mot chinois de son caractère ; les différences dialectales sont ainsi supprimées.

(3) Voici les mêmes noms de nombre dans quelques langues polynésiennes, d'après le Père Favre.

Javanais 1, siji, sawiji, sa, 2, kalih, loro, duwi, 3, tiga, telu, tri, 4, papat, xatur, 5, lima, ponxa, 6, nem, 7, pitu, sapta, 8, wolu, asta, 9, nawa, sanga, 10, sa-dasa, sa-puluh, 100, satus, 1000, séwu.

Sunda 1, siji, 2, duwa, 3, tilu, 4, opat, 5, lima, 6, genap, 7, tujuh, 8, dalapan, 9, salapan, 10, puluh, 100, saratus, 1000, séwu, sa-ribu.

Madura 1, sah, setong, 2, dua, 3, tilu, talo, 4, papah, ampa, 5, lima, lalima, 6, anam, nannam, 7, péio, papito, 8, balu, babalu, 9, sasngah, 10, pulu, polo, 100, s-atos, sa-ratos, 1000, sihu, sa-ihu.

Bali 1, sa, 2, dua, 3, talu, telo, 4, ampat, 5, lima, 6, anam, 7, pitu, 8, kutus, 9, sia, 10, sa-dasa, 100, s-atus, 1000, siu.

Batak 1, sa, 2, duwa, 3, tolu, 4, opat, 5, lima, 6, onom, 7, pitu, 8, uwalu, 9, siya, 10, sa-pulu, 100, saratus, 1000, sa-ribu.

Lampung 1, sai, 2, ghua, 3, talu, 4, pa, 5, lima, 6, nom, 7, pitu, 8, walu, 9, siwa, 10, sa-puluh, 100, sa-ghatus, 1000, sa-paktu.

Bugis 1, sedi, 2, duwa, 3, tolu, 4, opak, 5, lima, 6, onong, 7, pitu, 8, aruwa, 9, asera, 10, sopulo, 100, siratus, 1000, si-sobu.

Tagal 1, isa, 2, dalawa, 3, tolu, 4, apat, 5, lima, 6, anim, 7, pitu, 8, watu, 9, siyam, 10, pulu, 100, daan, 1000, libu.

Bisaya 1, isa, isam, 2, duha, 3, tulu, 4, upak, 5, lima, 6, anum, unum, 7, pitu, 8, walu, 9, siam, 10, pulu, 100, gatus, 1000, liwu.

Kisa 1, oser, ida, 2, suru, ror, 3, kior, kal, 4, fiak, akha, 5, rima, 6, uncum, nam, 7, fik, iko, 8, ar, ah, 9, sia, hi, 10, samfur, wali, 100, raho, 1000, riun.

Malgache 1, trai, 2, rua, 3, telu, 4, eátm, 5, dimi, 6, enina, 7, fitu, 8, wolu, 9, sini, 10, iulu, 100, zatus, 1000, ativu.

Maori 1, tahi, 2, rua, 3, toru, 4, wa, 5, rima, 6, ono, 7, witu, 8, waru, 9, iwa, 10, tekau, nagahuru, 100, rau, 1000, rau.

Sandwich 1, kah, 2, lun, 3, kolu, 4, ha, aha, 5, lima, 6, ono, 7, hiku, 8, walu, 9, iwa, 10, umi, 100, kanaumi, 1000, mano.

Nous ajouterons à cette liste les noms de nombre en japonais et en sanscrit.

Japonais 1, hitotsu, 2, futatsu, 3, mitsu, 4, yotsu, 5, itsutsu, 6, mutsu, 7, nanatsu, 8, yatsu, 9, kokonotsu, 10, to, 100, hyaku, 1000, sen, issen.

Sanscrit 1, éka, 2, dvi, 3, tri, 4, téhatu, 5, panchan, 6, elach, 7, saptan, 8, achan, 9, navan, 10, dasan.

(4) À côté de la numération stieng, il faut placer la numération cambodgienne. La voici :

1, muoi ; 2, pir ; 3, bei ; 4, buoi ; 5, pram ; 6, pram muoi ; 7, pram pir ; 8, pram bei ; 9, pram buoi ; 10, dip, 100, mô ri ; 1000, nu péti.

Comme on le voit, les cambodgiens manquent de termes pour désigner les unités 6, 7, 8 et 9, qu'ils appellent successivement : cinq plus un, cinq plus deux, cinq plus trois et cinq plus quatre.

Figure 4

ESSAI

DE

DICTIONNAIRE

'KA₁NAO₁-FRANÇAIS

A

A¹ Exprime la négation et sert à faire l'interrogation.

| ai¹: ne pas faire.

| ki¹: idée de défense, de prohibition, de non convenance.

| ki¹ ai¹: ne le fais pas.

| ki¹ kang¹: ne pleure pas.

Mòng₁ | mòng₁: partons-nous?

A¹ Sœur aînée; du sexe féminin. (Cfr. chin. ouă 娃, belle femme.)

| 'liö₁; | o₁: la grande, la 2^e sœur aînée.

| hai₁: cousine aînée maternelle.

| tō¹: les sœurs.

Tai₁ |, tai₁ tia₁: filles et garçons.

Kiou₁ tai₁ |: c'est une fille.

A₁ Préfixe des prénoms.

Ex: | chie³; | p'ou³; | kiang¹, Il sert aussi d'article devant les noms communs désignant une personne, s'ils sont employés absolument. Ex: | ma₁: la mère; | pa₃: le père; | a¹: la sœur aînée, etc.

Français	Annamite	Thổ	Mán	Mèo	Cantonais	Hoclo	Mandarin
a (ne savoir ni a ni b).	không biết chữ; không có chữ.	mí lư nả chĩ; mĩ chắc chĩ.	má sả dưng.	tsi pầu nớu; tsi pầu sảy nớu.	ừm xet ^o chư.	vồ bất tử 唔識字.	pụ sợ txố.
a (il y).	có.	mĩ.	mai; nai.	moà.	giáo.	u; du 有.	iều ^o ; giều ^o .
a (il n'y) pas.	không có; chẳng có; chả có.	bỏ mĩ; mĩ mĩ; nả mĩ.	má mai; mĩ mai; má nai.	tsi mòa.	mẫu giáo.	vồ u 無有; 不有; 沒有.	pụ iều ^o ; mộ iều ^o .
à trois heures.	ba giờ; giờ thứ ba.	xam tĩm; xiam tĩm chống.	pổ tẽm; pủ tẽm chống.	pê tẻng; xang tẻng; pê lỏ sỉ hửu.	xam ^o tĩm ^o chống ^o .	tả đẽam chẳng. 三點鐘.	xan tiẻn ^o chống.
à la maison.	ở nhà; ở trong nhà.	giú hườn; giú đơu lườn; giú kiang xườn.	giảm páo; giảm páo ghẻ.	nhào chẻ; nhào hấu chẻ.	chơi ngục ^o	đu sủu 在屋裡; đu sủu lay 在房裡. khĩa sủu.	txải u ỉ ^o ; txải phảng ỉ ^o .
à tout moment.	hằng hằng; lườn lườn.	sường sường; xỉl xỉ khác khác.	giang giang đi đi; gien gien.	sàng sàng; a nả a nả.	xường xường; xỉ xỉ hặc ^o hặc ^o .	tẻng tẻng 常常; tỉ tỉ 時時刻刻.	sàng sàng; sở sở 時刻.
à moi (cette mai-son est).	cái nhà này là cửa tôi.	lườn nẩy chừ lườn ngò.	chẻi siẻn páo chẻi giả nhằng.	lỏ chẻ na giào cỏ lẻ.	neỉ ^o càn ^o ngục ^o hay ngổ kẻ.	chẻ càn sủu tỉ và cẻi 呢間屋係我嘅; 這間房子是我的.	chẻ càn u sở ngổ ^o tỉ; chẻ càn phảng tở ^o sở ngổ ^o tỉ.
à terre (par terre).	ở dưới đất; ở trên mặt đất.	giú tởu tỉ; giú nả tỉ.	giảm cẻ nỉt; giẻm giả nĩa; giẻm giả đau.	nhào là tẻ; nhào pẻ tẻ; nđa nđrang.	chơi tái hẻ.	đu hàu e 在地下.	txải tỉ xĩa.
abaisser.	hạ xuống; đặt xuống; bỏ xuống.	tắt lũng; pẻng lũng; vẻi lũng.	ăn giả; ăn cẻ; chỏ giả tẩy hẻ.	chao cỏi; tóng; nhao.	phong ^o lỏc; lỏc tay.	bắng lỏ 放落; bắng lỏ đỏi. 放下來.	phảng lỏ; phảng xĩa lẻy.
abaisser le prix.	hạ giá.	lũng chá.	giẻ chá.	lầu ngừi nhà.	cảm ^o cẻ.	hẻam kẻ cẻẻẻ.	kiẻn ^o kiẻ.
abandonné des médecins (malade).	không có thể chữa được; không cứu được.	mĩ cháu dẫy; mĩ dẫy dẫy; mĩ kiếu dẫy.	má ẻi tự; má giầu tự.	chiếu tsi tàu; tsi mòa tsoa chiẻu; khỏ tsi tàu.	ừm cau ^o tẻc; ừm gỉ ^o tẻc hấu.	vồ kủu điẻt ^o 唔救得; vồ ỉ điẻt ^o 唔醫不好; 唔醫得好.	ỉ pụ khảo ^o ; ỉ tẻ pụ khảo ^o .

Figure 6

DICTIONNAIRE DIOI₃-FRANÇAIS

A

A¹ Courir, se hâter.

v. le³ *Gon² deou⁴ | tok¹ kie² deou⁴*: courir chaque jour dans un lieu
v. a¹ le³ différent.

| *ma⁴ kie² ni³*: accours ici.

Meung² | pai⁴ kie² laeu² thaou¹? où cours-tu donc ainsi?

A₃ | *pa¹*: ouvrir la bouche toute grande.

Pa¹ |: bouche grande ouverte.

Koueu¹ hong⁴ pa¹ | , mi² li₃ ke² ma² ken⁴: malgré mon travail
je suis toujours bouche bée, je n'ai rien à manger.

| *gap₁ | gap₁*: ouvrir et fermer plusieurs fois successivement;
(cette expression peint le mouvement spasmodique des mâchoires que fait un malade à l'agonie, comme pour tirer son souffle).

Pou₃ ping₁ | gap₁ | gap₁ ha² tai⁴: le malade ouvre et ferme,
ouvre et ferme la bouche; il va mourir.

A₃ Marque l'assentiment.

Meung² tai¹ kie³ ma⁴? R. | : tu viens du marché? R. Oui.

A⁴ Corbeau.

Toueu² | hong², ha² tai⁴ houn²: le corbeau coasse; il va mourir
quelqu'un; (préjugé populaire).

Toueu² | ho² hao⁴: corbeau à collier blanc.

Toueu¹ | ho² fon₃: corbeau entièrement noir.

Toueu² | dong⁴: espèce de gros merle tres noir.

I

DICTIONNAIRE ETYMOLOGIQUE FRANCAIS-NUNG-CHINOIS



A. Première lettre de l'alphabet: TÀU CHÌ (字頭 TSZ₃ TAO₁) Ne savoir ni a ni b, illettré, ignare: MÍ Nǎ CHÌ; PHÀNG CHÌ (盲字 MÁNG: TSZ₃).

A. (Prép.) A midi: CHANG VǎN. Il est à la maison: MÊN GIÚ LǔN (LU'ON). Vis à vis: TÓI Nǎ. Les femmes sont à la maison, les hommes sont aux raies: TÌ MÈ GIÚ LǔN, TÌ PÒ GIÚ LǎY.

ABAISSÉ. Pâte amincie par le rouleau: CAO XLA. Action d'amincir cette pâte: LǎN CAO XLA; couper cette pâte: CHAM CAO XLA.

ABAISSER. PÉONG LǔNG (放落 FONG³ LOK₄); XLE TǎM; LǔNG TǎM; TǎT LǔNG TǎM. Abaisser les paupières: LǎP P'Í HA. Abaisser les stores: AU P'ÉN LǐN LǔNG. Les nuages s'abaissent: MÓC LǔNG TǎM. Abaisser le prix: LǔNG CHǎ (KIÁ.)

ABAJOUÉ. Abajoues des singes: TǎY TU LǐNH.

ABALOURDI. NGǔNG (懸 NGONG₃.) NGǔNG NGHING; PǎN SOT; PÉN Bǎ; CǎN ĐÚ ĐÍ; CǎN P'ÁC; CǎN MǎN.

ABANDON. XLE (捨 SHÉ².) délaissement SI LǔNG (LU'ONG.) (淒涼 TS'AI' LEUNG.) Laisser quelqu'un à l'abandon: MÍ Tǎ Lǐ MÊN (唔打理佢 M₁ TA² LI₂ K'U₂.) Etre dans l'abandon et la misère: SǎM SÍT (淒慘 TS'AI' TS'ÁM².) Abandon à Providence: CHÌ Kǐ VǐN GIÚ THIN CHǐ (自獻於天主 TSZ₃ HIN³ YU' T'IN³ TCHU².) A l'abandon: LǎP LǔN (立亂 LÁP₄ LUN₃.) Laisser ses affaires

à l'abandon: MÍ Lǐ PǒN XLǎY (唔理本事 M₁ LI₂ POUN² SZ₃.)

ABANDONNABLE. Qui peut être abandonné: ĐÉK PAY ĐǎY; qui doit être abandonné: ĐÉK PAY CHǔNG CHǔ.

ABANDONNÉ. Individu sans appui: MÍ CǎN TÒ CHÒI, MÍ CǎN TÒ PÀNG; individu dont personne ne veut: MÍ CǎN AU; individu qui n'a personne pour le conseiller: MÍ CǎN Tǎ Lǐ; individu sans espoir de guérison: MÍ CHǎU ĐǎY (唔救得 M₁ KAO³ TAK⁴); qui n'a pas de maître, de patron: MÍ CHǔ, MÍ CǔN, MÍ PÒ CHǔ (無主 MÓ, TCHU²); vagabond: LǎNG CHǎY; LǎU CÁ (攞仔爛家 LÁN: TSAI², LÓ' KA¹.)

ABANDONNER. ĐÉK PAY, ĐÉK XLE (捨 SHÉ².) MÍ AU GIÁ; (se quitter): ĐÉK CǎN; (céder à): NHǔNG Hǔ (讓 YEUNG₃.) abandonner un ouvrage, un travail commencés: PÀNG XLE, PÈNG XLE. Tout le monde m'abandonne: MÓI CǎN PÀNG NGÒ THUON.

ABAUQUE. ǎN XLÚN PǔN (算盤 SUN³ P'OUN.) ; calculer au moyen de cette machine: THÍK PǔN.

ABASOURDIR. SǎO SǎO (嘈吵 TS'Ó, TCH'ÁO²) HUN NÒM NÒM; HǎO NÒM NÒM.

ABATAGE. Abatage d'arbres: HǎM MǎY, THǎM MǎY; abatage d'animaux: KHǎ CHÚC XLENG; défendre l'abatage des bœufs: MÍ Hǔ KHǎ MÒ; recevoir un abatage: XLAU HÍ (受氣 SHAO₃ HÍ³.)

ABÂTARDIR. VǎI PÉT XLÍNG. (壞百姓

TOWARDS A GRAMMAR OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE SHANG BONE INSCRIPTIONS

Paul L-M Serruys

University of Washington, U. S. A.

The oracular inscriptions of Shang have been studied for about eighty years and have received more and more attention, not only from the scholars of the Far East but also, though rather as late comers, from the scholars in the western countries. This study has been greatly facilitated by the publications and reeditions of the major collections of rubbings, photographs, handcopies, transcriptions of the texts in modern characters, commentaries of varying length and thoroughness, complete or partial translations and rendering of general content meaning, dictionaries, indexes of graphs and topics, concordances and general introductions of different kinds and finally increasingly richer bibliographies.

Naturally, most of the efforts were concentrated on the identification of the graphs. By identification of the graphs we mean the explanation of the graphic structure in terms of the pictographic components or phonetic elements of a graph. Furthermore, attention was paid to the relationship of Shang writing, which seems suddenly to emerge as a full fledged writing system, with its possible ancestors, within or outside of the Chinese cultural world, and to the relationship of Shang writing with that of the Chou bronze inscriptions, the pre-Han traditional literary texts, down to the first dictionaries, such as *Erh-ya*, and the Han time wordlists and dictionaries, such as *Fang Yen*, *Shuo Wen* and *Shih Ming*. Together with this attention to structural analysis of graphs, much effort went in determining the meanings and usages of the words in the Shang texts themselves. The slow deciphering of graphs could not be done without the concurrent pursuit of other complex investigations in the succession of the Shang kings, the chronology of the dynasty, the mythological elements and all the hints and lights that can be drawn from archeology and anthropology.

There are maybe two aspects in the study of the language of the Shang inscriptions that have not received as much attention as the purely graphic aspect of the Shang writings. One of them is the phonology of the Shang language as it may be reflected in the graphs of the bone inscriptions; yet, even from the beginning of the study of the Shang script, all the time, phonology has been in some way indirectly involved when certain graphs were identified or tentatively equated with

another graph of later times, through application of the *hsieh-sheng* (phonetic compound) principle, or the *chia-chieh* (loan graph) principle. On the other hand, equally often, it happens that on the basis of some frequently and sufficiently varying contexts, the meaning and function of words can be determined, but no reading can be given, except the pronunciation of a modern Chinese word, presumed to be synonymous with the Shang word. The elaboration of a phonology of the Shang language is also tied up with various aspects of the etymologies of words and the groups of cognates to which they are related and with the various transition stages leading to the later periods of Chou.

The second aspect is the one dealing with the grammar of the Shang language as an aid towards a more accurate understanding of the Shang texts. In the pages that follow I am presenting some translations to illustrate some aspects of the grammar of the Shang language. Since they are dealing with grammatical details, these translations quite often may be lacking in smoothness of style; in general, even at the risk of eventual rough treatment of the English, they all will focus to render as closely as possible the particular turn of phrases as found in the original. It will be readily apparent that in many instances and in various degree there is a considerable amount of guess work due to the number of unsolved problems. These problems pertain mostly to a number of uncertainties about the concrete situation to which the bone texts are referring; uncertainties about the relations of the Shang state with other smaller states and tribes, as well as uncertainties about data relating to religion and social aspects of the life of the Shang rulers and their people. Most of all there are still many uncertainties concerning graph identification and meanings of graphs that continue to harass the student of Shang inscriptions. To select only some examples from the texts translated for this paper, the understanding will greatly differ depending on how one will read graphs such as: 𠂔, 𠂔, 凡, 𠂔, 𠂔, 品, 𠂔, 𠂔, 既, 言, 音, 威, 成, 𠂔, 𠂔, etc.⁽¹⁾ But as one collects examples, certain types of patterns and usages of words, by cumulative effect, begin to appear, and a general frame work of the language can be elaborated.

One of the pervasive and continuously occurring causes of all this uncertainty is the fragmentary nature of the bones and tortoise shells that carry these inscriptions. In this connection the publications of the *Academia Sinica*, in the Series *Archaeologia Sinica*, no. 2. *Hsiao t'un: The Yin-Shang Site at Anyang, Honan*, volume II, *Inscriptions*, Fascicle 3: *Inksqueezes of the Restored Specimens of Inscribed Tortoise Shells with Annotations*. (1957-72, parts 1-3) by Chang Ping-ch'uan have been no less than revolutionizing in the studies of the Shang inscriptions. These volumes represent the crowning result of long and arduous research of several generations of Chinese scholars, testifying to their learning and erudition, their energy and determination, the deep insights combined with strict methodology and accuracy,

the mutual criticisms and corrections that were offered by various scholars starting from the first excavations and ending in publications such as the *Yin-hsü wen-tzu*, *chia-pien*, *yi-pien*, and *ping-pien*. For the first time, the *Ping-pien* volumes are providing us with 632 rubbings, showing the inscriptions of reconstructed tortoise shells, frontside and backside. The painstaking identification of the provenance of each fragment and rigorous method of reassembling and rejoining scattered pieces to form often complete or near complete shells or at least major portions of them, have resulted in the most extensive and reliable collection of inscriptions from one particular time period of Shang. Other efforts at rejoining of fragments have been made with varying degrees of success in other collections, forgetful, many times however, that the criteria based *only* on similarity of script or similarity of content in the two rejoined fragments are not *per se* nor always conclusive; moreover though a first impression might be gained that by rejoining two fragments the missing part of an incomplete text seems to be fittingly complemented by the proposed rejoining, this text supplementation, safe in cases where some graphs can be shown to straddle the line of juncture, is also lacking sufficient proof until our knowledge of what Shang grammar can be reasonably expected to do, has been sufficiently developed to serve as a supporting criterion. In the *Ping-pien* reconstructed shells the rejoining system finds its strongest supportive criterion in the different corresponding negative and positive statements that are found in frequent regular succession over the whole reconstructed tortoise shells; this criterion and others such as the close fit of the joining lines between the various fragments on all sides, the form of the hollowed pits and the inscriptions found on the backside, the content and consistent style of writing, all combine together to assure a solid measure of certitude and reliability.

The contents of these shell inscriptions can be described as being extremely terse and specialized, to a great extent repetitious, but with a considerable degree of small variations; they are narrowly centered on a limited amount of types of divinatory enquiries, which propose a number of alternative courses of action, dealing with the daily lives of the rulers and through them of the Shang people in general. The enquiries relate to war activities, hunting, sickness and well being, childbirth, agriculture and weather, but all that in the framework of a complex system of religious and ritual activities. The enquiries consist in formulations concerning some presupposed or stated facts and situations about which some supernatural light is sought. The presupposed facts or situations, if stated at all, in the divinatory texts, are given in very short lines of three or four words, But there are other types of bone inscriptions where the divinatory intent is hardly reflected or expressed, but where the focus is entirely set on a fuller elaboration of the situation or event's report, called *kao* 告 'announcement'. To return to the divinatory enquiry lines, what is striking is that they are *not* presented in the

form of questions, but on the contrary in the form of successive positive *statements* which describe the various possible ways that are envisaged by the diviners as a procedure to solve the issues at hand. The statements are meant as a method to test on the bone or tortoise shell all the various results that can be expected from each alternative of action that they might try. Hence, we can observe on the tortoise shells a number of sentences which are repeated with variations pointing to different times or places, different agents or recipients of rituals, different goals and results considered; or we find sentences which appear in pairs of negative and affirmative forms referring to a planned action. These two types also can be combined. There is no indication that there was any effort to *communicate directly* with the ancestors or deities to find out what should be done, when and how. The communication is made through the scorching of the bone or shell with a (spoken?) proposition of the planned action; it seems that it is the detailed preparation of the bones and shells, by technical treatment as well as another, rather ritual preparation (suggested in some rare cases), which seems intended to endow the bone or shell with this revelatory or divinatory power and which consisted in a kind of consecration or sacralization. Though the Shang had methods of supplication and prayer, rituals of exorcism and sacrifices, yet the bone inscriptions do not give any prayers, exorcist formulas or sacrificial, offering formulars, but only *mention* them in the divinatory texts, to test whether a supplication or ritual will be auspicious, acceptable, successful or not. The divination did *not address itself to the* ancestors or deities, but to the bone or tortoise shell.

Besides the enquiry lines, we find also lines that describe most succinctly the outcome of events, as *post factum* observation, telling us whether or not an expected or prognosticated event did occur, and some lines which formulate the interpretation or prognostication, usually made by the king.

If it is correct to say that the divinatory lines are formulated in plain statements and not in question form, then that will explain the fact that we have no interrogative pronouns nor interrogative particles in the Shang bone inscriptions. On the other hand it is the frequent opposition of pairs of negative and affirmative forms of basically the same sentence, or the repetition of the same statements with a number of variations pertaining to time, place, number, and other circumstances, that gives us an opening into the grammar of the Shang language. The divinatory statements allow us to distinguish basically two kinds of sentences: sentences couched in the indicative mood (affirmative or negative) and sentences couched in the imperated mood (affirmative, i.e., optative or command form or negative, i.e., prohibitive or discommending form). It will be of importance to classify the kinds of topics, activities or events, which are proposed in sentences with verbs in either indicative as against imperative and/or prohibitive mood, or in certain cases both. Suffice it here to say that it is precisely the negative/affir-

mative opposition in many such contrastive statements that is most decisive in detecting the elements in sentences functioning as verbs as against nouns, and among the latter the subjects or agents as against the objects in the sentences. These oppositions and repetitions of the lines show us also the elements that are the first to be omitted in the subsequent more reduced and simplified reiterations of the original statements; thus main verbs as against subordinated verbs can be distinguished. Though so far there have not been found any initial medial or final grammatical auxiliary particles, still the cumulative impact of these oppositions and repetitions of phrases allow us to find out about the different kinds of complex sentences with subordinative or coordinative clauses.

The conclusion is that these texts of the Shang bone inscriptions reflect the grammatical structure of a written language which, since they belong to one definite period, viz. the reign of King Wu Ting, we can assume to reflect a uniform phase in the history of the Chinese language. We can also assume that this written language may be quite close to the spoken language of that time, except that it does not perhaps include many of the topics of daily, ordinary speech and day-to-day life: questions, exclamations, figures of speech, puns, etc. The kind of things that are treated in oracular texts are of different nature and more restricted in topics and interest; they are specialized, reflecting distinctions and a sophistication characteristic of the world of Royal and Noble families' diviners. Yet the vocabulary (when not dealing with the special high sophisticated items), the grammatical patterns, the word order, etc. were probably the same as in the spoken language. That it was a written language, however, in some ways distinct from the spoken language can be argued from the fact that the nature of the material on which it was written demanded economy of effort and economy in length of sentences in view of the space available; and furthermore, from the fact that the content was specialized and could naturally have developed a concise and formulaic style. This could perhaps be compared to certain ritual, religious notifications in other languages.

In the pages that follow all examples are arranged around three main grammatical topics, followed by some additional comments on grammatical issues encountered *passim* throughout the texts quoted:

- I. The uses and functions of the numerals.
- II. The meaning and functions of *yü* (preposition and verb).
- III. The uses of the negatives.
- IV. Varia.

All the quotations are restricted to the *Ping Pien* volumes which, save for a couple of shells, all belong to Period I. The texts of other periods are not considered, except in rare cases for comparative purposes; the texts of other periods may very well show some different patterns and point to some development and

innovative usages, indicating newer stages in the grammar. In all the examples, the repeatedly recurring phrase [XX (cyclical characters) 卜 X (diviner's name) 貞] have been omitted for brevity's sake. In certain lines of the text that succeed each other in the full set of reassembled shell fragments, this phrase may be repeated, even if the date and the diviner's name is the same, and when date and diviner are different; but equally often the phrase is not repeated, in which case, assuming that the sequence proposed in the *Ping-pien* is correct, we understand this particular line to be same date and from same diviner as the preceding one. Why in certain cases, the same introductory line is sometimes repeated and sometimes not has not yet been fully clarified. What is sure is that this introductory lines allow us to relate various separate queries with each other and so to look for meaningful connections which will help reconstruct a context between a number of subsequent queries. In the texts which are quoted in this study, the lines are given according to what is thought to make up such a context. It will be noticed that these context lines are not always in perfect sequence: 1,2,3,4,5,6 but sometimes in broken sequence: 1,3,4,6 etc. In part, this may simply reflect ignorance or lack of insight to properly connect and understand them. In part, (at least, in certain cases) there may not have been any connection (at least, not direct or immediate), so these lines may be "intrusive", i.e., inserted later, and belonging to a secondary group of topics and divinatory queries.

This introductory formula, f.i., 甲辰卜爭貞 is understood to mean "at divination of day *chia-ch'en*, (diviner) Tseng tested (the proposition, statement, which follows): (f.i., 'The king going hunting, will have no disaster.')." This reading implies that what follows *cheng* 貞 is not a question but a statement proposing a possible way of action and/or result. Though, indeed, the diviner desires to obtain information or signs from the spirits or gods, *via* the shell or bone, how to decide on certain actions and their results, it is not linguistically couched in an interrogative sentence, but a statement concerning which a reaction from the scorched bone or shell is expected. The reason for not following the *Shuo wen* definition of 貞 as 卜問也 'to ask by bone (or shell) divination,' has been given in an earlier study.⁽²⁾ Though 卜 **puk* graphically is a representation of the divination cracks in the shell or bone, it does not follow necessarily that in this introductory line, *pu* would mean here 'crack making of day xx', as if the formal act of divining was just the act of scorching the bone or shell; more than that may be involved and the ritual of divination may well be more complex than that. I therefore translate as 'divination', which is a more general and wider term. Some authors have, at least in certain cases, preferred to read *pu Tseng* as one phrase, loose from the preceding cyclical date, in the sense of 'diviner Tseng', but they have not given explicit reasons for this analysis.

I. The Numerals in the Bone Inscriptions

1). Numerals before nouns.

1. In Dates: the distinction between cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals is in-existent. E.g.:

1.(1) Starting from the present fifth day... (lit. Starting from the present, making it [=having] five days.) (2) Starting from the fifth day (lit. Starting, making it five days).

57.(1) On the evening of the sixth day, a chia-wu day, there was a lunar eclipse. (lit. Making it six days, the evening of day chia-wu, the moon had [case] to be eaten).

65.(4) Before the present second month (lit. As we reach the present second month), it will sleet (or: hail).

198.(5) On the next coming chia-shen day of the third weekly cycle (lit. making it three ten-day cycles, on the coming day chia-shen).

2. Numerals qualifying nouns as direct or indirect objects in the sentence.

41.(19) Next yi-you day (we will) sacrifice human victims (to be beheaded) [unspecified amount] to the five (ancestral) altars.

63.(1) Sacrifice in holocaust five bovines.

83.(1) The king having ordered the three hundred bowmen, did not announce (them) to the ten ancestral altars; as to king's bone ailment, it is to come.

(2) The king's bone ailment is not to come; (yet) he did not announce the (said) three hundred bowmen (to the ancestral altars).

86.(14) When sacrificing penned sheep [unspecified amount], we will (also) have one human (victim). (or: sacrifice one human) (15) In sacrificing (one) shall make it a dog (dogs? unspecified amount). When sacrificing sheep [unsp. amount], (one) shall (also) have (or: sacrifice) one human category (of sacrificial victims). (comp. infra 87.1)

97.(2) The king has dreamt of the (sacrificial) altars; aligning (them), (one) shall set up ten (ancestral altars). (This inscription is unclear, being on the reverse side of the tortoise shell.)

120.(8) Sacrifice one bovine (to) Ancestor Yi.

167.(5) Use two small penned sheep at Cho (place). (or: for the chopping sacrifice.)

1 (1) 自今(卯)日(2)自五日 57(1) 六日(甲午)夕、月食 65(4) 及今二月(癸?) 198(5) 三旬來甲申 41(19) 羽乙酉丑戊于五示 63(1) 庚五牛 83(1) 王令三百射弗告十示、王 隹之(2) 王 田 隹之、弗告 三百 86(14) 丑宰牛一人(卯) 丑 犬 丑 羊 一人 品 97(2) 王夢示並立十示 120(8) 丑一牛祖乙 167(5) 用二小宰于 典 (6) 勿用二小宰于 典

- (6) Do not use (as sacrificial victims) two small penned sheep for the chopping sacrifice. (or: at Cho.)
- 171.(7) We shall sacrifice by axe blows (or: in axe dance) three bovines. (8) We shall call upon the Ch'üeh country to sacrifice by axe-blows one bovine. (9) We call upon the Ch'üeh country to sacrifice by axe blows penned sheep [unspec. amount] to the rising sun and the setting sun.
- 182.(1) Call upon Princess Pin... [subordinate clause left out] to sacrifice (by chopping in pieces) penned sheep [unspec. amount], and put on record³ slaves, three shamans and five penned sheep. (3) While using (as victims) five humans (to be beheaded), ten small penned sheep will be used. (11) Call upon the lady [not named, probably same person as in (1)] to sacrifice (by chopping in pieces) to Father Yi, penned sheep [unspec. amount] and to put on record three penned and whatever slaves there are.
- 185.(6) Do not to (or: on) the nine fire (altar?) make the burning sacrifice.
- 227.(4) As to the X(men), they are not expected to be bringing (the) fifty Ch'iang men.
- 228.(1) The king, if it is a keng day, ought not to perform (any) worshipping. If it is a keng day, the (above said) fifty (Ch'iang) are expected not to be auspicious. (But) it means that performing a worshipping (ritual) will be auspicious. (2) The king prognosticating said: it will be auspicious.
- 311.(10) Burn in holocaust one bovine. (11) (idem)... two bovines. (12) (idem)... three bovines.
- 312.(28) Burn in holocaust five bovines (to) the river god Ho. (or: at the Ho river.)
- 324.(1) When sacrificing (by chopping to pieces) one bovine (to) Ancestress Keng, (one) shall put on record ten slaves, one penned sheep, ten piglets.
- 413.(19) Indeed, arriving they made sacrifice to the three altars. (or: Yün, making (them) arrive, sacrificed (them) to the three altars.)
- 415.(7) Chü, having caught four Ch'iang (tribesmen), is expected to make them arrive at Li.
- 419.(1) It is that the four Yüeh (tribesmen) will be harmful.
- 425.(1) When making wine libations at P'eng, (one) shall sacrifice five human (victims), slaughter ten bovines.

171(7) 殺三牛(8)乎雀方戠一牛(9)乎雀方戠于出日于入日宰 182(1) 乎子 宰 (卯...) 戠 宰册長三舞五
宰(3)用五伐十小宰用(1)乎帶 戠 于父乙宰誓三宰也長 185(6) 勿于九火夷 227(4) 泰不其來五十羌
228(1) 王佳庚勿祀佳庚五十其不吉佳祀吉(2) 王 [五] 曰吉 311(10) 夷一牛(11) 夷二牛(12) [夷] 三牛
312(28) 夷五牛于河 324(1) 戠 一牛妣庚誓十長一宰十育 413(19) 允至虫于三示 415(7) 夷隻四羌其至
于鬲 419(1) 佳四戊 [五] 425(1) 酒于朋丑五人卯十牛

- 439.(8) When [verb] ten Ch'iang (men), (one) shall sacrifice slaves [unsp. amount].
 441.(1) ... said: persuing..., on a jen day (one) will catch ten Ch'iang men.
 452.(1) The present day, do use (as victims) five penned sheep (in sacrifice to Ancestor Ting. (2) Do not use five penned sheep (in sacrifice) (to) Ancestor Ting.
 533.(6) The king shall command that while making wine libations to the Ho river (god), one shall drown (in sacrificial ritual) three bovines, burn in holocaust three bovines, slaughter five bovines.
 552.(4) One shall slaughter and burn in holocaust three bovines.

3. Numeral followed by noun as final clause.

In the preceding examples (under 2.) the indirect object if expressed always followed the direct object. This seems the most regular and normal pattern (verb/direct object/(preposition) indirect object). In this heading we have gathered, among others, sentences where the indirect object is put before the direct object preceded by a numeral. This structure allows a different analysis, which may also provide a reason and suggest a different connotation for this difference in word order compared to the examples given before. First the examples:

- 27.(1) When sacrificing to Ancestor Hsin, make it five human victims (to be be-headed), and slaughter three penned sheep. (2) When sacrificing to Mother Chi make it ten shaman dancers (as victims), and (one) shall have (occasion) to slaughter penned sheep [unspec. amount]. (Compare 102.7 and others: 203.9, 15, 24; 304.14, 15-16; 306.4; 349.32)
 32.(2) When putting on record (promising) (victims?) (for) Ancestor Ting, make it ten human victims and ten penned sheep. (7) (Since) it is not lucky (?), put on record the ten (said victims) (to) Ancestor Yi. (Example of a numeral used independently without noun, see *infra*).
 33.(9) Making ascend (victims in sacrifice) to Father Yi, make it ten Ch'iang (men). (10) Do not make ascend (any victims).
 52.(8) Sacrificing (to dead) fathers, make it one bovine. (9) Do not make it one (single) bovine. (10) Make it two bovines. (11) Do not make it two bovines...
 87.(1) Sacrificing, one shall make it one category of bovines. (or: Sacrificing one bovine, make a *p'in*-sacrifice.)
 102.(7) When sacrificing (to) Ancestor Yi, make it ten human victims (to be be-headed) and slaughter three bovines.
 113.(2) When sacrificing a holocaust (to) Wang Hai, make it ten bovines. (9) Do not make it ten bovines. (Note: *wu shih niu* shows that the *shih niu* is the

439(8) 十羌且日 41(1) 日 (逐) ... 壬隻十羌 452(1) 今日用五宰祖丁 (2) 勿用五宰祖丁 533(1) 王令 (酒) 河、沈三牛, 夷三牛、卯五牛 552(4) 卯夷三牛 27(1) 且于祖辛五伐, 卯三宰 (2) 且母己十 28 且卯宰 32(2) 曾祖丁十伐十宰 (7) 不蠲雪十祖乙 33(9) 登父乙十羌 (10) 勿登 52(8) 且父一牛 (9) 勿一牛 (10) 二生 (11) 勿二牛 87(1) 且一牛品 102(7) 且祖乙十伐卯三牛 113(2) 夷于王亥十牛 (9) 勿十牛

main clause.)

- 114.(9) While making it one penned sheep (as victim) to Shang Chia, one shall announce (what) we return (reciprocate) for the run away (slave?). (10) Make it ten wild pigs to Shang Chia. (8) When sacrificing to Shang Chia, make it three penned sheep to announce (what) we reciprocate for the run away (slave).(?)
- 117.(5) When calling upon the Ch'ueh to make wine libations to the Ho river (god), make it fifty bovines. (6) Do not make it fifty bovines, (but) make a wine libation to the Ho river (god). (8) When making wine libations (to) the Ho river (god), make it thirty bovines, bring (also) women of the Wo (tribesmen).
- 118.(24) When praying (for a good) harvest to Ta Chia, make it (sacrifice of) ten penned sheep, and (to) Ancestor Yi, (also) make it ten penned sheep. (25) When praying for rain to Shang Chia, make it penned sheep [unspec. amount]. (33) When calling upon Prince T'ai to perform a prayer ritual, making it ten bovines, he shall call to Fathhr Chia. (36) When making the Jung ritual in the evening (lit. When repeating the ritual in the evening), (one) shall make it two sheep, two pigs, to have a meat offering at the altar (?)
- 120.(6) When sacrificing to Ancestor Yi, make it five penned sheep. (7) Make it three penned sheep.
- 123.(7) When sending down the record (of sacrifices), make it thousand bovines. (8) It is not expected that when letting down the record, one shall make it thousand bovines (and/or) thousand men. (9) When sacrificing to the (four) quarters and to God, one shall make it one Ch'iang (man), two dogs and slaughter one bovine. (or: When in all (four) directions making a *ti*-sacrifice (to God) ...)
- 124.(1) When sacrificing to the Ho river (god), make it three Ch'iang men, slaughter three bovines, sacrifice in holocaust one bovine. (2) When sacrificing a holocaust (to) the Ho river (god) make it one bovine, and sacrifice three Ch'iang men, slaughter three bovines. (3) When sacrificing to Ancestor Yi, two bovines shall be used. (Compare 208.1; 177.14)
- 177.(8) When sacrificing (to) Huang Yin, make it one wild pig, one sheep, slaughter two bovines, and put on record fifty bovines. (14) When sacrificing to Ancestor Yi two bovines will be used.
- 184.(2) When offering a holocaust to Kou, make it one bovine. (5) Make it three bovines (as sacrificial victims) to Huang Yin.

114(9)一宰于上甲告我報雠(10)十豕(=彘)于上甲(8)豕于上甲三宰告我報雠 117(5)乎雀酒于河五十(牛)(6)勿五十牛(酒)于河(8)酒河卅牛,挈我女 118(24)求年于大甲十宰祖乙十宰(25)求雨于上甲宰(33)乎子汰祝一牛乎父甲(36)彤夕二羊二豕宜 120(6)豕于祖乙五宰(7)三宰 123(7)降豕千牛(8)不其降豕千牛千人(9)方帝一豕二犬卯一牛 124(1)豕于河三豕,卯三牛,夔一牛(2)夔河一牛豕三豕卯三牛(3)豕于祖乙二牛用 177(8)夔黃尹一豕一羊,卯二牛豕五十牛(14)豕于祖乙二牛用 184(2)夔于苟一牛(5)三牛于黃尹

- 187.(2) When sacrificing to Ancestress Chia, make it ten slaves. (3) Make it five slaves. (4) Make it six slaves.
- 197.(2) When making a wine libation, while the human victims which we make ascend will amount to ten, make it (also) ten penned sheep. (3) The coming yi-hai day, when making wine libations (to) Hsia Yi, make it fifteen Ch'iang men (as victims) [lit. (having) ten Ch'iang have (in addition) five], and slaughter ten penned sheep.
203. (9) Sacrificing to Ancestor Hsin, make it one bovine. (10) Make it one bovine (as sacrificial victim) to Ancestor Hsin. (15) Sacrificing to Altar Jen (i.e. spirit of ancestor Jen), make it two bovines. (18) (From among) the slaves make it three shaman dancers (as sacrificial victims). (24) Sacrificing to Shang Chia, make it ten bovines.
- 205.(3) Sacrificing to T'ang (or: at T'ang) make it three humans (to be beheaded), three penned sheep.
- 206.(4) Consider (lit. make it) that with the dog(s), one shall make it (also) one sheep. (or: Making it dog(s) (as victims; unspecified amount) one shall (also) make it one sheep.)
- 208.(1) When sacrificing to Shang Chia, make it one human (to be beheaded), and slaughter ten small penned sheep.
- 209.(7) Make it three Ch'iang (as victims to) the many ancestresses.⁴
288. (2) When sacrificing by axe blow (or: with axe dance?) (to) Wang Hai, make it ten bovines.
- 304.(14) Today, when sacrificing to Hsia Yi, while making it one bovine, the penned sheep to be put on record, will be black. (15) When sacrificing to Hsia Yi penned sheep [unspecified amount], put on record ten black penned sheep. (16) Sacrificing to Hsia Yi make it one bovine.
- 306.(4) At present, on the coming day yi-mao, when sacrificing to Hsien (or: Ch'eng) make it ten bovines.
- 330.(1) When making wine libations, in what we shall requite (to) Ta Chia and Ancestor Yi, one shall make it ten humans (to be beheaded) and ten penned sheep (as victims).
- 334.(13) Do make it ten slaves (as victims) to Ancestor Hsin. (14) Do not make it ten slaves (as victims) to Ancestor Hsin. (15) Do make it four slaves to Ancestor Hsin. (16) Do not make it four (slaves to) Ancestor Hsin.

187(2) 于妣甲十艮(3)五艮(4)六艮 197(2) 酒 𠂔 (=升) 伐十十宰(3) 來乙亥酒下乙十伐五, 卯十宰 203(9) 于祖辛一牛(10) 一牛于祖辛(15) 于示壬二牛(18) 三舞(24) 于上甲十牛 205(2) 于唐三伐三宰 206(4) 市 犬一羊 208(1) 于上甲一伐、卯十小宰 209(7) 三羌多妣 288(2) 王亥十牛 304(14) 今日于下乙一牛 昔十牛黎(15) 于下乙(宰) 昔十黎宰(16) 于下乙一牛 306(4) 今來乙卯于咸十牛 330(1) 酒我報大甲祖乙十伐十宰 334(13) 十(艮) 于祖乙(14) 勿十艮于祖辛(15) 四艮于祖辛(16) 勿四祖辛

- 335.(16) The king prognosticating says: when having three exorcist rituals, if we make it one Ch'iang man (as victim), (the sick one) will get better.
- 336.(1) When making a wine libation, Prince Fan (Feng ?) (in sacrifice) to Ancestor Ting, shall make it five penned sheep (as victims). (2) While Hsien will make the wine libation, Prince Fan (in sacrifice to) Father Yi shall make it three penned sheep. (or: Having first make a wine libation, Prince Fan.....)
- 349.(32) When sacrificing to the Ancestress of Ya (collateral branch ?), one shall make it eleven slaves and a bird offering on the altar (?).⁵
- 381.(1) When sacrificing humans (to be beheaded) to Shang Chia, one shall make it fifteen (of them), and slaughter ten small penned sheep and pigs.
- 400.(5 & 7) Sacrifice human victims and concubines [unspecified amount] (at) Mei. (6) Make it thirty concubines (as victims) at Mei (place).
- 413.(16) (We) will sacrifice to Pu Ping human victims [unspecified amount].
- 414.(12) When sacrificing human victims to Pu Ping (have in addition) penned sheep [unspecified amount]. (13) The king prognosticating says: Make it two human victims.
- 422.(3) Putting on record (sacrificial victims) (to) Ancestor Yi, make it thirty human victims. (9) Do not put on record (any victims).
- 425.(2) When having wine libations to Ho river (god), make it fifty bovines (as sacrificial victims). (3) make it thirty bovines. (4) Make it five human victims and slaughter five bovines at P'eng. (5) Make it ten humans and slaughter ten bovines. (8) When making wine libations to the Ho river (god) make it ten bovines. (9) Make it twenty bovines.
- 431.(4) Do not call upon the Ch'ueh to bring a wine libation to Ho river (god) and make it fifty bovines (as victims). (10) When on coming day chia-yin we sacrifice to Shang Chia, make it ten bovines.
- 438.(5) Do not [verb missing, probably: when performing a sacrifice or ritual] make it three piglets. (6) Do make it three piglets.
- 442.(8) When making a holocaust to Ta Chia, make it three pigs, three...
- 455.(5) Considering to have small penned sheep [unspecified amount], make it (also) one bovine. (6) As to Shang Chia, one shall make it ten human victims and five (i.e. fifteen), and slaughter ten small penned sheep. (7) While having twenty humans (to be beheaded), as to Shang Chia slaughter small penned sheep.

335(16) 王固曰三知一羌龍 336(1)(酒)子凡于祖丁五宰(2)先酒,子凡父乙三宰 349(32) 于亞妣十一良
 381(1) 于伐于上甲,十牛五,卯十小宰豕 400 (5&7) 于伐妾媚(6) 卅妾媚 413(16) 于卜丙伐
 414(12) 于伐于卜丙,宰 (13) 王固曰二伐 422(3) 于祖乙卅伐 (9) 勿 425(2) (酒) 于河十牛 (3) 卅牛
 (4) 五人卯五牛于朋(5) 十人卯十牛(8) 酒于河十牛(9) 廿牛 431(4) 勿乎雀酒于河五十牛(10) 來甲寅于上
 甲十牛 438(5) 勿...三青(6) 三青 442(8) 于大甲三豕三... 455(5) 于小宰一牛(6) 上甲十伐牛五,卯
 十小宰(7) 廿伐上甲卯十小宰

- 456.(3) When sacrificing to the three fathers, one shall make it one human victim (to be beheaded), slaughter penned sheep and (other) sheep [unspec. amount] to offer a banquet. (Comp. 618.10)
- 495.(5) When putting on record (victims for) an exorcist ritual, make it ten small penned sheep (as sacrificial victims).
- 531.(7) When sacrificing to Pao (?) Chia, make it one bovine. (9) On next day chia-ch'en make it to Pao Chia one bovine.
- 540.(11) Do make it two? shaman dancers (or: dances). (12) Do not make it two shaman dancers. (13) Do make it three shaman dancers. (14) Do not make it three. (15) Do make it four shaman dancers. (16) Do not make it four. (17) Do not make it five.
- 546.(8) When having an exorcist ritual to Ancestor Yi, do make it three bovines (as sacrificial victims). (9) When harmonizing (i.e. seeking to be in full agreement with) to Ancestor Yi, make it four bovines (as victims).
- 555.(8) When sacrificing to Huang Yin make it ten humans (to be beheaded), and ten bovines.
- 617.(16) Next day yi-wei when sacrificing to Father Yi, make it two bovines.

Among the examples given above, some do not illustrate the rule concerning numerals followed by nouns, functioning as final clause, but were given however to preserve the context in which these examples appear. The analysis which we propose for these sentences with final clauses consisting of 'numeral and noun' in which the numeral functions as a verb with causative force: 'make five/the victims' etc., leads us to interpret the preceding portion of the sentence, translated in English with a formula 'when sacrificing...', or 'while sacrificing' or such like phrases, as basically to be considered as 'introductory, topical clause: as to...'. Such a pattern serves in some way to isolate a clause as exposed term (*mise en evidence*), giving it some special attention or emphasis. This seems to be the difference of this structural pattern when compared with the more regular pattern seen in the previous list under 2.

II) Numerals used as independent units

1. As verbs.

- 57.(7) The slaves which are to be sacrificed to Ancestress Chi, will be ten. This is slightly different from 52.(14): I, the king being sick; as to Ancestor X, the pigs which X (will use) for me in the exorcist ritual, will be a set of ten.⁶

456(3) 王于三父一伐卯辛羊 5 495(5) 王于十小宰 531(7) (王于) 報甲一牛 (9) 羽甲辰于報甲一牛
540(11) 二 采 (12) 勿二舞 (13) 三舞 (14) 勿三 (15) 四舞 (16) 勿四 (17) 勿五 546(8) 報于祖乙三牛 (9) 報于祖乙四牛
555(8) 王于黃尹十伐十牛 617(16) 羽乙未王于父 (乙) 二牛 57(7) 于 (妣己) 王 長 十 52(14) 王疾祖
口口余報豕佳十

- 92.(2) When sacrificing, the penned bovines which we shall kill (*sui*) to Ancestor Mou will be three. (4) When sacrificing, with the penned bovines which we shall kill to Ancestor Mou, (the other) bovine will be one. (or: the penned bovine and the ordinary one (each) will be one.) (6) When making an exorcist ritual to Ancestress Hsin the pigs (given in sacrifice) will be five. (8) When making exorcist rituals to the (ancestors from) Ju Yi down to Father Mou, the bovine (sacrificed) will be one.
- 102.(1) On day kuei-mao we did indeed burn (the hunting fields) and the caught rhinos were eleven, the pigs were fifteen, the tigers four, the young deer were twenty.
- 120.(15) As to the king, one may expect that pursuing the rhinos he might catch (something). He did not chase the rhino into the stockade (?), but the caught pigs were two. (16) One shall not anticipate to catch four.
- 168.(1) The tortoise (shells) brought in by the Ch'ueh were five hundred.
- 198.(3) X sheep will be three. (X probably a verb for a sacrificial or ritual action.)
- 235.(16) The human victims (beheaded) in sacrifice to Ta Chia will be fifteen. (lit. ten Having five).
- 248.(4) The shackled servants (imprisoned as victims) to Mother Keng will be ten. (or: To Mother Keng, the shackled servants (for sacrifice) will be ten.) (5) One shall not anticipate to shackle (any).
- 284.(4) Among the caught (game), the tiger was one, the deer were forty, the wolves (or *mang* dogs) were hundred sixty four, the young deer were one hundred fifty nine; of X red ones, one had a pair and two (other) red ones; the small... were four.
- 287.(2) The king prognosticating says: going to (i.e. as to) that which one will have chance to catch, the *chih* animal will be one, the pig (also) will be one.
- 330.(5) On the coming day chia-wu, offering humans (by beheading) to Shang Chia, they (the humans offered) will be ten. (6) ... they will be eight.
- 361.(4) Do not dismember (and display) Ch'iang men (as victims). (5) The Ch'iang men (displayed) will be seven.
- 393.(1) The grass cutters which X shall bring along are expected to be five hundred (or) it be six (hundred).⁷
- 399.(1) Call upon (someone, probably same person as X in 393. 1) that as to the selected bovines being a hundred, he should bring them.

92(2) 戊歲于祖戊牢三(4) 戊歲于祖戊牢牛一(6) 卯于妣辛豕五(8) 卯于入乙至父戊牛一 102(1) 癸卯允焚隻(兕) 十一豕十五虎四麋廿 120(15) 王其逐兕隻、弗逐兕、隻豕二(16) 弗其隻四 168(1) 雀入籬五百 198(3) 羊三 235(16) 王于大甲伐十牛五 248(4) 母庚 卒臣十(5) 弗其卒 284(4) (隻) 虎一鹿四十 狝百六十四麋百五十九 蘭赤牛雙二赤小...四 287(2) 王固曰之牛隻鷹一豕一 330(5) 來甲午牛伐上甲十(6) 來甲午牛伐上甲八 361(4) 勿改羌(5) 羌七 393(1) 卽挈芻其五百佳六(2) 卽挈芻不其五百佳六 399(1) 乎取牛百掣

- 419.(2) On the next day keng-ch'en when sacrificing in holocaust ten pigs, the piglets (offered) will be two.
- 423.(1) ... caught rhinos were six, pigs were sixteen, young deer were hundred ninety nine. (lit. hundred *and* ninety *and* nine)
- 548.(1) ... when... on a keng day (or: to an Ancestor Keng) we sacrifice (by chopping up) penned sheep and sacrifice ten penned sheep, the piglet will be one. (3) When making Lady Tzu (object of) an exorcist ritual to Father Yi, one will sacrifice (by chopping up) penned sheep [unspec. amount] and sacrifice penned sheep, sacrifice piglets;⁸ putting on record [as victims] ten penned sheep, ten slaves, the piglets will be ten. (This last part is contrasted with the next :) (4) ... Do not put on record to Father Yi that making it ten penned sheep and ten slaves, the piglets will be ten.
- 613.(5) When on day chia-wu (one) kills (*sui*) victims in sacrifice to Ju-yi, the bovine will be one.
2. Numerals as independent nominal units: the noun must be understood.
- 21.(9) Father Fei brought in two (i.e. tortoises). It was at Ya. (or: which were at ya.)
- 33.(14) Servant Ta entered one.
- 56.(3) T'ang sent (lit. made come) ten.
- 62.(2) Lady Liang consecrated three. Comp. 95.(1) Lady Nei consecrated five.
- 205.(13) Lady Tzu consecrated five. 206.(14) Prince Kung of Liang brought in five.
70. The country *Cheng* sent ten. Comp. 89.3.
- 72 & 74. The Ch'ueh brought in one hundred fifty.
- 87.(9) On ting-hai day (one) shall sacrifice one (victim).
- 95.(2) The nine which the Chien had entered, were brought along.
- 101.(5) XX entered five. Comp. 192: The Chu (people) entered three. 196: The Ch'ueh brought in two hundred fifty. 164.(2) The Lu (people) entered hundred twenty.
151. The Lao brought along fifty.
- 156.(18) The Ch'ien sent five.
226. The Ku brought along five.

Note:

As has been observed *obiter* in previously quoted lines, higher numbers e.g. 250 are expressed by simple addition: 200.50. In other cases however we find the word *you* inserted for the last digit; this seems to be the case mostly when the *item* is expressed:

419(2) 羽庚辰亥十豕青二 423(1)... 隻兕六豕十豕六麋百豕十豕九 548(1)... (庚) 典 宰豕十宰, 青一(3) 卽帶好于父乙 典 宰豕宰豕青卽十宰十豕青十 (4)... (勿) 卽父乙十豕十宰青十 613(5) 甲午歲于入乙牛一 21(9) 父日 (=飛) 入二在亞, 33(14) 臣大入一 56(3) (唐) 來十 62(2) 帶娘示三 Comp. 95(1) 帶內示五 205(13) 帶好示五 (14) 良子昌入五 70 奠來十 Comp. 89(3), 72 & 74 雀入一百五十 87(9) 丁亥豕一 95(2) 見入九挈 101(5) 凡入五 Comp. 192 貯入三 196 雀入三百五十 164(2) 虛入百廿 151 老挈五十 156(18) 蔑來五 226 古挈五。

- 1.(3) After a ten-day cycle and one day. (after eleven days).
 197.(3) On yi-hai day, twenty-first day (lit. two ten-day cycles and one day), (even) if one does not make wine libations, it will rain. (4) Do not at all cost make it that on a day yi-hai, bringing wine libations to Hsia-yi, (one shall) make it fifteen humans (to be beheaded as victims). (lit. ten *fa* and five...)
 247.(1) On day chia-yin, the third weekly cycle and one day, the childbirth was not fortunate. It was a girl.
Ping-pien, p. 383 the example is quoted: (Tso announcing said:) We will sacrifice twelve men (ten men and two), who will proceed from Wen.

II. The Usages of Yü in the Bone Inscriptions

In this study we will first list the cases where *yü* is used with nouns indicating time or place where a given action is occurring, and the cases of *yü* 'to go'. The cases of *yü* as a preposition used with indirect object will be listed according to types of verbs found in the Bone Inscriptions.

1. Yü with nouns referring to time.

- 1.(3) ... The king prognosticating says: ... by the coming chia-tzu day we will destroy (them).
 7.(2) On a day keng-shen (we) will attack the ch'iang. (This is contrasted with a line without *yü*): (4) (On) keng-shen day we will attack the Ch'iang.
 83. (10) If we make it reach (i.e. wait till) day keng-yin to perform a dismemberment sacrifice, (then) it will get to be completely agreeable (or: we offer it as food, it will be agreeable.) (11) If we do not let it reach day keng-yin to perform a dismemberment sacrifice, it will not be agreeable.
 96.(18) By the coming yi-ssu day, (one ought) to have prayers said. Do not by coming day yi-ssu have prayers said.
 97.(14) By next day hsin-ch'ou we shall perform a burning sacrifice. (15) Next day hsin-ch'ou we ought not make it that (i.e. arrange to) perform a burning sacrifice for the bone sickness.
 102.(3) By chia-ch'en day (one) ought to set fire (to the fields ?). (4) Do not (do so) on a chia day.
 157.(7) By the next keng day do make an exorcist ceremony (?) (8) Do not (do so) by a keng day.
 198.(2) On the coming yi-mao day (one) ought to sacrifice (to) Ancestor Yi' (12)
-
- 1(3)旬乙一日 197二旬乙一日乙亥不酒雨(4)勿 𠄎 佳乙亥酒下乙十伐乙五... 247(1)三旬乙一日甲寅
 婉不効佳女, *Ping Pien*, P. 383 乙往自溫十人乙二。
 1(3)...王曰...于來甲子伐 7(2)于庚申伐羌(4)庚申伐羌83(10)至于庚寅改, 迺既若(11)勿至庚寅改不若
 96(14)于來乙巳 𠄎 (14)勿于來乙巳 𠄎 97(14)于羽辛丑夷(14)羽辛丑勿佳夷 𠄎 102(3)于甲辰焚(4)勿于甲
 157(7)于羽庚 𠄎 (8)勿于庚 198(2)于來乙卯乙祖乙(14)羽丁勿于祖丁

Next ting day do not (do so) to Ancestor Ting.

257.(9) By the next day chia-ch'en (one ought to) use Ch'iang (as sacrificial victims). We did indeed use (them so). (10) (One) ought not by next chia-ch'en day use Ch'iang men (as sacrificial victims).

263.(7) As to the Ch'ueh we shall (make it =) *assume* that today they make an attack. (8) As to the Ch'ueh, by next day chia-hsü, they shall make an attack.

312.(4) By the seventh month (which we are) coming to ... (i.e. on this seventh month which we now are to begin.)

324.(3) By chia day, Lin will make a catch. Cfr. 617. (3) Id.

334.(1) By the coming day yi-ssu, (one) shall make a wine libation. (2) Do make it a day yi-you (on which, or: to) make the wine libation.

515.(4) By the coming day chia...

522.(1) Next day yi-wei it will rain, (2) Next day yi-wei it will not rain. (4) (On) day chia-wu, indeed it did rain. (5) The king prognosticating says: By a hsin day it will rain.

559.(5) By day keng-shen (we will have them) go out to Tun. (6) Do not cause that on keng-shen day they go out.

611.(24) By the ninth month (one) shall have service (or: business dealing with sacrifices ?). (44) On a kuei day, one shall have (such) business.

613.(1) As to the sickness which Lady X has, by the present second month (one) shall not "water" (take ablutions with water?) (2) As to the sickness which (she) has, it is anticipated that Lady X will take ablutions.

617.(3) By day chia, Lin will capture (some animal). (4) Going east (he will catch it).

Note:

Before the simple cyclical day, sometimes preceded by *lai* 'coming', indicating any future day, or by *yi* 'next', indicating the immediately following day, one can observe in a number of cases, that the date is marked by the preposition *yü*; yet an equal, if not greater, number of cases do not show this preposition before the name of the day. This may well suggest some difference in meaning or connotation. Considering that *yü* is not only a preposition, but is also used as a verb 'to go' (see below), and that most probably the verbal sense is earlier or at least more basic than the one that shifted to a propositional function, we might suggest that *yü x x*, or *yü lai x x*, *yü yi x x* in contrast with the simple cyclical date without *yü*, may mean something different: "by (the time of) the coming x x day", and

257(9) 于羽甲辰用羌、允用(勿)于羽甲辰用羌 263(7) 雀 占 今日 玠 (二伐?) (8) 雀于羽甲戌 玠
312(4) 于之七月 324(3) 于甲寅 344(1) 于來乙巳酒(2) 市 乙酉酒 515(4) 于(來)甲... 522(1) 羽乙未
雨(2) 羽乙未不雨(4) 甲午允雨(5) 王固曰于辛雨 559(5) 于庚申出于臺(6) 勿于庚申出 611(24) 于九月又事
(44) 于癸又事 613(1) 汝虫疾于今二月弗水(2) 虫疾其汝水 617(3) 于甲寅 617(4) 于東 Comp. 324.

"by the next day x x," "by day x x." The dates without *yü* on the other hand would simply mean "on x x day."

2. *Yü* with nouns referring to places.

- 22.(5) If the king instructs the masses to make an attack in the Mao country, he will receive abundant assistance. (6) If the king does not (lit. As to the king, do not) instruct the masses (about) the Mao country, one shall not anticipate to receive abundant assistance. (Note: the second line is simplified and omits *fa yü*).
- 47.(1) Next yi-mao day, having made libations, our palace (official ?) shall behead (a human victim) in the feed (room). (2) Do not cause that, having made wine libations, our palace (official) beheads (a human victim) in the feed (room).
- 90.(7) Do not [verb] the many X at Ping. (8) Do [verb] the many X at Ping.
- 96.(8) At present if Pan takes (= makes selections of victims ?) at Tun, and the king uses (them in sacrifice), it will be approved.
- 112.(3) Next mou day Ning will burn (the fields) in the west.
- 122.(1) One shall anticipate to stay at Tzu. (2) Do not (have them do so, i.e. stay) at Tzu.
- 127.(8) If we call upon (someone) to cultivate (land) at Wei, we will have a (good) harvest.
- 167.(1) Do not [verb: sacrifice dog(s) ?] at Erh (or: to the god of the river Erh). (2) Do [verb: sacrifice dogs ?] at Erh.
- 212.(3) When sacrificing (any victims) by axe blows in the east, do slaughter ten. (4) Do not sacrifice (any victims) by axe blows in the East.
- 216.(G 5) If the king anticipates to proceed to chase Mi-deer at Kuei, it is anticipated that he will catch (some).
- 290.(2) If we sacrifice dog(s) on the fifth day, it is that (= we may be sure that, it means that) in Kung (the weather) will clear up. (Note: after 'the fifth day' the cyclical day is not mentioned, as is often done in other cases; perhaps *yü wu jih* could mean 'if by the fifth day', or 'if through the (next) five days...' Comp. 443.(3) Id.)
- 309.(3) Do call upon Prince T'ai to make wine libations to Fou at Mien. (4) Do not call upon Prince T'ai to make wine libations to Fou at Mien. (5) ... at Shang make wine libations to Fou. (On Fou, comp: 309.1-2)

22(5)王學衆、才(=伐)于莞方,受虫又(6)王勿學衆莞方弗其受虫又 47(1)羽乙卯酒我宮伐于宦(2)勿酒我宮伐于宦 90(7)勿弃多虫于柄(8)弃多虫于柄 96(8)今般取于(=醫)王用若 112(3)羽戌宁焚于酉 122(1)其沚于始(2)勿于始 127(8)乎緒于隴虫年 167(1)勿(效)于涓(2)效于涓 212(3)戮于東卯十(4)勿戮于東 216(G5)王其往逐麋于霽(其?)隻 290虫犬于五日佳于龔啟 309(3)乎子汰酒缶于婉(4)勿乎子汰酒缶于婉(5)...于商酒缶

- 316.(1) We shall hunt at T'ang.
- 326.(10) As to Fang, he ought not be called upon (to perform something) at Tun.
(This allows us to understand 7-8 in the same manner: ... he should not be (called upon) at Tun. Do not have (him do it) at T'ang.)
- 352.(3) Performing a Ti-sacrifice at T'iao, do make it three Ch'iang men (as victims). (2) Do not, when performing the Ti-sacrifice at T'iao, make it three Ch'iang men. Comp. *Ping-pien*, p. 296: Perform Ti-sacrifice in the East.)
- 353.(1) Do call upon (someone) to inspect cattle at (the region of) the many Cheng. (2) Do not call upon (anyone) to inspect cattle at (the region of) the many Cheng.
- 392.(7) Call upon someone to select ... (responsible ... of Fu) at X (T'u?).
- 413.(2) The king shall kill bovines [unspecified amount] at Fu. (3) Do not kill bovines at Fu.
- 442.(11) In the East. (This is suggested by (10) When sacrificing by axe blow to Wang Hai, make it ten bovines.)
- 492.(2) Call upon San (or: Pao ?) to cultivate (lands) in Ming.
- 526.(3) Do select sheep (for sacrifice) at Ko. (4) Do not select (anyone) (or: take from Ko.) For Ko, cfr. 540.1-2, where we read Ko jen. 戈人
- 559.(5) By day keng-shen make them go out to Tun. (6) Do not by day keng-shen make them go out.
- 562.(2) XX will be taken prisoner at (by?) Ho. (Uncertain for lack of context.)
- 599.(1) At Chü do have ritual shaman dances. (2) Do call upon (someone) to perform shaman dances at Tun. (3) Do not cause any shaman dances at Tun.
- 631.(18) Do perform a Ti-sacrifice at Pei. (19) Do not perform a Ti-sacrifice at Pei.

Note:

The position of the preposition and the following place name in most of the sentences listed is at the end of the sentence or the clause. In one case (599) it is at the head for emphasis, where Chü is put in contrast to another place Tun, as one of the possible choices. Another exception is in 299. where *yü Kung ch'i* 'at Kung (the weather) will clear up' may perhaps mean 'by (the time) we are at Kung (lit. going (reaching) Kung) it will clear up.' This may gain some measure of probability when comparing the line 1.(9) in the next list of examples. *Yü* is also used where the verb would normally demand a direct object, as in 22.(5)

316(1)(田)于唐 326(10)方母乎于臺(7)毋于臺, (8)勿于臺 352(3)帝于条三羌(4)勿帝于条三羌 PP. p. 296帝于東 353(1)(乎)省牛于多奠(2)勿乎省牛于多奠 392(7)乎取 𠄎 任于 𠄎 413(2)王帝牛于夫 (3)勿帝牛于 [帝: 殺?] 442(11)于東 Comp. (10) 𠄎 王亥十牛 492(2)乎霞 (𠄎 霞) 藉于明 526(3)取羊于戈(4)勿取 559(5)于庚申出于臺(6)勿于庚申出 562(2)口孚于合 559(1)于車舞(2)乎舞于臺 (3)舞于臺 631(18)(帝)于貝(19)勿帝于貝

where *fa Wan fang* would mean 'attack the Mao country'; with *yü*, it becomes make an attack in the Wan country'. The context does not show what is really implied, yet on first impression, it may indicate that the object of the attack is not necessarily the Wan country or all of it.

3. *Yü* 'to go'.

As indicated in the discussion before, the meaning of *yü* 'to go' rather than a mere prepositional role would be of use to explain some usage in patterns for cyclical dates and even in contrast with regular *yü* before place means. The meaning 'to go' is attested in many Chou bronze texts and early Classics as well.

- 1.(9) The king shall go to the Kung camp. (10) Do not cause that he goes to the Kung camp.
- 3.(17) (To) Ch'i (?). (18) Do not (cause any one) to go. (19) We (or: The Wo) going to Chih, will enter the camp. (20) Do not (cause anyone) to go to the Chih camp. (Com. infra 34.(1-2) and other examples of *ju* 'to enter'.)
- 41.(1) The grass cutters of Kung will go to Po.
- 97.(18) The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious. I will not have anything that is not found agreeable. I will not go to Ch'i.
- 120.(10) The concubines will go to Mien. (11) As to the concubines, do not make (them) go to Mien.
- 128.(1) My grass cutters will go to Tou.
- 141.(13) The grass cutters of Yung shall go to Kuei. (14) As to the grass cutters of Yung, do not cause them to go to Kuei.
- 144.(4) ... At this (time?) go to X. (?)
- 177.(10) Do call upon our men (or, may be, better: the men of Wo tribe) to be first to go to Huei. (11) Do not call upon the men of the Wo (tribe) to be first to go to Huei. (or, may be better: to precede (us) at Huei).
- 201.(1) As to the woman of Fang (make her) go to Tun. (2) As to the woman of Fang do not make (her) go to Tun.
- 238.(1) The king ought to follow along the Mei (region) and ford through at the Ho river (ford). (2) Do not make (them) continue to go to Mei. The king...
- 286.(1) The Ch'u (men, chief ?) going to the East will have (chance) to *chih* (used as verb: to hunt *chih* animals ?). (2) As to Ch'u, he will not have (reason) to anticipate to hunt (or catch) *chih* animals.
- 300.(1) (Do make a dismembering sacrifice (so that) ... =) If one shall perform a dismembering sacrifice, the king having visitation, will go and get to be ap-

1(9) 王于龔 (自) (勿) 于龔自 3(17) 龔 (勿) 于龔 (勿) 于龔自 41(1) 弓弔于龔 97(18) 王固曰 吉余亡不若不于龔 120(10) 妾于婉 (勿) 妾于婉 128(7) 朕弔于門 141(13) 離弔于龔 (勿) 離弔于龔 144 (4) ... 茲于龔 177(10) 乎我人先于龔 (勿) 乎我人先于龔 201(1) 方女于龔 (2) 方女勿于龔 238(1) 王从婉涉 于河(2) 勿征于婉, 王 286(1) 楚于東土 (2) (楚) 亡其鹿

proved(?). (2) (Do not =) If one does not perform a dismembering sacrifice, he (the king) will not be approved (by the gods).

312.(17) Do no [verb] that the king go to the altars (of the ancestors). (Uncertain: depending on the nature of the missing verb, another sense might emerge: Do not cause (i.e. let) the king to do something at the altars, ...)

396.(1) The grass cutters of Yung shall go to X. (2) As to the grass cutters do not cause (them) to go to X. (3,4,5 repeat this with different place names.) Comp. 413.(21).

414.(8) Go to Ts'ai (?)

421.(4) As to the grass cutters, do, at all cost, have them go to the mound X. (5) ... do not make (them) ... go to ... (?)

443. (5) We will have (opportunity) to follow (or: pursue) and have (him) go to the Ho river. (6) Anticipate that pursuing, (one) ought not to have (him) go to the Ho river.

510.(7) Go to P'ang. (8) Do not cause (anyone) to go to P'ang. (9) When sacrificing to Hsien (or: Ch'eng) make it thirty human victims (to be beheaded). Cfr. 591.(3).

522.(11) The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious. We shall not go to shoot (animals?).

Note:

It is often difficult to decide whether *yü* is used in the sense of 'to go' or merely as a preposition. For 1.9-10 one might suggest to read: 'the king at Kung will make camp' but this would be very irregular in view of the examples given above, and we read further (19-20) '... going to Chih, enter the camp; do not have them go to the Chih camp.' See also the cases where we find the negation *pu* before *yü* as in 522.11 and in 97.18. Some of the readings of graphs as place names may be doubted, such as Mien in 120.10 for which PP does not add the usual mark of place names, yet if compared to 238.1 it seems to be a place; compare also 309.1 in previous examples.

4. *Yü* as preposition linking verb with the indirect object.

The examples will be classified under the various most frequently occurring verbs.

1) 'perform an exorcist ritual'

1.(3) To ancestresses, we ought to make an exorcist ritual. (4) Do not (do so to any) ancestresses.

300(1) 玁王徂于之若(2)勿玁不若 312(1) 勿口王于示 396(1) 雠玁于 𠄎 (2) 雠玁于 𠄎 414(8) 于 𠄎 421(4) 玁 𠄎 于丘口(5) ... 勿... 于 443(5) 虫从于河(6) 其从勿于河 510(7) 于 𠄎(8) 勿(于) 𠄎(9) 虫于威 卅伐 591(3) 勿于 𠄎 522(11) 王固曰吉不于矢。 1(3) 于 妣 𠄎(4) 勿于 妣

- 27.(3) Being sick in (pregnant) body, (even) if not exorcized to Ancestress Pi, she will get better.
- 47.(9) Do perform an exorcism over the bone ailment (?) (to) Nan Keng. (10) Do not (have it done) to Nan Keng. (11) To Ch'iang Chia perform an exorcism over the bone illness. (12) Do not to Ch'iang Chia perform an exorcism. Comp. 457.(3-6), 159.(3).
- 50.(1) Do perform an exorcism to Father Yi. (2) Do not perform exorcism to Father Yi. Comp. 436.(3-6); 630.(1-2).
- 51.(2) To Ancestor Hsin we ought to make an exorcist ritual. (5) Do not...
- 92.(10) We shall perform an exorcism (to) Father Chi. (11) We shall perform an exorcism to Ancestress Chi.
- 97.(22) We shall order Pao (?) to perform an exorcism to Great Kuei.
- 155.(9) We shall perform an exorcism over the Lady (not named) to the Wives there are (i.e. all the Wives). Comp. 513.(4, 10-11).
- 161.(1) We ought to make an exorcism over Ts'un to Ancestor Hsin. (2) Do not to Ancestor Hsin perform an exorcism (over Ts'un). (9) Do not perform any exorcism over Ts'un. Comp. 394.(4-5; 16-17).
- 198.(10) To Lady Wo we shall perform an exorcism over Ch'ien.
- 244.(7) If to Ch'iang Chia we perform an exorcism, (one) will get over the foot ailment. (or: exorcism over K'o's foot ailment.)
- 334.(18) Do perform an exorcism to Ch'iang Chia. (19) Do not perform an exorcism to Ch'iang Chia.
- 335.(10) By (verb: offering silk bolts, or silk wrapped gifts) one shall perform an exorcism to Ancestress Keng. (11) If one does not X (verb) to Ancestress Keng one Ch'iang (as victim ?) one will not...
- 361.(3) Make an exorcist ritual to the altars (of the ancestors).
- 362.(1) Perform an exorcism over the prince of Shan to Mother Keng. (2) To Mother Chi [not any other] shall we make an exorcism over the prince of Shan.
- 407.(7) To Ancestress Chi do perform an exorcism over Prince Ju. (8) Do not to Ancestress Chi perform an exorcism over Prince Ju. Comp. 631.7-8; 632.8; 413.12.
- 434.(1) To Ancestress Chi perform an exorcism. (2) To the High Ancestress Chi... (3) Do not to the High Ancestress Chi...

27(3)疾身(不)知妣己龍 47(9)知 南庚(10)勿于南庚(11)于羌甲知 (12)勿于羌甲知 Comp. 457(3)知 于妣己(4)勿知 于妣己(5)于高妣己(6)勿于高妣己 159(3)知身口南庚 50(1)知于父乙(2)勿知于父乙 Comp. 436(3-6)知于祖丁、勿于祖丁知、于羌甲知、勿于羌甲知。 51(2)于祖辛知(5)勿... 92(10)知父己(11)知于妣己 97(22)令報知大夔 155(9)知帶于虫妻 Comp. 513(4)于龍甲知帶 161(1)(知)寸于祖辛(2)勿于祖辛知(9)勿(知)寸 198(10)于葵知 244(7)于羌甲知克足疾 334(18)于羌甲知(19)勿于姜甲知 335(10)知于妣庚(11)又于妣庚一羌弗... 361(3)知于示 362(1)知單子于母庚(2)于母己知單子 407(7)于妣己知子姁(8)勿于妣己知子姁 434(1)于妣己知(2)于高妣己知(3)勿于高妣己知

- 514.(10) Do perform an exorcism over Lady Jen to Lung Chia. (11) Do not at all cost (do so) to Lung Chia.
- 541.(3) As to the sick foot, perform an exorcism (over it) to Father Keng. (4) As to the sick foot, do not at all cost perform an exorcism to Father Hsin.
- 546.(7) As to Ho Ch'ang prayer ritual (?), do have an exorcism to Ancestor Yi. (8) while performing an exorcism to Ancestor Yi, make it three bovines (as sacrificial victim).
- 599.(5) To Altar Jen. (7) To Hsien (or: Ch'eng). (8) Perform an exorcism over the king's eyes to Ancestress Chi. (9) Have penned sheep (sacrificed) to Ancestress Chi.
- 611.(61) If one perform an exorcism (to) Hsiao Yi, it will be agreeable.
- 624.(6) Hsün shall perform an exorcism over the Lady (to) Lung Chia. (7) Do not have Hsün exorcise... Comp. 627.(3) Call upon Hsün to put (it) on record. (4) Do not have Hsün put (it) on record. (It suggest that Hsün is a personal name.)
- 2) 'to enter'
- 34.(1) The king ought not to (verb), enter in Li. He did enter. (2) Do not have (him) enter.⁹ Comp. 385.(1) Id. with (2) The king shall enter.
- 87.(10) The king shall (have them) enter Shang. (11) The king ought not to have them enter Shang. Comp. 165.(16) If the king makes them enter into Shang, there will be no (danger) of raising misfortune. (17) If the king enters in Shang, it is anticipated he will have (danger) of causing misfortune.
- 121.(3) The men that were called upon will enter into Ch'üeh (country). (4) The men that were called upon will not enter into Ch'üeh country. Comp. 335.
- 521.(13) The king entering the (country of) X of Ying, ought to make a visitation. (14) Do not (do so) in the country of X of Ying. (15) To Mother of X (country?) one ought to do so. (16) Do not do so in (the country of) Mother of X. ?
- 3) 'To be guest, treat as guest, be made guest'
- 39.(2) Hsien (or: Ch'eng) will be made guest at the Ti-sacrifice. (3) Hsien (or: Ch'eng) will not be made guest at the Ti-sacrifice. (4) Ta Chia will be made guest to Hsien (or: Ch'eng). (5) Ta Chia will not be made guest to Hsien (or: Ch'eng). (10) Hsia Yi will treat as guest Hsien (or: Ch'eng). (11) Hsiao Yi will not be made guest to Hsien (or: Ch'eng). Comp. 338.(9), 339.(2), 545.(1-2), 585.(1-2).

514(10) 于龍甲(11)勿于龍甲 541(3)疾止于父庚(4)疾止勿于父辛 546(7)合于 611(61) 于祖乙(8)于祖乙三牛 599(5)于壬示(7)于成(8)于王目于妣己(9)于妣己 624(6) 尋于龍甲(7)勿尋于(于龍甲) Comp. 627(3)乎尋(4)勿尋 34(1)王勿(衣入)于利入(2)勿入 Comp. 385(1)王勿衣入于利入(2)王入 87(10)王入于商(11)王勿入于商 Comp. 165(16)王入于商亡于(17)王入于商其亡于 121(3)乎人入于雀(4)乎人不入于雀 521(13)王入于 14 勿于 14 母(14)勿于 母 39(2)成于帝(3)成不于帝(4)大甲于成(5)大甲不于成(10)下乙于(成) (11)下乙不于成

4) 'To reach, arrive'

227.(1) When Father Yi (goes to =) happens to the made guest (to other ancestors), from Ch'iang Chia it will reach till Father Hsin.

306.(8) From the present (time) down till day yi-ch'ou, it is anticipated to rain. On day jen-hsü it did rain, (but) on day yi-ch'ou, though it was overcast, it did not rain. (9) From the present time reaching day yi-ch'ou it will not rain.

413.(19) We truly (make it reach) continue to make sacrifices to the three altars.¹⁰

415.(7) The four Ch'iang captured by Chü are expected to reach to Li.

5) 'Perform a burning sacrifice'

105.(11) We will perform a burning sacrifice to the Ho river (god). Comp. 124.(2)

When sacrificing in holocaust (to) the Ho river (god) one bovine, (also) sacrifice three Ch'iang and slaughter three bovines. 431.(1) Perform a burning sacrifice to Kou. (2) When making a Ti-sacrifice, perform a burning sacrifice to Kou, X, Mao and Shang Chia. (6) If Chih and Ho make a burning sacrifice at X (Kung ? to Kung?) there will be rain. (Or: If at Chih, Ho river...?)

112.(1) When making a burning sacrifice to Wang Hai, it is anticipated that (one shall have) a string of jade pieces (as offering). (2) Do not make it a string of jade pieces. Compare 419.(3) We ought when making burning sacrifice to Hsien (or: Ch'eng), make a X sacrifice. (4) We ought not when making a sacrifice to Hsien (or: Ch'eng), make a X sacrifice. (542.2-3 has *wu* X 'do not x' suggesting that X is a verb).

594.(1) What we sacrifice in holocaust to Ch'i will be used (i.e. offered) to the three altars.

122.(7) Perform a burning sacrifice to Kou. (8) To Huang's wife do perform the burning sacrifice. Comp. 177.(9) When sacrificing in holocaust (to) Huang Yin, one pig, one sheep, we shall slaughter two bovines, put on record fifty bovines.

221.(3) When performing a burning sacrifice to the East, West and South, we will slaughter a yellow bovine. (4) When performing a burning sacrifice to the East and West, we will sacrifice and behead (human victims) and slaughter in the south a yellow bovine.

522.(9) As to Ancestor Hsin, (i.e. to Anc. Hsin) burn in holocaust piglets and the

227(1)父乙之方自羌甲至于父辛 306(8)自今至于乙丑其雨、壬戌雨、乙丑霍不雨(9)自今至乙丑不雨
413(19)允至虫于三示 415(7)康雉四羌其至于鬲 105(11)夷于河 124(2)夷河一牛、虫三羌、卯三牛 431(1)夷于苟(2)...帝夷于苟 𠄎 卯上甲(6)旨河夷于蚩虫雨 112(1)夷于王亥其珏(2)勿珏 Comp.
419(3)夷于咸 𠄎 (4)勿夷于咸 𠄎 542(2-3)勿 𠄎 594(1)夷于(𠄎) 三示用 122(7)夷于苟(8)于黄 𠄎 夷 Comp. 177(9)夷黄尹一豕一羊卯二牛𠄎五十牛 221(3)夷東西南卯黃牛(4)夷于東西虫伐卯南黃牛 522(9)祖辛夷育王豕(10)不 𠄎 若夷王(11)王固曰吉不于矢

king's pigs. (10) We shall not (make it =) assume that (the spirits) will find agreeable to burn in holocaust the king ('s pigs.) (?) (11) The king prognosticating says: it is auspicious; one (i.e. the king himself ?) shall not go to shoot (sacrificial victims).¹¹

6) 'to sacrifice by axe blow' (or 'to sacrifice with axe dance')

75.(1) Next wu-hsü day, do perform a sacrifice (by axe blow) to Huang's wife. Comp. 159.(4).

171.(7) Sacrifice by axe blow three bovines. (8) Call upon the Ch'ueh country (or: Ch'ueh and Fang) to sacrifice by axe blow one bovine. (9) Call upon the Ch'ueh to perform a sacrifice by axe blow to the rising sun and the setting sun and (sacrifice) penned sheep.

203.(5) Perform a sacrifice by axe blow to (on) (to?) the Mound Shang. (6) Do not at all cost perform axe blow sacrifice on (or: to) Mound Shang.

288.(2) Sacrifice by axe blow (to) Wang Hai ten bovines. (3) (Do so) in the East. (or: to the spirits of the East ?) Cfr. 442.10-11 id.

7) 'To sacrifice' (general term.)

117.(4) To the Ho river (god) making sacrifices, we shall requite (the favors received). (?) Comp. 317. (13) The king will have (occasion) to make a sacrifice and requite (for favors) at Mie; it is (i.e. it means) that he will go to sacrifice meat offerings (on the altar). 123.(3) To the Ho river (god) do make sacrifice to requite (for favors). (4) Do not to the Ho river (god) make sacrifices to requite (for favors). 396.(10) Anticipate that when entering to offer sacrifices to requite (for favors), the (spirits of) the altar will find it agreeable.

235.(17) We shall sacrifice human victims (to be beheaded) to Ta Chia. (18) To Hsia Yi [not Ta Chia] shall we sacrifice human victims.

293.(1) To Father Yi and the many grand princes (?) we shall make a sacrifice. (2) We shall sacrifice dog(s) [unspecified amount] to Father Yi and the many grand princes.

349.(15) To Ancestor Yi we ought to sacrifice a rhino. (16) Do not make any sacrifice to Ancestor Yi. (17) When to Hsien (or: to Ch'eng) we make a bird offering, (make it also) a rhino. (18) Do not have a sacrifice made to Hsien (or: Ch'eng). 350.(12) Do not have any bird offering made to Hsien (or: Ch'eng).

