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**CHINESE PHONOLOGY OF THE WEI-CHIN  
PERIOD: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FINALS  
AS REFLECTED IN POETRY**

By

**TING Pang-hsin**

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Historical Study of Archaic Chinese Phonology

The study of Chinese phonology is an integral part of the historical study of the Chinese language. Compared to the opinion of Ch'ing phonologists, this statement is based on a rather modern point of view. The study of Chinese phonology, grammatology and semantics was grouped together by Ch'ing scholars as the "small learnings" 小學<sup>(1)</sup> which is an important tool for interpreting classics.<sup>(2)</sup> Among the "small learnings", again, phonology is the most basic means, through which, grammatology and semantics can be elaborated safely. Therefore, Ch'ing phonologists focused their attention on the phonology of Archaic Chinese, i. e., the phonology of Chou and Ch'in period (1122-207 B. C.).

Starting with a Sung scholar, Wu Yü 吳棫 (1154 A. D.-?), the old Chinese<sup>(3)</sup> rimes were classified into nine rime categories. Because he used literature from the Chou Dynasty down to his time without objective standard, his data revealed actually, a mixture of different periods.<sup>(4)</sup> The periodization scale was first pointed out by Ch'en Ti 陳第 (1541-1617 A. D.) in his book *Mao-shih Ku-yin K'ao* 毛詩古音考. There he remarked: "Generally speaking, there is a difference in time between the ancient and the modern, and a difference in place between the north and the south. Characters are also subject to change and pronunciations to shift. This is a natural tendency." 蓋時有古今, 地有南北, 字有更革, 音有轉移, 亦勢所必至。<sup>(5)</sup> Due to Ch'en Ti's influence on the one hand and the shortcomings of Wu Yü's book on the other, Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武 (1613-1682 A. D.) restricted his sources to archaic literature and regarded the rime words in *Shih-ching* as his main material. By using the inductive method, he concluded, that ten rime categories could be established for Archaic Chinese. It was he who actually founded the systematic study of archaic Chinese phonology.<sup>(6)</sup>

Ku's rime categories were revised and enlarged by his followers. Starting with Chiang Yung 江永 (1681-1762 A. D.), Ku's followers may be considered as one school, since Tai Chen 戴震 (1723-1777 A. D.) was Chiang's

disciple, and Tai again has three well known disciples, namely Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁 (1735-1815 A. D.), K'ung Kuang-sen 孔廣森 (1752-1786 A. D.) and Wang Nien-sun 王念孫 (1744-1832 A. D.). Carefully studying the distinctions between the rimes of *Kuang-yün* 廣韻, compiled by Ch'en P'eng-nien 陳彭年 and others in 1008 A. D. as an enlarged edition of *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻 (601 A. D.), and comparing the rime words of *Shih-ching*, the Chiang school elaborated and divided Ku's rime categories from ten to thirteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen and finally twenty-one.<sup>(7)</sup> The final classification was set up by Wang Nien-sun. It is essential to note here that at the level of Tuan Yü-ts'ai's seventeen categories a systematic relationship between the *Hsieh-sheng* series and the rime categories was already well developed; this was first studied by a Sung scholar Hsü Ch'an 徐蔵 and followed by Chiang Yung.<sup>(8)</sup> The fact that those characters having the same phonetics belong to the same rime category makes it possible to extend the scope of the rime categories to include items which were not registered as rime words.<sup>(9)</sup>

Without knowing Wang's work, another Chiang, Chiang Yu-kao 江有誥 (?-1851 A. D.), also arrived at twenty one rime categories with only one difference in content.<sup>(10)</sup> The similar conclusions of these two scholars showed that, by using the same data and applying the same method, the results would not be widely different. It was on this reliable ground that the later researches were based. We have reconstructed the Archaic Chinese system of phonetic values according to their studies with only slight modifications.

Since Wang Li 王力 discovered that the *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories should be distinguished,<sup>(11)</sup> most scholars have tended to agree on the final classification of the rimes, including *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微, of Archaic Chinese. They claimed either 22 categories or 31 by differentiating 9 *ju-sheng* categories from their corresponding *yin-sheng* counterparts.