384.(1) Perform a sacrifice to Ancestor Ting. (2) Do not have any sacrifice made

75(1) 羽戌戌于黃 171(7) 雞三牛(8) 乎雀方雞一牛(9) 乎雀于出日于入日宰 203(5) 于丘商
(6) 勿 于丘商 288(2) 王亥十牛(3) 于東 117(4) 于河 王報 Comp. 317(13) 王報于蔑佳之 王祭
123(3) 于河 王報(4) 勿于河 王報 396(10) 其入 王報示若 235(17) 王伐于大甲(18) 于下乙 王伐 293(1) 于父乙
多介子 王(2) 王犬于父乙 多介子 349(15) 于祖乙 王兕(16) 勿于祖乙(17) (于威) 王(18) 于威 350(12) 勿 王(于) (威) 384(1) 王于祖丁(2) 勿 王祖丁

- (to) Ancestor Ting. Comp. 393.(1) Sacrifice to Father Yi. (12) Do not Sacrifice (to) Father Yi.
- 8) 'To announce'
- 98.(10) Announce bone ailment to Ancestor Yi. Comp. 349.(13)
- 155.(1) X will make announcements to Ancestor Yi. (2) Do not have X make any announcement to Ancestor Yi. Comp. 205.(3)
- 222.(5) On the present day yi-ssu do not make announcements to Keng (day ancestors). (6) On present day yi-ssu, having made announcements to Keng (day ancestors), perform divination. (or: announce divinations [to be made] on day keng(?).)
- 9) 'x To pray'
- 104.(4) Address prayers to Ta Chia. Comp. 304.(21) Perform prayers to Shang Chia, Hsien (or: Ch'eng), Ta Ting, Ta Chia, Ta Yi.
- 10) Other verbs.
- 427.(4) Do make an offering (?) (at) the gate (of the temple, shrine of) Yin. (5) Do not make an offering (?) (at) Yin's (shrine) gate.
- 98.(12) Perform a *you* sacrifice to Ancestor Yi. (13) Do not at all cost make the *you* sacrifice to Ancestor Yi (to) announce the bone ailment. (10) When announcing the bone ailment to Ancestor Yi, do not make any sacrifices, either killing (victims) or by *you* sacrifice.¹²
- 392.(8) Having made a *you* sacrifice to Father Chia, (the divination answer) said: X will not be settled. (?) Comp. 217.(1-2).
- 117.(3) Make a wine libation to the Ho river (god) in return for favors. (?) (4) To the Ho river (god) we shall make sacrifices in return for favours. (7) While making wine libations to Ho river, make it fifty bovines (as additional sacrificial victims.) (8) Having made wine libations to Ho, make it thirty bovines and bring a Wo woman.
- 120.(1) The coming hsin-hai day, we shall have wine libations at Kuan (?) in return for favors to Ancestor Hsin. (9) We shall make so that with human sacrifice we perform wine libations to Ancestor Yi.
- 207.(3) The coming day yi-ssu we shall make wine libations (to) Hsia Yi. The king prognosticating said: 'Make wine libations. It is that there is (coming =) imminent disaster. We shall anticipate there will be thunder.' Day yi-ssu,

Comp. 393(1) 于父乙(2)勿于父乙 98(10) 告 于祖(乙) 155(1) 告于祖乙(2)勿 告于祖乙
 222(5) 今乙巳勿告于庚(6)今乙巳告于庚 104(4) 于大甲Comp. 304(21) 于上甲咸大丁大甲
 大乙 427(4) 尹門(5)勿 尹門 98(12) 于祖乙(13)勿 于祖乙告 于祖乙勿
 歲禱392(8) 于父甲曰 不鼎 117(3) 酒于河報(4)于(河)(虫)報(7)酒河五十牛(8)酒河卅牛,
 挈我女 120(1) 來辛亥酒簋報于祖辛(9) 伐酒于祖乙 207(3) 來乙巳酒下乙、王固曰酒佳虫希其
 虫醎,乙巳酒,明雨伐既雨,咸伐亦雨,故卯鳥星

we made wine libations; in the morning it rained. When the human sacrifice was finished, (or: when having made a human sacrifice, we presented it as food), it rained. (To) Hsien (or: Ch'eng) having made a human sacrifice, it went on raining. We made sacrifices by dismembering and slaughtering (victims) to the Bird star.

342.(16) Make wine libations to Huang Yin.

225.(1) Ancestor Hsin will be made to lodge at Father Yi's (place or shrine). (2) Ancestor Hsin will not be made to lodge at Father Yi's (shrine).

360.(8) Sacrificing, make ascend to Father Keng penned sheep.

540.(9) To Ancestress Keng do have dances performed. (10) Do not have them perform dances.

155.(7) Call upon Kung to proceed and go to X to follow Ch'eng. (8) Do not call upon Kung to proceed to follow Ch'eng to X.

159.(5) The king ought to proceed to the city of Chu. (6) The king ought not to proceed to the city of Chu. Comp. 463.(2-3), 626.(1-2).

116.(8) Next ting-ch'ou day the king shall walk to Shu. Comp. 159.(11), 519.(1-2).

360.(3) Do put on record (again) what was put on record to ancestress Keng. (4) Do not put on record (the offerings) that were put on record (before) to ancestress Keng.

485.(3) Today we shall dismember bovines to Ancestor Hsin. (4) By next day hsin we shall dismember bovines (to) Ancestor Hsin.

523.(2) ... it is not found in (i.e. it is not among) the things agreeable to the spirits above and below.

440.(3) To Wang Hai do kill (as victims) Wo (tribesmen). (5) Do not (do so) to Wang Hai.

445.(1) Do make ascend (as offering) grain (stalks) to Ancestor Yi. (2) Do not make ascend (as offering) grain stalks to Ancestor Yi. Comp. 57.(1) Next yi-wei day, having made wine libations, if millet be made to ascend to Ancestor Yi, it will rain. The king prognosticating says: there is a misfortune. It is not anticipated it will rain. (2) Do not, having made wine libations, make ascend (any millet.) Comp. 34.(3) As to the king, to Hsien (or: Ch'eng) shall we make wine libations, and make ascend (offerings). He ought not to guest (him) at a next day (ritual).

342(16) 酒黃尹 225(1) 祖辛宿于父乙(2) 祖辛不宿于父乙 360(8) 𠬪 (= 升) 于父庚辛 540(9) 于妣庚 𠬪(10) 勿 𠬪 155(7) 乎冒往于 𠬪 从乘(8) 勿乎冒往从... 159(5) 王往于烝京(6) 王勿往于烝京 116(8) 羽丁丑王步于壺 360(3) 𠬪于妣庚 𠬪(4) 勿𠬪妣𠬪 485(3) 今日故牛于祖辛(4) 于羽辛改牛祖辛 523(2) ...不在若于下上 440(3) 于王亥𠬪我(4) 勿于(王亥) 445(1) 登禾于祖乙(2) 勿登禾于祖乙 Comp. 57(1) 羽乙(未酒) 黍登于祖乙(雨), 王固曰𠬪𠬪不其雨(2) 勿酒登 34(3) 王威酒登, 勿宜 羽日

Note:

The examples listed above show two kinds of phenomena on which we need to comment: one is the place occupied by *yü* in the sentence, the other is the presence or absence of *yü* before the indirect object. As to the position of *yü* in the word order of the sentence, it is clear that the cases where we find preposition, the word order: /indirect object/verb/direct object/or sometimes simply: /prep/ind./verb/are to be contrasted with the word order: /verb/direct object/pre./ind. obj./, or when simplified: /verb/prep./ind. obj./ The former pattern is used when a certain stress is put on the indirect object, usually a stress meant to underline preference for one kind of ancestors, deity as against another, for whom a given ritual or sacrificial action is intended, and to contrast the first with the rest of the possible choices. The latter structural pattern: /verb/dir. obj./prep./ind. obj./is a regular and unmarked pattern, more common and frequent; the only case of a pattern: /dir. obj./verb/prep./ind. obj./ is one where the direct object is stressed and put ahead of the verb.

On the second question, present or absence of *yü* (marked by a little triangle), it can be seen that the cases where *yü* is missing often can be simply explained as cases where the same sentence being repeated, it therefore allows simplification; in certain cases it seems almost as if the lines where *yü* is missing were constructed so in order to maintain the same number of syllables as in the contrasted lines.

Note on Tsai:

The meaning and function of *tsai* in the bone inscription texts is that of a full verb meaning "to be at, to be in" and should be strictly distinguished from the functions of *yü* as a preposition; 'in, at' etc. Some examples follow:

32. (24) The envoy who is in the north will have (occasion) to capture Ch'iang men. (25) As to the envoy who is in the north, one has no (cause) to anticipate he will capture Ch'iang men.
- 93.(4) As to the king, if he does not build a settlement and stay at this (place), (or: make it stay at this place), God will approve. (5) If the king makes a settlement, God will approve.
- 323.(16) The King will catch the rhino that is in Chu. (17) He shall not anticipate to catch the rhino that is in Chu. Comp. 159.(5-6, 11).
- 165.(20) If the king will perform sacrifices (to requite for favors received), to the spirits that are at X, he will defeat (the enemy). (2) If he makes sacrifices (to requite favors received) to those at X, he ought not [assume] to defeat (them).

32(24)在北史王雱羌(25)在北史亡其雱羌 93(4)王勿乍邑在茲帝若(5)王乍邑帝若 326(16)王雱在朱兕
(7)弗其雱在朱兕 165(20)王雱報在 兕 昌(2)王雱報在 兕 勿昌

- 235.(6) The king tested (the query) that it will not rain; it was at Lung (or: he will stay at Lung).
- 276.(2) If *yü* stays at this (place), the altar (spirits) will approve.
- 293.(4) If the kings stays at this (place), the great altar will assist. (5) If the king stays at this (place), the great altar will not assist.
- 309.(6) We will destroy the T'an. (Making this divination) we are at Ning. (or: [they, viz. T'an] are at Ning, i.e. the T'an who are at Ning).
- 340.(1) As to the fields that are in Tzu, we will have sufficient rain.
- 381.(5) We will receive the harvest which is at Tzu (and which) Fu has cultivated. (6) We shall not anticipate to receive the harvest which is at Tzu (and which) Fu has cultivated. 382.(3) The king prognosticated the divination (signs) as saying: we shall anticipate to field (i.e. assign as fields ?) the harvest which is at Tzu (and which) Fu cultivated.
- 390.(1) When at Tzu, hunt in Kuan (?).
- 582.(1) The king prognosticating says: as to Yü, it is not auspicious to be at this (places).¹³

III. The Negatives in the Bone Inscriptions

A full analysis of the various uses and choices of negatives in the bone inscriptions is of paramount importance for an adequate understanding of the meaning of the divinatory lines. There is hardly a plastron or a complete bone set that does not contain different negatives used in various contrastive ways. In 1969 (Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Yale University) I presented a preliminary note on the *Negatives in the Language of the Inscriptions of Shang* and further elaborated on it in 1974 (*T'oung Pao*, 60.1) in an article, *The Language of the Shang Oracle Bone Inscriptions*. Professor Takashima Ken-ichi wrote a Ph.D. Dissertation on the subject: *Negatives in the King Wu-ting Bone Inscriptions* (University of Washington 1973). In the pages that follow, I will in summary form give my analysis of the use of the negatives. In the examples listed in the previous pages a great number of different cases of negatives can be seen. Here I will study the negatives as they are used in connection with the word *ch'i*, 其, the pair of verbs *wei* 隹 'to be' and its causative derivate *huei* 隹, and finally a selection of other frequently encountered verbs.

The sets of negatives found in the Shang oracular texts are (1) *pu*⁴ 不 (**pjəg*) versus *fu*² 弗 (**pjət*) in sentences of plain, declarative mood, and (2) *wu*² 毋 (**mjəg*) versus *wu*⁴ 勿 (**mjət*), used in sentences of prohibitive mood, i.e. negated

235(6)王貞不雨在龍 276(2) 𠄎 在茲示若 293(4)王在茲大示左(5)王在茲大(示)弗左 309(6)我伐
 癸在寧 340(1)在皁田𠄎足雨 381(5)我受 𠄎 藉在皁年(6)我弗其受 𠄎 藉在皁年 382(3)王固卜曰我
 其田 𠄎 藉在皁年 390(1)在皁田𠄎 582(1)王固曰𠄎不吉在茲

imperatives. These negative particles are distinct from the verb *wang* 亡 'not have', opposed to *yu* 有 'to have', (which in certain contexts also may mean 'to sacrifice', probably to be explained as a causative of *yu* 'to have' > 'to cause to have', i.e. to offer in sacrifice). These negatives show two other sets, one where *pu*⁴ and *fu*² are in mutual contrast; the former used with verbs in stative, intransitive, passive functions, the latter used for active, transitive, causative roles; parallel to that *wu*² is contrasted with *wu*⁴ in the same way for verbs in prohibitive mood. In principle any verb can be expected to take either the active, transitive, causative, or the intransitive, stative, passive role, although by nature of their meaning and preferential treatment in the actual usage observed in the inscription texts, some verbs may show a tendency towards exclusive occurrence in only one of the two roles. In this theory there is no need for (and in fact no indication of) any of the negatives being used to express either weaker or stronger, more absolute, emphatic or less emphatic connotation except by combination with other words of adverbial nature or by particular contrast between parallel clauses, in which cases the emphasis is not *per se* inherent in the negative but in the adverb or the sentence parallelism. Whatever the merit of the Han time commentary by Ho Hsiu to the *Kung-yang chuan* (Duke Hsiang 10.3 and Duke Hsi 26.2) to the effect that *fu*² was 'deeper' i.e. more emphatic than *pu*⁴, it seems too late in time to be of great weight in judging the Shang texts.

I. The negatives and the word *ch'i*

Among the verbs that show a certain versatility whereby they are found in all sorts of conditions and contexts is the verb *ch'i*. Until now *ch'i* has been understood as an adverb 'perhaps, maybe, probably, rather' by the majority of commentators and authors who have cared to address this question, myself included. But the different positions which *ch'i* can occupy in the word order of the sentences seem to show that *ch'i* in the Shang language was treated as a verb. Another reason for doing so is the fact that when in the bone inscriptions *ch'i* is used in two contrasted opposite sentences (one affirmative, one negative), it is the sentence expressing the *least* desirable alternative of the two envisaged actions, events, or results that will be marked by *ch'i*. Yet when viewed in historical perspective the same word *ch'i* is used in early Chou inscriptions exclusively as a grammatical word expressing an *optative* mood. This latter usage continues in the later Chou inscriptions and the classical texts with a further semantic change indicating, besides the optative, a probability: 'perhaps, maybe.' To reconcile the use of *ch'i* marking the undesirable event or action and the later use of *ch'i* for optative ('the hoped for and desired'), one can only assume a stage or context where *ch'i* expresses a more ambiguous and uncommitted outlook as far as future outcome is concerned, expressed in verbs such as f.i. 'to anticipate', which according to circumstance can be shifted to a pejorative aspect: 'be prepared for, be ready for'

(something undesirable and dreaded), but also in the course of the development of the language into the other direction, 'anticipate' in the sense of 'hope for'. This latter sense is not found in the bone inscription, but an intermediate stage can be observed, however, where *ch'i* in certain conditions seems to denote a sense of uncertainty, unconcern or equal possibility, even implying a marked probability. These different shades of meaning and function are not obvious in all the cases where *ch'i* occurs in the bone inscriptions, because due to the fragmentary nature of many of the pieces, no sufficient context and contrasts are provided to determine the role of *ch'i*.

(1) *Ch'i* found in only one of the contrasted sentences.

(1.a) *Wang/ch'i you*

3.(11) We shall anticipate (be prepared for) to have misfortune. (12) We shall not have misfortune.

165.(6) (We) shall not have (occasion) to cause misfortune. (7) We shall anticipate to have occasion to cause misfortune.

326.(4) This town (settlement) is anticipated to have (cause) to bring down misfortune. (5) This settlement does not have (chance) to bring down misfortune.

172.(10) Chou being corrected, there will be no disaster. (11) Chou being corrected, we shall anticipate there (may) be misfortune.

392.(12) Prince Mu will not have sickness. (13) Prince Mu is anticipated to have sickness.

(1.b) *You/wang ch'i*

154.(1) On present day ping-hsü, if (we) burn at stake (as sacrificial victim) (lady) Tsai, (we) will have subsequent rain. (2) With Tsai (as sacrificial victim) we do not have (cause) to anticipate subsequent rain.

305.(2) He will have protection (against) death. (3) Not having protection he is expected to die. (Comp. infra 205.9-10).

496.(1) If (we) burn (a victim) at the stake, there will be rain. (2) (Do not =) If we do not burn (a victim) at the stake, there is no (chance) to anticipate any rain.

Note:

There are also a few cases of *ch'i wang*:

77.(2) The king prognosticating says: it is auspicious; it means we shall anticipate not to have (any occasion) to attack. If we have food offering (ritual,) we shall (make it =) assume to anticipate to make a visitation (instead of an attack.)

3(1)我其亡 𠄎 (2)我亡 𠄎 165(6)亡乍 𠄎 (7)其亡乍 𠄎 326(4)兹邑其亡降 𠄎 (5)兹邑亡降 𠄎 172(10)周弗亡 𠄎 (11)周弗其亡 𠄎 392(12)子昌亡疾(13)子昌其亡疾 154(1)今丙戌烝姪虫从雨(2)姪亡其从雨 305(2)虫保死(3)亡保其死 469(1)烝虫雨(2)勿烝亡其雨 77(2)王固曰吉佳其亡工,言 (= 歆) 𠄎 其植

47.(7) It is expected there may be imminent difficulties. (8) It is expected there be no (occasion) they might be coming.

(1.c) *Ch'i* and negative *pu*.

55.(5) We shall receive (a good) harvest. (6) As to us (= for us) it is not anticipated that we will receive (a good) harvest. (Comp. 96.9-10; 169.7-10; 278.1-2, 5-8; 332.3-4; 381.3-4, 5).

560.(1) Proceeding the fuel gatherers will be defeated. (2) It is not anticipated they be defeated. The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious; they will be defeated.

574. (3) Ho will bring along *Ch'iang* men. (4) Ho is not expected to bring *Ch'iang* men. (Comp. 570.1-2; 612.7-8; 304.17-18; 149.12, 5; 85.1-2).

304.(22) Huan will be imprisoned. (23) Huan is not expected to be taken prisoner.

342.(2) Tun will send (lit. make come) dogs. (3) Tun is not expected to send dogs.

(4) Tun will send horses. (5) Tun is not expected to send horses. (Comp. 279.3-4; 157.11-12).

43.(2) It is not expected (he) will trap (any animals). (3) But the Many Princes chasing will trap (them).

429.(3) Prince Shang will capture the *Chih*. (4) It is not expected he will capture the *Chih*.

485.(15) If we call upon *Ya*, the pigs will be caught. (16) As to *Ya*, it is not expected he will capture wild pigs.

12.(8) When performing a prayer ritual and bringing along (offerings), (it will go =) it will turn out that, as to the sick teeth, we (will settle =) can be certain they will be cured. (9) The tooth ache will be cured. (10) It is not expected to be cured. (Comp. 12.9-10; 83.7-8; 334.6-7; 363.5-6; 513.6-7).

347.(1) Lady *Tzu*, when giving birth, will be fortunate. If from the evening of day *ping-tzu* till (next day) *Ting ch'ou*, she gives birth, she will be fortunate.

(2) As to Lady *Tzu*, it is not expected she will be fortunate. (Comp. 90.10-11; 96.5, 16-17; 345.1-2; 447. 1-2; 295.1-2).

142.(1) *Mu* is expected to be afflicted by sickness (lit. have as affliction some sickness). (2) *Mu* will not be afflicted by sickness. (or: The eyes will be afflicted by sickness...).

205.(9) *Ta* (?) will not die. (10) *Ta* (?) is expected to die. (Comp. 296.1-2).

306.(8) Starting from the present time reaching till day *yi-ch'ou* it will rain. On *jen-hsü* day it rained, on *yi-ch'ou* day it was overcast, but did not rain. (9)

47(7)其出來齒(8)其亡來 55(5)我受年(6)我不其受年 560(1)往郛敗(2)不其敗、王固曰吉、敗 574(3)何挈羌(4)何不其挈羌 304(2)亘 卒 (2)亘不其 卒 342(2)由來犬(3)吉不其來犬(4)吉來馬(5)吉不其來馬 43(2)不其唐(3)多子逐唐 429(3)子商隻鷹(4)不其隻鷹 485(15)乎亞豕隻(16)亞不其隻豕 12(8)祝挈之疾齒鼎龍(9)疾齒龍(10)不其龍 347(1)帶好婉妤丙子夕 翌 丁丑婉妤(2)帶好婉不其妤 142(1)目其希疾(2)目不希疾 205(9)玆 不死(10)玆 其死 306(8)自今至于乙丑其雨、壬戌雨乙丑霍不雨(9)自今至于乙丑不雨

Starting from the present time reaching till day yi-ch'ou it will not rain. (Comp. 433.1-2; 454.3-4; 523.5-6; 527.1-4, 7-8 all cases where rain is *not* desired. 155.5-6; 3.15-16; 87.6-7; 93.1-2; 153.7-8; 151.1-2; 260.2-3; 523.2, 5-6; 304.1-2, where rain is desired).

335. (17) The present month, having had rain, we shall anticipate snow. (18) Next day ting, it (i.e. weather) will (destroy =) get rid of the snow.

400. (10) The coming yi-hai day, it will change to sun (i.e. sunny weather). (11) The king prognosticating says: it is auspicious; lit: continuing this (i. e. if it continues) it will change to sunny weather. On yi-hai day... it was overcast, but it did not rain. (It went to say =) (The divination answer) turned out to say; it will rain. (12) The coming yi-hai day, it is not expected to change to sunny weather. (Comp. 405.1-2; 477.2).

96. (13) Next yi-hai day it will (open =) clear up. (14) Next yi-hai day it is not expected to clear up.

(1.d) Ch'i and negative *fu*

106. (18) The king is expected to have eye sickness (lit. make sick the eyes) (19) The king will not have eye sickness. (Comp. 502.13-14).

174. (1) Li will bring disaster on Yüan Chih. (2) As to Li, one shall not anticipate he will bring disaster on Yüan Chih.

304. (8) Pi will destroy the T'an. (9) As to Pi, one shall not anticipate he will destroy the T'an.

302. (1) Today, as to Prince Shang, if we anticipate he will (spear ? =) attack the Chi country and the Fou (or: the Fou of the Chi country ?), he will destroy them). (2) Today, as to Prince Shang, anticipating that he will attack the Chi country and Fou, we shall not anticipate he will destroy (them). (Comp. 259.13-15; 177.1-2; 83.3-6; 76.3-4 134.5-6; 1.3, 14-14; 41.4-5).

259. (22) The Ch'üeh (men) victoriously will enter the settlements of Chih. (23) As to Ch'üeh, we shall not anticipate they will victoriously enter (them).

81. (1) The king, if he supervises the millet planting, will receive (a good) harvest. (2) (As to the king, do not... =) If the king does not supervise the millet planting, one shall not anticipate he will receive (a good) harvest.

219. (1) The coming chia-tzu day, while making wine libations, to perform the *jung* ritual (repeating previous day's sacrifices) will be correct. (2) ... we shall not anticipate it will be correct. (Comp. 471.1-2). 120. (12) Tsu will capture

335(17) 今月雨其雪(18)羽丁希雪 400(10) 來乙亥易日(11)王固曰吉乃茲易日、乙亥口霍不(雨)之日雨(12)來(乙)亥不其易日 96(13) 羽乙亥(14)羽乙亥不其(15) 106(18) 王其疾目(19)王弗疾目 174(1) 齋 田 元 沚(2) 齋弗其 田 元 沚 304(8) 𠄎 伐 獐(9) (𠄎) 弗(其) 伐 獐 302(1) 今日子商其 𠄎 (= 𠄎) 基方 𠄎 伐(2) 今日子商其 𠄎 基方 𠄎 弗其 𠄎 259(22) 雀克入 亞邑(23) 雀弗其克入 81(1) 王立黍受年(2) 王勿立黍弗其受年 219(1) 來甲子酒彤正(2) 來甲子酒彤弗其正 120(12) 足隻羌(13) 足不其隻羌(14) 弗其隻咒

- Ch'iang men. (13) Tsu is not expected to capture (any) Ch'iang. (16) One shall not anticipate he will capture the rhino.
- 86.(9) The king, one shall not anticipate he will capture the rhino. (10) The king will capture the rhino.
- 126.(5) Calling upon the grass cutters of the Chien, Ch'ien and X, one shall not anticipate they will net (any game). (6) If we call upon the grass cutters of..., they will catch (game) with nets.
- 86.(13) Chou catching by net dogs will continue along the Mei shore. (14) As to Chou, one shall not anticipate he will net (any dogs).
- 334.(4) As to Lady Tzu one shall not anticipate that surviving, she will recover from (lit. remove) any sickness she may have. (5) Lady Tzu surviving will recover from any sickness she may have. (Comp. 311.16-17; 156.7-8; 311.14-15).
- 71.(1) As to God, it (really) is that one shall anticipate He will bring to end this settlement. (2) God will not bring to end this settlement.
- 119.(3) The Ch'üeh will defeat the Huan and Wo. (4) As to the Ch'üeh, one shall not expect they will defeat the Huan and Wo.
- 306.(18) The Wo and Ma men will catch up with the Huo. (19) One shall not anticipate they will catch up with the Huo.
- 390.(3) (Reaching =) as we near (or: Before) the present fourth month, it will rain. (4) One shall not anticipate that before... it will rain.
(1.e) *Ch'i* and negative *wu*
- 183.(4) The king shall anticipate there may be (cause) to use (as sacrificial victims) the netted (game) that was brought in. (5) The king ought not to use (them as victims).
- 122.(1) Anticipate to stay at Tzu. (2) Do not (make one stay) at Tzu.
- 102.(1) Next kuei-mao day we shall anticipate by burning (the fields) to catch (game). (2) On next kuei-mao day do not burn (any fields).
- 100.(8) The king shall anticipate that having a shaman dance will be agreeable. (9) As to the king, do not have a shaman dance. (Comp. 396.9-10; 332.11-13).
- 147.(1) We shall anticipate that making a settlement, God will not assist nor approve. (2) (Do not =) If we do not make a settlement, God will approve. (Comp. 81.1-2).
- 276.(3) This year the king shall anticipate (to step out =) get out to attack the Jen (?). (4) This (period of the year ?) as to the king, do not (step out =)
-
- 86(9)王弗其隻咒(10)王隻咒 126(5)乎見瀚弗芻弗其羅(∞畢) (6)乎見瀚弗芻羅(∞畢) 86(13)周卑犬沚湄(14)周弗其卑 334(4)婦好弗其 凡 凡 凡 疾(5)婦好 凡 凡 疾 71(1)帝佳其冬(=終) 茲邑(2)帝弗冬茲邑 119(3)雀敗亓我(4)雀弗其敗亓我 306(18)我馬及或(19)弗其及或 390(3)及今四月雨(4)弗其及今四月雨,其... 183(4)王其用入卑(5)王勿用 122(1)其沚于始(2)勿于始 102(1)羽癸卯其焚卑(2)羽癸卯勿焚 100(8)王其舞若(9)王勿舞 147(1)我其沚邑帝弗左若(2)勿沚邑帝若 276(3)今載王其步伐人(4)今載王勿步伐人

get out to attack the Jen.¹⁵

350.(2) The king prognosticating says: (Do not make it =) Do not assume it will rain. It is (however) that it is expected to be windy. (7) The king prognosticating says: if it is on a day *yi*, that it is expected to be rain (i.e. to be nothing but rain), ... (it will) be auspicious.

523.(2) ... (It is not located in =) It has nothing to do with being agreeable to the spirits low and high. (7) It is anticipated, there is an imminent hurricane.

524.(1) There is no imminent hurricane. (2) The king prognosticating says: Do not make it (i.e. assume it) is pleasing (to the spirits high and low).

(1.f) *Ch'i* and negative *wu*

1.(3) The king prognosticating says: on *ting-ssu* day we ought not to be expected to destroy(the enemy), but by the coming day *chia-tzu* (we will) destroy (him). (13) Our envoy (i.e. dispatched forces) will destroy the Fou. (14) Our dispatched forces ought not to be anticipated to destroy the Fou.

25.(3) The present (year? or time of the year?) X ought not to be expected to come. (5) ... by the returning (time of the) year, (do not come =) if he does not come, I shall be expected to follow (or: pursue him?).

90.(10) The lesser servant will be fortunate (in childbirth). (11) The lesser servant is not expected to be fortunate. (From the time of) *Kuei-you* day till day *chia-hsü*, she ought not be fortunate (i.e. chances are she will not be fortunate.)

190.(5) Lady Ching will have offspring. (6) Lady Ching ought not to be expected to have offspring.

297.(1) It is anticipated, that (though the sickness) will get better, there are bad influences. (3) It ought not be anticipated that one will continue to have bad influences.

349.(6) It ought not to be expected that (it means =) it signifies we shall have a *yi* (general, overall) sacrifice.

(2) There are some cases where neither member of the alternatives has *ch'i*:

108.(5) God will afflict the settlement of T'ang. (6) God will not afflict the settlement of T'ang.

147.(3) If the king dwelling in this settlement, Ta Chia is made guest (in a ritual), God will approve. (4) God will not approve.

139.(1) If the king (brings forth =) offers this string of jade pieces, Hsien (or:

350(2)王固曰勿雨佳其風(7)王固曰佳乙其佳(雨)口口吉 523(2)...不在若于下上(7)其虫來餒 524(1)亡來餒(2)王固曰勿若 1(3)王固曰丁巳我毋其戈于來甲子戈(3)我史其戈(4)我史毋其戈(5) 25(3)今口不其來(5)...歸載毋來余其从, 90(10)小臣幼(11)小臣不其幼癸酉 甲戌毋(幼) 190(5)帝其虫(6)帝其毋其虫(子) 297(1)其龍虫(2)毋其征虫(糸) 349(6)毋其佳衣 108(5)帝其(=疾) 唐邑(6)帝弗其(唐)邑 147(3)王宅茲邑大(甲)帝若(4)帝弗若 139(1)王其(=奏)茲 羊威左(2)王其茲 羊威弗左

Ch'eng) will assist him. (2) If the king offers this string of jade pieces, Hsien (or: Ch'eng) will not assist (him).

The reason for the absence of *ch'i* is unclear. It could hardly be that the outcome or the choice between the alternatives would not be of any particular concern to the people engaged in the divination, but perhaps it is meant to stress that no matter which of the alternatives is less desirable, the effect is unavoidable.

(3) Finally, there are cases where *ch'i* is found in both of the contrasted sentences, or cases where it is repeated within the same sentence of prognostication:

124.(15) Fou is expected to come to see (in audience) the king. (16) Fou is not expected to come to see the king (in audience.)

364.(1) (Lit.: go to/anticipate/remove =) (It goes to, it happens that =) it will turn out that we (will) anticipate he will recover (from the sickness) (2) It is not expected that he will recover. (3) It means that it will turn out that we anticipate (reduction of final part of sentence 1). (4) It is not so that we will go to (i.e. get to the point that) we shall anticipate (it). (reduction of last part of sentence 1).

259.(4) Truly, we (may) anticipate it will clear up (at) Ho. (5) It is not anticipated to clear up (at) Ho.

538.(1) Next yi-you day, it is expected to be windy. (2) Next yi-you day it is not expected to be windy.

76.(5) Our envoy (dispatched forces) are anticipated to destroy the Fang. (6) As to our dispatched forces, (one shall) not anticipate (= take for granted) they will destroy the Fang.

259.(13) We shall not anticipate to destroy the T'an (or) anticipate to kill (them) off. (14) We shall destroy and kill off. (15) One shall not anticipate to destroy (and) kill off. (18) Anticipate to advance and prolong (the attack). (19) Anticipate to have Ya take the lead. (20) Anticipating to have Ya take the lead, they will destroy (them).

348.(2) The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious. Use (this divination answer). (3) It is anticipated that (whatever) imminent difficulty there may be will originate in the West. (4) The king prognosticating says: anticipate the imminent difficulty will originate in the West.

79.(12) The king prognosticating says: anticipating it is a chia day (that she will give birth, it is auspicious to call upon (someone...)) (13) (Having seen =) If, having let pass by a keng day, it is anticipated it will be a ting day (that she

124(15) 銜其來見王(16) 銜不其來見王 364(1) 之其凡(2) 不其凡(3) 佳之其(4) 不佳之其凡 259(4) 允其啟姝
(5) 不其啟姝 538(1) 羽乙酉其風(2) 羽乙酉不其風 76(5) 我史其戎方(6) 我史弗其戎方 259(13) 我弗其戎
其缺 (= 鑿) (14) 我戎其弗其戎其先征(19) 其先亞(20) 其先亞戎 348(2) 王固曰吉用(3) 其虫來
(嬖) 自西(4) 王固曰其來(嬖) 自西 79(12) 王固曰其佳甲婉吉乎(13) 見庚其佳丁弘吉

will give birth), it will extend the good luck (= it will be highly auspicious).

348.(1) The king prognosticating says: if it is anticipated it will be a chia day that she will give birth, she will be fortunate. But, if it is anticipated it will be a yi day, there will be misfortune. If, it is anticipated it will be day ping-yin, it will not be auspicious but an yi-mao day will be auspicious.

309.(7) Next yi-hai day Prince T'ai is expected to come. (8) As to Prince T'ai, it is anticipated that it will be day chia-hsü he will come. (10) But *we* (in contrast to Prince T'ai coming or not) shall anticipate we shall go on the expedition to destroy (the enemy anyhow).

29.(2) The king prognosticating says: Feng being expected to go out, we shall make it (= decide upon) a ting day. If on a ting day he does not go out, as to Feng, anticipating he has(some) sickness, we shall not anticipate he will recover.

153.(10) If the king anticipates to attack (or: to have a human sacrifice) it will be agreeable. (11) On yi-ch'ou day he did indeed do so.

66.(1) ... God is not expected to command rain. (2) The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious; we shall expect to call upon (someone...) (14) We shall not anticipate that the present second month it will sleet (or: hail). (16) The king prognosticating says: it is auspicious, but one still shall anticipate that there will be sleet (or: hail).

In many of these examples one can explain the double use of *ch'i* as an expression of uncertainty and doubt. In the prognostication sentences, which do not have the same dual contrastive opposite propositions, the repetition of *ch'i* within the lines seem to be expressive of probabilities and possible outcome rather than uncertainty.

II. Negatives with the verbs *wei* and *huei*.

(1) Negated by *pu*:

589.(3) Truly, it is (= means) that Ku will arrive. (4) It is not that Ku will arrive. (or: ...that *ku* (i. e. evil magic effect) will arrive) (?).

51.(8) The king's illness is (a sign of) (=means, spells) misfortune (9) The king's illness is not a sign of any misfortune.

64.(2) It is expected that by sacrificing to requite (for favors?) to Father Yi, it will not be (= result in) disaster.

110.(5) The king hearing (things) means disaster. (6) The king hearing (things) does not mean disaster. Comp. 201.16-17; 201.11: The Wo and Ma tribes having a tiger (or: sacrificing a tiger) does not spell misfortune.¹⁵

348(1)王固曰其佳甲婉幼、其佳乙丑希其佳(丙寅)不吉乙(卯)吉 309(7)羽乙亥子汰其來(8)子汰其佳甲戌來(10)我其征伐 29(2)王固曰鳳其出 𠄎 丁丁不出鳳其丑疾弗其凡 153(10)王其伐若(11)乙丑允伐 66(1)口帝不其(令)雨(2)王固曰吉其乎(4)弗其今二月霰(∞霰) (6)王固曰吉其霰(∞霰) 589(3)允佳蠱至(4)不佳蠱至 51(8)王疾佳 𠄎 (9)王疾不佳 𠄎 64(2)其丑報于父乙不佳 𠄎 110(5)王聃佳 𠄎 (6)王聃不佳 𠄎 Comp. 201(11)我馬丑虎不佳(𠄎)

- 61.(3) These protracted rains are not (a sign of) (soon to be) sent down disasters.
- 83.(2) The king's bone ailment does not mean 'he will go'; he will not announce the three hundred bowmen. Comp. 415.(5) The king's bone ailment is not (because of) Ku. (or: because of evil magic effects) 462.(2) It is Ancestress Chi (who) inflicts (?) the king's bone ailment.
- 84.(2) The king prognosticating says: Destroying (them) will be (on) a keng day. If it is not (on) a keng day, make it be (on) a ping day.
- 96.(1) On day chia-tzu through day yi-ch'ou, the king dreamt of herding (cattle) at the deer area of shih, it is not a sign of misfortune. (4) What (I), the king, had (occasion) to dream about does not mean to call (upon someone, for) me to exorcize the bone ailment. Comp. 111.(4) The king dreamt of jade pieces; it does not signify misfortune. Cfr. 97.(8); 407.(11); 517. 1-2.
- 415.(3) Lady Tzu dreamt; it is not (because of) Father Yi. Comp. 180.(2) As to the disaster (foreseen), it is not because of X.
- 120.(4) It does not mean that we shall continue the dismemberment sacrifice. Comp. 364.(4) It does not mean that it will go to (=turn out that) one can expect (him) to get better. 191.(2) It is not (=does not mean that she will give birth to a human (being)). (4) It does not mean that it will go (= will turn out, become) a human being. 197.(13) As to Father Yi, it is not that he will inflict (on us) any bad influence. (or: it is the human victims [upon them] he will bring harm.)
- 202.(23) That it does not rain, does not mean this Shang (settlement) has caused disaster. (or: a disaster which will arise.) Comp. 306.(6) That on yi-ch'ou day we shall expect it will rain does not mean for us any disaster.
- 239.(6) Having a toothache (lit. having as sickness the teeth) does not mean there is (someone, something) causing harm. 265.(4) It is not Nan-keng who is harming (menacing) the king. (6) The king's bone ailment (?) does not mean there is (someone) who is harming. Cfr. 274.(4); 312.(8); 334.(1); 473.(4).
- 394.(2) If, with Ancestor Ting (already) causing disaster (so that) the millet does not grow (lit. it does not 'millet'), it is not that Nan-keng (in addition) is being harmful.

61(3) 茲靈不佳降 𠄎 83(2) 王 𠄎 不佳之弗告三百射 Comp. 415(5) 王 𠄎 佳靈 (6) 王 𠄎 不佳靈
462(2) 佳妣己 𠄎 王 𠄎 84(2) 王固曰伐佳庚不佳庚 𠄎 (丙) 96(1) 甲子 𠄎 乙丑王夢牧石麋不佳 𠄎
(4) 王 𠄎 夢不佳乎余 𠄎 Comp. 111(4) 王夢 𠄎 不佳 𠄎 415(3) 帶好夢不佳父乙 Comp. 180(2) 𠄎
不佳 𠄎 120(4) 不佳 𠄎 故 Comp. 364(4) 不佳之其凡 191(2) 不佳婉人(4) 不佳之人 197(13) 父乙不
佳伐 𠄎 202(23) 不雨不佳 茲商 𠄎 𠄎 Comp. 306 乙丑其雨不佳我 𠄎 239(6) 疾齒不佳 𠄎
265(4) 不佳南庚 𠄎 王(6) 王 𠄎 不佳 𠄎 394(2) 昔 (=災) 祖丁不黍不佳南庚 𠄎

415.(2) It is not Father Yi who is [verb: afflicting ?] the king. Comp. 450.(5) It is not Lady Wo who is impeding (lit. trampling on) the king.

504.(1) The thunder rolling is (=spells) disaster. (2) The thunder rolling does not spell disaster. Comp. 517.(6) The thunder rolling is not [from] the western lands.

550.(5) (Who) on the present day will come is not Father Yi.

(1) Negated by *wu*:

3.(3) Make it be Prince Pu whom we call upon to trap (the game). (4) Do not make it be Prince Pu whom we call upon. (7) Make it be (= Assume) that the king shall go. (8) Do not make it be that the king shall go.

13.(5) The king shall make it Yü of Chih whom he follows (or: dispatches). (6) As to the king, do not make it Yü whom (he shall) follow. Comp. 55.1-2; 275.9-10; 277.5-6. and 275.(2) Do not make it X whom we shall command to follow (or: pursue) Chu and Ch'a. (8) Do not make it (=presume) that misfortune will follow. (12) Do not make it Pin (= Do not decide upon Pin to do it.)

22.(3) As to the king, do not make it (= consider) to go out to make a visitation.

24.(22) As to the king, do not make it (= decide upon) the Lung country which he (will) attack. Comp. 55.(4) As to the King, do not make it Marquis Kao, (whom) he will follow (or: dispatch).

313.(6) As to the king, (do not make it =) if he does not decide (that) Lady Tzu shall follow Yü of Chih to attack the Pa country (or: Pa and Fang), one shall not anticipate to receive abundant help.

444.(1) As to the king, do not make it the Chou country (against whom) he shall make the expedition.

157.(3) Make it a chi-ch'ou day to perform prayers. (4) Do not make it the present day chi.

197.(4) Do not at all cost make it a day yi-hai (on which), while making wine libations to Hsia Yi, we shall have as victims ten humans (to be beheaded) and five... (i.e. fifteen beheaded human).

447.(5) If one does not make it (so that) (×) goes, it will not be agreeable.

495.(6) The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious. Do not make it (= con-

415(2) 不佳父乙 罔王 Comp. 450(5) 不佳夔 冬 (=陵?) 王 504(1) 𠄎 佳 𠄎 (2) 𠄎 不佳 𠄎 Comp. 517(6) 𠄎 不佳西土 550(5) 今日來不佳父乙 3(3) 𠄎 子不乎阱(4) 勿佳子不乎(7) 𠄎 王往(8) 勿佳王往 13(5) 王 𠄎 (𠄎) 𠄎 从(6) 王勿佳 𠄎 从 Comp. 275(2) 勿佳 𠄎 令从諸 𠄎 (8) 勿佳 𠄎 从(12) 勿佳旁口 22(3) 王勿佳出值 24(2) 王勿佳龍方伐 Comp. 55(4) 王勿佳 𠄎 告从 313(6) 王勿佳帶好从 𠄎 𠄎 伐 巴方弗其受虫又 444(1) 王勿佳周方正 157(3) 𠄎 己丑 𠄎 (4) 勿佳今己 197(4) 勿 𠄎 佳乙亥酒下乙 十伐虫十... 447(5) 勿佳之不若 495(6) 王罔曰吉勿佳 𠄎

sider it) a misfortune. Comp. 518.(2) The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious. Do not make it (= assume) (he) will have help.

Note:

Unusual and rare cases are: 555.(4) It is (means) it will come to an end. (5) It ought not to be (what) comes to an end. (5-7, Idem.) Equally unusual is 290.-(1) The king prognosticating says: "It is auspicious. It will be ting day; one shall not make it. ..." But this would go against the majority of cases where *huei* occurs in the *Ping-pien*, and in view of the other cases, this too should read: 'It will be ting day; if it (is) not (a ting day), make it...., There is also 522.(9) (To) Ancestor Hsin sacrifice in holocaust piglets and the king's pigs. (10) If (one does) not, then we shall assume (the ancestor) shall find agreeable (the sacrificed victims) of the king (?). Finally 149.(23) is transcribed by Chang Ping-ch'uan as *wu huei* 'do not make it...', the rubbing however shows no *wu* and to supplement it would provide the only occurrence of *wu huei* in the whole collection.

In all the cases listed above, *wu wei* in practically every occurrence has a counterpart or contrastive line with *huei*; this clearly shows that *wu huei* would be most incongruous. *Huei* being the causative of *wei* 'to be' and its negative being automatically turned back to a formula *wu wei*, indicates that the causative role is not carried by the verb but by the negative *wu*. This clarifies a sentence quoted by Chang (p. 288) from *Yi-pien* 3069: Princess Mu in giving birth is not expected to be fortunate. The king prognosticating says: If it is this (place, time?) do not make (her) (= do not assume that she will) be fortunate.

III. Other verbs: *jo*, *t'o*, *ling*, *yung*, *ssu*, *chi*:

- 237.(8) God will not find the king agreeable. (i.e. approve of the king).
 285.(7) The altars of the ancestors will approve (the king).
 317.(15) Ancestor Ting will not approve (of) Lesser Prince Wen.
 428.(2) Ancestor Yi will not approve that I am not expected to...(?)
 461.(2) Though performing a worshipping (ritual), (the spirits) will not approve (of it).
 97.(18) I have not what is not agreeable. Comp. 132.(3).
 248.(2) Anticipate that sacrificing will not be agreeable. (or: anticipate to have something that is not agreeable.)
 53.(2) If the king sacrifices (slaves ?) it will not be agreeable.
 300.(2) If one does not perform a dismemberment sacrifice it will not be agreeable.

518(2)王固曰吉勿佳丑左 555(4)佳終(5)毋(佳)(終)(6)佳終(7)毋(佳)終 290(1)王固曰吉佳丁不
 亥 ... 522(9)祖辛癸青王豕(10)不亥 若夷王 149(23)勿亥弘乎田 3069子目婉不其勿王固曰佳茲
 勿勿 237(8)帝弗若王 285(7)示弗若 317 (15)祖丁弗若小子溫 428(2)...祖乙弗若朕不其允
 461(2)祀弗若 97(18)...余亡不若 248(2)其丑不若 53(2)王丑跟不若 300(2)勿改不若

- 498.(5) (X) will find Ku agreeable. (5) Ku will not be found agreeable.
 524.(3) (The king prognosticating says:) Do not (assume) it will be approved.
 176.(2) Ancestor Yi will not harm the king. Comp. 437.3-4, 8-9; 32.16; 413.9-10;
 438.1-2.
 364.(5) Mother Kuei will harm the king. (6) Mother Kuei will not *be harmful* to
 the King.
 523.(7) The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious. As to Chu, do not (as-
 sume) he will harm me. Comp. 176.3; 439.4.
 512.(11) God does not command it be Lady Chu. Comp. 78.(3) Do not command
 Yin to start a great hunt. 66.(5) It is expected that on a ping day it will not
 be commanded to snow.
 41.(7) The Ch'iang men which at present were made to come, do not use them (as
 victims). Comp. 45.(1) The Ch'iang men which the Yü country brought along
 will be used.
 438.(2) Yün will not die. The king prognosticating says: It is auspicious. Do not
 (assume) he will die. Comp. 205.(9).
 214.(1) God will afflict this settlement. (2) God will not afflict... Comp. 334.(3)
 The king will inflict disaster (cause disaster). The King prognosticating says:
 Do not (make him =) assume he will inflict it.
 222.(1) The king will be sick. (2) He will not.
 106.(19) The King will not (lit. have as sickness, or: make sick the eyes) have eye
 sickness.

When verbs used in transitive, causative role have personal pronouns as direct or
 indirect object the negation reverts to the simple *pu* instead of *fu*:

- 245.(7) Great Ting will harm us. (8) Great Ting will not harm us.
 3.(1) Wang Hai will bring misfortune on us. (2) Wang Hai will not bring misfor-
 tune on us.
 371.(1) God will not afflict us with difficulties. (2) Anticipate that God might
 afflict us with difficulties. Com. 627.
 67.(7) God is expected to bring down on us difficulties. (8) God will not bring
 down difficulties on us.
 306.(10) Huan and Huo are expected to destroy us. (11) Huan and Huo will not
 destroy us.

498(5) 若古(6)古不若 524(3) 勿若 176(2) 祖乙弗咎王 364(5) 母癸咎王(6)母癸不咎王 523(7) 王固
 曰吉 龜 勿余咎 512(11) 帝弗令佳 龜 Comp. 78(3) 勿令尹乍大田 66(5) 其丙不(令)雪 41(7) 今來
 羌勿用 45(1) 興(𠄎)方挈羌用 438(2) 允不死王固曰吉勿死 214(1) 帝殪茲邑(2)帝弗殪茲邑
 Comp. 334(3) 王弗疾, 王固曰勿疾 222(1) 王疾(2)不 106(19) 茲弗疾目 245(7) 大丁(咎)我(8)大
 丁不我咎 3(1) 王亥弔我(2)王亥不我弔 371(1) 帝不我殪(2)帝(其)殪我 66(7) 帝其降我殪(8)帝不
 我降殪 306(10) 亘或其戕我(11)亘或不我戕

409.(1) If God approves (of it) he will give us assistance. (2) If God does not approve (of it), it is not expected for us that he will give help. Comp. *Yi-ts'un* collection 116: If one does not make it (= decide) that the king should make an expedition against the X-country, the spirits below and above will not approve and are not expected to give us assistance.

Note:

In this last two examples, the verb *ch'i* is treated as a auxiliary verb and kept close to the main verb *shou* 'to give' which has both indirect object, the pronoun 'us' (preceding) and direct object 'assistance.' This structure is comparable to the later classical structure, as in, f.i., *mo chih neng yü*: 'there is no one who can resist them.'

IV. Varia

The texts and translations presented in this paper allow us further to make some remarks on certain phenomena of grammar which were not discussed in the three preceding chapters, yet are reoccurring in many of the examples we have quoted.

1. There is no indication of the oracular inscriptions in the *Ping pien* collection having any interrogative sentences at all, and there are no interrogative pronouns nor interrogative particles. The sentences that have traditionally been understood as interrogative sentences show no formal difference in structure and usage of pronouns than the sentences found in the prognostication lines, which certainly are not interrogative. It is probably the interpretation of the word 貞, according to *Shuo wen*, that has led to the idea that the lines in the oracular texts of Shang were conched in interrogative sentences.

2. Personal pronouns, possessive and demonstrative pronouns are rare. Most of the sentences in the oracle inscriptions could be translated, f.i., '(We) shall attack the X (enemy tribe)', because it is assumed that the diviners put forth enquiries about possible courses of action which they themselves (or the ones for whom they made the divination) intended to follow. Yet the pronoun 'we' is expressed in the Chinese text only occasionally. The subject quite often being omitted, besides the possible translation 'we', according to context, an indefinite 'one' could be proposed as well.

Among the demonstrative pronouns we find only *tz'ü* 茲 'this' before a noun or as an independent word, but not frequently. The use of *chih* 之 as a demonstrative pronoun remains doubtful, even in phrases such as *chih hsi* 之夕, often explained as standing for 'this evening'. If *chih* is a demonstrative pronoun we still

409(1) 帝若受我又(2) 帝弗若不我其受又 *Yi ts'un* 116 勿隹王正 邑 方、下上弗若不我其受又 Comp. 莫之能禦。

have to account for its use in contrast with *tz'ü* 茲. On the other hand, in too many occurrences such a meaning 'this' and *a fortiori* a meaning 'it, him, her, them' is impossible, while a meaning *chih* as a verb 'to go' can be applied for all the cases in the oracular texts of the *Ping pien*, in the first place, *chih hsi* 之夕 lit. 'going to': 'by the evening.' To quote some cases from the texts selected in this paper:

312.(4) 于之七月 By the seventh month (which we are) going to, i.e.: By (this) seventh month which we are to begin.

287.(2) 之𠄎隻鷹—豕— (The king prognosticating says:) lit. going to/ (that which) one will have (chance)/to catch/, the *chih* animals will be one, the pigs will be one, i.e.: Concerning that which one will have chance to catch, ...

12.(8) 祝挈之疾齒鼎龍 When performing a prayer ritual and bringing along (offerings), (lit. it will go to=) it will turn out that, as to the sick teeth, one (or: we) will (lit. settle=) be certain it will be cured.

83.(2) 王 𠄎 不佳之弗告三百射 As to the king's bone ailment, (lit. it is not that it goes to=) it does mean that he will (go to=) have to announce the three hundred bowmen.

364.(1) 之其凡 (3) 佳之其 (4) 不佳之其凡 (lit. It goes to=) It will turn out that we will anticipate he recover (from the sickness). (3) It means that it will turn out that will anticipate (it). (4) it is not so (i.e. it does not mean) that we will (lit. go to=) get to the point that we shall anticipate (it).

447.(5) 勿佳之不若 It one does not make (it so that) he goes, it will not be agreeable.

No possessive pronoun (third person) 'his, her, their' is found in the Shang oracular texts. The occurrences of *yu* 𠄎, suggested by Professor D. S. Nivison (*Early China*, 3, 1977) as functioning in such a role, can be easily explained as application of the ordinary sense of *yu* 'to have'.

3. In combinations noun + noun, just like those of adjective + noun, the modifying term precedes the modified one. A seeming exception is the type of phrase like *Fu Chia* 父甲 'Father Chia', *Tsu Yi* 祖乙 'Ancestor Yi' and other phrases where the cyclical character stands for the personal name of the dead family member, or with titles preceding the personal name, f.i. *Fu Tzū* 婦妣 'Lady Tzū' (i.e. member of the Tzū clan), *Fu Tzū* 父妣 (洎) 'Lady Tzū' (i.e. of the Tzū fief, state or town), *Tzū T'ai* 子汰 'Prince T'ai', *Tzū Mu* 子昌 'Princess Mu', and place names like *Ch'iu Shang* 丘商 'Mound Shang', *Ta yi Shang* 大邑商 'Great city Shang', but this is not really an exception to the word order modifier-modified, but a case of a noun followed by a noun in apposition (here the proper name), appended to the preceding item. Thus *Hou Chuan* 侯專 'Marquis Chuan' is not the same structure as *Ch'üan Hou* 犬侯 'the marquis of Ch'üan (country), like *Chu ching* 雒京 'city of the Chu state' and *T'ang yi* 唐邑 'Settlement, city of T'ang' is not the same

structure as that of *Ch'iu Shang* above.

4. Relative clauses, strictly speaking, are inexistent. In the majority of cases, they are expressed by applying the word order discussed in 3., namely the whole clause is simply put in front of the noun. To quote some examples:

197.(2) 升伐十 The human victims (beheaded) which me make ascend will amount to ten.

304.(14) 𠙴十牛黎 The ten penned sheep to the put on record will be black.

57.(7) 于妣己丑 𠙴十 The slaves which are to be sacrificed to ancestress Chi will be ten.

52.(14) 余𠙴豕佳十 The pigs which (one) will use for me in the exorcist ritual will be a set of ten.

248.(4) 余𠙴豕佳十 Shackled servant of (or: to) Mother Keng.

PP. p. 383 往自溫十人丑三 Twelve men who will proceed to Wen.

32.(24) 在北史 The envoy (or: dispatched forces) which are in the north.

83.(1) 王令三百射 As to the three hundred bowmen which the King commanded.

323.(16) 在朱兕 The rhino that is in Chu.

381.(5) 𠙴藉在始年 The harvest which Fu has cultivated and which is at Tzu.

183.(4) 入𠙴 The netted (game) that entered (i.e., was brought in).

348.(3) 丑來媿自西 (Any) imminent difficulty there may be, will originate from the west.

550.(5) 今日來不佳父乙 (The one who) on the present day will come is not Father Yi.

41.(7) 今來羌勿用 The Ch'iang which at present are made to come, do not use (them).

Sometimes, but rarely, it seems that the relative clause is simply expressed by using a coordinate clause, tagged on to the main clause:

21.(9) 父飛入二在亞 Father Fei brought in two (i.e., tortoises), which were at Ya.

5. Like with nouns and nominal units the modifier precedes the modified, in a sequence of various clauses, the subordinate clauses precede the main clause. There are no particles to mark either concessive or conditional subordinative clauses; everything seems to be implied by context. In certain conditional clauses, however, we have found that sometimes the prohibitive mood, couched in the form of direct discourse; 'do not (verb; do...)' is used for a conditional: 'If one does not do...' Certain temporal clauses can be introduced by a verb, f.i., *yü* 于 'going to' i.e. 'by (a certain time)', *chi* 及 f.i., 65.(4) 及今二月 'Reaching the present second month' i.e. 'before the second month'.

6. Finally, and to conclude, it is also of some interest to look for certain phrases or patterns that are *not* found in the Wu Ting period texts of the *Ping pien* and which may be found in later oracular inscriptions. Thus while in PP we find again and again the phrase *pu wei* 不佳 for the negation of *wei* 佳 'to be'





without exception, the later period begin to show instances like *wei jo* 隹若 'It is (something) approved (auspicious, acceptable),' which is contrasted by a negation *fei jo* 非若. (Shima Kunio, *Index* p. 24. col. 2: Ts'ui 55, 佚 374. As a word of caution, the Shang graph 𠄎, consisting of 𠄎, pictograph of the persons back to back + 𠄎 two hands, may cause some difficulty if 𠄎 were analyzed as a 北, phonetic element for a word later written 非 or 排, and 非 may not be a fusion at all.) Similarly, while the oracular texts have *pu chi* 不既 'not yet', there is no instance of 未 *wei* being used for 'not yet'. In this case a fusion can be argued, 不 + 既 **kjəd* versus 未 **mjəd*; the initial *p*- yielding *m*- in a fusion should not be regarded as unusual or impossible, in view of other *m*- initials in negatives as in 毋 and 勿, and in view of words like 𠄎 (*Fang yen* 10.5, dialect word of the south) **mwang*, probable fusion of 不 + 肯 **khəng*. The recurrent line 未見君子 opposed to 既見君子 in *Shih ching* seems to confirm the replacement of *pu chi* by *wei* in later times.



Finally, though the phrase *pu huei* 不惠 is not frequent (Shima, *Index* p. 430 has two examples only, 掇 1.436 (Ning 1.497) 不惠史令... and 乙 296 丙不惠...), precisely because of this infrequency, a decisive analysis of the grammatical pattern is not possible and one can not exclude the possibility that *pu huei* 不惠 may be a phrase to introduce a conditional (irrealis): 'if one does not make' i.e. 'if one does not assume that' and then would be the ancestral form of the later classical *wei* 微 'if it were not that', 'were it not for'. (惠 **gwjəd*, 微 **mjəd*); the fact that *huei* 惠 is still found in *Shih ching* as a form of a copulative verb, probably 'make be', can be adduced as confirmation. These cases show how the careful evaluation of all evidence concerning Shang inscriptions texts, not only relating to pure graphical aspects of the writing, but also to phonology and grammar may open new vistas in the history and development of the Chinese language.


FOOTNOTES

¹ These few examples could easily be multiplied, but only a selection is made to show the problems facing us, both in the identification of the graphs and the usage of the words represented by them.

Thus, the graph 𠄎, 𠄎 is listed in Chin Hsiang-heng's dictionary, 14.24b-25a, with a great number of slightly different forms, together and under the graphs 𠄎 and 𠄎, as being variants of the same, without any explanation. Some of the proposed identifications are: 𠄎 (Wang Hsiang, Hu Hou-hsüan), 𠄎 (Sun Yi-jiang), 𠄎 (Li Tan-ch'iu), 𠄎 (Tung Tso-pin, Kuo Mo-jo). Li Hsiao-ting transcribes it with the SW form 𠄎, but admits that the meaning in the Shang texts is not clear and not that given by SW to 𠄎. From the graphic aspect, one can be fairly sure that it consists of 𠄎 and another element representing a vessel or a spike like object. The sentences in which the word occurs seem to refer to some weather phenomena which may spell something disastrous. In my translation, the word is taken to stand for 'thunder', the rolling sound of the thunder being represented as if coming from the beating of a drum, shown in the shape of a vessel


or pot. Such an interpretation, which agrees with the Chinese mythological representations of the thunder, still demands that we deal with another graph, transcribed by Chang Ping-ch'üan in his PP as 靄, but by other scholars (Li Hsiao-ting and others) as 雷 'thunder', and also as 嶠 or 隄 (Ch'en Meng-chia) for 'rising mists, clearing of weather'. The transcription of this graph as 雷 relies on the recognition that the bone graphs  are of the same type as the later bronze forms  etc., but the elements added to 申 (Shang graph ) look more like small dots, small rounds or lozenges, which do not seem similar to the  in the bronze forms for 雷. I therefore follow the reading 靄 or 靄, standing for a word meaning 'hail' or 'sleet.' See PP texts 504, 1-2.



The graph 凡 (Shang form ) , while used as a personal name, has been read as 風, since it appears as an element in the graph 鳳 (for 風); yet there are only a few occurrences where this reading of 凡 as 風 makes good sense. Though the element 凡 can stand for 凡 and is used as phonetic in 鳳, this is one of the instances where a sign, as simplified as this 凡 can serve for more than one pictograph or word. It certainly is used in the name of P'an Keng 盤庚 (Shang form ) , and here 凡 represents a pot or basin 盤, but is also applied to the word 搬 'to move, transfer; in fact, the name P'ang Keng may very well be analyzed as the posthumous cyclical name preceded by a sort of epithet: 'Keng who transferred (the capital)'. In the sentences referring to sickness, 搬 is negated by 不 *pu ch'i*..., a sign that the negated alternative is not the desired one, and therefore I understand it as 'to remove, get rid (of the sickness)'. See PP texts 29.2; 334.4-5.

The graph 匚 has been transcribed by Chang in PP as 報. This is obviously because of the series of names of Shang kings: 匚 Pao Ting 報丁, 匚 Pao Ping 報丙, 匚 Pao Yi 報乙. Graphically, it is explained as 'a square box, open on one side', in which the ancestral tablet is set. As such 匚 one would think, should be read 匚 **pjang* and considered equivalent or cognate with 方 'square'; it is unclear on what the *Shih chi* reading *pao* is based. Besides the use in the names of Shang kings, 匚 has been explained and transcribed as 勅 'a name of a sacrifice.' With some hesitation, I have followed Chang's reading *pao* with the sense of 'sacrifice (to requite received favors)'.


The graph 骨 has been identified as a pictograph for 齒 by Yang Shu-ta, but this only for one specific case, leaving the other usages unexplained. Others see in it a pictograph of "a bone with some dots", meaning 'a bone ailment', but no pronunciation has been suggested for this word. As a verb, this pictograph of 'a bone' or a variant of it, corresponding to the modern 骨 was used as loan graph for 禍 'inflict disaster, cause disaster'. These two latter opinions have been followed in my translation of this graph.

P'in 品, as a noun, seems to appear in the sense of 'kind, category (of sacrificial victims)', but it has also been taken by some authors as a verb 'to bring a *p'in* sacrifice', though no description or definition as to what sort of sacrifice this would be, is known to me.

The graph  has been transcribed by different authors as 茅 for 茅, or 包, 屯 for 純, or as 匹, 夕, 氏. Among these opinions, that of Kuo Mo-jō reading it 包, 'to wrap up', or 'wrapped up (scapulae)', and that of Yü Hsing-wu: 屯 for 純 'silk bolt' or 'silk wrapped (object)' seem the most attractive, but by no means fitting in all the contexts, in which this word appears in the texts. See f.i. PP 335.10.


蝠 is used to transcribe a pictograph which is said to stand for 'a bat'; two forms  seem reasonably acceptable, but another, considered a variant, , is quite different and rather suspect. In the text, it has been explained as a loan for 福. But the character 福 'to be felicitous, full of blessings' exists already, known in a number of closely

















similar variants. If 蝠 was used for some specific cases a reason should be found for such usage. (Cfr. Li Hsiao-ting 4588-9).

The graph 既 'to finish, finished, already, completed' has sometimes been interpreted as a loan graph for 榮 'to feed (ancestral spirits), offer as food', but it is not evident from the context which of the two usages should be applied in each occurrence. See PP. 83.10; 207.3.

Some graphs, are easily confused, such as 言, 音 and 舌; 古 and 召, 咸 and 成. In the first case, with Chang Ping-ch'üan, I have followed Yü Hsing-wu's reading of most of the occurrence as 音, used as loan graph for 歆 'to rejoice, to feast (a spirit by offerings)'. In the second case, occurring frequently in the phrase 古王, I have taken it is one of the many variants and simplifications of the graph 𠂔 *hsieh* 'to cooperate, collaborate, be in harmony with' etc. f.i. PP. 77.2. In the passage, 546.9, we find an example of *hsieh* with as direct object the name of a dead ancestor. 咸 (Shang graph 𠂔) and 成 (Shang gr. 𠂔) are easily confused. In all occurrences of PP, Chang Ping-ch'üan has transcribed it 咸, though in certain cases it surely was meant for 成, as when, for the name of Ch'eng T'ang (成湯), this word is mentioned in specific contexts within a list of other names of Shang kings. In other instances, however, the choice between Hsien (also a personal name) or Ch'eng is not easy to make.

The Shang graph 𠂔, sometimes simply 𠂔 is transcribed by Chang Ping-ch'üan as 循 (following Yeh Yü-sen), in the sense of 'to follow, make follow' and specifically 'follow the road' in the sense of 循道 'to take the road for an inspection tour'. From the point of view of graphical shape, 𠂔 is surely the ancestor of the later 言 or 直, and 𠂔 strictly corresponds to 循. The relationship between 言 and 盾 and between 循 and 循 in terms of graphism, remains unclear; as the identification of the Shang graph 𠂔 with 循 cannot strictly be argued, the lack of any bronze form clearly identifiable with the later SW character 循 and its phonetic element 盾 'shield' makes the attempt to read Shang word 循 as 循 devoid of any substantial evidence. Furthermore, from the point of phonology and reconstruction of the sounds of 言 and 盾, the relationship between the two is very doubtful. If based on the meaning and later paronomastic definitions such as 循者巡也 (*Tso chuan*, Chuang 20), 'to follow' and 'to make an inspection tour', a connection is sought with 省 'to inspect', it will remain a tenuous and fortuitous one. Furthermore, the Shang graphs 𠂔 and 𠂔 are clearly distinct from 省: 𠂔. We must therefore seek an explanation of 言 and 循 as two graphs forming a separate set. The straight line above the eye in 𠂔 was nothing more than an etymonic sign for a word 'straight, look straight, make straight'. The SW seal form 直 is probably a simplification of the *ku-wen* 𠂔 for the *Stone Drums* still have 𠂔, where the top part 十 is a later change developed out of the bulging shape that was given to it in some Chou bronze forms, f.i. 𠂔. The *ku-wen* graph is an interesting graphic elaboration, quite in line with the original Shang form 𠂔, by the fact that a word 'straight, look straight, set straight' may be interpreted as 'to examine (something) for straightness' as a carpenter will do with a piece of wood. The expansion of the basic graph 𠂔; 言; 直 to 循 by adding the semantic element indicating a concrete movement in space, for a word that is etymologically the same but applied to a new meaning, can perhaps be paralleled with the word 'visit' derived from 'visere' = 'to go to see' and 'visitare', which in the first place, referred to the official visit of authorities to dispense either praise and rewards or blame and punishment. It is in this sense that I have translated the word in the PP texts, (300.1/22.8; 521.13; 77.2). The development of 循 to 德 is certainly that of a further derivative nature; 'to be found straight, correct', virtuous, etc.' There is no instance so far of any Shang graph for 德 distinct from 循, and the suggestion that in some cases 循 or its variant 𠂔 might be used for 德 needs, of course, solid proof and evidence. It should be pointed out that a great number of sentences show the graph 循 followed by place names: 'to make visitation to x place'. In cases like the

text of *Chia* 2304 庚辰卜王貞朕  it need not be understood as "my virtue is wide spread (旁; 滂?)", for it seems presumptuous for a king to extol his own 'virtue' in oracular enquiries; on the other hand, 'On keng-ch'en day divination, the king tested (the statement); my visitation, (I shall) extend (further)'; would make sense if understood as a divination concerning the appropriateness of further visiting some states or countries; the text *Chia* 89 王徂入 'the king, while making a visitation, will enter (a certain place), fits within the same framework of thought. The precise way in which the sense 'virtuous, virtue, power, etc' was developed in later texts, may be more involved than we have assumed, and would demand a special study; so also would the problem of the later paronomastic definition of 德 by 得 'to obtain, succeed (?)' or the connection between 育 and 植 'set up (straight); plant, implant, etc.'

The Shang graph  (with many variants) is transcribed by Chang Ping-ch'üan in PP as 羊 (so also f.i. Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹 in *Chugoku kodai shigaku no hatten*, 中國古代史學的發展 p. 220). This immediately shows how Chang analyzes this graph. He strictly separates it from 羊 because its usage is different from the latter. Li Hsiao-ting (1315, 1325) puts the group of  - like forms together with 羊 as mere variants, but agrees that this type is used in an exclusive, different way than 羊, viz. as loan graph 祥; there are at least one or two instances where 羊 is used for 祥 (or in Chang's reading 羊). Li however rejects any etymological connection between 'sheep' 羊 and 祥 'auspicious'; being two different words, the early pronunciation was similar enough to allow 羊 to be used as loan graph for the other, which soon assumed more distinctive elements to keep it separate from the first. He does not tell us what the distinctive marks of the graph, identified by him as indicating the meaning 祥 are. On the other hand, Chang agrees with Kuo Mo-jo that the distinctive element in this special type of graph is the 'two eyes'; they are given some importance in view of the size of the 'eyes' compared with the rest of the pictograph (the horns of the sheep). There are, however, some variants where there seems to be little in common with the eyes, such as       . That there are forms representing a sheep is clear from the bronze forms of 羞 viz.  and . Still the derived nature of  from 羊 can be explained if we see in  and other variants, more simplified and reduced, the pictograph of 'head' + 'horns' (of the sheep); it would but take a small addition or change to alter the pictograph into that of 'two eyes' + 'horns'. Kuo Mo-jo interprets the 'two eyes', not as part of a pictograph but as a phonetic element, 𠂔 which appears also in 瞿 and 瞿. Yet he does not explain the word further, but takes it as a particle (or adverb), sometimes used in parallel fashion with 言, e.g. Ts'ui 47; 勿  酒河乎言酒河, the first being for 遽 'hurried, then (?)', the second for 爰 'then'. Chang rejects this explanation of Kuo and thinks 羊 is a pictograph standing for a word which he identifies with 羌, also a particle (or adverb?) as it is used f.i. in the *Ch'u-tz'u* 楚辭 with a possible cognate word 慶 as used in Yang Hsiung's *Kan-ch'üan fu* 揚雄甘泉賦. Chang even quotes a text from *Yi pien* 5983 with two parallel lines; 勿羊自上甲至下乙 and 勿酒羌自上甲, and suggests that 酒羌 is the same as 酒羊 or 羊酒. Aside from the fact that the Shang grammar does not allow such free changes in word order without at the same time changing the meaning of the phrase sometimes quite drastically, the point remains that 羊 is quite clearly a graph derived from 羊, where 羊 still plays a phonetic role, as it does in 羌 and 姜, where 羊 (in Shang script ,  and variants) is simplified to  and a new element either 丩 'man' or 女 'woman' is substituted to the lower part of 羊. The problem whether we shall read it 祥羊 (=羌) or 羊 (=𠂔) can in the pre-

sent situation only be decided on the basis of the meaning in which this word is used in the oracular texts themselves. The majority of occurrences is with the negative 勿 preceding it immediately; there are so far not much more than two cases where it is preceded by 不, one very doubtful case with 弗, and another, equally uncertain, with 其 preceding it. If, with Li, we read 祥, then we need to explain the use of *hsiang* in contrast with the regular term for 'auspicious', 吉 in the expressions 大吉, 弘吉, 小吉 etc., and as a verb in the phrase 不吉. If with Kuo Mo-jo one reads it 瞞, one should first examine if the instead of the use of this word as a sort of particle, this word, related to 瞞 'look left and right' and to 瞞 'staring (frightening look) of the bird of prey', and to 瞞 'frightened, (or frighteningly) lift up the eyes, (瞞然舉目也) does not make a better sense. The reading proposed by Chang seems at the same time the most attractive but also most difficult to substantiate. In the passages from *Ch'u-tz'u* and other texts mentioned above, the word 羌 is taken by the commentaries as a dialect word of Ch'u with a meaning already sufficiently rare and obsolescent to cause the commentators some difficulty in giving an exact definition; probably they felt it meant something near to 'contrary to (all reason or expectation)', 'forcibly, recklessly' (Cfr. Remarks on the Nature, Functions and Meanings of the Grammatical Particle in Literary Chinese, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 96. 1976, p. 547.) If the connection of 瞞 with 羌 (as used in *Ch'u-tz'u*) can be further substantiated, it would also show in what sense the graph 瞞 can be explained; the lower element 'two eyes' substituted as a special semantic modifier, would be designed to stress or suggest a new meaning of 'staring, stubborn, obstinate' or something as the German "böckisch" (obstinate). To certain extent, this interpretation would come near to the reading 瞞, 'staring look (of a bird)'. Therefore I have translated the word as 'at all cost', French 'mordicus, coûte que coûte'. Thus, Kuo's example, *Hou, shang* 24.10 乎言酒河冀二家 三羊十五牛 'Call upon (someone) to feast with food and make wine libation to the Ho river God, burn in holocaust two pigs, three sheep and 15 bovines.' 勿瞞酒河 'Do not all costs bring wine libations to the Ho river God.' *Yi pien* 5983 勿瞞自上甲至下乙 and 勿酒羌自上甲 'Do not at all cost (no matter what circumstances, insisting stubbornly to) starting from Shang Chia reach down till Hsia Yi (in making sacrifices)'; 'Do not, having made wine libations, make a Ch'iang (man) (victim in sacrifices) from Shang Chia (on down to the other ancestors).'

- * The *Shuo wen* graph analyses and definitions reflect a Han time tradition which may sometimes reach back to late Chou times and is influenced by Han time philosophical theories, often derived from *Yi ching* and even later apocryphal works. Therefore the definition of *cheng* 貞: 卜問也 should not be taken literally, for the word *chan* 占, (bone form 𠄎) 'to prognosticate, to interpret the oracle signs on shell or bone', and which certainly implies no 'questioning' or 'asking', is also defined in SW as 視兆問也 'to ask by looking at the cracks.' In the actual usage of the word *cheng* 貞 in the classics, the most frequent and earliest meanings are 'straight, correct, pure, chaste, incorruptible etc.' Karlgren in his *Grammata Serica Recensa* (GSR, no 834) relates 貞 'to verify, read off an oracle' as cognate with 偵 'observe, examine, test, verify' (*Li Chi*); in *Gloss* 1752 on *Shu* chap. 33 我二人共貞 'We two men have both verified (the readings of the oracles)', he explains *cheng* as etymologically related to 禎 and 當 'to verify, determine (what is correct)'. See also Chang's comment in PP, p. 445). The SW analysis of *cheng* reads; 从卜貝以爲贊一曰鼎省聲京房說 'Derived from 卜 and 貝; 貝 '(gift of) cowry' is considered a guarantee (for auspiciousness?).' This interpretation which takes 貝 as a partial semantic element (read *pei*), is given as nothing more than one opinion, for another theory, attributed to Ching Fang is immediately added, which takes 貞 as a short form of 鼎, functioning as phonetic element. This latter idea is certainly correct as it agrees with the graphic forms of 貞 in

the Shang inscriptions. 𠄎 with variants of the type of 𠄎 and showing close phonological similarity **trjng* and **ting*. There may be even be an etymological connection between the two, by which 貞 'to test, verify (a proposed course of action)' is related to 鼎, graphically and concretely a representation of a 'tripod', but as a *word* also used in the sense of 'to be stable, to consider stable, settled' as in the PP inscription 83.2 (cfr. p. 00). In that sense the first part of the SW analysis which explains 貝 as a graphic component as well as phonetic, is basically correct, but mistaken in reading it as 'cowry' (*pei*).

³ 𠄎, a pictograph of "bound strips resting in a box", and meaning 'to record, a record' is used in the inscriptions as a verb 'to put (something) on record'. In view of the great amount of sacrificial victims mentioned in those 'records' it seems as if this is meant as a promise of sacrifices to be offered, rather than a record of really made offerings. According to PP 123.7 such recorded (i.e. promised) sacrifices could be put on record a second time....

⁴ The phrase *to pi* 多妣 'the many ancestresses' follows a pattern found in a considerable number of phrases: 多子 'the many princes', 多臣 'the many servants', 多射 'the many archers' etc., which always refers to a group of people or entities as a whole. This is opposed to another phrase with *yu* 妣, f.i. 妣母 'the mothers there are', i.e. 'all the mothers', the reference here being not to the group as a whole but to 'each' of all the members of the group individually.

⁵ In the expression *ya pi* 亞妣 we have understood *ya* 亞 to be modifying word to *pi* 妣. *Ya* is explained by Chang (PP., p. 25), Shima (*Kenkyū*, p. 461-3), Li Hsiao-ting (p. 4165) as a name of office or rank (comparable to *hou* 侯), place name, personal name, name of a diviner, and finally as a term of a sacrifice, but no detailed examples have been given whereby one can surely determine what meaning applies in which passages. In our text here, *ya pi* is a dead ancestress and therefore no place name or rank seems applicable. Graphically the Shang graph has been compared to a ground floor of a building, or the outline or ground floor of a cross-wise dug out grave pit. In the classics it is also used in the sense of 'secondary'; in later dictionaries it has derivate graphs, such as 桎 'fork, bifurcating, side branch.' It is this sense which is intended in the translation of the PP line. Though this is not one of the usual proposed explanations, yet it finds some support in the recently discovered bronze vessel *Shih Chiang p'an* 史牆盤, where we read 攸圖 (= 蒞) 簋 (= 隣) 明亞祖祖辛 'Diligent and active, clear minded and intelligent was Ancestor Hsin of the (new) collateral branch.' Though this bronze is not among the earliest pieces of Western Chou, it shows strong conservative characteristics from Shang time cultural and linguistic traits.

In the same PP line, the graph 𠄎 representing 'a hand offering a bird (head down) on the altar,' seems to stand for a verb, probably 'to offer, be offered (in some fashion)' though the exact meaning and the reading still remain unclear.

⁶ The regular grammatical pattern of sentences with *yü* 𠄎 'to, expel (evil influences), to exorcize' can be seen in many of the examples listed under II, 4, (1). The direct object of the verb *yü* is the sickness (bone ailment, eye sickness) or the sick person over whom the exorcism is performed. Therefore in this structure 𠄎 X 于 Y, *yü* 𠄎 is a transitive, causative verb which can be translated as 'make X object of the exorcist ritual', and *yü* followed by a noun, indicates the indirect object, indicating to what spirit or ancestor the ritual is directed; normally, in unmarked, unstressed positions it follows the verb, but can also be put at the head of the sentence for emphasis. In this line, PP 52 (14) 王疾祖口口余𠄎家佳十, the phrase 佳十 is unusual; normally we would expect, as is clear from many other examples, to have simply 十 'to be ten, to amount to ten' without *wei*. 佳 *Wei* 'to be' as a verb always implies a noun complement, which here we have translated as 'a set of ten,' 'a ten.' In 祖口口 two graphs are missing, of which, the first can be understood as being a cyclical character, being the posthumous name of the ancestor; the second, I understand to stand for the name of the person who is supposed to perform the exorcist ritual. What is

left 余𠄎 does not follow the normal pattern of sentences with *yü*, we should expect to find 𠄎余 'exorcise me'; here the object of *yü* seems to be 豕 'pig,' and this 𠄎 is taken as 'use as (victim) in the exorcist ritual a pig,' while *yü* 余 is taken as an indirect 'for me,' and is put before the verb. This is the only clear exception that has been found in the PP texts concerning the sentence patterns with *yü* 'to exorcize,' and maybe another solution, somewhat simpler, could be proposed, by taking 余𠄎 as a noun phrase 'my exorcism' in the sense that 余𠄎 means 'the pigs (of =) used in the exorcism performed over me.' In this solution however, one can raise the question why we do not have 朕𠄎 instead of 余𠄎 and furthermore, the second missing graph 𠄎 not only remains unfilled and intranslated, but left in a sentence where it does no longer find place when translated.

⁷ It has been suggested by Chang Ping-ch'üan (BIHP 46.3: 374-390, The Numerals in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions) that *wei* 隹 has the same function as *yu* 又 'and,' but no other example of such use has been given, nor has it been shown how *wei* 'to be' could have developed in meaning to have such a function. The meaning of *wei* 'to be' as a particle introducing a clause with 'or' has been pointed out by Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾, 雙劍謄殷契駢枝 1940, under item 屯, p. 4a)

⁸ The repeated use of *yu*...*yu*... in the sense of 'to sacrifice' seems suspect, and the same would be true if we would take *both* uses of *yu* to mean 'and.' Perhaps, if only the second *yu* were taken to mean 'and' the whole sentence could then be understood as: 'when making...., having sacrificed (by chopping up) penned sheep, one will (also) sacrifice (in ordinary fashion) penned and piglets.'

⁹ In this translation the last sentence is understood, not as part of the enquiry statement, but as a *post factum* report of what in the end was done. The PP transcription puts a comma after the first *ju* 入 and does not mark *li* 利 as a proper noun: 'As to the king, do not, having made an *yi*-sacrifice (traditionally explained as a 'general, blanket sacrifice to all spirits and deities), enter; to (or; at?) x enter.' Chang Ping-ch'üan offers no comment as to what the later part of this line might mean. Kaizuka (*Jim bun* 1094) has one example of *Li* as a personal name: 利示十 𠄎 爭 'Li sacralized (consecrated) the silk-wrapped (tortoise shells?). Tseng (signature).' Li Hsiao-ting (p. 1515) surveys the various opinions on the graph *li*, and supports the interpretation that it is a pictograph of the plough-share (covered with dirt), but as to the meaning and usage of the word, mentions that it in certain cases it is used to mean 'profitable, advantageous' but certainly not in all instances. On the basis of the *Jim bun* occurrence, we might propose that *Li* could also be a place name: 'As to the king, do not... enter, but at *Li* do enter.' The meaning of *yi* as a term for 'sacrifice' does not in all contexts seem to fit well. But used as loan word for 裔 'far away, to go far away' it would give a statement of enquiry as follows: 'As to the king, do not, going far way enter (to any places), but at *Li* do enter.'

¹⁰ This use of *chih* 至 in 413.9 and other examples in this paragraph raises the question as to how *chih* 至 then differs from *chih* 之, since in 227.1, the two occur within the same line. Here I must refer to the examples given under IV, 3, where *chih* 之 'to go' is used when only one end point in the motion is considered, while in cases of *chih* 至 'to reach' the begin point in time is mentioned as well as the end point of the motion. In the case of 413.9 however, the begin point is not clearly or explicitly implied, unless we suppose a context where another sacrifice performed earlier is mentioned: 'we truly (will make it reach to =) continue to make sacrifice...'

¹¹ This inscription is particularly difficult and the translation far from certain or adequate. The difficulty lies in the line *pu huei jo liao wang*; although it is very unusual and seems to make no sense, we might supply a word on the basis of the preceding line to make a phrase *wang shih* 王家. Furthermore, as will be seen again, (*infra*, p. 00), *pu huei* is a very infrequently occurring phrase as against the great frequency of sentences with simply *huei* or a negated form *wu huei*, so that (1) either one should put a comma after *pu*: 'if not, (then)...' and take *huei* has a verb in the next clause, or (2) read *pu huei* as 'if one does not make it, i.e. assume that...'

- ¹² There is a clear graphic distinction between 𪚩 and 酒, and therefore it is not sure whether the two can be considered as mere variants of the same word, most frequently written 𪚩, which in the bone texts is almost always used as a verb 'to make wine libations;' it is usually transcribed and identified with the SW graph 酒 'wine.' In SW 酒 and 𪚩 are treated as cognate words, and 𪚩 is at the same time phonetic and etymon in 酒. It is not quite sure that the bone graph 𪚩 should be read (pronounced) as being the same word as SW 酒. To make things more complicated the bone texts have a graph 𪚩, written 𪚩 with a variant 𪚩, Kaizuka puts this as a separate graph from 𪚩, for it is a name of a river with a reading probably similar in pronunciation to 𪚩, but not further specifiable (just as in other river names 洹, 洹, etc. where the right hand elements function as phonetic elements); cfr. *Jimbun* 1932 在酒孟田受禾 '(From) the fields of Yü which are at the X-river, (one) shall receive a (good) harvest.'
- ¹³ *Tsai* 在 'to be located in, to be found in' could be used in a causative role 'make stay in.' The text 253.2 不在若下上 has a meaning, probably further developed from 'to be found in' to that of 'have nothing to do with; have no relation with.'
- ¹⁴ 'The king hearing things' should be understood as the king having 'ringing sounds' in the ears, not as of 'hearing outside sound or voices.' The text 201.11 is particularly difficult and the translation offered is nothing but a mere guess. Wang Tzu-hsin 王字信 (*Chung-kuo-shih yen-chiu* 中國史研究 no. 1, 1980, p. 104) suggests that to *yu hu* 于虎 should be supplied with a word like *hai* 害 (at least mentally?) and understands it as; 'Our horses will not have harm from tigers.' Though this obviously is a very sensible meaning, it still does not sound right, when one translates the full text: 'Our horses having tigers, it will be a disaster; it will not be a disaster.' As a compromise: 'As to our horses, though there be tigers (in the area), it will not (be =) amount to a disaster.'

ON THE FUNCTIONS AND MEANINGS OF THE GRAPH 其 CHYI IN THE TZUOOJUANN

Göran Malmqvist

Stockholm University, Sweden

The aim of this paper is to investigate the functions and meanings of the graph 其 *chy*i in the *Tzuojuann*.

The corpus of the investigation comprises all relevant occurrences of *chy*i in the text. The *Combined Concordances to Ch'un Ch'iu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang and Tso-chuan* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 11) lists 2570 occurrences of *chy*i in the *Tzuojuann*. To this figure must be added one occurrence (Shiang 10.1: 其將不免乎 *Chyi jiang buh mean hwu?*) which the index mistakenly attributes to the *Chuenchiou Canon*.

59 occurrences of *chy*i are irrelevant for the present investigation. These irrelevant occurrences comprise 58 instances of *chy*i in quotations from identified and unidentifiable sources, which are listed in Appendix A, together with one occurrence of *chy*i which apparently forms part of a place name (Ding 10.3: 公會齊侯于祝其 Gong huey Chyi hour yu Juh-chyi, "The duke (of Luu) had a meeting with the marquis of Chyi at Juh-chyi."). The corpus of this investigation therefore comprises a total of 2512 occurrences of *chy*i.

In an investigation of this kind which accounts for all occurrences of a given form the investigator is bound to end up with a fairly large handful of questionable passages. These passages may include instances of genuine ambiguity; they may result from a faulty transmission of the text, and they may constitute enigmata which have puzzled even early commentators. A number of moot passages have been gathered in Appendix B. Four instances of apparently ambiguous *chy*i are listed in Appendix C. Occurrences of *chy*i listed in Appendices B and C are included in the statistical tabulations which will be given below.

It is generally assumed that there is a clear-cut distinction between two major functional categories of *chy*i—*pronominal* and *non-pronominal* ("modal") *chy*i. The first western scholar to make a clear distinction between pronominal and modal *chy*i was Georg von der Gabelentz, in his monumental *Chinesische Grammatik mit Ausschluss des niederen Stiles und der heutigen Umgangssprache* (Leipzig 1881, pages 233-36). Recently John S. Cikoski has published an important and thought-provoking paper on this topic ("The existence and function of the so-called modal *chy*i in Classical Chinese—Three Essays on Classical Chinese Grammar II", in *Com-*

putational Analyses of Asian & African Languages 9 (1978), 77-129).

Table A gives the total number of occurrences of *chyí* in its pronominal and non-pronominal functions. Table B lists the various functions of pronominal *chyí*.

The large category of attributive *chyí* (1596 instances) comprises all instances of *Chyi N*, and, in addition, special idioms, such as *chyí tuo* 其他 "another; others", *chyi-yu* 其餘 "the rest", *chyí tsyh* 其次 "the next (category)", *chyí how* 其後 "thereafter", *chyí shang* 其上 "above it", *chyí shiah* 其下 "below it", *chyí nan* 其南 "its southern area; to the south thereof"; time expressions, such as *chyí shiah* 其夏 "in the summer of that year"; *chyí wuu yueh* 其五月 "in the fifth month of that year"; *chyí ming nian* 其明年 "in the following year"; *chyí tuo yueh* 其他月 "in another month"; partitive expressions, such as *chyí chuu jee* 其處者, "those of them who remained"; *chyí bwu yuh jann jee* 其不欲戰者, "those of them who did not wish to fight"; *Chern shiann chyí fooo yii cherng chyí kee* 臣獻其否以成其可 "The minister presents that part (of the proposal) which is not correct in order fully to bring out that part which is workable" (Jau 20. fuh 6), and *shee chyí bann* 舍其半, "he left half of it".

In the following I shall give a few examples of the various functions of included predications, in which *chyí* serves as the subject.

Included predications introduced by various markers of clause subordination:

若 *Ruoh*, "if": Shi 28.5: *Ruoh chyí buh hwan, jiun tuey chern fann.*

若其不還君退臣犯

"If they do not withdraw, the ruler will retire and (his) subjects will exert pressure on him."