Before we turn to the Archaic initials, the different classifications of the Archaic Chinese rimes may be summarized as follows.<sup>(12)</sup>

顧炎武	江 永	段玉裁	孔廣森	王念孫	江有誥	董同龢	王 力	羅常培, 周祖謨
1 東	1 東	9 東	5 東	1 東	15 東	7 東	10 東	13 東
			6 冬		16 中	4 中	27 侵	12 冬



2 支	2 支	16 支	11 支	11 支	7 支	10 佳	14 支	7 支		
		15 脂	12 脂	13 脂	8 脂	13 脂	15 錫	26 錫		
							15 微	17 脂	8 脂	
						21 物		20 微	9 微	
								18 質	21 物	28 術
						14 祭	9 祭	17 祭	24 月	18 質
				10 祭						
				1 之	17 之	17 之	1 之	1 之	29 月	1 之
		2 職	21 職							
		3 魚	3 魚	5 魚	13 魚	18 魚	5 魚	8 魚	11 魚	5 魚
12 鐸	25 鐸									
4 眞	4 眞	12 眞	3 辰	7 眞	12 眞	14 眞	19 眞	16 眞		
		13 諄		8 諄	11 文	16 文	22 文	17 諄		
	5 元	14 元	1 原	9 元	10 元	18 元	25 寒	18 元		
5 蕭	6 蕭	2 蕭	16 宵	21 宵	3 宵	5 宵	6 宵	3 宵		
							7 藥	23 藥		
	11 尤	3 尤	15 幽	20 幽	2 幽	3 幽	4 幽	2 幽		
							5 覺	22 覺		
							4 侯	8 侯	4 侯	
3 尤	9 屋	24 屋								
6 歌	7 歌	17 歌	10 歌	10 歌	6 歌	12 歌	23 歌	6 歌		
7 陽	8 陽	10 陽	4 陽	5 陽	14 陽	9 陽	13 陽	14 陽		
8 耕	9 庚	11 庚	2 丁	6 耕	13 庚	11 耕	16 耕	15 耕		
9 蒸	10 蒸	6 蒸	8 蒸	2 蒸	17 蒸	2 蒸	3 蒸	11 蒸		
10 侵	12 侵	7 侵	7 侵	3 侵	18 侵	22 侵	27 侵	20 侵		
			18 合	16 緝	21 緝	21 緝	26 緝	31 緝		
	13 覃	8 覃	9 談	4 談	19 談	20 談	29 談	19 談		
			18 合	15 盍	20 葉	19 葉	28 葉	30 盍		

As far as the Archaic Chinese initials are concerned, traditional phonologists made slow progress due to the lack of sufficient data. The four main contributions are:

- (1) no labio-dental initials,
- (2) no supradental stops,
- (3) the initial *niang* 娘 and *jih* 日 merging with the initial *ni* 泥,
- (4) the *yü* 喻 initial words of the fourth division being similar to the initial *ting* 定 and those of the third division to the initial *hsia* 匣.

The items 1 and 2 were proposed by Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804 A. D.); 3 by Chang Ping-lin 章炳麟 (1868-1936 A. D.) and 4 by Tseng Yün-ch'ien 曾運乾 respectively.<sup>(13)</sup>

Besides the finals and initials, the Archaic tonal system is proposed in various ways. For the sake of clarity, the theories about Archaic Chinese tones and the details of the reconstructions of the Archaic Chinese phonological system will be discussed in the next chapter.

As mentioned above, Ch'ing phonologists devoted themselves to the Archaic Chinese phonology in order to interpret the classics. Thus they merely compared Archaic Chinese with *Kuang-yün*, and neglected the phonological change within the long interval of roughly 800 years (200 B. C.-600 A. D.),<sup>(14)</sup> i. e., the period of Han, Wei, Chin and Nan-pei-ch'ao. Only Wang Nien-sun started to investigate the rime words from the literature of Western Han.<sup>(15)</sup> Unfortunately, he did not pay sufficient attention to the mutual riming behavior of the rime words to set up the categories of Han times, but on the contrary, he miscategorized the rime words according to the framework of the Archaic riming system. Hence his approach was synchronically inaccurate.

Not until forty years ago, did Wang Yüeh 王越, Wang Li and Yü Hai-yen 于海晏 produce some primary works on the phonology of the post-Archaic and pre-Ancient time. Wang Yüeh has two articles (1933a, 1933c) on the rime words of Han poetry<sup>(16)</sup> in which his statement generally conformed to the vague points made by the Ch'ing scholars, and another one (1933b) on the development of several rime categories during Wei, Chin and Na-pei-ch'ao periods, which will be discussed below (1.3).

Wang Li (1936b) examined the riming conditions of the works of forty-nine writers in Nan-pei-ch'ao period.<sup>(17)</sup> He counted each writer as a unit,

and grouped them into different successive stages according to their general characteristics. As discussed by Lo and Chou (1958), Wang Li has employed a convincing method but is confined by his limited data. Thus quite a few problems are left to be solved, e.g., what relationships are there among rimes as revealed by their occasional contacts?<sup>(18)</sup>

Yü Hai-yen's work (1936) was intended as a thoroughgoing attempt at filling the 800 years gap between Archaic and Ancient Chinese.<sup>(19)</sup> Wang Li (1936a) gave a fairly favorable review by partially adopting Yü's rime classification of the Nan-pei-Ch'ao period, but suggested that more attention ought to be given to the riming standards and habits of individual authors.<sup>(20)</sup> Through a careful study of Yü's book, we are convinced by Lo and Chou's critique.<sup>(21)</sup> In their words, aside from errors in identifying the rime words, Yü's data need more attention and consistent treatment. A review of his chapter on the Wei and Chin rime lists will be given in section 1.3.

Because of the unsatisfactory results of previous studies of this long period, some scholars devoted themselves to the problem of finding the missing link. Among them, Bodman (1954) and Serruys (1959) made definite contributions on the study of Han phonology. It probably would be more fruitful to observe the data in *Shih-ming* 釋名 and *Fang-yen* 方言 in the light of the riming systems of various poets of Han time rather than reconstruct the individual phonological systems as revealed by these texts. Perhaps owing to this idea, Lo and Chou (1958) presented a thorough study on the development of rime-groups in Han, Wei, Chin and Nan-pei-ch'ao. It was planned to have four fascicles: (1) Han, (2) Wei, Chin and Sung, (3) Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en and Sui, and (4) Conclusion.<sup>(22)</sup> Aside from the first fascicle published in 1958, for some unknown reason, the rest of the book has never been seen outside the Chinese mainland except for a rime classification of the Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en period which is quoted by Chou himself.<sup>(23)</sup> Because of the death of Lo on December 13, 1958, it is doubtful that the next three fascicles of the book have ever been published at all.

Lo and Chou's book is reviewed by Malmqvist (1961) and Serruys (1961). It has appropriately been considered as an impressive work of great usefulness and value by Malmqvist. The usefulness of the book is also pointed out by Serruys but with several substantial comments which have been taken into consideration in the present study. The first fascicle of the

book deals with rime words of Han literature from both synchronic and diachronic points of view. It provides a creditable foundation upon which students of Chinese phonology may reconstruct the phonological system of the Han period. It has now been more than fifteen years since the publication of their first fascicle, and the time would seem to be ripe for continuing the work which they began. The present paper is in the main an attempt to do not only this, but also to develop a reconstruction of the finals of the Wei-Chin period.

### 1.2 The Importance of the Wei-Chin Phonology

Temporarily leaving aside until the next chapter the question of which reconstruction of Archaic Chinese is acceptable, with regard to the classification of rime categories we can see the similarity between the Archaic and Han systems. Before we adopt any particular reconstruction of Archaic Chinese phonology, we shall simply list the traditional Chinese names for the Archaic rime categories as compared with those of the Han period.<sup>(24)</sup>