雖 *Suei*, "even if": *Suei chyí her yee, you shiang ji eh yee.* 雖其和也猶相積惡也

"Even if they are reconciled, they are still gathering evil against one another."

及 *Jyi*, "when": *Cherng 12. fuh: Jyi chyí luann yee, juhoun tarn maw.*

及其亂也諸侯貪冒

"When there is disorder, the feudal lords are greedy and adventurous."

與 *Yeu*, "than": *Miin 2.fuh2: Yeu chyí wei shen, yii suh tzuey yee.*

與其危身以速罪也

"(This would be better) than endangering one's person, thereby accelerating (the imputation of one's) guilt."

寧 *Ning*, "rather": *Shiang 26.fuh6: Yeu chyí shy shann, ning chyí lih yng.*

與其失善寧其利淫

"It is better by mistake to reward a licentious person, than to make a good person lose his just reward."

Examples of *chyí* occurring in unmarked subordinated clauses:

Juang 22.3: Chyi how wang yee, Cherng tzyy der jenq. 其後亡也成子得政

"When it eventually perished, the officer or Cherng gained control of the government."

Examples of *chyí* in included predications serving as the subject or the topic

of a predication:

Shiang 31.fuh3: Ruoh jy her chyí shyh tsyr yee? 若之何其釋辭也

"What would it be like if (we) were to dispense with speeches?"

The function of *chyí* in this and similar passages is made perfectly clear by the following example:

Ai 11.fuh2: Ruoh jy her tzyy jy buh yan yee? 若之何子之不言也

"How is it that you do not speak up?"

Jau. 12.9: Chii chyí ay diing? 豈其愛鼎

"How could he possibly grudge you (the use of) the tripods?"

We note the close parallelism between *Ruoh jy her chyí V yee* and *Chii chyí V*. Evidence of the predicative function of *chii* is also provided by the following example:

Dinq 8.10: Dah fu iue: Shyh Wei jy huoh, chii jiun jy guoh yee?

大夫曰是衛之禍豈君之過也

"The great officers said: 'This is the misfortune of Wei, how could it possibly be the case that you have committed a fault, my lord?'"

Yiin 11.fuh3: Chyi sanq shy yee bwu yih yi hwu? 其喪師也不亦宜乎

"Was it not proper that he should lose his army?"

Shiuan 2.1: Yi chyí wei chyn yee. 宜其爲禽也

"It was proper that he was taken prisoner."

There are only two instances of included predications containing *chyí* serving as predicates:

Jau 31.6: Shuu eh wu lii chyí shann jyh yee. 數惡無禮其善志也

"To single out evil and lack of propriety constitutes the excellence of the composition (of the *Chuen-chiou*)."

Hwan 6.fuh1: Chun jy lei chyí yow woo yee. 楚之羸其誘我也

"The (apparent) weakness of Chun was an attempt to deceive us."

The object function of included predications is exceedingly common (154 instances):

Hwan 6. fuh1: Chern buh jy chyí kee yee. 臣不知其可也

"I do not know that this will do."

Yiin 9. fuh1: Jiuh chyí chin yih woo yee. 懼其侵軼我也

"(We) fear lest they will invade us and take us with a rush."

Examples of included predications serving as objects of prepositions:

Yiin 11.4: Gong iue: Wey chyí shaw guh yee. 公曰爲其少故也

"The duke said: 'It is on account of the fact that he is (so) young (that I have not killed him earlier).'"

Hwan 6. fuh2: Jenq Hu yii chyí yeou gong yee nuh. 鄭忽以其有功也怒

"Hu of Jenq was angered on account of the fact that he gained merit."

Jau 9. fuh1: Wen, Wu, Cherng, Kang jy jiann muu dih yii fan pyng Jou yih

chyí fey chwey shyh wey. 文武成康之建母弟以藩屏周亦其廢隊 (= 墜) 是爲

"When Wen, Wu, Chong and Kang granted fiefs to their younger brothers, to serve as a fence for Jou, it was also for the sake of (guarding against) their (own) downfall."

Jau 20. 3: Bih jyí iu chyí far. 必及於其罰

"It is bound to lead to his punishment."

In three instances included predications containing *chyí* serve as attributes in nominal phrases:

Juang 32. fuh: chyí jyh jy ryh 其至之日

"On the day of his arrival"

Wen 1. 10: Chyi wei tay tzyy jy shyh 其爲太子之室

"The house where he had lived as the eldest son"

Jau 17.5: Bwu guoh chyí shiann jy yueh 不過其見之月

"(It will happen) within the month in which it (sc. the fire) was seen."

The following passages exemplify the use of *chyí* in conjunction with *suoo*:

Shi 28. 5: Tsaur ren Shiong jiuh, wei chyí suoo der jee guan erl chu jy.

曹人兇懼爲其所得者棺而出之

"The people of Tsaur were frightened, made coffins for (the bodies of) those which they had caught and sent them out of the city."

Shiang 27. 5: Ruoh bwu shinn, shyh chih chyí suoo yii fwu juhóur yee.

若不信是棄其所以服諸侯也

"If there be no faith, then (we) throw away that by which we effect the submission of the feudal lords."

Shi 7.1: Wu jy chyí suoo you lai yii. 吾知其所由來矣

"I already know by what channels it has been brought about."

In a number of instances *chyí* stands for *chyí suoo*:

Jau 20. fuh4: Shu liueh chyí jiuh. 輸掠其聚

"(They) transport away and rob what they have collected."

Certain distributional features of *non-pronominal chyí* immediately strike the investigator: *Non-pronominal chyí obtains exclusively in main clauses of representations of direct speech.* A common denominator of non-pronominal *chyí* is the expression of the speaker's assessment of the potential involved in the predication: rather than reporting an event as reality, clauses containing non-pronominal *chyí* are concerned with the relation of that event to reality, in terms of its potential for realization. *Chyi* is a marker of modality.

In English, modality can be expressed in a great variety of lexical ways. It may be expressed by nouns such as *chance*, *hope*, *intention* ("I hope to go to China next year."; "There is no chance that I go this year."); by adjectives such as *possible*, *likely*, *necessary* ("It is possible that I go to China next year."); by adverbs ("Perhaps I go to China next year."); by main verbs ("I intend to go to China next

year.”), and by the modal verbs *shall, should, will, would, can, could, may, might, must* and *ought*.

For the following discussion of English modality I have benefitted greatly from Lars Hermerén's study *On Modality in English. A Study of the Semantics of the Modals*. *Lund Studies in English* 53, edited by Claes Schaar and Jan Svartvik, Lund 1978.

The English modals *must, may, will* and *can* often appear in sentences which are ambiguous, in that they may express both *necessity* and *certainty* (*must*), both *permission* and *possibility* (*may*), both *volition* and *future* (*will*), and both *ability* and *possibility* (*can*). It is therefore possible to set up two semantic classes of the English modals:

A	B
Necessity	Certainty
Permission	Possibility
Volition	Future
Ability	Possibility

The ambiguity resulting from the systematic correlation of exponents of 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), 126-34) 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." (*op. cit.*, page 133).

Interpretants appear in many guises, as may be shown by the following examples:

- "You should know this." (Necessity and possibility)
- "You should know this by now." (Only possibility)
- "He may come tomorrow." (Permission and possibility)
- "He may have come yesterday." (Only possibility)
- "You may use the car." (Permission)
- "He may use the car." (Permission and possibility)
- "He must read this." (Necessity and certainty)
- "He must be reading this." (Certainty)

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*. Using such adverbs as testers it is possible to arrange the English modals along a scale ranging from uncertainty to certainty: *might—may—could—can—should—ought to—would—will—must*.

A perusal of the passages in our corpus which contain non-pronominal *chyí* leaves the impression that *chyí* serves as a modal of both class A and class B. One

aim of this paper is to identify the interpretants which help to differentiate between the two meanings.

The investigator is immediately struck by the frequent use of the sentence suffix 乎 *hwu* in sentences containing non-pronominal *chyi*. From the immediate context of some such passages it is evident that the sentence suffix *hwu* at least sometimes expresses a genuine question: Jau 4 fuh 1: 王曰諸侯其來乎對曰必來. Wang iue: 'Juhour *chyi* lai *hwu*?'. Duey iue: 'Bih lai.' "The king asked: 'Are the lords likely to come?'. (Tzyy-chaan) replied: '(They) are bound to come'." In the majority of instances, however, the sentence suffix *hwu* conveys a rhetorical suggestion of likelihood or unlikelihood.

Unlike English, in which language interrogative structures often serve as interpretants for modalities of class A (Hermerén, *op. cit.*, page 93) Chinese *chyi*-sentences containing a question word invariably express a modality of class B (possibility—certainty).

English modalities of class B are excluded from conditional clauses. This restriction does not apply to English modals of class A ("If John must take drugs, I will give him the money for them." Hermerén, *op. cit.*, page 93). As already mentioned modal *chyi* operates solely within main clauses. In a great majority of instances main clauses in which *chyi* expresses possibility and certainty are preceded by marked or unmarked subordinated clauses.

In English, negation may be linked to both the expression of modality and to the main verb of the sentence. In our corpus we find only three instances of the negative preceding *chyi*:

Shi 15.14: 秦不其然 Chyn buh *chyi* ran. "Chyn will surely not act thus."

Shiuan 4 fuh: 鬼猶求食若敖氏之鬼不其餒而

Goei you chyoh syh, Ruoh-aur shyh jy goei buh *chyi* neei erl.

"If even ghosts have to seek food, the ghosts of the Ruoh-aur clan will surely have to starve."

Shiang 26. fuh 4: 秦不其然 Chyn buh *chyi* ran. "Chyn will surely not act thus." (One version has *chyi buh* for *buh chyi*).

The 39 occurrences of the structure *chyi negative V* (or *chyi negative N*) fall into two clearly differentiated categories. In five of these occurrences *chyi* clearly expresses the modality necessity. Common to these five sentences are that they lack sentence suffixes and that the addressee (grammatical second person) serves as the surface subject:

Yiin 3.5: 吾子其無廢先君之功

Wu tzyy *chyi* wu fey shian jiun jy gong. "(You), my (good) Sir, must not nullify the merit of the late lord."

Shi 7.4: 君其勿許 Jiun *chyi* wuh sheu. "You must not grant this, my lord."

Shi 22.3: 君其無謂邾小 Jiun *chyi* wu wey Ju sheau.

"You must not say that (the state of) Ju is small, my lord."

Jau 1.2: 吾子其不可以不戒 Wu tzyy chyí buh kee yii buw jieh. "You must not neglect to take precaution, my lord."

Jau 7.2: 君其不行 Jiun chyí buh shyng. "You must not leave, my lord."

Of the remaining 34 occurrences of *Chyi negative V* all but one contain a sentence suffix (there are 27 instances of *hwu* and 5 instances of 矣 *yí*). In these sentences, in which *chyí* clearly expresses possibility or certainty, we find only two instances of a second person subject.

Jau 10.3: 周公其不饗魯祭乎 Jou gong chyí buh sheang Luu jih hwu? "Is (the spirit of) the duke of Jou likely to refuse to accept the sacrifices of Luu?"

Miin 1. fuh: 天若祚天子, 其無晉乎 Tian ruoh tzuoh tay tzyy, chyí wu Jinn hwu? "If Heaven were to bestow blessing on (our) eldest prince, is it likely that there be no Jinn for him?"

An investigation of the sentence patterns *N chyí V jy*, *N 其 V 之 N chyí V O*, *N chyí V* and *Chyi V* may help to ascertain what role, if any, the grammatical person of the subject plays as an interpretant.

There are altogether 39 occurrences of the structure *N chyí V jy*. In these sentences, which all have second person subjects, *chyí* clearly expresses necessity.

Shi 8. fuh 2: 君其立之 Jiun chyí lih jy. "You must set him up, my lord."

There are altogether 14 occurrences of the sentence structure *N chyí V O*. In ten of these sentences *chyí* clearly expresses necessity. Nine of these sentences have second person subjects and one sentence has a first person subject.

Yiin 6. fuh 2: 君其許鄭 Jiun chyí sheu Jenq. "You must grant the request of Jenq, my lord."

Jau 13.3 吾其從王 Wu chyí tsorng wang. "I am obliged to follow the king."

In the remaining four instances of *N chyí V O*, in which *chyí* expresses possibility or certainty, the subject is invariably the grammatical third person.

Shiang 25. 2: 嬰曰崔慶其追我 Ing iue: Tsuei Ching chyí juei woo. "Ing said: 'Tsuei and Ching are likely to pursue us.'"

The four instances of the structure *N chyí* ("must") *V yan* all have second person subjects.

Shi 23. fuh 2: 君其禮焉 Jiun chyí lih yan. "You must treat him courteously, my lord."

Jau 4. 2: 君其選焉 Jiun chyí sheuan yan. "You must chose between them, my lord."

There are altogether 15 instances of the structure *N chyí V*. Three of these, in which *chyí* expresses necessity, contain second person subjects.

Jau 11. fuh 4: 君其少戒 Jiun chyí shao jieh. "You must take some precautions, my lord."

The remaining 12 instances of *N chyi V*, in which *chyí* expresses possibility or certainty, all possess third person subjects. It is instructive to compare the following sentences:

Shiang 7. 7: 吾子其少安 Wu tzyy chyi shao an. "You must relax a little, my lord."

Shiang 25. 10: 是君也死疆其少安 Shyh jiun yee syy, jiang chyi shao an. "Once this ruler is dead, (our) borders are likely to be somewhat more peaceful."

There are altogether 10 occurrences of the structure *Chyi V*. Seven of these sentences, in which *chyí* expresses necessity, have first or second person subjects.

Jau 28.2: 其造於竟 Chyi tsaw iu jinq. "You must proceed to the border."

The remaining three instances of this structure are given below:

Cherng 2. fuh 1: 其信 Chyi shinn. "It is likely to be true."

Jau 1. 2: 其敢愛豐氏之祧 Chyi gaan ay Feng shyh jy tiau? "Would (I) dare to grudge (you the use of) the temple of the remote ancestors of the Feng family?"

Ai 15. fuh 3: 曰柴也其來由也死矣 Iue: Chair yee chyi lai, You yee syy yii "(The Master) said: 'Chair is likely to get here, but You is doomed to die.'"

There are 22 occurrences of *chyí V* preceded by a subordinated clause, in which *chyí* expresses possibility or certainty. There is no single instance of second person subjects in these sentences.

Juang 22. 3: 不在此其在異國 Bwu tzay tsyy chyi tzay yih gwo. "If this does not apply to this (state), it is likely to apply to another state."

There are two sentences of the same structure, in which *chyí* expresses necessity, both of which have second person subjects.

Ding 8. 10: 寡人辱社稷其改卜嗣 Goaren ruh sheh jih, chyi gae buh syh. "Since I have disgraced (my) altars, you must consult the oracle about appointing someone in my place."

Cherng 17. 13: 大夫無辱其復職位 Dah fu wu ruh, chyi fuh jyr wey. "Since no disgrace attaches to (you), great officers, you must resume (your) offices and positions."

It is quite evident from this survey that the grammatical person of the subject often serves as interpretant in sentences containing modal *chyí*.

Sentences in which *chyí* expresses possibility and certainty sometimes contain the preverbs 將 *jiang*, "to be about to" (15 instances) and 必 *bih*, "to be bound to" (8 instances). It should be noted that *bih* is never used in conjunction with *chyí* to express the modality necessity.

Shiang 14. 4: 衛君其必歸乎 Wei jiun chyi bih guei hwu? "Is the lord of Wei bound to return?"

Ai 17. fuh 4: 天若亡之其必令尹之子是與 Tian ruoh wang jy chyi bih lingyiin jy tzyy shyh yeu. "If Heaven wishes to destroy it (sc. the state of Chuu) the

assignment is bound to be given to the son of the chief minister."

Cherng 2. fuh 1: 甚愛此子其必因鄭而歸王子與襄老之尸以求之 Shenn ay tsyy tzyy, chyih in Jenq erl guei wang tzyy yeu Shiang Lao jy shy yih chyou jy. "Since he greatly loves this son he is bound, through the mediation of Jenq, to return the king's son and the body of Shiang Lao in order to reclaim him."

Cherng 14. 6: 是夫也將不唯衛國是敗其必始於未亡人 Shyh fu yee jiang buh wei Wei gwo shyh bay, chyih in shyh iu wey wang ren. "Since this fellow is about to destroy not only the state of Wei, he is bound to start with (me) who is still alive."

Shiang 26. fuh 3: 子產其將知政矣 Tzyy-chaan chyih jiang jy jenq yih. "It is likely that Tzyy-chaan will yet administer the government."

Juang 21. 2: 鄭伯效尤其亦將有咎 Jenq bor shiaw you, chyih yih jiang yeou jiow. "Since the earl of Jenq is following a bad example it is also likely that he will be struck by a disaster."

J. S. Cikoski's paper on *chyih* to which I have referred above forms part of his "Three essays on Classical Chinese Grammar", in *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages* 1978, vol. 8: 17-152; vol. 9: 57-208. Two of these papers have been critically examined in an illuminating paper by Christoph Harbsmeier. "Current issues in Classical Grammar. Some critical Hpecsions on J. S. Cikoski: *Three Essays on Classical Chinese Grammar*." *Acta Orientalia* (Hatt), 41 (1980), 126-147. I shall here confine myself to a few remarks on Cikoski's paper on *chyih*.

In discussing the distinction between pronominal and non-pronominal *chyih* Cikoski makes use of the *Tzuojuann* example Shi 9: *Chyih jih jiun jy ling yee; buw jih tzer yih syh jih jy*. 其濟君之靈也，不濟則以死繼之。 "If it succeeds, it will be due to Your Lordship's perspicacity; if it does not succeed, I will follow it up with death." (Op. cit. page 94)

Cikoski notes that Jou Fagau (*A Historical Grammar of Ancient Chinese*, Part I: Syntax, page 216) treats this *chyih* as modal, and continues: "It seems preferable to regard 其濟 as a peripheralized nucleus" (included predication). My investigation clearly shows that modal *chyih* always obtains in main clauses of direct speech. No potential ambiguity therefore obtains in this *Tzuojuann* passage. (It is interesting to note that the pattern 其 V, ...; 不 V, 則... is very frequent in the *Tzuojuann*.)

The question whether pronominal and non-pronominal *chyih* are semantically connected needs to be investigated. Cikoski suggests that they constitute distinct entities in Classical Chinese (Op. cit., p. 114). He continues: "But when we look into the question whether they may be historically related or not, we find that in pre-Classical Chinese they show every sign of having been quite as distinct as they are in Classical Chinese."

Cikoski notes that "in the *Tzuo Juann* 22.5% of the occurrences of the graph represent the modal rather than the pronoun... (563 modal, 1923 pronoun and 4 too

close to call, if someone cares to check my count.)” Having cared to check I found Cikoski’s statistics somewhat wide of the mark. The correct figures are 556 modal, 1952 pronoun and 4 too close to call.

Attempting to fit *chyī* into a larger semantic framework Cikoski tentatively sets up two partly correlated word-families, each of which “can be interpreted as consisting of a basic morpheme plus members of an inventory of prefixes.” (p. 125) These two word-families Cikoski terms Assertives and Categorizers:

diwur 唯 “be only”	d’ook 獨 “in this case only”
miwur 微 “be non-existent”	mauk 莫 “in no case”
piwur 非 “be other than”	—
siwur 雖 “although it be”	—
—	ziak 亦 “in this case surely”
(dyyiwur 誰 “who?, whom?”)	dyyiuk 孰 “in which case?”
—	kear 皆 “in all cases”
k’iur 豈 “unlikely to be”	—
—	g’wuk 或 “in some case or cases”

All Assertives “contain some element of the meaning ‘to be’, ‘some of them being remnants of a family of copular verbs in pre-Classical Chinese.” (page 124). The Categorizers which according to Cikoski are restricted to pre-nuclear position “all contain some element of the meaning of referring the listener to a reference set of instances and in some way partitioning that set so as to make the statement true only of the subset it partitions.” (page 125).

Now Cikoski suggests that both the meaning and the function of *chyī* make it fit excellently into the empty slot at the bottom of the list of Assertives. The final velar of *chyī* < g’jəg does worry Cikoski—and so it should. I quote: “I would love to have evidence that the pronoun was pronounced g’iug and the modal pronounced g’iur — but I can find none on the Chinese side. Perhaps some exist on the Tibeto-Burman side; if so, I would be delighted to hear of it.” (page 126).

Cikoski concludes: “Modal g’iug is thus an assertive, and its meaning is some modification of the meaning ‘to be’. The contexts in which it occurs support rather well the suggestion that its initial may be semantically related to the initial of g’wuk 或. I propose, therefore, the meaning ‘it may be’, with the further suggestion of either ‘it is likely’ or ‘it unlikely’ coming from its context in each individual occurrence.” (page 127).

I do not find Cikoski’s arguments for the establishment of the two categories of Assertives and Categorizers convincing. *Chyi* shares certain privileges of occurrence with certain connectives (*tzer* 則) and with copulae (*fei* 非). It is therefore not altogether impossible to conceive of *chyī* as a kind of “modal copula”. I prefer to regard *chyī* as a mere marker of modality, the semantic value of which is defined by one or more of a variety of interpretants.

TABLE A: all occurrences of <i>chyí</i> , exclusive of quotes	Yiin	Hwan	Juang	Min	Shi	Wen	Sdiuan	Cherng	Shiang	Jau	Dinq	Ai	
Pronominal <i>chyí</i>	34	54	49	16	170	103	106	148	453	576	97	146	1952
Non-pronominal <i>chyí</i>	16	14	17	11	68	10	18	53	127	173	16	33	556
Ambiguous instance					2			1		1			4
Total	50	68	66	27	240	113	124	202	580	750	113	179	2512
TABLE B: all occurrences of pronominal <i>chyí</i>													
With attributive function	26	43	38	13	133	86	89	126	372	464	82	124	1596
In included predications:													
in clauses introduced by													
若 <i>ruoh</i> , "if"	1				2			1		4	1	1	9
雖 <i>suei</i> , "even if"									1	2			3
及 <i>jyi</i> , "when"		1	1		1			1	5	4		1	14
比 <i>bih</i> , "when"												1	1
與 <i>yeu</i> , "(rather) than"				2			1		3	1	3		10
寧 <i>ning</i> , "rather"									1				1
in unmarked sub. clauses			2		5	2	4	4	7	20	1	2	48
as subject:													
in <i>Ruoh jy her chyí V yee</i>								1	2		1		4
in <i>Chii chyí V</i>					1			1	2	5			9
elsewhere	1	1	2		2		1	1	9	20		4	41
as predicate		1								1			2
as object of a verb	5	6	3	1	18	10	9	10	37	40	7	8	154

TABLE B (continued)	Yiin	Hwan	Juang	Miin	Shi	Wen	Shiuan	Cherng	Shiang	Jau	Ding	Ai	
	1	1	2 1		5 2	4 1	1 1	3	6 5 3	6 4 5	2		31 3 13 12 1952
as object of a preposition													
As attribute in nom. phrase													
In conjunction with 所 <i>suoo</i>													
Chyi = 其所 <i>chyi suoo</i>													
Total	34	54	49	16	169	103	106	148	453	577	97	146	
TABLEC: <i>chyi</i> expressing possibility or certainty in sentences containing question words:													
<i>Ruoh... chyi sheir V?</i>	1					1			1	1			3
<i>Suei... chyi sheir V?</i>					2			4	5	7			1
..., <i>chyi sheir V?</i>													18
<i>Chyi sheir V hwn?</i>										1			1
<i>N chyi sheir V?</i>			1	1				1	1	1			5
..., <i>chyi shwu V?</i>								1					1
<i>Ruoh... chyi ruoh jy her?</i>					2				1				1
..., <i>chyi ruoh jy her?</i>		1							2	1	1		7
<i>Ruoh... N chyi ruoh jy her?</i>			1										1
..., <i>N chyi ruoh jy her?</i>										1			1
<i>Ruoh... chyi ruoh N her?</i>					1								1
<i>Suei... chyi ruoh N her?</i>									1				1
..., <i>chyi ruoh N her?</i>					2			1		1			4

Yiin	Hwan	Juang	Min	Shi	Wen	Shiuan	Cherng	Shiang	Jau	Dinq	Ai
..., chyi her N yee?									1		1
..., chyi her N ru jy?		1						1			2
..., chyi her N V?								1			1
..., chyi yow her V yan?	1										1
..., chyi her N bu V?									1		1
..., chyi her bu V?						1		1			2
..., chyi her shyr fei ming?									1		1
Ruoh..., chyi her V iu N?									1		1
Suei..., chyi her V?									1		1
Tzong..., chyi yow shi V?		1							1		1
Chyi jii hwu?									1		1
Ruoh..., chyi ian V?									1		1
..., chyi ian V?								1			1
..., chyi yong V hwu?								1			1
..., chyi yong V?								1	1		1
N chyi wey N her?	1			1							2
N chyi her V?				1			1	1	2		5
N chyi her V?									1		1
N chyi yong kee V hwu?				1					1		2
..., N chyi ian V?											1
N chyi ian V?								1			1
Ruoh..., sheir chyi V?									1		1

Yiin	Hwan	Juang	Miin	Shi	Wen	Shiuan	Cherng	Shiang	Jau	Dinq	Ai	
TABLE C (continued)												
<i>Ruoh...</i> , <i>N her yii V?</i>											1	1
... <i>chyi her yii V hwn?</i>				2			1	1				2
... <i>chyi her yii V?</i>	1							1	1		1	6
... <i>chyi wey N her?</i>							1					1
<i>Ruoh...</i> , <i>chyi her N jy wei?</i>							1					1
<i>Ruoh...</i> , <i>chyi her N jy yeou?</i>									1			1
<i>Suei...</i> , <i>chyi her N jy yeou?</i>	1			2					4		1	7
... <i>chyi her N jy yeou?</i>												
... <i>chyi her N jy V?</i>		1						1				2
Total	2	4	5	1	14	1	11	21	32	1	4	97
TABLE D: <i>chyi</i> expressing possibility or certainty in conjunction with negatives												
<i>N bu chyi V</i>												
... <i>N chyi bu V hwn?</i>				1		1		1				3
<i>N chyi bu V hwn?</i>				1	1		1	2	3	1	1	9
<i>N chyi buh kee bu V hwn?</i>							1	1				2
<i>N chyi ruu N hwn?</i>				1					2			3
<i>Ruoh...</i> , <i>chyi bu V hwn?</i>	1											1
<i>Ruoh...</i> , <i>chyi bu V yii.</i>							1					1
... <i>chyi bu V hwn?</i>					1		1					2
... <i>chyi bu V yii.</i>				1								1

TABLE D (continued)

	Yiin	Hwan	Juang	Min	Shi	Wen	Shiuan	Cherng	Shiang	Jau	Ding	Ai	
<i>Ruoh...</i> , <i>chyi wu nae V</i>								1	1				2
..., <i>chyi wu nae V hwa?</i>							1	1		1			3
<i>Ruoh...</i> , <i>chyi wu N hwa?</i>				1					1				1
..., <i>chyi wu N hwa?</i>					2				1				3
<i>Chyi wu N hwa?</i>									1				1
<i>Suei...</i> , <i>chyi fwa V</i> .								1		1			1
..., <i>chyi mieh bu V yii</i> .									1				1
<i>Suei...</i> , <i>chyi mieh yii V yii</i> .									1				1
..., <i>chyi mieh yii V yii</i> .									1				1
Total		1		1	6	2	2	7	9	7	1	1	37

TABLE E: other occurrences of *chyi* expressing possibility or certainty

<i>Chyi shyh jy wey hwa?</i>	3								4	5		1	13
<i>Chyi shyh jy wey yii</i> .								1		1			2
<i>Chyi tsyy jy wey hwa?</i>								1		1			2
<i>Chyi tsyy jy wey yii</i> .											1		1
<i>Chyi tsyy jy wey yee</i> .											1		1
<i>Chyi N jy wey hwa?</i>							3		1	2			7
<i>Chyi N jy wey yee</i> .	1				1								1
<i>Chyi N jy wey yii</i> .					1		1		1				4
<i>N chyi yeou yan</i> .									2			1	3

TABLE E (continued)

Yiin	Hwan	Juang	Min	Shi	Wen	Shiuan	Cheng	Shiang	Jau	Ding	Ai	
				1			1					1
												1
									1			1
		1				3		2	8		3	17
2	4	3	1	7		1	5	11	26	2	2	64
								1	1	1	1	4
		1					1	3	3			8
				1			1	2	3			7
				4			2	2	2		2	12
										1		1
				2								2
						1						1
									1		1	1
								1				1
									1			1
								2	1			3
				1					1			2
							1					1
				1				1				1
												3
								1				1

Ruoh..., *N chyi V hwu?**Ruoh...*, *N chyi V yee.**Ruoh...*, *N chyi V tsai.*...*N chyi V hwu?**N chyi V hwu?*...*N chyi V yii.**N chyi V yii.**N chyi V tsai.**N chyi V yee.**Trong...*, *N chyi V hwu?*...*N chyi huoh jee V hwu?**N chyi huoh jee V hwu?**N chyi huoh jee V yee.*...*chy huoh jee V hwu?*...*chy huoh V.**Chyi huoh V yii.**Ruoh...*, *chy S P*...*chy S P**Chyi S P**Ruoh...*, *N chyi N hwu?*...*chy N hwu?*...*chy N yee.*

TABLE E (continued)

	Yiin	Hwan	Juang	Min	Shi	Wen	Shiuan	Cherng	Shiang	Jau	Ding	Ai	
<i>N chyi N hwa?</i>					2				1	4			5
<i>Chyi N hwa?</i>					1				8			1	11
<i>N chyi N yee.</i>								1	5				7
<i>Chyi N yee.</i>									1				1
<i>Ruoh..., chyi V hwa?</i>			1						2				5
<i>Ruoh..., chyi V yee.</i>					2								2
<i>Ruoh..., chyi V.</i>					2	1			2	2		1	8
<i>..., chyi V hwa?</i>	2	1	2		2	2	1	3	13	12	4	4	46
<i>..., chyi V yii.</i>					1				2	2		1	6
<i>..., chyi V yee.</i>	1				3				2	3		2	11
<i>..., chyi V erl yii.</i>								1					1
<i>..., chyi V yee yii.</i>										1			1
<i>..., chyi V tzai.</i>										1			1
<i>Chyi V hwa?</i>			2		3			2	3	9		1	20
<i>Suei..., chyi V hwa?</i>	1									1		1	3
<i>Suei..., chyi V.</i>								2					2
<i>Chyi V jan.</i>									1				1
Total	10	5	10	1	35	4	10	22	75	95	10	22	299

TABLE F: chyí expressing necessity and possibility/ certainty	Yii	Hwan	Juang	Min	Shi	Wen	Shiuan	Cherng	Shiang	Jau	Ding	Ai
<i>N chyí</i> ("must") <i>V jy</i> .				5	3	1	3	5	7	15		39
<i>N chyí</i> ("must") <i>V O</i> .	2			1	2				1	3	1	10
<i>N chyí</i> ("is likely") <i>V O</i> .					1				2	1		4
<i>N chyí V yan</i> .					2					1		4
<i>N chyí</i> ("must") <i>V</i> .									1	1		3
<i>N chyí</i> ("is likely") <i>V</i> .					1				6	2	1	12
<i>Chyi</i> ("must") <i>V</i> .					1		1	1		4		7
<i>Chyi</i> ("is likely") <i>V</i> .								2		1		3
<i>Chyi</i> ("must") <i>V yee</i> .					1		1					2
<i>Chyi</i> ("is likely") <i>V yee</i> .	1	1								2		3
... <i>chyí</i> ("must") <i>V yee</i> .								1			1	2
... <i>chyí</i> ("is likely") <i>V yee</i> .								4	5	5	1	22
<i>N chyí</i> ("must") <i>bu V</i> .			2	2		2				2		2
<i>N chyí</i> ("must") <i>wu V</i> .	1				1							2
<i>N chyí</i> ("must") <i>wuh V</i> .					1							1
Total: <i>chyí</i> = "must"	3	0	0	6	11	1	5	7	9	26	2	72
<i>chyí</i> = "is likely"	0	1	2	2	2	2	0	6	13	11	2	44
Grand total	3	1	2	8	13	3	5	13	22	37	4	116

Appendix A

Occurrences of chyí in quotes from earlier sources

Quotes from the Shyjing 詩經:

Shi 22 fuh 3; Shiang 29. 5: Shy iue: 'Shye bih chyí lin, huen in koong yun.' 詩曰協比其鄰香烟孔云。

"The Ode says: '(They) assemble their neighbours, their relatives are very numerous.' (Ode 192, 12th stanza)

Shi 24. 2: Chyi syh jang iue: 'Shiong dih shih yu chyang, way yuh chyí wuu.' 其四章曰兄弟閱于牆外御其侮。

"Its fourth stanza says: 'Brothers quarrel inside the house, but outside they defend one another from insult.'" (Ode 164, 4th stanza)

Shi 24 fuh 2: "Shy iue: 'Bii jii jy tzyy bwu chenq chyí fwu.'" 詩曰彼己之子不稱其服。

"The Ode says: 'That gentleman there, (he) is not worthy of his (fine) garments.'" (Ode 151, 2nd stanza)

Wen 1. 11: "Shy iue: 'Dah feng yeou suey, tarn ren bay ley, ting yan tzer duey, song yan ru tzuey, feei yonq chyí liang, fuh bey woo bey.'" 詩曰大風有隧貪人敗類，聽言則對謫言如醉匪用其良覆俾我悖。

"The Ode says: 'The great wind has its path; covetous men ruin the good; when there are words deserving to be heard, you should respond; but when there are admonishing words, you are as if drunk; you do not make use of the good (words), on the contrary you consider me silly.'" (Ode 257, 13th stanza)

Wen 2. 1: "Yow iue: 'Wang heh sy nuh, yuan jeeng chyí leu.'" 又曰王赫斯怒爰整其旅。

"It is also said (in the Odes): 'The king was majestically angry at this, and so he marshalled his cohorts.'" (Ode 241, 5th stanza)

Wen 4. 4: "Shy yun: 'Wei bii ell gwo, chyí jenq bwu huoh; wei tsyy syh gwo, yuan jiou yuan duoh.'" 詩云惟彼二國其政不獲，惟此四國爰究爰度。

"The Ode says: 'These two kingdoms, their governments had failed; throughout these states of the four (quarters) he investigated and measured.'" (Ode 241, 1st stanza)

Shiuan 12. 3: "Shy iue: 'Luann li moh yii, yuan chyí shyh guei.'" 詩曰亂離瘼矣，爰其適歸。

"The Ode says: 'The disorder and dispersion are painful; I shall go and return home.'" (Ode 204, 2nd stanza)

Cherng 2. 4: Guh shy iue: 'Woo jiang woo lii, dong nan chyí muu.' 故詩曰我疆我理，南東其畝。

"Therefore the Ode says: 'We draw boundaries, we divide them; running towards the south or running towards the east are the acres.'" (Ode 210, 1st stanza)

Cherng 8.1: Shy iue: 'Neu yee buh shoang, shyh ell chyí shing; shyh yee waang jyi, ell san chyí der.' 詩曰女也不爽，士貳其行士也罔極，二三其德。

"The Ode says: '(I), the woman, have not deviated (in my allegiance), but (you) the man have shown duplicity in your behaviour; (You) the man have been reckless, you have been variable in your conduct.'" (Ode 58, 4th stanza)

Cherng 14. 2: Guh shy iue: 'Syh guang chyí chyóu, jyy jeou sy rou, bii jiau feei aur, wann fuw lai chyóu.' 故詩曰兕觥其觶，旨酒思柔，彼交匪傲，萬福來求。

"Therefore the Ode says: 'The *guang* vase of rhinoceros horn is long and curved, the good wine is mellow; they associate without being haughty, a myriad blessings will come and unite (in them).'" (Ode 215, 4th stanza)

Shiang 2. 3: Shy iue: 'Chyi wei jer ren, gaw jy huah yan, shuenn der jy shyng.' 詩曰其爲哲人告之話言，順德之行。

"The Ode says: 'Being a wise man, when I tell him my lessons, he follows the path of virtue.'" (Ode 256, 9th stanza)

Shiang 3, fuh 2: 'Wei chyí yeou jy, shyh yii syh jy.' 惟其有之，是以似之。

"Just because he knows how to do it, therefore it shows in his whole appearance.'" (Ode 214, 4th stanza)

Shiang 8. 8: Shy yun: 'Mou fu koong duo, shyh yonq buh jyi, fa yan yng tyng, sheir gaan jyr *chyí* jiow.' 詩云謀夫孔多，是用不集發言盈庭誰敢執其咎。

"The Ode says: '(Our) counsellors are very many, therefore there is nothing achieved; the proffered speeches fill the court, but who dares to take the (blame=) responsibility?' (Ode 195, 3rd stanza)

Shiang 27. fuh 2: 'Her yii shiuh woo, woo *chyí* shou jy'. 何以恤我，我其收之。

"How shall he show his kindness? We shall receive it (sc. his favour)." (Ode 267, 2nd stanza)

Jau 28. fuh 2: Shy iue: 'Wei tsyy Wen wang, dih duoh *chyí* shin, moh *chyí* der in, *chyí* der keh ming, keh ming keh ley, keh jaang keh jiun, wanq tsyy dah gwo, keh shuenn keh bih, bih yu Wen wang, *chyí* der mii hoei, jih show dih chyy, yih yu suen tzyy.' 詩曰唯此文王，帝度其心，莫其德音，其德克明，克明克類，克長克君，王此大國，克順克比，比于文王，其德靡悔，既受帝祉，施于孫子。

"The Ode says: 'Now this Wen wang, God probed his heart: settled was his reputation, in his virtue he was able to be enlightened; he was able to be enlightened, to be good; he was able to preside, to be a ruler, to be king over the great kingdom; he was able to be accommodating, to be concordant (with his subjects); and when they were concordant with Wen wang, his virtue had nothing which caused regret; he received God's blessing; it reached to his grandsons and sons'" (Ode 241, 4th stanza)

Ai 26. fuh 3: Shy iue: 'Wu chying wei ren, shy fang *chyí* shuenn jy'. 詩曰無競維人，四方其順之。

"The Ode says: 'Is he not strong, the (real) man! (The states of) the four quarters will take their lessons from him.'" (Ode 256, 2nd stanza; Ode 269, 3rd stanza)

Quotes from the *Shujing* 書經:

Yiin 6. fuh 2: Shangshu iue: 'Eh jy yih yee, ru huoo jy liau yu yuan, buh kee shianq eel, *chyí* you kee pu mieh'. 商書曰惡之易也如火之燎于原，不可鄉邇，其猶可撲滅。

"The Shangshu says: 'The easy success of evil is like a fire's blazing on the plain: it cannot be approached, how much the less can it be beaten out and extinguished?'" (*Shujing*, *Parn-geng* 0388-0399)

Juang 14. 3: Shangshu suoo wey: 'Eh jy yih yee, ru huoo jy liau yu yuan, buh kee shianq eel, *chyí* you kee pumieh jee.' (For a translation see the item above)

Shiang 13. fuh 1: Shu iue: 'Yih ren yeou ching, jaw min lay jy, *chyí* ning wei yeong.' 書曰一人有慶兆民賴之其寧惟永。

"The Shu says: '(I), the one man, shall enjoy happiness and the myriad people will receive the advantage of it. The tranquillity will be perpetual.'" (*Shujing*, *Leu shyng* 0473-0484)

Shiang 26. fuh 6: Guh Shiah shu iue: 'Yeu *chyí* sha buh gu, ning shy buh jing.' 故夏書曰與其殺不辜，寧失不經。

"Therefore (one of) the Books of Shiah says: 'Rather than having an innocent person killed, one should risk (committing) an irregularity.'" (*Shujing*, *Dah Yeu mo* 0405-0413)

Shiang 31. fuh 9: Jou shu shuu Wen wang jy der iue: 'Dah gwo wey *chyí* lih, sheau gwo hwai *chyí* der.' 周書數文王之德曰大國畏其力小國畏其德。

"Enumerating the virtues of king Wen one of the Books of Shiah says: 'The great states feared his strength, the small states cherished his virtue.'" (*Shujing*, *Wuu cherng* 0154-0163)

Ai 6. 6: Shiah shu iue: 'Wei bii Taur Tarnq, shuay bii tian charng, yeou tsyy Jih fang, jin shy *chyí* shing, luann *chyí* jih gang.' 夏書曰惟彼陶唐師彼天常，有此冀方，今失其行，亂其紀綱。

"(One of) the Books of Shiah says: 'There was that prince of Taur and Tarnq, who obeyed the constant rules of Heaven, and possessed this area of Jih. Now (we) have deviated from his path and brought disorder to his rules and laws.'" (*Shujing*, *Wuu tzyy jy ge* 0179-0189, which has *jyue daw* 厥道 for *chyí shing*)

Ai 11. 3: Parn-geng jy gaw iue: '*Chyi* yeou dian yueh buh gong, tzer yih tean wu yih yuh, wu bey yih jonq yu tzy yih.' 盤庚之誥曰其有顛越不共則劓殄無遺育，無俾易種于茲邑。

"The Proclamation of Parn-geng says: 'If there are those who are fallen and disrespectful, then (I) shall destroy and annihilate them, and there will be no remaining offspring. I will not let them propagate their seed in this city'" (*Shujing*, *Parn-geng* 1018-1048, with a slightly different reading)

Quotes from the *Yijing* 易經:

Shiang 25. 2: Chiee chyi jow iue: 'Kuenn yu shyr, jiuh yu yji li, ruh yu chyi gong, bwu jiann chyi chi.' 且其繇曰困于石，據于蒺藜，入于其宮，不見其妻。

"Furthermore its oracle pronouncement says: 'Distressed by the rocks, holding to brambles; (he) enters his palace and does not see his wife.'" (*Yihjing, Shiah jing*, hexagram 47 *Kuenn, liow-san*)

Quotes from unidentifiable divination books:

Juang 22. 3: Chyi chi jan jy iue: 'Shyh wey fenq hwang yu fei, her ming chiang chiang, yeou Guei jy how, jiang yuh yu Jiang. Wuu shyh chyi chang, binq yu jenq ching; ba shyh jy how, moh jy yeu jing.' 其妻占之曰是謂鳳皇于飛，和鳴鏘鏘，有鵲之後將育于姜，五世其昌，並于正卿，八世之後莫之與京。

"His wife prognosticated it, saying: 'This means that male and the female phonenix fly together, their voices blend harmoniously like bells. The scions of the house of Guei shall be reared in the Jiang family. In five generations they will prosper and (their positions) will be equal to that of a prime minister. After eight generations none will be comparable to them in greatness.'"

Shi 15. 14: Chyi guah yuh Guu iue: 'Chian sheng sann chiuh, sann chiuh jy yu, huoh chyi shyong hwu.' 其卦遇蠱曰千乘三去，三去之餘，獲其雄狐。

"The hexagram met with is Guu which says: 'The thousand chariots shall three times leave (the battle field); among what is left after the three flights (we) shall capture their male fox.'"

Shi 15. 14: Shyy Su jan jy iue: 'Buh yji. Chyi jow iue: Shyh kwei yang, yih wu huang yee. Neu cherng kuang, yih wu kuanq yee. Shi lin zer yan buh kee charng yee. Guei-mey jy kwei, you wu shianq yee. Jenn jy li, yih li jy jenn. Wei lei wei huoo, wei Yng bay Ji. Jiu tuo chyi fuh, huoo fern chyi chyi, bwu lih shyng shy, bay yu Tzong-chyou. Guei-mey kwei gu, kow jang jy hwu. Jyr chyi tsong gu, liow nian chyi bu; taur guei chyi gwo erl chih chyi jia. Ming nian chyi syy iu Ganliang jy chiu.' 史蘇占之曰不吉，其繇曰士刳羊亦無盍也，女承筐亦無貺也，西鄰責言不可償也，歸妹之睽，猶無相也，震之離亦離之震，爲雷爲火爲嬴，敗姬車說其輶火焚其旗，不利行師，敗于宗丘歸妹睽孤，寇張之孤姪，其從姑六年，其逋逃歸其國而奔其家，明年死於高梁之虛。

"The historiographer prognosticated it, saying: '(This) is not auspicious. Its prognostication pronouncement says: 'An officer cuts open a sheep and yet there is no blood. A woman holds up her basket and yet there are no gifts. The reproaches of our western neighbour cannot be indemnified. The transition from (the hexagram) *guei-mey* to *kwei* is the same (as saying that) there is no assistance. The transition from (the hexagram) *jenn* to *li* is the same as that from *li* to *jenn*: it constitutes thunder, it constitutes fire, it means that (the house of) Yng shall defeat (the house of) Ji. The chariot has lost its axle block; fire burns their flags; it is not profitable to set out with an army. There will be defeat at Tzong-chiou. (The hexagram) *guei-mey* and *kwei* (symbolize) isolation the enemy stretches their bow against her. The nephew will follow his aunt; after six years he will escape, flee back to his state and abandon his family. In the following year he shall die at the wastes of Ganliang.'"

Quotes from other unidentifiable sources:

Yiin 1. 3: Gong ruh erl fuh: 'Dah suey jy jong, chyi leh yee rong rong'. Jiang chu erl fuh: 'Dah suey jy way, chyi leh yee yih yih'. 公入而賦，大隧之中其樂也融融，姜出而賦大隧之外，其樂也洩洩。

"The duke entered (the tunnel) and recited (as follows): 'Inside (this) great tunnel, how harmonious the joy!'. (Lady) Jiang came out (of the tunnel) and recited (as follows): 'Outside (that) great tunnel, how lighthearted the joy!'"

Hwan 10. fu 3: Jou yann yeou jy iue: 'Pii fu wu tzuey, hwai bih chyi tzuey.' 周諺有之曰匹夫無罪，懷璧其罪。

"A proverb of Jou says: 'A man may have no crime; cherishing (his) *bih* is his only crime.'"

Shi 5. 9: Torng yau yun: 'Biing jy chern, long woei fuh chern, jiun fwu jen jen. Cheu Gwo

iy chyi, chwen jy ben ben; tian tseh tuen tuen, huoo jonq cherng jiun, Gwo gong *chyí* ben.' 童
謠云丙之晨龍尾伏辰，均服振振，取號之旂鵠之責責，天策煒煒，火中成軍，號公其奔。

"A children's ditty says: 'In the morning of the Bing (day) the Tail of the Dragon lies hidden in the conjunction of the sun and the moon. Uniformly dressed and in great array (the soldiers carry) the banners which will take Gwo. The Chwen star is ardent, the Heavenly Whip is dimmed. When the Fire star culminates in the south (Jinn) will have formed their battle arrays: the duke of Gwo will flee.'"

Wen 17. 5: Guu ren yeou yan iue: 'Wey shoou wey woei, shen *chyí* yu jii?' 古人有言曰畏首畏尾身其餘幾。

"The men of old had a saying: 'If one fears for one's head and fears for one's tail, how much would then be left of the body?'"

Shiuan 2. 1: Cherng jee ou iue: 'Luann *chyí* muh, pwo *chyí* fuh, chih jea erl fuh; yu sai, yu sai, chih jea fuh lai'. 城者謳曰睥其目曙其腹奔甲而復于思于思奔甲復來。

"The wall-builders sang this song: 'With protruding eyes and bulging belly (he) threw away (his) buffcoat and returned. (With) flying whiskers, (with) flying whiskers, (he) threw away (his) buffcoat and came back.'"

Shiuan 2. 1: Shyy chyi tsan sheng wey jy iue: 'Niou tser yeou pyi, shi syh shanq duo, chih jea tzer nuo?'. Yih ren iue: 'Tzonq *chyí* yeou pyi, dan chi ruoh her?' 使其驂乘謂之曰牛則有皮犀兕尙多奔甲則那役人曰從其有皮丹漆若何。

"(Hwa Yuan) sent his companion in the chariot to tell them as follows: 'Bulls have skins and there are still plenty of rhinoceroses. I threw away the buffcoat, so what?' The labourers said: 'Even though they may have skins, what about the red varnish (for the buffcoats)?'"

Cherng 4. 7: Shyy Yih jy jyh yeou jy iue: 'Fei woo tzuw ley, *chyí* shin bih yih'. 史佚之志有之曰非我族類其心必異。

"The chronicle of Yih, the historiographer, contains the following statement: 'If (he) is not our kin, his heart is bound to be different (from ours).'"

Shiang 4. fuh 1: Iu Yu ren jy jen iue: 'Mang mang Yeu ji, huah wei jeou jou, jing chii jeou daw. Min yeou chiin miaw, show yeou maw tsao, geh yeou you chuh, der yong buh rao. Tzay dih Yi Yih, maw yu yuan show, wanq *chyí* gwo shiuh erl sy *chyí* iou muh. Wu buh kee jonq, yong buh huei yu Shiah jia. Show chern sy yuan, gann gaw pwu fu.

於虞人之箴曰芒芒禹跡畫爲九州經啓之道民有廢廟獸有茂草各有攸虞德用不擾在帝夷羿冒于原獸忘其國恤而思其鹿牡武不可重用不攸于夏家獸臣司原敢告僕夫。

"In the critical song of the forester it was said: 'Great indeed were the traces of Yeu; he divided the world into nine regions, measured and opened up the nine roads. The people had their dwellings and temples and the beasts flourishing grasses. Each had his resort and the virtue was not disturbed. Yi Yih, who took the place of the emperor, coveted the game on the plain, forgot his care for the state and thought only of his does and his stags. Too much weight must not be placed on martial arts. Therefore (Yi Yih) did not flourish in the state of Shiah. The forester and gamester (?) dare inform all servants (of his views).'"

Shiang 30. fuh 6: Yu ren song jy iue: 'Cheu woo i guan erl juu jy; cheu woo tyan chour erl wuu jy. Shwu sha Tzyy-chaan, wu *chyí* yeu jy'. 與人誦之曰取我衣冠而櫛之取我田疇而伍之孰殺子產吾其與之。

"The waggoners sang a song about him (sc. Tzyy-chaan), saying: '(He) takes from us (our) clothes and stores them away; he takes from us (our) fields and divides them into groups of five. Whoever kills Tzyy-chaan, we shall side with him!'"

Shiang 30. fuh 6: Jyi san nian yow song jy: 'Woo yeou tzyy dih, Tzyy-chaan huey jy; woo yeou tyan chour, Tzyy-chaan jyr jy. Tzyy-chaan erl syy, sheir *chyí* syh jy?'. 及三年又誦之我有子弟子產誨之我有田疇子產殖之子產而死誰其嗣之。

"When three years had passed (the waggoners) again sang about him, (saying): 'We have sons and younger brothers: Tzyy-chaan instructs them; We have field banks: Tzyy-chaan makes them flourish. When such a man as Tzyy-chaan dies, who will succeed him?'"

Jau 1. fuh 7: Guh jy iue: 'Mae chieh buh jy *chyí* shing tzer buh jy'. 故志曰買妾不知其姓則卜之。

"An old chronicle says: 'When one buys a concubine and does not know her family name one divines about it'.

Jau 7. fuh 5: Guu ren yeou yan iue: 'Chyi fuh shi shin, chyi tzyy fwu keh fuh her'. 古人有言其父析薪其子弗克負荷。

"The men of old had a saying: 'The father split the firewood, (but) his son was unable to carry it on his back.'"

Jau 12. 8: Shiang ren huoh ge jy iue: 'Woo yeou puu, sheng jy chii hwu? Tsorng woo jee tzyy hwu? Chih woo jee bih hwu? Bey chyi lin jee chyy hwu? Yii hwu, yii hwu, fei wu tarng jy shyh hwu.' 鄉人或歌之曰我有園生之杞乎從我者子乎去我者鄙乎倍其鄰者恥乎已乎已乎非吾黨之士乎。

"One of the villagers sang this song about him: 'I have an orchard, should I make the medlar tree grow there? Those who follow me are men. Those who leave us are mean. To turn one's back on one's neighbour is shameful. Enough! Enough! (He) is not a man of my party!'"

Ai 21. fuh 2: Chyi ren tzer chii shoou, in ge jy iue: 'Luu ren jy gau, shuh nian buh jyue; shyw woo gau daw, wei chyi ru shu, yii wei ell gwo iou.' 齊人責稽首因歌之曰魯人之卑數年不覺使我高蹈唯其儒書以爲二國憂。

"The people of Chyi reproached (the marquis of Luu for failing) to bow with his head to the ground, and in consequence sang this song: 'How lazy the people of Luu are! They do not wake up for several years and make us travel far. It is their scholars' books which cause worry for the two states (of Chyi and Luu).'"

Appendix B

Moot passages:

The following seven instances of *chyí* are treated as attributive pronouns.

Wen 2. 6: Tzang Wenjonq *chyí* buh ren jee san, bwu jyh jee san. 臧文仲其不仁者三不知者三。

"As to Tzang Wenjonq, three things showed his lack of goodness, and three (other) things his lack of knowledge."

Wen 17. 5: Sheau gwo jy shyh dah gwo yee, der tzer *chyí* ren yee, buh der tzer *chyí* luh yee. 小國之事大國也德則其人也不德則其鹿也。

"Such is the way in which a small state serves a large state: (when) treated with virtue (it) models itself on their people, (when) treated without virtue, (it) models itself on their stags."

Shiuan 2. 1: Duey iue: Fei maa yee, *chyí* ren yee. 對曰非馬也其人也。

"(He) replied, saying: 'It was not the horses! It was (I), their master!'"

"Shiang 13. fuh 1. Shin jiun wu shuay, Jinn hour nan *chyí* ren. 新軍無帥晉侯難其人。

"The new army lacked a commander. The marquis of Jinn experienced difficulty (in employing) his personnel." (Luh Derming gives both *pyngsheng* and *chiuhsheng* for *nan/nann*. Koong Yindingdar paraphrases as follows: *Nan yonq chyí ren* 難用其人)。

Jau 3. fuh 6: Bii *chyí* faa doan erl shin shenn cnarng. 彼其髮短而心甚長。

"As to that (fellow), his hair is short, but (his) heart is exceedingly long (his resentment against us has not ceased)."

Jau 3. fuh 2: *Chyi* tzyh Tarng Shu jy shiah shyh choong jia jy. 其自唐叔之下實寵嘉之。

"From Tarng Shu and downwards (our former rulers) will indeed favour and approve of this."

In the following 13 instances *chyí* is treated as the subject of included predications:

Hwañ 6. 5: Shyh *chyí* sheng yee yeu wu torng wuh. 是其生也與吾同物。

"By his birth this (son of mine) has something in common with me."

Shi 5. 9: Chiee Yu neng chin iu Hwan Juang hwu? *Chyi* ay jy yee, Hwan Juang jy tzuw her tzuay erl yii wei luh? 且虞能親於桓莊乎其愛之也桓莊之族何罪而以爲戮

"Moreover, could Yu be closer (to Jinn) than (duke) Hwan and (duke) Juang? Since it (sc. the state of Jinn) loved them, of what crime were the kins of (duke) Hwan and (duke)

Juang guilty, that they were executed?" (The Hann commentator Fwu Chian 服虔, *apud* Koong Yiingdar, reads *shenn* 甚 for *chyi*. The meaning of the passage is perfectly clear without this emendation.)

Shiuan 6. fuh 5: Wu der erl tarn, *chyi* tzay Jou Yih feng jy li, fwu guoh jy yii. 無德而貪其在周易丰之離弗過之矣。

"(He) covets (a high position) without possessing the (prerequisite) virtue. This case being recorded in the Jou Yih, (*sub*) the transition from the hexagram *feng* to the hexagram *li*, (he) will not surpass it (sc. the limit of three years indicated in the relevant Jou Yih passage.) (For this see *Yihjing*, *Shiahjing*, hexagram *feng*, *shanq-liow*)

Jau 3. fuh 2: *Chyi* shianq Hwu gong Tay Ji yii tzay Chyi yii. 其相胡公大姬已在齊矣。

"When they assisted duke Hwu (who was enfeoffed in Chern) and (his spouse) Tay Ji, (their presence) was already felt in Chyi."

Jau 12. 4: *Chyi* yi jonq jiunn yee, Chyi jiun ruoh wu jiun. 其中以僞也齊君弱吾君。

"By his claiming a remarkable achievement as a result of throwing (the arrow into the vase), the lord of Chyi is representing my ruler as weak."

Wen 18. 9: *Chyi* ren tzer daw tseir yee. 其人則盜賊也。

"As to this qualities as a man, he is (but a) robber and a thief." (I suggest that *chyi ren* is short for *chyi wei ren yee* 其爲人也)

Wen 18. 9: *Chyi* chih tzer jian jaw yee. 其器則姦兆也。

"As to their properties as vessels, they are (but) the tokens of treachery." (I suggest that *chyi chih* is short for *chyi wei chih yee*)

Shiang 30. fuh 2: *Chyi* jih iu jin, san jy yih yee. 其季於今三之一也。

"Up to now, one third has envolved of the last time cycle." (*Chyi jih* may be interpreted as a nominal phrase: "The last of the time cycles". I suggest, however, that the syntactic caesura falls after *jin*. If this reading is correct *chyi jih iu jin* is best interpreted as an included predication functioning as the topic of the sentence.)

Shiang 29. fuh 8: Shyh meng yee, *chyi* yeu jii her? 是盟也其與幾何?

"As to this covenant, how long will it be upheld?"

Jau 1. 4: Juu min wan suey erl kay ryh, *chyi* yeu jii her? 主民翫歲而惕日其與幾何?

"How long will the ruler be approved of who trifles with the years and the days (and neglects his duties)?"

Jau 1. fuh 7: *Chyi* yuh jii her? 其與幾何?

"How long will he remain with us?"

Jau 17. 5: *Chyi* yeu buh ran hwu? 其與不然乎?

"Its association (sc. the association of the comet and the zodiac sign Dah huoo), is it not so?"

Jau 20. fuh 4: Liau-sheh yii dong, Gu-you yii shi, *chyi* wei ren yee duo yii. 聊攝以東姑尤以西其爲人也多矣。

"The area east of Liau-sheh and west of Gu-you is densely populated."

The following six passages contain non-pronominal *chyi*:

Yiin 11. 3: Ruoh goaren der moh yu dih, tian *chyi* yii lli hoei huoh yu Sheu. Wu ning tzy Sheu gong fuh fenq *chyi* sheh-jih. 若寡人得沒于地天其以禮悔禍于訂無寧茲許公復率其社稷。

"If I obtain to live out may days in (my) land, Heaven is likely to accord with (this act of) propriety and repent of the calamity visited upon Sheu. (I) would rather that this duke of Sheu (be given the opportunity) again to worship at his altars." (Legge translates as follows: "If I live out my days in the land, and Heaven *then* graciously repent of the calamities inflicted on Heu, shall not the lord of Heu again worship at his altars?" With this interpretation the passage preceeding *wu ning* must be treated as two coordinated subordinated clauses introduced by *ruoh*, "if". Since all other occurrences of non-pronominal *chyi* within the corpus are restricted to main clauses, Legge's translation is mistaken.)

Hwan 13. fuh 1: Dah fu *chyi* fei jonq jy wey. 大夫其非衆之謂。

"(Your) great officer is likely to imply that (the troops which he requested) are not merely a multitude of men."

Hwan 13. fuh 1: *Chyi* wey jiun fuu sheau min yii shinn. 其謂君撫小民以信。

"(Your great officer) is likely to imply that (you, my) lord should comfort the common people by means of (your) good faith."

Jau 8. 3: Ruoh her diaw yee. *Chyi* fei wei woo heh, jiang tian shiah shyr heh. 若何弔也其非唯我賀將天下實賀。

"How could this be an occasion for a condolence! We are not likely to be the only ones to congratulate (him), the whole realm indeed congratulates (him)!" (My translation is tentative)

Jau 27. 8: Tzyy Jia-tzyy iue: '*Chyi* yiin jeou yee. Nae yiin jeou.' 子家子曰其飲酒也乃飲酒。

"Tzyy Jia-tzyy said: 'May it be a wine party!' (They) thereupon drank wine." (The Harvard-Yenching Index text omits the punctuation mark after *yee*. Koong Yiingdar paraphrases as follows: *Chiuann chyi yongq yann lii erl yiin jeou eel* 勸其用宴禮而飲酒耳。

"(Tzyy Jia-tzyy) advised them (sc. the host and his guest) to use the banquet ritual, while serving only wine."

Ai 27. fuh 3: Wey dah fu *chyí* shiuh Chern hwu. 謂大夫其恤陳乎。

"(My ruler) said of (you), great officer: 'Is he likely to commiserate with Chern?'"

Appendix C

Four ambiguous instances of *chyí*

Shi 28. 6: Linqyiin *chyí* buh chyn min shyr tzyh bay yee. 令尹其不動民實自敗也。

"As to (me) the chief minister, if I do not do my utmost for the people, (I) shall in fact be responsible for my own destruction." (With this translation *Linqyiin* is treated as a proposed topic, which is resumed by the pronoun *chyí*. It may alternatively be argued that *chyí* here substitutes for *iy* 之, marking the subordination of the clause in which it is contained.)

Cherng 3. fuh 1: Shouu *chyí* chiing iu goaren erl yii luh iu tzong, yih syy chiee buh sheou. 首其請於寡人而以戮於宗亦死且不朽。

"As to (my father) Shouu, should he request permission from (my) ruler to have me executed in (our) ancestral temple, my gratitude (to you) would not die with me." (This translation follows the interpretation of the immediately preceding passage. It may also be argued that *chyí* here substitutes for *iy* 之.)

Shi 28. fu: Jiun tzyy wey Wen gong *chyí* neng shyng yii. 君子謂文公其能刑矣。

"The superior man has declared that duke Wen excelled in the use of punishment." (I suggest that this passage derives from the construction *wey N iy V*, 謂 N 之 V, "to declare that N Verbs". It may also be argued that *chyí* here has a modal function.

Jau 3. fuh 5: Bih yih iy wang, tzer wey iyr shyh *chyí* wey goaren erl guh yeou way shin. 敵邑之往則畏執事其謂寡人而固有外心。

"If (representatives of our) poor city go forward (to offer congratulations to the lord of Chuu), then we fear lest the officials (of Jinn) will say of (our) ruler that his heart is set on (that) outer alliance (with Chuu)." (This translation is based on the following suggested emendations: *iy* 之 for *chyí*, and *iy* 之 for the anomalous *erl* 而. The reading *goajun erl* (Archaic *kwäg kiwän niäg*) possibly results from the influence of sandhi, by which *iy* (Archaic *iäg*) has been replaced by *erl* (Archaic *niäg*). If we chose not to accept the first emendation (*iy* for *chyí*), *chyí* must be treated as a non-pronominal form: "(The officials) are likely to say of our ruler that he has his heart set on that outer alliance".)

古代漢語的語序變換

戴 璉 璋

國立臺灣師範大學

前 言

本文所謂語序，指句子語法成分的次序。一般而言，漢語的語序是相當穩定的。從三千多年以前的甲骨刻辭到今天的口語，雖然在語音及詞彙方面有著顯著的變化；而在語句結構上，其中基本成分的先後次序大體仍保持一致的規律¹。如主語在述語、表語、斷語前面；兼語在第一繫述語後面；述語在賓語前面；介詞在次賓語前面；副語在被飾語前面；加語在端語前面等等²，一直都是漢語的普遍現象。我們從這裏可以看出由漢語本身性質所決定的一些基本的造句規律。但從另一方面來說，語言的規律既然是約定俗成的，也沒有一成不變的道理。在眾人長期使用的情況下，勢必也會形成一些時代性或個別性的特殊現象。在漢語語序方面，上述的那些基本規律並未阻止各特殊現象的發展，只產生一些制衡作用，以維持相當程度的穩定性而已。

本文討論古代漢語的語序變換，是要在古漢語的資料中，來觀察不同於上述基本規律的語序現象。一方面探索其形成的原因及條件；另一方面則嘗試說明其所造成的

¹ 參見王了一先生漢語史稿第三章三十一節。

² 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。一般而言，語法成分除用虛詞者外，都稱「語」，不稱「詞」，以免和詞性名稱混淆；何況這些成分事實上並不限於用「詞」，還可能是「詞」以上的結構。本文主要術語和一般文法書中所見的術語，對應關係如下：

本文術語	一般稱謂
主語(Subject)	主語
謂語(Predicate)	謂語
述語(Narrative/Verb)	動詞/述詞
表語(Descriptive)	表詞/描寫詞
斷語(Determinator)	謂語/表語
兼語(Object of V ₁ and Subject of V ₂)	賓語兼主語
賓語(Object)	賓語/止詞
副語(Modifier/adverb)	副詞/修飾語
介詞(Preposition)	介詞/介繫詞
次賓語(Object of Preposition)	介詞賓語/補詞
加語(Attribute)	加詞
端語(Head)	端詞
主從結構(Substantive Phrase)	仿語/詞組
造句結構(Clause)	子句/詞結
複句(Composite Sentence)	複句/複句句

句型變化或語言效果。

如上文所說，判定語序是否有所變換，是依據基本的造句規律；而這些基本規律則是從漢語的普遍現象中歸納所得。爲了討論方便，筆者盡可能在相關資料中舉出符合基本規律的句例，代表這類結構的基本形式（簡稱「基式」），藉以與變換了語序的變化形式（簡稱「變式」）作比較。從細節上看，某些變式的實例可能多於基式；甚或在同時代的資料中還找不到基式的實例；但從語法成分的整類上看，基式實例畢竟多於變式。換句話說，在同一類的語法成分中，基式總是屬於普遍現象。

周法高先生在中國古代語法造句編中，提出「主題」(topic)跟「解釋」(Comment)，認爲一個句子通常可以分爲這兩大部分。他說：「『主題』部分和『解釋』部分的關係是多方面的。牠們可以是主語部分和謂語部分的關係；也可以是修飾成分和被修飾成分以及其他的關係。在前者，可以包含主語部分和謂語部分相等與否的關係；在後者，可以包含假設、同時、先後等等的關係和領屬的關係以及賓語提前。」（前引書第一章、頁五）

「主題」和「解釋」這兩個語法概念，在變換語序的語句結構中，特別顯示出其重要性。某些成分其所以被提前，正由於它已成爲句子陳述的「主題」；某些成分其所以被移後，也由於它要代表整個「解釋」部分。據此，筆者認爲漢語的語法分析，應有三個層次：第一層次，著眼於表層結構，作「主題」和「解釋」兩部分的區分。第二層次，著眼於原初的語法關係，如「主語——述語——賓語」、「主語——表語」、「主語——斷語」、「主語——述語——兼語——述語（表語／斷語）」、「介詞——次賓語」、「副語——被飾語」等關係。據此可以辨認語序方面的基式與變式。第三層次著眼於各語法成分本身的結構。如單詞、複詞、並列結構、主從結構、造句結構等。結構中的成分也有語序的基式與變式值得注意。

例如：父母之年不可不知也。（論語、里仁）

第一層次分析：父母之年——主題。

不可不知（也）——解釋。

第二層次分析：不、可、不——副語。

知——述語。

父母之年——賓語。

也——助詞。

第三層次分析：父母之年——主從結構。

父母——領屬性加語。

之——連詞。

年——端語。

父母——並列結構。

(單詞部分從略)

據此可知，這是賓語作「主題」的句子。毫無疑問的，這類句子之所以造成，是爲了強調賓語，而其造句方式就是把需要強調的賓語提到句首。

又如：由也，千乘之國可使治其賦也。（論語、公治長）

第一層次分析：由（也）——主題。

千乘之國可使治其賦（也）——解釋。

千乘之國——主題。

可使治其賦（也）——解釋。

第二層次分析：可——副語。

使——第一繫述語。

由——兼語。

治——第二繫述語。

其賦——賓語。

千乘之國——外位加語。

也——助詞。

第三層次分析：其賦——主從結構。

其——領屬性加語。

賦——端語。

千乘之國——主從結構。

千乘——形容性加語。

之——連詞。

國——端語。

千乘——主從結構。

千——形容性加語。

乘——端語。

據此可知，這是用兼語作「主題」的句子。「解釋」部分又有外位加語作「主題」的現象。前者的方式是把兼語提到句首，而後附助詞「也」；後者的方式是把加語提前而在原位上補一代詞「其」。

又如：小子識之，苛政猛於虎也。（禮記、檀弓）

第一層次分析：小子識之——主題。

苛政猛於虎（也）——解釋。

苛政——主題。

猛於虎——解釋。

第二層次分析：小子——主語。

識——述語。

之——賓語。

苛政猛於虎——外位賓語。

苛政——主語。

猛——表語。

於——介詞。

虎——表比較的次賓語。

也——助詞。

第三層次分析：小子——組合式合義複詞。

苛政——主從結構。

苛——形容性加語。

政——端語。

據此可知，這是用賓語作「解釋」的句子。「解釋」部分又有主、謂語分別作「主題」「解釋」的現象。前者的方式是把賓語後移到句外，使它成為第二分句的形式，而在原位補一代詞「之」；後者並無變換的手續。

下文凡是提到某一變換語序的成分作「主題」或「解釋」，都以上述三層分析為依據。當然，變換語序的成分也有不作「主題」或「解釋」的，自當另作說明。

壹、主語的語序變換

一、基式

主語在述語、表語、斷語前面，是漢語造句法的基本規律，符合這基本規律的實例，不勝枚舉，姑以下列十例為代表：

1. 王歸（甲文、粹一〇六五）³

△
2. 王_△翌日辛射_△旂_△兕（又一〇一〇）

△
3. 天子明_△愆（哲）（金文、大克鼎）
△△

³ 甲文著錄，採用一般習慣之簡稱。「粹」指殷契粹編。

4. 維天有漢 (詩、小雅、大東)
5. 獄貨非寶 (書、呂刑)
6. 夫執輿者爲誰 (論語、微子)
7. 王之不王，不爲也 (孟子、梁惠王上)
8. 以若所爲求若所欲，猶緣木而求魚也 (同前)
9. 一之謂甚 (左傳、僖五)
10. (雍姬) 謂其母曰：「父與夫孰親？」 (又桓十五)

二、變式

(一) 提前：古代漢語中，主語有採外位形式而提前的。例如：

1. 醉而不出，是謂伐德 (詩、小雅、賓之初筵)
2. 惟受責俾如流，是惟艱哉 (書、秦誓)
3. 德之不修，學之不講，聞義不能徙，不善不能改，是吾憂也 (論語、述而)
4. 以不教民戰，是謂棄之 (又子路)
5. 王之不王，是折枝之類也 (孟子、梁惠王上)
6. 今惡辱而居不仁，是猶惡溼而居下也 (又公孫丑上)
7. 不許楚言，是棄宋也 (左傳、僖廿八)
8. 今圍雍氏，五月不能拔，是楚病也 (戰國策、西周)

以上八例，主語外位而提前。拿基式 1 至 9 例跟它們比較，可以看出兩者的主語雖然都作「主題」，可是其中「主題——解釋」的關係已經不同。基式是單句的「主語——謂語」關係；而這八例卻是複句的「補充」關係——外位主語成爲補充複句的第一分句。因此我們可以說：這種語序變換會造成句子的分化，而其變換的條件則有二：甲、限於判斷句或準判斷句的主語；乙、限於造句結構作主語。至於其變換的方式，則是把主語提前以後，在原位上補一近指代詞「是」。

9. 夫二子之勇，未知其孰賢 (孟子、公孫丑上)
10. 鳥、吾知其能飛；魚，吾知其能遊；獸，吾知其能走 (史記、老莊列傳)

以上兩例，是造句結構主語外位而作「主題」。拿基式 10 跟這兩例比較，可以看出兩者陳述的重點完全不同。基式的「主題」，是動詞述語 (曰) 的施動者 (雍姬)；而變式的「主題」，則是動詞述語 (知) 的陳述對象 (夫二子之勇、鳥、魚、獸)。因此兩者「主題——解釋」的關係也不一樣，基式是敘事性的主謂關係；變式是描述性的主謂關係。由此可知，這種語序變換可以造成陳述重點及句型的轉變，而其方式則是把造句結構的主語提到句首，並在原位上補一遠指或三身代詞「其」。

(二)移後：古代漢語中，主語也有移到述語，賓語後面的。例如：

11.丙申卜貞：𠄎𠄎，左右中人三百，六月（甲文、通二五）⁴

12.有孚惟心（易、習坎）

13.有孚惠心（又益九五）

14.有孚惠我德（同前）⁵

15.有是哉！子之迂也（論語、子路）

16.有心哉！擊磬乎（又述而）

以上六例，主語後移而成為「解釋」。拿基式 2. 4. 6. 7.四例跟它們比較，可以看出兩者的不同，不但是「主題」與「解釋」的成分對換，而且其中的關係也有所改變。基式是單句的主謂關係；而這六例則是複句的補充關係——後移的主語成為補充複句的第二分句。由此知這種語序變換，也可以造成句子的分化，而其方式則是把主語移到謂語後，或前附助詞（惟／惠）；或後附助詞（也／乎）；而更明顯的記號則是保留原來的句末助詞（哉）。因此變式15.16.兩例是最具代表性的。

貳、表語的語序變換

一、基 式

表語在主語後面，是漢語造句法的基本規律。符合這基本規律的句例也不勝枚舉，姑以下列十例為代表：

1.白馬翰如（易、賁六四）

2.鐘鼓喤喤（詩、周頌、執競）

3.厥心臧（書、酒誥）

4.管仲之器小哉（論語、八佾）

5.冠者五六人（又先進）

6.王之所樂甚（孟子、梁惠王下）

7.齊國其庶幾乎（同前）

8.其為人也寡欲，雖有不存焉者寡矣（又盡心下）

9.秦穆之不為盟主也宜哉（左傳、文六）

⁴「通」指卜辭通纂。此例見管燮初先生殷虛甲骨刻辭的語法研究引。「𠄎」當是動詞述語。

⁵李漢三先生周易卦爻辭釋義引屈翼鵬師讀易簡端便識：「天壤閣甲骨文字考釋第三十三葉，唐蘭對「孚」字釋作「𠄎」或「𠄎」：謂：「當讀如惠；惠，惟也。」是則益九五爻辭，蓋謂「我心惟信，我德惟誠，無待問卜而元吉也。」又就辭句順序為釋亦諧；言「我心惟信，無待問卜而元吉；蓋有信惟我得（德）也。」」（見釋義頁二一二）

10. 吾死無日矣夫 (又成十二)

二、變式

古代漢語中，有把表語提到主語前面去的例子⁶如：

1. 於穆清廟，肅離顯相 (詩、周頌、清廟)
2. 嗶嗶厥聲，肅離和鳴，先祖是聽 (又有瞽)
3. 我龍受之，蹻蹻王之造 (又酌)
4. 縣縣瓜瓞，民之初生，自土沮漆 (又大雅、縣)
5. 誰謂爾無牛，九十其犝 (又小雅、無羊)

以上五例，表語提前成為「主題」，而原來的「主語」則成為「解釋」。比較基式各例可知，這五例的「主題——解釋」，已由單句的主謂關係轉變為補充關係——提前的表語成為補充複句的第一分句。因此這種語序變換也造成句子的分化；而其變換方式，只是把表語提到主語前面。這種簡略的形式，很容易和主從結構混淆。如第1例，原意究竟是「肅離的顯相」抑或「顯相肅離」，不易分辨。我們認定它是後者而非前者，是依據上下文關係知道它必須成句(主從結構通常不成句)。第4例也如此。至於其餘各例則是依據古代漢語的語法通則：主從結構中，代詞加語總在形容詞加語前面。因此代詞前面的形容詞不當是加語，而是提前的表語，如2.5.兩例。此外，造句結構通常很少用作主從結構的端語。因此在造句結構前面的形容詞也當優先考慮為提前的表語，如第3.例。

6. 勗哉！夫子 (書、牧誓)
7. 久矣哉！由之行許也 (論語、子罕)
8. 巍巍乎！其有成功也 (又泰伯)
9. 固矣夫！高叟之為詩也 (孟子、告子下)
10. 甚矣哉！子之為此來也 (左傳、昭三)

以上五例，可與基式4.6.8.9.10.各例比較。它們受到強調的表語提前而成為「主題」，以及「主題——解釋」的關係轉變為複句的補充關係等等，都跟前五例相同。所不同的是它們在變換語序的方式上，比前五例有更明確的記號，即提前的表語都後附助詞(哉/矣哉/乎/矣夫)。前五例都見於詩經，這也許跟韻文、散文的差異有關，但無論如何這類表語提前的句法，總以後五例較具代表性。

叁、斷語的語序變換

一、基式

⁶ 這種現象也可視作主語移後，但筆者認為這類語序的變換，決定條件多數在表語部分，所以另列此項。

斷語在主語後面，也是漢語造句法的基本規律。符合這基本規律的句例，姑以下列十例爲代表：

1. 知臨，大君之宜（易、臨六五）
2. 余非庸又昏（金文、毛公鼎）
3. 其釣維何？維絲伊縉（詩、召南、何彼襪矣）
4. 騏驎是中，騏驎是驂（又秦風、小戎）
5. 臣哉，鄰哉！鄰哉，臣哉（書、皋陶謨）
6. 富與貴，是人之所欲也（論語、里仁）
7. 子爲誰（又微子）
8. 出疆必載質，何也（孟子、滕文公下）
9. 怒者其誰邪（莊子、齊物論）
10. 禮也者，小事大、大字小之謂（左傳、昭三十）

二、變式

古代漢語中，有把斷語提到主語或繫詞前面去的例子，如：

1. 何彼襪矣？唐棣之華（詩、召南、何彼襪矣）
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，君所爲輕身以先匹夫者（孟子、梁惠王下）

以上五例，斷語受到強調，提前成爲「主題」；原來的主語則成爲「解釋」。比較基式各例，可以看出這種語序變換跟表語提前的情形類似，可以改變「主題——解釋」的關係，也造成句子的分化。這五例相同之處是都用疑問代詞「何」作斷語。比較基式 3. 8. 兩例可知，古代漢語中，「何」作斷語非必提前。但是除了「何」以外，其他疑問代詞作斷語卻也沒有提前的情形⁷。因此我們可以說：用疑問代詞「何」，是造成斷語提到主語前面這種語序變換的必要條件。

6. 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）

7. 七十里爲政於天下者，湯是也（同前）

8. 地籟，則眾竅是已；人籟，則比竹是已（莊子、齊物論）

9. 墜茵席者，殿下是也；落糞溷者，下官是也（梁書、范縝傳）

⁷ 參考周法高先生中國古代語法稱代編第四章「詢問代詞」部分。

10.自古亡國未必皆愚庸暴虐之君也……昭宗是已（新唐書、昭宗哀帝紀贊）⁸

以上五例中「是」字的作用，王了一先生認為是「在乎『是認』某一些例證。」但是他承認這類的「是」字是繫詞。理由有二：「一則因為它的用途僅限於舉例；二則因為它並沒有連繫兩『項』（terms）的效能。」（中國文法學初探，頁一四〇）

筆者認為從語序變換的觀點可以撤消王先生的第二點理由。試把變式 6.至 10.五例的斷語還原，「是」字連繫兩項的效能即顯。如：（其樂）蓋是徵招、角招也／七十里為政於天下者是湯也／地籟則是眾竅已；人籟則是比竹已……。至於王先生的第一點理由，正可藉以說明這類變式其所以要提前斷語的緣故——就是為了列舉例證。可是王先生不承認這類「是」字為繫詞的理由取消以後，並不等於這類「是」字為繫詞的理由即已成立。除了如上所述這類變式還原以後，就可證明「是」字有連繫兩項的作用以外，還有更重要的問題尚得解決，即在這些變式出現的同一時期，「是」字是否已用為繫詞？這方面，筆者的答案是肯定的。基式 4. 詩經兩例可以證明最遲在春秋中葉（西元前六七世紀間）「是」字已被用為繫詞。此後論語，孟子也有相同的例證，如：

桀溺曰：「子為誰？」曰：「為仲由。」曰：「是魯孔丘之徒與？」對曰：「然。」（論語、微子）

公都子問曰：「鈞是人也、或為大人、或為小人、何也？」（孟子、告子上）

變式中「……是也（已）」的句法，在戰國以前的資料中未見，當是戰國以後所形成的，其主要功用則是列舉例證。這類變式，提前的斷語也成為「主題」，而原來的繫詞「是」則成為「解釋」。「主題——解釋」是判斷性的主謂關係。

肆、兼語的語序變換

一、基式

遞繫式中，兼語是第一繫的賓語兼作第二繫的主語。它是兩繫承遞連接的樞紐，位置自然在兩繫之間。下列十例可以作為這類基本句式的代表：

1. 癸巳卜：令卓省面（甲文、粹九一四）

2. 唯王令明公遣三族伐東或（金文、明公殷）

3. 式遏寇虐，無俾民憂（詩、大雅、民勞）

4. 于後，公乃為詩以貽王，名之曰鴟鵂（書、金縢）

⁸ 8.9.10.三例見王了一先生中國文法中的繫詞引（中國文法學初探，頁一四〇）。

- 5.有不速之客三人來 (易、需上六)
△△△△△△
- 6.子使漆雕開仕 (論語、公治長)
△△△△
- 7.女以子爲多學而識之者與 (又衛靈公)
△
- 8.謂其臺曰靈臺 (孟子、梁惠王上)
△△
- 9.思以一毫挫於人若撻之於市朝 (又公孫丑上)
△△△△△△△△
- 10.楚人謂乳穀：謂虎於菟 (左傳、宣四)
△△△△△△△△

二、變式

古代漢語中，有把兼語提到句首的例子，如：

- 1.夷卓令省亩 (甲文、粹九一五)
- 2.斂怨以爲德 (詩、大雅、蕩)
△△
- 3.秋以爲期 (又衛風、氓)
△
- 4.曾是以爲孝乎 (論語、爲政)
△
- 5.由也，千乘之國可使治其賦也 (又公治長)
△
- 6.王請勿疑 (孟子、梁惠王上)
△
- 7.無常職而賜於上者，以爲不恭也 (又萬章下)
△△△△△△△△△△
- 8.危者使平；易者使傾 (易、繫辭傳下)
△△△△△△△△

以上八例，兼語都提到句首而成爲「主題」。比較基式 1. 6. 7. 三例可知，變式的語意重點是在提前的兼語。兼語成爲「主題」以後，其與「解釋」部分的關係也不同於基式。它們的主謂關係已由「敘事性」轉變爲「描述性」。據此可知這種語序變換也造成句型的轉變。至於變換的方式，據變式 1. 5. 兩例可知：提前的兼語可前附助詞（夷＝惟）；也可後附助詞（也）。變式第 6. 例還可認爲是一種禮貌式，兼語所指即說話對象，提前之後有尊重對方之意。

- 9.邦君之妻，君稱之曰夫人 (論語、季氏)
△△△△△△○
- 10.不教而殺，謂之虐 (又堯曰)
△△△△△△○
- 11.從流下而忘反，謂之流 (孟子、梁惠王下)
△△△△△△△△○
- 12.講事以度軌量，謂之軌 (左傳、隱五)
△△△△△△△△○
- 13.形而上者，謂之道 (易、繫辭傳上)
△△△△△△○

以上五例，兼語取外位形式提到句首而成爲「主題」。比較基式 4. 8. 10. 三例，可知變式的「主題——解釋」有兩種關係，一是描述性的主謂關係，如 9. 13. 兩例（外位兼語非造句結構）；另一是複句的補充關係，如 10. 11. 12. 三例（外位兼語爲造句結構）。前者造成句型的轉變；後者造成句子的分化。這類語序變換的條件，是限於以稱謂動詞

作第一繫述語的遞繫式。而其變換的方式則是把兼語提到句首，在位上補一三身代詞「之」；第二繫的準繫詞（曰）多數省略。

14. 是之謂大同（書、洪範）

15. 此之謂大丈夫（孟子、滕文公下）

16. 孔子之謂集大成（又萬章下）

17. 共用之謂勇（左傳、文二）

18. 一陰一陽之謂道（易、繫辭傳上）

以上五例，兼語以後附助詞「之」的方式提到句首。拿前面變式 9 至 13 例來比較，可以看出兩者有其不同之處：（一）這五例的提前兼語可用近指代詞（是／此）；前五例不能。換句話說，古漢語中代詞「是／此」作兼語時，只能以後附助詞「之」的方式提前，不能以外位的方式提前。（二）這五例的「主題——解釋」，只屬於描述性的主謂關係，不像前五例那樣還有複句的補充關係。換句話說，這種後附助詞式的語序變換，不能造成句子的分化。至於其變換的條件，則與前五例相同，也限於以稱謂動詞作第一繫述語的遞繫式，而且第二繫的準繫詞全都省略，這樣就跟準判斷句非常接近——試以第 14 例跟禮記禮運篇的「是謂大同」相比較，就可看出它們都屬於一種簡單直截的注釋性句式。

這類變式的實例，未見於春秋以前的文獻⁹。據此推斷這種變換語序的方式當是戰國以後所發展出來的。

伍、賓語的語序變換

一、基 式

賓語在述語後面，是漢語造句法的基本規律，符合這基本規律的句例，姑以下列十六例為代表：

1. 王宣母戊歲（甲文、粹三八三）

2. 其長（登）新鬯（又九一〇）

3. 貞：勿正土方（又一〇三）

4. 辛酉卜、殼貞：王从或（又乙二〇九九）¹⁰

5. 子子孫孫其永用之（金文、君夫毀）

6. 其邑人三百戶无眚（易、訟九二）

7. 乃納冊于金滕之匱中（書、金滕）

⁹ 尚書洪範篇的著成時代，據屈翼鵬師考證，約當戰國初年（參見尚書釋義頁六十）。

¹⁰ 「乙」指殷虛文字乙編上中輯。

8. 投我以桃，報之以李（詩、大雅、抑）
9. 子夏云何（論語、子張）
10. 丘也聞：有國有家者，不患寡而患不均；不患貧而患不安（又季氏）
11. 陳子以時子之言告孟子（孟子、公孫丑下）
12. 天下有善養老，則仁人以爲己歸矣（又盡心上）
13. 遷也，吉莫如之（左傳、文十三）
14. 今君爲一臺，而不速成，何以爲役（又襄十七）
15. 天之生是，使獨也（莊子、養生主）
16. 悲夫！子之不知余也（又讓王）。

二、變式

(一) 提前：古代漢語中，賓語有提前的現象，其方式可分下列七項來討論。

甲、賓語＋〔主語〕＋述語¹¹

1. 父已父戊歲王寯（甲文、粹三一）
2. 新嚳其禡（又九一三）
3. 小人勿用（易、師上六）
4. 雜佩以贈之（詩、鄭風、女曰鷄鳴）
5. 舊令尹之政必以告新令尹（論語、公冶長）
6. 苗而不秀者有矣夫，秀而不實者有矣夫（又子罕）
7. 齊桓晉文之事可得聞乎（孟子、梁惠王上）
8. 天下可運於掌（同前）
9. 焉有仁人在位，罔民而可爲也（同前）
10. 非堯舜之道，不敢以陳於王前（又公孫丑下）
11. 凡而器用財賄，無實於許（左傳、隱十一）
12. 夫豈焉思啓封疆以利社稷者，何國蔑有（又成八）

以上十二例，賓語都受到強調，提前而成爲「主題」。比較基式 1. 2. 3. 7. 8. 10. 11. 12.