	Archaic		Han
I.	<i>Chih</i> 之	陰 ----- 入 -----	<i>Chih</i> 之 <i>Chih</i> 職
II.	<i>Yu</i> 幽	陰 ----- 入 -----	<i>Yu</i> 幽 <i>Wo</i> 沃
III.	<i>Hsiao</i> 宵	陰 ----- 入 -----	<i>Hsiao</i> 宵 <i>Yo</i> 藥
IV.	<i>Hou</i> 候	陰 ----- 入 -----	----- <i>Wu</i> 屋
V.	<i>Yü</i> 魚	陰 ----- 入 -----	<i>Yü</i> 魚 <i>To</i> 鐸
VI.	<i>Ko</i> 歌	-----	<i>Ko</i> 歌
VII.	<i>Chih</i> 支	陰 ----- 入 -----	<i>Chih</i> 支 <i>Hsi</i> 錫
VIII.	<i>Chih</i> 脂	陰 ----- 入 -----	<i>Chih</i> 脂 <i>Chih</i> 質
IX.	<i>Wei</i> 微	陰 ----- 入 -----	----- -----

X.	<i>Chi</i> 祭	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">陰</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">入</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">-----</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">-----</div> </div>	<i>Chi</i> 祭	
			<i>Yüeh</i> 月	
XI.	<i>Yih</i> 葉	-----	<i>Yih</i> 葉	
XII.	<i>Chi</i> 緝	-----	<i>Chi</i> 緝	
XIII.	<i>Cheng</i> 蒸	-----	<i>Cheng</i> 蒸	
XIV.	<i>Chung</i> 中	-----	<i>Tung</i> 冬	
XV.	<i>Tung</i> 東	-----	<i>Tung</i> 東	
XVI.	<i>Yang</i> 陽	-----	<i>Yang</i> 陽	
XVII.	<i>Keng</i> 耕	-----	<i>Keng</i> 耕	
XVIII.	<i>Chen</i> 眞	-----	<i>Chen</i> 眞	
XIX.	<i>Wen</i> 文	-----		
XX.	<i>Yüan</i> 元	-----	<i>Yüan</i> 元	
XXI.	<i>T'an</i> 談	-----	<i>T'an</i> 談	
XXII.	<i>Ch'in</i> 侵	-----	<i>Ch'in</i> 侵	

Except for minor changes and shifts, these two systems correspond to each other on the whole.<sup>(25)</sup> Of course, within the two Han periods, there are also phonological shifts of some words from one category to the other,<sup>(26)</sup> but it is not necessary to mention them here. A detailed discussion will be given in Chapter 4.

The list given above shows two significant tendencies:

- (1) In the Han period, the *ju-sheng* words formed special categories;
- (2) The correlations among the corresponding *yin*, *yang* and *ju* categories are not stable. This is shown by the difference between the merging of *Chih* 脂: *Wei* 微 and *Chen* 眞: *Wen* 文 on the one hand and the merging of *Hou* 侯: *Yü* 魚 on the other. We can see that even after the *yin-sheng* portions of *Hou* and *Yü* combine together, their *ju-sheng* portions and the corresponding *yang-sheng* categories *Tung* 東 and *Yang* 陽 still remain apart. This is the opposite of the situation of *Chih*, *Wei* and *Cheng*, *Wen*, where the *yin* and *yang* categories change simultaneously.

Keeping these tendencies in mind, we shall turn to the comparison of the riming systems of Nan-pei-ch'ao and Ch'ieh-yün periods. Wang Li (1936b) gives a general picture of the rimes of Nan-pei-ch'ao which agrees with the rime categories given by Chou Tsu-mo (1966) with only minute differences.<sup>(27)</sup> The list given below is based on their statements and the

*Ch'ieh-yün* rimes of Wang Jen-hsü's edition.<sup>(28)</sup> Rimes are classified as *yin* 陰, *yang* 陽 and *ju* 入 according to whether their Ancient Chinese endings are (a) a vowel, (b) a nasal or (c) a stop. We shall let the *p'ing-sheng* 平聲 rimes stand for *shang-sheng* 上聲 and *ch'ü-sheng* 去聲 rimes.

<i>Ch'ieh-yün</i> rimes	Nan-pei-ch'ao rimes	
<i>yang</i>	Wang's list	Chou's list
<i>Tung</i> 東	東	東
<i>Tung</i> 冬	鍾	冬鍾
<i>Chung</i> 鍾	鍾	冬鍾
<i>Chiang</i> 江	江	江
<i>Chen</i> 真	真	真臻殷
<i>Chen</i> 臻	真	真臻殷
<i>Wen</i> 文	文	文
<i>Yin</i> 殷	文	文
<i>Yüan</i> 元	元	元魂痕
<i>Hun</i> 魂	元	元魂痕
<i>Hen</i> 痕	元	元魂痕
<i>Han</i> 寒	寒	寒
<i>Shan</i> 刪	刪	刪
<i>Shan</i> 山	山	山
<i>Hsien</i> 先	先	先仙
<i>Hsien</i> 仙	先	先仙
<i>T'an</i> 覃	覃	覃
<i>T'an</i> 談	談	談
<i>Yang</i> 陽	陽	陽唐
<i>T'ang</i> 唐	陽	陽唐
<i>Keng</i> 庚	庚	庚耕清青
<i>Keng</i> 耕	庚	庚耕清青
<i>Ch'ing</i> 清	青	青
<i>Ch'ing</i> 青	青	青
<i>Ch'in</i> 侵	侵	侵
<i>Yen</i> 鹽	鹽	鹽添
<i>T'ien</i> 添	鹽	鹽添

<i>Ch'ieh-yün</i> rimes	Nan-pei-ch'ao rimes	
<i>ju</i>	Wang's list	Chou's list
<i>Wu</i> 屋	屋	屋
<i>Wo</i> 沃	燭	沃燭
<i>Chu</i> 燭	燭	沃燭
<i>Chüeh</i> 覺	覺	覺
<i>Chih</i> 質	質	質櫛迄
<i>Chih</i> 櫛	質	質櫛迄
<i>Wu</i> 物	物	物
<i>Ch'i</i> 迄	物	物
<i>Yüeh</i> 月	月	月沒
<i>Mo</i> 沒	月	月沒
<i>Ho</i> 曷	?	曷
<i>Hsia</i> 鎋	?	鎋
<i>Hsia</i> 黠	?	黠
<i>Hsieh</i> 屑	屑	屑薛
<i>Hsüeh</i> 薛	屑	屑薛
<i>Ho</i> 合	合	合
<i>Ho</i> 盍	盍	盍
<i>Yao</i> 藥	藥	藥鐸
<i>To</i> 鐸	藥	藥鐸
<i>Mo</i> 陌	陌	陌麥昔錫
<i>Mai</i> 麥	陌	陌麥昔錫
<i>Hsi</i> 昔	陌	陌麥昔錫
<i>Hsi</i> 錫	錫	錫
<i>Ch'i</i> 緝	緝	緝
<i>Yeh</i> 葉	葉	葉帖
<i>T'ieh</i> 帖	葉	葉帖

*Cheng* 蒸 ----- 蒸 ----- 蒸  
*Teng* 登 ----- 登 ----- 登  
*Hsien* 咸 ----- ? ----- (咸)  
*Hsien* 銜 ----- ? ----- (銜)  
*Yen* 嚴 ----- 嚴 ----- (嚴)  
*Fan* 凡 ----- 嚴 ----- (凡)

*Chih* 職 ----- 職 ----- 職  
*Teh* 德 ----- 德 ----- 德  
*Hsia* 洽 ----- ? ----- (洽)  
*Hsia* 狎 ----- ? ----- (狎)  
*Yeh* 業 ----- 業 ----- 業  
*Fa* 乏 ----- 業 ----- 業乏

<i>yin</i>	Wang's list	Chou's list
<i>Chih</i> 支 -----	支 -----	支
<i>Chih</i> 脂 -----	脂 -----	
<i>Chih</i> 之 -----	之 -----	脂之
<i>Wei</i> 微 -----	微 -----	微
<i>Yü</i> 魚 -----	魚 -----	魚
<i>Yü</i> 虞 -----	虞 -----	
<i>Mo</i> 模 -----	模 -----	虞模
<i>T'ai</i> 泰 -----	泰 -----	泰廢
<i>Ch'i</i> 齊 -----	齊 -----	齊(平, 上)
<i>Chi</i> 祭 -----	? -----	祭齊(去)
<i>Chia</i> 佳 -----	佳 -----	佳
<i>Chieh</i> 皆 -----	皆 -----	皆
<i>Kuai</i> 夬 -----	? -----	夬
<i>Hui</i> 灰 -----	灰 -----	灰哈
<i>Hai</i> 哈 -----		
<i>Fei</i> 廢 -----	? -----	
<i>Hsiao</i> 蕭 -----	蕭 -----	蕭宵
<i>Hsiao</i> 宵 -----		
<i>Hsiao</i> 肴 -----	肴 -----	肴
<i>Hao</i> 豪 -----	豪 -----	豪
<i>Ko</i> 歌 -----	歌 -----	歌
<i>Ma</i> 麻 -----	麻 -----	麻
<i>Yu</i> 尤 -----	尤 -----	尤侯幽
<i>Hou</i> 侯 -----		
<i>Yu</i> 幽 -----		