各例可知，這類變式「主題——解釋」的關係有兩種：一是描述性的主謂關係；一是複句的補充關係。9. 10. 兩例屬於後者，其餘都屬於前者。後者造成句子的分化；前者造成句型的轉變。再跟下文各項變式比較可知，在賓語提前的各種方式中，這是最自由的，只要是強調賓語，就可把它提到句首，沒有什麼條件的限制。

乙、外位賓語＋主語＋述語＋賓語

11 句式中加〔 〕的成分，表示它常被省略。

1. 其刑其罰，其審克之（書、呂刑）
△△△△△
2. 芄芄棫樸，薪之標之（詩、太雅、棫樸）
△△△△△
3. 一言可以興邦，有諸（=之乎）（論語、子路）
△△△△△
4. 脩己以安百姓，堯舜其猶病諸（又憲問）
△△△△△
5. 一人衡行於天下，武王恥之（孟子、梁惠王下）
△△△△△
6. 夫世祿，滕固行之矣（又滕文公上）
△△△△△
7. 必爾乎取之（左傳、襄十）
△△△△△
8. 夫謀而鮮過、惠訓不倦者，叔向有焉（又襄廿一）
△△△△△

以上八例，賓語都以外位形式提前而成為「主題」。其「主題——解釋」的關係，以及造成句型轉變或句子分化的情形，都同於甲式。至於其變換語序的方式，則是把賓語提到述語或主語前面，而在原位上補一三身或近指代詞（之／諸／焉）。值得注意的現象是：提前的賓語可以前附代詞加語「夫」，或後附助詞「乎」。這都可以加強它作「主題」的意味。

丙、主語＋助詞（惟）＋賓語＋述語¹²

1. 貞：勿佳土方正（甲文、粹一一〇六）
△△△△△
2. 辛酉□毀貞：王申沚貳从（又乙二〇九九）
△△△△△
3. 女雖（維）湛樂從（詩、太雅、抑）
△△△△△
4. 寧王惟卜用（書、太誥）
△△△△△
5. 寡人唯是一二父兄不能共億（左傳、隱十二）
△△△△△
6. 唯是風馬牛不相及也（又僖四）
△△△△△
7. 無亦唯是一矢以相加遺（又成十二）
△△△△△
8. 唯所欲與（又昭元）
△△△△△

以上八例，賓語提在述語前面、主語後面。比較基式 3. 4. 兩例即可看出：變式中提前的賓語是特別受到強調的，而其前附的助詞「惟」，正是為了加強認定的語氣。這類句式，論、孟未見，可能是被「助詞（惟）＋賓語＋助詞（之／是）＋述語」這種句式所取代（參見下文已項）。

丁、主語＋〔否定副語〕＋代詞賓語＋述語¹³

1. 不我殺（甲文、乙五四〇六）
△△△△△

¹² 助詞「惟」，甲金文作「佳」「衷」；詩經作「維」或寫作「雖」；尚書、孟子作「惟」；論語、左傳作「唯」。

¹³ 如果主語是否定性的，則不必用否定副語。

2. 毋女又閑 (金文、同殷)
3. 終莫之勝 (易、漸九五)
4. 不汝瑕殄 (書、康誥)
5. 莫予云觀 (詩、大雅、抑)
6. 豈不爾受 (又小雅、巷伯)
7. 未之有也 (論語、學而)
8. 不患莫己知 (又里仁)
9. 臣未之聞也 (孟子、梁惠王上)
10. 莫之能禦也 (同前)
11. 我無爾詐，爾無我虞 (左傳、宣十五)
12. 毋是翦棄 (襄十四)

以上十二例，賓語也提到述語前面、主語後面。跟其他各項變式比較可知，這一項的語序變換，須具備兩個條件：(一)賓語必須是代詞。(二)主語或副語必須有一個是否定性的。否定句中，代詞賓語移置在主、述語之間，這是古代漢語語法通則。像基式13.16那樣，具備上述兩個條件，而賓語卻不提前的情形，只屬於少數¹⁴。

戊、主語+代詞賓語(是)+述語

1. 我孫克又(守)井斂(型教)，猷父迺是子(金文、沈子殷)
2. 嗶嗶厥聲，肅雝和鳴，先祖是聽(詩、周頌、有瞽)
3. 亶亶申伯，南國是式(又大雅、崧高)
4. 爾貢包茅不入，王祭不共，無以縮酒，寡人是微；昭王南征而不復，寡人是問(左傳、僖四)
5. 社稷五祀，是尊是奉(又昭廿九)

以上五例，明顯的特色是近指代詞「是」作賓語而移置在主述語之間。這也是屬於古代漢語語法通則，像基式15那樣不提前的情形極為少見。比較基式5可知：通常代詞「是」「之」作賓語各有不同的語序，一在述語前面；一在述語後面。當然「是」在述語前是有被強調之意的。

己、主語+〔助詞(惟／繫／伊)〕+賓語+助詞(之／是／于／來／斯／云／焉)+述語

這類變式，主要作用也無非是強調賓語，而以賓語和述語之間的助詞(之／是…)爲其主要標識。賓語和主語之間的助詞(惟／繫／伊)則可有可無。而且「惟」

¹⁴ 參見中國古代語法稱代編第一章、第三節。

只跟「之」「是」配合；「繫」只跟「是」配合；「伊」則只跟「來」「云」配合。下文以「之／是……」等助詞爲類別，列舉例句，加以討論。

子、「之」式：

1. 曷之用（易、損）
2. 胡考之寧（詩、周頌、載芟）
3. 其斯之謂與（論語、先進）
4. 吾以子爲異之間，曾由與求之間（同前）
5. 古者民有三疾，今也或是之亡也（又陽貨）
6. 詩云自西自東自南自北，無思不服，此之謂也（孟子、公孫丑上）
7. 何亡國敗家之有（又離婁上）
8. 知者無不知也，當務之爲急（又盡心上）
9. 君亡之不恤，而羣臣是憂，惠之至也（左傳、僖十五）
10. 故人苟生之爲見，若者必死；苟利之爲見，若者必害（荀子、禮論）
11. 乃及王季，維德之行（詩、大雅、大明）
12. 惟耽樂之從（書、無逸）
13. 父母唯其疾之憂（論語、爲政）
14. 操則存，舍則亡，出入無時，莫知其鄉，惟心之謂與（孟子、告子上）
15. 其一人專心致志，惟奕秋之爲聽（同前）
16. 吾唯子之怨（左傳、文七）
17. 唯仁之爲守，唯義之爲行（荀子、不苟）

以上十七例，提前的賓語都後附助詞「之」。11.至17.七例，還前附助詞「惟（維／唯）」；8.10.15.17.四例，述語前又有助詞「爲」¹⁵。比較下文丑至午各式可知，「之」式是本（己）項變式中用得最爲普遍，而變化也最多的句式。

丑、「是」式

18. 往近王舅，南土是保（詩、大雅、崧高）
19. 令儀令色，小心翼翼；古訓是式，威儀是力（又烝民）
20. 元器其舊，哉（載）公灋（眉）喜，龜邦是保（金文、邾公華鐘）
21. 君人者將禍是務去（左傳、隱三）
22. 告之以臨民，教之以軍旅，不共是懼，何故廢乎（左傳、閔二）

¹⁵ 楊樹達先生詞詮卷八，引上文 10、15、17 三例，解釋「爲」字作用說：「句中助詞，賓語倒裝時用之。」（頁廿三）

23.公曰：「何謂六物？」對曰：「歲時日月星辰是謂也。」（又昭七）

24.庶獄、庶愼，惟有司之牧夫是訓用違（書、立政）

25.除君之惡，唯力是視（左傳、僖廿四）

26.王室之不壞，絜伯舅是賴（又襄十四）

以上九例，提前的賓語都後助詞「是」。24、25兩例，還前助詞「惟（唯）」；第26例則前附「絜」。「絜」的作用同「唯」，也是加強認定語氣的助詞。比較子式可知：「之」「是」在賓語提前的變式中作用相同。但若代詞賓語提前，則只附「之」，不附「是」（參見子式1.3.5.6.16諸例）；而且述語前的助詞「爲」只跟「之」字配合，不跟「是」字配合。此外在各資料作者的習慣上，也有些差別，易經、論語、孟子只用「之」；金文只用「是」；其餘則兼用「之」「是」。

寅、「于」式

27.鼎孝于申（金文、大克鼎）

28.四國于蕃，四方于宣（詩、大雅、崧高）

29.赫赫南仲，玁狁于襄（又小雅、出車）

30.赫赫南仲，玁狁于夷（同前）

以上四例，提前的賓語都後助詞「于」。「于」的作用同「是」，說見經傳釋詞（卷一「于」字條）。

卯、「來」式

31.鳧鷖在涇，公尸來燕來寧（詩、大雅、鳧鷖）

32.既之陰女，反予來赫（又桑柔）

33.征伐玁狁，蠻荆來威（又小雅、采芣）

34.不念昔者，伊余來塈（又邶風、谷風）

以上四例，提前的賓語都後助詞「來」。「來」的作用同「是」，說見經傳釋詞（卷七「來」字條）。

辰、「斯」式

35.無獨斯畏（詩、大雅、板）

36.朋酒斯饗（又豳風、七月）

以上兩例，提前的賓語都後助詞「斯」。「斯」的作用同「是」，說見經傳釋詞（卷八「斯」字條）。

巳、「云」式

37.有皇上帝，伊誰云憎（詩、小雅、正月）

38. 伊誰云從，維暴之云（又何人斯）

以上兩例，都用疑問代詞「誰」作賓語。古代漢語中，疑問代詞作賓語，通常即可提在述語前面（參見下文庚項）。而詩經兩例又在它的前後分別附上「伊」「云」兩個助詞。「伊」的作用同「維」；「云」的作用同「是」。說見經傳釋詞（卷三「伊」字、「云」字條）。

以上「來」「斯」「云」三式，都只見於詩經，代表詩經語法特色。

午、「焉」式

39. 我周東遷，晉鄭焉依（左傳、隱六）40. 安定國家，必大焉先（又襄三十）

以上兩例，提前的賓語都後附助詞「焉」。「焉」的作用同「是」，說見經傳釋詞（卷二「焉」字條）。這類變式，只見於左傳，代表左傳語法特色。

庚、主語＋疑問代詞賓語＋述語

1. 予何言（書、臯陶謨）2. 終南何有（詩、秦風、終南）3. 吾誰欺（論語、子罕）4. 相維辟公，天子穆穆，奚取於三家之堂（又八佾）5. 欲仁而得仁，又焉貪（又堯曰）6. 奚有於是（孟子、告子下）7. 鄭何能爲（左傳、隱六）8. 吾誰適從（又僖五）

以上八例，疑問代詞作賓語而移置在述語前面。這也屬於古代漢語的語法通則，像基式9.那樣不提前的情形，極爲少見。

9. 君子質而已矣，何以文爲（論語、顏淵）10. 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）11. 惡用是駢駢者爲哉（孟子、滕文公下）12. 我何以湯之聘幣爲哉（又萬章上）13. 雨行，何以聖爲（左傳、襄廿二）14. 三代之亡，共子之廢，皆是物也；女何以爲哉（又昭廿八）15. 奚以之九萬里而南爲（莊子、逍遙遊）

16. 君何以疵言告韓魏之君爲 (戰國策、趙策) ¹⁶

以上八例，提前的疑問代詞賓語跟述語之間，加入表憑藉的介賓結構。「何（奚／惡）以（用）……爲」的句式成爲一種特殊的反詰問句。這種問句只用來問目的，意謂「以……何爲」——「用……幹什麼」¹⁷。上列10.14兩例，介詞「以」後面省略次賓語，可加「之」來還原。

(二) 移後：古代漢語中，賓語有取外位形式而後移的現象。例如：

1. 吾聞之也，君子周急不繼富 (論語、雍也)
2. 吾聞諸夫子，人未有自致者也，必也親喪乎 (又子張)
3. 吾聞之也，有官守者，不得其職則去；有言責者，不得其言則去 (孟子、公孫丑下)
4. 吾嘗聞之矣，三年之喪、齊疏之服、飭粥之食、自天子達於庶人，三代共之 (又滕文公上)
5. 周諺有之，匹夫無罪，懷璧其罪 (左傳、桓十)
6. 員聞之，陸人居陸，水人居水 (國語、越語)
7. 小子識之，苛政猛於虎也 (禮記、檀弓)

以上七例，拿基式10.12兩例來比較可以看出：在這種變式中，後移的外位賓語，已成爲「解釋」部分；而其與「主題」的關係，則爲複句的補充關係——外位賓語成爲補充複句的第二分句。據此可知，這類變式造成句子的分化，而其變換的條件則是外位賓語必須屬於造句結構。至於變換的方式，則是賓語後移，而在原位上補一代詞「之／諸」。

陸、次賓語的語序變換

一、基 式

一般而言，次賓語跟介詞的關係，類似賓語跟述語的關係。因此，次賓語當在介詞後面；如果介詞習慣性省略則當在述語後面。這是漢語造句法的基本規律。符合這基本規律的句例，姑以下列十五例爲代表：

1. 帝受我右 (祐) (甲文、前五、二、二) ¹⁸
2. 甲寅卜，尹貞：王壹大甲彡，亡尤，在正月 (又粹一七六)

¹⁶ 以上八例見詞詮引。

¹⁷ 馬氏文通：「何以文爲者，即言以文爲何。」(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、頁八十四) 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)

¹⁸ 「前」指殷虛書契前編

3. 明公朝至于成周 (金文、令彝)
4. 王降征令于大保 (又大保殷)
5. 勿用非謀非彝蔽時忱 (書、康誥)
6. 以杞包瓜 (易、姤九五)
7. 日居月諸，出自東方 (詩、邶風、日月)
8. 此日而食，于何不臧 (又小雅、十月之交)
9. 我視謀猶，伊于胡底 (又小旻)
10. 彼其之子，不與我戍申 (又王風、楊之水)
11. 桓公殺公子糾，召忽死之 (論語、憲問)
12. 王如好貨，與百姓同之，於王何有 (孟子、梁惠王下)
13. 大匠不爲拙工改廢繩墨 (又盡心上)
14. 秦伯素服郊次，鄉師而哭 (左傳、僖卅二)
15. 天之生是使獨也，人之貌有與也，以是知其天也非人也 (莊子、養生主)

二、變式

古代漢語中，次賓語有移置在介詞或述語前面的現象，其方式可分下列十項來討論：

甲、主語＋〔否定副語〕＋代詞次賓語＋介詞＋述語¹⁹

1. 帝不我其受又 (授祐) (甲文、前六、五八、四)
2. 無我殄享 (書、康誥)
3. 不我以歸 (詩、邶風、擊鼓)
4. 民莫之死也 (孟子、梁惠王下)
5. 莫之與京 (左傳、莊廿二)

以上 1. 2. 兩例，間接賓語習慣性省略介詞。比較基式 1. 4. 兩例，可以看出它們的語序變換。3. 5. 兩例，表「交與」的次賓語，提到介詞「以／與」前面。比較基式 10. 可以看出它的語序變換。第 4 例，表「原因」的次賓語也習慣性省略介詞。比較基式 11. 可知其語序變換。

以上五例語序變換的條件，與賓語變式丁項相同。

乙、〔主語〕＋述語＋賓語＋表時間的次賓語＋介詞（在）

1. 王固曰吉，^{△△△}之日允^{△△△}我^{△△△}方，十二月在 (甲文、乙四〇六九)

表時間的次賓語移到介詞「在」的前面，即在甲文中也屬於特殊現象；後代的文

¹⁹ 同註十三。

獻資料中則從未曾見。上列例句，可以代表殷商刻辭的語法特色，

丙、主語+表方向的次賓語+介詞（嚮／面）+述語

1. 卽立（位）中廷北卿（嚮）（金文、小孟鼎）
2. 恭己，正南面而已矣（論語、衛靈公）
3. 東面而征西夷怨，南面而征北狄怨（孟子、滕文公下）
4. 舜南面而立（又萬章上）
5. 衛侯夢于北宮，見人登昆吾之觀，被髮北面而諫（左傳、哀十七）
6. 項王、項伯東嚮坐，亞父南嚮坐，亞父者范增也，沛公北嚮坐，張良西嚮侍（史記、項羽本紀）

以上六例，方位詞作次賓語而移置在介詞前面。這在古漢語中也已成為通則。比較基式第14例可知，這類次賓語的語序變換，是以方位詞作必要條件的。

丁、主語+次賓語（是）+介詞（用／以）+述語

1. 王賜欒馬，是用左王（金文、虢季子白盤）
2. 時純熙矣，是用大介（詩、周頌、酌）
3. 君子屢盟，亂是用長（又小雅、巧言）
4. 我心寫兮，是以有譽處兮（又裳裳者華）
5. 維是褊心，是以爲刺（又魏風、葛屨）
6. 敏而好學，不恥下問，是以謂之文也（論語、公冶長）
7. 仲尼之徒無道桓文之事者，是以後世無傳焉（孟子、梁惠王上）
8. 王取隴劉蕞邾之田于鄭，而與鄭人蘇忿生之田……君子是以知桓王之失鄭也（左傳、隱十一）
9. 以无厚入有間，恢恢乎其於游刃必有餘地矣，是以十九年而刀刃若新發於硎（莊子、養生主）

以上九例，都用近指代詞「是」作次賓語，它們被移置在介詞前面，跟「是」作賓語而被移到述語前面的情形相同（參見上文賓語變式戊項）。像基式第15例那樣不提前的例子，極爲少見；而且在戰國以前的文獻中未見。「以是……」的句法當是戰國時期所興起的。

戊、主語+次賓語+介詞（用／以）+述語

1. 乃非德用乂（書、康誥）
2. 大車以載（易、大有九二）
3. 民之失德，乾餱以愆（詩、小雅、伐木）

4. 先君之思，以勗寡人（又邶風、燕燕）
△△△△
5. 詩三百，一言以蔽之，曰思無邪（論語、爲政）
△△
6. 參乎！吾道一以貫之（又里仁）
△
7. 江漢以濯之，秋陽以暴之（孟子、滕文公上）
△△
8. 政以治民，刑以正邪（左傳、隱十一）
△△
9. 若晉君朝以入，則婢子夕以死（又僖十五）
△△

以上移置在介詞前面的次賓語，第3例表原因；第9例表時間；其餘都表憑藉。它們變換語序的共同條件，是與介詞「用／以」配合。比較基式5.6兩例可知，古代漢語中，介詞「用／以」的次賓語未必都提前。但從上例變式九例觀察，介詞「用／以」的次賓語提前，是很普遍的現象。就介詞來說，丁項跟本（戊）項相同，都是「用／以」；就次賓語來說，丁項跟本項不同。丁項專用代詞「是」，而且多數表原因；本項泛用一般名詞或名詞性的主從結構，而且多數表憑藉。

己、主語＋疑問代詞次賓語＋介詞＋述語

1. 厥命曷以引養引恬（書、梓材）
△
2. 天何以刺（詩、大雅、瞻卬）
△
3. 國既卒斬，何用不監（又小雅、節南山）
△
4. 胡爲我作，不卽我謀（又十月之交）
△
5. 百姓不足，君孰與足（論語、顏淵）
△
6. 爲民父母行政，不免於率獸而食人，惡在其爲民父母也（孟子、梁惠王上）
△
7. 天下之父歸之，其子焉往（又離婁上）
△
8. 先生將何之（又告子下）
△
9. 君奚爲不見孟軻也（梁惠王下）
△
10. 王誰與爲不善（又滕文公下）
△
11. 失忠與敬，何以事君（左傳、僖五）
△
12. 皮之不存，毛將安傅（又僖十四）
△

以上十二例，都用疑問代詞作次賓語。它們或表原因（1～4.9各例）；或表交與（5.10兩例）；或表憑藉（第11例）；或表處所（6.7.8.12四例）。前三類都移置在介詞前面；表處所的這一類，則移置在述語前面，因為它們習慣性省略介詞。這種語序變換的條件，與賓語變式庚項相同。像基式8.9兩例那樣，疑問代詞作次賓語而不提前的情形，並不多見。

庚、主語＋次賓語＋助詞（之）＋介詞＋述語

1. 止旅乃密，芮鞫之卽（詩、大雅、公劉）
△△

2. 君子之於天下也，無適也，無莫也；義之與比（論語、里仁）[△]

3. 非夫人之爲勸而誰爲（又先進）[△]

4. 何必公山氏之之也（又陽貨）^{△△}

5. 吾子孫其覆亡之不暇（左傳、隱十一）^{△△△}

6. 孤與其二三臣，悼心失圖，社稷之不皇（又昭七）^{△△}

7. 我周之自出，至于今是賴（又襄廿五）^{△△}

8. 大夫陳子，陳之自出（又哀廿七）^{△△}

以上八例，變換語序的次賓語，或表處所（1. 4. 表到著，7. 8. 表起始，5. 6. 表對象）；或表交與（第2. 例）；或表關切（第3. 例）。1. 4. 5. 6. 四例，習慣性省略介詞，次賓語因而移置在述語前面；其餘各例都移置在介詞前面。這種語序變換的方式，與賓語變式已項相同，即後附助詞。值得注意的是本項變式後附助詞，只用「之」，沒有用「是／于／來／斯／云／焉」等的情形；而且也沒有前附助詞「惟／繄／伊」的情形。這是與賓語變式已項大同之中的小異。

辛、〔主語〕＋次賓語＋介詞（于／於）＋述語

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）[△]²⁰

3. 勞之不圖，報於何有（又僖廿八）[△]

4. 羣臣若急，君於何有（又襄廿三）[△]

5. 若得其人，四方以爲主，而國於何有（又哀廿六）[△]

6. 特此三者而不脩政德，亡於不暇，又何能濟（又昭四）[△]

7. 王貪而無信，唯蔡於感（又昭十一）[△]²¹

8. 其一二父兄懼隊宗主，私族於謀而立長親（又昭十九）^{△△}

9. 諺所謂室於怒，市於色者，楚之謂矣（同前）^{△△}

以上九例，次賓語都移置在介詞「于／於」前面。第8. 例表交與，其餘都表處所（第1. 例表到著，第9. 例表所在，其餘都表對象）。這類語序變換，在古代漢語中並不多見，上列九例，除第1. 例見於詩經以外，全都見於左傳。可說是左傳語法特色。

壬、次賓語＋〔介詞〕＋述語＋賓語

1. 士志於道而恥惡衣惡食者，未足與議也（論語、里仁）^{△△△△△△△△△△△△}

²⁰ 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）

²¹ 左傳會箋：「感、憾通。蔡於感，猶曰憾於蔡。」（卷廿二、頁二九）

2. 中人以上，可以語上也（又雍也）
△△△△
3. 危邦不入，亂邦不居（又泰伯）
△△△△
4. 片言可以折獄者，其由也與（又顏淵）
△△△△
5. 是心足以王矣（孟子、梁惠王上）
△△△△
6. 五畝之宅，樹之以桑（同前）
△△△△
7. 術不可不慎也（同前）
△△△△
8. 自暴者不可與有言也（又離婁上）
△△△△

以上八例，提前的次賓語或表交與（1. 2. 8. 三例）；或表處所（3. 6. 7. 三例）；或表憑藉（4. 5. 兩例）。它們都受到強調而被提到句首成為「主題」。比較基式 3. 6. 10. 三例可知，這種語序變換，改變了「主題——解釋」的主謂關係——由原來的敘事性變為描述性。

癸、

子、外位次賓語＋〔主語〕＋次賓語＋介詞＋〔主語〕＋述語／表語²²

1. 時純熙矣，是用大介（詩、周頌、酌）
△△△△○
2. 玃狁孔熾，我是用急（又小雅、六月）
△△△△○
3. 維其有之，是以似之（又裳裳者華）
△△△△○
4. 敏而好學，不恥下問，是以謂之文也（論語、公冶長）
△△△△○
5. 仲尼之徒無道桓文之事者，是以後世無傳焉（孟子、梁惠王上）
△△△△○
6. 夫民，神之主也，是以聖王先成民而後致力於神（左傳、桓六）
△△△△○

以上六例，次賓語以外位的方式被提到句首成為「主題」。很明顯的，這種語序變換造成了句子的分化——「主題——解釋」是複句的因果關係，提前的次賓語即因果複句的第一分句。

丑、外位次賓語＋〔主語〕＋述語／表語十〔介詞〕＋次賓語

7. 晉國，天下莫強焉（於是）（孟子、梁惠王上）
△△△△○
8. 子路，人告之以有過則喜（又公孫丑上）
△△△△○
9. 仲子，不義而與之齊國而弗受（又盡心上）
△△△△○
10. 蒲人、狄人，余何有焉（於是）（左傳、僖廿四）
△△△△○

以上四例，次賓語也以外位的方式被提到句首而成為「主題」。其與子式不同的是：並未造成句子的分化，只強調了次賓語，使它成為句子陳述的重點；而變序後的「主題——解釋」也全都屬於描述性的主謂關係。此外，子式在原位上所補的代詞全

²² 這類句式，主語位置不定。

爲「是」；而本（丑）式所補的則爲「之／焉」。

柒、副語的語序變換

一、基 式

副語在被飾語前面，是漢語造句法的基本規律。符合這基本規律的句例，姑以下列十例爲代表：

1. 王令利出田（畝）（甲文、粹九三三）
2. 不用先王[△]作井（型），亦多^{△△}虐庶民（金文、牧殷）
3. 虔[△]夙夜出內王命（又師望鼎）
4. 君子終日乾乾（易、乾九三）
5. 越予小子^{△△}考翼，不可征（書、大誥）
6. 人可以食，鮮^{△△}可以飽（詩、小雅、苕之華）
7. 無罪無辜，亂[△]如此幺（又巧言）
8. 吾嘗終日不食，終夜不寢，以思，無益，不如學也（論語、衛靈公）
9. 齊人將築薛，吾^{△△△△}甚恐，如之何則可（孟子、梁惠王下）
10. 祝史矯舉以祭（左傳、桓六）
^{△△}

二、變 式

古代漢語中，副語有移到被飾語後面去的例子。如：

1. 逝者如斯夫、不舍晝夜（論語、子罕）
2. 王之好樂甚，則齊國^{△△}其庶幾乎（孟子、梁惠王下）
3. 不得於心，勿求於氣，可；不得於言，勿求於心，不可（又公孫丑上）
^{△△}
4. 且以一璧之故逆彊秦之驩，不可（史記、廉頗藺相如列傳）
^{△△}

以上四例，副語都後移到句末。第1例成爲表時間的次賓語；其餘三例則成爲表語。比較基式各例可知，這種語序變換，可以造成句子結構的改變。2.3.4.三例，則顯然使後移的副語成爲「解釋」部份。這時「主題——解釋」的主謂關係，已由原來的敘事性，轉變爲描述性或判斷性。

捌、加語的語序變換

一、基 式

主從結構中的加語，是形容端語的成分。它位在端語前面，這是漢語造句法的基

本規律。符合這基本規律的句例，姑以下列十例爲代表：

1. 其[△]昇新鬯（甲文、粹九一〇）
2. 貞[△]二牛，在十二月（又七二三）
3. 八日辛亥，允伐^{△△}二千六百五十六人（又通十九）
4. 束帛[△]淺淺（易、賁六五）
5. 孟侯，朕其弟，小子^{△△}封（書、康誥）
6. 文王孫子，本[△]支百世（詩、大雅、文王）
7. 夫子之文章，可得而聞也（論語、公冶長）
8. 今^{△△}之爲仁者，猶以一杯水救一車薪之火也（孟子、告子上）
9. 若夫君子所患則亡矣（又離婁下）
10. 今[△]陳忘周之大德（左傳、襄廿五）

二、變式

(一) 提前：古代漢語中，加語有採外位形式而提前的例子。如：

1. 回也，其心三月不違仁（論語、雍也）
2. 仁者，其言也詡（又顏淵）
3. 由也，千乘之國可使治其賦也。……求也，千室之邑、百乘之家，可使爲之宰也（又公冶長）
4. 萬乘之國，弑其君者必千乘之家（孟子、梁惠王上）
5. 樂民之樂者，民亦樂其樂（又梁惠王下）
6. 貴貴尊賢，其義一也（又萬章下）

以上六例，加語以外位形式提前而成爲「主題」。比較基式 5. 6. 7. 9. 10. 五例可知，這種語序變換不但使加語得到強調，而且也改變了句子結構，變式中的「主題——解釋」全都屬於描述性的主謂關係。值得注意的是變式六例都屬於領屬性加語，此外形容性及同一性加語都沒有外位的實例。所以「領屬性」是這種語序變換的限制條件。

(二) 移後：古代漢語中，加語也有後移的現象。例如：

1. 之日狩、允[△]旱、隻[△]（獲）虎一、麋[△]卅、玃^{△△△△△}一百六十四、兔^{△△△△△}一百五十九（甲文、乙二九〇八）
2. 壬申允狩，旱。隻[△]兕六、豕^{△△}十^{△△}（又）六、兔^{△△△△△}一百^{△△△△△}九^{△△△△△}（又乙七六四）
3. 昔甲辰方[△]畚于^{△△}畎，俘^{△△△△△}人十^{△△△△△}五^{△△△△△}（又通五一三）
4. 王易（錫）金百^{△△}各（金文、禽毀）
5. 俘來^{△△}毖^{△△}殷，乃命寧子，以^{△△}拒鬯二^{△△}卣，曰：「明禋，拜手稽首休享（書、洛誥）

6.有不速之客三人來(易、需上六)

7.詩三百，一言以蔽之，曰思無邪(論語、爲政)

8.冉子與之粟五秉(又雍也)

9.前日於齊，王餽兼金一百而不受(孟子、公孫丑下)

10.齊侯使公子無虧帥車三百乘、甲士三千人，以戍曹(左傳、閔二)

以上十例，加語都移到端語後面。這些變換語序的加語，大致不外乎數詞及「數詞十單位詞」的主從結構。我們從這裏可看出加語後移的限制條件：不屬於上述兩類的加語，通常不能後移。比較基式2.3.8.三例可知：屬於上述兩類的加語未必後移；而後移的加語，在句子中也有成爲「解釋」的意味。

11.□午，囿于藥芍十人二、卯十牛(甲文、粹四一二)

12.庚辰卜出貞，卅牛三，酒(又五〇三)

13.辛未卜行貞，今夕不雨，在十月二(又七二三)

14.其五+□，王受[又]。卯，其五牢，其十牢，其十牢又五(又五七九)

15.左告曰：虫往芻自益，十人虫二(又通四三〇)

以上五例，數詞加語的零數部分移到端語後面，形成一種加語分置端語前後兩端的特殊結構。這在甲骨文中並不多見，後代文獻中也沒有相同的實例。可說是殷商時代的特殊語法現象。

玖、端語的語序變換

一、基 式

主從結構中的端語，是被加語所修飾的成分。它當位於加語後面，這是漢語造句法的基本規律。符合這基本規律的句例，姑以十下列例爲代表：

1. 亥舊豐(醴)用。丙戌卜，東新豐用(甲文、粹二二二)

2. 唯王令明公遣三族伐東或(國)(金文、明公毀)

3. 密雲不雨，自我西郊(易、小畜)

4. 逆子釗於南門之外(書、顧命)

5. 微君之躬，胡爲乎泥中(詩、邶風、式微)

6. 力不足者，中道而廢(論語、雍也)

7. 車中不內顧，不疾言，不親指(又鄉黨)

8. 思天下之民匹夫匹婦有不被堯舜之澤者，若已推而內之溝中(孟子、萬章上)

9. 樂正子，二之中、四之下也(又盡心下)

10.明日、絞人爭出，驅楚役徒於山中（左傳、桓十二）

二、變式

古代漢語中，端語有移置在加語前面的例子。如：

1. 井白入右趨轡立中廷，北卿（嚮）（金文、趨曹鼎）
2. 瞻彼中林，甡甡其鹿（詩、大雅、桑柔）
3. 菁菁者莪，在彼中阿（又小雅、菁菁者莪）
4. 鴻鴈于飛，集于中澤（又鴻鴈）
5. 葛之覃兮，施于中谷（又周南、葛覃）
6. 汎彼柏舟，在彼中河（又鄘風、柏舟）
7. 夫汎也，非爲人汎，中心達於面目（孟子、滕文公上）
8. 與其妾訕其良人而相泣於中庭（又離婁下）

以上八例，端語都移置在加語前面。明顯的現象是它們都是方位詞「中」。比較基式 5.7.8.9.10 五例可知：在同一時期，方位詞「中」作端語未必都提到加語前面。事實上除詩經外，這類語序變換只限於少數熟語，如「中廷（庭）」「中心」等，並沒有普遍使用的跡象。

結 論

一、古代漢語中，可以變換語序的成分是：主語、表語、斷語、兼語、賓語、次賓語、副語，以及主從結構中的加語與端語。這些成分的語序變換，不外乎提前與移後兩種方式。主語、賓語、加語，兼具這兩種方式；副語只有移後的方式；其餘都是提前的方式。

二、一般而言，古代漢語的語序變換，在造句法上所表現的形態有下列三種：

- (一)直接移位式——即直接把某一成分提前或移後，不加形式記號。
- (二)外位式——即把某一成分提前或移後，而在它的原位上加一代詞。
- (三)附加助詞式——即把某一成分提前或移後，而在它的前面或後面附加助詞。

主語提前，都取外位式；移後則取直接移位式，或前附助詞「惟／亅」。

表語提前，也取直接移位式；或後附加詞「哉／乎／矣哉／矣夫」。

斷語提前，也取直接移位式；或後附助詞「哉」。

兼語提前，兼採上述三式。其附加助詞的情形是：或前附「也」；或後附「也」。

賓語提前，也兼採上述三式。其附加助詞的情形是：或前附「亓／佳／惟／維／唯

／繫／伊」；或後附「之／是／于／來／斯／云／焉」。其中「惟」可以跟「之／是」配合使用；「繫」可以跟「是」；「伊」可以跟「來／云」配合使用。「之／是」與「于／來／斯／云／焉」，在表示賓語提前的作用上相同；但，「之／是」在各資料中使用得較為普遍，其餘各字都只專屬於某些文獻，代表它們特殊的語法習慣。「之」「是」之間也有不同：若代詞賓語提前，則只附「之」不附「是」；而且述語前如附加助詞「爲」，則賓語也只附「之」，不附「是」。

至於賓語移後，則全取外位式。

次賓語提前，兼採上述三式。其附加助詞的情形是：只後附「之」。

副語移後，只取直接移位式。

加語提前，只取外位式；移後，則取直接移位式。

端語提前，只取直接移位式。

三、古代漢語的語序變換，當然並非任意爲之，而是事出有因而且也有其限制條件的。一般而言，各種成分的語序變換無非是基於修辭上的需要，爲了強調此一成分，或求致語句的變化。至於其限制條件，除了附加助詞分別有其限制，已如上文所述以外，其餘的情形如下：

(一)主語提前的外位式，在獨立的句子中，只限於判斷句或準判斷句；造句結構則不在此限。前者主語外位以後，在原位上補一代詞「是」；後者則補「其」。

(二)表語提前，多數得後附加助詞，或在主語部分有代詞，或者主語部分是造句結構。

(三)斷語提前，限於疑問代詞作斷語；或限於有繫詞「是」的判斷句。後者變序之後形成「……是也（已）」的固定句式。

(四)兼語外位或後附加助詞「之」而提前，只限於用「稱謂」動詞作第一繫述語的遞繫式。兼語外位以後，在其原位上所補的代詞是「之」。

(五)賓語直接移位或外位：賓語直接移位式的運用，雖不限於下列條件，但具備下列條件之一的賓語通常都提前：

1. 否定句中，代詞作賓語。

2. 近指代詞「是」作賓語。

3. 疑問代詞作賓語。

至於賓語外位，則在原位上補一代詞「之／諸／焉」。

(六)次賓語直接移位或外位：次賓語的語序變換，在附加助詞方面，比賓語單純（參見上文第二條）；而在直接移位方面，則比賓語的情形複雜。其直接移位並不限

於下列條件，但具備下列條件之一的次賓語，通常也都提前：

1. 否定句中，代詞作次賓語。
2. 近指代詞「是」作次賓語。
3. 疑問代詞作次賓語。
4. 方位詞作次賓語，而介詞爲「嚮／面」之類。
5. 由介詞「用／以」所介繫的次賓語。

至於次賓語外位，在位置上所補的代詞爲「之／焉／是」。

(己)副語直接移位：一般而言，古代漢語的副語，都不能移到被飾語後面，只有少數例外。而導致這些例外現象的產生，則是當時的語言習慣。

(庚)加語外位或直接移位：加語外位，在位置上所補的代詞多數爲「其」，有時也用「之」。而其直接移位，即移置在端語後面，則只限於數詞加語及「數詞＋單位詞」的主從結構作加語。

(辛)端語直接移位，移置在加語前面，只限於方位詞「中」。

四、古代漢語的語序變換，都可造成語句結構的變化，其中改變了「主題——解釋」關係的，大致不外乎下列兩種情形：

(一)使原來單句的主謂關係，改變爲複句的補充或因果關係。如：屬於造句結構的主語、賓語、次賓語，以及表語、斷語等成分，提前作「主題」；或是屬於造句結構的主語、賓語移後作「解釋」，都可造成這種效果。

(二)使原來敘事性的主謂關係，改變爲描述或判斷性的主謂關係。如：非造句結構的兼語、賓語、次賓語、加語等成分提前作「主題」；或是副語、加語移後作「解釋」，都可造成這種效果。

五、古代漢語，在語序變換方面所顯示出來的語法特色如下：

(一)古代漢語不同於現代漢語的現象：

1. 採用附加助詞的方式以變換語序。
2. 賓語與次賓語在一定的條件下變換語序〔參見上文第三條(五)(六)兩項〕。

(二)古代漢語中時代性或個別性的特殊現象：

1. 殷商甲骨刻辭所特有的現象：

(1)表時間的次賓語提到介詞前面。如：「十二月在」。

(2)數詞加語的零數部分，移到端語後面。如：「在十月二^{△△△}」「其十牢又五^{△△}」等。

2. 詩經所特有的現象：提前的賓語，後附助詞「于」「來」「斯」「云」²³。

²³ 助詞「于」金文有一例。

3. 左傳所特有的現象：

(1) 提前的賓語，後附加詞「焉」。

(2) 介詞「於」的次賓語提前²⁴。其中「……於何有」成為固定句式。

4. 戰國以後興起的句式：

(1) 「……是也（已）」——專用以列舉例證。

(2) 「……之謂……」——專用以作注釋性的說明。

²⁴ 這種現象詩經有一例。又國語魯語下有「鼃於何有」一例，前文未列。

ON SUBSTANCE CONTINUUM IN CHINESE CONCEPT OF A PERSON-AN ESSAY IN LANGUAGE AND METAPHYSICS

Shuan-fan Huang

*National Taiwan University
University of California at Los Angeles*

It is a commonplace observation that every language embodies in its very structure a certain world view, a certain ontology. Different languages entail different cognitive profiles and different ontological commitments. The notion of language, as used here, is to be understood in ontological terms, and not necessarily equivalent to a natural language. Thus Chinese is a natural language, but the three major strands of Chinese thought, namely Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, may be said to each embody a distinct ontology. The ontology presupposed or implied by one group of ordinarily used Confucian concepts may be very different from the ontology presupposed or implied by another group of ordinarily used Taoist concepts. On the other hand, English and French are two natural languages, but may be thought of as representing the same ontology.

A language (or ontological world) defines and determines what basic entities or categories exist and how declarative sentences in that world are to be interpreted. Some of the issues often raised in this connection have been: how do speakers growing up in one ontological world understand and communicate with those from another world? how does one go about comparing meaningfully different ontologies? What kinds of problems linguists are confronted with when engaged in *radical* translation? and so forth. In this paper I am not essentially concerned with these issues. My purpose will be the more limited one of examining the concepts of mind and body as embodied in the Chinese language. I claim that if Chinese is taken as a guide to an account of the (ultimate?) nature of things, the Chinese concept of a person seems to point to a gradient ontology, one in which entities posited to exist, or the (ultimate?) subjects of predication, form a continuum, with significant overlap of features and properties attributed to them. Reasons for the gradient character of the metaphysics of a person are pragmatic and historical, reflecting the reasonableness, naturalness and simplicity of the expression of the concept of a person evolved over a long period of philosophical experience.

Broadly speaking, a rough consensus among the pre-Chin philosophers on the metaphysics of a person is that a person is constituted of three basic substances: the physical body, the psychophysical *ch'i* and the psychospiritual *hsin*. Mencius

exemplifies a typical understanding of such a conception when he says, "The will is what rules the ch'i; the ch'i is what pervades the body. The will is of prime importance and the ch'i is only secondary." Given that such a distinction can be drawn, a question that arises naturally is: what is the nature of the relationship among the three substances? One profitable approach to probe their relationship lies in studying the ways statements made about a person's body differ from those that are made about his ch'i and hsin. As an initial effort in the spirit of such an enterprise, consider the use of psychological expressions in the following:

- (I) 1. Ta hen gaoxing
- 2. Ta zhidao zheijian shi
- 3. Ta hen qianxu
- 4. Ta duji bieren
- 5. Ta hen jiaoao
- (II) 1. Ta ren hen gaoxing
- 2. Ta ren zhidao zheijian shi
- 3. Ta ren hen qianxu
- 4. Ta ren duji bieren
- 5. Ta ren hen jiaoao
- (III) 1. Ta xinli hen gaoxing
- 2. Ta xinli zhidao zheijian shi
- 3. Ta xinli hen qianxu
- 4. Ta xinli hen duji bieren
- 5. Ta xinli hen jiaoao
- (IV) 1. Ta yenjing shanzhe yukuaide guangmang
- 2. Ta zheijian shi naojin qingchu
- 3. Ta disheng xiaqi
- 4. Ta yenhong bieren
- 5. Ta muzhong wuren

Sentences in (I) contain a pronominal subject; those in (II) contain a pronoun and the word rén "person" as subject; those in (III) contain a pronoun and the mental hsin as subject. Finally sentences in (IV) use a pronoun and physicalistic expressions of various sorts as subjects and predicates. The sentences in (III) and (IV) of course provide the sharpest contrast, at least on the surface, and demonstrate that mental expressions can actually be made into physicalist expressions, if one stretches the resources of the language a bit, that refer to the body or some such organs of the body as the eyes, the brains, the voice and the ch'i. Many more examples of the same type can be offered upon request. The point of all these example sentences has been to underscore the fact that much that happens to a personal subject happens to his body or some organ of the body. But if one were to reason along the lines of dualist philosophers who might be tempted to infer

from the sentences and others like those in (III) the existence of the mental entity, one would have to infer from sentences in (IV) the nonexistence of the mental and affirmation of the material or at least that mental phenomena are in some way attributable to the workings of the body.

Yet this second inference is certainly not true of Chinese metaphysics of a person, for the thesis of materialism involves the absurdity of denying that there is such a thing as inner mental life. Chinese metaphysics has traditionally held a tripartite conception of a human being. Men have spiritual, psychological as well as physical properties. In giving an account of them we must reckon with mental and physical entities. Mental phenomena could not be seen as accidents of material substances. To understand them we must postulate a *hsin* or *jingshen* in which or to which they happen. In addition, the concept of *ch'i* as the life principle in a person is much more than a material substance, and thought to be associated with certain kinds of human movement or process and the source of man's highest ethical qualities.

It is true that in the cosmology of Taoism early Taoists believed that all the myriad things in the universe are nothing but (manifestations of) *ch'i* (*tong tianxia yiqi er*) and that *ch'i* in its disintegrated state is scattered and diffuse; through integration, it forms matter, giving rise to the manifold diversity of man and things (*Chuang Tzu zhipeiyou*). But even in early Taoism *ch'i* does not refer just to a kind of energy emanating from all sorts of phenomena of nature, but also to a kind of psychological soul energy and moral energy responsible for the ethical conduct of man.¹ Taoism, like other cultures in the world, drew no sharp conceptual distinction between the mental (or spiritual) and physical and held *jingshen* to be nothing but pure *ch'i*s (*Chuang Tzu keyi* chapter: "*jingshen* flows in every direction and to every corner, knowing no bounds. It reaches up to the heaven and down to the earth." *Guan Tzu neiyue* chapter: "*jing* is the essence of *ch'i*") Thus the *ch'i* encompasses both physical and mental properties; it is pregnant with all the possibilities of reality, including the gods and spirits, the rules governing the harmonious relations of human society and the individual capacity for moral cultivation.²

The notion of *ch'i* as a psychophysical substance has remained remarkable stable down through the centuries. In Neo-Confucianism, Cheng I took the position that natures come from heaven, whereas capacity comes from *ch'i*; when *ch'i* is clear, capacity is clear; when *ch'i* is turbid, capacity is turbid. In Chu Hsi's view, the original nature of man is *li* (principle), but emotions and desires belong to the category of *ch'i* and the existence of moral depravity is explained in terms of a

¹ Schwartz, Benjamin. "On the absence of reductionism in Chinese thought," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 1, 1974, p. 36.

² Schwartz, B. op. cit. p. 35.

compromise between li and ch'i. According to Chu Hsi's theory of human nature, man's original nature was thought to be affected by its association with ch'i which harbors selfish human desires. If a man is endowed with a violent ch'i, he will be a bad man; if endowed with a well-blended ch'i, he will be a good man. The object of learning is transform a given ch'i endowment so that the purity of li would no longer be obstructed. Thus for both Cheng and Chu, ch'i is the source of dynamism of man, the really active part or force of the philosophical system of man. It is due largely to this conception of ch'i, which as we have shown, dates back to early Taoism, that a great number of emotive predicates in contemporary Chinese descriptive of man's personality characteristics and disposition were derived.

If Chu Hsi, in his li/ch'i dualism, held li to be prior, perfect and meta-physical (xingershang) and ch'i to be coarse, marked by impurities and physical (xingerxia), Chang Tsai, another Sung Neo-Confucian, elevated the status of ch'i to an almost transcendent reality, comparable in some respects to Chu Hsi's concept of li. Chang Tsai originated the idea of Supreme Vacuity (taixu), which was ch'i in its purest and formless state (wuxing ch'i zhi benti), all the myriad things in the universe, including the mind of man, being conceived of as a kind of deviation from the primal undifferentiated ch'i. Ultimately, the myriad things again became ch'i and returned to Supreme Vacuity. Herein lies an assumption shared by the Sung Neo-Confucians in general that impermanence was a kind of defect and that one must reach beyond the flux of things to the permanence and perfection of eternal principle. The ethical implication of such an assumption is clear. Chang Tsai said, "Do not allow what is seen or heard to fetter the mind. By enlarging one's mind one can enter into all the things in the world."⁴

Hsin is another constituent element of a person. In contrast to ch'i that emanates and radiates, it is hsin, not ch'i that thinks, feels and experiences. It is through the thinking and feeling hsin that ch'i is manifested in the world of experience. That hsin rather than chi is the subject of thought and experience can be easily shown by the impossibility of constructing sentences on analogy of (III) above with chi as part of their subjects.

Hsin has traditionally been rendered in English as mind-heart to reflect its dual role as the center of both feelings and thought. In some of the literature on Chinese thought, *hsin* appears to be a generic concept under which are subsumed such specific concepts as linghun (soul), jingshen (spirit), shen (mind) yishi (consciousness), all of which are in some respect identical. The concept of linghun as the immortal soul was alien to the Chinese mind and imported to the Chinese soil in

³ I have in mind words like yuanch'i zhich'i, yich'i, yongch'i, haoch'i, pich'i, kouch'i shich'i, much'i, hech'i, shach'i and many more others.

⁴ Chan, Wing-tsit. A source book in Chinese philosophy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 630.

the Han period. According to Buddhist ontology, man consists of a material body and a spiritual soul. The body comes into being at birth and disintegrates at death, but the soul is eternal and indestructible. The soul, which has disembodied existence, then becomes reborn and assumes another form. In the beginning the Chinese Buddhists understandably had difficulty in coming to grips with the idea of repeated births without some abiding entity linking together the different stages of rebirth. To overcome this difficulty they evolved the concept of *shen* (in Ancient Chinese) or *linghun* (in modern Chinese) that is transmitted through successive rebirths.⁵

Some Chinese philosophers make a sharp cleavage between *hsin* and *linghun*, for while they recognized *hsin* as an entity, they denied the existence of another entity, *linghun*, with the immortality attribute that Buddhism has claimed for it. Both Chuang Tzu and Hsun Tzu were quite explicit on this point, holding respectively that *hsin* perished along with the perishing of the body (*qi xing hua, qi hsin yu zhi ran.*) and that only when the body is formed does *shen* come into being (*xing jiu er shen sheng.*) The implication of the latter statement is clear: *shen* cannot exist apart from the body.

The Chinese decision to translate and thus to equate the notion of soul with *shen* or *linghun* has seemed, even in retrospect, a puzzling move, since both *shen* and *linghun* in classical Chinese refer to (1) spirits, gods and deities in general or (2) the finer of the *ch'i*s, neither of which carries the idea of immortality associated with the concept of soul. It may be that Buddhist concept of soul, at the time it was being introduced into China, had conceptual affinity with early Greek idea of soul as that which keeps a man alive and which leaves his body when he dies.

If ordinary language is any guide, to say that every human being has a soul sums up pretty much all we know about it. The Chinese conception of soul, unlike *hsin* or *jingshen*, has little conceptual content other than the fact it can detach itself from the body and exist as a separate being. It is a non-sensing, non-thinking and non-feeling entity and no attributes can be ascribed to it. In short, the soul, remote from the Chinese notion⁶ of a person, has led a peripheral existence; its fusion into Chinese consciousness remains to be completed. The peripherality of the soul, I suggest, is attributable to the fact that it is not indigenous to Chinese metaphysics and that notion of disembodied existence would make it hard, if not impossible, to see how we could ever have a concept of persons in such a situation, since it is only through their bodies that we come to know of the existence, identity and nature of other persons.⁶ In Buddhist metaphysics, on the other hand, the soul has a far richer ontological significance. This is what Hui-yuan, a fourth century Buddhist, had to say on the soul:

⁵ Ch'en Kenneth. *Buddhism in China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 56.

⁶ This argument is due to Kwame Gyekye, "Akan concept of a person," *International Philosophical Quarterly*, 1979, pp. 277-287.

"As for the soul, it responds perfectly and has no master, it is extremely mysterious and nameless. It moves in response to things, and it functions in individual destinies. Though it responds to things, it is not a thing; therefore the thing may change but it does not perish. It is attached to individual destinies but it is not bound to them, so that it is not exhausted when the destiny is terminated. Because it has feelings, it can be encumbered by things; because it has intelligence, it may seek an individual destiny. Since there are fine and coarse destinies, their natures are different, and since there are bright and dull intelligence, their light are (sic) not the same.

"From this we reason that the transformations are stimulated by the feelings, and that the soul is transmitted by change. The feelings are the mother of change, and soul is the root of feeling. The feelings have a way of uniting with things, while the soul has the power of moving subtly.....

"May I prove this for the sake of my opponent. The transmission of fire to firewood is like that of the soul to the body. The transmission of fire to another firewood is like that of the soul to another new body.....The former body is not the latter body, and we therefore know that the interaction between feelings and destiny is profound. A deluded person, seeing the body is destroyed in one life, assumes that the soul and feelings also perished with it, as if fire would be exhausted for all time when a piece of wood is burned."⁷

If *linghun* is of only marginal importance in the Chinese metaphysics of a person, the status of *jingshen* is an altogether different story. *Jingshen* is an all-pervasive element (*Chuang Tzu* *keyi* chapter: "*jingshen sida bingliu, wusuo buji, shang ji yu tian, xia pan yu di*"); it is the source of vitality, that which sustains life (*Chunqiu fanlu*: "*jingshen ze, sheng zhi nei chung ye.*") *Jingshen* as a noun is derived from the combination of *jing* and *shen*, both of which denote the essence of *ch'i*. *Jing*, in the earlier texts in which it occurs, refers to any refined substance, in particular, to the essence of *ch'i*. *Jing* (or *jingshen*) differs from the body, according to the earlier conception, only in the quality of *ch'i* with the former having finer and the latter coarser *ch'i*-elements. *Jingch'i*, wherever it pervades, is conceived of as being responsible for the characteristic quality of the ten thousand things in the world, e.g. for the flying of birds, for the scampering of beasts, for the shining brightness of jewelry, for the thriving vitality of trees and plants or for the wisdom of sage.

Taoists thought that *jing* resided in the *hsin*, the center of knowledge and wisdom, and that by keeping its residence clean and spotless we will attract more and more *jing ch'i*, which will then assure us longevity. In early Taoist literature, *jing*

⁷ Ch'en, K. op. cit., p. 112.

was also known as shen. When a person dies, his ch'i ascended to Heaven and became celestial spirits, which was shen; his body descended to the earth and became terrestrial spirits, which was guei. This view persisted at least into the Sung period, when we found Chu Hsi saying "There is only one and the same ch'i in the universe; what is to come is positive spiritual force, shen, and what has gone is negative spiritual force, guei."

In all fairness to Taoism, it must be added that Chuang Tzu in several chapters of his book gave the word shen such a high-handed play that he earned for it an important niche not only in the language of metaphysics of a person, but also in the language of poetics. Specifically, Chuang Tzu held out the notion of an enlightened person (shenren or jenren) who operates from the level of pure awareness and who does not think to himself what he wants to do prior to acting and can therefore operate from the highest level of creative activity. This creative spirit was termed by Chuang Tzu shen. Achieving this kind of creative spirit is the traditional goal of the artist. The distinctiveness of a work lies in the quality of shen or lack thereof. The notion of shen has now become an article of critical faith. When applied to a person, it is his shentai, shenqing or shenchai that pertains most to the quality of a person, as if there is much more to the essence of a person than his physical and mental quality.

In modern parlance, jingshen is variously interpreted as that which constitutes the very inner self of the individual (in this sense, it is opposed to wuzhi and identifiable with hsin), or as the principle of life that is able to take control of the individual (in this sense it is opposed to shengli and identifiable with ch'i) or as the embodiment and bearer of his destiny (in this sense, it is opposed to routi and identifiable with linghun). Of the three synonyms mentioned, it is most plausible to identify hsin with jingshen, since there are a great number of cases where what is asserted of one can be asserted of the other, and vice versa. What follows is a sample of these cases:

1. *hsin bu zhai yen/ shen bu shou she/ chushen*
2. *liushen/liuhsin*
3. *jingshen bing xue/ biantai hsinli*
4. *hsin ling shen hui*
5. *hsin shen bu ding*
6. *shenzhi bu qing/ hsinzhi bu qing*
7. *shen wang/hsin xiangwang*
8. *jingshen changxiang zuoyou/ hsin yongyuan (gen ni) yiqi*
9. *hsinli shou ciji/ jingshen shou ciji*
10. *hsinli shuairou/ jingshen shuairou*

Hsin or jingshen in each of these examples refers to the mental state or condition of the individual. The identity is not complete, however. (And why should

there be complete conceptual identity, given what we know about the semantic structure of lexical fields?) There are also many things we can say about *hsin* which are not said of *jingshen*. The predicate types or attributes of these two concepts are thus different.

11. *hsinshangren*/ * *shenshangren*
12. *hsinli beishang*/**jingshen beishang*
13. *hsindi hao* vs. *jingshen hao*
14. *hsinbing* vs. *jingshenbing* (emotional hangup vs. psychosis)
15. *hsinqing* vs. *shenqing* (feeling vs. demeanor)
16. you *hsin* vs. you *jingshen* (have a mind to vs. spirited)
17. *hsintai* vs. *shentai* (mentality vs. demeanor)
18. *hsinli xue* vs. *jingshenbing xue* (psychology vs. psychiatry)

Only the simplest of attributes can be ascribed to *jingshen* (e. g. good, bad, but not happy, proud or humble etc.) *Jingshen* is a mental state, it is not something capable of participating in finer emotions and feelings, for which only *hsin* can be used. This accounts for the impossibility of constructing sentences like those in (III) above using *jingshen* as part of a subject. In addition, moral predicates involve high-level judgment and thinking on the part of their subjects and are therefore generally ascribed to *hsin*. In short, *jingshen* appears to co-occur with the simplest of stative predicates, *hsin* may do so with both active and stative psychological predicates.

Although attributes made to *hsin* differ from these made to *jingshen*, some of the differences must be understood to have resulted from more historical accidents. If the word *psychiatry* is translatable as either *jingshenbing xue* or *biantai hsinli* then the decision, in the past, to translate psychology as *hsinli xue* instead of the equally plausible *jingshen xue* may have been purely idiosyncratic, if we keep in mind the fact that *hsin* and *jingshen* have shared much conceptual similarity since classical antiquities. Recent semantic borrowings of technical vocabulary in the form of 'doublets' have betrayed the psychological reality of the conceptual overlap between *hsin* and *jingshen*. If there ever was any effort at delineating more clearly what they ought to mean, the result has not been made apparent. (I have in mind such doublets as *jingshen fenxi*/*hsinli fenxi* (psychoanalysis), *jingshen bingli*/*biantai hsinli* "psychopathology", *jingshen yaowu xue*/*hsinli yaowu xue* (psychopharmacology), *jingshen chiliao*/*hsin chiliao* (psychotherapy), *jingshen yu shenti*/*shenhsin de* (psychosomatic), and so forth.)

Hsin is so central a concept that a significant portion of Chinese vocabulary makes use of it as a radical, in particular, that part of the vocabulary that describes thoughts and feelings, hopes and fears, memories and expectations, moods and humors, features of personality and character, acts of deliberating, motives and intentions, and so on. Mencius was the first to provide a clear articulation of *hsin* as a

moral mind, in sharp contrast to such amoral conceptions as Chuang Tzu's image of hsin as a 'spirit tower' and his notion of hsin as a vacuous, luminous, mysterious and self-knowing mind. This mystical mind must be distinguished from the ordinary hsin which, in Chuang Tzu's view, is constantly susceptible to defilement, has feelings and desires, the root of all evils, and for which he had nothing but disdain. Chuang Tzu's terms for the ordinary mind include renhsin, jihsin, zeihsin, chenghsin, chenghsin. By contrast, his mystical mind is the mind that has ceased to respond to external affairs, is free from any defilements and shining forth like the light from a candle. It is this mystical mind that contributed much to the tradition of Chinese spiritualism and gave us expressions like daohsin, changhsin, lingtai, lingfu, xuhsin, jinghsin and Buddhist expressions like hsin ru mingjingtai 'the mind is like a brilliant mirror stand.'

Hsun Tzu, one of the few more empirically minded among the early Confucians, held out a much more dynamic role for hsin with regard to acquiring knowledge. He believed that hsin has the capacity to cognize and discriminate sense perceptions. He was the first to distinguish sense perceptions and rational knowledge. (Hsin you zhengzhi). Chu Hsi went one step further and held that the substance of hsin embraces all of the li's, principles, and that all of the li's are complete in this single entity, the hsin. When no li is expressed, the substance of the hsin is just a pure consciousness; when it is affected by things, it functions through its cognizing capacity to uncover the li's. Chu Hsi criticized Ch'an Buddhists for taking an empty and mysterious mind as the nature and for not realizing that the hsin contains all the li's. He believed that the investigations of things with a view to finding their li's is no artificial matter, but necessary to a hsin whose nature is to address itself to things.

To recapitulate, the philosophical account of the nature of a person seems to have given us a tripartite conception of a human being:

hsin	(jingshen, linghun, ling)	... psychospiritual	
ch'i		... psychophysical	
shenti (routi,	quti,	rou)	... physical

In this tripartite conception, each of the entities shares certain properties with another entity on the next level down. Both shenti and ch'i may be said to be extended in space and unthinking, but emotive predicates and disposition words can be ascribed to either ch'i or hsin. These three entities therefore form a continuum, a substance continuum, if you will, with significant overlap of basic natures, unlike Cartesian mind/body dualism in Western philosophy which holds that both mind and body were substances, but with utterly different basic natures.

The notion of a substance continuum, it can be argued, makes eminently plausible the thesis of interactionism between mental events and physical events. Interactionism is the thesis that mental events can sometimes cause bodily events and

that bodily events can sometimes cause mental events. On the Chinese concept of a person, Man is composed of a trio of substances so intimately combined that events in the one can affect events in the other. In man and in man alone these three substances form a single system of mutually interacting components. On the Cartesian view of mind/body dualism, the thesis of interaction could hardly be justified, since mental events and bodily events are so utterly dissimilar that there could never be a causal connection between them. If they are so different, one would never give rise to the other. Such, however, has never been the prevailing position in the Chinese concept of a person. Expressions like those in the following support the thesis of interactionism, a consequence of the notion of substance continuum:

1. hsin ping ch'i he
2. hsin jing rou tiao
3. li zhi ch'i zhuang
4. hsin li jiao cui
5. hsin fu ch'i cao
6. jing hsin dong puo
7. zuo zei hsin xu
8. hsin shen jiao cui

If these expressions have a use in ordinary, i. e. non-philosophical language, that very fact may be taken as exempting them from philosophical criticism. Chinese philosophy, as is generally known, has not been interested in argument which purports to show that non-physical phenomena may be reduced to the workings of the matter, or that physical phenomena may be reduced to the workings of the mind. In other words, they seem to have found a responsive chord in Wittgenstein's saying that philosophy may in no way interfere with the actual use of language, but can only describe it. For if philosophy hopes to have human relevance its language cannot afford to grow more and more technical and artificial. In western philosophy, the nature of mind has long been one of the most perplexing problems. There have been many attempts to get at the nature of the mental substance, but no solution has stood up under close scrutiny, leading some to exclaim, in exasperation, that it is an 'anomalous' problem, as if the words 'mind' and 'body' and statements made about them have all along been made in vain.

Admittedly in the light of the findings of natural and social sciences we have to ask ourselves whether we can persist in viewing ch'i, hsin, jingshen and so on as being related in the way they are. It is hard to keep up with the full rigor of older ways of conceptualizing ch'i and hsin and jingshen, but if talk of these entities is not on its way out, it was at least taken very much more literally in the nineteenth century before the full impact of modern science was felt. There is at present much more talk of *hsinli* instead of mere *hsin*, and along with *wuli*, *renli* etc, it may mean that talk of a tripartite conception of a person is here to stay.

古漢語中單音詞與複音詞之關係

胡 楚 生

國立中興大學

一、引 言

漢字是單音節的孤立文字，但是，漢語卻並不完全是單音節的孤立語言，在漢語中，一個文字一個音節，雖然往往便是一個詞彙，但是，一個詞彙，有時卻需要由兩個以上的文字和音節所組成，因此，漢語詞彙之中，便出現了單音詞和複音詞的現象，而且，這種現象，早在先秦時代，發展即已相當成熟，例子也已相當普遍；本文撰寫的目的，即在根據先秦文獻，以探索古代漢語詞彙中單音詞與複音詞的關係。

齊佩瑢在他所著的訓詁學概論¹一書中，將漢語詞彙分爲單音詞、雙音詞和多音詞三種，而雙音詞又區分爲連綿詞與複合詞。本文中所討論的複音詞，實際上是指齊氏所說的雙音詞，其中包括連綿詞（本文改寫爲聯綿詞）與複合詞兩類。

二、單音詞的作用

一詞多義，是漢語中單音詞的特徵，同樣一個形體，同樣一個詞彙，卻代表着不止一種意義，這種多義現象，其他語言中雖也具有，卻以漢語中單音詞彙最爲顯著。

單音詞多義的現象，多數是由詞義的引申所造成，每一個單音詞，除了它唯一的本義之外，由於引申的作用，往往可以使得它的詞義，由一義而發展爲數義，甚至是數十義，不過，這許多意義，相互之間，往往是有著聯系的，而且，往往是或遠或近，層次分明，有條不紊地圍繞住一個中心意義。此外，單音詞多義的現象，由於假借和通假而產生的例子，也不在少數。

單音詞多義的現象，在辨認詞義方面，確實爲人們帶來了許多的困擾，使人們難於確切地掌握詞彙的意義，但是，從另外一個角度來看，單音詞的多義現象，表現在哲理性或文學性的作品中，卻也產生了一些意想不到的作用。

例如易經乾卦的卦辭「元亨利貞」，歷來便有許多不同的解釋²，最顯著的是，

¹ 齊氏之書，民國三十年左右出版於北平，此據臺灣廣文書局於民國五十一年翻印本。

² 蒙傳銘先生有「周易元亨利貞析論」一文，刊載於中國學術年刊第二期，該文分析古今學者對於「元亨利貞」的解釋，至少有十四種明顯不同的意義。

文言傳說：「元者善之長也，亨者嘉之會也，利者義之和也，貞者事之幹也。君子體仁，足以長人，嘉會，足以合禮，利物，足以和義，貞固，足以幹事，君子行此四德，故曰元亨利貞。」這是就儒家的道德觀念而言，朱子周易本義說：「元、大也，亨、通也，利、宜也，貞、正而固也。文王以爲乾道大通而至正，故於筮得此卦而六爻皆不變者，言其占當得大通，而必利在正固，然後可以保其終也，此聖人所以作易教人卜筮，而可以開物成務之精意。」則是專就「占卜」而說。同樣的「元亨利貞」四個單音詞，由於詞義解釋的歧異，因而形成了兩種截然不同的系統，實際上，也代表了原始易學與儒門易學的不同理論，兩種理論，也當各自有其值得探索的價值。

又如論語爲政篇中孔子所說的：「學而不思則罔，思而不學則殆」兩句，「殆」字的意義，至少便有顯著不同的三種解釋，何晏集解引包氏曰：「學不尋思其義，則罔然無所得，不學而思，終卒不得，徒使人精神疲殆。」訓殆爲疲，是第一種意義，朱子集注說：「不求諸心，故昏而無得，不習其事，故危而不安。」訓殆爲危，是第二種意義，王引之經義述聞說：「思而不學，則事無徵驗，疑而不能定也。」訓殆爲疑，是第三種意義。思而不學，到底會產生疲倦，還是會產生危險或懷疑？其實，除了詞面的訓釋，古義的探索之外，人們在學習與思考的過程中，親身體會的經驗，也可作爲適當的印證資料，因此，「殆」字詞面上的三種意義，對於讀者而言，便也提供了不同角度與不同層次的引導路徑，作爲參考。

另外，拿文學作品來說，像詩經召南中「標有梅」這首詩：

標有梅，其實七兮，求我庶士，迨其吉兮；

標有梅，其實三兮，求我庶士，迨其今兮，

標有梅，頃筐塈之，求我庶士，迨其謂之。

這首詩，小序說是「男女及時也」，對於「梅」字，陳奂說：「梅媒聲同，故詩人見梅以起興。」（詩毛氏傳疏）竹添光鴻也說：「梅媒聲同，故詩人見梅以起喻，是以梅落喻容色之將萎。」（毛詩會箋）由梅到媒，從聲音上，先引起人們的聯想。對於「標」字，毛傳訓「落」，嚴粲訓「擊」，他說：「標本訓擊，邶柏舟寤辟有標是也，此詩謂擊而落之。」（詩輯）聞一多在詩經新義之中，以爲「標卽古拋字」，他的證據是，玉篇：「標，擲也。」說文新附：「拋，棄也。」重文作「標」，聞氏以爲，詩衛風木瓜篇中的「投我以木瓜，報之以瓊琚，匪報也，永以爲好也」這幾句詩，「當是女之求士者，相投之以木瓜，示願以身相許之意，士亦嘉納其情，因報之以瓊琚以定情」，「而標有梅篇，亦女求士之詩，而標與投字既同誼，梅與木瓜木桃木李，又皆果屬，則標梅亦女以梅標男，而以梅相標，亦正所以求之之法耳。」「意者，古俗於夏季

果熟之時，會人民於村中，士女分曹而聚，女以果實投其所悅之士，中焉者或以佩玉相報，即相約爲夫婦焉。」他並以晉書潘岳傳中所記的「岳美姿儀」、「少時常挾彈出洛陽道，婦人遇之者，皆連手縈繞，投之以果，遂滿載以歸」的例子，作爲那種流風餘韻遺存後世的證明。

聞氏對於此詩的解釋，正確與否，姑置不論，但是，由於「標」字意義訓釋的歧異，提供了不同的方向和內涵，導引人們去探索，從而有了不同的解說和意境，則是單音詞多義現象所產生的一些作用。

又如詩經邶風中「二子乘舟」這首詩：

二子乘舟，汎汎其景，願言思子，中心養養；

二子乘舟，汎汎其逝，願言思子，不瑕有害。

這是一首頗具悲劇意味的詩篇，小序說是：「思伋壽也，衛宣公之二子，爭相爲死，國人傷而思之，作是詩也。」毛傳說：「宣公爲伋取於齊女而美，公奪之，生壽及朔，朔與其母慝伋於公，公令伋之齊，使賊先待於隘而殺之，壽知之，以告伋，使去之，伋曰，君命也，不可以逃，壽竊其節而先往，賊殺之，後伋至，曰，君命殺我也，壽有何罪，賊又殺之，國人傷其涉危遂往，如乘舟而無所薄，汎汎然，迅疾而不礙也。」

這首詩中的「景」字，王引之訓之爲「憬」，以爲是遠行貌，（見經義述聞）馬瑞辰說：「景，古音讀爲廣，謂遠行貌，與下章汎汎然同義。」（見毛詩傳箋通釋）陸德明說：「景，如字，或音影。」（見經典釋文）因此，「景」字便有了兩種不同的意義。

孔穎達毛詩正義說：「觀之汎汎然，見其影之去，往而不礙。」嚴粲詩輯也說：「其影汎汎然何所歸乎。」這都是根據「景」與「影」相同而作出的解釋，廉文開裴普賢二位先生合著的詩經欣賞與研究，便把這句詩譯爲「水裏漂盪著他們的倒影」，卻也十分傳神，竹添光鴻毛詩會箋便說：「汎汎其景，是描寫渡河之時，二子之影，與水波俱浮沈，以見顧影可憐之意，而此舟一逝，其影即不可復見矣，痛其往而不返也。」至於「汎汎其景」的下句「中心養養」，朱子詩集傳說：「養養，猶漾漾，不知所定之貌。」毛詩會箋也說：「養是漾之假借，漾漾，水搖動貌，言憂心搖搖不定也，正與汎汎相應。」

竹添光鴻又說：「伋壽之死，盜待於莘殺之，則二子死於陸地，詩何以言乘舟，蓋二子之死甚閔，未嘗明示國人，作詩者亦未嘗親見其殞命之所，自衛適齊，必渡河，此衛人所共知者，因以乘舟渡河爲辭，二子乘舟猶曰二子適齊耳。」又說：「考左傳二子不必同乘舟，故毛以爲借喻語，然詩之辭不必拘。」詩中的事實，暫不作深考，但如就詩論詩，則釋「景」爲「倒影」，將「汎汎其景」釋爲「二子之影，與水波俱

浮沈，以見顧影自憐之意」，似乎也比釋「景」爲遠行貌，情境都益爲優美，誦之也詩意盎然。反之，如果「景，古音讀爲廣，謂遠行貌，與下章汎汎然同義」，那麼，這樣的詩篇也未免太過刻板，沒有什麼「言外之意」值得去探索了。因此，單音詞「景」，由於具備了多義的特徵，所提供的不同意義，在詩篇之中，也就越發引人入勝了。

文心雕龍隱秀篇說：「隱以複意爲工。」又說：「隱之爲體，義生文外，深文隱蔚，餘味曲包。」單音詞多義現象，確實是比較適合去表現詩篇中那種「深文隱蔚，餘味曲包」和「複意爲工」的特性。雖然，在漢語中，多義的現象，複音詞同樣也能具備，但是，複音詞的意義畢竟比較穩定，單音詞的意義則較多變化，因此，複音詞在文學作品中所產生的多義，多數是偏重在文法上，譬喻上及聯想上的，純粹就一字一詞而產生「複意」的模稜，仍然要以單音詞來得靈活自然。

劉若愚先生在他的中國詩學³中討論到「漢字與單詞的含意和聯想」時，曾經說道：「正像英文一樣，而且更甚，中文的一個詞，並不總是具有明確固定的一個意思，而是經常包含有不同的意味，其中有些可能是不容並立的。」又說：「這在說明性的散文中也許是個重大的缺點，然而在詩中卻可能成爲優點，因爲它使思想感情能夠以最經濟的詞句表現出來。」因此，他以爲，「在這點，中文是更適於寫詩的語言。」

當代的學者們，像劉若愚、高友工、梅祖麟、黃維樑等，對於詩歌中多義的現象，已經有了很多的研究和成果，如果對於單音詞方面，多作研究，相信將會得到更多的收穫。

總之，單音詞在漢語詞彙中，雖然有著難於辨認的缺點，但是，也同時有其積極方面的作用存在。

三、複音詞的出現

單音詞在辨認詞義方面的困擾，人們曾經嘗試利用「四聲別義」的方式去加以區分，但是，一直到單音詞逐漸走上了複音詞的途徑，這種困擾，才算澈底地解決。

甲、聯脛詞的產生

複音詞可分爲聯脛詞與複合詞，聯脛詞也稱聯脛字，王了一在中國語法理論中說：

中國有所謂聯脛字，就是聲音相同或相近的兩個字，疊起來成爲一個詞。

周法高先生在聯脛字通說⁴中說：

³ 此據杜國清氏的中譯本，民國六十六年，幼獅文化事業公司初版。

⁴ 收入中國語文論叢一書，民國五十二年，正中書局初版。

所謂聯脣字，具有下列一些特點，(1)聯脣字的構成分子，大體在語音上有相同之處，如雙聲、疊韻、疊字等。(2)聯脣字因為所重在聲，所以在字形上往往不很固定。(3)聯脣字大部分為狀詞，又有一些為名詞、歎詞等。(4)聯脣字中有不少為雙音語，即一個語位包含二個音節者。

聯脣詞大致可分為三種，像「關關」、「呦呦」、「淒淒」，是疊字的聯脣詞，像「丁當」、「淋漓」、「邂逅」，是雙聲的聯脣詞，像「扶蘇」、「蒙茸」、「龍鍾」，是疊韻的聯脣詞。至於聯脣詞產生的情形，一般而言，約有以下幾種。

①由於餘音添注

章太炎新方言釋器說：「說文，匱，古器也，呼骨切，今人謂古器為『骨董』，相承已久，其實骨即匱字，董乃餘音，凡術物等部字多以東部字為餘音，如窟言窟籠，其例也。」又說：「說文，空，竅也，堀，兔堀也，引申凡空竅曰堀，字亦作窟，今人謂地有空竅為窟籠，籠者收聲也，或曰，窟籠合音為空。」章氏以為聯脣字的產生，是由於一字的餘音，增加語尾而復為二字。

陸穎明讀說文雜記說：「說文中二字名詞，唯一字音為本字者甚多，唐逮、及也，逮為本字，唐則其餘音也，悉鹽，唯鹽為本字，悉則其餘音也。」沈兼士在國語問題之歷史的研究一文中說：「原來言語中的單音詞，其後漸因便利起見，多半變為疊韻或雙聲的複音詞了（其中有另外加添語尾的），但是後來附加上的音，只是借一個同音字來表示他，卻沒有另外造字，比方處所的所，果敢的果，悉鹽的悉之類，只借了異義同音的『所』『果』『悉』來比擬他的聲音就是了。」用餘音添注去解釋一部分聯脣詞產生的原因，像唐逮之「唐」，權輿之「輿」，沃若之「若」，也許是可以被承認的，但是，有些情形，像說文中的「譴謫」、「厓屬」等，便很難判斷那是本字，那是添注的餘音了。

②由於聲音緩急

語言有緩急不同，何休在注公羊傳時，已有長言短言的區別，所謂長言，是指一字緩讀，由聲韻延展為兩字，所謂短言，是指兩字急讀，由二字縮合為一字，孫德宣聯脣字淺說⁵云：「如壽夢為乘，不可為叵，不要為別，奈何為那，左宣二年傳：『棄甲則那。』注：『猶何也。』按奈何合音為那。胡同為巷，巷，古音呼貢反。左定四年傳申包胥，國策作芡冒勃蘇，鵬冠子作蕙胥，按芡冒合音為包，勃蘇合音為胥。」張壽林三百篇聯脣字研究⁶說：「蓋字本單音，慢言之則為二語，浸假而另造新字，遂

⁵ 載輔仁學誌十一卷一、二期合刊。

⁶ 載燕京學報十三期。

成連語，茲舉數字，藉爲佐證，繾綣爲嫵之慢言，大雅民勞篇云：『以謹繾綣。』嘉定錢氏（繹）方言箋疏云：『繾綣，疊韻雙聲字，急言之則爲嫵。』匍匐爲鞠之慢言，邶風谷風云：『匍匐救之。』傳云：『匍匐言盡力也。』匍匐之合聲爲鞠，東方朔七諫云：『塊兮鞠，當道宿。』王逸注云：『匍匐爲鞠是也。』芄蘭爲萑之慢言，衛風芄蘭云：『芄蘭之支。』傳云：『芄蘭，草也。』說文云：『萑，芄蘭也。』王氏說文句讀云：『急言之曰萑，曼言之曰芄蘭。』化離爲別之代語，王風中谷有蓷云：『有女化離。』傳云：『化離，別也。』是化離爲別之代語，是則語言出口，偶有齟差，緩急之間，或生音變，連語之中，此類實繁。」聯縣詞的產生，由於語音的緩急，這種例子，應該是不在少數的。

③由於肖物發音

孫德謙聯縣字淺說云：「凡擬物形、肖物聲之字，單字不足以盡象，則以複詞爲之，以求其似。」因此，用聯縣複音詞去模倣自然界的各種聲音和形貌，以加強單音詞所不易表現的聲音感和形象感，如詩經中的叮叮、嚶嚶、萋萋、蓁蓁等，應該是很自然的事。

張壽林三百篇聯縣字研究說：「語言流動不居，單音之字，必不足以盡其概，乃合二字以濟其窮。」他所舉的例子，如離離（王風黍離）、流離（邶風旄丘），乃是「物體圓者，流轉有聲，音近 GULU，初民模倣，以爲稱謂，離離流離，皆以聲得義，引申而成。」又如丁丁（周南兔置）、叮嚶（豳風東山），乃是「衝撞之聲，不出 DING DUORG，丁丁叮嚶，皆取其聲以爲義。」這些說法，都大致可信。

聯縣字產生的原因，除上述三種之外，林語堂先生有複輔音之說，魏建功有複音詞分化之說，孫德宣有方言口語記錄之說，亦皆可資參考。⁷

乙、複合詞的產生

上古時代的漢語，畢竟是以單音詞爲主的，但是，單音之詞，究竟又在何種情況之下，轉易而爲意義保持不變的複合詞？則是值得探討的，約略言之，可分下列幾種情形。

①增加義近之詞

單音詞增加義近之詞，以構成複合詞，此種現象，早在周代，已現端倪，許篤仁轉注淺說⁸云：

⁷ 林語堂先生有古有複輔音說，收入所著語言學論叢。魏建功氏之說見古音系研究，孫德宣氏之說見聯縣字淺說。

⁸ 此文收入說文解字詁林前編頁二百一十一，六書總論部分。

百姓昭明（虞書堯典），聖有謨訓（五子之歌），協和萬邦（堯典），昏迷於天象（胤征），罔失法度（大禹謨），上天孚佑下民（商書湯誥），四海困窮（大禹謨），乃底滅亡（五子之歌），三曰康寧（洪範），罔不祇敬（太甲上），皇帝清問下民（周書呂刑），我心傷悲（檜素冠），不知稼穡之艱難（無逸），生我劬勞（小雅蓼莪），罔有馨香德（呂刑），生我勞瘁（蓼莪），踰垣牆（費誓），庶幾悅懌（頌弁），有女叱離（王風中谷），薄言還歸（周南采芣）。右方所舉昭明、滅亡、祇敬、馨香、還歸等，皆二字同意，而聯爲一字之用，此虞夏商周用轉注之明證。

許氏所說的轉注，實際都是兩兩意義相近的複合之詞。在先秦古籍之中，除卻許氏所舉的例子之外，還有不少義近之詞複合爲複音詞的現象，例如：

左傳成公十三年：「文公恐懼，綏靖諸侯。」

左傳昭公二十六年：「茲不穀震盪播越，竄在荆蠻。」

詩衛風氓：「不見復關，涕泣漣漣。」

論語憲問：「爲命，裨諶草創之，世叔討論之，行人子羽修飾之，東里子產潤色之。」

莊子漁父：「夫子猶有倨傲之容。」

孟子滕文公：「洪水橫流，汎濫於天下。」

易繫辭傳：「上古穴居而野處，後世聖人易之以宮室。」

禮記檀弓：「執干戈以衛社稷。」

禮記樂記：「致禮以治躬則莊敬。」

像以上所舉的恐懼、震盪、涕泣、草創、倨傲等等，都是義近詞複合的倒子。另外，在先秦古籍中，還有一種虛詞的複合現象，俞樾在古書疑義舉例第四十一條「語詞複用例」中，曾經舉出不少例子，像禮記：「人喜則斯陶。」斯卽則也，尚書泰誓：「尚猶詢茲黃髮。」尚卽猶也，史記商君傳：「乃遂去之秦。」乃卽遂也，左傳文公十八年：「庸何傷。」庸卽何也，荀子宥坐：「女庸安知吾不得之桑落之下。」庸卽安也。像這些現象，都是語詞加添義近詞而成複音詞的例子。

②增加詞頭助字

傅孟真先生在漢語改用拼音文字的初步談⁹一文中曾經說：

在古代的漢文裏，已經感覺單音的困難，所以「唐」曰「陶唐」，「夏」曰「有夏」，「周」曰「有周」，都是單音充成複音，更有什麼「語助詞」、「足

⁹ 此文刊於新潮第一卷第三號，民國八年出版。

句詞」，也是救正單音的困難的。

在先秦古籍中，使用「有」作為詞頭助字的，例子甚多：

尚書召誥：「我不可不監于有夏，亦不可不監于有殷。」

尚書皋陶謨：「何憂乎驩兜，何遷乎有苗。」

尚書湯誓：「有夏多罪，天命殛之。」

尚書盤庚：「盤庚遷於殷，民不適有居。」

尚書湯誓：「有眾率怠弗協。」

詩經小雅巷伯：「豺虎不食，投畀有北，有北不受，投畀有昊。」

詩經邶風擊鼓：「不我以歸，憂心有忡。」

詩經邶風靜女：「彤管有煒，說懌女美。」

詩經邶風谷風：「有洸有潰，既詒我肆。」

詩經邶風新臺：「新臺有泚，河水瀰瀰。」

左傳昭公二十九年：「孔甲擾于有方。」

論語爲政：「友于兄弟，施于有政。」

以上，都是以那種「有音無義」的「詞頭」，加添於單音詞彙之前而造成複音詞的現象。¹⁰

③增加詞尾襯字

先秦古籍中單音詞增加的詞尾襯字，以「子」、「如」、「爾」、「然」等，較為常見，例如：

詩經衛風芄蘭：「芃蘭之支，童子佩觿。」

詩經小雅常棣：「妻子好合，如鼓琴瑟。」

孟子離婁：「胸中正則眸子瞭焉。」

禮記檀弓：「使吾二婢子夾我。」

易經屯卦：「屯如遭如，乘馬班如。」

易經屯卦：「乘馬班如，泣血漣如。」

詩經邶風旄丘：「叔兮伯兮，裊如充耳。」

詩經鄭風野有蔓草：「婉如清揚。」

論語子罕：「如有所立，卓爾，雖欲從之，末由也已。」

論語先進：「鼓瑟希，鏗爾，舍瑟而作。」

論語先進：「子路率爾而對。」

¹⁰ 此處例證多採自王了一漢語史稿及古代漢語。

論語陽貨：「夫子莞爾而笑。」

詩經邶風終風：「終風且霾，惠然肯來。」

論語公冶長：「斐然成章，不知所以裁之。」

孟子梁惠王：「天油然作雲，沛然下雨，則苗溥然與之矣。」

莊子大宗師：「淒然似秋，煖然似春。」

以上，都是單音詞加添詞尾襯字，而造成複音詞的例子。¹¹

④增加反義之詞

顧炎武日知錄卷二十七通鑑注一云：

古人之辭，寬緩不迫，得失，失也，史記刺客傳：「多人，不能無生得失。」

利害，害也，史記吳王濞傳：「擅兵而別，多佗利害。」緩急，急也，史記倉

公傳：「緩急無可使者。」游俠傳：「緩急，人所時有也。」成敗，敗也，後漢書

何進傳：「先帝嘗與太后不快，幾至成敗。」同異，異也，吳志孫皓傳注：「蕩

異同如反掌。」

顧氏所舉出的現象，雖然都是西漢以後的例子，但是俞樾在古書疑義舉例的「因此及彼例」中，也舉出了禮記文王世子：「養老幼於東序。」因老而及幼，非謂養老兼養幼也，玉藻：「大夫不得造車馬。」因車而及馬，非謂造車兼造馬也，這兩個例子，情況都與顧氏所舉的相同，此外，像易繫辭傳：「鼓之以雷霆，潤之以風雨。」因雨而及風，非謂潤之以雨兼以風也，也都可以歸入類似的例子之中。禮記為仲尼弟子及七十子後學者所記，而傳自戴聖，（見漢書藝文志注及隋書經籍志）十翼出自孔子之說，雖不可信，要之，也是先秦的傳書，因此，單音詞加添之詞，成為複音詞，而卻保持其原先單音詞的意義不變，這種現象，在秦漢以前，應當是存在的。

四、複音詞的作用

甲、聯綿詞方面

劉勰文心雕龍物色篇說：

是以詩人感物，聯類不窮，流連萬象之際，沈吟視聽之區，寫氣圖貌，既隨物以宛轉，屬采附聲，亦與心而徘徊，故灼灼狀桃花之鮮，依依盡楊柳之貌，杲杲爲日出之容，漙漙擬雨雪之狀，喈喈逐黃鳥之聲，嚶嚶學草蟲之韻，皎日曄星，一言窮理，參差沃若，兩字窮形，並以少總多，情貌無遺

¹¹ 此處例證多採自王了一漢語史稿。

矣，雖復思經千載，將何易奪。

顧炎武日知錄卷二十一詩用疊字條也說：

詩用疊字最難，衛詩「河水洋洋，北流活活，施罟濊濊，鱣鮪發發，葭葢揭揭，庶姜孽孽」，連用六疊字，可謂復而不厭，蹟而不亂矣。古詩「青青河畔草，鬱鬱園中柳，盈盈樓上女，皎皎當窗牖，娥娥紅粉妝，纖纖出素手」，連用六疊字，亦極自然。

劉氏和顧氏，都一致肯定聯脛詞在文學作品中的作用，以下，將再舉出一些例證，分別說明聯脛詞的積極效用。

①摹擬聲音

利用聯脛詞，尤其是疊字形式的聯脛詞，去摹倣自然界的各種聲音，是文學作品中最常見的修辭技巧，下面，就根據詩經，舉出一些例子：

鄭風有女同車：「佩玉將將。」毛傳：「將將，鳴玉而後行。」朱子集傳：「將將，聲也。」

秦風車鄰：「有車鄰鄰。」毛傳：「鄰鄰，眾車聲也。」

小雅鹿鳴：「呦呦鹿鳴。」毛傳：「呦呦然鳴而相呼。」朱子集傳：「呦呦，聲之和也。」

小雅伐木：「伐木丁丁。」毛傳：「丁丁，伐木聲也。」

小雅采芣：「八鸞琤琤。」毛傳：「琤琤，聲也。」

小雅車攻：「蕭蕭馬鳴。」孔疏：「蕭蕭然馬鳴之聲。」

小雅小弁：「鳴蜩嘒嘒。」毛傳：「嘒嘒，聲也。」

小雅青蠅：「營營青蠅。」朱子集傳：「營營，往來飛聲，亂人聽也。」

摹音狀聲的聯脛詞，確實可以使得詩歌的音節益加傳神，從而增進作品聲調的美感，是文學作品中不可缺少的要素。

②圖寫形象

在文學作品中，利用聯脛詞去摹寫事物的形象，較之單純的狀聲，其事尤難，但是，如能恰當的利用聯脛詞，也能使被圖寫的形貌情景，惟妙惟肖，下面就是一些詩經中的例子：

邶風旄丘：「狐裘蒙戎。」鄭箋：「形象蒙戎然。」朱子集傳：「蒙戎，亂貌。」

邶風新臺：「河水瀾瀾。」毛傳：「瀾瀾，盛貌。」

衛風淇：「其葉沃若。」毛傳：「沃若，猶沃沃然。」朱子集傳：「沃若，潤澤貌。」

唐風揚之水：「白石粼粼。」毛傳：「粼粼，清澈也。」朱子集傳：「粼粼，水清石見之貌。」

陳風東門之楊：「其葉牂牂。」毛傳：「牂牂然盛貌。」

小雅四牡：「周道倭遲。」毛傳：「倭遲，歷遠之貌。」朱子集傳：「倭遲，回遠之貌。」

小雅湛露：「湛湛露斯。」毛傳：「湛湛，露茂盛貌。」

小雅信南山：「雨雪雰雰。」毛傳：「雰雰，雪貌。」

利用聯脣詞去圖畫形象，如果能使人有恍然若在目前的感覺，那便是非常成功的手法。

③描繪動作

在文學作品中描繪動作舉止，本來已極不容易，但是，如能善於利用聯脣字的特性，也常常能有意想不到的效果，下面是詩經中的一些例子：

召南草蟲：「趯趯阜螽。」毛傳：「趯趯，躍也。」鄭箋：「草蟲鳴，阜螽躍而從之。」朱子集傳：「趯趯，躍貌。」

衛風有狐：「有狐綏綏。」毛傳：「綏綏，匹行貌。」朱子集傳：「綏綏，獨行求匹之貌。」

鄭風清人：「駟介陶陶。」毛傳：「陶陶，驅馳之貌。」

齊風敝笱：「其魚唯唯。」鄭箋：「唯唯，行相隨之貌。」朱子集傳：「唯唯，行出入之貌。」

陳風東門之枌：「婆娑其下。」毛傳：「婆娑，舞也。」朱子集傳：「婆娑，舞貌。」

小雅四牡：「嘽嘽駱馬。」毛傳：「嘽嘽，喘息之貌。」

小雅皇皇者華：「駢駢征夫。」朱子集傳：「駢駢，眾多疾行之貌。」

小雅伐木：「蹲蹲舞我。」毛傳：「蹲蹲，舞貌。」

從以上聯脣詞的聲音中，如能透露出鮮明的動作形象，便是聯脣詞描繪動作時的成功表現。

總之，聯脣詞的作用，主要是偏重在文學作品之中，尤其是以疊字形式的聯脣詞爲然。

乙、複合詞方面

①能使詞彙意義更加明確清晰

漢語單音詞中，由於同音的詞彙太多，辨認起來，不免困難，古人曾經想出「四

聲別義」的方法，利用聲調的不同去區分詞彙的意義，因此，當單音詞僅只具備三四種意義時，四聲別義的方法，確實可為人們帶來一些便利，但是，漢語中的單音詞，擁有十幾種意義的，比比皆是，對於這種情形，四聲別義的方法是無能為力的，只有等到單音詞變為意義相同的複音詞後，這種問題，才算澈底解決，齊佩瑤在訓詁學概論中說：

漢語因同音的單詞太多，耳治易生誤會，所以除了用後起的四聲別義的方法加以補救外，較古一點區別方法就是把單音詞化為複音詞。

許篤仁在轉注淺說一文中也說：

例如文句中用「昏」字，易認為「昏昏」、「黃昏」兩義，若用重文或同義之文，則文之意義，充足明顯，不僅免於爭執，而晦奧之病可除。

因此，當單音詞變為複音詞後，它便排除了單音詞意義游移的特性，它的意義，便明確清晰多了，換言之，複音詞的形成，它只能就單音詞原先眾多的意義中，擇取其中的一種意義，這一種意義，一經肯定之後，單音詞原本所具的其他多種意義，便遭受排斥，而不再造成干擾，因此，複音詞的出現，能使詞彙的意義，格外明確清晰，而不致引起混淆。

②能使漢語不必大量增加新字

傅孟真先生在漢語改用拼音文字的初步談一文中曾經說：

古時有一件事物，便造一個字，打開說文便知，到了現在，通用的字不過三千，反沒說文裏的多，這都是因為古人單音的話頭多，今人單音的話頭少。

杜學知先生在複詞別義說¹²一文中也說：

古初造字，往往有一個意義，即造一字以表之，在古代的社會純樸，人類的思想簡質，一意一字，隨用隨造，尚無不可，到了後來，人類的社會進步，思想發展，如果仍要一意一字，便有造不勝造之勢，所幸有「複詞別義」的辦法，只要意義引申的多了，但分別構成複詞，便可將繁多的意義一一表出，這樣，不但阻止了文字的新造，並且更進一步，減少了單字的應用，於是構成漢語以最少的字數表達最複雜意義的功能，單字好像是化學的元素，隨意配合，便可以合形成形形色色的物，實為世界上任何的文字所不及。

漢語中有些單音詞彙，由於意義過於狹窄專門，像「𩇑，馬八歲也。」「𩇒，馬七尺為𩇒。」「𩇓，馬淺黑色。」「𩇔，馬深黑色。」「𩇕，馬面頰皆白也。」「𩇖，四歲牛。」「𩇗，牛黃白色。」（均見說文）等等，使用的機會本來不多，字形又較難記憶，漸漸地便被

¹² 載大陸雜誌第二十八卷第七期。

淘汰，原來只用一個字去表示的概念，便逐漸用兩三個字去表示，這種由單音詞轉變為複音詞及多音詞的現象，早在先秦時代，便已出現，而且，例子也相當普遍了。要之，漢語詞彙在演進過程中，很早就走上造詞（複音詞）而不造字的途徑，這也是使得漢字不致大量增加的主要原因，這也是複音詞另一項重要的作用。

五、結 語

綜合以上所述，提出幾點意見，作為結語：

①古代漢語中的單音詞，詞義繁富，在辨認方面，確實造成許多不便，但是，單音詞在哲學作品和文學作品中，也產生了一些積極的功用，因此，單音詞所帶給人們的，也並不完全是困擾和難題。

②複音詞的出現，早在上古時代，即已呈現端倪，迄至先秦以前，複音詞的發展，已經相當成熟，例子也極為普遍。

③複音詞的形成，古代漢語詞彙由單音詞演化為同樣意義的複音詞，也自有其一定的軌迹與途徑，可資遵循。

④複音詞的作用，除增加文學作品的優美程度之外，針對單音詞的多義現象，複音詞也彌補了單音詞意義游移的缺點。

⑤複音詞的出現，也使得古代漢語詞彙，在應用上，更為靈活，更富變化。

⑥單音詞的特點，在於「簡潔」「經濟」，複音詞的特點，在於「明確」「穩定」，上古的漢語中，雖然是以單音詞作為基礎，但是，由於複音詞的出現，單音詞與複音詞在「簡潔」和「明確」、「經濟」和「穩定」上，相互配合，取得了極度的「協調」和「平衡」的作用，因而成為古代漢語詞彙中的兩大支柱。

THE CHINESE WRITING SYSTEM: AN ANALYSIS OF ITS SYSTEMATIC AND AESTHETIC VALUE

Li-fu Chen

(陳立夫著)

*Confucius and Mencius Society,
Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China*

Those who wish to study Sinology must understand Chinese characters. Knowing Chinese characters helps one to gain in-depth knowledge of China.