Wang has used only the works of forty-nine writers in the Sung, Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en dynasties, therefore some blanks are left in his list of rime

groups. Lo and Chou have investigated the materials in Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en, but excluded the Liu-Sung literature which has been classified in the previous period. Although the data are not the same, the results are very similar. By setting their rimes side by side with the *Ch'ieh-yün* rimes, besides the strong resemblance between the rime systems, the close correspondences between *yang* and *ju* rimes are also clarified. This reminds us of the relationship between the rime categories of the Archaic and Han periods. One is intrigued by the question that, since the riming system of the Han period agrees on the whole with that of the Archaic period, and the riming system of the Nan-pei-ch'ao period agrees on the whole with the Ancient period,<sup>(29)</sup> then, where is the important turning-point in the history of phonological development? The answer is that it seems that important changes took place around 200-400 A. D. when a major shift of the Archaic system to the Ancient system located.<sup>(30)</sup> Hence it is in the phonology of the Wei-Chin period that the crucial turning-point is to be found.

### 1.3 Previous Works on the Wei-Chin Period

We mentioned above (1.1) that Wang Yüeh (1933b) explored the development of several rime categories during the Wei-Chin period. We shall examine his points in detail here.

In his three-page article, Wang, actually, summarizes the development of both the *Chih* 支—*Chih* 脂—*Chih* 之 group and *Tung* 東—*Chung* 中 group. He indicates that the three Archaic categories, *Chih* 支, *Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 之 were still kept separate through the Wei-Chin period, but the Ancient rimes, namely, *Ch'i* 齊, *Chieh* 皆, *Hui* 灰 and *Hai* 哈 had branched out from the three *Chih* categories.<sup>(31)</sup> This is in general true except that the words of rimes *Chieh* 皆, *Hui* 灰 and *Hai* 哈 form two independent categories which reflect two different endings inherited from *Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 之 respectively, and that the characters of the *Ch'i* 齊 rime remain unchanged in the *Chih* 支 category.

According to Wang's observation, the words originally belonging to the *Chih* 之 category, such as 服, 福, 幅 (*ju-sheng*), 有, 友, 右 (*yin-sheng*), 敏 (also *yin-sheng* in the Archaic period), rime with other words in this same category during the Wei Dynasty but diverge into certain other categories



later. And the *ju-sheng* words of *Chih* 支 and *Yü* 魚 categories are merged.<sup>(32)</sup> We realize that Wang Yüeh does not know the real distinction between *yin-sheng* and *ju-sheng* categories, hence his opinions seem to be incorrect. Actually, during the Wei Dynasty, words like 服 and 福 already rime with words in *Wo* 沃 category which is the *ju-sheng* of the *Yu* 幽 category. 有, 友 and 右 also belong to the *Yu* 幽 category, and only 敏 remains in the *Chih* 之 category. As will be shown in 3.3, the *ju-sheng* words of the *Chih* 支 category riming with those in the *Yü* 魚 category are the only exceptional cases.

With regard to the *Tung* 東 and *Chung* 中 categories, Wang claims that even with frequent contacts between them these two categories should still be kept separate.<sup>(33)</sup> This statement agrees with the conclusions of the present paper. Generally speaking, Wang's idea about the above discussed categories was a breakthrough in his time, but it was by no means a thorough and correct presentation of the problem.