(1) Historical Review

a. From knot-writing to the invention of *Pa-kua* (八卦, Eight Diagrams)

China is an extremely ancient country; it has a five-thousand-year uninterrupted and unbroken cultural inheritance. Chinese written characters are the expression of the civilization of the Chinese people who make up one-fourth of the human race. In such a vast society, maintaining the cultural heritage makes, indeed, a truly interesting story. To understand this long lasting Chinese culture, one must trace the origins of the use of Chinese written characters.

Since written language has been considered an instrument to record human thoughts, it is entirely possible that one might encounter some unexpected difficulties when tracing the beginning of the Chinese writing system. There is no completely reliable source as evidence to prove the beginning of the use of Chinese written characters. However the symbol or sign Chinese people used during the earliest period of their civilization is called ideographic-picture writing. One may assume there must be other methods to assist us in remembering what happened during daily life prior to the introduction and adoption of this ideographic-picture writing.

The history of China says that knot-writing used before the birth of Fu Hsi (approximately 2800 B.C.) should be considered the first stage of the development of Chinese characters. Knot-writing was not only used for recording many events taking place then but was also prophetic about events in the future. Sizes of knots indicated the degree of significance of the event. The larger the size of the knot, the more important the event was. A smaller sized knot meant secondary importance.

Fu Hsi also attempted to combine the characters properly to express the various forms of matter and the relation between things physical and intellectual. His invention of *Pa-Kua* was considered to be the predecessor of the Chinese written language and second stage of the development of the Chinese writing system. Fu Hsi intended to describe natural phenomena in the heavens and the earth with a system of signs. He introduced two signs *Yang* (—) and *Yin* (--) as the foundation of the system which figuratively denotes the evolution of nature and its changes. The system is, perhaps, equal to the theory of positivity (+) and negativity (—) of the universe.

Through an arrangement of certain cabalistic signs consisting of eight combinations of *Yang* and *Yin* arranged in a circle, Fu Hsi used a deductive method to introduce and develop *Pa-Kua*. It was said that *Pa-Kua* was evolved from the markings on the shell of a tortoise. This explained according to the following illustration:



八卦

Pa Kua
(Eight Diagrams)

Swamp	澤	天	Heaven
Mountain	山	地	Earth
Wind	風	水	Water
Thunder	雷	火	Fire

It seemed that during this very preliminary stage of development, the most important contribution of Fu Hsia was to inspire the human mind and thinking. The *Pa-Kua* was educational and meaningful. It also seemed that Fu Hsi attempted to analyze, assemble, classify, and interpret things physical and intellectual with common characteristics he observed under these eight categories of signs.

Good examples are \equiv and \equiv . These two signs not only represent heaven and earth, male and female, father and mother, but also strong and weak, hard and soft. One must bear in mind that life style of man then was very simple. The eight signs represent those factors which were not conquerable within the limits of human capacity — on the contrary, human behavior and living conditions were always controlled and determined by the things the eight signs represented, including personal life and property. Therefore people were very much concerned about the eight signs and theories of *Pa-Kua* and the real meaning they conceived. However, those signs were unable to meet human needs as ways of life have increasingly become more and more complicated with passing years.

- b. From *Hsiang-hsing* (象形, simple pictographs, or image shapes), *Chou-wen* (籀文, seal character, or archaic script), *Ta-chuan* (大篆, greater seal character, or great script), and *Hsiao-chuan* (小篆, lesser seal character, or small script) to *Li-shu* (隸書, official writing), *Ch'iai-shu* (楷書, clerkly style, scribe script, or square character), and *Hsing-shu* (行書, cursive style, or modern script).

Then the Era of Tsang chieh (倉頡) arrived. Traditionally the creation of *Hsiang-hsing* style of writing should be credited to Tsang chieh. As a matter of fact, Tsang chieh served as an official under *Huang-ti* (黃帝, Yellow Emperor, 2800 B.C. — 2600 B.C.). It was said that Tsang chieh designed a preliminary written document which was called *shu-chi* (書契, written contract) as opposed to pieces of wood with notches. Later this was used official bookkeeping, simple commerce or trade, or similar events which were taking place then. *Shu-chi* is a piece of wood carved with signs. When agreement was reached between two partners, this piece of wood was broken into two halves and each kept one. Hence they could see if the commitments they made were fully carried out.

In addition, Tsang chieh observed the footprints of birds and animals and movements of tree leaves, and their shadows. Recognizing that these patterns could be distinguished from each other, he carved their shapes and pictures on the wooden sticks. Subsequently pictures he carved on the wooden sticks were acknowledged as initial forms of Chinese written characters. Later similar scripts were found on stones and metallic vases. These pictographs were, of course, related to the important events of human daily life, such as hunting, fighting, clothing, housing, boating, moonlight, sunshine, and consumption of animal meat. The unearthed evidence from excavations showed that the earliest written records

must be around the Yin-shang (殷商) Period, 1800 B.C.. These records were carefully inscribed on tortoise shells or bones of animals. They were called *Chia-ku-wen* (甲骨文, shell bone script). Of course, wooden inscriptions were clumsy and bulky and could not last long. Chinese, however, gained some concepts about pictographs judging from the bronze objects from the Yin-shang Period to Chou dynasty, 1200 B.C.. Some examples can be given here:

9	1
mouth	sun
10	2
sheep	moon
11	3
Horn	star
12	4
prison	cloud
13	5
door	rainfall
14	6
car	deer.
15	7
motion	water
	8
	eye

These ancient pictographs are simple picture-drawing, or imaginary shapes of events. They constituted a sizable portion of modern characters in current Chinese writing, such as sun, moon, mountain, cow, fish, and so forth.

The time from the invention of *shu-chi* to the use of *Chia-ku-wen* was approximately one thousand years. Later in 800 B.C. an official historian named Chou (籀) created a new writing system and called it *chou-wen* (籀文, Chou's writing system), or *ku-wen* (古文, ancient graph), usually inscribed on bronze. After another thousand years, this type of written character was named *Ta-chuan* (大篆), greater seal character, or great script.

It was in 213 B.C. that written characters suffered from catastrophic disasters. *Ch'in-shih Huang-t'i*, first emperor of Ch'in dynasty, decreed the burning of books.

Nearly all books and written records were burnt into ashes, and at the same time, his premier Li Ssu introduced and codified an official writing system. He regulated the style of writing, and named it *Hsiao-chuan* (小篆), lesser seal character, or small script. It was estimated that approximately three thousand written characters were introduced. The methodology Li Ssu employed to construct new characters was to combine the original pictographs and phonetic signs. Thus he set a course for scholars to imitate in subsequent generations. To meet the demands of the progressive development of Chinese culture, the newly synthesized method assisted by supplying many necessary new characters. The fruitful result was that in 200 A.D., Chinese written characters reached the number of 10,000. Presently, a common citizen only needs to recognize four thousand or less characters to read books and converse with fluency.

While written characters were rapidly increased in number, the style of writing was also undergoing a process of change according to the needs of the time. Examples are the introduction of *Li-shu* (隸書), known as official writing; *Ch'iai-shu* (楷書), the clerical style; *Hsing-shu* (行書), cursive style; and soon *Ts'ao-shu* (草書), rapid style was added. Some of these styles were adopted simply for improvement of writing speed, and some of them were for the reason of devotion to aesthetic principles, and some of these styles were benefits of the invention of new tools of writing such as ink, brush, and paper.

(2) Appearance of *Tzu-shu* (字書), the first book of written characters — a great collection of the methods of making new characters

In 86 B.C., a great collection of Chinese written characters, *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* (說文解字, Discussion of Simple Graphs and Explanation of Compound Graphs) by Hsü Shen (許慎) became available for study. The collection, however, was not printed as a book until 1200 A.D.. It was understood this was the first time that Chinese characters were assembled and classified into different categories according to their radicals, original pictographs, and new style of phonetic signs.

Hsü Shen divided ancient written characters into six categories. He explained how those characters were constructed and how they were made into new characters according to the adopted principles and rules. He called simple characters *wen* (文, literary), and those combined with radicals, *tzu* (字, a written word, name, or style). The two combined together are called *wen-tzu* (文字, written character), a new term suggested by him. The six categories of written characters Hsü Shen classified are:

- a. *Hsiang-hsing* (象形): the term means image shapes, or pictographs. It also means to draw a picture similar to the object such as living creatures, animals, or things in general. The picture must be close to, or the same as, the physical appearance of the object it intends to describe. These pictures

were constructed and made into *tzu* (字). Thus a *tzu* is a sign of a pure picture-drawing, or a pictograph. Characters such as sun (日, *jih*) and moon (月, *yüeh*) are actually true picture-drawings.

- b. *Hui-i* (會意): means meeting of ideas, ideograms, or associative compounds. Combining two or more than two characters together, it becomes a new character with a completely new definition. Thus characters of this category are purely ideographic or metaphoric or symbolic forms produced by associated ideas.

An example is the character *hsing* (信, faith). It is a combination of *jen* (人, man) and *yen* (言, a saying, speech). The interpretation of the combination of these two characters is "the language of a man" can be "trusted." It ended as a complete new character with new meaning.

Another example is the character *Wu* (武, military, martial, violent), a combination of *chih* (止, to halt, cease) and *ko* (戈, a spear, lance). The interpretation of the combination of these two words is to prevent the use of force is the goal of armament. This is also a new character with a completely different meaning.











- c. *Chia-chieh* (假借): means borrowed characters. The Chinese language creates new words by combining characters which sound exactly alike. This is called loan-graph technique. All the characters invented through this methodology are homophonous words in Chinese writing. Definition or true meaning of a character in this category depends on the circumstance of its use. It is a new phonetic sign, and phonetically loaned.

Example: the word *ling* (令, order) in the phrase *ming-ling* (命令, order from the superior) can be borrowed and combined with the word *hsien* (縣, county) as *hsien-ling* (縣令, magistrate, or mayor of a county). The justification is that magistrate is an administrative position. He is the man who speaks for authority. He is a man who gives orders. All the decisions he proclaimed are official.



Another example is borrowing the word *ch'ang* (長, length) from the phrase *ch'ang-tuan* (長短, long or/ and short sized) and combining it with the word *kuan* (官, official, officer), then a new phrase *kuan-ch'ang* (官長, officially superior, or superior, or boss) was created. Therefore, the word *ch'ang* represents an official position held by one who is authorized to lead other people.



- d. *Chieh-shih* (指事, indicators, point to the situation). Characters of this category are indirect signs when seen. One knows the meaning it conceived as soon as one sees it. By combining already existing graphs in pairs, one of which functioned as pictographic and the other as signfic, a large number of half-pictographic and half-signfic compounds were created and they

were new characters in use. Therefore, they are *chih-shih-tzu* (指示字), or indicators to express concepts.

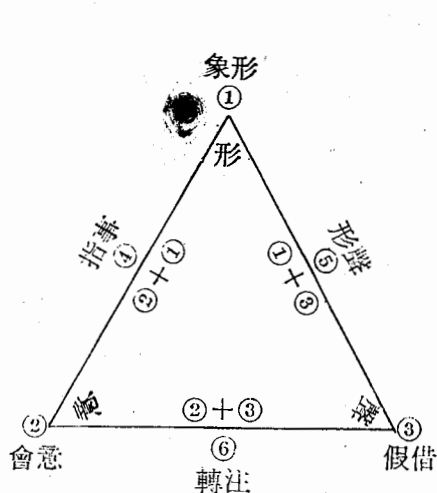
Examples is the word *shang* (上, above) and the word *hsia* (下, below). Their originals were “” and “”, or “” and “”, or “” and “”. Here “” is a pictograph, by adding “” or “” or “” either above or below, readers know the distinction between them.

- e. *Hsing-sheng* (形聲, picture and sound, or determinative phonetics, or phonograms). Chinese characters formed with a pictogram and a phonetic sign, the former supplying a guide to the meaning, and the latter to the sound. The ancient Chinese phonetic script combined with similar sounding characters as phonetic elements in the compound characters. Then numerous characters which were compounds consisting of a phonetic and a signific were created. They may be called pictographic-phonetic characters, or simply, phonograms.

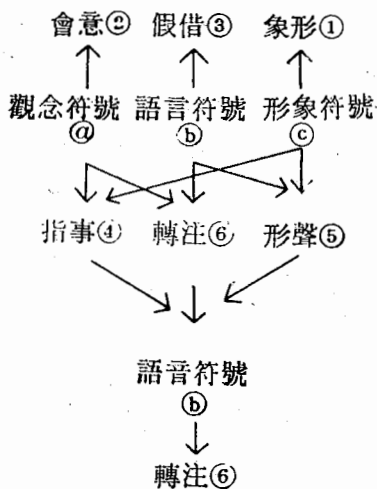
Example: *kiang* (江, a large river), and *ho* (河, river, canal) both are defined as river. The left side “” of the former character indicates the sound of flowing water in a narrow and shallow river. The right side “” of the latter character, however, means the sound of flowing water in a river of great width.

- f. *Chuan-chu* (轉注): the term means transferrable meaning, or mutually interpretative signs. Some Chinese characters evolved from the same origin, sharing the same radical, are identical in written forms. Because of the change in phonetics, they were transferred into new words and their meanings are dissimilar to each other. They may be classified as deflected characters with antithetic signs. They are the combinations of ideographs and phonetic signs. For examples, the words *Lao* (老, old) and *kao* (考, examine, question) are from the same origin and shared the same radical, or synonym “”. The adding of a new phonetic sign “”, the pronunciation *Lao*, was then transferred to *kao*.

Some of the interpretations of the previous paragraphs were from Liu Ta-po (劉大白)'s work, *Yü-yuan* (語原, Origin of Languages). His conclusion that categories of *chieh-shih* (指事, indicators), *hsing-sheng* (形聲, phonograms) and *chuan-chu* (轉注, deflexives) are the combinations of *hsiang-hsing* (象形, pictographs), *Hui-i* (會意, ideographs), and *chia-chieh* (假借, borrowed characters) seems logical and reasonable. The chart and diagram presented as follows can express relationships among these six scripts:



1. pictograms
2. ideograms
3. borrowed characters
4. indicators
5. phonograms
6. deflectives



- a- pictographic signs
b- phonetic signs
c- ideographic signs

Though it is true that a *chuan-chu tzu* (轉注字) is a combination of an ideograph and a phonetic sign, however its meaning or interpretation is entirely new. Therefore, this method is applicable to other progressive concepts for creating a large number of new characters by combining ideographs with any phonetic sign. All characters introduced in this category are classified as *chuan-chu*, or deflected characters.

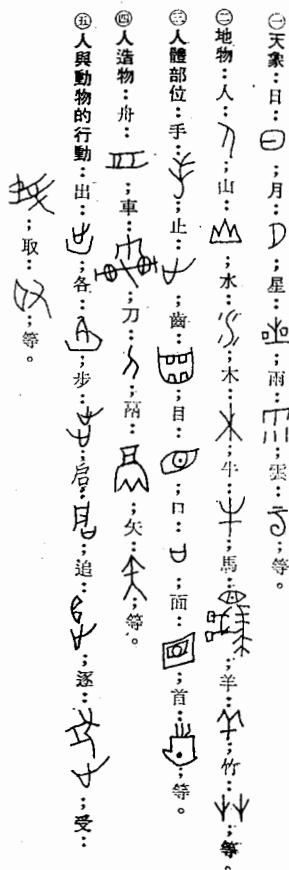
(3) Scientific Classifications

Chinese written characters were definitely not invented in a careless manner nor were they casually passed from generation to generation. They were thoroughly, systematically, and logically analyzed and classified. Every character was given a careful evaluation. If not, for example, the character *chin* (金, gold) would not be adopted as the radical of all metallic compounds. One could not easily identify the existence of the metallic relationship of the English words gold, copper, silver, zinc, aluminium, from their written form. However, such a relationship can be found from the writing of Chinese characters 金, 銀, 銅, 鋅, 鋁. Recognizing any of these metals' metallic nature presents no difficulty.

Other examples are: fish and related elements are combined with radical *yu* (魚, fish), horse with radical *ma* (馬, horse), rain with radical *yu* (雨, rain), hand with radical *shou* (才, hand), wood with radical *mu* (木, wood), and so forth.

It is not far from the truth to say that the accomplishment of this scienti-

fically sound classification could only be achieved and improved in a society with a high level culture, and only with great effort. Moreover it is very efficient to add new characters within this system. For example, the discovery of a new metal uranium only required adding a “由” (*yu*) to the radical “金” (*chin*) to make a new character “鈾” (*yu*) in Chinese writing. The pronunciation of “鈾” (*yu*) is very close to the English word *u* — ranium. More examples can be given to show the scientific classification of Chinese written characters:



1. Natural Phenomena: sun, moon, star, rainfall, cloud, etc.
2. Living creatures and things on Earth: man, mountain, water, wood, cattle, horse, sheep, bamboo, etc.
3. Human bodies: hand, foot, tooth, eye, mouth, face, head, etc.
4. Things made by human wisdom: boat, car, knife, vase, arrow, etc.
5. Actions taken by human and animals: out, taking, walking, opening, chasing, etc.

Concerning phonetics, or pictographs, none of the written languages of any other country is classified as clearly and precisely as and comparable to the Chinese written characters.

(4) Simplified Grammatical Structure

Chinese is a noninflectional language. All Chinese written characters are monosyllabic. They are easy to pronounce and memorize. Chinese language is simple and refined. One page of an English essay or composition can be translated into a half page of Chinese writing. Punctuation is not necessary in the literary style of writing.

Unlike German and French, grammar is a simple matter in Chinese writing. There is no feminine gender, no masculine gender, and no neuter gender. There-

fore, it is not necessary to change the gender if a preposition follows a noun. The character “們” (*mân*) is used to form the plural of words denoting persons. In English, I, you, he, or she must be changed into we, you, or they in the plural. Chinese writing, however has no difficulty to distinguish changes of accent, patterns, tense, voices, mood, or rules for the formation of words. Moreover Chinese writing has no derivative changes, formal word classes, inflections, prefixes and suffixes. The terse and meager grammatical structure does not create any serious problem for its users.

From the earliest formative period, Chinese written characters provided numerical symbols which conceived algebraical values. They naturally reconcile the decimal system. In a scientific age, what the people pursue is a simple way to compute, and the Chinese writing system did not neglect that part. Instead, it was part of its earliest invention.

(5) Beautiful and Subtle Tones and Rhymes

Chinese written characters have another element, which is just as important, and just as necessary an ingredient in a character as its vowels and consonants, and that is the tones, the musical accent.

Literary works such as poetry and prose are important to our human emotion because they express our hearts' wishes in words. The natural and social environment definitely have played a role in the development and achievement of an author. In evaluating a literary work, the standard of style, rhetoric, originality, content and tones, and point of view are also important.

Liu Hsieh (劉勰, 465-522 A.D.), a celebrated literati, in his work, *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* (文心雕龍, Carving a Dragon of the Literary Mind) said that it is nature which inspires the author's mind. It is the modulated noise and the function of tonal harmony which makes rhymes possible. He demanded freshness in linguistic pattern as a condition of good *wen-chang* (文章, literary pattern; *wen*, literary patterned rhyme-writing; *chang*, style, body of the writing). Thus, the emotion is matched by that of literary expression. Cited as examples are the sounds of the forest wind which produce a melody comparable to that of a reed pipe or lute, or the music created when a spring strikes upon a rock — as melodious as the ringing tone of a jade instrument or bell. Therefore, just as when nature expresses itself in physical bodies there is a plastic pattern, so also, when it expresses itself in sound, there is a musical pattern. Now with the emergence of mind, language is created, and when language is created, writing appears. All these contribute much to the content and tonal harmony in an author's writing.

In responding to stimuli, authors always intend to operate on the principle of endless association of ideas. Often they are lost in the myriad, completely absorbed in visual and auditory sensations. Authors tried to depict atmosphere and painted

the appearance of things with their changing aspects, and at the same time, the linguistic and tonal patterns they used closely corresponded with their perceptions.

For example: *kuan-kuan* (關關, pleasant notes) to describe the male and female osprey's resounding to each other in harmony; *fei-fei* (霏霏, sleet) to denote a great fall of rain and snow, *i-i* (依依, unwilling to part, to cling with affection, feeling of attachment) to suggest the sweeping willow trees. While this methodology could be tactfully employed, the beauty of literary patterns naturally appears for the reader's appreciation.

To achieve perfection in the description of things depends on an intimate knowledge of *wen-tzu* (文字; *wen*, literary; *tzu*, a written word, or character) and *Yü-yen* (語言; spoken language). *Wen-tzu* is painted on paper, easy to read, and convenient for appreciation and evaluation. However, to taste its delicate flavor, and to masticate the substance of the literary quality, chanting, reciting, and humming are essentially important. Such control of content and language makes the reader experience a sense of exhilarating lightness, and puts him in an emotional mood even refreshingly new.

In general, characteristics of Chinese language are two: monosyllabic and isolating. There is no declension. Because of its isolating nature, every written character, or word, has one immutable word body unchanged by means of flexions or mutations of the stem which depend upon its relation to other words in the sentence. Each written character structured its graphic beauty. Also because of its monosyllabic nature, every single word, or noncomposite word consists of one single syllable, emphasizing its musical accent, its particular melody, which form an integral part of the word and is just as important as are its vowels and consonants. Consequently, graphic beauty and musical accent constituted an important part of the literary pattern in the Chinese writing.

Speaking of literary patterns, the most noted are *tz'u* (辭, a form of poetical expression), *fu* (賦, an irregular metrical style of composition in rhyme prose-poem, or a type melodic and highly adorned prose); *pin-wen* (駢文, a style in which all the sentences run in pairs, euphuistically antithetic style); *lien-yü* (聯語, antithetical couplets); *Tz'u* (詞, rhymed prose writing); and *ch'u* (曲, ditty, songs, ballads). Those are perhaps the most beautiful and well-developed literary products. They are dynamic, interesting, and colorful. In fact, it should not be overlooked that in Chinese syllables the rhyming part represents the major part of the word. The Chinese writing system indeed is much more advanced than other writing systems measured or evaluated by the length and syllables of each vocabulary.

By analyzing the sounds of Chinese and by producing successive sounds, it is necessary to say that Chinese written characters are always divided into *sheng* (聲, sound), or consonants, and *yün* (韻, rhyme) or vowels. *Sheng* follows the *yin*

(音, tone, prelude), and *yün* ends the sentence. *Sheng* is determined by the tonal changes in the qualities of the movements of throat, teeth, tongue, and lips. Therefore, the pronunciation of a Chinese word, be it light or heavy, can be distinguished. Nevertheless, Chinese possesses a large number of characters with short monosyllables that sound exactly alike. They are called *shuai-sheng* (雙聲, double sound), or homonyms.

In the numerous characters which consist of a signific and a phonetic, Chinese speech has a drumbeat rhythm, and each character has its musical accent, or melody. As a way to differentiate these rhymes, tones are used. Each character has a fixed tone, each stressed melody is pronounced in one of four tones, namely, high-level, high-rising, low-dipping, and high-falling. In connected speech, however, the melody is only evident in the words that are emphasized and the unstressed words being totally neutral. The melody also has distinctions of levels a, b, c, and d, in which a nasal sound is heard if the *yün*, or rhyme is suitable. All those rhymes which sound alike are called *tieh-yün* (疊韻, duplicated rhymes), or rhyme groups. Each group contains a number of finals which could rhyme with one another, then under each rhyme characters must be repeated in full.

Literary works of all kinds and their contents and forms are interlocked. Literary works had to be appreciated to reveal their beauty. Shen Yüeh (沈約, 441 — 513 A.D.), a contemporary literary critic of Liu Hsieh, was dissatisfied with which tones and sounds had been employed in the field of versification. He formulated rules governing poetic language. He suggested that the organization of sounds in a musical pattern be smooth and round. The musical patterns are used to regulate the sound of a literary piece. In his noted work, *Sze Sheng Pu* (四聲部, Theory of Four Tones) Shen Yüeh proposed that one must fix high tones with low tones. In a line, no word should be of the same tones and the arrangement of words of sharp and soft tones in two sentences should be different. Instead of using a single rhyme for a poem, poets started to write poems which changed rhymes every two, four, or eight lines. More attention was paid to the emphasis of tonal harmony and rhyming, coupled with the trend toward balanced and parallel sentences.

Furthermore, Liu Hsieh pointed out that the beauty or the ugliness of the spoken sound and the graphic picture appears in its metrical chanting. Literary taste is expressed in words and sentences, and vitality finds its full manifestation, in *ho* (和, harmony), and *yün* (韻, rhyme). By *ho* is meant the harmony of different sounds and tones, and by *yün*, the consonant response to the final vowel. The *yün* has a definite pattern, so it is comparatively easy to arrange the sounds fit the pattern; but the *ho* elements are sometimes low and sometimes high, so it is rather difficult to harmonize all the tones.

To understand the musical quality of a literary work, one must know that

there are two tones: *p'ing* (平), flying tone, literally level; and *tse* (仄), sinking tone, literally abrupt. Its tones of *p'ing* and *tse* are arranged in a line smoothly, rhymes are harmoniously grouped. If they are irregularly mixed or in disorder, then the concatenation goes amiss, a discord will result, and the beauty is lost. The principle that poetry is the expression of sentiments and songs are the expression set to music was very influential. Therefore, literary and rhetorical problems are one. Sounds and emotions are interwoven. The saying that sounds first, meaning second actually says that sounds change as human emotions change. In this linguistic patterns played a significant role.

(6) Easy to Learn

As previous paragraphs discussed, Chinese language can be learned if teachers of superior quality can be provided. This includes reading, writing, and daily usage. It would naturally be a formidable task and it will take more time if one wishes to be an expert in the Chinese language. No surprise, for Bernhard Karlgreen, a distinguished Swiss language specialist, repeatedly wrote that the Chinese language is the highest level language of today's world, and Chinese language is beautiful, logical, and comparatively easy to learn. He said that "the language of literature has become a veritable Chinese esperanto," (Bernhard Karlgreen, *Philology and Ancient China*, Oslo, 1926, p. 155) and "Chinese literature will arise like a phoenix from its ashes, in new strength and beauty." (*Ibid.*, p. 167) And "this fact has had to result which makes the literary situation in China absolutely unique." (Bernhard Karlgreen, *The Chinese Language, an Essay on its Nature and History*, New York, 1949, p. 20).

(7) Highly Artistic

Through constant reforms, Chinese governments of the past adopted all kinds of methods to create and introduce new characters to improve their age-old writing system. The largest reformed portion of written Chinese is *Hsing-sheng tzu* (形聲字, characters of *Hsing-sheng*, picture and sound, determinative phonetics, or phonograms). Thus, every character is a pictograph which describes the natural phenomenon. Realistic and beautiful, this group of written characters virtually reached its perfection. They can be hung on the wall and be exhibited as artistic works for appreciation. Certainly no written language in the world can be superior to its style. As far as the beauty of its substance is concerned, it cannot be explained within the limit of this paper.

(8) For the Unity of the Nation

China is a populous country with vast territory. Fortunately our farsighted forefathers, using great vision, made rules for the nation: "all vehicles were to be

equipped with axles of standard length, all books were to be printed with the same written characters, and all conduct of the people was to be evaluated with the same rules." While they were in the process of inventing and making our written characters, they did not, however, only use pictograms and ideograms with the emphasis on phonetic signs. People who lived on either side of a mountain might speak different dialects, yet they had the same writing system without a linguistic barrier. They would not have a problem when communicating with each other and the gap was no longer in existence. If China only had phonograms then today it might well be another Europe, divided into many countries. Therefore, we oppose the romanization of Chinese written characters. During the long past, it was true that a Shanghai-ese probably could not understand a Cantonese. But now, every child must be in school to learn *kuo-yü* (國語, national spoken language) and national phonetic system. Therefore, it is no problem for two Chinese to understand each other's spoken language. The standard *Hsing-shu* (行書, cursive style) was made official by the government, thus, the writing style will also be the style for all citizens to follow. Bernhard Karlgreen also said that "the 450 million Chinese have an esperanto which binds together in a large linguistic unity." On one occasion, he wrote that "a letter in the literary language by a Pekinese is immediately understood by a Cantonese, although these two people, if they tried to converse directly, that one in Pekinese, and the other, in Cantonese, would understand each other about as well as a Berlin man and a native of Amsterdam who try to converse in their native tongues." And on another occasion, he wrote that "a government edict from Peking, a newspaper article from Canton, a textbook compiled in Shanghai are, thanks to this Esperantoism, comprehensible to readers throughout China." He doubted if an Englishman could understand the books their ancestors printed three hundred years ago. He said that "breaking connection with the classical antiquity of China also means breaking the connection between different parts of China. For the artificial literary language is a powerful connecting-link, not only culturally through the study in different places of the same early literature, but also purely practically as regards modern writings." His testimony indicated the tremendous influence of the Chinese writing system which had penetrated into the Chinese way of life.

(9) No Problem to Patch Up Shortcomings

The only shortcoming of Chinese written characters is, perhaps, no alphabets. Nevertheless, its advantages can substitute for the disadvantages. For example, the character *fu* (父, father), to write on the Chinese language typewriter, one only needs to punch the key once, and in an English language typewriter, one needs to play the key six times — f-a-t-h-e-r. Therefore, one can save five-sixths of the time in a Chinese typewriter as compared to an English typewriter. Today,

Chinese typing is already computerized, numbers of characters present no problem and the detailed classification also minimizes all problems. Therefore, we have nothing to worry about.

(10) Promoting Grand Unity

During the long past, Westerners always thought that without an alphabetical system, Chinese written characters were not easy to master. This idea should no longer be valid. If Westerners study Chinese language in school, then the treasure of China — *Tao-teh* (道德, moral principles) and *Ho-p'ing* (和平, harmony and equality) will be acceptable, and religion will not be the only dependable force. So the Chinese would begin to preach the lofty ideals of *Ta-t'ung-shih-chieh* (大同世界, Grand Unity) to the West, and gradually make it as a common goal for all of us to pursue. Can this be done or not? — I shall rub clean my eyes and be waiting to see it.

古代文字學之方法

白 川 靜

日本立命館大學

許慎說文解字，十四篇五百四十部，先後有次，相比爲義，其敍云：

其建首也，立一爲耑，方以類聚，物以羣分，同牽條屬，共理相貫，雜而不越，據形系聯，引而申之，以究萬原，畢終於亥，知化窮冥。

故其說解，或有以天地人三才說之者，如：

王一上，天下所歸往也。董仲舒曰：古之造文者，三畫而連其中，謂之王，三者天地人也，而參通之者，王也。

或有以陰陽消長說之者，如：

五一四下，五行也，从二，陰陽在天地間，交午也。

七一四下，陽之正也，从一，微陰邪出也。

九一四下，陽之變也，象其屈曲究盡也。

按造字之初，本無三才五行之說，如此說解，恐非其初形初義，而以此相排比，字之形義，亦從而晦矣。

凡文字形象，當初各有其義，人皆識之，王者玉戚之象，王之儀器也，故契文彝銘之字，皆下部作刃形，今見戚之遺器，秘璽之所，多有象嵌玉飾，其光粲然，謂之皇，而說文一上云

皇，大也，从自，自始也，始皇者，三皇大君也。

此其去初形初義，遠矣，孟子萬章下云「頌其詩，讀其書，不知其人可乎，是以論其世也」，余以爲於文字之學亦然，試舉五事，以論之。

文 身

許敍云「倉頡之初作書，蓋依類象形，故謂之文」，按文者文身之象也，汎太平洋沿海諸族，曾多有其俗，孫海波中國文字學下六五葉云「文身之事，于今猶然，而古爲最，蓋上古好鬪之民族，其武士多喜文其身以爲飾」，此雖非其初義，然以文爲文身則是，蓋古代文字中，多有存其遺象者，說者未之曉而已。

以文身解文者，中島竊書契淵源，蓋始言之，曰「文爲人之象形無疑也，而胸有

花樣，非文身而何」，後此，孫海波亦云「所錯畫者皆人之身，疑文之本義，當爲文身之制」同下，六五葉，彝銘字形，文中或有心字形花文，古人仍而誤釋爲寧，書大誥「前寧人」「寧王」，卽是「前文人」「文王」之譌，吳大澂說文古籀補，嘗言之。

文身者，本爲聖化而加之，故生育，加冠，斂葬之禮，皆用之，人之初生，施之於其題額上，以爲厭呪，其字爲產，如冠亦如之，其字爲彥，其貌爲顏，彡者其文彩也，而說文六下云「產，生也，从生，彥省聲」，又九上云「彥，美士有文，人所言也」，不知字皆從文而生，文者文身之象也。

殷人謂文母王妣，曰爽曰夷，例如：

丙寅卜貞，王賓大乙爽妣丙翌日，亡尤前，一、三、七。

戊寅卜貞，王賓祖甲夷妣戊翌日，亡尤後，上、四、一三。

說文三下「爽，明也，从歺从大」，又四上云「夷，盛也，从大从𠂔、𠂔亦聲」，大徐云「詩亦切」，則字非𠂔聲也，按𠂔者，婦人兩乳之象，死喪之時，以朱繪身，故爽夷竝有明盛之義，大者人也，加之以歺以𠂔，所以神之也。

𠂔者，又以入墨爲之，說文五上「𦘒，氣液也，从血聿聲」，「𦘒，傷痛也，从血聿，𠂔聲」，按說文三下聿字下云「聿，飾也，从聿从彡」，此以辛施墨，𦘒謂其傷痛也，歺𠂔者竝其文飾，故其文麗爾，辛器曰章，中肥含墨，以之加文，謂之彰，爽夷彰彰，皆謂文身之美者也。

死喪爲凶，凶亦文身之象，以×文，加之於死者胸郭，凵者胸郭，×爲交畫，凵者胸之初文，其人爲兇，蓋謂其非正命而死者也。

生育，加冠，斂葬之禮，皆所謂加入儀禮者，其所加文身，多用繪身之法，以丹朱爲之，別有入墨黥涅癍痕之法，入墨黥涅，施之罪隸，其法用辛，涅墨以加之。其在額上者，謂之涿鹿；其在題額眉目之上者，童妾是也；其在鼻梁之上者爲臯，總謂之黥。說文一〇上「黥，墨刑在面也」，晉令云「奴婢亡，加銅青若墨黥兩眼後，再亡，黥兩頰上，三亡，橫黥目下，皆長一寸五分，廣五分」，按入墨者，蓋古代文身之餘習，後施之罪隸而已。

中國往古有文身之俗，古代文字中，有存其遺象者，余曾作釋文一篇甲骨金文學論叢初集，一九五五年而言之。

載書

卜文金文之從口而作者，爲數甚多，口則祝告之器也，而許慎說文，盡解以爲口耳之口，故其字說，窘束不可通，說文口部二上云。

名，自命也，从口从夕，夕者冥也，冥不相見，故以口自名。

吾，我自稱也，从口五聲。

哲，知也，从口折聲。

君，尊也，从尹發號，故从口。

命，使也，从口从令。

召，評也，从口刀聲。

和，相謗也，从口禾聲。

台，說也，从口目聲。

吉，善也，从土口。

各，異辭也，从口夕，夕者行而止之，不相聽也。

局，促也，从口在尺下，復局之。一曰，博，所以基，象形。

按卜文金文，從口而作者，竝爲會意，見其意象，其義可說，而說文多以爲形聲者，許慎之時，小學既廢失，古義多遺失矣。

說文告部二上云：

告，牛觸人，角著橫木，所以告人也，从口从牛，易曰，僮牛之告。

段注非之云「牛與人口，非一體，牛口爲文，未見告義，……愚謂此許因僮牛之告，而曲爲之說，非字意」，按卜辭金文之例，以告爲祈告之義，卜辭云「貞，告土方于上甲」粹，一一〇七「告河，若」鐵、六、二，又令彝云「告于周公宮」，皆祈告神靈之意。

告之字形，丩爲懸繫之象，古樂器，如南、鼓、磬，竝懸繫而鼓之，下體之口，亦可懸繫之物，則非口耳之口，口者卽載書祝告之器，著之桿頭，高揭哀告，以徵神鑒，謂之告，執持祝告之人，謂之史。

史之初義，又爲史祭，卜辭云「我又史」前、八、三、三「今六月，又史」乙、一四七四「亡史」乙、四〇六四，內祭爲又史，外祭爲王事，「貞，召丩王事」續、五、二九、一六，卽謂召載王事乎，丩者載行，持口祝告，謂之史，出行史祭，謂之事，故史無僣旂，事則有僣旂，出行史祭之意也。

說文三下「史，記事者也，从又持中，中正也」，又云「事，職也，从史，之省聲」，按中正者，非可執持之物，故江永，吳大澂，王國維，內藤湖南諸人，皆疑之，或以爲執簡之形，或以爲飾中舍筭之象，然史之爲內祭，事之爲外祭，卜辭有明證，其初形初義，可從而知，余別有說釋史 甲骨金文學論叢初集 一九五五年。

以口爲載書祝告之器，而从口諸文之意象，可得而言而已，其字繁富，本支數百，今分項類目，各舉其數例。

兄君命若如，祝告之人也。

兄，古者家兄爲祝，周公長子伯禽，曾爲大祝，金文有大祝禽鼎，祝呪諸文，亦竝從兄，君，女君，古者婦人，有事宗廟，言君氏，其字从尹从日，命者，戴帽跪坐，而受神意者，其字从令从日，令亦神官，若，女巫愉悅祈告，神之聽之，謂之諾，其在隱僻而祈告者，謂之匿，如與若，或本一字，故其字多通用。

召各兌谷，祝告而神至者也。

祝告招神，有至爲召，迎之爲邵，降臨爲各，在廟爲客，神氣爲兌，悅脫諸文從之，彷彿爲谷，在廟爲容，接容爲欲。

右呈奠哀，祝告之法也。

左右者，工祝致告，所以求神也，故左右爲尋，呈，廷上挺告，所以致呈也，奠，交手戴日，在火上，此焚巫之象，所以止嘆也，哀，卒衣襟上加日，所以哀告也。

加嘉鬲咎，爲吉凶之法者也。

加耒耜以日，以爲祓禳，謂之加，又謂台，有加隆怡悅之義，鼓之祈告，所以喜神意也，鼓而去其螟螣，所以求嘉禾也，殘骨朽屍，尙能致呪殃者，謂之鬲咎，字竝从日。

才在存戈，爲榜示之法者也。

捍上著日，以爲榜示者爲才，卜文金文，皆以爲在之義，卽神之所在察也，人之所在爲存，土鉞形以守之，謂之在，戈者，戈之援上，著以𠄎，爾雅釋詁，哉首也，戎器車服之屬，其始成也，祓之以日，故載裁諸文，聲義亦屬焉。

古吉吾咸，蓋藏祝告之法也。

祝告之器，謹其蓋藏，以護呪能，故日上加干盾，古是也，久故之義，由而生焉；加土鉞，吉是也，吉善之義，由而生焉；加五枚敵之器，吾是也，枚敵之義，由而生焉；加戈，咸是也，咸終之義，由而生焉；字之滋生，義之引申，凡皆如此。舍害昏，害刮祝告之器者也。

祝告呪詛，或有害刮其器，可以廢呪能，故以辛器刺割之，余，辛器有把手者，以余加之爲舍，卽取舍之舍，以辛器之大者加之爲害，卽宰割之義，以剗厠加之爲昏，卽刮害之義。

嚴襄靈囂，列次祝告之器者也。

敢者鬯酌之象，加二日，所以嚴之也；襄者死喪之禮，加二日，所以祓穢也；品者三日陳列；區者，於隱僻之所呪祝，謳馭諸文，由而生焉；列四日者，其勞神意，

最爲囂囂。

言曹和，祝告爲盟誓者也。

辛巳爲言，載書盟誓，若有爽變，加以辛，辛者黥涅之器也，凡言部之字，竝承其意，兩造致訟曰曹，兩束者兩橐，卽束矢鈞金之屬，曰者載書在器中，和者軍門媾和，禾爲軍門之象，周禮大司馬「以旌爲左右和之門」，鄭注「軍門曰和」，是也。某者留啓，器中有祝告盟誓者也。

桿頭著曰，謂之某，卽諮謀之謀，堵中有呪祝，謂之者，者卽書之初文，往古以遮邇，後世易之以書，謂之堵，築堵城守，謂之都，手開載書，謂之留，其在戶中者，謂之啓，卽啓籥見書之義也。

凡口部曰部諸文，其形聲者皆後起，其會意者，皆與載書祝告之事有關，說文多以會意爲形聲，於者堵書諸都各字，竝以爲形聲，而古文系聯之法亦廢矣。

祭 臬

往古之世，有斬首祭臬之俗，餘習久存，迄於近世，其說詳凌純聲教授「國殤禮魂與馘首祭臬」民族學研究所集刊第九期，民四九等諸文，古代文字，又有可以取其證者。

說文八下「方，併船也，象兩舟省，總頭形」，此以舫解方，徐中舒耒耜考集刊二本一分云，「方象耒之形製，古者耦耕，故方有竝意」，按耒之形製，如加劦男靜嘉諸文，皆與方有異，且卜辭言方，大抵外域方族之名，無關於兩舟與耦耕，方之初義，當爲方域方外之方，其字象架屍之形，卽邊徼祭臬之俗也，說文四下「放，逐也，从支方聲」，凡支部殳部諸文，多以毆擊爲呪儀，其以獸者，殺改救殺，是也，其以器者，敗毆變更，是也，其以人屍者，放敲敷敖，是也，毆擊之者，所以懲止呵禁，激揚蹕厲，驅其呪能也。

說文七下「白，西方色也，陰用事，物色白，皆入之，三字，依繫傳補，从入合二，二陰數也」，此以陰陽爲說者，而造字之初，未有其說也，徐箋以爲「皂之上體白，正象米粒」，通訓定聲又以爲「莊子人間世，虛室生白，崔注，白者日光所照也」，又郭沫若以爲拇指形云「此實拇指之象形，拇又名巨擘，擘白亦一聲之轉也，引申爲伯仲之伯，又引申爲王伯之伯」，聞載云「克从儿白，象人面形，此白字之本義，獨存於說解中者」，高氏字例又云「白應卽貌之初文，象人面及其束髮形」，按白者頭顱之象，殘骨枯槁，其色則皤然也。

方者架屍之象，毆之爲放，卽古代放竄之法，其有頭顱，謂之敷，說文四下「敷，光景流也，从白从放」，兒笈錄疑之曰「許君隸敷字于放部，謂从白从放，會意，而有光景流之說，殊近附會，實則敷者，皤之古文也，其本義爲玉石之白，引申之，則凡

白者，皆謂之敷」，按以敷爲皤白之皤則可，以爲玉石之白則未也，蓋敷者架屍放竄，所謂祭臬者，故覈竅邊微邀微諸文，皆取義於祭臬，聲義亦有相屬，說文七下又云「覈，實也，考事兩竿，邀遮其辭得實曰覈」，考覈邀遮者，祭臬爲遮邀，邀厲以邀求，故凡從敷諸文，皆有皤白，竅空，邀求之義，此亦古文系聯之法也。

祭臬者，以呵禁厲鬼，其在塋域者，謂之遮邀，周禮墓大夫「帥其屬而巡墓厲」，鄭注「厲，塋限遮邀處」，古者有斷首以爲之者，殷墓斷首葬，是也，其在遠境外域者，謂之邊微。說文自部四上「壽，宮不見也，闕」，又宀部七下「壽，宀不見也」，蓋以爲交覆深屋之象，金氏其源讀書管見云「穴居山中，中土所不見者，故曰宮不見也」，此唯望文成說而已，說文二上又云「邊，行垂崖也，从辵壽聲」，按壽壽邊三字，皆本爲一系，文源云「邊、旁也，从田方丙，方丙皆古旁字，本从田方，或从田丙，誤複之也，或从辵，田以形近譌爲自」，此不得其說，而妄改字形說之，大孟鼎「殷邊侯田」，邊之字形，上爲自，下爲方，自者鼻竅仰上，丙者臺架，方卽架屍，而見其下體者，此亦祭臬之象也。

其在木上者爲臬，說文六下「臬，射準的也，从木从自」，按木上臬首，故以爲臬臬，法臬之字，書康誥「汝陳時臬事」，多方「爾罔不克臬」，是也，其首髮懸繫者爲縣，說文九上「縣，繫也，从系持縣」，又云「臬，到首也」，賈侍中說，此斷首到縣臬字，斷首倒懸，亦祭臬之法也。

古時祭臬，爲奠基，爲塋域，爲邊微而行之，而古代文字中，尙多有存其意象者。

犬 牲

古者犬牲以祭天，卜辭云「貞，方禘，一羌，二犬，卯一牛」乙、二六三九「貞，禘于東，蕤鬲犬，賚三牛，卯黃牛」續、二、一八、八「貞，帝史鳳，二犬」遺珠、九三五，或以祭祖神，卜辭云「貞，賚于王亥，九犬」乙、六六〇四「丁巳卜，又賚父丁百犬百豕，卯百牛」拾掇二、三四，周禮犬人職「掌犬牲，凡祭祀共犬牲，用牲物，伏瘞亦如之，凡幾耳沈辜，用駢可也，凡相犬牽犬者屬焉，掌其政治」，鄭司農注「伏謂伏犬，以王車轢之，瘞謂埋祭也」，又史記封禪書云「用三百牢於鄜時，作伏祠，磔狗邑四門，以禦蟲菑」，此禮記月令所謂「季春之月，命國難，九門磔禴，以畢春氣」之禮也，卽亦卜辭所謂祭風沈蠶，犬牲以祭者，其起也遠矣。

說文一〇上「犬，狗之有懸蹠者也，象形」，「𤝵，走犬兒，从犬而丿之，曳其足則刺𤝵也」，按𤝵者磔殺犬牲之象，故說文一四上𤝵字下云「出將有事於道，必先告其神，立壇四通，樹茅以依神爲𤝵」，又範字下云「範，𤝵也」，按巳者犬之象，範亦

範輶之字也。

犬牲之義既明，而推其意象，字之可識者亦多矣，禪，說文一上「以事類祭天神，从示類聲」，又一〇上「類，種類相似，惟犬爲甚」，按類者禪之初文，說文示部一上之字，其初文多不從示，如申且之比，類以犬牲而祭，加以米，周禮天官食醫「犬宜粢」，禮記內則亦同，頁有禮貌之象，所以拜之，犬牲以資祀，犬肉加火爲然，所以燎之，犬牲肩下之肉爲厭，說文五上「厭，飽也」，言神之厭足，所以爲厭服也，厭字九下从厂，厂者崖下祀禮之所，故厭曆諸文從之，類然 厭 厭，皆犬牲祭天之字也。

犬牲以奠基，謂之伏，說文八上「伏，司也，从人从犬」，繫傳作「伺也」，慧琳音義引作「伺也，犬伺人也」，其說甚迂，按安陽大墓，玄室腰坑，武人跪坐，旁有一犬牲，說文一下「蕝，瘞也」，爾雅釋天「祭地曰瘞蕝」，卜辭又云「貞，蕝三大，癸五犬五豕，卯四牛」前七三、三，此伏瘞者奠基之法，故冢冢墜就稽戾突之諸文，皆從犬而作。

說文七下「家，居也，从宀，豕省聲」，段注云「案此字爲一大疑案，竊謂此篆本義，乃豕之居也，引申假借，以爲人之居，字義之轉移，多如此」，按卜文金文，家字从犬，而不从豕，蓋犬牲奠基，以起室家，故殷墟遺址，玄室腰坑，堂下門基，蕝以犬牲，卜辭云「亘于上甲家」拾、一、七謂其有屋廟者爲家，其無廟屋者，則爲冢，說文九上「冢，高墳也，从冎 豕聲」，又一三下云「地，萬物所陳列也，墜，籀文地，从隊」，又一四下云「隊，從高隊也，从豕豕聲」，按金文冢墜諸文，皆從犬牲之象，豕者聖梯，神之所陟降，設冢社於其地，謂之墜，山海經西山經「華山冢也」，注「冢者神鬼所舍也」，此皆奠基用犬牲者也。

竈有神，亦用犬牲而奠焉，說文七下「突，犬从穴中暫出也，从犬在穴中，一曰，滑也」，此以唐突滑突爲解，亦非字義也，左傳昭二九年云「句芒祀於戶，祝融祀於竈，蓐收祀於門，玄冥祀於井，后土祀於中霤」，按其用犬牲於戶者，謂之戾，用之於竈者，謂之突。

說文五下「就，高也，从京从尤，尤異於凡也」，按就無尤異之義，句讀云「蓋古義失傳，姑以爲說耳，會意字而意不可會，雖申說之，仍不軒豁，觀乎其形，義之難解可見矣」，按京蓋卽京觀之象，京觀之成，犬牲以落之，所以爲就也，字從犬，猶稽獻猷獄之從犬而作也。

古者廟屋之成，霽器之制，皆霽以落之，周禮，饗人饗廟，小子饗社稷五祀之宮，圉師饗廐，司馬饗戶，司几筵云「上春霽寶鎮及寶器」，士師云「凡刳珥則奉犬牲」，明器亦如之，故哭喪器諸文，皆從犬，說文二上「哭，哀聲也，从吅，獄省聲」，

又二下「喪，亡也，从哭从亡，會意，亡亦聲」，又三上「器，皿也，象器之口，犬所以守之」，不知犬即犬牲，牲血以鬯之，謂之明器，又一〇上「獄，确也，从𡗗从言，二犬所以守之也」，按言者立誓詛盟，犬牲以鬯之，獄訟始成者也。

凡範輶，祭天，奠基，鬯器，獄訟之事，用犬牲者甚夥，而許慎說解，多失其初義，故舉其字系，以論之。

招魂

古者生子授衣，死喪之復，亦以衣，書顧命，王不豫，嗣王展設黼展綴衣，以承其靈，靈之授受，皆用衣，金文保字作保，生子上戴玉，下有保衣，吳大澂說文古籀補云「保，小兒衣也，从人抱子，／象保衣之形」，金文安字，女下亦有之，或是婦人廟見之禮，士喪禮，復者一人，東榮中屋，北面而招以衣，曰，臯，某復，三，此生子受靈，死者招魂，皆用衣也，古代文字中，又有存其意象者。

說文二上「哀，閔也，从口衣聲」，又四上「𦣻，目驚視也，从目袁聲」，又八上「袁，長衣也，从衣，叕省聲」「褰，漢令，解衣耕，謂之褰，从衣𦣻聲」「褻，俠也，从衣眾聲」段注云「俠當作夾，今人用懷挾字，古作褻夾」「展，丹穀衣，从衣𦣻聲」，以上諸文，說文皆以爲形聲或省聲，又「衰，艸雨衣，秦謂之革，从衣，象形」「卒，隸人給事者衣爲卒，卒衣有題識者」，以上二文，以爲象形。

按以上諸文，皆從衣，此以衣招魂復靈之禮也，哀者，於死者衣襟之中，置祝告之器曰，所以哀告也；𦣻者，襟中加以玉環，衣上橫目瞭然，所以希其蘇生也；袁者，衣上施止，止者趾，所以備遠行也；褰者，襟中置祓禳之具二曰與𦣻，曰工者巫祝所執，左右兩字從之，所以祓禳也；褻者，襟中加眾，眾者涕之象形初文，泣涕哭之，所以懷念也；展者襟中置𦣻，所以填塞祓除也；衰者，襟中加衰經之象，所以服喪也。卒者，會萃衣襟，所以屬續事終也；凡衣部中會意字，多存古儀之遺象者。

文字之作也，蓋在殷之中世，而許慎生於千數百年之後，搜求遺文，其時所存於世者，惟秦篆古文之屬，是以前其說遺失頗多，戴震答江慎修先生論小學書云「說文所載九千餘文，當小學廢失之餘，固未能一一合於古」，又云「說文於字體字訓，罅漏不免」，今沈蕙既出，發三千載之覆，殷契金文，復見於世，依類象形，彼此可稽，比類合誼，左右逢源，而許氏說解之罅漏，可得而補。

余前作說文新義十六卷一九六九～七四，推六義之指，而論其初形初義，或問我所謂新義所在，故效舉五事，試論古代文字學之方法云。

說文與釋名聲訓比較研究

林 尹

中國文化大學

第一節 聲訓之產生及發展

以語言釋語言或以文字解文字，其方式可大別爲三種，即義界、互訓、推因。凡以一句解釋一字之義者爲義界，或稱宛述。取同義之字詞或相當之事類、互相訓釋者爲互訓，亦可稱互譯。此二者即所謂義訓。推因則專從聲音上推求語詞音義之來源，闡明其命名之所以然，其訓釋之字必與所訓字具有聲韻關係，此即所謂聲訓。聲訓與義訓爲訓詁之兩大端。王念孫云：「竊以詁訓之旨，本於聲音，故有聲同字異、聲近義同，雖或類聚羣分，實亦同條共貫，譬如振裘必提其領，舉網必挈其綱。」（廣雅疏證序）是清儒以聲韻爲訓詁之樞紐，而朱駿聲說文通訓定聲。特立聲訓一目，凡經傳及古注以聲爲訓者，必詳列各字之下，標示聲訓，聲訓之專名，或肇於此。

古代聲訓之書，首推白虎通，釋名，而說文次之，其他經典注疏、緯書以及史部子部著述中亦往往而有。溯其源流，蓋濫觴於周秦、形成於西漢，發揚於東漢。劉熙釋名實爲聲訓之專著，亦爲集大成之作。茲略舉例，以述聲訓之發展。

論語爲政：「政者正也」

易象傳：「剝，剝也，柔變剛也」

「離，麗也，日月麗乎天，百穀草木麗乎土。」

「咸，感也，柔上而剛下，一氣感應以相與。」

說卦：「乾、健也；坤、順也。」

序卦：「蒙者蒙也」「頤者養也」。

孟子滕文公上：「庠者養也，校者教也，序者射也。」

盡心下：「征之爲言正也，各欲正己，焉用戰？」

荀子君道：「君者何也？曰能羣也。」

大略：「禮者人之所履也。」

莊子齊物論：「庸也者用也，用也者通也。」

此濫觴期之聲訓也，論語僅偶而一見，易傳及孟子，則其用寔多，易傳有本字爲訓，有同音爲訓，有雙聲或疊韻爲訓，有以聲子釋聲母（卽形聲字之聲符），就其形式而言，其法略備，然其內容，則說教意味多，而探求名物之意寡。漢代崇尚經術，聲訓之用日多，遂蔚爲風氣，傳注及緯書中、隨處可見：如：

毛詩閔宮傳：「閔，閉也、常閉而無事。」

洪範五行傳：「旱之爲言乾，萬物傷而乾不得水也。」

（藝文類聚一百引）

春秋元命苞：「教之爲言傲也，上行之、下傲之。」

（翻義名義五引）

此外，淮南子天文訓、史記律書、漢書律歷志、白虎通五行篇、禮記月令等皆以聲訓釋干支，至春秋繁露、白虎通等，則聲訓運用更爲普遍，大抵聲訓之形式，亦完成於此時。最常見之形式爲「某者某也」，如：

「韶者昭也。」（春秋繁露、楚莊王第一）

「公者通也。」（白虎通）

或曰「某之爲言某也」，如：

繁露：「名之爲言鳴與命也，號之爲言謫而效也」（深察名號三十五）

白虎通：「卿之爲言章也，章善明理也」

或曰「某之爲言猶某某也」；如：

繁露：「春之爲言猶倖倖也、秋之爲言猶湫湫也。」（王道通三第四十四）

或曰「某猶某也」如：

白虎通：「霸猶迫也、把也。迫脅諸侯，把持其政。」「舜猶倖倖也，言能推信堯道而行之。」

以上所舉爲較常見之形式，其餘若「某言某也」、「某者謂某也」，不暇舉例。此外，有一字而兼用數字聲訓者，如繁露釋王字，曰皇、曰方、曰匡、曰黃、曰往；其釋君字，曰元、曰原、曰權、曰溫、曰羣，凡此皆須比合而觀，蓋繁露所重在名號，務求周密，固不在語源之探求。依此推知，白虎通聲訓雖多至二百餘條，其目的猶在羽翼五經，亦非針對語言；則聲訓之發揚，必至說文、釋名而後始顯，說文始將聲訓施及常用語詞，如天顛、日實、山宣、戶護、門聞之屬，則已轉爲純粹文字之訓詁，釋名則純用聲訓，論叙指歸，以類求之，旁推交通、語言文字之得聲命名之條貫，至嘖而不可亂，此則進入純粹語言學領域之聲訓矣。

第二節 說文之聲訓特色

說文解字敘作於東漢和帝永元十二年(紀元一百年)，許氏嘗從賈逵問業，賈氏於章帝建初四年(紀元七九年)曾與班固等人講論五經異同於白虎觀，後由班氏撰成白虎通一書。由此書運用聲訓之廣泛，可知許氏必濡染於當代大師聲訓之說，浸淫既久，故所作說文，雖以析形解義為主，仍兼採聲訓之法。蓋聲訓與義訓實相為表裏，欲會通文字形、聲、義三者，使無偏頗，非有聲訓不足以濟其功，此說文所以兼採聲訓也。

說文聲訓就全書說解之義例，可大別為三類：

甲、純聲訓：說文於常用字，常不言本義，而逕以聲訓釋之。如：牛，事也、理也；馬，怒也、武也；尾，微也；門，聞也；母，牧也。亦有於聲訓字下，加以說明，以明其所以然之故。如：

晉，進也，日出而萬物進。

山，宣也，謂能宣散氣、生萬物也。

酒，就也，所以就人性之善惡。

此外，凡干支、五行、四方之名，說文亦多用聲訓，此類多前有所承。如：

丙 位南方，萬物成炳然。

丁 夏時萬物皆丁實。[△]

卯 冒也，二月萬物冒地而生。[△]

辰 震也，三月易氣動，雷電振民農時也，物皆生。[△]

南 艸木至南方有枝任也。[△]

乙、聲訓而兼義訓者：有於聲訓之後，補充說明，非闡明聲訓之故，實為附加義訓者，如

〔被訓字〕	〔聲訓〕	〔附加義訓〕
天	顛也	至高無上
帝	諦也	王天下之號
士	事也	數始於一，終於十
毒	厚也	害人之艸往往而生
父	巨也	家長率教者
琴	禁也	神農所作，洞越練朱五絃，周時加二絃。
日	實也	大易之精不虧

以上聲訓義訓兩兼，實為最理想之訓詁，其中「天」字下義訓「至高」兼訓顛，

日字下義訓，「不虧」兼訓實，是聲訓與義訓揉爲一體，不可強分。

丙、義訓而兼聲訓者：說文義訓之中，往往有一字與被訓字具有聲韻關係者，此類實以義訓爲主，聲訓則屬附帶，可視爲廣義之聲訓，清鄧廷楨「說文解字雙聲疊韻譜」，兼收此類，幾居大半。如：

吏 治人者也。（吏、治疊韻，同屬哈部）

敎 上所施下所效也。（敎、效疊韻，同屬豪部）

盪 滌器也。（盪、滌雙聲，同屬定紐）

朔 月一日始蘇也。（朔、蘇雙聲，朔疏紐，蘇心紐，古聲同屬心紐。）

詁 訓古言也。（詁、古同音）

旌 所以精進士卒也。（旌、精同音）。

按以多數字訓釋一字，本屬義界，其中有一字或一字以上與被訓字具有聲韻關係，每每亦爲語根之所寄，許氏之說解，往往觸及語言命名得聲之由，如上舉旌字，若依純聲訓例，許當云：「旌 精也，所以精進士卒也。」，若以義訓爲重，當云：「旌 旗也，所以精進士卒也。」許不採前者，知其不以聲訓爲重，至於後者，細繹許書，亦有先言本義，再用聲訓者，如：

婚 婦家也，禮取婦以昏時，婦人會也。

姻 婿家也，女之所因[△]，故曰姻。

澍 時雨，所以樹生[△]萬物者也。

桎 足械也，所以質[△]地。

梏 手械也，所以告[△]天。

然許氏每於「以」、「所」、「所以」三種文例下，含有聲訓字，而本義卽在其中，如上舉旌字例，茲再舉數例：

禎 以真受福也

禋 以事類祭天神[△]

城 以盛民也[△]

誼 人所宜也。[△]

鬼 人所歸爲鬼[△]

姓 人所生也。[△]

輶 所以引軸者也。[△]

榜 所以輔弓弩也。[△]

粉 所以傅面者也。[△]

此外，許氏於形聲字之釋義，每以聲子釋聲母（即聲符字），或以聲母釋聲子，而多數以同聲符字爲訓，則其聲符實爲字根而兼爲語根，是又許書發明聲義同源之理，歸之義訓本無不可，然實以聲訓爲重也。如耀、躍也；廷，往也；謀，欺也；叢，聚也；庸，用也；際、察；羊、祥也；仲，中也；氓，民也之類是。

許書聲訓之義例，有以上三類。至其聲韻條件，則亦不外三種，即同音爲訓，雙聲爲訓、疊韻爲訓，茲以黃季剛生先古聲十九紐、古韻廿八部爲準，各舉數例：

(一)同音爲訓例：

東 動也。同屬端紐、東部。

晉 進也。同屬精紐、先部。

鏡 景也。同屬見紐、唐部。

尾 微也。同屬明紐、灰部。

(二)雙聲爲訓例

戶 護也。同屬匣紐。

母 牧也。同屬明紐。

鼓 郭也。同屬見紐。

毳 選也。同屬心紐。

(三)疊韻爲訓例

臣 牽也。古韻同屬先部。

父 巨也。古韻同屬模部。

穀 續也。古韻同屬屋部。

卿 章也。古韻同屬唐部。

綜合以上所述，說文聲訓雖有「純聲訓」者，然其例不過數十，其餘皆兼有義訓性質，或具有同諧聲關係，皆視爲「泛聲訓」。余嘗指導師大碩士論文張生建撰「說文聲訓考」（載師大國文研究所集刊第八號），依蘄春黃季剛先生古聲十九紐、古韻二十八部爲部居，考說文「泛聲訓」例凡得一千三百餘事，其中雙聲爲訓者五百一十八條、疊韻爲訓者五百〇七條、同音爲訓者三百三十一條。較段注、鄧譜所列較爲精審，而數目增多，足見許氏說文不專以解字析形爲能事，而兼欲明語源也。若近人王氏謂「聲訓在說文解字中所佔分量不大」（見王力著中國語言學史），則未嘗通盤考察之言也。

第三節 釋名之聲訓條例

釋名成書於後漢，作者素有二說，一謂南陽劉珍，一謂北海劉熙，分見於范史文苑傳及隋志。中興館閣書目及陳振孫直齋書錄解題均載劉熙字成國所作，凡二十七篇。經錢大昕、郝懿行，畢沅等人考定，皆以今傳二十七篇爲成國所作無疑，至范史所載劉珍釋名遺佚已久，已無由考究。

釋名分篇，以事類相從，略同爾雅，其中篇目相關者十九篇，釋名專有而爾雅未有者八篇，劉熙序釋名之所由作曰：

「名之於實，各有義類，百姓日稱而不知其所以之意，故撰天地、陰陽、四時、邦國、都鄙、車服、喪記，下及民庶應用之器，論敘指歸，謂之釋名。」

劉氏之作，大抵綜合前人聲訓之成績，復依義類，加以整理編次，凡諸經傳緯、子史暨白虎通、說文等，皆其所承襲，而加以擴充，如爾雅僅有釋器一篇，釋名有關器物者爲釋采帛、釋首飾、釋牀帳、釋用器、釋兵、釋車、釋車船等七篇，足見其欲涵蓋名物之廣，今據明嘉靖間覆宋陳道人刊本（八千卷樓本），參較商務國學基本叢書釋名疏證補（畢沅疏證，王先謙補），統計得一千四百〇三條。

清顧廣圻作釋名略例，綜括全書，分爲本字與易字兩大例，又細分爲十例，曰本字、疊本字、本字而易字。曰易字、疊易字、再易字、轉易字、省易字、省疊易字、易雙字。其後張金吾言舊錄中有釋名例補，增顧氏易字例二種，曰易字兼本字、省再易字。此外又增一大例曰借字，又細分爲五：曰借字、借本字、借易字、借雙字、省借字。

以上凡得十七小例，皆就被訓字與訓釋字字形之同異區分，殊爲繁瑣，且無益於聲訓本質之闡明，其中如「省易字」（如綈，似蜚蟲之色綠而澤也。）、「省疊易字」（如：夏曰昊天，其氣布散皓皓也。）即說文義訓中有一字或一字以上與被訓字有聲韻關係者，劉氏不專以嚴格聲訓之法出之，不必視爲省文。凡云省易之例，皆劉氏之變例，不以一字爲訓者，可視爲隱喻式之聲訓。再如「易字兼本字」，「省再易字」例，皆以「亦言」「亦取」等字說之，實劉氏兼存異說者也。至於借字例，實指物名由假借引申而得之借喻法，非關聲訓用字之體例，故無可採。

近人楊樹達不滿顧例「全以字形爲說」，以爲釋名乃聲訓之書，治之者宜於聲音求其條貫，故作「釋名新略例」，約之爲三大例，其小例則九，茲舉例如下：

一、同音例

- 1.以本字爲訓：以宿釋宿，以蒼蒼釋蒼天，以孚甲釋甲。
- 2.以同音字爲訓：以懸釋玄，以顯顯釋昊，以竟釋景。
- 3.以同音符之字爲訓：以閔釋旻、以耀釋曜，以揚釋陽。
- 4.以音符之字爲訓：以止釋趾，以卻釋腳，以殿釋腎。
- 5.以本字所孳乳之字爲訓：以愾釋氣、以蔭釋陰，以蠹釋春。

二、雙聲例：

- 6.以雙聲字爲訓：以坦釋天、以散釋星，以汜與放釋風。
- 7.以近紐雙聲字爲訓：以健釋乾，以昆釋鰥、以蹊釋寡。
- 8.以旁紐雙聲字爲訓：以假釋夏、以祝釋熱，以承釋滕。

三、疊韻例：

- 9.以疊韻字爲訓：以闕釋月，以顯釋天。

按楊氏之歸納，全以聲韻爲主，（楊氏所謂雙聲例中，例多未當，且近紐與旁紐實無從區別，以旁紐雙聲一例足以眩之。其疊韻例中，所據乃切韻音系，如所舉闕、月二字因爲疊韻，亦兼旁紐雙聲，則例亦未盡當。）尙能執簡御繁。此外，師大碩士論文有胡楚生「釋名考」（載師大國文研究所集刊第八本），綜合前人略例，得釋名類例凡廿一條，其例稍繁，而聲韻之分析尤細。其複名之屬，凡有三例，一爲複名單訓例，二爲複名分訓例，三爲複名連縣爲訓例，事就複音詞而論，尤能補楊例所不備。

綜觀上述，楊氏之例，大抵已概括釋名聲訓之聲韻關係，釋名用辭之體例，則異說紛紜，莫衷一是，爲執簡御繁，以下擬分基本例與變化例以括之。

一、基本例：釋名之基本公式爲：

被訓字（A）一聲訓字（B）一推闡聲訓之語句（S）如：日一實也一光明盛實也。

月一缺也一滿則缺也。

此爲全書之主要文例，聲訓字常見於其下推闡句中。

二、變化例：依前述基本例而略有改易者：

- 1.有以本字爲訓者，其式爲：

A—A—S

如：宿 宿也 星各止宿其處也。

觀 觀也 於上觀望也。

按：以本字爲訓，實有詞性之分，如宿字，被訓字爲星宿，係名詞；聲訓字爲止宿，係動詞。觀字，被訓字爲城觀，係名詞，聲訓字爲觀望，係動詞。

2.有以比方譬況爲訓者：其式爲：A猶B也+S如：

臆 猶抑也，抑氣所塞也。

庚 猶更也，庚堅強貌也。

邑 猶悒也，邑人聚會之稱也。

3.有一名而兼以兩字爲訓者：其式爲A、B也、C也+S

腹 複也、富也，腸胃之屬，以自裹盛，復於外復之，其中多品似富者也。

毛 貌也、冒也，在表所以別形貌且以自覆冒也。

睫 插也，接也，插於眼匡而相接也。

按此類兩聲訓字或同音音近，必於其下S中將兩聲訓字之意義結合而爲一。

4.有展轉爲訓者：其式爲：A、B也。B、C也。+S

姿 資也。資、取也。形貌之稟取爲資本也。

鍾 鍾也。鍾，聚也。上體之所鍾聚也。

慮 旅也。旅，眾也。易曰一致而百慮，慮及眾物以一定之也。

按此第二訓（B、C也）往往爲義訓。另有一種展轉爲訓之變式，猶兩組聲訓疊合爲一，其式爲：

A、B也+S₁。C、D也+S₂。如：

紀 記也，記識之也。識，幟也，有章幟可按視也。

匹 辟也，往相辟耦也。耦，遇也，二人相對遇也。

以上二例，上一組聲訓字之推闡句（S₁）將第二組被訓字（識、耦）提出並與上一組聲訓字（記、辟）結合爲一，此爲釋名體例中最繁複之一種。

5.有兼存異說者：釋名每兼存兩說，多則數說者：

如：釋天：以顯、以坦釋天，又云：「易謂之乾」「又謂之玄」等。

再如：光，晃也，晃晃然也，亦言廣也，所照廣遠也。火，化也，消化物也，亦言毀也，物入中皆毀壞也。

凡兼存異訓，皆用「亦言」「又言」「又謂」「亦取」諸語連接。

6.有以方言爲訓者：其例凡二，一言方言詞彙之異：如

枉矢 齊魯謂光景爲枉矢。

厚 後也，有終厚也，故青徐言厚曰後。

醢 藩也，宋魯人皆謂汁爲藩。

一言方言發音之異，故其取義亦別：如

天 豫司竟冀以舌腹言之，天顯也，在上高顯也。青徐以舌頭言之，天坦

也，坦然高而遠也。

風 兗豫司翼，橫口合脣言之，風汜也，其氣博汜而動物也。青徐言風，蹶口開脣推氣言之，風放也，氣放散也。

以上六種變例，但舉其聲聲大者，其餘雖有小變，亦不暇一一細舉。

第四節 說文釋名二書聲訓之比較

說文以字形為主，故立五百四十部首，其無聲字，多依文字構造而得義，形聲字乃兼探聲源。故每以聲符相同字爲訓。然畢竟以義訓爲重，兼用聲訓爲輔。釋名以語言爲主，旨在推因，故純用聲訓之法以解名物，偶兼義訓者，蓋由共名之中區別專名，非其義例所重，此兩書異同之大較。茲分述之：

甲、說文釋名聲訓相同者：

1. 兩書所同，每因前有所承：如白虎通嫁娶：「妾者接也，以時接見也」，說文：「妾有辜，女子給事之，得接於君者。」釋名釋親屬：「妾接也，以賤見接幸也。」此說文，釋名承襲前人之證。近人胡樸安中國訓詁學史，嘗析釋名與經典、爾雅、說文、諸子、緯書、傳注之異同，凡二十八例，其同者甚多，胡氏以爲二書聲訓要皆當時之傳說，決非出於許、劉二君之臆見，其說甚是。

2. 兩書以同聲符字爲訓，其數可觀。

說文釋義，每取同聲符字爲訓，以鄧廷禎說文雙聲疊韻譜所收爲例，其疊韻爲訓而聲符相同者，如帝諦、禎眞、祀己、榮營、樞蜃、視示、耀躍、廷往、馭疏、𠂔糾、古故、誼宜、謀欺、妾接、昇舉、庸用、爻交、際察、羊祥、殂枯、劑齊、入內、貢功、宅託、宴安等是。釋名此類聲訓，較說文有增多之勢，以釋言語一篇爲例，全部一六九名中，以同聲符爲訓者有五十六名，約佔三分之一，如道導、禮體、智知、恭拱、悌弟、慢慢、序杼、發撥、頌容、翔佯、排非、賤踐、榮熒、嚴儼、艱根、密密等是。

乙、說文釋名聲訓相異者：

1. 說文以義訓爲主，聲訓即在義訓之中，純聲訓所佔之比例甚小。釋名以純聲訓爲主，義訓偶出，僅爲輔助。如「德」字：

說文心部：惠，外得於人內得於己也。

釋名釋言語：德，得也，得事宜也。

再如「考」字：

說文老部：考，老也。

釋名釋喪制：父死曰考，考成也，亦言槁也，槁於義爲成，凡五材膠漆陶冶皮革、乾槁乃成也。

2. 二書聲訓有以同字爲訓而說解不同者，如：

木冒也，說文：「冒地而生，東方之行。」釋名：「華葉自覆冒也。」

霜喪也，說文：「成物者。」釋名：「其氣慘毒，物皆喪也。」

3. 二書聲訓迥異者，殆居大半。如：

說文：景，光也。釋名：景，境也。

說文：田，隙也。釋名：田，填也。

說文：門，聞也。釋名：門，捫也，在外爲人所捫摸也。

按說文以光訓景，釋名以境訓景，則見紐洪細之分，古音所無。說文以隙訓田，釋名以填訓田，舌頭舌上古亦無別。說文以聞訓門，釋名以捫訓門，輕唇重唇古亦無別。從說文與釋名聲訓之異同，有助古聲之考究，於此可以蠡測矣。

4. 二書以同聲符爲訓，而取字不同者，可見古同聲符者，因聲同義近之故而可通用。如：

子 說文訓滋、釋名訓孳。

寅 說文訓演、釋名訓演。

午 說文訓悟、釋名訓忤。

5. 說文多於義訓之外，兼存聲訓異說，如：

禾 嘉穀也。以二月始生，八月而熟，得之中和，故謂之禾。（以和訓禾，兼用聲訓。）

諱 飭也，一曰更也。（諱飭疊韻，同屬德部，更韞雙聲，同屬見紐。）

釋名則兼存兩種以上之聲訓，要皆因聲見義，較說文更爲靈活，例已見前。

6. 以本字爲訓者、爲釋名所專有。

說文以本義爲主，故不區別同字異詞，其釋義常用包含被訓字之複音詞，如：

說 說釋也。一曰談說。

說 言相說司也。

調 抵調也。

釋名除此類訓解之外，又有以本字爲訓者，如：

傳 傳也，以傳示後人也。（釋典藝）。

布 布也，布列眾縷爲經。以緯橫成之也。又太古衣皮，女工之始，始於是，施布其法，使民盡用之也。亦言疎也，其經緯疎也。

若此類皆以動詞釋名詞。同字爲訓而詞性不同，說文所未見。

7. 釋名兼訓複名，說文僅訓單名。

釋名聲訓兼採複音詞，其釋丘一篇全屬複音詞，他如釋州國、釋親屬、釋飲食、釋衣服、釋典藝、釋兵、釋車、釋喪制等均有許多複詞，其聲訓之法，或單訓一字，或兩字分訓。前者如釋水：水正出曰濫泉、濫衡也，如人口有所銜，口闔則見也。後者如釋喪制：老死曰壽終，壽久也，終盡也，生已久遠，氣終盡也。

說文以解字爲主，雖偶有連縣詞見於被訓字之下，如齔下云：「齔齔，齒不正也。」齧下云：「齧齧，齒不相值也。」僅侷限於連縣詞不可分釋者，又與聲訓無關。

以上七事，舉其相異之大者，足見二書之體例有別，聲訓各有所重，釋名純用聲訓！說文多以義訓兼聲訓。

第五節 聲訓方法及得失之綜合研究

聲訓之法，經漢儒三、四百年之推闡，始有釋名一書較爲完密之條例，若以釋名之條例審視說文聲訓，則不惟其體例、用語均欠明曉，或雜揉於義訓之中、或單用一字聲訓，而未有說明，語焉不詳。然溯其源流，古人初未嘗專以聲求義，實借聲近義通之字，以寓政教作用或哲學意義，故無嚴格之取字標準，其後師其意者，或缺乏語言發展之知識，有時不免流於主觀，陷于穿鑿附會。蓋音同音近之字，往往不可勝數，究於何者音義最近，實有賴縝密之分析，若任意取一字之音附會說明另一音近之名稱，便難以取信於人。如說文：「山，宣也，宣氣散生萬物也」，釋名：「山，產也，產生物也。」兩說何者最近事實，無由取捨。再如白虎通禮樂：「琴者禁也，所以禁止淫邪，正人心也。」明出諸禮教口吻，說文採其上句，又加義訓（「神農所作，洞越五絃，周時加二絃」），讀者若不考其源，便不明說文琴何以訓爲禁。釋名中亦多主觀之聲訓，如：釋姿容：「笑，鈔也，頰皮上鈔者也。」釋親屬：「姊，積也，猶日始出積時多而明也。」「妹，昧也，猶日始入歷時少尙昧也。」釋水：「鳥，到也，人所奔到也。亦言鳥也，物所赴如鳥之下也。」笑與鈔、姊與積、妹與昧、鳥與到，恐不得有字義關係，又鳥字說文作𪇔：「海中往往有山，可依止曰𪇔，从山鳥聲。」釋名兼存人到與鳥下兩說，又不知孰是也。類此聲訓之法未能定於一，其失一也。

其次，聲訓非一時一人所作，故劉氏兼存異說，本有保存文獻，多聞闕疑，令學者自取之意，然語言文字，不當同一音義，而有不同來源，如光訓晃，即不得又訓廣，地訓底，即不得又訓諦，若甲字可訓乙，又可訓丙、訓丁，則其義轉而流轉不定，而聲訓之精確性亦因而可疑。乃劉氏不能堅守兼存異訓原則，創爲兩字共訓一

名，如緇合「貌」、「冒」兩字以訓「毛」，曰：「在表所以別形貌且以自覆冒也。」劉氏焉知古人立命，兼取形貌與覆冒兩義？依此類推，則一字可用數字同音緇合以訓之，則何異於春秋繁露以皇、方、匡、黃、往五字共釋「王」字，此可見劉氏猶未擺脫前人聲訓之故習，走上純語源學之道路，其失二也。

再者，聲訓中最不易解者爲干支、五行、四時、星歷諸名，史記、漢書所以詳載聲訓者，實受當時五行讖緯流行之影響。釋名一則因襲前說，再則拘於時代風尚，其釋天一篇，多以陰陽解天象，釋干支則多言萬物生成消滅，並配氣言之。說文釋干支亦然。大凡干支、五行、四時、四方之名，其來也古，文字上皆另有本義，或皆爲物名亦不可知，至其用爲干支等，純屬假借，本義既淹，任取同音或同聲符之字爲訓（如卯訓冒，秋訓緇，未訓味或昧），猶以假借說假借，非唯無本，其爲嚮壁虛造，以今律古，終不可信，其失三也。

又如某些複音詞，本不可分訓，劉氏時有強析其字而依聲立訓，如「霖霖，小雨也，言裁霖歷霑漬，如人沐頭惟及其上枝而根不濡也。」（釋天）。強以沐頭釋霖字。又如「匍匐，小兒時也，匍猶捕也，藉索可執取之言也，匍伏也，伏地行也。」強析二字分訓。劉氏欲探語言，反拘於字形，望文生義，四庫提要評其「頗傷穿鑿」，誠有據而云然，其失四也。

以上四端，雖多就釋名而論，然古人聲訓之法，釋名集其大成，以此例之，聲訓之主要缺失，當不外乎是。然聲訓爲訓詁之一法，清儒以降，更視爲訓詁之樞紐，其中絕大部分資料，自有其訓詁學之價值及語文學史之地位，不可因其方法上之局限而一筆抹煞其價值也。以下略言其價值及功用：

一、保存漢代之語言：據釋名聲訓，可了解漢代語音，如從「邦，封也」（釋州國）、「負，背也」（釋姿容）、「法，逼也」（釋言語）、「房，旁也」（釋宮室）等例，可以證明漢末尚無輕唇音。從「男，任也」（釋長幼）、「入，內也」（釋言語）、「泥，邇也」（釋宮室）等例，可以證明日母字古讀泥母。他如古無舌上，喻四古歸定母，至漢末尚存，皆有例可證。又從其同音或疊韻，證明某字的古韻部居，至漢代尚存，如「歲，越也」、「水，準也」（釋天），前者古音同屬黃季剛先生曷末部，後者屬灰部。凡此類皆可作爲古音考訂之資料，又所保存之方言詞彙，可與楊雄方言，許氏說文互相參證，以考漢代方言。

二、保存古訓：有些較隱晦之詞義，藉釋名得以保存。如「眼」下注云：「童子限限而出。」可見眼之本義爲眼珠。「鮑」下注云：「埋藏淹使腐臭」，可見鮑之本義爲鮑魚。又比較古訓之異同，與其他傳注參較，更可瞭解古代詞彙之真象。

三、保存名物、典章、制度。釋名等聲訓，往往兼存義訓，可與爾雅、說文及經典互相證明，其所載名物，有爾雅所不備者，尤能羽翼雅學，其中屬於漢代專有之名物，制度，實具有文化史之參考價值。

四、語源之探求。聲訓之法，其最大之貢獻為別於義訓之外，另闢蹊徑，尋求聲義之源，此法啓示後人根據語音，探求語詞孳乳及義類之相互關係，宋代之右文說，清人聲義同源、形聲多兼會意，凡從某聲多有某義，實皆受聲訓以同聲符為訓之啓迪。其於語源學之貢獻，功不可沒。

第六節 聲訓對後代研究文字語源之影響

我國文字雖重形體，然其運用，端賴聲音，故凡語言之孳乳分化，文字之因聲見義，假借轉注，經籍之通假現象，無一而非以聲音為樞紐。故聲訓實為訓詁之重心，捨聲訓，則文字僅有形類而無因聲見義之義類，形聲不彰，文字之條理不顯，語言之孳乳不明，此後人研究文字語源，所以有取於聲訓者也，茲分述其影響：

一、聲訓與右文

說文九千餘字中，形聲字占百分之八十，許氏訓釋文字，每以聲符字或同聲符字為訓，此種廣泛聲訓，本散見於漢人傳注中，劉熙釋名則大量運用，其義始顯。此法對後代最大之影響，莫過於宋人王聖美、張世南等所倡右文說，以為凡字「其類在左」（即形符）「其義在右」（即聲符），以淺聲為例，王聖美謂「如淺，小也，水之小者曰淺，金之小者曰錢，夕而小者曰殘，貝之小者曰賤。」（沈括夢溪筆談卷十四），張世南謂「如淺有淺小之義，故水之可涉者為淺，疾而有所不足者為殘，貨而不足貴重者為賤，木而輕薄者為棧。」（游宦紀聞卷九）此說經清代學者觸類旁通，遂有段玉裁「聲與義同源」「凡同聲多同義」「凡字之義必得諸字之聲」「凡從某聲皆有某義」「形聲多兼會意」等注說文條例，為形聲字之研究，開一坦途。其後如黃承吉作字義起於右旁之聲說，劉師培字義起於字音說，皆推闡右文之意。細察段氏所以由右文說得此諸條例，實受說文泛用聲訓之影響，如說文從句之字多訓曲，鉤，曲鉤也；筍，曲竹捕魚筍也；踣，天寒足踣也；翎，羽曲也；疴，曲脊也；絢，纏繩絢也；鞫，輶下曲者；耆，老人曲凍黎若垢等是。其他如姚文田說文聲系，朱駿聲說文通訓定聲等，也都推衍右文之緒，說明同音通借之理。近人沈兼士作「右文說在訓詁學上之沿革及其推闡」，以為「古代聲訓，條件太簡，故其流弊，易涉附會，矯正之方，端在右文。」沈氏以為右文須綜合一組同聲母，而抽繹其具有最大公約性之意義，以為諸字之共訓，其法較聲訓為謹嚴。是聲訓與右文，實相表裏，聲訓得右文之證，可更為客觀。

從學術史上看，由聲訓到右文，正是一種進步。

二、聲訓與語源

聲訓固以同聲符字爲大宗，然同音之字，無諸聲關係者，正復不少，聲訓往往取音同或音近之字，字形絕無關係者爲訓，類此純由語音推究語意，已突破文字形體之限制。蓋一組音同義近之字，每字雖各有本義，然推其聲義，或具有共通義，一如前述右文之共通義，則此一共義，或即此一羣字之語根所寄，由是孳乳分化，一音可演爲數字，而此數字，具有聲義之同近關係，故可相互爲訓，此聲訓之所本也。

清代小學名家輩出，訓詁名物，度越昔賢，其最大成就，在於解說詞義，多從聲音出發，而不爲字形所限，如王念孫之於廣雅，郝懿行之於爾雅、錢繹之於方言，因聲求義，深得聲訓之妙旨，皆爲劉熙之功臣，若廣雅疏證中屢言「某之言某也」，如：「郎之言良也」、「臨之言隆也」、「封之言豐也」、「養之言陽陽也」等，用語直承漢人聲訓之法，據聲訓以探語源，實訓詁學之極盛事也。近人劉師培作物名溯源，王國維作草木蟲魚鳥獸釋例，皆取法釋名，而其方法則更臻精密。

標舉語根以暢語言孳乳分化之枝條者，厥爲餘杭章太炎先生，其文始言文字孳乳變易，皆取古訓，無一處無來歷，其中採用聲訓者亦不少，試舉一例：文始卷八之蒸類

「說文母牧也，從女象褻子形，一曰象乳子也，此合體象形也。乳爲爲𦍋，婦胎孕始兆也。爲𦍋，𦍋憊也，憊者愛也，亦雙聲相轉。然母者婦道之通稱，說文牝訓畜母，雌訓鳥母，故母又孳乳爲婦，服也，列女傳曰：魏因沃負者，魏大夫如耳之母也。漢書高帝紀曰常從王媼武負貰酒，如淳曰俗謂老大母爲阿負，負卽婦字，是老母亦稱婦矣，又孳乳爲媼，女師也，佗書亦作傳母，母與媼，猶父與傳，其牧訓養牛人，則母媼通得孳乳也。」（下𦍋孳乳爲𦍋等略）

文始言孳乳變易，一準於其二十三部及古聲之通轉，頗能探本窮源，其法自較聲訓更爲精密。瑞典高本漢氏亦有漢語詞類（張世祿譯）之作，將音義近似之字，依聲韻之遠近，合爲若干詞類，由小詞類而大詞羣，皆探求語源之事也。吾人正可由此出發，將可靠之聲訓，加以整理部居，以建立文字孳乳之次第，不惟有助於經籍之訓詁，且對發皇古代語文之奧旨，將有重大之收穫。

轉 注 原 論

江 舉 謙

私立東海大學

第一章 引 論

許慎說文解字叙云：

「蓋文字者，經藝之本，王政之始。前人所以垂後，後人所以識古。故曰本立而道生」。

這是說，文字是一個國家民族一切文化的根本。漢文字淵源於圖繪，演化於涵義，衍成於語音。在悠長歷史行程，為適應時代環境的變遷，配合生活事實的需要，不斷的創制，不斷的革新。方式層出，徑途萬千。其造字之理，傳統皆以六書之名，歸納為六種類型。

六書稱名，始見於周禮。地官保氏：

「掌養國子以道，教之六藝。五曰六書」。

按周禮六藝為禮、樂、射、御、書、數。多為學僮基本生活技能，則六書當亦同然。以六書為六種造字法則，蓋出於班固之漢書。藝文志：

「古者八歲入小學。故周官保氏掌養國子，教之六書，謂象形、象事、象意、象聲、轉注、假借。造字之本也。漢興，蕭何草律，亦著其法，曰：太史試學僮，能諷書九千字以上，乃得為史。又以六體試之」。

但漢書藝文志對於六書內容的肯定，前人多有懷疑。呂思勉中國文字變遷考云：

「謂象形、象事、象意、象聲、轉注、假借，造字之本也十八字，皆後人竄入。此節文意一綫相承。教之六書，又以六體試之之六體，事蓋相類。故云亦著其法。夾入謂象形云云十八字，則六書六體，絕不相蒙，不可云亦矣」。

呂氏的論析，基本上，應可採信。即漢書藝文志對於六書內容之肯定，大有可疑！只是竄入「謂象形、象事、象意、象聲、轉注、假借造字之本也」十八字之「後人」，呂氏似忽略其時代性，以意度之，此「後人」即使不是班氏同時人，也不可能太「後」，因為後班固不久的許慎，在說文解字叙中，就進一步作更合理的稱名，精詳的界說，和具體的例字！

人類文字皆淵源於圖繪。我國文字自然也不例外。圖繪本身，筆劃繁簡，造形取象，難有定則，之後，根據涵義之擴展，語音之標示，而演化，而衍成。事實上也不可能有統一構形。所以鐘鼎款識、甲骨卜辭、下及石鼓文、壁中書，構形皆沒有統一標準。秦始皇統一天下，接受李斯建議，才將通行文字澈底董理，歸納前此古體，根據圖繪、涵義、語音之演化衍成原理，規劃統一的構形，即傳世蒼頡爰歷博學三篇之小篆。

但小篆之董理統一，存古之意為多。在內涵上，雖然可以據形以明理，因理以貫形，但在實際應用上，結構仍嫌繁複，所以就在小篆完成之時，另一種純求簡單方便的隸書，實際已奠定基層的廣大的應用地位。

漢代秦興，除了又出現更簡便的艸書外，隸書的應用，實際已普及各階層，小篆成為構形淵源的崇高理論根據，反而罕為人知。許慎說文解字叙：

「孝宣皇帝時，召通蒼頡讀者，張敞從受之，涼州刺史杜業，沛人爰禮，講學大夫秦近，亦能言之。

孝平皇帝時，徵禮等百餘人令說文字未央殿中，以禮為小學元士。黃門侍郎揚雄採以作訓纂篇，凡蒼頡以下十四篇，凡五千三百四十字。羣書所載，略存之矣」。

據此，我們可以肯定，終西漢之世，小篆的研究，成為高級智識份子所努力的學術事業的一環。由於隸書構形，多無理可說，研究小篆自然探其義之源，溯其形之本，所謂「徵禮等百餘人令說文字未央殿中」，無疑是構形淵源的分析討論，以百餘位小篆大師的集思廣益，必然可以歸納出造字典型的大類。實際內容，各方意見或未一致，但歸納為六種類型，應已有共同的結論，於是，周禮六書之名，遂借為造字本源之稱！

東漢中興，隸書構形，紊亂愈甚，後漢書馬援傳注：

「東觀記曰：援上書，臣所假伏波將軍印，書伏字犬外向。成臯令印臯字為白下羊。丞印四下羊。尉印白下人，人下羊。即一縣長吏，印文不同。恐天下不正者多。符印所以為信也，所宜齊同。薦曉古文字者，事下大司空，正郡國印章。奏可」。

官府印信文字筆劃，居然如此紊亂，民間一般應用文字，其結構之無理可說，可以想像。班固著漢書，志藝文，於六書名義賦予新的內涵，應是時代思潮的反映。而比較鄭眾與許慎三家稱名之未能一致，即：

鄭眾：處事、象形、象聲、會意、轉注、假借。

班固：象事、象形、象聲、象意、轉注、假借。

許慎：指事、象形、形聲、會意、轉注、假借。

可以斷言六書稱名與內容，都有過一段時期的蘊釀與調和。到了許慎著說文解字，博採通人，稽譏各方。稱名才根據小篆構形實際，作更深刻而合理的肯定。

同時，許慎自言說文解字著作目的，是：

「理羣類，解謬誤，曉學者，達神指」。

這是說，將根據小篆構形原理，攻破隸書的謬誤！於是，進一步，給每一書確立界說，標舉例字。即：

「一曰指事，指事者，視而可識，察而見意，上下是也。

二曰象形，象形者，畫成其物，隨體詰詘，日月是也。

三曰形聲，形聲者，以事爲名，取譬相成，江河是也。

四曰會意，會意者，比類合誼，以見指撝，武信是也。

五曰轉注，轉注者，建類一首，同意相受，考老是也。

六曰假借，假借者，本無其字，依聲託事，令長是也」。

六書之成爲漢文字「造字之本」，在理論上，至是遂宣告確立！

但，許君確立六書理論，基本上是希望通過古文籀篆之構形，糾正當時流行而毫無準則之隸書。說文叙：

「諸生競逐說字解經誼，稱秦之隸書爲蒼頡時書，云：父子相傳，何得改易，乃猥曰馬頭人爲長；人持十爲斗；虫者屈中也」。

秦漢相承，始皇去東漢亦未遠。士林之無知淺薄，許君至爲不滿，而在六書理論下，「長」爲會意兼諧聲，「斗」與「虫」皆爲象形。隸書結構之悖理，遂有一客觀標準可以衡量！

只是，六書的界說，許君一律用八字兩句韻語，屬字標舉二例，等於自我束縛，在表達內涵上，先天就注定難求圓滿！指事、象形、形聲、會意等四書，一般言之，還不至引起嚴重爭論。假借一書，界說與例字，便不能完全相應，最嚴重的是轉注。由於許君說解未能圓滿，一千八百多年來，眾說紛紜，莫衷一是！使得漢文字構形理論，未能融貫合面。

關鍵之一，是：「轉注」二字的語義就不穩定。「建類一首，同意相受」八字界說，也可從各種角度，作不同涵義的推論！最不可解的是標舉例字之內容。「考」下云「从老省，丂聲」；「老」下云「从人毛匕」。前者明爲形聲；後者明爲會意。「轉注」一書之稱名，如何照應？！

這是千餘年來，研究漢文字構形原理打不開的死結，大師如段玉裁，窮畢生之力，仍走進死角！今天如仍在前人糾纏不清旋渦打滾，必然無法自拔！換言之，這死

結仍然無法打開！

本文試圖從漢文字形義發展衍化上，尋繹所謂「轉注」之淵源。進而論定轉注之實際，歸納轉注之內容。因不囿於許說，直探其本，故稱原論。

第二章 傳統轉注說之論爭

(甲) 轉注名稱之歧解

漢語名詞涵義，一般都不夠穩定。結合複詞，涵義尤其不容易把握。研讀古籍，嚴禁增字爲釋，就是因爲將會引入歧路。「轉注」稱名，也不能從「轉」與「注」兩字，肯定其涵義。歷來學者對「轉注」名稱，大概有下列不同體認。

a 轉形注名：這是根據例字「考」「老」之形轉而注名。唐裴務齊切韻序之「考字左回，老字右轉」是也。宋陳彭年廣韻附六書轉注下亦云：「左轉爲考，右轉爲老」，意義相同。以「考」「老」構形末筆，楷書作左右回轉，遂肯定爲轉注之名，顯不足信。元戴侗六書故，周伯琦六書正譌，清吳善述六書約言，竟相沿因襲，更別舉側山爲首，反人爲匕之例以爲轉注，自然更不足取。

b 轉音注義：這是根據字音轉易，字義隨變之例立言。意謂轉其音讀，注以新義，卽爲轉注。其始發於宋張有復古編，以爲假借者，因其聲借其義，轉注者，轉其聲注其義。換言之，一字同聲別義者爲假借。異聲別義者爲轉注。明趙古則六書本義，楊慎轉注古音略，大師如顧炎武音論皆因之，不知與許君界說相乖違，與例字「考」「老」更無關聯，其誤顯然。

c 轉相注釋：這是根據「考」「老」二字之訓義立言，意謂甲之訓義爲乙，乙之訓義爲甲。則甲乙可以轉相注釋矣，是卽所謂轉注。戴震答江慎修先生論小學書云：

「震謂考老二字屬諧聲會意者，字之體，別之言轉注者，字之用，轉注之云，古人以其語言立爲名類，通以今人語言，猶曰互訓云爾！轉相爲注，互相爲訓，古今語也，說文於考字訓之曰老也，於老字訓之曰考也，是以叙中論轉注舉之」。

大師段玉裁卽承戴氏之說，而變本加厲，說文叙注云：「老部曰：老者考也，考者老也，以考注老，以老注考是之謂轉注。蓋老之形从人毛匕，屬會意，考之形从老丂聲，屬形聲。而其義訓則爲轉注。故轉注中可包假借。必二之者，分別其用也。既假借而後與假義之字相轉注。未假借則與本義之字相轉注也。轉注之說，晉衛恆唐賈公彥宋毛晃，皆未誤。宋後乃異說紛然，戴先生答江慎修書正之，如日月出矣，而燭灰猶有思復燃者，由未知六書轉注假借二者，所以包羅自爾雅而下一切訓詁意義，而非謂字形也」！

戴段的論說，混「用字」與「造字」爲一物，段氏至以轉注可包羅假借。直可謂不見與薪，其謬誤不待辨矣！

d 轉相注著：原始係根據字義推衍，轉以相關之字注著而成新字之事實立言。南唐徐鍇說文繫傳云：

「祖考之考，古銘識通用丂。于丂之本訓，轉其義，而加老注明之。犬走爲焱，爾雅扶搖謂之焱，于焱之本訓，轉其義，颺則加風注明之」。

這是極精卓的見識，清朝饒炯文字存真根據王筠說文釋例又加以推廣，形與音關係亦包羅。其六書轉注例云：

「轉注本用字後之造字，一因篆體形晦，義不甚顯，而从本篆加形加聲以明之，是卽王(筠)氏釋例之所謂累增字也。一因義有推廣，文無分辨，而从本篆加形加聲以別之。一因方言轉變，音無由判，而从本篆加聲以別之，是卽王氏釋例之所謂分別文也。蓋古人造字，形事意聲已盡其妙，或有所兼，皆卽後起之轉注」。

加聲以明形，加聲以辨義，加聲以判音，與轉注界說不能契合，饒氏擬掇六例，尤多可商，但基本上卻能廣徐鍇之說，而江聲六書說，所謂「轉注則由是而轉焉，如挹彼注茲之注」，實際亦可視同轉相注著。

所以，卽就「轉注」之稱名，歷來學者所着眼之涵義，卽多歧異，主要原因係就名詮名，未能融貫界說與字例，尤其未能超越小篆，溯源漢文字之衍成也。

(乙) 轉注界說之難明

許慎說文叙爲轉注立界說：

「轉注者，建類一首，同意相受」。

八字兩句韻語，可以作各種不同解釋。所以根據許君界說以尋繹轉注內容，歷來便有許多派別。例如：

(a) 立類於部首之同意，徐鍇說文繫傳云：

「轉注者，建類一首，同意相受，謂老之別名有耆、有耄、有壽、有耄。又孝子養老是也，此等字皆取類於老，則皆從老轉注之。言若水之出源分歧，別派爲江爲漢，各受其名，而本同主於一水也」。

根據徐氏解釋，轉注範圍將泛濫直侵形聲！江聲六書說更爲僵化：

「立老字以爲部首，所謂建類一首，考與老同意，故受老字而从老省。考字之外，如耆耄壽耄之類，凡與老同意者，皆从老省而屬老，是取一字之意以概數字，所謂同意相受。叔重但言考者，舉一以例其餘爾，由此推之，則說文解字一書，凡分五百四十部，其始一終亥，五百四十部之首，卽所謂一首也，下云凡某之屬皆从某，卽

同意相受也，此皆轉注之說也」。

說文分立五百四十部係爲字羣類聚的方便，轉注淵源甚早，安得以後起之字羣類聚方法，定爲轉注！且如江聲說，則會意形聲兩書皆不必獨立存在矣。

(b)立類於義訓之同釋 根據戴震解釋爲：

「轉注者，其義可以轉相注釋，如爾雅釋詁釋訓等，初哉首基之類皆始也，而始亦可訓初。許云轉注考老是也，老部老字注云考也，考字亦注云老也，則知始也者，建類一首也，初哉等皆同意相受也」。

段玉裁注說文叙，更詳加闡釋：

「建類一首，謂分立其義之類，而一其首，如爾雅釋詁第一條說始是也，同意相受謂無慮諸字意旨略同，義可互受相灌注而歸於一首，如初、哉、首、基、肇、祖、元、胎、俶落、權輿，其於義或近或遠，皆可互相訓釋，而同謂之始是也。猶言考老者，其顯明親切者也。老部曰老者考也，考者老也，以考注老，以老注考，是之謂轉注」。

戴段將文字訓詁當作文字構形原理之六書，進而肯定轉注爲用字之法而非造字之本。其誤顯然。

(c)立類於語音之同源 這是章太炎的意見。章氏國故論衡說：

「休寧戴君以爲考，老也。老，考也。更互相注，得轉注名。段氏承之，以一切故訓皆稱轉注。許瀚以爲同部互訓，然後稱轉注。由段氏所說推之，轉注不繫于造字。不應在六書。由許瀚所說推之，轉注乃豫爲說文說。保氏教國子時，豈縣知千載後有五百四十部書邪！且夫故訓既明，足以心知其意。虛張類例，亦爲繁碎矣。

余以轉注假借悉造字之則。汎稱同訓者，後人亦得名轉注，非六書之轉注也。同聲通用者，後人雖通號假借，非六書之假借也。蓋字者，孳乳而浸多。字之未造，語言先之矣！以文字代語言，各循其聲。方語有殊，名義一也。其音或雙聲相轉，疊韻相迤，則爲更制一字，此所謂轉注也。孳乳日繁，卽又爲之節制，故有意相引伸音相切合者。義雖少變，則不爲更制一字，此所謂假借也。何謂建類一首？類謂聲類，首謂語基。考老同在幽部，其義相互容受，其音小變。按形體成枝別、審語言同本株。雖制殊文，其實公族也。非直考老，言壽者亦同。循是以推，有雙聲者，有同音者，其條例不異。適舉考老疊韻之字以示一端，得包彼二者矣」。

章氏肯定轉注假借悉造字之則，最具卓識！只是八字兩句的界說，事實上，他並沒解釋明白！何謂聲類？何謂語基？涵義並不清楚！就其所言造字之方：「雙聲相轉，疊韻相迤，則爲更制一字」。據許君字例，考老各自爲形聲會意，轉注造字之則，將

何以見！且雙聲疊韻者皆後人研究古音之稱名，古人造字又豈縣知有此分際！是章氏所論，於轉注界說雖視戴段爲長，於造字實際仍未能達也。

(d)立類於字義之同源 這是就字義之衍化立言。饒炯文字存眞云：

「建類一首者，謂推廣之聲義，而舉本字爲首。因一字而可加爲數字之用。同意相受者，謂取同聲同義之字，而相加爲別。數字仍是一字之意。然加形之字多涵會意。而與會意不同者，轉注所从同聲之字，必包本義。如老从毛，謂凡人物年久，毛皆不同。因物名事，而稱年久曰毛。與幼爲對文。因其字與毛髮之毛無別，且又因事名物，爲人年七十之稱，而加人加匕以別之。後遂毛幼之毛亦作老。是老卽毛之引借轉注也。加聲之字多涵形聲，而與形聲不同者，轉注所从之字，聲義皆合。諧聲則有聲無義。如考从老省，義卽同老。蓋方言有變老聲而呼丂者，而卽加丂以別之。是考卽老之轉注也」。

饒氏解釋許君轉注八字兩句界說，發前人所未發，最具卓見。只是就字例之推闡，則爲主觀臆說，不合實際。尤其據以推演之六例，則主張過當。按其六例，爲：

(1)轉注有因意晦而加形以明之者：如部首 𠂔 已象火炷而主又从 𠂔 加 𠂔。……

(2)轉注有因意晦而加聲以明之者：如网象形，而或體罔又从网加亡聲。……

(3)轉注有別義而加形以明之者：如耐爲付祭。从付引借，名其祭曰付。……

(4)轉注有別義而加聲以明之者：如鬥爲士相對。而鬪訓遇。卽對爭反借義。故从鬥加斲聲以別之。……

(5)轉注有別聲而加聲以明之者：如匙爲匕之變音，而卽从匕加是聲以寄之。……

(6)轉注有不因意晦義別，但取篆形茂密而繁種其文者：如宜爲諧聲，𩇑爲象形，而古文𩇑从二宜。籀文𩇑从二 𩇑 省。……

嚴格言之，各例所舉之字亦齟齬矛盾，卽就每例第一字言，「主」字應爲加體象形。「罔」字應爲象形兼諧聲。「𩇑」與「𩇑」乃宜𩇑之繁文，與轉注了不相涉！推其事而當於理者，爲付注示爲「耐」，鬥注斲爲「鬪」。匕注是爲「匙」。惜亦未溯其原而探其本，仍欠圓融也。

戴君仁先生著中國文字構造論據許君轉注界說作極富創見說解：

「建類一首之首，當訓爲本。禮記曾子問不首其義注，首本也，人之首，木之本，水之源，其義一也。建類一首卽建立同類之字出於一本。如論倫淪論同出於倫也。同意相受，可以二重之義解之，如孳乳字之對初文（如丂爲初文，考爲孳乳字，老爲用以注著字），因同意故可受之爲字。而孳乳字對用以注著字，亦因同意故可受之

成字。許君舉考老爲例，就嚴格言之，老與考同意，故考受老成字。依此，觀訓遇見，故觀受見成字。薨訓公侯卒，故薨受死成字。擴而言之，則義相關者，亦可謂之同意」。

戴先生另著吉氏六書一文，（見學術季刊四卷一期），於轉注原理多有推闡：

「轉注之說，自晉唐以來，多不勝舉，真是異說紛紜，莫衷一是。我的主張，簡單的說，轉注就是音符兼義的形聲字。我們知道古時字少，從歷代字書的字數比較，即可確定。意義相近的字，往往只用一個字根。舉例來說：如生長之字寫作生，而姓氏之姓本未造，因其與生有關係，故只用生。性情之性，本也沒有，也因和生有關係，也只寫作生。換句話說：就是生產、姓氏、性情三個意思，都只用一個生字。後來要使他們有分別，於是姓氏之字，加女成姓。性情之字，加心成性。也就是由生字孳乳出性姓等字。此外，拿鐘鼎文用字說，用繼爲變，用易爲揚，用乎爲評，用成爲盛，用責爲績，用內爲納，用古爲故，都可以證明古時字少，往往只用聲母，而加偏旁的孳乳字是後造的。因此，說文裡同从一聲之字，往往有相同之意。如萇訓交積材，从萇得聲之字：構訓蓋，遘訓遇，觀訓遇見，媾訓重婚，購訓以財有所求，溝訓水瀆（釋名：溝，搆也。縱橫相交搆也）。這些字都含有萇字之意。這種例，在說文裡是極多的，可以說都是轉注。並且不一定是一羣右聲字。即使是單個的，如禪字禮字等，所从之聲母兼義的，也有二三百個，也都是轉注字。我們可以說，凡是形聲字，聲母不兼義的是形聲，兼義的，便是轉注」。

戴先生對許慎轉注八字兩句界說的詮釋，跟饒炯所論相同，基本上可以信從，只是饒氏推演六例，泛濫未當，而戴先生肯定「凡是形聲字，聲母不兼義的是形聲」，又嫌狹窄，因爲古時字少，用時多依聲假借，如「祿」，金文作「𣎵」不从示，「禘」，契文作「帝」不从示。後因借義難明，遂轉注示字以明之。如只據小篆以純形聲字目之，則非造字之本矣。

總而言之，轉注界說，八字兩句韻語過於簡略，千餘年來，論爭無已！朱駿聲著說文通訓定聲，至以爲不可理解，擅自更易爲「體不改造，引意相受」。並例字亦遂爲「令長是也」。則又師心自用，走火入魔矣！

（丙）轉注例字之困擾

例字之揭示，本爲六書稱名與界說之落實。任何爭論，對照例字構成，應可渙然冰釋。而事實，卻不盡然！形事意聲前面四書之例字，固圓融無滯矣。轉注例字，則不能據以推論其理。究其原因，則許慎自束縛於齊一之形式，無法暢其構形實際內容也！

《a》形事意聲四書例字之特點

許慎於象形、指事、會意、形聲等四書，分別揭示其例字，即：

象形：日月是也。

指事：上下是也。

會意：武信是也。

形聲：江河是也。

分析「日」「月」、「上」「下」、「武」「信」、「江」「河」四組例字之構成，許慎在說文解字中的解釋，是：

日：實也。太陽之精。象形。

月：闕也。太陰之精。象形。

上：高也。指事。

下：底也。指事。

武：楚莊王曰夫武定功戢兵，故止戈爲武。

信：誠也，从人从言，會意。

江：江水，从水，工聲。

河：河水。从水，可聲。

通過許慎以上構形分析，可以歸納出形、事、意、聲、四書例字之特點：

第一：每字六書歸屬，在構形內涵，皆有明確分際。

第二：每一書之兩例字，各自獨立，皆爲該書構體例證。

第三：每一書之兩例字，並無訓義之關聯。

根據以上特點以衡斷轉注例字，千餘年來，學者們無不感到困擾。

《b》轉注例字之迷惑

轉注之例字，許君云：「考老是也」。按說文云：

老：考也。从人毛匕，言須髮變白也。

考：老也，从老省，丂聲。

根據「考」「老」二例字之構形分析，不得不令人迷惑！

第一，許君既肯定「考」「老」爲轉注之例字，而兩字之六書歸屬，許君並無明示分際。就其構形內涵，「老」从人毛匕，與「武」「信」之構形原理相同，乃會意字。「考」从老省丂聲，與「江」「河」之構形原理相同，乃形聲字。許君舉以爲轉注之字例，究何所據？

第二，形事意聲四書之例字，各自獨立爲該書構體例證，迹「考」「老」二字，

構形實有關聯，而分之，一爲形聲，一爲會意，則轉注之義，是否別有所出？

第三，「老」下訓「考」；「考」下訓「老」。兩字訓義，關係密切，老部另「耆」字亦訓「老也」，構體與「考」同爲形聲。而「老」不訓「耆」，亦不以「耆」爲轉注字例，其間是否有其不同？

許君生於漢世，未見鐘鼎銘文，未知甲骨卜辭。於文字古體，所據唯古籀篆文。揚雄等未央廷中說解文字，於六書內容，必有明確分際，許君本人肯定六書涵義，亦必有一貫原理。只是就轉注一書言，從稱名，界說，落實到「考」「老」二例字，由於過求形式之齊一，竟是一片迷惑！

《考》轉注例字構成溯原

轉注例字之令人迷惑，自古已然！唐裴務齊「考字左回，老字右轉」之說，固屬皮相。然亦未始不是因迷惑而走入旁門！大師如戴段，至據「考，老也」，「老，考也」之訓義，以互訓爲轉注。誤入歧途，迷惑正同！江聲等復據「考」屬「老」部，而謂「五百四十部之首，即所謂一首也。下云凡某之屬皆从某，即同意相受也，此皆轉注之說也」。並其本亦迷失矣！

饒炯文字存眞於轉注界說之發明，極爲精卓。而終爲此兩例字所迷，依「日」「月」、「上」「下」之例，以爲「考」「老」各自爲轉注之實證，先立「加形之字多溷會意」，「加聲之字多溷形聲」之論，遂謂「老」爲以人匕轉注「毛」，「考」爲以丂轉注「老」。「老」即毛之引借轉注。考即老之轉注。可謂功虧一簣矣。

嚴格言之，南唐徐鍇說文繫傳揭示轉注之例：

「祖考之考，古銘識通用丂。于丂之本訓，轉其義，而加老注明之。

犬走爲焱。爾雅扶搖謂之焱。于焱之本訓，轉其義，颺則加風注明之」。

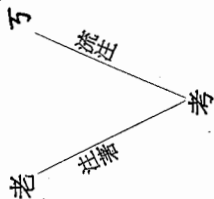
大致已能推原其理，戴君仁先生論中國文字構造，即據此理，就許君字例畫圖以示：

丂（初文）

老（用以注著字）

考（孳乳字）

戴先生云：



「蓋丂訓爲氣欲舒出，上碍於一（按此字亦僅說字形。字義即在其中），本有老人出氣難之意，故金文即以爲祖考字孳乳而爲考，即以老注著其上。故从老省，而老考在說文適互訓，後人遂誤以互訓爲轉注」。

依此理，許慎揭示轉注例字，應為：

「轉注者，建類一首，同意相受。𠂔注老為考是也」。由於許君過求形式之齊一，如「日」「月」、「上」「下」，只能以兩字示例，竟簡化為「考老是也」，遂不能溯其原矣！

另一方面，小篆之「考」，繫諸「老」部，訓釋之義，適又相同，於是，曹仁虎轉注古義考，江聲六書說，紛然雜陳，而戴段互訓說之影響，至今不衰也。

我國文字之構造，由象形而指事，而會意，而形聲，已極完備，轉注假借兩書係中國文字構造之補充，前者由一義而化為多形。後者由一形而化為多義，假借之字，並不出新形，轉注之字雖有新形，而重點則在構形之淵源與構形之歷程。迨其形既成，則如饒炯所說，或溷會意，或溷形聲，難以六書之稱名別矣。

是故，欲明轉注之實際，必需尋繹我國文字形義衍化之大道，形義衍化之道既明，轉注實際內容，可歸納而得也。

第三章 漢文字衍化論析

(甲) 漢字涵義之衍化

漢文字源於圖繪。由實形而虛象，由單體而合體。制作極為繁難，數量自亦無多。今天所見鐘鼎甲骨文字，根據統計，大致都是三千左右。秦始皇時統一文字，倉頡爰歷博學三篇合計亦僅三千三百字。理論上，以這樣少數的文字，應付高度文明的複雜社會，一定有所不足，但事實卻不然，儘管今天漢字總數已近五萬，但以報紙雜誌為例，實際應用，仍只需三千三百左右。其中奧妙，是漢文字涵義因時因地因人，引申假借，輾轉擴張，無窮無盡！所以漢文字除了新出的名物如「鉤」「鉗」「鐮」「鉤」外，極少只有一種意義的！這種涵義衍化現象，歸納起來，是：

A 本義引申無窮 漢文字構成原始只有一個意義，即所謂本義。之後，引而申之，則涵義無窮。

(一) 直接引申 例如：

日 本義——太陽之精。

引申——一天廿四小時，如一日。

白天十二小時，如日夜。

時間通稱，如日子、日月。

.....

月 本義——太陰之精。

引申——月亮圓缺一次之時間，如一月。

時間通稱，如歲月、日月。

自然美景，如高臥風月。

男女戀情，如風月寶鑑。

.....

目 本義——人眼珠。

引申——觀視，如縱目；道路以目。

條列，如目錄；請問其目。

意向，如目的，目標。

近時，如目前。

.....

叉 本義——手指相錯也，即手指分歧。

引申——樹枝歧出，如叉枝。

河水歧流，如叉水，叉流。

衣袂分歧，如衣叉。

金器歧頭，如金叉。

叉手取物，如叉取。

.....

漢文字引申之義，多至無窮。以上四例所舉，僅及今日習見。若以古今文獻考之，則不可數計矣。

(二)間接引申例 如：

文 本義——遣畫也，即線條交錯。

間接引申——「文」字、「文」化、「文」明、「文」質……

字 本義——乳也、愛也。

間接引申——文「字」、表「字」、「字」人、「字」號……

義 本義——己之威義也。

間接引申——仁「義」、道「義」、意「義」、「義」理、大「義」……

能 本義——熊屬。

間接引申——「能」幹、才「能」、「能」人、萬「能」……

來 本義——周所受瑞麥來麴也。

間接引申——「來」往、「來」日……

方 本義——併船也。

間接引申——四「方」、「方」圓、「方」正、「方」面……

主 本義——鎧中火主也。

間接引申——「主」要、「主」人、「主」席、公「主」……

公 本義——平分也

間接引申——諸「公」、「公」爵、老「公」、「公」婆……

自 本義——鼻也

間接引申——「自」己、「自」從、有「自」……

漢文字間接引申之例，俯拾即是。以上所舉，僅其一隅。

B託音假借無限 語言先文字而存在。造字表義，時有困難。託音假借，便利易爲。

(一)依音假借

(a)契金文假借例

𠂔 契金文假借爲福祿之「祿」。

𠂔 契金文假借爲鄙鄙之「鄙」。

豐 契金文假借爲周文王所都之「豐」。

𠂔 契金文假借爲周厲王子友封地之「鄭」。

井 契金文假借爲鄭地邢亭之「邢」。

巳 契文即假借爲「祀」字。

司 契文即假借爲「祠」字。

帝 契文即假借爲「禘」字。

羊 契文即假借爲「祥」字。

北 金文即假借爲商邑之「邶」。

易 金文即假借爲「錫」字。

喬 金文即假借爲「鐻」字。

勻 金文即假借爲「鈞」字。

令 金文即假借爲「鈴」字。

倉 金文即假借爲「鎗」字。

此外如：

且 契金文即爲「祖」字；又假借爲「沮」字。

豐 契金文即爲「禮」字；又假借爲「醴」字。

總之，說文所見形聲字，契金文原始多即以其聲旁爲之，蓋其初皆依聲假借也。

(b)載籍所見假借例

气（乞） 雲气也。

載籍多假爲「乞」求字。

勿 州里所建旗也。

載籍多假爲禁止之詞。

云 山川气也。

載籍多假爲「云」謂字。

右 助也。

載籍多假爲方向字。

其 所以箴者也。

載籍多假爲指示代詞。

而 須也

載籍多假爲語詞。

求 皮衣也。

載籍多假爲乞「求」字。

易 蜥易也。

載籍多假爲更「易」字。

萬 蟲也。

載籍多假爲千「萬」字。

康 穀皮也。

載籍多假爲「康」樂字。

(c)今日習用假借例

豆 古食肉器也。

今習用爲「豆」米字。

前 齊斷也，

今習用爲「前」進字。

居 蹲也。

今習用爲「居」住。

衰 艸雨衣。

今習用爲「衰」微字。

斤 斫木斧也。

今習用爲斤兩字。

此外如數字之「七」「八」「九」，及人稱代詞之「爾」「余」「彼」等，自古皆出假借，世人多不能溯其源矣。

(一) 擬音假借

(a) 單音

烏 說文「孔子曰烏于呼也。取其助氣，故以爲烏呼」。

於 詩大雅文王「文王在上於昭于天」。

殷 詩召南殷其雷「殷其雷，在南山之陽」。

填 孟子梁惠王上「填然鼓之」。

紉 蘇軾永遇樂「紉如五鼓，錚然一葉」。

(b) 疊音

關 詩周南關雎：「關關雎鳩，在河之洲」。

丁 詩周南兔置：「肅肅兔置，椳之丁丁」。

虺 詩邶風終風：「噎噎其陰，虺虺其雷」。

離 詩邶風匏有苦葉：「離離鳴鴈，旭日始旦」。

檻 詩王風大車：「大車檻檻，糝衣如蒺」。

薨 詩齊風鷄鳴：「蟲飛薨薨，甘與子同夢」。

蕭 詩小雅車攻：「蕭蕭馬鳴，悠悠旆旌」。

交 詩秦風黃鳥：「交交黃鳥，止於棘」。

(c) 複音

複音擬音之例，習見者如「丁當」、「辟歷」、「辟剝」、「析歷」、「支查」、「滴答」、「華拉」等等，皆託他字之音假借之也。

(乙) 漢文字構形之衍化

任何文字都具三項元素，即「形」、「音」、「義」，文字的功能是表達意義，所以，「義」是目的。「音」和「形」都是手段。而「形」又是主要手段。通過「形」，大都直接可以表達意義。尤其漢語方言複雜，字音多異。但通過統一的楷書，人人都可以筆談，因此，研究漢文字，自來皆以「形」爲中心。

漢文字構形原理有兩大徑途，第一是新生創製。六書中象形指事二書屬之。這一類字並不多。但卻是漢文字靈魂。第二是應用舊形配合而成新製。這類字佔絕對多數。但根據其形義表達關係，實際又可分爲兩種，一種是兩形結合，孕育新義。六書

中會意形聲兩書屬之。一種是本形衍化，以分別已有涵義，或顯復其本義。這就是轉注！

漢文字由於本義無窮引申，通過本形，逐漸演變：

(1)各種引申義，不易分別。

(2)原始本義，或隱晦喪失。

另一方面，由於託音無限假借，通過本形，亦演變：

(1)各種假借義，不易分別。

(2)原始本義，或隱晦喪失。

要使一個字引申假借多種涵義得以分別，或原始本義得以顯現或恢復，補救之方，則是就本形加以衍化。

A分別涵義之衍化

(1)注著專屬字例如：

又 手指分歧

用爲樹枝歧出 注著「木」字爲「杈」，以專其義。

用爲河水歧流 注著「水」字爲「汊」，以專其義。

用爲衣袖分歧 注著「衣」字爲「衩」，以專其義。

用爲金器歧頭 注著「金」字爲「釵」，以專其義。

用爲叉手取物 注著「手」字爲「扠」，以專其義。

此外如「釵」「杈」等，其構形之理皆係由叉衍化

.....

(2)注著相關字

𠂔 刻木𠂔𠂔也

假爲福𠂔 注著「示」字作「祿」，以別其義。

豐 豆之豐滿也

假爲地名 注著「邑」字作「豐」，以別其義。

且 所以薦也

用爲始廟 注著「示」字作「祖」。

假爲水名 注著「水」字作「沮」。

豐 行禮之器也

用爲踐儀 注著「示」字作「禮」。

假爲酒食 注著「酉」字作「醴」。

B 顯復本義之衍化

(1) 累增相關形

文 造畫也，即交錯線條。

後世義晦，累增「糸」旁作「紋」，以顯本義。

義 己之威義也。

後世義晦，累增「人」旁作「儀」，以顯其義。

來 周所受瑞麥來麤也。

後世義失，累增「禾」旁作「秣」，以復其義。

主 燈中火主也。

後世義失，累增「火」旁作「炷」，以復其義。

(2) 重複本身形

然 燒也。

假爲語詞，本義遂晦，重複「火」旁作「燃」，以復其義。

莫 日且冥也。

假爲禁止詞，本義久失。重複「日」旁作「暮」，以復其義。

益 饒也

用爲增益，本義遂晦。重複「水」旁作「溢」，以復其義。

這種衍化本形的構形法，即是六書中的轉注。

第四章 轉注內容總觀

千餘年來聚訟紛紜的六書「轉注」，清理了傳統論爭的內容，尋繹出合理歸趨。再根據漢文字發展上本義之引申假借及本形之注著衍化之事實，推闡出超越象形指事會意形聲之第五書。轉注問題之困擾，應該可以得到合理的解決。

轉注基本原理是：——

(1) 轉注是漢文字超越象形、指事、會意、形聲四書之造字法。

(2) 轉注造字法是就本形衍化新形，但不出新義。與假借之衍化新義，但不出新形。恰成對應。

(3) 轉注涵義建立在造字歷程，造成之字，則與會意或形聲混同。

(4) 轉注所以資文字之孳乳，調整形義之相應，爲漢文字制作之重大突破。

轉注名實正解：——

(1) 稱名 轉注

轉相注著。

(2)界說 建類一首，同意相受。

建立同類之字出於一本字。因本字意義衍化，即取意義共同之字輾轉相受，注著成新字。

(3)例字 考老是也

本字：丂

本義：氣欲舒出而上礙於一也。

衍義：衰弱、衰老。

意義共同之字：老。

轉注歷程，以丂義注於老，以老形著於丂。

轉注所造之字：考。

轉注實際歸納：——

第一類 分別文轉注——對衍化義之注著

(a)基於本義引申而分別。

漢文字本義引申無窮。而引申之義就其本形，每難於辨認，遂以關聯同義字轉相注著分別之。例如：

內：入也。引申為凡物之相入。

汭：水相入也。轉以「水」注著「內」為之。

宁：辨積物也。引申儲積財物。

貯：積也，轉以「貝」注著「宁」為之。

奉：承也。引申為凡以手持物。

捧：兩手持。轉以「手」注著「奉」為之。

責：求也。引申為凡可索求。

債：債負也。轉以「人」注著「責」為之。

井：鑿地取水也。八家一井。引申為穿陷之地。

阱：陷也。轉以「阜」注著「井」為之。

穽：或體轉注以穴。

沝：古文轉注以「水」。

寒：室也。引申為凡隔塞，堵填之義。

塞：隔也。轉以「土」注著「寒」為之。

蹇：實也。轉以「心」注著「寒」為之。

堯：高也。引申爲凡高長之名。

嶢：焦嶢，山高貌。轉以「山」注著「堯」爲之。

驍：良馬也。按當爲高大之馬。轉以「馬」注著「堯」爲之。

翹：尾長毛也，轉以「羽」注著于「堯」爲之。

顙：高長頭。轉以「頁」注著于「堯」爲之。

敖：出游也。引申爲凡放浪侮慢之稱。

倣：倨也。轉以「人」注著于「敖」爲之。

嫫：侮易也。轉以「女」注著于「敖」爲之。

聾：不聽也。轉以「耳」注著于「敖」爲之。

訾：不肖人也。轉以「言」注著於「敖」爲之。

遨：遨遊。轉以「辵」注著于「敖」爲之。

周：密也。引申爲凡繁多細緻精工緊密之稱。

琯：治玉也。轉以「玉」注著于「周」爲之。

稠：多也。按當爲禾之繁密，轉以「禾」注著於「周」爲之。

綢：繆也。轉以「糸」注著於「周」爲之。

輜：重也。按當爲車之沈重。轉以「車」注著於「周」爲之。

調：和也。轉以「言」注著於「周」爲之。

彫：琢文也。轉以「彡」注著于「周」爲之。

鬣：髮多也。轉以「髟」注著于「周」爲之。

蕒：交積材也。引申爲交疊架構重複相交之稱。

媾：重婚也。轉以「女」注著于「蕒」爲之。

溝：水瀆，廣四尺深四尺。轉以「水」注著「蕒」爲之。

構：蓋也。轉以「木」注著「蕒」爲之。

購：以財有所求也。轉以「貝」注著「蕒」爲之。

講：和解也。轉以「言」注著「蕒」爲之。

遘：遇也。轉以「辵」注著「蕒」爲之。

覲：遇見也。轉以「見」注著「蕒」爲之。

搆：集韻牽也。轉以「手」注著「蕒」爲之。

漢文字基於本義引申，而以轉注方法注著關聯同義字或分別文之例，自說文以下，俯拾即是。然所構成之新字，詳君說解，多混同形聲。如「考」「朽」「朽」之例，遂至莫辨其淵源矣。而「从」與「從」，「美」與「媿」，「甘」與「酣」，「夭」與「妖」

「𣎵」、「采」與「彩」、「採」，又或混於會意兼聲，欲明淵源，舍轉注之道莫由也。

(b)基於託音假借而分別

漢文字託音假借無限，而假借之義，就其本形，難於辨認。遂以關聯同義字轉相注著分別之。例如：

璜：古金文原假借「黃」爲之。後則轉以「玉」注著分別之。

璋：古金文原假借「章」爲之。後則轉以「玉」注著分別之。

每：古金文原假借「母」爲之。後則轉以「𠂔」注著分別之。

玆：古金文原假借「茲」爲之。後則轉以「艸」注著分別之。

盞：古金文原假借「盞」爲之。後乃轉以「艸」注著分別之。

唯：古金文原假借「隹」爲之。後乃轉以「口」注著分別之。

越：古金文原假借「戌」爲之。後乃轉以「走」注著分別之。

古金文假借語根，其後爲專屬分別其義，而以轉注方法出新字之例，不可勝數。

後世假借語根，其後又以轉注方法分別其義之例，更數見不鮮。如：

鵬：原假借「服」爲之。後乃轉以「鳥」注著分別之。

嘶：原假借「斯」爲之。後乃轉以「口」注著分別之。

唳：原假借「戾」爲之。後乃轉以「口」注著分別之。

慄：原假借「栗」爲之。後乃轉以「心」注著分別之。

饜：原假借「厭」爲之。後乃轉以「食」注著分別之。

此外如複詞之崑崙、蝌蚪、芙蓉、茉莉等，原始皆假借其語根爲之。後乃以「山」「虫」「艸」轉相注著而分別之也。

第二類 累增文轉注——對本義之注著

(a)張顯本義之累增

漢文字之本義，由於引申假借，每有逐漸晦隱不明現象，或原始形構嬗變，難於辨識。遂以關聯同義字轉相注著以張顯之。例如：

匡：飯器筥也。因其形方，引申爲匡正，匡助。

筐：累增以「竹」，轉注于「匡」以張顯本義。

圭：瑞玉也，从重土，據字形，無以見瑞玉義。

珪：古文累增以「玉」，轉注于「圭」以張顯本義。

執：種也，从壘，凡持而種之。形義不足顯。

𣎵：今隸累增「艸」，轉注于執以張顯之。

暴：晞也。因與疾趣之「暴」混，難於辨認。

曝：後世累增「日」，轉注於「暴」以張顯之。

臣：頤也。象形。因形變，難于辨識。

頤：小篆累增「頁」，轉注于「臣」以顯之。

頤：大篆累增「首」，轉注于「臣」以顯之。

畺：界也。从二田，三其界畫也。形義不顯。

疆：累增「弓」，轉注於「畺」以顯之。

疆：再增「土」，轉注於「疆」以顯之。

此外如「冂」「冏」「冢」、「厶」「左」「肱」，造字之理皆同。其例至夥也。

b 恢復本義之累增

漢文字之本義，由於引申假借，每有完全被奪現象。遂取本身部份結構，或關取同義字轉相注著以恢復之。例如：

云：山川氣也。假借為云謂字，本義久奪。

雲：累增以「雨」，轉注于「云」以恢復本義。

居：蹲也。假借為尻處字。本義久廢。

踞：累增以「足」，轉注于「居」以復之。

或：邦也。假借為疑問詞。

域：累增「土」，轉注于「或」以復之。

國：域義衍歧，別累增「口」，轉注于「或」，以復之。

要：身中也。象人要自臼之形。引申為重要、主要。本義久奪。

腰：後世累增「肉」，轉注于「要」以復之。

束：分別簡之也。假借為書束，本義久奪。

揀：今隸累增「手」，轉注于「束」以復之。

求：皮衣也。假借為乞「求」，本義久奪。

裘：累增「衣」，轉注於「求」，以復其義。

縣：繫也。假借為州「縣」，本義久奪。

懸：累增「心」，轉注於「縣」以復其義。

扁：署也。假為圓扁，本義久奪。

匾：累增「匚」，轉注於「扁」以復之。

無：豐也。假借為有「無」字，本義久奪。

燕：累增「艸」，轉注於「無」以復之。

須：面毛也。假借為「須」待，本義久奪。

鬚：累增「髟」，轉注於「須」以復之。

朋：神鳥也。假借爲友「朋」，本義久奪。

鵬：累增「鳥」，轉注於「朋」以復之。

易：蜥易蝘蜓守宮也。假借爲難易，本義久奪。

蜴：累增「虫」，轉注於「易」以復之。

然：燒也。假借爲語詞，本義久奪。

然：累增「火」，轉注於「然」以復之。

尊：酒器也。假借爲「尊」卑。本義久奪。

樽：累增「缶」，轉注於「尊」以復之。

樽：或增「木」，轉注於「尊」以復之。

此外如「它」之累增「虫」爲「蛇」，「而」之累增「髟」爲「鬚」，「互」之累增「竹」爲「筮」，「衰」之累增「艸」爲「蓑」，「勿」之累增「扌」爲「旃」，「申」之累增「雨」爲「電」，「其」之累增「竹」爲「箕」。「左」「右」之累增「人」旁爲「佐」「佑」。皆轉注造字之例也。

結 論

漢文字制作，象形指事立其根本。會意形聲長其枝幹，轉注是有形之花葉，假借是無形之芬芳。所以轉注假借二書，最可反映漢文字活潑的生命。尤其是轉注，紅花綠葉，最能顯現漢文字制作的絢美。時代愈後，轉注擔負的造字比例愈重。馴至隨手制作，事與理合。如「扇」與「搧」「煽」，「果」「韭」與「菓」「韭」，「尔」之與「你」「妳」「妳」，而「你」又可進爲「您」，「他」亦可以爲「他」。市招賣「派」，近更轉以「食」字注著作「飢」。則通乎「人同此心」之道矣。本文雖在溯其淵源，明其實際。目的則爲明揚漢文字活潑之生命，絢美之遠景也！

朝鮮初期受宋代文字論的影響

姜 信 沆

大韓民國成均館大學

序 言

在朝鮮初期，創制了標記韓語方法的拼音文字。這文字稱爲「訓民正音」。此文字是在一定的製作原理下，由特定學者所製成的人工文字。起源方面，與埃及文字系統或漢字系統沒有直接的關聯，但爲世界上製作最成功的文字之一，此文字爲單音文字，但能像音節文字一樣地使用。

在系統上，雖與任何文字沒有關聯，但在製造新文字時，可能參考當時隣近民族的文字。

例如八思巴文字是以子音字和母音字的單音文字來分析漢語字音，由此可以看出在製造韓語標記的單音文字時是參考了此八思巴文字。

但是，這是製造文字的一種方法而不是目標。在此，我只就創造文字的各種目標中，受中國影響，特別是宋代文字論的影響這一方面來研究。

I

李氏朝鮮第四代王世宗大王時，創造了標記韓語的拼音文字「訓民正音」，此後便展開了制定朝鮮漢字音（高麗譯音）的標準音，及十五世紀中國字音注音的相關事業。

這個以世宗和其輔弼者爲中心而推動的事業是依據什麼信念和目標完成的呢？有些學者認爲是訓民政策的一環，即視世宗編纂農書，出刊三綱行實圖的動機、和創制「訓民正音」的目的是相同的。期使因實施「科田法」而提高地位的農民們，在謀最起碼的生活的同時，也能表達若干自己的意思，並使之在封建社會體制下，更能順應潮流。¹

另外一些學者則認爲，是受了元世祖創制八思巴文字的影響，即世宗大王在創制

1 李佑成：「朝鮮王的訓民政策和正音的機能」，震檀學報42號，P. 182~186，一九七六。

洪起文「正音發達史下」中亦指出了世宗對教化愚民的苦心。P. 1~2，一九四六。

新文字時，曾特別參考了元帝國蒙古語，及其欲創造出能標記元朝版圖內所有語言的文字的動機，故而也有拼音文字「訓民正音」是參考八思巴文字而創制之說。

不過，無論如何，朝鮮前期語文思想的形成，還是應從儒教國家的本質上來考察。朝鮮的建國根本思想是儒教思想，特別是把教化的重點放在尊崇程朱學上。宋代儒學之影響始於高麗中期以後，因此，高麗末期的性理學者主要講論的書籍是程伊川的易傳和朱晦庵的四書集注，此外亦研究周濂溪和邵康節的學說。²除此之外，另有世宗初年傳來的四書大全等，這些都給了世宗大王及其輔助者極大的影響。世宗元年，由於隨使節團一行到明京去的敬寧君帶回朱子加註的四書大全與五經大全，以及網羅宋代諸儒學說的性理大全後，乃引起世宗大王對這些書籍的重視，於是命令集賢殿着手研究，自此對四書（論語、中庸、大學、孟子），五經（易、書、詩、禮、春秋）及收錄於性理大全的太極圖，律呂新書等便有深入的研究。³

此外，從事韓語的文字化或漢字音整理工作者，若無文字學或中國音韻學方面的深遠素養是難以遂行其工作的，因此不難想見，世宗大王及其輔助者必都精通宋代文字學及中國音韻學的有關知識，而根據記載，他們確實對通志的六書略、七音略、洪武正韻、切韻指掌圖，及古今韻會舉要諸書，均能融會貫通。

附帶說明的是，在李氏朝鮮建國初期，爲了事大交鄰，和鄰國間自由自在的語言溝通，乃是各項急務中，最重要的一項。

如上所述，朝鮮初期，尤其是世宗時代的語言思想，實源於以儒教爲本的禮樂思想（即正聲、正音爲治國要訣的思想），和主張必須研究聲音學及文字學理論，以正確了解聖人之道的宋儒之說，以及洪武正韻序文等揭示標準音的「正音」設定思想。同時，亦以事大交鄰迫切需要學習中國字音，及不滿借用漢字音義標記法等多種複雜的因素爲背景而形成的。我們爲瞭解這些背景，則需從考察上述諸方面的觀點上來思考。⁴

II

欲以宋代儒學爲思想背景來建設理想的國家，及欲將韓語文字化，「正音」普及

2 成樂薰：「韓國思想論稿」，放隱紀念事業會編，P. 28，一九七九。

3 參拙著：「訓民正音解例理論與性理大全的關聯性」，國語國文學26號，一九六三，及

李正浩：「訓民正音的構造原理」，亞細亞文化社出版，P. 8~10，一九七五。

4 俞昌均：在「朝鮮時代世宗朝語言政策的歷史性格」（日文，一九七八，日本東洋文庫發行的東洋學報 59 卷 3、4 號，P. 1~28）文中亦載明與筆者大體相同的見解。又，李崇寧稿「關於世宗語言政策的研究」（亞細亞研究1-2，一九五八），及金完鎮「世宗代語文政策的研究」（省谷論叢3，一九七二）文中，對世宗代的語文思想有詳盡的敘述。

化的目標是表裏一體的，兩者的最終目的也是一致的，原不可將其二分來考察，但爲了方便起見，現將其分爲多方面來思考。

(1) 易與聲音

訓民正音解例本（韓語拼音文字稱爲「訓民正音」，其說明書稱爲「訓民正音解例本」）制字解句首謂：「天地之道，陰陽五行而已……故人之聲音皆有陰陽之理，顧人不察耳」。

制字解裏，有許多內容是把人的聲音用太極、陰陽、五行、易數等來說明的。這是繼承宋儒思想⁵——宇宙間所有原理皆包容於以易爲基礎，發達而成的太極、陰陽、五行裏——而來的。易學啓蒙亦謂：

「知聲音之理，而後萬物之理得矣」

邵雍在其皇極經世書裏，根據其以易數來解釋宇宙所有現象的主張，把韻母稱爲「天聲」，聲母稱爲「地音」之後，做成皇極經世聲音唱和圖，謂人之語音係由天聲與地音結合而成，把人類所可能發的音，以數表示出來。

自世宗初年起，研究性理大全的學者，當然非常重視收錄於該書中（卷七至卷十二）的皇極經世書，這在鄭麟趾的訓民正音序文和申叔舟（朝鮮初期最負盛名之漢語學家）的東國正韻序文中，都可得到明證。⁶

(2) 禮樂思想和聲音

儒學者謂知禮爲治國安民不可缺之事，樂爲治國之要訣。所謂禮，乃指一切制度，儀文而言，樂爲人民生活的憂樂感情表現。樂的用途在於和民聲，因爲聲音的正、邪能影響人類的行爲，故宜制定樂之準則。

禮記卷三十七樂記首曰：

「凡音之起 由人心生也 人心之動 物使之然也 感於物而動 故形於聲」

其註曰：

「宮商角徵羽 雜比曰音 單出曰聲」

禮記卷三十七樂記又曰：

⁵ 把宇宙萬物的所有現象用易的原理成以太極陰陽五行等來加以說明的文獻有許多。易經繫辭上亦曰：

易與天地準 故能彌綸天地之道（第四章）一陰一陽之謂道（第五章）

子曰夫易何爲者也？夫易開物成務 冒天下之道 如斯而已者也 是故聖人以通天下之志 以定天下之業 以斷天下之疑（第十一章）

⁶ 例如鄭麟趾在訓民正音序文中曰：

然四方風土區別 聲氣亦隨而異焉

申叔舟在東國正韻序文中曰：

夫音非有異同 人有異同 人非有異同 方有異同 蓋以地勢別而風氣殊 而呼吸異 東南之齒唇 西北之喉頰是已等等，和此近似之內容，在洪武正韻序文中亦有出現。

「凡音者 生於人心者也 樂者 通倫理者也 是故知聲而不知音者 禽獸是也 知音而不知樂者 眾庶是也 唯君子爲能知樂」

「凡音者 生人心者也 情動於中 故形於聲 聲成文謂之音 是故治世之音 安以樂 其政和 亂世之音 怨而怒 其政乖 亡國之音 哀以思 其民困 聲音之道與政通矣」

再曰：

「是故審聲以知音 審音以知樂 審樂以知政而治道備矣」

此皆闡明了禮和樂、樂和聲音是多麼密切，可見它們相互之間有多麼重要的關係，因此樂記中又強調謂：

「樂者 天地之和也 禮者 天地之序也」

又曰：

「是故 先王之制禮樂也 非以極口腹耳目之欲也 將以教民平好惡 而反人道之正也」

明太祖時代編纂的洪武正韻（西元一三七四）序文裏也扼要地載有禮記樂記的部份內容，其結尾處曰：

「旋宮以七音爲均 均言韻也 有能推十二律 以合八十四調 旋轉相交而大樂之合 亦在是矣」

申叔舟倣此在東國正韻（西元一四四七）序裏謂：

「清濁旋轉 字母相推 七均而十二律八十四調 可與聲樂之正 同其太和矣 吁審聲以知音 審音以知樂 審樂以知政 後之觀者 其必有所得矣」

爲使「治世之音」安之以樂，使「其政」致之以和，則必需純化、修正聲音的想法，也由朝鮮初期的當政者承襲下來。

(3)正音、正聲思想

把樂和聲音視爲治國要訣的儒者們，常以標準的正音和正聲爲念。邵雍把由天聲（正聲、韻母）和地音（正音、聲母）結合而成的人聲，以皇極經世唱和圖表示出來。但將之加註的鍾過說，伊川丈人謂，音原無異同，風土相異，則人語音亦隨之不同，便成了

「由是 訛正牽乎僻論 是非出乎曲說 繁然殺亂于天下矣」
的狀態，故若無正聲、正音、則曰：「焉能正之哉」。

此種思考方式，後日發展成爲着手編纂正確表示標準音的韻圖和韻書的思想。皇極經世書曰：

「江左之儒爲韻書 知縱有四聲 而不知衡有七音 縱成經 衡成緯 經緯

不交 所以失立韻之源」

並謂唯聲音唱和圖才能照原樣把所有的聲音表示出來。

洪武正韻編纂目的亦同於此。韻學在江左產生，然因「殊失正音」，待修正之處猶多，欲以一廣為流布應用，五方之人均可通用之正音、正聲，即以中原雅音為基準，來編纂韻書（同書序文和凡例），其結果，「千古之陋習為之洗刷淨淨」。

世宗大王也承襲了把語言的變遷視為「訛」或「陋習」的語言觀，認為「若非予正其韻書，則伊誰正之乎」申叔舟亦將同化於韓語內朝鮮漢字音的「訛」與「亂」及「變」謂之「若不一大正之，則愈久愈甚，將有不可救之弊矣」（東國正韻序）

(4)聲韻學與聖人之道

宋濂在洪武正韻序文中，引用了司馬光的話，說明了文字和聲韻研究的重要性，謂：

「備萬物之體用者 莫過於字 包眾字之形聲者 莫過於韻 所謂三才之道 性命道德之奧 禮樂刑政之原 皆有繫於此 誠不可不慎也」

申叔舟並在東國正韻序文中，謂聲韻即研究學問與道之始。謂：

「況乎書契未作 聖人之道 寓於天地 書契既作 聖人之道 載諸方策 欲究聖人之道 當先文義 欲知文義之要 當自聲韻 聲韻乃學道之權輿也 而亦豈易能哉」

在中國，韻書的編纂事業，代代承襲下來，其目的主在作詩審音。從高麗朝開始實施科舉的韓國，沒有不參考中國韻書的道理，因此可推測出，此時已具備有關聲韻學的基本常識。因此世宗時代的學者們最重視的聲韻學書籍是性理大全中，皇極經世書的聲韻部分，洪武正韻、古今韻會舉要及切韻指掌圖等，他們從這些書的序文、凡例及註解中學得有關聲韻方面的知識。

聲音唱和圖的註，有關於三十六字母和韻圖等的說明，通志所載鄭樵的七音略序裏亦有

「七音之韻 起自西域 流入諸夏（中略）華僧從而定之 以三十六為之母 重輕清濁不失其價 天地萬物之音 備於此矣 雖鶴唳風聲 鷄鳴狗吠 雷霆聲 驚天 蚊蚋過耳 皆可譯也 況於人言乎」

之句，說明了三十六字母，有如拼音文字般，可隨心所欲地標記所有的音，在訓民正音解例本序文裏，鄭麟趾謂：

「雖風聲鶴唳 鷄鳴狗吠 皆可得而書矣」

這是不把三十六字母和訓民正音另作他論的證據。

洪武正韻序文初始曰：

「人之生也 則有聲 聲出而七音異焉 所謂七音者 牙舌唇齒喉及舌齒各半是也 智者察知之分 其清濁之倫 定爲角徵宮商羽 以至於半商半徵 而天下之音 盡在是矣 然則音者 其韻書之權輿乎」

其凡例中，說明聲韻之音與音樂之音的結合，謂：

「翻切之法 率用一字相摩 上字爲聲 下字爲韻 聲韻苟叶 則無有不通」連反切法亦加以說明。世宗及其輔弼者，便是以這種聲韻學的知識爲基礎，創造了拼音文字，並加以聲韻學的說明。

洪武正韻譯訓序（一四五五、申叔舟）裏謂：

「我世宗莊憲大王 留意韻學 窮研底蘊 創制訓民正音若干字 四方萬物之聲 無不可傳」

說明了這種聲韻學的背景。

(5)文字學與聖人之道

韓語的文字化過程中，絕無忽視中國文字學之理。中國文字學的鼻祖雖爲後漢許慎所著之說文解字（99 B. C.），但朝鮮前期學者們所參考的書籍，似以宋代徐鉉所著之校定說文三十卷（986 A. D.），或其弟徐鉉所著之說文繫傳四十卷，通志所載鄭樵之六書略的可能性爲大，其中尤以六書略參考得最多，鄭樵在六書略序文裏，說明了文字學和聖人之道有極爲密切的關係，其謂：

「經術之不明，由小學之不振，小學之不振，由六書之無傳。聖人之道，惟藉六經，六經之作，惟藉文言，文言之本，在於六書，六書不分；何以見義。小學之義，第一當視子母之相生，第二當識文字之有間，象形指事，文也，會意形聲轉注，字也，假借，文字俱也」。

力陳爲闡明聖人之道，則必須從事六書，即文字學的研究，這種思想在前面所引用的洪武正韻序文裏也如是出現：

「備萬物之體用者，莫過於字，包眾字之形聲者，莫過於韻，所謂三才之道，性命道德之奧，禮樂刑政之原，皆有繫於此，誠不可不慎也」。

而且東國正韻序文裏也載有類似的內容，然則六書裏之最根本者爲何？鄭樵謂：

「六書也者，象形爲本……一曰象形，而象形之別有十種，有天地之形，有山川之形，有井邑之形，有艸木之形，有人物之形，有鳥獸之形，有蟲魚之形，有鬼物之形，有器用之形，有服飾之形，是象形也」（六書序）

「六書也者，皆象形之變也（象形第一）」。

亟欲創造新文字的世宗大王及其輔弼者，絕無忽視此等理論之理。其結果，在訓

民正音解例本制字解裏闡明新文字之創造原理時謂：「正音二十八字，各象其形之制之」。「訓民正音」的創造原理既爲象形，則其造字方式，與其說是模倣八思巴文字或其他文字⁷，倒不如說是模倣六書的形式。此一問題，孔在錫教授已有論及⁸。六書略的「起——成文圖」裏說明了象形的基本字劃。

茲爲說明韓國文字的字形，特別是子音的基本字劃而引用如下：

所謂「文」，在七音略序裏謂「獨體爲文，合體爲字」以和「字」區別。

起一成文圖

衡爲一 縱爲丨（音哀）

邪丨爲ノ（房必切）反ノ爲ㄣ（分勿切）至ㄣ而窮 折一爲ㄣ（音及）反ㄣ爲ㄣ（呼旱切）轉ㄣ爲ㄣ（音隱）反ㄣ爲ㄣ（居月切）了从此 見了部）至ㄣ而窮

折一爲ㄣ者 側也 有側有正 正折爲ㄣ（即ㄣ字也 又音帝 又音入）轉ㄣ爲ㄣ（側加切）側ㄣ爲ㄣ（音映）反ㄣ爲ㄣ（音泉）至ㄣ而窮

一再切爲ㄣ（五犯切）轉ㄣ爲ㄣ（口犯切）側ㄣ爲ㄣ（音方）反ㄣ爲ㄣ

（音播）至ㄣ而窮

引一而繞合之 方則爲ㄣ（音圍）圓則爲○（音星）至○則環轉無異勢 一之道盡矣（中略）一能生而，不能生 天地之道 陰陽之理也（六書略第五）

訓民正音解例本制字解裏，說明了下述「訓民正音」（文字）的製造原理，與把發音器官象形化了的的基本子音字形。

正音二十八字	各象其形而制之	初聲凡十七字
五音 基本字	象形內容	加劃字 異體字
牙	ㄱ	象舌根閉喉之形 ㄱ ㄱ
舌	ㄴ	象舌附上腭之形 ㄴ ㄴ
唇	ㅇ	象口形 ㄹ ㄹ
齒	ㄷ	象齒形 ㅌ ㅌ
喉	ㅇ	象喉形 ㅇ ㅇ

我們雖無法斷定「訓民正音」子音字形都是從「起——成文圖」衍生而來，但在「起一成文圖」裏有許多和「訓民正音」子音基本字相同的字形，這證明二者之間不是全無關係。

六書略「殊文總論」裏所說的：

「諸國之書 有同有異 各隨所習而安 不可彊之使同」

⁷ 八思巴文字模倣說，請參照俞昌均著「蒙古韻略和四聲通考的研究」（螢雪出版社，一九七四）P. 141~142。

⁸ 孔在錫：「韓國文字古篆起源說的考察」中國學報卷7，P. 45~54，一九六七。

和鄭麟趾在訓民正音序文裏所說的：

「蓋外國之語 有其聲而無其字 假中國之字 以通其用 是猶枘鑿之鉅鍤也 豈能達而無礙乎 要皆各隨所處而安 不可強之使同也」

足證二者應非偶然之巧合。

若將八思巴文字與「訓民正音」(文字)加以比較，在字形上很難發現彼此間有何類似之處。

例：

	見	端	幫	心	喻	來	日
八思巴文字	𑖇	𑖆	𑖅	𑖄	𑖃	𑖂	𑖁
訓民正音	ㄱ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㄷ	ㄴ	ㄹ	ㅇ

(6)與中國之外交及譯學

李氏朝鮮自建國之初，事大交鄰即為重要的國家施策之一，為使此政策得以圓滿遂行，則主事者必須精通鄰近國家的語言。

高麗時代也基於這種需要而設置了通文館，實施漢語教育，朝鮮朝在太祖二年九月設置司譯院，傾力於外語教育⁹，司譯院裏教授漢學（中國語學）、蒙古語、倭語、女真語，稱之為四學。這種對外國語的學習和研究稱為譯學，四學之中，歷代諸王最重視的是和事大有密切關係的漢學。

朝鮮前期文獻裏，載有許多強調譯學之重要性的記事，只要翻看實錄上的記載，在太祖三年十一月，司譯院提調僕長壽等，在建議司譯院的運營問題疏文中，便有「我國家 世事中國 言語文字 不可不習 是以 殿下肇國之初 特設本院 置祿官及教官教授生徒 俾習中國言語音訓文字體式 上以盡事大之誠 下以期易俗之效」

之事，另，世宗十一年九月的實錄記事，亦有

「申商啓 我國事大 莫重譯學

上曰 譯學 實國家重事」

之句。世宗在十六年正月，深慮「本國學術淺狹」，「華語訛謬」，而欲派遣留學生赴中國留學。並飭集賢殿學士，儘量以華語唸四書五經，以應「事大」之需。世宗極重視漢語，在十四年正月嘆曰：

「凡言語辨通曲折 而味趣存焉 今通事等 汎言其槩而已 其曲折處 不能變通 是可恨也」。

世宗十五年二月又曰：

⁹ 有關朝鮮時代的譯學，參照拙著「關於李朝時代譯學政策的考察」（大東文化研究 2，一九六六）P.1~31。

「漢音有關事大」

世宗十六年春，令至遼東向該地有識之士許福、鄔望、劉進請求指正中國教科書「直解小學」歸來的李邊和金何，進講「直解小學」。二十年三月，令金何三日一次教世子漢語。二十三年十月，世宗又曾謂：

「漢音傳音 漸至差訛 慮恐倘有宣諭聖旨 難以曉解 朝廷使臣到國應待言語 理會者小 深爲未便」。

這種對中國語的重視和研究，至世宗二十六年以後，即着手翻譯中國韻書（注音）。崔世珍在四聲通解序文裏謂：

「惟我東國世事中華 語音不通 必賴傳譯 故設官委任 俾傳其業 恭惟世宗莊憲大王至誠事大 恪謹侯度 凡于咨奏 必經睿覽 始究學譯 當先聲韻 創制訓民正音 命譯洪武正韻」

說明了「訓民正音」的創制，似與譯學有着密切的關係。

另，申叔舟亦在洪武正韻譯訓序文謂：

「聲韻之學 最爲難精（中略）自沈約著譜雜以南音 有識病之 而歷代未有釐正之音 洪惟 皇明太祖高皇帝 愍其乖舛失倫 命儒臣以中原雅音 定爲洪武正韻 實是天下萬國所宗 我世宗莊憲大王 留意韻學 窮研底蘊 創制訓民正音若干字 四方萬物之聲 無不可傳 吾東邦之士 始知四聲七音 自無所不具非特字韻而已也 於是 以吾東國世事中華而語音不通 必須傳譯 首命譯洪武正韻」。

闡釋了新文字與標準中國音的統一有着密切的關係。

韓國歷來對外，由於語言異於中國，往來之間必置翻譯者，同時，學習漢音之人，以訛傳訛，混亂極甚，旁鄰中原之學者亦無正之者，故成三問在直解童子習序文裏謂：

「故號爲宿儒老譯，終身由之，而卒於孤陋」

又曰：

「我世宗文宗慨然念於此 既作訓民正音 天下之聲 始無不可盡矣 於是譯洪武正韻 以正華音」

此亦說明了爲標記正確之漢音，「訓民正音」的創制是必要的。

(7)對鄰國文字的重視

朝鮮朝建國初期，即設置司譯院，教授漢、蒙、倭、女真等四學外國語，可見韓國對這些鄰國的語言、文字是多麼重視。

保閒齋集收錄的申叔舟年譜和行狀中，其文字雖不能全予置信，但姜希孟撰的行

狀裏謂：

「列國皆有國音之文以記國語，獨我國無之，御製諺文字母二十八字」其年譜裏亦載有同一記事。在這記事的前與後，說明了「訓民正音」和矯正訛傳的韓語語音具有密切的關係。當然，這不完全是創制「訓民正音」的唯一目的。但不論如何，我們可以知道新文字制定時確曾參酌了周圍諸國的語言和文字。

III

綜合上面的說明，在朝鮮朝初期

- (1)以易和太極之說來明瞭人的聲音。
- (2)將政治目標着重於禮樂思想之上，期建設以儒教為基礎的理想國。
- (3)為體認聖人之道，深感闡明文義與聲韻，六書之不可缺。
- (4)為實現(2)、(3)項目標，更深切體會到確立標準音之正聲，正音的重要性。
- (5)為了事大交鄰，深覺學習正確中國字音的必要。
- (6)愈有上述各項需要，則愈覺「借用漢字音、義標記法」的不方便。
- (7)參考諸國文字，終於發展成創造了能滿足各種需要的表音文字。

其結果，如鄭麟趾在訓民正音序文所說的：

- (1)韓國擁有了可自由標記任何聲音的表音文字。
- (2)漢文書變得易於解釋，且易於得知其文義。
- (3)易於通曉民情。
- (4)可清礎的區別字音。
- (5)可分辨歌樂律呂之調。

而且，如眾所周知，許多書籍都譯成韓語，編纂了韻書，也整理了雅樂。

過去，我們過於注重新文字的創制而忽視了其他的要素，以上說明的諸要素，形成了世宗及其輔弼者的語言觀，當時，在各領域上都充滿了重視「自我民族」的風氣，這種風氣和上述的語言觀結合起來，終於發展成韓語的文字化。

同時，韓國一直到高麗末，都和元朝保持長期間的接觸，對於元朝的所有政策和制度均知之甚詳，因此我們可以充分推知，如金完鎮教授所指的：在韓國語的文字化以後，想必參酌了元朝推行新文字一八思巴文字一的文字政策。

六書精蘊新探

趙友培

中國語文研究中心

一 引 言

人類早期生活實錄，多用圖象來表現，這是全世界歷史學家公認的事實。但直接由圖象演變發展成文字，且改進為有原則、有系統的組合，數千年來一脈相承，雖文字的形體漸次變化，仍可追溯辨認出它的本來面目、而能貫通古今的，要以我們中國文字居第一位。

說到中國文字，很多人都知道「六書」——象形、指事、會意、形聲、轉注、假借。且以為這就是漢代文字學家許慎研究中國文字，歸納所得的六個原則。但我國研究文字的人，並不是由許慎開始；在他以前，已經有了「六書」，只是各人見解不同，所用的名稱和排列次序也不盡相同。其足以直探文字本源且有確切根據的，當為漢代班固所著漢書藝文志中所列的六項原則：一象形，二象事，三象意，四象聲，五轉注，六假借。前四者，基於形、事、意、聲構成的文字形體，都以象形、象事之文為本而產生，以表本聲本義；後二者，則由四象文字發揮其功能，或依本義引申新義，或借本聲另表他義，體不改造而擴大其用；所以合稱「四象二用」。

班固，是我國漢代的史學權威，並非文字學家。歷史學家事必徵實，言必有據，立場更為客觀。他所提出的六項原則，乃轉錄劉歆的七略而成¹，其前四書皆名「象」，此說較古，在研究文字追本溯源時，這一說法就更加值得重視。

許慎對中國文字的整理研究，貢獻很大；所撰說文解字，更被後代學者尊為文字學中的經典，功不可沒。他把文字歸納為指事、象形、會意、形聲、轉注、假借六

¹ 呂思勉於中國文字變遷考，懷疑班志「謂象形、象事、象意、象聲、轉注、假借、造字之本也」十八字，皆後人竄入。單從文義看，呂氏雖不為無見，若從整個問題來看，應研究：

①有無未竄入此十八字之漢書藝文志版本？

②何時竄入？何人竄入？為何竄入？作者並未能提出證據與說明。

③班氏之說，本於劉歆七略，劉氏更在班氏之前，可證此說不僅早於班氏而著錄，且亦早於劉氏而傳流，決非偽託。（參看² ①）所以馬敘倫在他所著中國文字源流三三頁說：此十八字實為漢書古注。

④文字學家前輩著作中，如黃以周之六書通故謂「後儒易六書次第者數十家，要以班志為最得。」胡繩玉之六書通論也說：「各家所列次第不同，要以班書為是。」

⑤後於班固不久的許慎，在說文解字中即提出「指事、象形、會意、形聲、轉注、假借」六書，前四書上一字雖稱名略易，順序稍變，顯然仍承舊說而來。

⑥由此可證：班志引述「四象二用」之說較古，亦接近古人造字的真象。這是討論本問題很重要的一點。

類，每一類用八個字組成的兩句話，並各舉兩個字例來作說明。他的說解不失為簡要，但也因為太簡了，很難涵蓋每一項原則的意義，而有解釋不確切、說明不周全的缺憾。加以全書文字排列的次序，一開始就是「指事」，反而把「象形」列在指事之後，也與文字實際發展情況不合。由於他「八言二例」解釋的不夠明確周全，引起了後代學者的困惑；有的另作補充說明，有的加入新的見解，各自陳述，莫衷一是，情況陷於複雜而混亂。其中尤以「轉注」一書為甚。

推究許氏把「指事」列在「象形」之前的原因，是由於全書從「一」部開始，用意在於「立一為耑」，認為「一」是萬原之始。這是受了哲學的影響²，顯然不合文字發展的情況和科學實事求是的精神。所以後代學者，說到「六書」順序，仍以「象形」為第一。至於他改古人所用的「象事、象意、象聲」為「指事、會意、形聲」，可能有下列兩個原因：

(一)全書字例以小篆為主，雖有一部分籀文附列，其形體每與古代金文不盡相合，多屬於後期金文。依照小篆和後期金文的形體，與前人所舉的「四象」原則對照，自然難以盡合。為求原則與實際相符，就需要修改前人之說。

(二)古人生活簡單樸素，質勝於文；但求與實際情況符合，不重視文字的潤色，也不介意字句的重複，比較合於科學精神。就是文學作品，也有同樣的傾向。如古詩採蓮謠：

江南可採蓮，
蓮葉何田田！
魚戲蓮葉間；
魚戲蓮葉東，
魚戲蓮葉西，
魚戲蓮葉南，
魚戲蓮葉北。

全詩描寫實況，文字不避重複，何等質樸！後人重視詞藻華采，不免文勝於質，逐漸流於字彫句琢，而忽略真實。許氏生於東漢，漸入重視文采的時代，又曾任南閣祭酒，望重一時，他的文學造詣之高可想而知。對前面所說的四象——象形、象事、象意、象聲，若從當時的文學觀點來看，不免覺得文字重疊累贅；所以改象事為指事，改象意為會意，改象聲為形聲。就小篆來說，既接近事實，就定義來說，又免除重複。

² ①鄭司農周官注：以象形、會意、轉注、處事、假借、諧聲為序，這是較早的一說，亦以象形為首。

②可見許氏以指事為首，是受了哲學的影響，而非前有所承。

因此，自漢代迄今，學者們都宗法許氏改訂的「六書原則」，除了把「指事」一書移到「象形」之後，對其他各書的名稱，都沒有異議。

文字的本源，溯自實際的生活事物，而六書原則，又由文字歸納而來。到了近代，久已湮沒於地下的資料相繼發現，尤其是大批出土的甲骨文，更成為研究文字的珍寶。加以影印與傳播便利，可見真蹟，學者們由此不斷鑽研，集成專著，逐漸澄清了文字學上若干迷團，而有了超越前人的成就。許氏當年對若干文字，因字形演變訛傳所發生的誤解，多因原始資料的出現而陸續改正。這是我國文字學界的重大收穫。依我們目前所擁有的豐富古文字資料，及人文科學進步發展的情勢來看，深覺「六書」仍以「四象二用」的說法為優。這並不是復古從舊，而在探本求源。

二 四 象

在空間範圍內，大小包容，各種物象森然陳列。由此描繪各種實物的靜態：或模仿一特定對象，而畫出實體的形狀，如：𠂔（人）；或依據一個整體，而描出主要的輪廓，如：𠂔（鼎）；或選擇整體中的局部，而掌握它的特徵，作一「特寫」，如：𠂔（目）。凡屬這一類描繪靜態實物的，都歸屬於「象形」。

在時間過程中，有長久、有短暫，有迅速、有緩慢；各種動態綿延承續。由此或掌握正在進行的情況，予以描繪，如：𠂔（走的本字）；或抽離實物的形象，表現某種抽象的概念，如：一、二、三（都由手指而來）；或特別指出實物整體中相關的某一部位，如：𠂔（立，下面的一，表示地面）。凡屬這一類，都屬於「象事」。

象形、象事，與象意、象聲不同的要點在於：

象形與象事，都是獨體的文，是字之母。

象意與象聲，都是合體的字，是文之子。

由「文」孳乳而成為字，如子由母生；所以字在後，文在先，字多於文。字承襲文而產生，而又由字再生新字，如子孫繁衍，綿綿不絕。

至於轉注與假借，都是在形體上不再另造新字，而就已有的文字，或作意義上的擴充，或作聲音上的相借，以便於應用。所以在「四象」之外，稱為「二用」。所不同的，轉注是「本有其字」，它的功能，源於自身力量的發揮，由一字的本義加以引申，而擴充出新義來，主動操之在我，蘊蓄於內涵。所以能轉而不窮，注而不空，發揮文字的妙用。

與轉注相對的假借，是「本無其字」，它的效用，要靠外力的支援，借用其他同音字作為替身，完全求之於人，好比向外借債。有時會久借不還，而有反客為主的情

形。有時是提筆偶忘本字，另借一同音字暫用，稱為「通借」。

(一) 象 形

中國文字始於象形，對象為可見的形體。它取象的範圍如下：

(一)取象於自然，如：

☉ (日)、☾ (月)、雨 (雨)、電 (電)、山 (山)、水 (水)、田 (田)、
麥 (麥)、木 (木)、菽 (菽)、禾 (禾)、米 (米)、瓜 (瓜)、貝 (貝)、
魚 (魚)、虫 (虫)、龜 (龜)、鳥 (鳥)、羊 (羊)、犬 (犬)、牛 (牛)、
豕 (豕)、虎 (虎)、象 (象)……

(二)取象於人身，如：

人 (人)、大 (大)、首 (首)、目 (目)、鼻 (鼻)、耳 (耳)、口 (口)、
齒 (齒)、手 (手)、止 (止，即趾)……

(三)取象於器用，如：

鬲 (鬲)、皿 (皿)、酉 (酉)、鬲 (鬲)、勺 (勺)、巾 (巾)、衣 (衣)、
帽 (帽)、亭 (亭)、瓦 (瓦)、几 (几)、箕 (箕)、帚 (帚)、舟 (舟)、
網 (網)、工 (工)、耒 (耒)、干 (干)、戈 (戈)、弓 (弓)、矢 (矢)、
冊 (冊)……

六書次第，象形第一。象形必為獨體之文，前賢所謂「合體象形」，應屬象意的範圍。古人「仰觀俯察，近取諸身，遠取諸物」，觀察一物的形象，或整體、或局部，依物畫形，自能一目了然。

(二) 象 事

許氏所說的「指事」，古人稱之為「象事」。二者之間的差異，是象事範圍較寬，而指事未免偏狹；若依許氏之說，指事的對象為意中可知之事，指示出部位或是方向；則純粹的指事字，寥寥無幾。故以仍稱象事為宜，舉例如下：

失 (失，手旁一畫，表示物自手中失落。)

亦 (亦，人手臂下加兩點，指出腋下的部位。)

坼 (坼，巾上下加細點，表示毀裂處。)

甘 (甘，含一在口中；一，表示美味。)

上 (上，在仰畫的弧線上，畫一記號，指出向上。)

下 (下，在俯畫的弧線下，畫一記號，表示在下。)

刃 (刃，在刀上加一記號，指出鋒刃的部位。)

曰 (曰，口上加一短橫，表示發出的聲氣。)

寸 (寸，手腕上加一畫，指出脈搏跳動的寸口所在部位。)

本 (本，木下加一畫，指出樹的根部。)

朱 (朱，木中加一畫，指出樹幹的所在。)

末 (末，木上加一畫，指出樹梢。)

若依古人「象事」之說，則除上列指事所包涵的字例外，還有表示動象或抽象概念的，如：

走 (走，表示人在行走時兩手自然擺動。)

夭 (夭，人頭部傾側，表示搖頭擺腦的動作。)

卩 (卩，人膝部彎曲，表示跪下。)

尸 (尸，人體橫陳，表示躺著。)

屮 (生，屮下加一畫，表示草從土中生長出來。)

帝 (帝，花萼中加一記號，表示花蒂。)

力 (力，手指向下，表示奮臂運指用力。)

乳 (乳，人伸出兩手，表示操作。)

水 (水本向下流作 𣶒；橫水，表示洪水氾濫成災。)

屯 (屯，種子未脫的嫩芽初生，一橫表示地面。)

易 (易，雲影半遮太陽，表示天氣變易。前人誤釋為蜥易。)

𦰩 (𦰩，麻的初文。麻是草本，下面的左右兩筆，表示分剝麻皮。)

象事不同於象形，在於象形是靜態寫生，畫出物體的固定形象；象事或為動態攝影，捕捉動象的一瞬間，或表示抽象概念，或指明部位、方向等。相同處，二者都是獨體的「文」。

象事與象意的不同，在於象事是獨體之「文」，其或就象形字附加符號，並無獨立的意義，只表示某種抽象概念，所以仍為獨體。象意，則由兩個或兩個以上具有意義的「文」，所組成的合體之「字」。這一點若不分辨清楚，很容易混淆。例如：「言」與「音」二字，「言」字篆文作 𠄎，前人解為「从口 彳 聲」，是形聲字。作 𠄎 的「音」字，則因口中加了一小橫，解為「从言含一」，而被某些文字學家誤認為指事字。若「言」是形聲，就已經是合體字了，怎能因加了一小橫，又變成獨體的文？這就由於對獨體「文」與合體「字」的概念不清楚，所引起的混淆。實際上，「言」和「音」本是同字分化，古人刻字筆畫常有增多或減少的情形，因當時文字形態尚未固定，刻字人心血來潮，順手增減，就可能使同一字有了異體。「言」和「音」就是在這種情況下分化的。後人就把从口的，歸於「言」，多了一畫的，歸於「音」。其實這

兩字都是合體字，因為「𠂔」和「𠂔」都已是獨立的「文」了，文與文相合而成「字」。


(三) 象 意

許氏所說的「會意」，是由兩個或兩個以上意義相關的「文」，結合而成一個另有讀音和意義的新字。這一新字，可由「文」的組合關係，加以思索，而體會出它的意義。如：

明，从日从月，日月是光明的象徵。

名，从夕从口，黑夜間看不清，要自報名號。

里，从田从土，有田園的土地，必宜於人居住。


益，从皿从水，篆文作，水滿自皿上溢出。

耿，从耳从火，心中煩惱，耳朵發燒，


炙，从火从肉，把肉放在火上烤。

采，从爪从木，手爪在木上採摘。

香，从禾（或从黍省）从甘，禾黍甘美而芳香，楷書變甘爲日。


則，从貝从刀，金文作，从鼎，用刀在鼎上刻字以示法度，須共同遵守。篆文省鼎爲貝，楷書依篆文。

鳴，从鳥从口，鳥叫。

食，甲文作，从倒口就食器皀（簋），吃東西。




家，从宀从豕，定居豕養牲畜，以豕爲家畜代表。

以上各例，是由二「文」組成的象意字。


祭，篆文作，从示从又从肉，手持有肉以祭祀。

然，从火从犬从肉，用火烤狗肉。

侃，从人从口从川，人說話如川流，侃侃而談。

農，甲文作，从辰从林，用蜃殼爲器開闢山林。金文作，从从辰从田，雙手持辰治田。篆文訛變，今作農。

解，从刀从牛从角，用刀分割牛角。

僉，从人，从、从二人；一口向下，二人口向上，眾口同聲。

以上各例，是由兩個以上的「文」組成的象意字。

如依許氏所說的「會意」，有兩項缺點：

(1)必須由兩個或兩個以上成「文」的單位組成。但有些字例，一看它的形象，即可了解它的意義，而其中某部分並不成「文」（參看本節下舉孕、乳、保、毓各字

例)，也不同於象事中附加的某種符號，又不同於象形的獨體；「會意」不能概括。

(2)會意，如必須從組合文字上去體會，可能「會錯了意」，且可能因字形空間位置的安排，而有所誤解。如由相同的文，組成不同的字，在會意上，說解常有困難。

古人不說「會意」而說「象意」，也就是「即象見義」。字意由畫面直接表達，意顯於象，有目共睹，好比直接面對現場情況，可以一看就懂，客觀性高。不似會意，必須從文字間接體會，意含於象，好比閱讀新聞報導，不但需要思索，而且看法不一，主觀性強，可能造成「誤會」。如：

𠂔 (从，从二人相隨，是從的本字。)

𠂔 (从二人相向，是向的本字。)

𠂔 (北，从二人相背，是違反之意。)

化 (化，从一正人一倒人，是變化之意。)

以上四字，基本結構相同，都从並列的二人，但因人的方向配合不同，而可從形象中看出各自不同的意義。

杲 (杲，从日从木，日在木上，有明亮之意。)

杳 (杳，从木从日，日在木下，有晦暗之意。)

以上二字，同从日木，位置相反，意義也相反。

棘 (棘，从二束，棘樹有刺，矮小而叢生。)

棗 (棗，从二束，棗樹亦有刺，但較高大。)

以上二字，同从二束，以平列象叢生，以重疊象高大。

聒 (聒，是聽的本字；从耳口，以耳聽人口中所說的話。)

聒 (聒，从口耳，以口附耳上小聲說悄悄話。)

以上二字，同从口耳，位置不同，意義也不同。

各 (各，上爲夊 (脚)，下象坎穴，脚向坎穴內，象人來到。)

出 (出，上爲夊，下象坎穴，脚向坎穴外，象人外出。)

𡵓 (上象坎穴，脚在坎穴中，象人安處。後來誤𡵓爲几，字形易位，訛變爲處，又加虍聲，作處。)

以上三字，其中的U、∩，是依不同的角度來畫出坎穴之形；其中的夊、夊，是以不同的方向，來表示人的行止。U、∩都是坎穴的本字。以坎穴的形象，配合夊或夊的方向、位置，即可表現出所要表現的意義來。上面所舉的三字不是象形——因非獨體；亦非象事——因U、∩不是抽象符號；而是以獨體的文變換位置，相互配合，構成有意義的圖象，這就是「象意」。

𠄎 (弔，人身上負著繫有絲繩的矢，以守護亡者屍身。)

𦉳 (𦉳，是粥的本字，篆文从米从鬲，兩旁的曲線，象水蒸氣溢出。)

𠄎 象繫繩的矢， 𦉳 象水蒸氣，但都不成文——沒有這樣的字，唯有「象意」能解釋說明。

𡙇 (孕，子包在大腹便便的人腹中。)

𡙇 (乳，以手撫子餵奶。)

𡙇 (保，人反手負子於背。)

𡙇 (毓，母親產子，子頭向下出母胎，並有水液流出。)

以上四字，均與孕育、餵養嬰兒有關。如孕的大腹，乳的乳房，保的反手人形，毓的點滴水液，及頭向下的子(𠄎)，其中有的形象不能拆開，相互結合在一起，見其形，即可知其意，亦非「象意」莫屬。

在象意字中，有从三個同體字，以表示多數的：

磊 (磊，从三石。)

森 (森，从三木。)

𠄎 (𠄎，从三 𠄎。)

𠄎 (众，从三人。)

以上各字，都是以三為多數，但三個相同的形象，不一定是只有一上二下的排列法，也不一定是表多數之意，如：

𠄎 (齊，以三株禾穗並列，表示平齊之意。)

𠄎 (奔，上為擺手走路人形，下以三止表示腳的快速動作。)

以上二字，或藉三個同形體的禾穗並列，以象平齊。或以三「止」(腳)在揚手快步走的人下，表示腳的快速動作，就像電影鏡頭，捕捉人在奔跑時兩足交替前進的瞬間，這是「象意」的神來之筆。(奔，下原為三止，後因字形訛變，誤為「𠄎」，許氏因為沒有見到从三止的「𠄎」，所以誤以為从𠄎得聲，無意可會了。)

象意之所以不同於象形、象事，主要在象形、象事為獨體之「文」，象意為合體之「字」。

象意之所以不同於象聲，主要在象意是由意義關係，組合而成的新字，另有不同於原「文」的讀音。象聲是由形符的「意」、聲符的「聲」組合而成的新字，讀音總在聲符的變化範圍之內。

也有若干象聲字的聲符含有意義，因為中國語文中字義和字音的關係頗為密切。(請參閱下節)

四 象 聲

在「六書」中，象聲字最多，約佔全部文字的百分之九十。象聲字的結構，是以字的一部分表形象，也就是字的類屬關係，通常就是這一個字的部首，又稱形符。另一部分表聲音，也就是字的讀音，又稱聲符。

形符和聲符的配合，有許多種排列方式，各舉二例如下：

理、鞍（形符在左，聲符在右。）

鄂、効（形符在右，聲符在左。）

芳、霖（形符在上，聲符在下。）

烝、戀（形符在下，聲符在上。）

園、囿（形符在外，聲符在內。）

辯、瓣（形符在中間，聲符在兩旁。）

廣、屢（形符在左上，聲符在右下。）

趨、遄（形符在左下，聲符在右上。）

許氏說「形聲」，只能說明「形符」與「聲符」配合以創造新字的一種方式，不足以說明中國文字與語言之間配合的巧妙。語言的產生，基於聲音；文字的讀音，基於語言；而語言的聲音，除約定俗成外，大多包涵了它相關事物的因素。因此，產生了下列程序：

事物——聲音——語言——文字。

例如——

事物：一個人笑。

聲音：ㄈㄩ ㄈㄩ。

語言：「他在那兒ㄈㄩ ㄈㄩ大笑。」

文字：哈哈，从口（笑用口發聲），合聲（與ㄈㄩ ㄈㄩ音接近）。

這一「哈」字的結構，並非毫無意義關係的「形聲」，而是在「聲」中，也表現了「義」——人在某種情況下發出的笑聲。試與嘿嘿、嘻嘻的笑聲比較，其含義顯然不同。如說是「形聲」即無法包涵這一「表意」的聲；而在此所表的意，又與象意不同，只有解為「象聲」才貼切。

「萬籟皆有聲」，文字中也就有了表現各種聲音的字，如：

大雨嘩啦，小雨淅瀝。

琴聲琤琮，漏聲滴答。

雷聲隆隆，狂風呼呼。

洪水滔滔，溪水潺潺。

鳥鳴嚶嚶，鴻雁嗷嗷。

鷄聲喔喔，鴨聲呷呷。

蟲聲唧唧，蛙聲咯咯。

餘如：龍「吟」，鳳「嘯」，虎「嘯」，猿「啼」，熊「咆」，鶴「唳」……也各有其特點。

以上各例或直接狀聲，或因聲的情態各異而加區別，其根據都是來自事物或聲音的。至於以下各例，則不以象聲字爲限，亦不拘於本義。

〔例一〕

哄（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：聲音爆滿，如：哄堂大笑。

訇（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：聲音很大。

轟（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：震耳的聲音。燃燒火藥的爆炸聲。

洪（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：大水；大。

鴻（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：大雁；大。

弘（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：廣大。與「宏」通。

宏（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：房屋廣大。

閎（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：寬大，與「宏」通。

泓（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：形容水的深廣。

紘（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：廣大。與「宏」通。

訐（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：大聲爭吵。

閏（ㄏㄨㄥˊ）：很多人聚在一起吵鬧。

以上各字聲母、韻母均同，性質、功用類似，意義也相通——皆有大、多、或強烈之意。

〔例二〕

小（ㄒㄩㄠˋ）：大的對稱。

纖（ㄒㄩㄠˋ）：小；細微。

鮮（ㄒㄩㄠˋ）：稀少。與「尠」通用。

尠（ㄒㄩㄠˋ）：稀少。

些（ㄒㄩㄠˋ）：少許。

屑（ㄒㄩㄠˋ）：細碎；碎末。

希（ㄒㄩㄠˋ）：少有的。與「稀」通。

稀(ㄒㄧ): 疏; 少。

溪(ㄒㄧ): 山中流出的小河。

蹊(ㄒㄧ): 小路。

細(ㄒㄧ): 微小。

以上各字聲母相同, 性質、功用相同, 意義相通——均有小、少、輕微之意。

〔例一〕義「大」而「多」或「強烈」, 讀音寬宏響亮, 〔例二〕義「小」而「少」或「輕微」, 讀音輕窄細微, 正好成為對比。由此可證字音和字義之間關係的密切。

〔例三〕

環(ㄏㄨㄢ): 環的本字。

環(ㄏㄨㄢ): 中空圓形的東西叫「環」。

鑲(ㄏㄨㄢ): 同「環」字。

纒(ㄏㄨㄢ): 繩子圈起來叫纒, 所以自縊叫「投纒」。

鬟(ㄏㄨㄢ): 婦人挽髮如環形。

寰(ㄏㄨㄢ): 廣大的境域。如: 寰海。與「環」通。

圍(ㄏㄨㄢ): 圍繞的意思。

團(ㄊㄨㄢ): 圓。團圓又稱「團圓」, 或作「團」。

團(ㄊㄨㄢ): 把散碎的東西合成圓形物。形容圓的樣子, 如: 團扇。

糰(ㄊㄨㄢ): 用米粉調水搓成的圓形食物。

丸(ㄨㄢ): 形狀小而圓的東西。如: 彈丸, 藥丸。

圓(ㄩㄢ): 球形。自中心到周圍每一點距離都相等。

卷(ㄩㄢ): 唐代以前捲起來成圓筒形的書卷。

捲(ㄩㄢ): 把東西彎轉成圓筒形。

圈(ㄩㄢ): 環狀物, 外圓中空的形狀。

以上各字韻母相同、性質、功用相同, 意義相通——均有圓形之意。

〔例四〕

洋(ㄧㄥ): 地球上最廣大的水域。

海(ㄏㄞ): 比洋略小的廣大水域。

江(ㄐㄨㄥ): 大河的通稱, 特指則為長江的簡稱。

河(ㄏㄜ): 黃河的簡稱。

漢(ㄏㄢ): 天河, 漢水的簡稱。

川(ㄘㄨㄢ): 大水。

湖 (フ×): 匯集大水的地方。

壑 (フ×ㄅ): 積水的坑谷。

澤 (フㄛ): 水流匯合之處。

潭 (ㄉㄣ): 深水池。

澗 (ㄐㄣ): 山間的水溪。

溝 (ㄍㄡ): 小河。

池 (チ): 挖地蓄水的地方。

溪 (ㄒㄧ): 山中流出的小河。亦作「谿」。

以上各字，均與「水」有關。只因大小、深淺不同，在讀音方面，也有適度的差距。其中海字从每聲，古每母同字，海爲水之母，聲亦兼義；母字古音讀ㄇㄩ，本來也很響亮。

〔例五〕

蒙 (ㄇㄥ): 覆蓋；闇昧不明。如：教幼童讀書稱爲「啓蒙」。

矇 (ㄇㄥ): 日光不明。

朦 (ㄇㄥ): 月光模糊不清。

矓 (ㄇㄥ): 目光不明。

濛 (ㄇㄥ): 下小雨而遠近模糊不清。

瞢 (ㄇㄥ): 視線模糊。

夢 (ㄇㄥ): 睡眠中的幻象。

亡 (ㄨㄥ): 逃走不見面。

忘 (ㄨㄥ): 不記得了。

盲 (ㄇㄥ): 瞎眼看不見。

茫 (ㄇㄥ): 晦暗而看不清的樣子。

沒 (ㄇㄛ): 沈入水中，隱藏不見。

歿 (ㄇㄛ): 死亡。

眊 (ㄇㄠ): 眼昏花不明。

莫 (ㄇㄨ): 是「暮」的本字，借爲否定之意。

暮 (ㄇㄨ): 日落黃昏時。

幕 (ㄇㄨ): 四圍相合的帳幔。

冪 (ㄇㄨ): 遮蓋他物的覆巾。

昧 (ㄇㄟ): 天將亮未亮的時候。

寐（ㄇㄟ）：睡眠狀態。

晦（ㄏㄨㄟ）：昏暗，隱藏。（古音ㄇㄟ，从每得聲。）

冥（ㄇㄧㄥˋ）：昏晦不明，愚昧。

𦣻（ㄇㄧㄥˋ）：同「冥」，是冥的累增字。

瞋（ㄇㄧㄥˋ）：雙目閉合。

眇（ㄇㄧㄠˋ）：一目有毛病。微小。

渺（ㄇㄧㄠˋ）：遠而看不清。

杳（ㄇㄧㄠˋ）：深遠，看不真切。

邈（ㄇㄧㄠˋ）：杳遠。

藐（ㄇㄧㄠˋ）：輕視；幽遠。

米（ㄇㄧˋ）：小顆粒，不容易看見。

眯（ㄇㄧˋ）：灰土進入眼睛，使眼看不清。

迷（ㄇㄧˊ）：心神不清，模糊不明。






謎（ㄇㄧˊ）：難猜、難解，不易明白的事理。

𥇑（ㄇㄧˊ）：雙目微合的樣子。




以上各字，均為聲母ㄇ或韻母ㄨ的字，字義多與「不明」相關，可知聲母、韻母相近相同，意義相通相引，而兼有層遞情形。

依舊說在形聲字中，有一類「會意兼形聲」的字例。本來會意（象意）字的組合關係著重在義，形聲（象聲）字的組合關係著重在聲，所以「會意兼形聲」之例極少。而在後人解說中，還包含了對後起形聲字結構的誤解：多將加形的累增字解為「會意兼形聲」。例如：

暮，从日从莫，莫亦聲。意義是日落黃昏時。

暮的本字就是莫。莫，甲文作，結構是日在艸下，象意，與杳之日在木下類似。金文增作，从日从，結構是日在中，象意。篆文作，楷書作莫，都自金文而來。在「莫」字中，已有「日」了，且意義也非常明顯而完整，按造字原則來說，是已經「完成」的字體。又加「日」作「暮」，就是累增，而不是真正的「會意兼形聲」。又如：

蔴，从艸从麻，麻亦聲。是皮中纖維可以紡紗織布的草本植物。

蔴，初文作，中間是（草本植物），下面兩筆表示分剝蔴皮。，是複體。後加广，因績蔴的工作，多在室內。又再加艸，也是累增。

累增的形成，常由於本來的字因引申或假借，又作別解，且有「喧賓奪主」之

勢，如「莫」，借爲否定之意；「麻」引申爲麻煩，紛亂之意。所以用累增的方式來「還其本義」。這一類例子極多，都不是真正的「會意兼形聲」。

三 二 用

「四象」，是實際造字的四種方式。但天下事物何止萬端，加上時代的進步、文化的發展，新的事物層出不窮，若一一都要「造字」，不但不勝其「造」，也不勝其「學」。因此除了「四象」之外，另有「二用」。二用的功能，不在「造新字」，而在「賦新義」；使已有的字，擴大其實質的「效用」，在意義上有新的發展，藉以補充字量的不足。

二用——轉注、假借，按許氏所訂的界說，轉注是「建類一首，同意相受」，重點顯然在「意」；假借是「本無其字，依聲託事」，重點顯然在「聲」。分述如下：

(一) 轉 注

「轉注」，是六書中引起爭議最多的一項，大致可分爲「互訓」與「引申」⁸兩種說法。互訓除了異體字（不同時、地所造的同義、同聲，異形的字）之外，餘如「通，達也」，「達，通也」；「老，考也」，「考，老也」，彼此以對方來相互解釋的互訓字，非常的少，何必獨立一書？若說是異體字，又太多了，而且負累大，效用小，又何須特立一書？

轉注的定義，許氏所定的界說中，只標出了「意」，而不及「聲」；正如他對假借所定的界說中，只標出了「聲」，而不及「意」。這是一個基本的認識。所以，若以「聲類」或「音轉」（雙聲，疊韻）來說轉注的，那只是自己的誤解或臆測，而不是許氏原本的意思了。

要說「轉注」，還是得從「建類一首，同意相受」八個字來研究。

建類一首，就是建立類別，區分部首。同意相受，就是意義類同的，可以相互授受。

在這個定義中，我們就可以了解轉注決不等於「互訓」；若以互訓爲限，不僅侵

⁸ 吳稚暉前輩於說文解字詁林補遺中說：


①「轉注之展轉引申，並能配合文字以造玄遠奧妙，向所未有之語言。故引人智至於愈深益密，直探化理之奧府者，即轉注之引申是也。」

②六書之分體用，楊升菴、戴東原已著其說。通觀許書十四篇之形體，說解不出於四象；而四象之外，獨欲闢出一轉注，謂與形體亦有關。此相等於「左回右轉」之野言，不必再論。

③形體之外，有採用可無窮之法，以不造字爲造字者，實有二事，引申與假借而已。互訓只居於不重要之地位，不過爲引申之產物；幾乎無引申，即無互訓，故互訓實爲引申之附庸。

④四象以造字爲造字，爲造字立其體；轉注假借，以不造字爲造字，其用將可無窮。


以上四點，吳氏已將轉注的大用闡明。

入了訓詁學的範圍，甚至更蔑視了「建類一首」及其由此引申的重要功能。而最有力的證明，無過於許氏自己舉的例子：「口，所以言食也。」口，本來是面部鼻下的一個器官，篆文作，象其形。用「所以言食」來說明其功能。而口部所屬的字，還不僅是言、食而已，呼吸、喊叫、呻吟、咏唱……等，都从「口」。這些字例的涵意不限於「口」的實體，而兼及口的功能。確切地說：言、食二字爲口的引申義，無待他求；因爲說文中另有言部和食部，就是最好的證明。由此可知：凡在同一部首中的單字，當它所从的部首不用本義，而用「引申義」的，就是「轉注」的主要功能。舉例如下：

〔例一〕

「心」部。心的本義是肉體中的器官，心臟。而从心的字，如：思想、意志、以及悲、愁、怨、怒、愛、惡的情感，無不屬於精神作用的現象，可知用的是引申義而不是本義。

〔例二〕

「虫」部。虫的篆文作，本義是虺蜥蛇；可是，从虫的字並不以蛇爲限。許氏自己藉這一「虫」部來充分發揮了轉注的義蘊，是「物之微細」，包括了「或行、或飛、或毛、或羸、或介、或鱗。」舉凡地上爬的、天上飛的、有毛的、有殼的、有鱗的……若干生物皆「以虫爲象」。這些生物和虺蜥蛇並沒有直接關係，甚至形象也不相同，何以都从「虫」，並以「虫」爲象呢？因爲「虫」字經過引申，已擴大了它的範圍，所以可兼作「同類」（同爲「生物」大類）的部首。許氏所謂「以虫爲象」，是一種象徵性的說法，不必拘泥。因此，或行，如蟻、蚓…，或飛，如蝗、蟬…，或毛，如蝮、蝱…，或羸，如蜾蠃、蝸牛…，或介，如蛤、蚌…，或鱗，如蛟、蚪…，甚至虹名蜺蜺、異物如蛾、如蛭、如蝮蛇……都歸屬「虫」部了。若非如此，世界上的微細生物，不下千萬，都要一一分類造字，勢必不勝其繁。「轉注」的另一功能，就在補救已有象形文的不足，或代替繁而不用已有象形文。虫部的字如蝙蝠的「蝠」，蜘蛛的「蛛」，古代都有象形文。但因轉注的功能，而變成从「虫」的形聲字，原有的象形文就廢而不用了。

〔例三〕

「犬」部。犬，就是狗。但是，狼、狐、獅、猩、猿、猴……都不是犬類，卻都从犬，所用的也是基於同類（四足動物）關係的引申義。


不但如此，犬部的字，且常與人事有關。如論語所記述：

孔子曰：「不得中行而與之，必也狂狷乎。」

狂狷，是孔子評論門下弟子的話，並有補充說明：「狂者進取，狷者有所不爲也。」可知並不是「壞話」，更不是拿人比狗；而「狂」「狷」二字皆从「犬」。

爲表揚某人某事，頒發「獎狀」以資鼓勵。獎狀二字，說文皆从「犬」（後誤以爲獎从大）。得「獎狀」的人，皆引以爲榮，也是用「犬」的引申義，而不是本義。因爲犬與人建立的關係，早於其他動物；這可從伏羲氏的「伏」字，人犬並列，本義爲「司也」，卽服伺之意，看出端倪。且古人得犬的助力甚大，因此，犬在人的心目中分量很重。

〔例四〕

「貝」部。貝是海介蟲，本作，是象形字。貝在古代的身價很高，受人重視，部中所屬各字因轉注的功能，凡財貨、買賣、寶貴……無不从貝，這也是引申義而非本義。甚至與「貝」同類的蚌，反而不从貝而从虫了。

其他，如从日、月，而有時間之意；从止、足，而有行走之意；从手而有工作之意；从目而有視義；从耳而有聽義…；所用的皆非本義，而爲引申義。許氏在說文後敘中自述「引而申之，以究萬原。」可知「轉注」乃是補新生義造字之不足，就原有字引申其義，化有限而爲無窮的妙法。

以上〔例一〕到〔例四〕是同一部首擴大意義，使能包涵更多相類的字，所用的「轉注」法。

至於部首以外的單字，亦可由轉注發揮引申的功能，而擴大其本身的意義。如：

〔例五〕

經，金文作，是縱絲在壬（織機）上的形象。後加糸爲經。

經的本義是：織機上的直絲。與緯相對，合稱經緯。它的引申義，如：

經度：世界地圖或地球儀上貫穿南北兩極的直線。如：東經、西經。

經典：古代聖哲所著，傳流於後世的書。



經歷：人生過程中的行爲及其紀錄。

經理：①經營管理。②負責經營管理的人。

以上是一字不變讀音，因引申而具新義的例子。

此外，在轉注中，常使一字略變讀音，而擴大了本身的意義。如：

〔例六〕

樂，甲文作，木上著絲，是絃樂器的形象。金文作，中間加「白」，表示以大拇指撥絃，本義是絃樂器。說文解爲「五聲八音總名」，也就是「音樂」。讀音是ㄌㄞˋ。

樂，又讀ㄌㄜˊ，是心中歡喜之意。如：快樂。


樂，又讀ㄌㄞˊ，是喜愛之意。如：仁者樂山、智者樂水。

樂，由音「樂」而快「樂」，而「樂」山「樂」水，是字音略改，而意義擴大的一例。

以上〔例五〕是一字不變讀音，經由轉注而擴大了本身的意義。如字典中一字多義，其例隨處可見。這是轉注的基本功能，也使中國文字發揮了更為廣泛的效用。


在中國文字中，常有部首不同，而意義相通的，如：

〔例七〕

生，甲文作，讀尸ㄌ。本義是艸木生出土上。引申為生育，為生命，為人生。姓名的姓，古時尚未造，因其與生有關，所以古書上只用生；性情的性，本來也沒有，也因與生有關，所以古書上也用生；這是轉注的功能。後來為了要顯示區別，才把姓氏之字加了女旁，性情之性加了心旁，這是轉注的結果。

〔例七〕與前六例的不同，是在另加表意的形符，變更了原來結構，勞榘教授依據這類情形，曾替轉注進一新解：「本有其字，因用增形。」⁴但這個解釋，對前述〔例一〕到〔例六〕都不適用，唯有〔例七〕的情形方合，自不能以偏概全。而就其字形結構來看，又變成「會意兼形聲」了。

〔例八〕

𠂔，金文作，讀ㄌㄞˊ。本義是刻齒於木片邊緣的信物；從中間分開，甲乙兩方各執一半為憑證。這個字累增的情況如下：

⁴ 勞榘教授學術論文集甲篇下冊，所收六書條例中的幾個問題一文中述及：

○劉歆是古學大師，近年新材料的發現以及新研究的發展，都對劉歆有利，且證明疑古派的誣告。

○許慎給轉注的定義是「建類一首，同意相受。」只涉及義的一方面，對形聲兩方面皆未涉及。若講轉注，只有根據這個定義去講。因此，轉注決非「音轉」。

這兩項意見都很精確。

勞氏又曾參照饒炯文字存真一文中「轉注所從同聲之字必包本義」的說法，對轉注進一新解：「本有其字，因用增形。」筆者的看法與勞氏不同，理由如下：

○字不改形，音不改讀（或僅限於破讀），由本義而引申新義，這是各別單字在轉注一書中的基本功用。其字若為部首，如本文二二——二三頁所舉心部、虫部、犬部、貝部各例，所屬單字不用部首本義、而用其引申義的，這是一羣單字轉注的重要發展。

○至於「因用增形」，是在本義引申新義後，為了免除視覺上發生的混淆，所以再加一形符，造成貌似形聲字。其在「加形」後被視作「聲符」的部分，本來就是轉注的主體，這一點很容易被人忽視，導致觀念上的偏差；而後加的形符，不過是輔助的性質而已。

○上述轉注的主體之必然含蘊新義，亦即顯示轉注的功能業已發揮。所以轉注的大用，在「引申新義」的第一階段已經具備，並不以再加形符為「必要」條件。至於後一階段所加形符，除了特殊情形如本文二六頁所舉〔例七〕及〔例八〕外，絕大多數只是從旁協助，便於閱讀的小用而已。

○因此，勞氏對轉注這一新解，既與許氏原定義相違，又將轉注局限於一小部分字例，降低了它在六書中的重要功能；難以認為恰當。

丰——𠂔——契——楔——（鏤）

丰是初文；𠂔，加刀，表示刻木；契，又加大，表示是大人（成年人）約定的行爲；楔，再加木，表示製作的材料；或改加金，表示到了用金屬的時期。

〔例八〕又與〔例七〕不同，是一個依次遞增的形式。如照勞氏的新解推演，將成爲楔（鏤）是契的轉注字，契是𠂔的轉注字，𠂔又是丰的轉注字了。若僅僅以此爲限，不但將轉注的字數削減，更要使轉注的功能萎縮。轉注一書的大用，不在形體的改變，而在字義的延伸擴展，如〔例一〕到〔例六〕所舉「建類一首」的心、虫、犬、貝、丕、樂各字例，與許說既可印證，與實際亦復相符。〔例七〕〔例八〕宜視爲由轉注發展而成的累增字，不是轉注的本源，而爲轉注的支派。

〔例九〕

从「口」與从「欠」通，如：嘆、歎同，咳、欬通。

〔例十〕

从「口」與从「言」通，如：噪、譟同，咏、詠同。

〔例十一〕

从「言」與从「欠」通，如：謹、歡同，訢、欣同。

「口」、「欠」、「言」各部，因意義類同（同屬口的活動）而互通。

〔例十二〕

从「彳」與从「辵」通，如：征、逞同，徂、退同。

〔例十三〕

从「止」與从「足」通，如：距、距同，踵、踵同。

〔例十四〕

从「足」與从「走」通，如：跳、趲同，躍、趯同。

〔例十五〕

从「辵」與从「廴」通，如：巡、逕同，迴、廻同。

「止」、「足」、「彳」、「辵」、「走」、「廴」各部，因意義類同（皆與腳的動作有關）而互通。

〔例十六〕

从「目」與从「見」通，如：睞、覷同，睹、覩同。

「目」、「見」，因意義類同（目，引申而有視意，同有用眼睛看之意。）而互通。

〔例十七〕

从「厂」與从「广」通，如：厦、廈同，厨、廚同。

「厂」、「广」因意義類同（同是人類居處）而可互通。

〔例十八〕

从「艸」與从「木」通，如：莖、榘同，藁、榛同。

「艸」、「木」古字中可互通的甚多，因同為植物的緣故。有的字从艸又从木，如：藁、葉、菜、藁等，雖是加形字，也因此可知艸與木互通的關係。

以上〔例九〕到〔例十八〕，是部首不同，而「同意相受」可以通用的例子。但轉注的範圍很廣，不僅是互訓、重文而已。許氏以「建類一首、同意相受」來解釋轉注，實際是標出轉注的兩項條件，缺一不可。本文前舉口部、心部、虫部、犬部……各例，許氏自己有關的說解，尤為最佳的證明。可惜有些學者誤解上句，竟將同一部首的字，全歸於轉注，失之太泛，未免不切實際；有些學者只論下句，把轉注局限在互訓、異體上，又未免過於狹仄。自前舉例九至例十八來看，這類字例皆屬於重文，雖形可互通，而意不增值，在轉注中只是旁支，並非主體。由此可知：凡企圖強以「互訓」獨佔轉注的學者，不啻把許氏的二要件斷章取義，也是疏失而執誤的偏見。

（二）假 借

許氏給「假借」下的定義是「本無其字，依聲託事。」顯然是在「轉注」、「假借」間，畫出了明顯的界限：「轉注」的重點在「意」，「假借」的重點在「聲」；「轉注」是本有其字，由自己引申，「假借」是本無其字，向「他人」借用。

「文字」本是語言的形符，所以文字的讀音，依循語言而來。語言的產生，則基於事物：有新事物發生，即產生新語言；但語言產生的速度遠較文字的創制快，尚未及造字的新語言，即借用其他同音的文字，付託新義。

語言的產生雖快，但不及文字可以長久保存；因為語言可能因遺忘、改變而消失，也可能因時空隔絕而分歧。唯有仰賴文字的記載及流傳，或據以作深長的推敲與思考，才能保存它的生命，並且使它的內容更為精妙。

所以「假借」的功能，主要在借用其他同音的文字，來記錄新出而未及造字的語言；新出的語言，就因聲音的關係，付託新義於原有文字的形體。因被「借」的文字，只以「同音」為準，所以是有限度的。這樣的借字，可說是形聲字的先導。在我國文字中，形聲字的數量要占百分之九十，其創制多據假借的同音字加形符為偏旁而來——形聲字的聲符不兼義的，多屬於假借的延伸。形聲字的聲符兼義的，如由加形、累增而構成的「因用增形」，則屬於轉注範疇的輔助性質。

假借，只要是「同音」，於四象文字，無不可借。如：

𩇛，本義是「雲」，象形，借為「曰」，如「詩云」。

𣎵，本義是樹幹，象事，是「株」的本字。借爲紅色，如「朱紅」。

莫，本義是太陽將落時，象意，借爲否定詞，如「莫須有」。

假借的字例甚多，如：

卬，我，本義是有齒刃的兵器，借爲「自我」的我，爲第一人稱代名詞。

𠂔，予，本義是牽引緯線的杼，借爲第一人稱代名詞。

余，余，本義爲房舍，借爲第一人稱代名詞。

女，女，本義是婦女，借爲第二人稱代名詞。

爾，爾，本義是絡絲架，借爲第二人稱代名詞。爾，簡化爲尔，後加人旁作你。

它，它，本義是蛇，借爲第三人稱代名詞。它，變形與「也」混同。後加人旁作他。

其，其，本義是簸箕，借爲第三人稱代名詞。

以上各字都各有本義，假借爲代名詞。

之，之，本義是前往，借爲虛字。

乎，乎，本義是吐氣，借爲虛字。

兮，兮，本義是語氣延長，借爲虛字。

焉，焉，本義是黃鶯，借爲虛字。

耳，耳，本義是耳朵，借爲虛字。

於，於，本義是烏鴉，借爲虛字。

以上各字都各有本義，借爲虛字用。

百家姓中的姓氏，多爲假借，以開端「趙錢孫李，周吳鄭王」八姓爲例：如論本義，趙爲趨赴；錢爲田器；孫是子之子；李是木之名；周爲彫本字；吳爲娛本字；鄭是地名；王是火光旺盛……皆假借爲姓氏。

其他如：麥本字的「來」借爲「行來」的「來」；鳥名的「舊」，借爲「新舊」的「舊」；蟲名的「萬」，借爲「千萬」的「萬」；獸名的「能」，借爲「才能」的「能」；木枝茂盛的「未」，借爲「未來」的「未」……都是假借的。

假借的結果有三：

(一)久借不還，與本義並行，如𠂔字本爲跳舞的舞，後借爲有無的無，今二字並用。

(二)喧賓奪主，另造加形字，還其本義。如前舉「周」字，加形爲彫。

(三)假借字加形符爲偏旁，成爲新造的形聲字。大多數形聲字都循假借而來，原因在此。

四 結 論

中國文字的創始，源於圖象；圖象為先民「仰觀俯察，近取諸身，遠取諸物」的「寫實」，仿肖所見的形象，而予以刻畫。或取常態：日恆圓而作 ☉；月恆缺而作 ☾，星數多而作 𠬞。…或取特點：草葉上長作 艸；竹葉下披作 竹；牛角大作 𠂔，象鼻長作 𠂔。……這種創作過程，與科學精神是相吻合的。

六書的次第，始於象形、象事。靜態而具體的實物，屬於象形，動態或抽象的事物，屬於象事。不論象形或象事，都是獨體之文；所取象的對象，都離不開自然環境和社會生活。並隨著文化歷史的進展，由簡而繁，由基本的「獨體之文」而組合的「合體之字」，而意義擴展的轉注，及聲同意通的假借。

前賢多強調「六書為造字之本」，且為若干文字學者所篤信。但一經深入研究，這個說法在意義方面既失之含混，在程序方面又不免顛倒，是不足奉為圭臬的。

事實很顯然：生活事物在先，文字創造在後；文字乃依生活需要，隨著事物的發展而創造。六書是在文字大量創造以後，由學者研究歸納而得的六項原則。初期創造文字的人，決不可能先發明六書，然後以六書為「本」而創造文字；這是現代學者應有的認識。

因此，「六書為造字之本」的說法，當修正為：六書中包含的「形、聲、意」三要素，才是「造字之本」。

象形、象事，形之本。形不可盡象而象事，但必包含「意」與「聲」。

象意、轉注，意之本。意不可盡象而轉注，但必包含「形」與「聲」。

象聲、假借，聲之本。聲不可盡象而假借，但必包含「形」與「意」。

以形、意、聲為本而創造的中國文字，歸納而得象形、象事、象意、象聲、轉注、假借的「四象二用」六原則：四象造有形之字，二用造無形之字。有形之字有限，無形之字無窮。以無形補有形之不足，由有限發展到無窮，中國文字的遞嬗承傳，故能於空間見廣大，於時間顯綿延，在世界文字之林放一異彩。

這就是中國文字「象用合一」所發揮的大用。

在許氏說文解字中，共分五百四十部，但其中有若干部，並不是基本的「獨體之文」，而是複合的「合體之字」，可以歸併濃縮，以減輕學習負擔。如：

舛之 夊 斗；赤之大火；里之田土；青之生丹；風之凡虫；食之 𠂔 𠂔；香之禾甘；麥之來夊；鼻之自畀；以及林之二木；蟲之三虫……皆為合體之字。

依筆者研究，五百四十部中，合於「獨體之文」的，約有三百三十左右。（請參看拙作國字基本結構二四二頁。）換言之，許氏五百四十部首，若以「獨體之文」為限，而予以歸併濃縮，將可縮減二百餘部。

中國文字的基本構成分子——獨體之文的初形，都是仿肖實物的圖象，或取象於實物某一部分的縮影（如「一」之取象於一根手指，省略了手形）；這些「文字畫」的特點是具體、明確，可以一目了然，且不受地域或時代的限制。這類「獨體之文」的說解，也是直接、簡易，可以一言而喻的。以古人的質樸，絕不會繞著圈子講道理。

但是，中國文字經過了幾千年的演進之後，形體的變化增多，去古益遠，研究的學者日增，各陳己見。如說文解字詁林、金文詁林、甲骨文字集釋等書，所收的各種異體文字，及各家紛紜的說解，有時不但不能幫助對文字的學習和了解，反而增加了不少困擾及疑惑。

對於中國文字的形體，為了去訛存真，探本求源，我們必須獲致一項共同的認識：文字的根基必是「獨體之文」，獨體之文的辨識要領，在於獨體之文一定直接肖象事物，合於「具體、明確」的條件。凡是文字形體抽象而含混不明的，如非已經訛變，必是自「具體、明確」中衍化而來，決非原始形象。能探其源，即可明瞭實際，澄清真象。

對於中國文字的說解，為了解紛紜，執簡馭繁，我們必須了解古人的質樸單純。文字的本義，必為事理之當然，彼此才能溝通領會；所以文字的「本來之義」一定明顯易知，合於「直接、簡易」的條件。凡是字義的說解間接而繁難複雜的，如非附會牽扯，必自「直接、簡易」中擴展而來，能求其本，即可執簡馭繁，化難為易。

簡言之：凡獨體之文，它的初形如不合「具體、明確」的條件，難以一目了然的，必非本象；它的說解如不合「直接、簡易」的條件，難以一言而喻的，必非真解。這是基於本文有關各項的研究，所獲得的結論。

因此，探求六書精蘊之所在，列舉具體、明確、直接、簡易的實例，以期澄清「抽象、含混」的字形，修正「間接、繁難」的說解，實為目前研究整理中國文字的一項重要工作。

六書之新研究

杜學知

國立成功大學

目次

上篇

- 一、六書至漢無傳
- 二、六書說歧而三
- 三、六書爲造字之本
- 四、六書不可互兼
- 五、指事會意互誤說

下篇

- 一、象形
 - 甲、具體象形
 - 乙、抽象象形
 - 丙、附體象形
 - 丁、加體象形
 - 戊、聚體象形
 - 己 繁簡象形
- 二、指事
 - 甲、合體指事
 - 子、人物共見例
 - 丑、人體自見例
 - 寅、物體自見例
 - 乙、加體指事
 - 丙、義蘊指事
- 三、會意
 - 甲、標識會意
 - 乙、部位會意
 - 丙、同體會意
 - 丁、增省會意

戊、倒反會意

四、形聲

甲、形聲取象物聲說

乙、形聲合體必具取肖物聲之純音符字

丙、形聲字類例

五、轉注

甲、轉注注義說

乙、轉注注音說

六、假借

甲、假借造字說

乙、聲旁有義（轉注）無義（假借）之辨

丙、許書假借說評

一、上篇

一、六書至漢無傳

漢字相傳爲倉頡所造，距今已有五千年的歷史；在此五千年中，字形屢有演變，而以秦代爲一分水嶺：秦代發展了小篆，結束了以前的「篆書時期」；秦代又發展了隸書，從而開創了後來的「隸書時期」。篆隸之變，變圓曲之筆爲方直，圓曲之筆的字形，因係隨體詘詘，故富於「象形」的特徵；方直之筆的字形，因漸入於符號化，故只具有「表意」的特徵。

六書爲造字的條例，有此條例，而後文字創造發展之迹可尋；因乃形成六書之學，以爲說字的關鍵。然六書之學，究竟起於何代，今已不可考知；所可知者，六書必起於文字的「象形時期」；因文字象形，由文字的形體，既可窺知其創制的迹象，又可明瞭其發展的系統。漢字在小篆以前，都不脫象形的本質，因而六書之學，也就在這一時期形成了。

六書之名，最早見於周禮；周禮傳係周公所作，近人多所致疑，然其爲先秦之書，自屬可信。先秦正爲文字的「象形時期」，六書被用爲小學中說字的條例，可以推知六書說的完成，爲時已久。現在就殷代的甲骨文字和周代的鐘鼎文字看，已包括六書之全，是故六書可能就是殷末周初的產品。

六書在周代因屬顯學，故保氏教國子，先以六書；然有關六書之說，未聞有著作傳世。蓋文字在「象形時期」，去古未遠，六書之義，當爲學者所習知，以故口耳相

傳，未有成書。秦漢相繼，漢初雖已通行隸書，然篆隸初變，所謂隸書，名曰秦隸，亦稱古隸，與篆書極近。是故六書之教，至漢仍相承不改；蕭何草律，明定字學考試之法；許沖進說文解字表所云：「自周禮漢律，皆當學六書，貫通其意。」是也。

隸法初制，與篆書相近，如秦權漢量上字是其例。其後演變，距離越來越遠，到了東漢，發展為有挑法之隸，是謂漢隸，亦即現在楷書（晉隸）的前身；於是隸書與篆書，若但就字形而論，便成了兩種絕然不同的文字。

隸書始於秦而行於漢，其要在變篆文圓曲之筆而為方直，遂失卻篆文象形的本質；文字遂從象形過渡於表意，逐漸形成代表意象的符號。就文字的發展言，由繁趨簡，固然是一大進步；若就文字的創造言，因隸書的不象形，便不能從字形上，窺知其制作之意，又不能不說是一大退步。

文字惟在「象形時期」，始能發展而為六書之學；但漢時文字已入於「表意時期」，六書之學，因而失墜。許氏說文敘云：「今雖有尉律不課，小學不修，莫達其說久矣。」用一「久」字，可知有漢一代，一般人早不知六書為何事了。班氏藝文志云：「蒼頡多古字，俗師失其讀；宣帝時徵齊人能正讀者，張敞從受之，傳至外孫之子杜林，為作訓故，並列焉。」按志列杜林蒼頡訓纂一篇，杜林蒼頡故一篇。所謂蒼頡多古字，也不過是一些篆文，而俗師失其讀，遑論字義？音義尚且不明，遑論造字之旨？如此連俗師已不知六書，更無論於一般人了。

漢代通行隸書，不見篆文，因對壁經古文，反加非訾，如許氏說文敘云：「而世人大共非訾，以為好奇者也；故詭更正文，嚮壁虛造不可知之書，變亂常行，以耀於世。」因信隸書即古文：「稱秦之隸書，為蒼頡時書，云：父子相傳，何得改易？」更以隸書之形，說造字之意：「乃猥曰：馬頭人為長，人持十為斗，虫者屈中也。」進而以字解經：「諸生競逐，說字解經誼。」或以字斷法：「廷尉說律，至以字斷法：苛人愛錢，苛之字止句也。」即蒼頡篇中語，亦不能得其正解：「又見蒼頡篇中幼子承詔，因曰：古帝之所作也，其辭有神僊之術焉。」穿鑿附會，以至於此，故許氏深致其慨云：「若此者甚眾，皆不合孔氏古文，謬於史籍。俗儒鄙夫，翫其所習，蔽所希聞；不見通學，未嘗觀字例之條；怪舊藝而善野言，以其所知為祕妙，究洞聖人之微指。……其迷誤不諭，豈不悖哉！」段玉裁說文注云：「字例之條，謂指事、象形、形聲、會意、轉注、假借六書也。」其言是矣。

六書之學，至漢無傳，早在宋末的戴侗，便曾言及，如六書故自序云：

由秦而下，六書之學遂廢，雖有學焉者，往往支離傳會，而不適於道；至與曲藝小技，下為曹伍，故士益不屑，而其學益不講；千載而下，殆無傳焉。

清人吳錦章六書類纂原體篇云：

自暴秦焚書，改篆爲隸，而周官保氏之六書遂廢。

管樂六書稊秕跋亦云：

嘗慨篆變爲隸，六書之誼，浸以益微；說文之學，多廢不講。

六書之學失傳，由於篆隸之變，故在「象形時期」，雖童蒙亦所知者，到了「表意時期」，即使飽學多聞之士，亦難得洞明其旨。章學誠說文字原書後云：

六書小學，古人童蒙所業，原非奇異；世遠失傳，非專門名家，具兼人之資，竭畢生之力，莫由得其統貫。然猶此糾彼議，不能畫一，後進之士，將何所適從乎？

曾紀澤江氏六書說書後亦云：

古者五尺之童，足以知之，今之績學之士，窮年累月以求之，而不能盡合焉者，六書其一乎！非今之人，智不逮古如是其遠也！師承不絕，則淺顯而易通，苟失其傳，則易者難而顯者晦矣。鄭氏注周禮，舉六書之目，而不著其說；許叔重著其說矣，設辭簡略，不易驟明。

六書至漢，師承既絕，遂失其傳。許氏博采通人，著說文解字，乃於敍中，言及六書，並著其說，然此僅六書相傳之口訣，言簡意賅，取便記憶。在文字「象形時期」，雖童蒙無不知之；若在文字「表意時期」，雖績學之士亦難明矣。

許書雖傳六書之說，然因限於時代，亦非究明六書者，故其書除偶言「象形」、「象某某之形」外，雖有言及指事處，則仍不出敍所言上下二字之例。其他都一律不標示六書，當亦不知蓋闕之義。呂思勉字例略說云：

六書之說，許似不甚明了。許說某字當屬六書之某種，而其實不然；及依許說，則在六書中無類可歸者甚多。卽如指事，許惟於上下二字言之，仍不出敍所言之外；轉注假借，則全書不及。夫許氏所斤斤焉自謂異於俗儒鄙夫者，字例之條而已；其所謂字例之條者，則六書而已；乃許於六書之說，茫昧如此，何哉？許書本博采而成，其敍亦然。六書之說，亦成說而許氏采之，其說本不過舉示梗概，未嘗卽當時之字，一一定其當屬何書，故許亦無從質言也。

許氏說解文字，不言六書，則許氏誠非洞明六書之學者。然在另一方面，許書的體例，而只就偏旁，排比若干受義不同的文字於一處，根本破壞了六書的系統。莊述祖說文古籀述證自序云：「其據形聯系，不以甲乙，但據偏旁，亦有不得已而然者。」又周濟說文字系序亦云：「許君以文、字相雜爲次，字不皆系于文，學者惑之，巧密故也。」許書以偏旁分部，「文」與「字」相雜，而莊氏言其不得已，周氏言其巧密，皆

因不便直斥許氏，故不免爲其迴護也。

許氏父子，一則曰：「俗儒鄙夫，未嘗睹字例之條。」一則曰：「自周禮漢律，皆當學六書。」而許氏自著說文解字，不論分部或說解，竟都不及於六書。可見許氏並非不欲言六書，而是限於時代，未能究明於六書，故只好闕而不論；而六書之說，也就千古不傳於世，在漢代稱爲古學，在現代幾成了絕學。

二、六書說歧而三

漢代傳六書者凡三家，所說六書的名目，次第、詳略等，皆有不同。戴震六書論自序云：

漢時之言六書也，說歧而三：一見周禮注引鄭司農解，一見班孟堅藝文志；其一則叔重說文解字序，頗能詳言之。班鄭二家，雖可以廣異聞；而綱領之正，宜從許氏。

從載籍上看，六書之名，最早見於周禮，如地官司徒保氏職云：「保氏掌諫王惡，而養國子以道，乃教之六藝：一曰五禮，二曰六樂，三曰五射，四曰五馭，五曰六書，六曰九數。」關於六書之說，鄭注引鄭眾云：「六書：象形、會意、轉注、處事、假借、諧聲也。」這是漢人所傳六書的條目。班固漢書藝文志亦云：「古者八歲入小學，故周官保氏，掌養國子，教之六書：謂象形、象事、象意、象聲、轉注、假借，造字之本也。」此外，如許慎說文解字敘，頗能詳言之：

周禮八歲入小學，保氏教國子，先以六書：一曰指事，指事者：視而可識，察而見意，上下是也。二曰象形，象形者：畫成其物，隨體詰詘，日月是也。三曰形聲，形聲者：以事爲名，取譬相成，江河是也。四曰會意，會意者：比類合誼，以見指撝，武信是也。五曰轉注，轉注者：建類一首，同意相受，考老是也。六曰假借，假借者：本無其字，依聲託事，令長是也。

由上所述，可知六書之傳，周禮但言六書之名；至於條目，說歧而三，遂有鄭班許三家之不同。後代研究者，究以何說爲信乎？要想解決此一問題，應先考求三家時代之早晚；時代越早的人，因去古越近，則其說也越爲可信。關於三家的早晚，王鳴盛六書大意，曾詳爲考之云：

考後漢書，鄭眾卒于章帝建初八年（公元八三年），班固卒于和帝永元中（知按永元元年爲公元八九年），而許慎自述其作說文，始于永元十二年庚子（公元一〇〇年），至安帝建光元年辛酉（公元一二一年），慎已病不能行，遣其子沖齋詣闕以獻，凡二十二年書始成，則鄭班二人皆在慎之前頗遠。說六書不同者，慎改鄭班，別有所據。

據此所考，則以鄭氏的時代為較早，自應以鄭說為準才是。然有人認為班氏的藝文志，係轉錄劉歆的七略而成，則班氏所傳的六書，正是劉歆之說，自然劉歆的時代為更早。況且六書之學，到了漢代的中葉，已成絕響，賴劉氏父子校書中祕，得為往聖繼絕學，自然劉說為較近古，為最可信，如廖平六書舊義所云：「說字為古學，皆源本劉氏（歆），班志蓋七略舊文；鄭許後師，悉本劉氏家法。」王闓運六書討原序亦云：「六書之分，僅存其說，劉班述之于前，許鄭區之于後。」此又主以班說為準。然上文所引戴氏之言，謂「綱領之正，宜從許氏。」則漢代傳六書者凡三家，而三家之說，固各有其所勝也。

今研究三家之說，各有所勝，既不應獨尊一家，亦不可偏廢一家。如許說最後出，然因為「頗能詳言之」，所以獨存了六書的解說，也就是自古相傳的六書口訣，為後代研究六書者惟一的依據。謂其為自古相傳的口訣：如廖平六書舊義云：「許序六書解語，皆先師相傳之說，非許君自撰；故許說于形、事二書，每不得本意，蓋不免循末忘本之失。」謂其為六書研究之依據：如王綏六書古訓自序云：「六書既成，敷于四海，乃作六條義類，十二韻語，以垂教萬世；而屬字成文之法，亦具是焉。」

六書的條目，三家所傳不同，必須先為考定，始能有所憑藉。廖氏也認為應以班說為準：

班志前四書皆名「象」，此說最古，得真實義；鄭許意雖相同，但名目改易，遂啟後來異說，使班氏最初之意反不明，故當急明班說以救之。

漢代三家所傳六書的條目，雖然用語不同，然只限於三書；其他三書，則是完全相同，如象形、轉注、假借便是。至於用語不同的三書，所不同者，也只是上一字，而下字則都相同；由此得到一個啟示，就是六書條目所重的是下一字，而不是上一字；所以上一字有所不同，是無關宏旨的。例如班說的象事，鄭言處事，許言指事；班說的象意，鄭許皆言會意；班說的象聲，鄭言諧聲，許言形聲；是三家所不同者，只是上一字，上一字既不關重要，所以可以用此字，也可以用彼字，意思是一樣的。因為表意的主詞在下一字，而上字不過是一限制詞而已。如象事一書，鄭言處事，意謂處理其事；許言指事，意謂指明其事。象意一書，鄭許皆言會意，意謂會知其意。象聲一書，鄭言諧聲，意謂諧和其聲；許言形聲，意謂形容其聲。必須這樣的解釋，然後才與班說的名目不異，也就可以使三家所說的名目，完全統一起來。後人不明於此，特斤斤於上一字，如說指事為指畫，說會意為會合；至於說形聲為半形半聲，尤覺附會之甚，黃以周六書通考云：

形聲先鄭謂之諧聲，與象形、指事、會意、諧聲，皆上字虛下字實，文法一

律。許謂之形聲者，名之形于聲者也；樂記云：「感于物而動，故形于聲。」又云：「情動于中，故形于聲。」形聲二字出諸此，與諧聲之意一也。舊解以形聲爲半主形半主聲，非許意。

是許君言形聲者，即樂記所言形於聲者也。形於聲，即知上字虛下字實；上字虛，所以可以換字，形聲也可以作諧聲。然爲了免於誤會，還是班說的四象爲最好；四書的上字，都用一個「象」字，要想有所分別，只有從下一字立論。前引廖氏又云：

近人講六書，惟知許義，不能推見原始；皆就敍說名目，穿鑿附會。又但知詳上四字，而不求下四字實義；故說解林立，而眞解仍祕。形聲二字，異說尙少。解指事者，皆就「指」字立義，以爲指畫之形，而不知「事」字爲何義；朱王二家指事門，雜引象形中種象字以爲指事，猶不過百餘字。會意中，牽引象事門中合體字，但知會合之義，無復意旨之分。于是六書之名，混而不清，皆解上四字不解下四字之過也。

廖氏此論，可謂一針見血，深中一般研究六書者之通病。六書名目，三家所異者只三書，而三書所異者只上一字；現知六書所重在下一字，既下一字不異，也就證明三家所傳六書名目，本意是相同的；而研究的人，妄生差別，只緣沒有先就三家名目，作一比較貫穿而已。

三、六書為造字之本

班氏獨言六書爲造字之本，這一提示，對六書的研究是很重要的；因爲有此一說明，使我們在研究六書之時，能先具有一個概念，就是：六書實爲漢字制作的六種法則。這樣，便對六書的內容，有了限定：正的方面，既可以明白六書係爲造字而立的；然與造字相對的是用字，故反的方面，也不至誤認六書會牽涉到用字。如此，就造字的範圍，加以認取，即使不能完全得其眞象，但絕不會相差太遠。可惜歷代研究六書者，多不重視班氏之所言，而至於妄逞私臆，以爲六書之中除了造字的法則外，還含有用字的法則，於是六書不盡爲造字之本，於是六書有了軒輊。明代楊慎首倡六書可分經緯說：

六書當分六體，周官之名曰：象形、指事、會意、諧聲、假借、轉注，舊矣；班固曰：象形、象事、象意、象聲、假借、轉注。余獨舍經而有取于孟堅焉，非好異也，以其因名而可以得義也。固意若謂六書四者有象，故以象名；假借轉注，則隱於四象之中，而非別有字也。大抵六書以十爲分，象形

居其一，象事居其二，象意居其三，象聲居其四；假借則借此四者也，轉注則注此四者也。四象以爲經，假借轉注以爲緯。四象之書有限，假借轉注無窮也。（假借者，借義不借音；轉注者，轉音而注義。）

此以六書分經緯，經爲造字之本，緯爲用字之法，清王筠說文釋例更明言之：「象形、指事、會意、形聲，四者爲經，造字之本也；轉注、假借，二者爲緯，用字之法也。」到了清朝的戴震，另分六書爲體用，與經緯說用意相同，如答江慎修論小學書云：

大致造字之始，無所憑依，宇宙間事與形兩大端而已：指其事之實曰指事，一二上下是也；象其形之大體曰象形，日月水火是也。文字既立，則聲寄於字，而字有可調之聲；意寄於字，而字有可通之意；是又文字之兩大端也。因而博衍之，取乎聲諧曰諧聲，聲不諧而會合其意曰會意。四者，書之體止此矣。由是之於用，數字共一用者，如初哉首基之皆爲始，印吾台予之皆爲我，其義轉相爲注曰轉注；一字具數用者，依於義以引伸，依於聲而旁寄，假此於彼曰假借；所以用文字者，斯其兩大端也。

戴氏爲有清一代學術重鎮，其說一出，學者景從，如朱駿聲亦主六書體用之說，概括戴氏之意，不過說的更爲簡明而已：「天地間有形而後有聲，有形聲而後有意與事，四者文字之體也。意之所通，而轉注起焉；聲之所比，而假借生焉；二者文字之用也。（見說文通訓定聲自敘）」戴氏分六書爲體用，當是受了楊氏經緯說的影響，自非戴氏之創見，然一經戴氏說出，便認爲天經地義，不容置疑。如他的大弟子段玉裁注說文，便這樣說：「戴先生曰：指事象形形聲會意四者，字之體也；轉注假借二者，字之用也。聖人復起，不易斯言矣。」此外，張度說文解字索隱，亦引戴氏此說，以爲「千古不刊之論」。就二氏之所言，似六書之分體用，乃屬絕對之可信，在未經多方面取證以前，可謂專輒之甚。

六書或分經緯，或分體用，若以四經四體爲制字，二緯二用爲用字，則自古相傳造字之本的六書，便只剩下了四書，不能不令人有所致疑，如王榮與趙撫叔大令書所云：「自來言六書者，皆以四象爲經，注借爲緯，是名爲六書，實止四書矣。」葉濬六書轉注說亦云：「六書皆言造字之體，而治小學者，或分轉注假借爲用，則是指事象形形聲會意四書而已，何言六也？」

六書爲造字之本，各有所當，故應平列視之，既不可妄分經緯，亦不可妄分體用。黃以周考老轉注說云：「象形象事象意象聲，爲造字之本；轉注假借，亦造字之本也。此說見漢書藝文志，而無可違異者也。」王榮六書解序云：「夫近世言六書者，皆

以指事象形會意諧聲四者，爲字之體；轉注假借二者，爲字之用；是以漢書藝文志，言六者皆造字之本。則懋堂直以爲紕謬，菴友亦以爲未允；曾不知班氏之言，乃至言也。」又黃以周六書通故云：「此六者皆古造字法，故曰造字之本；或以前四者爲體，後二者爲用，非也。」此外，孫雄曾有「六書皆造字之本，非有四體二用可分說」之文，亦云：「班孟堅許叔重之論六書，初未嘗有體用之說；實由此六者，皆造字之本，無先後之可軒輊。」

六書皆造字之本，而後人強分體用者，以轉注假借二書，求爲造字之說而不可得，故不惜別說爲用字之法，甘與古人所言者相背謬。如轉注一書，認爲應屬於用字，學者皆知其不然，如徐承慶說文解字注匡謬便云：

若謂轉注，所以用指事象形聲會意四種文字；以四種爲體，轉注與假借爲用，非古人稱六書之義。異字同義，互相訓釋，此後人訓詁，非前人之造字。字必有其義，轉注取一字之義，而滋數字，非卽互訓。

此言誤轉注爲互訓；異字同義，互相訓釋，乃後人之訓詁，非前人之造字。所見甚是。又鄭獻甫六書轉注說云：

後人不解轉注二字，乃替以互訓二字，於造字闌入釋字。夫古人欲造此一字，而先衍異文同義者以附之；則此一字外，皆贅設也。既造此一字，而必撰異文同義者以釋之；則此一字外，皆贅設也。當不愚且贅若此。

以轉注爲互訓，乃因後人不解轉注二字，遂於造字中闌入釋字；所言可謂一針見血。汪榮寶轉注說亦云：

六書造字之本，自劉歆班固，並有其說，不可以爲趙宋以後學者所創；今求轉注之說不得，妄欲以異字同義之例當之；爲其無當於造字也，不憚掃除數千載之舊聞，破滅六書，創爲四體二用之說，以自文其謬，而云「聖人復起，不易斯言。」此真許君所謂「俗儒鄙夫，怪舊藝而善野言，以其所知爲祕妙者也。」

此說尤爲痛快淋漓。有此三家之說，足可以關一般人之口；應知轉注乃造字之本，絕非用字之法也。

轉注一書如此，假借一書亦然，侯康說文假借例釋云：「假借爲六書之一，製字之時已有之，非用字之時始有之也。」由此看來，轉注假借二書，既都屬於造字，則戴氏四體二用之說，根本不能成立，更無論於「不易斯言」「不刊之論」了。然一般學者，所以隨聲附和者，多因昧於轉注假借，各有造字用字之分；以後世用字之轉注假借，強說六書造字之轉注假借，自不免見笑於通人，故應當分別觀之也。前引孫雄之文便云：

凡所謂轉注假借，皆指造字之本而言，的然無疑。若以後起訓詁之互注爲六書中之轉注，是猶以經傳文字之假借爲六書中之假借；均郢書燕說耳，非蒙所敢阿附也。

近人章炳麟小學答問亦云：

轉注假借，悉爲造字之則。汎稱同訓者，在後人亦得名轉注，非六書之轉注也；同聲通用者，在後人亦得名假借，非六書之假借也。

蓋轉注假借，各有二義，即造字與用字之不同；是故六書中之言轉注假借，與訓詁中之言轉注假借，絕然有異，豈可混爲一談！班固明言六書爲造字之本，無異爲六書先下了定義；後世研究者，不管能否通知其義，都不容有背此一原則。早在元代的李文仲字鑑序便說：「六書制字之本，雖蟲篆變體，古今異文，離此則謬。」清代吳穎芳說文理董後編亦云：「漢書藝文志云：六書者，造字之本。此語爲說文家之令甲。聖人復起，不易此言。」旨哉言乎！

四、六書不可互兼

六書爲造字的六種法則，必須有此六書，始能包含造字法則之全；這是前人由文字的創造方法，經歸納而得來的結果。所以必定是不多也不少的六種法則，並且也是最正確的法則；不然，也就不會有六書之說產生了。那麼，試舉一字，而考察它制作的方法，既屬於六書的這一書，自然就不屬於六書的那一書；如果一字而屬於兩書，換句話說，就是一字而有兩種或兩種以上的制作方法，那簡直是一種不可思議的事！事實上，果真有此情形的話，便表示文字的制作方法有了問題，也就是說六書有了問題。

文字的制作方法，一共才有六種法則，自然不會失之於太密；每一文字的制作方法，都能一書解釋明白，自然也不會失之太疏。但自秦漢以降，六書失傳，一般人用六書說明文字的制作而不可得，於是認六書爲不可盡曉。吳錦章六書類纂原體篇云：

書之用至博至曠，雖性敏者，莫能遽通；然綜其大體，厥爲六法；一法立，即有一法之字以隸之，字雖多而無窮，法雖簡而有定。持有定之法，察無窮之字，初則觀其淺近，終則究其深微，積久不已，於古人制字本意，皆可以求而得之。

話雖如此，然六書究屬難明，故學者所定六書的涵義，或失之太寬，或失之太嚴；或背於原旨，或謬於己見；於是以六書繩文字，或以文字證六書，不能盡合，至有六書互兼之說起，最先提出此一意見的，爲唐末的林罕，他在字源偏旁小說自序裏

說：「六書者，非止著一意而屬一字，一字之內，有占六書二三者。」林氏此論，影響到宋代的鄭樵，遂倡爲六書互兼之說，如通志六書略自序云：

有象形而兼諧聲者，則曰形兼聲；有象形而兼會意者，則曰形兼意。……指事之別，有兼諧聲者，則曰事兼聲；有兼象形者，則曰事兼形；有兼會意者，則曰事兼意。有諧聲而兼會意者，則曰聲兼意。

鄭氏六書互兼之說，共有六類，並分別列舉互兼之字，如形兼聲三十七字，形兼意五十字，事兼聲六字，事兼形十一字，事兼意十二字，聲兼意三百七十三字。

到了清代，六書互兼之說，幾爲學者一致所承認；最明顯的例子，如形聲一書，十九皆兼會意，於是不先假定六書可以互兼，則六書將不可以爲說。現在對零星談到六書互兼的，可以不提；其作有系統之敘述者，亦有數家，茲分別介紹於後：

朱駿聲作說文六書爻列，將說文所載九千三百五十三文字，依六書分別具列之，關於六書互兼者，共有七類：計象形兼指事六十九字，會意兼指事十六字，形聲兼指事六字，形聲兼象形五字，會意兼象形一百零五字，會意形聲兼象形十二字，形聲兼會意三百三十七字。

王筠說文釋例，亦主六書互兼之說，王綏曾述其互兼者凡十三類：曰以會意定指事，曰卽意卽事，曰指事兼形意與聲，曰借象形以指事，曰指事兼會意，曰象形兼會意，曰以會意定象形，曰象形兼意與聲，曰就意聲以爲形，曰會意兼聲，曰形聲兼意，曰會意兼象形，曰會意兼指事。王氏並於文字蒙求自序中云：「象形，則有純形，有兼意之形，有兼聲之形，有聲意皆兼之形；指事，則有純事，有兼意之事，有兼聲之事，有聲意皆兼之事；至於會意，或以意而兼形，或以意而兼事。」此雖僅及三書，亦係六書互兼之說也。

又張度說文解字索隱六書易解，列六書相兼者，凡十二類：曰指事兼象形，曰指事兼形聲，曰指事兼會意；曰象形兼指事，曰象形兼聲，曰象形兼會意，曰象形兼聲兼意；曰形聲兼指事，曰形聲兼意，曰形聲兼聲；曰會意兼形，曰會意兼意。

此外，王綏曾撰六書互兼較一文，對於六書互兼之說，推論尤詳，其說云：

今由許君之說推之，兼二者十有四：巢西之類，則事兼形；杲杳之類，則事兼意；𣎵𣎵之類，則事兼聲；𣎵𣎵之類，則事兼借。云雨之類，則形兼事；白米之類，則形兼意；薦阜之類，則形兼注。晨瞿之類，則意兼聲；萑萑之類，則意兼注。敎東之類，則聲兼意；宮寢之類，則聲兼注。烏莧之類，則注兼形；軍隸之類，則注兼借。友尾之類，則借兼意。兼三者四：金齒之類，聲兼形意；旁𣎵之類，聲兼事意。𣎵𣎵之類，注兼事意。倉龍之類，借

注兼意。凡六書互兼者，十有八類。其或未備，由此推之可也。

鄭氏初立六書互兼之說，只限於二書互兼，到了清代的朱氏，除了二書互兼以外，並增列三書互兼一類；及至王筠，除了二書三書互兼以外，又增多四書互兼一類。二書互兼，則一字的制作方法，同時屬於兩書，如常說的形聲兼會意，便是同樣的一個字，既屬於形聲，又屬於會意，實不足以令人相信；爲什麼一個字，用形聲的方法創造了，而同時又合於會意的方法呢？這充分證明了形聲和會意二書，有不能分別之處；其所以不能分別者，並不是六書的原來情形，如果原來就不能分別，便不會分立而爲兩書了。蓋六書失傳之後，後人對六書，遂不能嚴爲分別，於是一字可兼二書三書，以至於四書；一字的制作，佔去全部法則的三分之一，已覺不大合理，今更說有的字可以佔到二分之一，甚至三分之二；幾乎全部的法則，對一字的制作，都有關係，豈不滑天下之大稽！因而造成六書不可類分說，王鳴盛蛾術編六書分君臣佐使條引江聲云：「六書中，惟象形字可獨用一書成文，其餘則或兩字或三字配合，不得不兼三書兩書；不可以某字屬某書，截然六分之也。」又羅汝懷六書統考自敘亦云：「大抵六書中，指事會意象形字不多；惟諧聲爲多，然猶可指數；不似假借之不能紀極，故六書不能類分也。」設六書果不能六分，則何言六書乎？故又知六書互兼之說，爲不可信也。

自鄭朱王張四家，所定六書互兼之說，雖互兼各類，類之多少，各有不同，然只限於指事象形形聲會意之四書，至王綏則擴及轉注假借二書；如此，則六書無不互兼，便六書中無一書能夠獨立。考古人歸納造字的法則，建立了六書，不至於疏略有如此者。單從這一點看，亦覺六書互兼之說，絕對不能成立。

王綏著六書互兼較，以爲六書互兼之說，自許氏已先發之，其言云：

六書之興也，各一其義；設亦有互兼者，此理自許君首發之，所謂從某某亦聲、從某某省聲；是某亦聲者，聲兼意也；某省聲者，聲兼注也。

這一段話，完全爲六書互兼之說找根據，然因許氏未曾明言六書可以互兼，便不惜從許書中，穿鑿附會，以就已意。許言某亦聲某省聲者，只是許書說解文字所創的用語，怎能會有六書互兼的嫌疑呢？

六書互兼之說，從各方面看來，既都不可爲信，故今研究六書，應先一洗互兼舊說，還六書各一其義的本來面目，才能得到六書的真象。

五、指事會意互誤說

許說指事云：「指事者：視而可識，察而見意；上下是也。」又說會意云：「會意

者：比類合誼，以見指撝；武信是也。」今觀二書所舉例字，指事之「上」「下」，實屬會意；會意之「武」「信」，實屬指事。既例字二書互誤，則歷古相傳二句八言之六書口訣，亦顯屬互誤。如指事之「視而可識，察而見意。」此言會意也。凡會意字，意皆在字形之外，故有「視」與「察」之不同，並有「可識」與「見意」之相異。蓋會意字，形（字形）實意虛，初視但識其實形，細察始見其虛意也。又「察而見意」句，見意即會意，本甚明白，惟因許書誤述爲指事，舊本遂避「見意」二字，改爲「察而可見」，以期遷就許說；至段氏注說文，始依顏氏藝文志注訂正，並云：「意，舊音如憶；識、意在古音第一部，以下每書二句，皆韻語也。」是也。

他如會意之「比類合誼，以見指撝。」此言指事也。段氏注云：「指撝與指摩同，謂所指向也。」按指撝正指事一語「指」字之變言耳。「以見指撝」之言指事，「察而見意」之言會意，皆於口訣本身以著六書之名目。指撝謂所指向，亦就指事字立說，因指事字所象之事，有指向，有動作，有進行，有功用，即所謂指撝也。又指事字，不論「人體自見」或「人物共見」，自亦屬之合體之字，故必須「比類合誼」，而後始能有見一事之成功；是則人與人，人與物，物與物，皆賴比其類而合其誼，可證「比類合誼」之說，應爲指事也。

指事與會意互誤之後，言六書者，不敢有所致疑，於是但就互誤之口訣及例字，加以附會彌縫，以圖自圓其說；然而彌縫愈甚，則其去真愈遠。請試就例字論之，如說文一上上部云：

二、高也；此古文上，指事也。凡二之屬皆从二。上，篆文上。（依段注訂）

徐灝說文解字注箋：

上下無形可象，故以一畫作識，加於上爲上，綴於下爲下，是謂指事。自序曰：「指事者，視而可識，察而見意」也。不以爲會意者，意屬於虛；凡有事物可見者，皆指事也。

姚文田說文論云：

上下之字，必先列一畫，而施直畫上行謂之上，又施直畫下行謂之下；此直畫者，非形非義，但以之表識而已。……本末言木之上下，其爲地不可得名，則以「一」上下識之，使人察之而自喻也，故曰可以「見意」。

又說文下字云：

二、底也；从反二爲𠄎。下，篆文下。（依段注訂）

林義光文源云：

按古作𠄎（番生敦），从一，以「一」識其下。

上下二字皆从一，此一乃一抽象之象形，然後以一「短一(或作丨)」識其上則爲上，識其下則爲下，實屬「標識會意」之例。凡會意字，所謂「意」者，乃抽象之意，非具象之意，故無形可見，名之曰「虛」。如上下二字之意，本屬無形，顯屬抽象之意，而制字不得不以形表之，故以一標識符號，識於一之上下以見意也。標識符號因非事物之形，故仍不脫虛象之範圍，用以標識上下之意，故爲「標識會意」也。標識會意爲會意字之一種。今由上下之例字而言，知其確爲會意，而非指事矣。

早在清代，吳穎芳說文理董後編卷一，於說文繫傳祛妄篇刃字下云：

指事說爲「視而可識，察而可見。」與會意相近，不煩爭也。

此就六書口訣而言，以見會意一書，誤認爲指事也。又時人唐蘭古文字導論云：

像二𠄎這類字，古人以爲指事，其實只是象意。

此就上下例字而言，以見會意一書，誤認爲指事也。既然六書之指事，實屬會意，因疑指事一書爲虛立，如唐蘭甲骨文編序云：

蓋漢人所謂六書者，指事象形形聲會意轉注段借是也。然其說實出於晚周，施於古文字未能合也。故上下之字，本象其意，而誤謂爲指事；指事之名，實虛立也。

又古文字學導論云：

指事這個名目，只是前人因一部分文字無法解釋而立的；其實這種文字，大都是象形或象意；在文字史上，根本就沒有發生過指事文字。這種說法，當然要招致守舊的先生們的譁議，但這是事實。

六書之指事，本爲會意；而許書誤述爲指事，則係指事與會意互誤；並非會意單誤爲指事，亦非原無指事之名，而謂指事爲虛立也。

指事之上下二例字，既確然爲會意，而會意之武信二例字，則亦屬之指事也。說文十二下戈部云：

武，楚莊王曰：「夫武定功戢兵，故止戈爲武。」

于省吾殷契駢枝三編古文雜釋云：

古文从止从辵从走，每互作無別，均有行動之意。武从止从戈，本義爲征伐示威；征伐者必有行，止卽示行也；征伐者必以武器，戈卽武器也。許氏以楚莊王說武之斷章取義爲武之本義，豈其然乎？

武字从止从戈，本義爲征伐，是也。从止，人足也；从戈，兵器也。取象步武疆場，持兵而戰之事，故武爲指事字，从止人也，从戈物也，爲「人物共見」之例，而許氏誤爲會意。又說文三上言部云：

信，誠也。从人从言，會意。

徐氏說文注箋云：

魏志武帝紀：「馬超等屯渭南，遣信求割河以西請和。」公孫瓚傳：「道路隔塞，信命不得至。」晉書王濬傳：「濬將至秣陵，王渾遣信要令暫過論事。」毛寶傳：「若不及前信，宜更遣使。」皆謂使爲信，蓋古義也。

信爲人所傳言，故本義爲信使字。傳言是事，故信爲指事字。其字从人，人也；从言，人言也；爲「人體自見」之例，許亦誤爲會意。

許說指事會意二書，既顛倒錯亂，於是後之言六書者，皆以會意當指事，而指事之眞解反晦矣。孔廣居論象事云：





說文敘以象事爲指事，舉上下二字爲例，而注中但于上字注明指事，徐楚金又于本朱馬 𠂔 等四十餘字，補注指事；其意蓋以一上加丨，指其處爲上；一下加丨，指其處爲下；故凡文字之加一二點畫者，皆謂之指事也。

凡文字之加一二點畫者，乃屬加標識會意之字；既許氏以上下二字爲指事於前，而徐氏復以本末朱四十餘字爲指事於後，於是誤以會意爲指事，乃爲學者所公認矣。

指事會意二書互誤之後，學者既以會意當指事，反之，亦有以指事當會意者，如葉德輝六書古微所云：

會意與指事同一條貫，尤可于本書字證之，如口部：「囙，廁也；从口，象豕在口中也。會意。」是指事明稱會意矣。何以犬出戶下之「戾」，𡩂在木上之「巢」，馬在門中之「闔」，不名之曰會意？可知意可會，事亦可指，其理同也。

許謂囙爲會意字，而葉氏謂囙戾巢闔等字，皆應屬之指事，甚合六書之眞。唐蘭古文字學，曾舉相問伐囙牢等字，以示其人物相關的形態或動作，實際上說明了指事字的特徵，然唐氏又否認應有指事字之存在，是猶未達一間也。其言云：

表示人和人，人和物、或物和物間一切形態或動作的文字。……雖也用圖形，卻儘量的簡略。表示一個人在瞧或說話，只要畫一隻眼或一張嘴，例如相字表示審視樹木，問字表示在門裏問話之類。一個人拿戈砍死別人，只要畫作 ，把主動的人省去，只畫一手。豕在豕裏畫作 ，而  和  卻只畫牛羊的頭。這樣看來，……只要把一件事實的要點扼住，使別人能懂得就夠了。

依理言之，指示會意二書互誤，則二書自可互認；葉唐二氏所舉各字，本爲指事，而一般卻誤爲會意，自非意可會事亦可指，會意與指事同一條貫也。

二、下 篇

一、象 形

甲、具體象形

許氏說文敘曰：「象形者，畫成其物，隨體詰詘，日月是也。」孔廣居論六書次第云：「形者，物之形。」許書引孔子說：「牛羊之字，以形舉也。」是所謂「畫成其物」也；「視犬之字，如畫狗也。」是所謂「隨體詰詘」也。故象形者，乃象物類之形也。

萬物皆有形，故象形實即象「物」也。陳衍說文舉例卷一云：「象形如稱象物，尤易別於象事，左傳「百官象物而動」是也。」又王筠說文釋例卷一云：「天地間物與事而已，有形者謂之物，故虫隹之屬，至渺小矣，然亦有形可象也。」胡鑑玉六書淺說象形釋例亦云「倉頡造書，近取諸身，遠取諸物；天地之間，有物即有形，有形即可象。」有物即有形，故六書惟言象形，王應電同文備考序云：「夫三才萬物，靡不有形；象形者，肖其形而識之，日月星雲，水火山石，此字學之本也。」

象形文字，皆象物形，雖僅象其大略，而點畫之間，不特取肖物之狀貌，而且傳移物之情態，故能生動有致；用以表意，使人一望而知，無煩解說。徐紹楨六書辨云：

許君舉日月二字，太陽之精不虧，故象其全形；月則闕時多圓時少，故畫半圓以象之。他如畫爲水，而波浪起伏之紋皆見；畫爲田，而溝塗經界之制皆通。飛禽則有鳥鳥，水族則有龜魚，無不曲肖其形。最奇者，同一人也，象其側立則作人，象其正立則作大。……所差者不過一畫二畫之微，而或長或短，遂使狀貌肢體，儼然如生。隨體詰詘之妙，固有如是者。

象形文字，爲取象物形，一如繪畫，此固指具體之象形而言，語其大類，誠如上引胡氏六書淺說所云：

天文之形，日月之類是；地理之形，山水之類是；人物之形，子呂之類是；植物之形，艸木之類是；動物之形，牛羊之類是；衣服之形，冂巾之類是；宮室之形，門戶之類是；器用之形，弓刀之類是。

天地萬物，雖至繁賾，然而應物象形，要不出此一範圍矣。

乙、抽象象形

象形者，象天地間萬物之形；然有形者可象，無形者則不可象矣。非特無形之物不可象，即有形之物，亦有爲象形所難者，不得不委曲宛轉以象之，王筠說文釋例卷四云：

屯下云：「難也」。此正義也，引易即正此也。又曰：「象艸木之初生，屯然而難」者，此班志所謂象意也。難之意無可象，借屯以象之。凡艸木之生，其根必直下，若根先曲，則生意不遂；惟其芽有所礙，始有曲耳。而屯字曲其尾者，字本取難意，不主艸而言，故曲其尾也。

屯字本象艸木初生之芽，而訓其義爲難，則不主於物之本身爲言，而軼於物形之外矣。難之義非物，無形可象，不得不輾轉以艸木初生之形，特曲其尾以示之，此象形字之深曲者也。於是象形有實字虛字之說，廖登廷六書說云：

有以字象物，字遂專屬其物者，如山水犬馬之類，段氏所謂實字者；有以字象物，而字不專屬其物者，如八夭交文之類，段氏所謂虛字者；無論虛實，皆象形也。

此所謂實字，實即具象之象形；此所謂虛字，實即抽象之象形。具象之象形，其義即在所象物形之本身，人所易知；抽象之象形，其義獨在所象物形之外，人多不曉，誤認爲六書之指事或會意，則失之遠矣。廖氏以爲「無論虛實，皆象形也。」是故不論具象之象形，抑或抽象之象形，皆應屬象形之範圍。

前人雖不知抽象象形之說，然深知與具象之象形有別；因抽象之象形，所象之物形，不能限定其確爲何物，謂此物可，謂彼物亦可，不能確指究爲具體之何物，是即抽象之象形也。王氏釋例云：







乚下云：「象形」。實指事字也。山有山形，水有水形，惟其爲物也；乚是何物而有形哉？且其說曰：「相糾繚也」。糾，繩三合也；繚，纏也；則是乚象繩形也。「一曰：瓜瓠結糾起。」則乚又象瓜瓠形也。且部中𠂔字說云：「艸之相乚者」。是凡物之糾纏者，無不可用乚也。況云相乚，是作動字用矣；乃許云象形者，凡物相乚，必有形也。

乚爲糾繚之義，所重爲糾繚，而不重爲何物，故謂繩之糾繚可，謂瓜瓠之糾繚可，謂艸之糾繚亦可；不定爲何物，是謂抽象之象形；而人皆目爲指事，故六書迄不能明也。

丙、附體象形

段玉裁說文解字注云：

有獨體之象形，有合體之象形；獨體如日月水火是也。合體者，从某而又象其形：如眉从目而以丿象其形，箕从竹而以𠂔象其形，衰从衣而以𠂔象其形，畹从田而以𠂔象耕田溝詰屈之形，是也。獨體之象形，則成字可讀；附於从某者，不成字不可讀。說解中，往往經淺人刪之。










段氏分象形爲二種：一獨體，一合體。獨體之象形，則成字可讀，卽所謂具體及抽象之象形字也。合體之象形，不成字，不可讀，如眉之象形作 ，衰之象形作 ，皆不成字，故皆不可讀；眉必加  附目以成字，衰必附衣以成字；凡此，其本體雖象形，然因不成字，必附偏旁以見之者，因稱「附體象形」。附體象形之字，其象形部分，因不成字，前人或誤爲指事；又因附偏旁以成字，或更說之會意；要之皆非是也。至於箕之象形作 ， 之象形作 ，皆成字可讀，不在此例。

附體象形，必附偏旁以成字，附卽附麗之義；因其象形部分，其形易混，不易辨識，不得不附偏旁以見之，王氏說文釋例云：

眉字之 ，乃眉形也，然與十二篇於小切之  無異，何以定其爲眉哉？

惟上有額理，下有目，則居其中者眉矣。

王氏釋例一書，對此等字，多有見到；除眉字外，曾舉米、面、臼、谷、果、石、目諸字，一一加以說明。茲再舉徐灝之說，其於說文解字注箋番字下云：

如  从首，象人面形，謂  象人面也； 从耳下垂，象形，謂  象耳垂也； 从口，上象其理，謂  象腭理也；……此皆不能合體成形。 象人面而合於首，是面上復有面矣； 象耳垂而合於耳，是耳旁復有耳矣； 象腭理而合於口，則理在口外矣；此不可不察也。凡許書言从某象形者，皆造字因其形簡略難明，故加偏旁建類，讀當以从某爲句，象形爲句。其但云象形者，乃爲全體形也。



許言从某某形，多係附體象形字，雖象形部分，不能獨立成文，要不害其爲合體象形字也。







丁、加體象形

加體形象，王筠謂之累增字，說文釋例卷八云：

其加偏旁而義仍不異者，是謂累增字，其種有三：一則古義深曲，加偏旁以表之者也（哥字之類）；一則既加偏旁，卽置古文不用者也（今用復而不用復）；一則既加偏旁，而世仍不用，所行用者反是古文也（今用因而不用拊）。

王氏獨知加體象形，故予以累增字之名，並舉例云：

 本田 ，加田仍是本義；而本兩鹿皮，加鹿仍是本義。

 字本作 ，故  爲古文；麗之古文，亦但作 。 象耕田溝詰詘之形，而象兩鹿皮形；然以其象形不明了，故再加偏旁以確定之。 字加田作 ，以定其必爲耕田溝之義；而字加鹿作 ，以定其必爲兩鹿皮之義；卽所謂加體象形字也。

加體象形，就象形字而加偏旁，其義不異，只是重文。然所加之偏旁，有表義與

標音之分：如上所舉，皆屬表義，所謂古義深曲，加偏旁以表之者是也。至於標音之偏旁，但用以注音，別無意義。茲更分別舉例說明如下：

表義之例，說文三下鬲部：「鬲，鼎屬。實五穀，斗二升曰穀。象腹交文，三足。甗，鬲或从瓦。」饒炯說文部首訂云：「其重文甗，由鬲而加瓦，以其器有用瓦者也。」按家語致思篇：「瓦鬲煮食」是也。蓋鬲已象形，初但爲瓦器，故又加瓦作甗也。

又說文三下又部：「𠂇，臂上也；从又从古文𠂇；𠂇，古文𠂇，象形。肱，𠂇或从肉。」按 𠂇 正象𠂇臂之形，惟其形不顯，故加又作𠂇，遂構成加體象形字。後又以𠂇之象形不顯，故又加肉作肱，遂再構成加體象形字。是肱者，就 𠂇 之純象形，加又、肉兩偏旁，是爲複偏旁字。𠂇-𠂇-肱三字重文，則肱二字，皆屬加體象形字也。

標音之例，說文五上竹部：「箕，籜也，从竹。𦏧，象形；下其𠂇也。𦏧，古文箕省。其，籜文箕。」按 𦏧 爲原始象形字，甲金文字尙多作此形，或加𠂇所以注音，饒氏文字存眞云：「𦏧象形，而籜文其，又从 𦏧 加𠂇聲。」而小篆又加竹旁作箕，亦屬複偏旁字，加竹所以表義，加𠂇所以標音也。

又說文七下网部：「网，庖犧所結繩以漁；从門下象网交文。罔，网或从亡。」徐灝說文注箋云：「网，象形，其形略，故又作罔；从亡聲，猶壘之从生聲也。」按罔罔重文，网爲象形字，罔又从网加亡聲，所以注音，是也。

戊、聚體象形

物有聚少成多以見形者，文字象形，自不能盡象其多數，故但列二三以象之；許書又字下所謂：「三之者，手之列多，略不過三也。」是故三者，表數之多也。然則，凡象形字，二三其體以成一字者，是爲聚體象形，蓋聚多數單體以爲字，卽所謂物有聚少成多以見形者矣。饒氏部首訂云：

呂，脊骨，謂人背正中節骨，數凡二十四；篆但象其二節者，亦手之列多，略不過三之意。與疊二文三文爲篆，例皆取眾多義同。

脊骨凡數十，而字但象其二，卽聚二以見其多。字象單節脊骨，聚其單體以成形，是爲聚體象形也。他如聚三成文者，王氏釋例云：

气下云：「雲气也，象形。」……气之形較雲尙微，然野馬流水，隨人指目，故三之以象其重叠，曲之以象其流動也。

雲气上升，團團縷縷，故字聚其團縷之形而象之。三之者，所以示其層疊而不窮也。彡字亦然，饒氏部首訂云：

本謂毛飾爲文曰彡，畫飾爲文亦曰彡；故从彡之字，或从毛取義，或从畫取義，不一。三之者，毛飾畫文之數無窮，因舉三以象其意，猶又下說手之

例，多略不過三也。

彡，或象毛飾，或象畫文；毛飾非一，畫文亦非一；三爲多數，故聚三體以象之也。

聚體象形，亦由單體之象形，聚二聚三以成字，然與「同體會意」字不同。聚體象形，其所聚之單體，雖象形而不能獨立成文；如呂之單體口，雖象脊骨，然不能獨立成字，推之彡二字亦然。至若同體會意之字，不論二合三合四合，論其單體，皆可獨立成文；二合如从林等，三合如磊轟等，四合如垚 𡵓 等，是其例也。

己、繁簡象形

同一物形，苟象其形以爲文字，乃有繁體簡體之不同。廖平六書舊義云：

作畫有大寫工筆之異，象形字亦如此，繁體工筆也，省體大寫也，二類形象不能不小異，舊說多以爲二字，𠃉 𠃊 燕 𠃋 之類是也。

𠃊之與𠃉，說文分爲兩字，五上 𠃊 部：「𠃊，𠃊盧，飯器，以柳爲之，象形。」又十二下曲部：「曲，象器曲受物之形。或說：曲，蠶薄也。」王筠說文釋例云：

五篇之 𠃊，去魚切；十二篇之 𠃉，丘玉切；本是雙聲，吾疑其卽是一字。

𠃊下云：「𠃊盧，飯器，以柳爲之，象形。」𠃉下脫去說義之詞，但存說形之詞曰：「象器曲受物之形。」上文 𠃊 部說曰：「受物之器，象形。」兩部相比，推知 𠃉 亦是受物之器。許君又引或說：「曲，蠶薄也。」雖仍是受物之器，然既區爲別義，則知 𠃉 形仰盂，當是飯器；此以字義推之，而知其可合也。𠃊有籀文 𠃊，則 𠃉 亦當依夢英作 𠃉，卽是籀文 𠃊；𠃊 𠃉 同向右，𠃊 𠃉 同向上，分繁省耳。

𠃊之與 𠃉，不特爲一字；而 𠃊 𠃉 與 𠃊 𠃉，亦一字耳；皆象受物之器，惟 𠃊 圓而 𠃉 方。段氏注云：「𠃊象方器受物之形，側視之；𠃉象圓其中受物之形，正視之。」是也。說文應分 𠃊 𠃉 一字，𠃊 𠃉 一字，皆一繁一簡形也。

𠃋之與燕，許書皆訓玄鳥，則 𠃋 燕同字也。又皆象形，而繁簡不一。段氏注云：

燕篆象其籀口布狻枝尾，全體之形；𠃋篆象其于飛之形（象翅開首竦，橫看之乃得）；故二篆皆曰象形也。

王氏釋例亦云：

𠃋 燕雙聲，蓋口語遞變；以臆揣之，上古名爲 𠃋，中古名爲燕；燕字詳密，𠃋 字約略似鳥形耳。

同一物形，而有繁簡二體，蓋緣於透視角度之不同，孫星衍重刊宋本說文序云：「象形：如人爲大，鳥爲於，龜爲龜之屬；有側視形，正視形。」因象形透視正側之不

同，而成字遂有繁體簡體之異。繁簡二體，初本重文，後或以重文使各專一義者，遂判然爲兩字矣。

二、指 事

甲、合體指事

近人宋育仁同文略例小篆通古文舉要云：

文字之應用，物名、事名、意名三類盡之。故統括部居：畫成其物之字，例如日月，爲物名詞；合二字取義，例如信武，爲意名詞；指其處所，例如上下，爲事名詞；西文例所謂字職是也。

宋氏物、事、意三類之分，若以六書說之，物謂象形，事謂指事，意謂會意；惟宋氏舉例，囿於叔重之說，未能嚴判指事與會意二書之別。事與物不同，事與意亦異，必須評定界說，始能各有旨歸。不然，則三者不免多所混淆矣。張行孚指事一文有云：「六書之例，惟指事一門，說文言之最少；故諸家說指事，往往與會意相溷，且有與象形相溷者。」是指事之易與象形會意二書相混，清人已先見到矣。

象形謂爲象物，自與象事不同。事謂人事，故指事字必由人見之。又凡一事之進行，有起有訖，有始有終，故大學曰：「物有本末，事有終始。」按一事之終始，在進行中則見動勢，在完成後則見功用；然則所謂指事者，第一須由人見之，第二須見動勢，第三須見功用；有此三者，可以備知其爲指事字也。

指事之字，須由人以見事，故其作字之法，多爲「人物共見」之例；然亦有「人體自見」及「物體自見」二者。要之皆合體字，由此以之彼，以見一事之進行，而有以示其動作或功用也。惟舊說指事與會意互誤，故原本指事之字，而誤謂爲會意，清人王舟瑤說文會意字舉例云：

會意之字，每合兩文：是故秦醫說蠱，有悟乎蟲皿；楚莊論武，取誼乎止戈。背△爲公，見於韓非之說；亡人爲匄，本乎遂安之言。以及曰辰爲晨，𠂔夕爲𠂔，推十合一爲士，以一卅三爲王，皆是也。

亦有會三字以見意者：黍可爲酒，从禾入水以成文；祭以事神，从手持肉而致示；釁爲血祭，字从釁酉而加分；夔乃營求，誼取穴人而使曼。是也。

有會四字以見意者：塵从广里而分土，暴从日出而收米。寒則人居乎宀，覆以𠂔而下有宀；眞則匕先乎目，加以冫而載以Ⅱ。是也。

凡此合體以見義，不論二體三體，以至四體五體，多應屬之指事；然因指事與會意二書互誤，故原屬指事之字例，學者多誤以爲會意。考合體之指事，不外人與物、

人與人、物與物之三種關係，茲更分別說明之如下：

子、人物共見例

指事之字，原屬合體，集單體字間之關係，以見一事之事象；而單體字固多象形，若變爲合體，則成爲象事字矣。廖氏六書舊義象意篇云：

象意字以數字合成一字，如夫婦會合而生子，其子於父母之外，自成形體，別具面目；如武字既不關戈義，又不可入止部；信字入人部既非，如言部亦不得；故別爲一類。

此以武信二字，說明合體字，「自成形體，別具面目。」卽以象形之單體字，合之以見一事之指向也。許言「比類合誼，以見指撝。」故指事字必爲合體，廖氏所謂「身物並見」，「半身半物」，是也。在早亦有言及者，明王應龍同文備考序云：

以形以意，合數文而爲經綸之象：从 𠂇 持肉于示爲祭事，从 𠂇 持弓矢爲 𠂇 事，从哭亡爲喪事，从目加木爲相度之事；故曰處事，謂以人處事；又曰指事，謂指人之事；卽古語象事之謂也。

又李元祉六書大略云：

指事，史聿之類是也；史指手持中，公天下之是非也；聿，古筆字，故書畫字从之，指手持平竹點漆書簡也。指事者，直指作事而言；或有以象形會意字解作指事者，微不致思耳。史聿字从 𠂇 者，卽古右手也，象右手之形，說文通訓作手。

指事一書，元明人所能確知者，後來人反多不知；因囿於許說，誤指事爲會意，但於會意中求之，則指事眞象，永不能復明於世矣。然清人亦偶有道及者，孔廣居論象事云：

象事類於象形，今試以形與事校之……采之爪在木上，馭之又在馬後，春之舉杵臨臼上，暴之奉米出日中，莫非事也。

采字從爪從木，爪，人爪也；木，物也。馭字從又從馬，又、人手也；馬、物也。春字從 𠂇 舉杵臨臼上，𠂇，人之雙手也；杵與臼，物也。暴字從 𠂇 奉米出日中，𠂇，人之雙手也；米與日，物也。凡此，皆合人與物見事之例。惟單體字，無論爪、木、又、馬、𠂇、杵、臼、米、日皆象形；若合爲複體字，無論采、馭、春、暴，又皆象事矣。

丑、人體自見例

孔廣居論象事云：「象事類於象形，今試以形與事較之，卽如 𠂇 𠂇 者，左右手也，形也；合左右手而爲 𠂇 爲 𠂇，則事也。又如 𠂇 者，足也，形也；反正其止而

爲𠂔爲𠂔，則事也。」若此合象形字𠂔又手，而爲指事字升與臼；合象形字止，而爲指事字步與夬；𠂔又與止，皆人體字，合之而爲指事，故純由人體以見事也，爲「人體自見」之例。廖氏六書舊義，稱曰純就人身耦體事例；此外，並有就身見事變體例，「如走、周、看、臥、𠂔、拜、曳、𠂔、因、比之類，是也。」茲就其確然爲人體自見之指事字，詳述二例如下：

說文四上目部：「看，睇也。从手下目。」徐鍇說文繫傳云：「以手翳目而望也。宋玉賦曰：若姣姬揚袂障目而望所思。」桂馥說文義證云：「九經字樣：凡物見不審，則手遮目看之，故看從手下目。」朱駿聲說文通訓定聲云：「凡有所望者，常以手加目上，障目聚光也。」知按看字，正是以手加目上之形，徐氏說文注箋云：「从手當爲指事」，是也。

說文，八上臥部：「臥，休也。从人臣，取其伏也。」桂氏義證云：「休，息也；日出而作，日入而息。釋名：臥，化也；精氣變化，不與覺時同也。」知按字從人從臣，許書：「臣，牽也，事君也，象屈服之形。」服伏字通，故言取其伏也。然許說臣字非其義，郭氏甲骨文字研究釋臣宰云：「字於卜辭作𠂔若𠂔；金文如周公殷『錫臣三品』作𠂔，令鼎之『臣十家』作𠂔，均象一豎目之形；人首俯則目豎，所以象屈服之形者，殆以此也。」知按臣象人目之形是也，若謂人首俯則目豎，則非。蓋以漢字下行，凡橫寬之字，則豎置之，取其行列整齊；人目本橫，作字則豎，臣字如此，目字亦然。臥字玉篇訓爲眠也，人眠則目閉，故字從人從臣，以見人臥目閉之義。徐氏說文注箋云：「此指事，非會意也；若會意，則是人臣爲臥矣，其可乎！」是也。

寅、物體自見例

物體自見，乃物與物相成以爲事；凡事必由人見之，今物體自見，非無人也，蓋省之也。廖氏六書舊義象事篇，有「以物制物，合二物爲字，體繁不再從身取義例。」以物制物，字體既繁，雖不從人以見事，而人實在其中矣。廖氏字例，「如解、束、馬、牽、𠂔、分、𠂔、𠂔、縣、𠂔、班、困之類，是也。」按所舉仍雜以「人物共見」之字，如𠂔、𠂔、縣、𠂔等字是。今述其確爲「物體自見」之二例如下：

說文二上牛部：「牽，引前也。从牛，象引牛之𦐇也。玄聲。」桂氏義證云：「玄聲者，畢君以珣曰：玄當作𦐇，說文𦐇從𦐇，古文𦐇作𦐇。又『寔，礙不行也。從𦐇止，引而止之也，與牽同意。』是寔從篆文𦐇，而中有𠂔；牽從古文𦐇，而中亦有𠂔也。𦐇有繫𦐇之意，故𦐇寔牽皆從之。」知按牽字從玄，寔字從𦐇，皆象𦐇繩之義。玄本象絲形；𦐇爲紡磚，古文作𦐇，則但存絲，而省去瓦矣。引牛之𦐇，以絲爲之，故從玄象之。從𠂔者，象穿牛鼻之𦐇，吾鄉稱爲鼻𦐇。以繩繫鼻𦐇上牽之，

則可引牛而前矣。此字所以象牽牛之事也。

說文十上馬部：「𠂔，馬一歲也。从馬，一絆其足。讀若弦，一曰若環。」桂氏義證云：「從馬，一絆其足者，與豕同意。趙宦光曰：馬一歲，稍稽絆其足，未就銜勒也。左傳魯子家羈，字駒。魏武雜令：蹄人者，絆其足。廐律：畜生嚙人者，絆之。」王氏句讀云：「玉篇有駮字，云馬一歲。案當從弦省聲，是指事字變為形聲字也。小徐作讀若絃，非也。釋畜：玄，駒。釋文：玄，字林作駮。此玉篇所本也。」知按馬一歲，則應訓擾調習，故絆其足；從一，即象繩索之類，為絆馬之具也。大徐本讀若弦，一曰若環；小徐本讀若絃，或讀若絃；皆應但作玄，故爾雅即以玄名之。乃由絆馬之索以得音，更由音以得義也。可證所從之「一」，非標識符號，即非標識會意，故為「物體自見」之指事也。

乙、加體指事

加體指事，一如加體象形之比。就象形字別加偏旁，其音義不異者，謂之加體象形；就指事字別加偏旁，其音義不異者，謂之加體指事。二者孳乳之方式相同，惟原本之字，有象形指事之不同耳。加體指事所加之偏旁，亦分表義標音二類，茲分別例釋如下：

表意之例，說文三下又部：「𠂔，老也。从又从灾，𠂔。𠂔，𠂔或从人。」朱氏定聲云：「𠂔即𠂔之古文，从又持火，屋下索物也。」陳柱釋叟云：「𠂔本訓搜求，引申之又訓為老者，以老字與𠂔求之𠂔音近；而老人耳目聾瞶，凡事皆當搜求而後得，故以𠂔求之𠂔名之。」按𠂔字从又持火在宀下，為人物共見之指事；義本為搜求，後引申為老人之稱，遂更加人旁作𠂔，是為加體指事矣。

說文五上工部：「巨，規巨也。从工象手持之。𠂔，巨或从木矢，矢者其中正也。」林氏文源云：「古作𠂔作𠂔，象人手持工；工、事也。變作𠂔……按从矢非義。矩即𠂔之譌變，或又加木耳。」知按巨本形作矩，从矢當為从大从夫之譌，象人手持工是也。許書：「工，巧飾也；象人有規渠也。」徐氏段注箋云：「此字形蓋象為方之器，周髀算經曰：圓出於方，方出於矩。是矩為諸形之本，故造字象之也。」工象矩形，其說甚是。史記索隱謂矩，曲尺也。今木工仍以曲尺為為方之器。人持工為矩，於六書為人物共見之指事，省作巨。重文加木作渠者，謂矩為木製，加木則成加體指事字矣。

標音之例，說文三下隶部：「隶，及也；从又从尾省。又持尾者，从後及之也。」又：「隸，及也；从隶臬聲。詩曰：隸天之未陰雨。」按隶隸二字，音義皆同，應為重文。隶字象从又持尾，為人物共見之指事；隸字加臬，雖所以注音，然已構成加體指事字矣。

說文十四上几部：「処，止也；得几而止，从几从攴。處，処或从虎聲。」段氏注云：「人遇几而止，引申之爲凡几処字。」徐氏箋云：「処者所止之處，故从攴，謂行而止也。」按行者得几而止，其所止之地，卽其処也。於六書爲人物共見之指事；或加虎旁者，則但用以標音，其字作處，已屬加體指事字矣。

丙、義蘊指事

後魏江式上古今文字表云：

追來爲歸，巧言爲辯，小兔爲𪔐，神蟲爲蠶；如斯甚眾。

北齊顏之推家訓雜藝篇云：

北朝喪亂之餘，書迹鄙陋；加以專輒造字，猥拙甚於江南。乃以百念爲憂，言反爲變，不用爲罷，追來爲歸，更生爲蘇，先人爲老；如此非一，徧滿經傳。

唐末林罕字源偏旁小說序云：

又有文下作子爲學，更旁作生爲蘇；凡數十百字，謂之野書，唐有敕文，加以禁斷；今往往見之，亦不可輒學。

清錢大昭說文統釋自序亦云：

文子爲學，老女爲母。（並齊梁間俗書，見宋戴侗六書故。）……不長爲矮，不食爲齋，門坐爲穩，小兒爲𪔐（音嫻），人瘦弱爲𪔐（音勒），人亡絕爲𪔐（音終），人不能行爲𪔐（音臘），大女及姊爲𪔐（音大），山巖窟爲𪔐（音𪔐），門橫關爲𪔐（音𪔐），浮在水上爲𪔐（音𪔐），沒入水下爲𪔐（音𪔐），身隱忽出爲𪔐（和𪔐切），口上多髭爲𪔐（音胡）。（並宋時人俗別字，見明何孟春餘冬序錄。）不正爲𪔐，小大爲𪔐，目水爲淚，拿手爲拏。（並見明吳元滿六書正義。）

以上所引，自南北朝以至有明，所謂野書俗書之例，自不能登大雅之堂；故在唐朝，曾經明令加以禁斷。然此等字，多爲正字以外之別造字體；禁斷之後，仍有正字以資應用，自無須野俗重文，充斥於日用之間。

俗別之字，人多以爲不合六書，故應摒之於正字之外；實則文字之制作，凡具表意之功能者，皆有當於制字之法則，自應有其六書之地位。

上引諸字，有的既無動勢，且無進行，似應屬之會意，其實不然，蓋以二字說明一字義蘊者，卽是一事，故應屬之指事；人從便謂之會意者，亦緣指事會意二書互誤故也。

此等文字，因有正字，然則另以二字說明一字之義蘊者，不過爲正字之重文而

已。故知此乃重文制作一法，因係重文，遂目之爲俗字；不知六書之加體象形，加體指事以及造字之假借，亦皆由重文而成。蓋六書多重文，設由重文分任一義，亦爲文字孳乳之一要術；豈可但以重文之故，而遽斥之爲俗字乎？證之許書，亦多其例，如是少爲尠，犬肉爲𪛗，白華爲皤，日永爲昶，皆由二字說明一字之義蘊，屬於指事，則固未見有人斥爲俗字也。

三、會 意

許氏所傳六書口訣，指事與會意互誤，故今說明會意，須以舊說指事之說說之。許說指事云：「指事者，視而可識，察而見意，上下是也。」移此以說會意，一無不合。而許氏謬爲指事之說，遂誤盡天下學者。蓋會意之字，意在字形之外，必會悟其意，始能知之，故曰視曰察，視察之辨，廖氏六書舊義，謂「視爲初見，察爲細察。」視與察既有初見與細審之不同，故「視而可識」，謂字形也；「察而見意」，謂字形所會之意也。意獨在字形之外，故必細察而能會之，此正會意之說；雖爲許氏所錯亂，然後代仍有能知其意者，如王氏釋例卷一云：「視而可識，指字形言；察而見意，指字義言。」又云：「所謂視而可識，則近於象形；察而見意，則近於會意。」按會意之字，初見之以爲象形，細審之乃別有所會之意，正合會意之說。王應電同文備考序云：

其涉于影響思慮之所及，而不可以形傳也，則以其形而反仄增損或重疊配合：反人爲匕……。仄山爲𡵓……。增木爲本末……。損：木爲丩，月爲夕。重：从多𡵓𡵓。疊：品𡵓𡵓𡵓。配：明……。合：𠂔爲𠂔，木爲𠂔。于形不類，而意則可通。

趙搗謙六書論亦云：

會意者：或合其體而兼乎意，或反其文而取乎意，擬之而後言，議之而後動者也。……曰反體會意，曰省體會意，曰同體會意。

夷考會意之字，凡分五類，學者或以指事說之，今知會意誤爲指事，故雖說以指事，而不害其究爲會意也。茲分述之如下：

甲、標識會意

標識者，謂表明事物之意，而記識之者也。字有加標識以見意者，謂之標識會意。王兆芳讀王筠說文釋例云：

指事本作「標識」其所指，作「•」非字也，識于一之上爲「亠」，識于一之下爲「冫」；許于帝字補言「二、古文上。」明「二」爲「亠」之變體。「亠」

「丌」之「・」，變而爲「一」，亦爲「丨」，故或爲「二」「𠂇」，亦或爲「上」「丁」。𠂇 𠂇 井諸字，皆以「・」爲指。木心之朱，木根之本，木上之未，所指之「一」，皆「・」之變。

此所謂「標識其所指」，卽加標識而記識之者也。昔人雖誤會意爲指事，而知指事之指，謂爲標識，則實未誤也。廖登廷六書說指事云：「今按指畫之指，所謂記識是也。」廖平六書舊義，卽以記識爲說，其言云：

象形中有記識一例，如刃本末朱之類。欲象刀之口木之根杪，非畫全刀木不能見；但既畫全刀木，則刃與本末之意又不見；故加記識以分別之。

會意，由記識以明形外之意，視上引諸例，可以確知。又因記識所加之標識，只是符號，而非字體。關於標識符號而構成文字者，許書中有二字，說文五上 𠂇 部：「𠂇，有所絕止，𠂇而識之也。」徐氏說文注箋云：「凡事物有所表識，則 𠂇 而識之。」又十二下 乚 部：「乚，鉤識也。从反 𠂇。」徐箋云：「鉤識者，乚 而識之，與 𠂇 而識之同意。」按漢書云：「武帝讀東方朔上書，止、輒乙其處。」乙卽此 乚 字也。蓋 𠂇 乚 之爲記識，初用於篇章，王氏句讀云：「𠂇 則絕句，乚 則分章也。」後用爲凡表識之符號，段氏說文注云：「凡物有分別，事有可否，意所存主，心識其處者皆是，非專謂讀書止，輒乙其處也。」然則，標識會意之符號，自亦不出此二者。其爲許書所明白言及者，亦有二字：說文八上衣部：「卒，隸人給事者。衣爲卒；卒，衣有題識者。」又八下尺部：「尺，十寸也，人手卻十分動脈爲寸口。十寸爲尺，尺所以指尺規榘事也。从尸从乙，乙、所識也。」此許氏明言卒字所從之 𠂇，尺字所從之 乚，皆所以表識也。

標識會意字，多由象形字加以標識，舊說以象形定指事，實則以象形定會意也，如廖氏六書說云：

指事之字，多由象形字生出；蓋以是字象物，而物有別義，不能卽其字而見，則就其字加一二畫以見義；而義終不出其本字，故許氏謂之可察可識。

胡韞玉六書淺說亦云：

以象形定指事之文，十居八九：如本末朱，指事也，必以木定其形；刃，指事也，必以刀定其形；……如斯之類，不一而足。

以象形定指事之說，所謂象形，有象具體之形，有象抽象之形，不同也。若本末朱，若刃，則象具體之形；若許所舉指事例字上下，實爲標識會意字，則象抽象之形也。

乙、部位會意

漢字多合體之字，昔人喜以形聲說之；於是形聲之配合，遂有上下左右內外六等。最早見於唐人之說，如賈公彥周禮正義云：

書有六體，形聲實多：若江河之類，是左形右聲；鳩鵲之類，是右形左聲；草藻之類，是上形下聲；婆娑之類，是上聲下形；園國之類，是外形內聲；衡衡之類，是外聲內形。此形聲之等有六也。

宋王柏正始之音亦云：

江河左從水以定其體，而諧聲在右；鵝鴨右從鳥以定其體，而諧聲在左；羣裳諧聲在上；簾箔諧聲在下；園圃諧聲在內；微與諧聲在外。

考形聲字上下左右內外之配合，初無一定之規律，既可以自由配置，又可以自由移易，而字義不變也。饒氏部首訂韻字下云：

牧敦：品作𠂔；品伯彝：品作𠂔；意與焱部熒，移焱上火於下相同。原造文不拘，部位隨得移易之證。

王氏說文釋例云：「𠂔𠂔，李𠂔，𠂔𠂔，𠂔𠂔，𠂔𠂔；迻其部位，而仍爲一字。」蓋合體之字，因作字之便，上下左右內外，自由配合，本不影響於字義；待後世以形聲字部位配合之不同，而爲另字另義；因意義與日增多，文字所以表義，故不得移易部位，期於字形有所分別耳。是以部位之不同，而示字義之不同，正所以暢文字之孳乳也。葉德輝六書古微云：

此類字，由於造字時，先造一左形右聲之字，或右形左聲之字；再遇一義，不能以他字之形聲成義，于是不得不移左形右聲之字，或右形左聲之字；爲上形下聲之字，或下形上聲之字；略相分別。

胡韞玉六書通論亦云：

古人製造文字之初，祇以數百文，互相配合，參伍增省，以避重複；其有不能避者，則上下左右以爲分別；既省事物之形意，又不背六書之旨，此指事會意之文字然也。

合體字，上下左右以爲分別，是即以文字組織部位之不同，而示文字意義之不同，俞正燮說文重字考云：「但位置不同，便異音異義，於六書之例，未知云何？」不知此即會意中部位會意之例也。

部位會意，鄭樵六書略稱爲互體轉注，又有別聲與別義之分，其言云：「諧聲轉注，皆以聲別；聲異而義異者，曰互體別聲；義異而聲不異者，曰互體別義。」按部位會意之字，已有形聲轉注二說，蓋惟有合體字始能移易其部位而爲會意；合體字不限一書，故部位會意之字，自亦不限於一書也。

丙、同體會意

同體會意，乃合同體之文以會意也。趙氏六書論云：「同體者，如二口爲𠂔，三犬爲𤝵之類是也。」有上下之合，是謂之「重」；有左右之合，是謂之「並」。段氏說文注多字下云：「有並與重別者，如棗棘是也；有並與重不別者，𠂔多是也。」王氏釋例亦云：「兩字同法，但以重並爲別者，棘棗是也；棗高而棘卑，且成叢也。」重並之外，並以「疊」分，王榮彤事異同說云：「羽絲並體，𠂔(水) 𠂔(堆) 重體，𠂔(阜) 疊體。」是三合者獨稱疊，自是析言如此；若渾言之，凡合同體之文，或稱並，或稱重，或稱疊，亦或稱合也。

初時同體之文，或獨或合，往往無別，王氏釋例云：「宜之古文𠂔，𠂔復無意，殆亦籀文。」饒氏文字存真云：「疊文繁種字，如𠂔从二宜，仍是宜字；……𠂔从三𠂔，仍是𠂔字；𠂔从三𠂔，仍是𠂔字；是也。」後世則合同體之文，以表不同之義，是謂同體會意，戴氏六書故云：「何謂會意？合文以見意：兩人爲从，三人爲众；兩火爲炎，三火爲焱之類；是也。」周伯琦說文字原自序亦云：「會意者，比類合意，兩人爲从，兩火爲炎；是也。」戴周二氏，皆以同體合文爲會意，其見甚卓；惟周氏仍以指事之說說會意，則不免沿襲舊說之誤也。

同體合文，有二合三合四合之不同，王舟瑤說文會意字通釋云：

有疊二本字以會意者：从从二人，𠂔从二夫，𠂔从二口，𠂔从二言；二木爲林，二艸爲艸，二禾爲秝，二朮爲朮，二束爲棘，二瓜爲瓠；𠂔象兩手形，𠂔爲二目視，𠂔爲兩犬相齧，𠂔則雙鳴匹飛，𠂔爲虎怒之形，𠂔象龍飛之狀；是也。

有疊三本字以會意者：磊爲石象，垚爲土高，𠂔爲心疑，𠂔爲言疾；𠂔爲三犬，𠂔爲三羊，𠂔爲三隹，𠂔爲三馬；𠂔爲有足多，𠂔爲新魚精，𠂔爲艸之總名，森象木之𠂔眾；是也。

有疊四本字以會意者：𠂔爲視巧，合四工以成文；𠂔乃艸多，合四𠂔以爲誼；是也。

同體合文，所以會意，而所會之意，亦有數端：有實指其數者，有特表多數者，有表繁盛之意者，有表加甚之意者，而更有意在無字之間者，自不可不分別視之也。

丁、增省會意

古初造字，應物象形，或繁或簡，往往無別；如甲骨文中，小少一字，女母通用，卽其例也。後世或增其形或省其形，而爲另字另義，卽所謂增省會意也。

增體會意，如小字甲骨文作 𠂔 形，而少字作 𠂔，卽就小字稍增之，以爲另字另義。小字如此，母字亦然，廖氏六書舊義云：「女本象女陰，所以異於男也，承用爲

女子字；而母字後造，遂加二點以象乳形，則與女字初義不同。」王舟瑤說文會意字舉例亦云：「有少增其文以會意者：廿則二十並而連其下，卅从三十並而曳其末。𠂔象四手中綴之，以見共事之意；𠂔从三口下連之，以狀多言之情。是也。」按增體會意，不特篆文時代有之，隸書時代亦有之，如太玉等字是其例。

增體會意之外，更有省體會意之法，即就一字減省其筆畫，以爲另字另義，王氏釋例云：「夫必先有虎而後有虎皮也，先有羊而後有羊角也，先有𦍋而後有其頭也，此物理之自然；然則謂𦍋 𦍋 𦍋 爲省虎羊𦍋而作也，盡人信之矣。」凡此省體以見意者，應屬六書之會意，孔廣居論象意云：「其減省獨體之文以爲意者，謂之省體會意。」是也。孔氏並舉例云：「如木之省而爲片也，以判木爲意；骨之省而爲𠂔也，以骨上剔肉爲意；鳥之省而爲𦍋也，以鳥之身與目皆黑，人不辨其目爲意；飛之省而爲𦍋也，以鳥飛𦍋疾，人不見其翅爲意。凡此，皆省體之類也。」

省體會意，不特秦之前篆文時代有之，即秦之後隸書時代亦有之。唐書陸羽傳：「羽嗜茶」。顧炎武日知錄云：「自此後茶字，減一畫爲茶。」王玉樹辨體亦云：「茶卽爲茶，故說文無茶字；春秋齊茶，漢書茶陵，雖轉茶音，未嘗輒改文字。其易茶爲茶者，或自陸羽盧仝輩始也。」是茶者，卽茶之省體會意字也。

戊、倒反會意

漢字源於象形，其始象之也，或正之，或側之，甚或倒而作之，但取象物形以示意，則倒側不分；試觀甲金之文，其例正多，不遑枚舉也。王氏釋例云：「丹部篆作𠂔，古作𠂔，倒正同字也。」按此倒正同字，說文中尚存其例。文字初作，不但倒正同字，正側亦同字也。唐蘭中國文字學云：

在古文字裏，正寫反寫，本是很隨便的。在甲骨上刻的卜辭，兩邊是對稱的，左邊的左行，所有文字都左向；右邊的右行，所有的文字都右向；所以除了一部分兩邊完全相同，反正都是一樣的文字，每個字都可以反過來寫：反「人」還是「人」，反「正」還是「正」，一直到春秋時代的銅器銘文，還有全是反寫的。

迨後以倒反之字，別標一義，於是倒體反體，與正字始有分別。

倒體會意，鄭樵六書略因文成象圖謂之到取，其言云：「有到取：到𠂔（上）爲𠂔（下），到𠂔（享）爲𠂔（厚），到子爲𠂔（他骨切），到首爲𠂔（梟），到了爲𠂔（鳥）。」又倒體會意，意有從倒見之者，王舟瑤說文會意字通釋云：「有卽一字而到之以見意者：幻从到予，𠂔从到𠂔，𠂔从到𠂔，𠂔从到人，尾从到毛，𠂔从到首，𠂔从到子之類，皆是也。」

意於倒見之，固爲倒文會意；即使倒文不必見意，而但爲分別其意者，自亦屬之倒體會意之例。王筠說文釋例云：「梅杏之果，皆在葉下，而字必顛倒者，二果之幹皮枝葉皆不辨，但果形及味小別耳，故顛倒以別同中之異。……棗杏二果又相似，故〇以象其實，而或上或下以別之。」按梅杏二果相似，爲別同中之異，故或上或下，雖見顛倒之形，然無顛倒之意；而字終以顛倒別其義者，是亦倒體會意之例也。

反體會意之例，唐蘭中國文字學云：

文字逐漸有定型後，左右方向也連帶着固定了。有些字原來是有差別的，現在太不容易分別了，就拿字的正反面作分別：如反正爲乏，反人爲匕之類。

也有是本無其字，爲要附會某一個語言而創造的：如反彳爲孑，以代表躑躅；反子爲𠂔，以代表蛄蝻。也有代表反面的意義，如不可爲叵；在諸語言裏，是「不可」的合音，在文字裏，則是「可」字的反文。

凡此反文見意，或表相反之意，或示另有別義，更或因附會某一語詞，而特製爲正反文字，要皆屬於反體會意也。反體會意之字，宋世鄭樵六書略因文成象圖，已有反取之例。其有詳言反體會意之故者，如孔氏論象意云：「反繼（絕）爲繼（繼），繼者不絕也，故以反絕爲意。反正爲𠂔（乏），𠂔、持旌告獲者，所以蔽矢也；正以受矢，𠂔以蔽矢，故以反正爲意。」按反體會意，其所會之意，即在於「反」者，亦會意之一大端也。

四、形 聲

甲、形聲取象物聲說

說文解字敘云：「形聲者，以事爲名，取譬相成，江河是也。」饒炯文字存眞云：「形聲者，聲從義出，形由聲定，自當以聲爲主，形爲從。……如江从工聲，謂江凡所過之地多石，水聲工工，故从工得名；河从可聲，謂河凡所過之地多沙，水聲可，故从可得名；是也。」許氏以江河二字說形聲，最得形聲之旨。蓋江字从工作，即以工象江流之聲；河字从可作，即以可象河流之聲。江河水流之聲不同者，以江之多石，河之多沙不同也。工可但用以象聲，絕不取義，曹仁虎轉注古義考云：「諧聲者……如以水合工爲江，工字本無水義，而但取其聲；以水合可爲河，可字本無水義，而但取其聲。」王闡運六書存義亦云：「蓋聲音之始，與天地俱來；未有是字，先有是聲；近江者呼江，近河者呼河，皆以水爲形，不得不譬以工可之聲。猶之鴉鳴呀呀，鵝鳴哦哦，但畫鳥形則無以別，必譬以牙我之聲，而後其物乃分。若更取義，何以說乎？此形聲之字，取聲不取義明矣。」按江河之字，其所从之工可，但取其聲，不

取其義，故戴侗六書通釋云：「至於諧聲，則非聲無以辨義矣。……求諸其聲則得，求諸其文則惑，不可不知也。」然爲免於與其自具之義混淆計，遂另加水旁，以專江河二字形於聲之義。是故凡形聲字，皆以一專用來「標音不表義」之字，取譬事物之聲，以成事物之名。所謂「以事爲名，取譬相成。」江河二字之爲形聲，正其例矣。

乙、形聲合體必具取肖物聲之純音符字

形聲一名諧聲，又名象聲，係所諧所象萬物之聲以成字。其制作之方法，則必先以一標音不表意之純音符字，以譬事物之聲，進而以成事物之名；然後更加義類偏旁，以專此一由聲見義之字。如此所造成之合體字，廖平六書舊義云：「于假借取聲之字，別添形屬偏旁，遂爲象聲字；聲在前，形乃後來所加。」此所謂假借取聲，卽假借純音符字，以譬事物之聲：如江假借工字之聲，以譬江流之聲；可假借可字之聲，以譬河流之聲。但因工可具有原有之意義，故必須另加水旁，始能成爲江河之專字。江河係由聲見義之字，亦卽訓詁專家所謂之「狀聲字」，「聲在前，形乃後來所加。」甚合形聲字制作之理也。

黃以周六書通故云：「牛鳴之牟，羊鳴之𦍋，皆象其聲气之上出；而牛鳴从𠂔，羊鳴从𦍋，聲亦存于所象之形，是獨有寓形聲者矣。但形聲以兩體爲正，故說文舉江河爲例。」按形聲以兩體爲正，如江河二字，工與可於此皆屬純標音字（亦卽純音符字），以諧江河水流之聲，故曰形聲或象聲；別加水旁以專江河之義；工可謂聲，水旁謂形，卽所謂兩體或合體矣。然此只限於狀聲之字爲準，卽除由聲見義之外，更別無他義；舊說形聲，但就字形之形聲兩體，泛指所有之半形半聲字，則其誤甚矣。至於牟𦍋二字，从𠂔从𦍋，雖象鳴叫之聲气，然因係屬象形，而非標音，自與江河所从之工可不同；又𠂔𦍋不能獨立成字，雖加於牛羊，亦不成其爲兩體或合體字也。今牟𦍋二字之讀音，雖係牛羊鳴叫聲之摹音，然因字形不具備摹音之標音字成分，故亦不成其爲六書之形聲字也。

丙、形聲字類例

形聲既同象聲諧聲，然則語文聲音之來源，當知無不由此求之矣。語言之起源有摹聲說，摹聲亦卽象聲；摹聲之外，又有感歎之聲，勞動之聲，其見之於文字者，皆卽樂記所謂形於聲也。

摹聲之說，大別之可分三類：第一物鳴聲，凡物類之能鳴叫者，卽摹其鳴叫之聲而稱之，所謂取其鳴自呼是也。第二物動聲，物類有因動作而發聲者，卽象其聲而名之，如江河卽象江河水流之聲而名也。第三物自聲，物類有既不能鳴，又不能動，然當受到外力撞擊時，則亦有響斯應；蓋此種聲音，內蘊於物之自身，不擊不發，說文

中其屬於金聲玉振諸狀聲字，皆是也。

摹聲說之外，次爲感歎說，亦語言起源說之一。感歎爲人類情感外射之音，故能「聲入情通，自然共喻。」遂構成最原始之語言。而由感歎得音之字，自亦甚多；惟因文明日久，字音轉化，本屬情感之聲，轉爲他系之音，以至聲情不能相洽；而文字之本音，亦覺猝難尋究矣。

最後爲勞動說，謂語言起源於勞動時之呼聲；蓋人類勞動之時，每伴以呼叫之聲以勸力，即舉大木者呼邪許之比也。勞動之呼聲，亦爲文字得音之一大來源；惟此呼聲，並可屬之於感歎，遂爲感歎說所管領，而勞動之聲反不明；又從勞動得聲之字，不加細究，不易猝瞭，故此類字似爲較少也。

形聲之字，舊但就字形皮傳，創爲半形半聲之說，遂至漫無限制，則六書者，幾盡成形聲之一書。今知形聲字，只限於聲象字之一種，有其固定之範圍；並照上述摹聲、感歎、勞動三類求之，庶幾可以得其真象矣。

五、轉 注

甲、轉注注義說

許說轉注云：「建類一首，同意相受，考老是也。」按類、首之說，言人人殊。湯濟滄轉注說云：「類有形類聲類二說：主形類者，以江聲之說爲最先；主聲類者，以章炳麟之說爲最暢。」按形類謂偏旁，聲類謂字根，不同也。建類一首，蓋類謂部類，首謂部首；類指同部同類言，首指同部建首言；凡同部之字，既皆同類，又皆同首，故得同意以相授受也。陳衍說文舉例云：「惟其同意故建類，惟其一首故相受。」然許書主以偏旁爲部，不以字根爲部，故所謂建類，只是偏旁之類；所謂一首，只是偏旁之首。偏旁乃附加成分，非字之主體；是以只能表意義之類屬，不能表意義之本源；陸氏經典釋文云：「飛禽卽須安鳥，水族便應著魚，蟲屬要作虫旁，艸類類皆从兩艸。」吳穎芳說文理董後編卷三亦云：「綴字本作𦰩，繼加糸以顯之成綴；箕字本作𦰪，繼加竹以顯之成箕。非是取𦰩聲其聲而成綴箕也，不得言會𦰩意其意而以从糸从竹爲主也。故𦰩其是本，而糸竹乃繼起。」安鳥著魚，但表鳥類魚類，而非諸字意義之所出；故綴箕二字，𦰩其是本，而糸竹乃後加。今許書以偏旁分部，自不能同意而相受。因而自古迄今，轉注之說，未能一是，立論雖多，徒事糾紛，皆由許書分部之不當，有以致之也。

章炳麟轉注假借說云：「何謂建類一首？類謂聲類；……首者，今所謂語基（知按就文字言卽字根）。……是故明轉注者，經以同訓，緯以聲音，而不緯以部居形體。」

林義光六書通義亦云：「蓋轉注，不外取同類之意，附注其形；謂分立部首，以制轉注之字，則惑矣。」此皆不主偏旁分部之說，然許書五百四十部中，亦偶有就字根分部者，學者多有見及此，以爲即轉注之例。葉濬六書轉注說云：

ㄩ爲部首，从ㄩ注爲𠂔糾，而𠂔糾皆有相ㄩ之意，故不入𠂔部糸部，而受之ㄩ也。句爲部首，从句注爲鉤筍拘，而鉤筍拘皆有句曲之意，故不入金部竹部手部，而受之句也。匕部之化，从部之從，姦部之桑，𠂔部之綴，𠂔部之協，𠂔部之桑，皆準此。雖小徐以綴爲會意，然隸在𠂔部，意與𠂔同，正合轉注之指。

此亦以字根爲部首之說，部中之字，皆由部首字，引申其義，孳乳其形（別加偏旁）；引申既廣，猶同意也，故能相授受；孳乳增多，不失其類，一首於字根。正合轉注之說。羅汝懷六書轉注說亦云：

三篇部首：「句，曲也，从口ㄩ聲。」部中所隸厶三字：「拘，止也，从手句。筍，曲竹捕魚筍也，从竹句。鉤，曲鉤也，从金句。」夫从口ㄩ而注之句，从句而注之拘筍鉤，所謂轉注也。三字皆从句，所謂建類一首也；三字皆義取於曲，所謂同意相受也。

句部文三鉤筍拘，皆從句引申其義，孳乳其形。句爲字根，鉤筍拘爲孳乳字（亦即王筠所謂之分別文），所加之金、竹、手爲偏旁。鉤筍拘，其形音義皆受之於句，故全部之字爲一類，所謂建類也；又全部之字，共此部首「句」，所謂一首也；又全部之字，皆由字根「句」引申孳乳而來，故既同意，復可相互授受；亦即鉤筍拘三字，義既同源，因可通用，所謂「反古復始，祇句一字」（王氏釋例語）而已。必如此，方可言轉注。故轉注之說，建立於由字根義之引申，進而加偏旁的文字孳乳系統上；亦即由字根字分部，若后部囟部不部ㄩ部部之等者。如依偏旁分部，則無由以見轉注之理矣。

歷代六書之研究，因受許書偶有字根分部之暗示，其說轉注，亦有偶合者。徐鍇說文繫傳云：「祖考之考，古銘識通用𠂔，於𠂔之本訓轉其義，而加老注明之。犬走爲𠂔，爾雅：扶搖謂之𠂔。於𠂔之本訓轉其義，颺則加風注明之。」此謂考之字根爲𠂔，颺之字根爲𠂔；於𠂔𠂔之本訓轉其義，即所謂引申也；然後加注偏旁，以專其義，以別其形，即吳錦章正譌一文所謂「或依傍古文，加以偏旁。」便是轉注，甚合於引申孳乳而爲轉注之例。趙宦光說文長箋亦云：「轉注者，聲義共用也；取其字，就其聲，注以他字，而義始顯。如𠂔字，象氣難上出之形，而老人鯁噎似之；于是取老字，省其下體，以注于𠂔上，而義始足也。」按𠂔爲字根，本義象氣難上出之形；而

老人鯁噎似之，遂引申爲老人之稱；於是丂字具有本義與引申義二者，然爲了在字形有所分別，因加偏旁老於丂上作考，以專「老人之稱」一義，而字形上也就不致與丂字相混了。故轉注者，謂就一字根，輾轉引申其義，然後於字形注之以偏旁；偏旁所以表義之類屬，如丂引申爲老人之稱，故加偏旁老，謂其義類屬於老人；此即轉注注義之說也。

乙、轉注注音說

轉注注音之說，王筠於說文釋例中亦曾論及，惟未明言爲轉注耳。其言云：

口部圖圓圍，蓋皆口之分別文，唐韻羽非切，與印林但以爲圓，皆適得一偏；而謂字體當作○，則是也。圍者，謂○正圍無圭角也；圓者，謂○完全無欠缺也；二者皆直指○之狀而言。圍則主其中空白而言：若以○爲國邑之象，則其中所圍者人民也；詩長發：「帝命式于九圍」。傳云：「九州也」。正義云：「蓋以九分天下，各爲九處，若規圍然。」是也。若以○爲軍旅之象，則其中所圍者敵人也；史記高帝紀：「圍宛城三市」。是也。既有圖圓圍三字，瓜分其義，故經典無用口字者。員從口聲，是圖圓卽口之證；韋從口聲，是圍卽口之證。此蓋與庵字一類，古有廣而無庵，以奄字之音與廣近也，遂注奄于廣下而作庵。○有圖音，遂注員于○之中而作圖圓也；又有圍音，遂注韋于○之中而作圍也。而員從口聲，圓又從員聲；韋從口聲，圍又從韋聲；是又展轉相從，復歸本字也。

王說分別文，卽孳乳字；蓋口爲初文（初文卽字根），而圖圓圍皆孳乳字。其所加員韋之偏旁，但用以注音，非所以表義。此種轉注注音之字，人多不知，往往字根與偏旁互誤，如圖圓圍三字，許書皆列於口部，卽誤認口爲偏旁，而員韋爲字根也。實卽口部之字，不特此三字爲然，什九皆屬轉注注音字，茲擇其意義明顯者，述其引申孳乳之系統如下列：

說文六下口部：「口，回也，象回市之形。」段氏注云：「回，轉也。按圍繞周圍字當用此，圍行而口廢矣。」徐灝段注箋云：「口圍古今字，凡物回市之形及圍繞之皆曰圍，古文蓋作圓形，小篆變爲方體。」知按口蓋抽象之象形，王制：「天子不合圍」。注云：「言不四面圍之也。」其字則注韋聲作圍，許訓「守也。」詩長發：「帝命式于九圍」。傳云：「九圍，九州也。」正義云：「蓋以九分天下，各爲九處，若規圍然。」知按規圍則圓，故凡圓者皆得稱之：如注員聲作圓，許訓「規也」；如注韋聲作圍，許訓「圍全也」；如注員聲作圓，許訓「天體也」；如注專聲作圍，許訓「圍也」。凡圓則有回旋之義，其

字則注罍聲作圉，許訓「回行也」。尚書曰：「圉圉升雲，半有半無。」正謂雲氣之回旋流動也。又易繫辭：「範圍天地而不過」。注云：「圍，匡郭也。」知按國邑多有城郭，其字則注或聲作國，許訓「邦也」。凡邦國皆須四塞之固，其字則注古聲作固，許訓「四塞也」。四塞之地，可以守禦，其字則注吾聲作圉，許訓「守之也」。推而至於「圉，獄也。」所以禁守繫者，其字注令聲矣。「圉，養畜之閑也。」則是閑養牛馬之圈，其字注卷聲矣。他如有垣者曰圉，所以養禽獸也，其字注有聲矣。有藩者，或曰園，所以樹果也，其字注袁聲矣；或曰圃，所以種菜也，其字注甫聲矣。

以上爲轉注注音字之例，因學者論及於此者較少，故須詳加研究。今知轉注注音與轉注注義之字，皆就字根，引申其義，孳乳其形；惟注義者，偏旁表義類；注音聲，偏旁表聲音；此其大別也。又轉注注音，其字之孳乳，恒以一二字爲止，未若轉注注義，一系之孳乳，動輒數字數十字之多；今從口轉注注音之字，其一系列凡十餘字，實不多見。然注音字既爲轉注之一類，故應詳爲考求，以達轉注說之圓融地步也。

六、假 借

甲、假借造字說

假借有造字用字之分：造字之假借，屬於六書；用字之假借，屬於訓詁。以往言假借者，率以用字之假借爲準，而造字之假借，幾失於傳。造字假借之例，古人亦偶有見到者，但不能明認其爲六書之假借耳。如宋戴侗六書故六書通釋云：

母，古音莫古切，又莫比切；今俗通呼莫下切，吳人莫回切；又上聲，蜀人卽瓦切，淮南呼社；別立媽姐 𡙇 文皆非也。博雅：孺妳圉，母也，女蟹切。今俗謂乳母爲妳，漢人謂母媼姥，凡此皆一音之轉也。

王筠說文釋例卷一，更詳言之：

聲音遞變，字以孳焉。卽如母，古書如米，玉篇：𡙇，莫奚莫移二切，齊人呼母。孺，乃弟切，母也。姐，玆也切，引說文蜀人呼母。案彌米音近，爾又彌之聲，今呼孺如乃（玉篇：孺又女蟹切，乳也，音與乃近。），則以雙聲字當本字音也。且，古音疽，又米之聲轉。然則𡙇孺姐三字，仍是母字，其聲既變，其形因以變耳。廣韻：「媽，莫補切，母也。」案今俗呼爲馬平聲，蓋馬古音如某，是又母字之變也。

上引例中，母爲正字，而𡙇孺姐媽四字，皆由「母」字所制作之假借字。其法先

覓一與「母」同音或音近之字，作為音標，然後再加以義類偏旁。如嬭之彌，嬭之爾，姐之且，媽之馬，皆屬「母」字之音標；母屬女人，故加女旁。如此，讀之則如「母」音，視之則知「母」義；惟其音義，皆假借之於「母」字，非其本身所自有，故曰假借。然此假借，乃於正字之外，別有制作，則假借字與正字非同體，是之為造字，所謂別立之文也。造字之假借，雖別有制作，但字形不同，而音義無異，故得為重文。今觀從「母」制作之假借字，如嬭嬭姐媽四字，讀音皆與「母」字不同，此緣「母」字讀音有所轉變，隨時就其轉變之音，借音別造假借之字；變讀之時間不同，故假借字之音讀亦異。「母」字有四假借字，可以表示「母」字的四種音讀，若以音理之變化求之，固仍是「母」字之一音而已。又吳穎芳說文理董後編卷三亦云：

六書不可以作述分也。蟲為象形，而古文𧈧，从虫牟聲；繭象形會意，而古文𧈧，从糸見聲；聲象形，而古文𧈧，从石堅聲；簋會意，而古文𧈧，从木九聲；裘會意，而古文𧈧，从衣廌聲；暴會意，而古文𧈧，从日廌聲。誰為作乎？誰為述乎？

此所舉蟲𧈧、繭𧈧、聲𧈧、簋𧈧、裘𧈧、暴𧈧，在許書皆屬重文，實際即本文所說造字假借的正假字。凡此重文，多由一正一假所組成，正字可以不論，假借字既須有作為音標的聲旁，又須有表示義類的形旁，故必是形聲二者組成的合體字（也就是一般人所謂的形聲字）。宋育仁同文略例小篆通古文舉要云：「聲義與本義無涉，即是由聲借加旁。」所謂聲借加旁，便如吳錦章正譌一文所說的「託諸形聲，別造字體。」由此看來，對假借造字，一般學者，能夠見到，特未有人明認其為六書之假借，遂使六書之說，沈霾至今，為憾然耳。

乙、聲旁有義（轉注）無義（假借）之辨

造字之假借，既係假借正字之音義，惟於字形另行創造，則有形有聲，故必為形聲之合體字，然而聲旁無義；與轉注注義之形聲合體字，其聲旁有義者不同也。同係形聲合體之字，其聲旁有義之轉注字，與聲旁無義之假借字，往往不易辨別；於是有以聲旁為全有義者，有以聲旁為全無義者，各走極端，則是尚不能辨別六書之轉注與假借也。葉適石林燕語云：

凡字不為無義，但古之制字，不專主義；或聲或形，其類不一；王氏見字多有義，遂一概以義取之，是以每至於穿鑿附會。

王氏釋例卷三形聲云：

形聲字有義者極多。然意屬假借者，則許君一切不言，所以無穿鑿之病，如此而後成為六書，叙所云字例之條也。今人於說文大義，不能闡發，乃於形

聲字中，鑿求其義，是則王介甫之傳法沙門矣。

二氏皆以王介甫爲說，凡字之聲旁，皆以爲有義，是只知轉注而不知假借，故不免於穿鑿之弊。他如章氏文始敍例云：

夫同音之字，非止一二；取義于彼，見形于此者，往往而有：若農聲之字，多訓厚大，然農無厚大義；支聲之字，多訓傾衰，然支無傾衰義。蓋同韻同紐者，別有所受，非可望形爲諡。

沈兼士右文說在訓詁學上之沿革及其推闡一文亦云：

訓詁家利用右文以求語言之分化，訓詁之系統，固爲必要；然形聲字不盡屬右文，其理至明，其事至顯。而自來傾信右文之說者，每喜抹殺聲母無義之形聲字，一切以右文說之，過猶不及，此章氏之所以發「六書殘而爲五」之嘆也。

此又以章太炎爲說，凡字之聲旁，皆以爲無義，是只知假借而不知轉注；不可望形爲諡，則六書亦不免殘而爲五，是皆一偏之弊也。

丙、許書假借說評

許氏假借說云：「本無其字，依聲託事，令長是也。」所言口訣，證之造字假借諸例，亦甚相合。假借字由正字而來，故正字先造，然後再就正字之音，以造假借之字。而所造之假借字，其音義既係從正字而來，則與正字的音義完全相同；雖然字形另造，而音義並非自有，所以假借字不過是正字的重文。因而知道假借字本來是沒有的，在音義上，既以正字之聲以得音，又託正字之事以得義，這便是所謂「本無其字，依聲託事」的道理。至於以令長二字爲例，只能說是字義的引申，自不關於造字，也就無當於假借。這一點，以前的學者，有的早已見到，如南朝梁顧野王著玉篇，曾謂：「若執泥假借令長之言，便與五書異例。」到了清朝，孔廣居論假借亦云：「若但以令長爲例，便非古人造字之義，而與形事意聲注五音不類矣。」可見令長二字，甚非假借之例。蓋六書之條，口耳相傳，未嘗著於竹帛；許書當東漢之際，用通行隸法，六書失傳已久，許氏收拾叢殘，所言獨詳，然亦不免多所錯誤也。

由上所述，則所謂造字假借者，其所造之字，不過是正字的重文而已；重文對於正字，其音義實無所加，既何貴有此重文，又何貴多此一書乎？話雖如此，然實際上既有假借字之制作，而論造字之六書，不得不立此一書，以說假借之字，是故六書之必有假借也。況且造字之假借，初造時雖係正字之重文，然以重文可以別義，亦文字孳乳之一法，如「顛」爲「天」之假借字，「鳳」爲「朋」之假借字，「梅」爲「某」之假借字，「花」爲「華」之假借字，「他」爲「它」之假借字，「樣」爲「像」之假

借字，「俯」爲「俛」之假借字，「嶽」爲「岳」之假借字，「潛」爲「洵」之假借字，「灑」爲「洒」之假借字，「棲」爲「西」之假字，「創」「瘡」爲「刃」之假借字，「腋」「掖」爲「亦」之假借字；凡此正假字，初本重文，今則各具專義，儼然爲不相關之各字矣。

從金文中的圖畫文字看漢字文字化過程

李 孝 定

中央研究院歷史語言研究所















懂得用圖畫代表語言，在初民生活中，發展得雖不是很早，但這是人類天賦的智慧，也是世界各種古文字共同的起點。據了解，假如我們持中國文字學上「六書說」的標準，去觀察各種古文字發生和演變的過程，在初步是大致相同的，¹後來因為語言的差異，多數的多音節語言，走上了拼音文字的道路；唯獨漢語，因為是單音節的，發展到注音的形聲字，便可算完全成熟，它可以因應創造一切新字的需要，因此，漢字便和其他的拼音文字，形成了兩個完全不同的系統，這多數是一邊表義、一邊表音的文字，便成了漢字最大的特色。現代的漢字，雖然其絕大部分²是形聲字，但仍然保留了少部分的象形、指事、會意、和假借字，不過由於幾千年演變的結果，完全喪失了它的圖畫性，我們所能看到的，只是些抽象的線條，我們很難從現代的漢字中，清楚的看出它們表義的所以然，所幸，我們可以追源溯本的從古代的圖畫文字中，發見它們演變的軌跡。現存數量最多、時代最古的漢字，應數甲骨文，但甲骨文已是完全成熟的文字，在它之前，必然已經歷了漫長演變的過程，我們很難在甲骨文中發見最原始的圖畫文字；但和甲骨文同時或稍晚的金文中，為了某些特定的目的——絕大多數是族徽的記載，卻保留了不少最原始的圖畫文字。我們將這些圖畫文字，和後世的同一個文字作比較，不難窺見漢字演變的過程，這種從原始的圖畫文字到現代漢字的演變過程，筆者稱之為「文字化」過程。衍化的過程，歸納起來，約可分為如下數端：

(一) 抽象化：這是除了少數幾個純抽象的指事字如一、二、三、上、下等外，所有漢字衍變必經的過程，文字既是源於圖畫，原始的圖畫都是具象的，後來用圖畫代表語言，使用的次數加多，便不能要求每一幅「文字畫」都畫得維妙維肖，往往有意的因陋就簡，苟趨約易，原來是肥筆的，往往改為雙勾，又改為單線條；原來是隨體詰屈的，漸漸改為圓轉曲折，又改為方峭平直；原來是隨象賦形的，漸漸的改為左右


¹ 見學術季刊第二卷第四期，董同龢：文字的演進與「六書」。民國四十三年六月三十一日。





² 根據鄭樵六書略的統計，宋代的形聲字，已超過90%。














對稱，終歸於結體方正；經過如此衍化的結果，原本是視而可識的象形字，都變成現代漢字所賴以表現的抽象線條了。說文解字將漢字分爲依類象形的文，和形聲相益的字兩大類，「文」都是獨體的，都是具體的象形，是所有漢字的字根，由文組成「字」，所有的漢字，都是由具體的圖畫組成的，到現代的漢字，都變成了抽象的線條，因之，抽象化便成爲所有漢字衍化必經的過程，其例不勝枚舉，筆者謹擇若干金文中圖畫文字，說明它們嬗變爲現代漢字的過程，以見一斑。

1.  父辛𠂔，高田忠周說：「按先哲皆釋子字，云：『子執戈形』，然今依卜辭，此係伐字無疑。……字亦作執二戈，或執干與戈，又或作執一刀，執二刀，刀戈同意，亦伐字也。」見古籀篇三十二第三十三頁。按高田氏此說，似有可商。伐字說文訓擊，象以戈擊人，戈刃加於人頸，其誼始顯，而主動執戈之人，反屬次要可省，（說見下）這個字只象一個人拿着戈、从「大」，象正面的人形；古文字偏旁中，正面的人，也可以變成側面，便成了金文中的  段段字，那麼這字以釋  𠂔爲是，在金文階段， 字的圖畫性還很強，到了小篆  字寫成 ，右側已不大看得出是象人形，楷書寫作「𠂔」，便成爲純抽象化的線條了。
2.  且丙𠂔，馬敘倫說：「倫按舊釋子執戈形，倫謂右執戈而左執盾， 卽盾之初文也。父辛爵之  與此同。倫疑說文戰卽此之譌變，彼訓爲盾，方言『盾、自關而東或謂之𠂔，或謂之干』，干爲戟之借字，𠂔音匣紐，𠂔音奉紐……蓋盾由𠂔而轉爲戟，然盾之爲文，可以象形，今之盾字，從  持目，目非耳目字，卽盾之初文也。蓋由盾之初文，與目形近，故增  以別之；亦或盾字本是圖語，則此亦非盾之轉注字，而造於盾字之後，增戈益於盾之本義無涉，且盾是自蔽之器，戈爲擊人之具，何以訓盾之戟，轉從戈歟？若造於盾字之前，則其爲圖語更明，山海經羿與鑿齒戰於壽華之野，羿持弓矢，鑿齒持盾戟，戈戟古實一器，此蓋持盾戟爲戰士之圖語」見金器刻詞研究三十六頁父乙觶。按此字左執戈、右執干，（相反者也是同字）畫意宛然，這字後來演變的結果，省去了人形，僅存干戈形，這是簡化，干盾本是一物，於是成爲楷書的𠂔，小篆作𠂔，變成了形聲字，從這一個例子裏，已經看到了抽象化，簡化和聲化的過程。按說文：「𠂔、盾也，从盾，戈聲」。詩秦風：『蒙伐有苑』，毛曰：「伐、中干也」。毛氏是讀伐爲𠂔；方言：「自關而東謂之𠂔，或謂之干，關西謂之盾」。玉篇：「𠂔又作𠂔，通作伐」，甲骨文有  字，乙五七九八辭云：「癸酉卜， 貞，雀于翌日戊𠂔」。乙八一四四：「癸酉卜， 貞，雀惠唯今日𠂔」。這兩辭都讀𠂔爲伐，伐是祭名。從上舉甲骨、金文的例子，這字抽象化的結果，應以𠂔爲正字，後來又變成了形聲字的𠂔和𠂔，字義也縮小了；𠂔字更




是從「干」的譌變，干、盾古是一器的異名。









3.  𠂔 文這字象一隻手拿着戈殺一個人，手代表主動的人，在早期必然是畫一個完整的人，拿着一柄戈，砍在另一個人的頭上，藉以表示殺伐的意思，後來省去主動的人形，保留一隻手作代表，後來連這隻手也省了，便成了楷書的「伐」字，這個例子裡，透露了抽象化和簡化的痕跡。























4.  𦍋 文此字象人頰上須髯之形，甲骨文也有這個字，作  𦍋，所從都是正面的人形，變成側面，便成了  諫季靈，小篆寫成  𦍋，須髯之形和象頭部的頁字，分立對稱，這是爲了配合後起形聲字的結構而形成的，這種現象，我們稱之爲「類化」，或者也可稱之爲「規格化」，有許多原是獨體的象形字——「須」字即其一例，和連體的會意字——上舉「𦍋」字即其一例，後來都變成了分立對稱的結構，以配合後起的、佔絕大多數的形聲字，這也是漢字文字化過程中一種很明顯的現象，筆者不想爲此另立一目，謹在此提出略加討論。

5.  父乙盤父乙盤這字舊釋子荷貝形，不打算一一引述，郭沫若氏在甲研釋朋中說：「殷彝文中有以𦍋朋爲頸飾之圖形文字……按此即象人着頸飾之形，當爲朋之初字」。原文很長，不具引。郭氏說古代貝朋由頸飾化爲貨幣，當在殷周之際，說法很有道理，但沒有說明嬰朋兩字之關係，筆者在甲骨文字集釋中，曾作如下解釋：「玉二系相合爲𦍋，則貝二系相合當爲朋，作朋者，假借字也。朋字許書以爲鳳之古文，假爲朋黨字，其義與貝玉無涉，許書六下貝部：『朋、頸飾也；從二貝。』烏莖切。此當爲其引申義，其本義當謂二貝相合爲一朋也。貝二系相合，繞之於頸，則爲頸飾矣。又十二下女部：『嬰、繞也，各本作「頸飾也」，段氏據文選李注，數引說文均作「繞也」改此下說解。從女、貝，貝，各本作「其」，韻會連也。頸飾。』頸飾二字各本此象女子繫貝爲頸飾之形，訓繞，其引申義也。此下說解當如各本作『嬰，頸飾也，從女、貝，貝，貝連也。一曰：繞也』。增一曰繞也四字，明其引申義。金文有所謂子荷貝形之文，前人不識，此實即許書之嬰，象人着頸飾之形，古文从大从女無別也。所从之  𦍋，即貝字，亦即  𦍋、 𦍋、 𦍋、 𦍋，嬰與許書之朋，當出一源，甚或即爲同字，許書八上人部：『朋、輔也，从人，朋聲，讀若陪位』。金文作  𦍋、 𦍋、 𦍋、 𦍋，以爲朋友字，上引子荷貝形諸文，與此諸朋字，並象人頸飾貝若玉二系之形，其始當爲同字，許書訓輔，當亦爲𦍋、貝之義所引申。至經典朋貝字均作朋者，徐灝說文段注箋朋下云：『貝、鐘鼎文作  𦍋，小篆變爲貝，重之爲朋，貝之古文亦作  𦍋，重之爲  𦍋，隸變作朋，遂截然爲二字，音義各殊，不知其異派同源也。人部朋、輔也，讀若陪位，漢書王尊傳：「羣盜備宗等」、蘇林曰：「備音朋」。晉灼曰：「音倍」。蓋朋由貝變，故備有倍音，朋之聲轉爲

陪，其清聲如崩，故左氏僖九年傳：「齊隰朋」。史記齊世家徐廣注：「朋或作崩」。又易復卦：「朋來」，漢五行志下引京房易傳作「崩來」，因之又聲轉為嬰也。凡從賁之字，有相比對義，如嬰為相應答之聲，嬰為一儋兩嬰是也。徐氏說賁朋二字形音混淆變易之迹，殊為審諦，王氏筆者按集釋另引王國維氏說珽朋一文。謂古珽字當與珽同讀，其音如服，竊謂讀與服同者，當亦賁之古音，王謂珽朋古為一字，實當謂珽賁古為一字，朋貝之朋，則賁之假借字，假借字專行，而賁遂為頸飾之專字矣。筆者當年說朋貝之朋，是賁的假借字，說得還不夠透徹，其實「朋」這個字，實在是一個來歷不明的字，許慎認為是鳳字古文，顯然不確，徐灝纔算將這字的來龍去脈理清楚，我們實在應該說「朋是賁字經抽象化後形體譌變而成」，纔合乎實事。筆者後來在金文詁林附錄中，對此又作了點補充：「字象人頸着賁，其初殆為頸飾之專字，當此之時，朋貝原無確數，田野考古報告第一期有郭寶鈞之濬縣古殘墓之清理一文，內附圖版，有朋貝圖一幀，凡廿六枚，分為二系，系各十三枚，出土時排列整齊，是朋貝無疑，其數與傳注舊說不符，蓋朋貝原為頸飾，長短各隨所宜，定數之說，當自成為貨幣之日始也。朋貝之字，本當作賁，徐灝段注箋說賁朋二字形音遞變之迹，極是。朋貝之字，經典通作朋，沿譌已久，賁字遂專頸飾一義。此從賁從大，至小篆演為「嬰」字，猶存頸飾一訓，古文從大從女得通也。其字有不從大而從人者，或亦从「企」，與至小篆則演為「朋」字，訓輔，亦頸飾之義所引申。金文多以為朋友字，乃假借義；許氏以鳳之古文為朋友字，乃緣鳳之古文鳳之古文承金文朋之體形近而譌。蓋朋友本無正字，借鳳借朋，均無不可也。重貝為賁，易之以玉則為珽，珽之古讀，據王國維說珽朋一文，及馬氏所考，可讀班、讀服、讀備，與朋皆一音之轉也。……要之，賁、嬰、珽、朋系出同源，其後乃各衍為專字，珽則玉二系之專字，與賁有密切之關係，予於拙編甲骨文字集釋卷一珽下、卷四朋下、卷八朋下，分別有說，請參看」。我們作了上述引述，可以看出這個「嬰」字，經過抽象化後，譌變、孳乳的歷程，對於許多古文字的變化，也可舉一反三了。

6.  父乙鼎 清代金文學家，將這字說成「橫戊形子」，說字意雖是，但沒有說明究是何字。馬敘倫氏刻詞二十三頁殺人爵說成「殺人」，也不錯，同樣的也沒有釋字。高鴻縉氏字例二篇三一三頁引甲骨文  字，說和這字都該釋 𠂔，字是有了解釋，但在字形上也找不到聯繫。筆者在金文附錄一四八頁說：「此字从 戊，从大無首，乃一刑人之象意文字。諸家說字意皆是，然究當於今之何字，則未說明；惟高氏舉契  字為言，謂同為 𠂔 字，說字意甚是，然苦於字形無徵。竊疑或為馘之最古圖畫文字。說文訓馘為軍戰斷耳，古文作馘，軍戰固當有斷耳之事然斷首則意尤顯白，契文


作，从目以代首，正許書之𣦵，从戊與从戈得通，从大無首，與𣦵字戈上縣首同意。至契文字，當亦由金文此字所孳乳，然已與𣦵衍爲二字。金文這字，代表一幅最顯白的圖畫，經過抽象化，便發現有難以表現之苦，因爲「大」字最早作，原是一個完整的正面人形，經抽象化作、作「大」，頭形便已消失，那麼這幅原要強調「大無頭」的圖畫，便很難再用抽象化去表示了。於是只得用一個孤立的頭形，去代表被斬之首，這雖不如原圖顯白，但仍可達意。古文中以「目」代「首」，是慣例，是之譌變，象戈上垂纓之形，於是組成了契文的字，這是古文字抽象化、規格化的又一個例子。








7.  父辛鼎 高田忠周古籀篇九十三第三十三頁釋爲「解」，筆者在金文附錄四八四頁說：「字从一豕仰臥，一手執刀，擬於豕腹，高田氏釋『解』，說有可商，契文有字，象兩手解牛角之形，與今文解字正同，第今隸手形譌爲从刀耳。考屠豕之事，皆割刃於喉，必不割刃於豕腹，則此字之意，亦非屠豕，竊謂此豕字古文也。說文豕下云：『豕絆足行，从豕繫二足。』此非古義，契文豕字作，未見絆足之象。考卜辭於牲之毛色、性別、年歲，卜之恆至詳盡，凡用豕之辭，有、，此，卜其牝牡也；有，則凡豕皆可，不拘其牝牡、毛色、年歲也；有，前人未之詳考，衡以他辭，則此字之義，必與、、有別，然則於豕之牝牡、毛色、年歲數者，果何居乎？考契文豕字作，从，聲，亦作，則許書所謂豕省聲者也。字於豕兩足之間，別着一斜畫，即所以象豕陰，乃許書「」之古文，豕則後起形聲字也。字於豕兩足之間，着一小直畫，即金文此字刀形之遺，然後知「豕」者，豕去陰之專字也。降至小篆，刀形之遺，不能別出而獨立，遂斜置於豕足之間，許君乃有「豕絆足」望文之訓耳。古人於家畜之牝牡驪黃，多制專字，此蓋畜牧時代文字之遺；又凡畜牧之事，肉用之牲，恆割去其生殖機能，使之易於肥碩，凡牲之去陰者，亦各有專字，犬曰猗，牛曰犗，馬曰駟，亦曰駟，羊曰羴，豕曰豮，此均見於說文，皆後起形聲字，所以適應後世語言衍變者。不知實豕去陰之原始會意字，徒以隸形譌變，又有形聲之豮，而之誼古，遂沈蕪千古矣。又考从得聲之字，殺訓椎斂物，殺訓擊，桷亦訓擊，書呂刑曰：『爰始罔爲剗刑桷斂。』注：『桷陰。』即宮刑也。字又孳乳爲斂，說文：『斂，去陰之刑也，从支，蜀聲。周書曰：剗刑斂斂。』今本周書作：『剗刑桷斂。』許見本異耳。訓擊乃去陰義之引申，今本呂刑之「桷」，許書之「斂」，則仍「豕」之本義也。金文从又執刀，擬刃豕腹，正豕去陰之象意字也。筆者在農村生長，幼年時所見家畜去陰過程，仍和這個圖畫文字相同。由金文此字，變成甲骨













文的 彳，肥筆的豕，變成了雙勾，刀形的圖畫，變成了一小直畫，抽象化的痕跡，是很顯著的。小篆豕字寫成 豕，甲骨文所表現的依稀彷彿的象形，也不可見了；直到今隸的「豕」，則已成為一堆純抽象的線條組合。甲骨文以下的「豕」字，拿刀的手都消失了，這又是常見的簡化現象。





我們隨意舉了幾個例，已費去了不少篇幅；這些例證，在金文圖畫文字中，可說俯拾皆是。從上古的圖畫文字，到現代的漢字，其衍變完全遵循了這種過程，讀者諸君舉一反三，也就不必多所詞費了。






(二) 簡化：這是漢字文字化的另一主流，其頻率僅次於上述的抽象化。文字既然是源於圖畫，早期圖畫求其酷肖，往往不避煩瑣，上古的圖畫文字，直接沿襲了這種特徵，這是治古文字學的人，所共認的。後來使用日久，圖畫性日漸喪失，文字的符號性日益加強，這是抽象化的自然結果。文字既然成為人們日常生活的工具，人們對工具自然要求便於使用，於是刪繁就簡，苟趨約易，簡化的趨勢，便自然形成，在甲骨、金文的字書中，這種例證，也幾於觸目皆是，在前文所舉例證中，已隨文討論到一些簡化的現象，本節將提出幾個較顯著的例子，作為說明。所謂簡化，包括偏旁的減少、和筆畫的減少，在古文字中，前者較為明顯，因為古文字於圖畫為近，圖畫是無從計算筆畫的，文字抽象化的結果，從具象的圖畫，變為抽象的線條，也纔漸漸的可以計算筆畫，大致說來，小篆已可開始計算筆畫了，從這以下的隸書、楷書，纔有減少筆畫的簡化，通常仍以將筆畫繁複的偏旁，代以簡易的偏旁為多，這與古文字中偏旁增損，仍屬同一性質，下面筆者所選的例字，仍限於甲骨、金文，隸、楷以下的簡體字，材料太多，而且和本文主題相去較遠，便略而不論了。

1.  眉 這字在金文銘詞中出現的次數極多，銘文多為「以介眉壽」。與後世文獻中：「以介眉壽」相當，各家對此字，有許多不同的說解，詳見周法高編金文詁林第四卷二一四三至二二〇八頁，過於繁冗，不想加以引述；多數的意見，都將它當作「眉」字解，金文詁林和金文編一樣，都將它收入第四卷眉字條下。筆者在尚未完成的金文詁林讀後記中，對此字的解釋，也曾略貢鄙見，現擇要引述如下：「本書眉壽並列，一仍容氏金文編之舊，似有可商。蓋「壽」實為「沫」之本字，其後孳衍，本字形變為「壽」，其音義猶與沫字相關；本誼則為後起形聲之「沫」所取代，余曩撰釋壽與沫一文，言之頗詳，本書已有節引，茲不贅論。「眉」則為象形字，其音讀偶與「沫」近，在假借誼中遂多通用，非本為一字也。……蓋金文壽壽之壽，實沫之本字，音假為美，與眉壽、微壽、糜壽相同，其字初無塗血之義，秦

漢之際，形變爲𩇛，遂以爲血祭專字，此文字因語言而孳衍之通例也」。這段話說明「𩇛」字的初形溯源，和以後孳乳假借的情形，並非本節引述的主旨，但要說明一個字的簡化過程，必須先確定這個字的初形溯源，然後纔能將此字的初形和最後簡化的形體，加以比較。「𩇛」字既被確認為「沫」字的初文，我們便可分兩個階段，看它的簡化：第一個階段是兩周，爲了印刷技術上的理由，筆者不打算將兩周時期「𩇛」字的各種異體，一一加以列舉，讀者諸君不妨翻檢金文詁林卷四第二一四四至二一五〇頁所引此字的文獻，便可一目了然的發現它們簡化的痕跡，現僅略舉幾個形體，以供參考： 毛弔盤  國差簋  商獻簋  畢鮮簋  鄒去魯鼎  伯梁其盃  買簋。第二階段是兩周以後此字的變化，「𩇛」字在晚周以至秦漢，變成了「𩇛」字，爲血祭的專字，但有些文獻中，「𩇛」仍保有它洗面的本義。再由「𩇛」字衍變爲「𩇛」、「𩇛」等字，雖然是文字的孳乳，但仍是由「𩇛」字簡化而成。至於「𩇛」字的本音本義，則簡化爲尚書的「頽」，和說文「沫」字的古文「湏」，變成「沫」，應屬下節聲化的範圍了。

2.  父巳柯柯昌濟在韓華三〇頁女招鼎下說：「字从子戴口中張齒形，卜辭有字，其文又云：『疥面』、『疥』，與此字上形正同」。筆者在金文附錄一五八頁說：「此从齒从大，柯氏之說近之。古人制字，於人之官能，卽以其器官表之，目主於視，故於人上着目作，卽『見』字，望必舉首，舉首則目豎，故望字作，耳主於聽，故於人上着大耳作，卽『聖』之古文，又作，卽『聞』之古文，準此論之，齒主於齧，疑此卽齧若噉之古文，惟未能遽定耳」。當時筆者懷疑這是齧字或噉字，但齧或噉都是形聲字，和字找不到聯繫，不像見、望、聖、聞諸字那麼線索分明，因此頗疑卽甲骨文字，後者卽前者的簡化，篆文作齒，从，卽字，另加「止」作聲符，則屬聲化範圍了。

3.  簋文容庚金文編七卷旅下，首收此字，解釋說：「象聚眾人於旂之下形」。這說法很正確。軍旅行動，必定用旂指揮進退，這是造字本意。這字還是一幅相當生動的圖畫；後來變成且辛爵作父戊簋甲骨文作，都大大的簡化了。







4.  父乙卣這是一幅細緻生動的虎的圖畫，也是原始的虎字。後來變成毛公鼎師寶簋和甲骨文的，簡化之迹非常明顯。至於小篆變成，看起來像是从𩇛从人，這又是受了形聲字的影響，所產生的規格化的現象。

(三) 繁化：上節說到簡化是漢字演變的主流，但在文字演變過程之中，和簡化相反的繁化，卻也同時存在。但因文字源於圖畫，圖畫又多繁複，因之漢字在先天上以繁體居多，簡單的圖畫文字，實居極少數，所以繁化的現象，比較不顯著。不過假如我

們細心觀察，仍能發現不算少的例證，而且由於這種例證的探討，給予我們相當重要的啓示，那便是文字過簡，不便於學習和記憶，因此予以適度的增繁，這和簡化的現象，看似背道而馳，而實際上簡化和繁化，都是爲了使得文字容易學習和記憶，用不同的手段，達成同一的目的，它們實是相輔相成的，其結果造成漢字的整齊畫一，目前按筆畫排列的字典中，過簡與過繁的字，總居少數，而以中庸之道十畫上下的字居多，這便是簡化和繁化交相運用的結果。繁化的例證，在金文圖畫文字中較少發見，說文中保存得較多，如「ㄣ」字訓水小流，後來變成了「畎」和「圳」，「ㄣ」訓水流滄滄也，這字實際上變成了後來的「滄」字，雖然說文以「滄」爲水名，但周禮溝滄字就是用「滄」可證。「丨」字說文訓「下上通也，引而上行讀若鹵，引而下行讀若退」。一個字有三個音讀，也有三個意義，但都沒有繁化的迹象，似乎不應在此提出討論，但筆者卻有不同的看法，此字之所以沒有繁化，是因為這字到後世實際上已經死亡，在後世文獻中，似乎沒有發現這幾種音義的用法，此字「古本切」一讀，很可能即是「引」字，那麼仍是屬於繁化的例證了。「ㄣ」字說文訓「張口也」，徐灝說文段注箋說：「口上爲含，口下爲函，ㄣ蓋古函字」。這說法大致是能成立的，那麼簡體的ㄣ字，雖然沒有繁體的本字，卻用了一個繁體的假借字，^{函是另有本義的。}這自然是繁化的一例。「ㄣ」字說文訓「氣欲舒出，ㄣ上礙於一也」，這說法是不足信的，此字甲骨文作「𠂇」，乃柯之本字，象枝柯之形，「柯」是「ㄣ」的繁體。「丨」字說文訓「有所絕止，丨而識之也」。桂馥、王筠都認爲是「豈」的本字，那麼「豈」便是「丨」的繁化了。這類例子還不少，而且在金文、甲骨文的偏旁中，也常可發見，足可證明漢字繁化的情形，那些原來極簡的本字，因爲不便辨識和記憶，終歸於淘汰，例外的是記數的「一」、「二」，原字雖極簡，但因是極好的推事字，纔能自古至今，沿用不變，後世雖有繁體的「壹」、「貳」，那都另有目的，不適於用來作繁化的舉例。

（四）聲化：指事、象形、會意，都是表意的文字，一旦遇到一個詞彙，無法用上述三種方法，造出一個本字來，先民便想出一種權宜的辦法，在已有的文字中，找出一個其讀音與此詞彙的發音相同或至少相近的字來，權充這個詞彙的符號，這便是許氏說文所說的「本無其字，依聲託事」的假借字，假借是純表音的文字，它的功能和拼音字可說完全相同。但中國語言是單音節的，同音的詞彙太多，假借字用得多了，必致混淆不清，因之先民又就已有的表意和表音的文字，加以揉合，產生一半表形（表意），一半表音的形聲字，所以筆者說形聲字是受了假借字的啓示纔產生的。形聲字一旦產生，漢字的發展，可說完全成熟，一切詞彙，都可用這種造字方法，造出本字來，取之不盡，用之不絕，絕大多數的漢字都是用這種造字法製造出來的。這裡所說

的聲化，是指漢字演變過程中，從純表意和純表音的文字，過渡到半表形、半表音的形聲字的歷程，尤其是指那些原屬表意或表音的文字，到後來都用形聲的方法造出了新字而言；至於後起的原就是由一形一聲組成的形聲字，那是聲化的結果，它們是新生的一代，沒有純表意或純表音的前身，從它本身看不出聲化的痕迹，便不在本文討論之列了。現就甲骨、金文中，撫拾若干例字，加以討論：

1.  尸作父己直 筆者在金文詁林附錄一五九頁說：「字象人首戴面具之形，與契文  字意同，代面之戲，或起於殷周之際乎？」周法高先生在同書一六〇頁說：「如李說象人首戴面具之形，則俱字也，亦作麒，荀子非相：『仲尼之狀，面如蒙俱』注：『俱、方相也，四目爲方相，兩目爲俱』」。按周說甚是，甲骨文此字，正作兩目，金、甲文是象形字，到後來成了形聲的類、麒、俱，這一個字的演變，實在包含了抽象化、簡化和聲化三種過程，不過前二者不很明顯，但整個人形，變爲偏旁「頁」，是抽象，變爲「人」，是簡化，而最重要的是聲化，加注了「其」這個聲符，這個字便容易辨識和記憶了。
2.  聲文筆者在金文詁林附錄二一八頁說：「字不可識。字从 戔，从口，乃斧鑕之象；右以 𠄎，象人而斷其一足，疑荆𠄎之最古象意字」。這麼解釋，在音讀上是得不到確切證據的，但字意明白，必是荆或𠄎之初文，這是極標準的聲化字的例證，假如以象意字聲化的規律去推求，這字原來从戔，戔月聲韻並近，那這字應是𠄎字的初文了。
3.  甲骨文 這是鳳的初文，象鳳的羽毛之美，在殷代已有加「𠄎」作聲符的  字， 是凡字，這是顯然的聲化；到篆文又加簡化成从鳥、凡聲的鳳字。甲骨文中，「鳳」字都假借成「風」字用，後來到了戰國時代，原來假鳳爲風的，採取聲化的方法，產生了从日、凡聲的「𠄎」字，說文風之古文後來纔變成一個不倫不類的「風」字。

以上略舉數例，說明聲化的現象，其實原爲象形、會意的字，後來變爲形聲字的，還有不少；至於原是假借字，後來聲化爲形聲字的，就更多了，甲骨文中一百二十多個假借字，在商代已多有變爲形聲字的例子，前在拙著《從六書的觀點看甲骨文字》一文中見南洋大學學報第二期已有詳盡的論列，茲不贅引。

漢字的衍化，真是千變萬殊，複雜綜錯，決非上舉幾條規律所能盡，本文只是想將圖畫文字變成現代漢字的過程，理出一點頭緒來；筆者淺陋，真覺綆短汲深，敬請高明的讀者，多加指正。