Yü Hai-yen's volume (1936) was an ambitious project to show the natural development of the rime categories from Han to the end of the Sui Dynasty. The data which he collected are almost complete, with only certain dialectal materials of Han times such as *Yi-lin* 易林 and *Fang-yen* 方言 left out. The book is divided into three sections: (1) Han, (2) Wei, Chin and Sung, (3) Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en and Sui. The shortcomings of the section concerning Wei, Chin and Sung are in general typical of the whole book.

The main deficiencies of his work may be said to be due to weakness in general approach and methodology. Yü has put all the rime words, that rime mutually, under a number of categories without distinguishing the normal and exceptional cases. One cannot tell what are the boundaries that set apart the various categories by looking at his rime lists. For this reason, his classification is not based on any sound evidence and may lead the reader in the wrong direction. Furthermore, since the word lists of the various categories have not been handled carefully, they give no information concerning phonological development, and the relationship of the categories to the sound system of the *Ch'ieh-yün* period.

As Lo and Chou pointed out, Yü's book does not give any answer to the following questions: Which writers' works display special tendencies

in using rime words in each period? What kind of phonological changes do the rime words reflect in different periods? Do all the words of each rime in *Ch'ieh-yün* belong to the same category in previous stages? How do we explain exceptional riming cases? What is the difference in tonal systems between the rime books and actual usage? Are there any detectable dialectal distinctions during the 800 years from Han to Sui?<sup>(34)</sup>

Erroneous rime patterns and occasional negligence also affect the appearance of his book. For example:

(1) The anonymous work 月節折楊柳歌十三首 (CS 549-550) includes a total of thirteen poems, in which the final words of each line are read as:<sup>(35)</sup>

- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) 條, 新, 朝, 柳, 中, 數, | (b) 鄉, 飛, 陽, 柳, 歡, 久, |
| (c) 池, 花, 啼, 柳, 徊, 取, | (d) 蓮, 心, 前, 柳, 花, 取, |
| (e) 尺, 珍, 惜, 柳, 粽, 手, | (f) 火, 牖, 坐, 柳, 漿, 渙, |
| (g) 邊, 歎, 年, 柳, 草, 負, | (h) 裳, 水, 霜, 柳, 聲, 婦, |
| (i) 花, 用, 何, 柳, 裳, 取, | (j) 索, 雨, 落, 柳, 柏, 負, |
| (k) 流, 粹, 憂, 柳, 冰, 否, | (l) 暮, 夏, 度, 柳, 間, 久, |
| (m) 寒, 月, 間, 柳, 去, 主. |                       |

Yü has gathered up the last words of the fourth and sixth lines of each poem as rime words, i. e., 柳 and 數, 柳 and 久 etc., but overlooked the fact that the last words of the first and third lines of each poem are also rimed, i. e., 條 and 朝, 鄉 and 陽 etc.

(2) Yang Hsi 楊戲 has thirty short epigrams (*tsan* 贊).<sup>(36)</sup> He has broken with the usual practice and attached the title after each of the epigrams identifying the subject discussed. Yü has wrongly assigned these titles to the following rather than the preceding pieces.

(3) Yü has sometimes put a set of rime words under one category by considering it as an exceptional case, but also put the very same set or a part of it under another category without giving any reason.

(4) Some normal riming cases have been misread as exceptional ones by wrong punctuation of the text.

In sum, Yü's book has its merits as a pioneer work. A more intensive study may be based on it, if the errors are corrected and the rime lists are regrouped.

Two other works may be mentioned here: One is *Liang-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao Ko-yao Yung-yün chih Yen-chiu* 兩晉南北朝歌謠用韻之研究 (A study of the riming system of the folk-songs in Two Chin and Nan-pei-ch'ao periods) by Lo Tsung-t'ao.<sup>(37)</sup> Another one is *Wei Chin Shih-yün K'ao* 魏晉詩韻考 (Notes on the rime categories of the Wei and Chin poetry) by Lin Chiung-yang.<sup>(38)</sup> Both are useful for reference, but no reconstruction has been attempted by either of them.

#### 1.4 Data, Method and Assumptions

The so-called "Complete Collection of Poems" and "Complete Collection of Writings" comprise the only data available. These two are great anthologies: *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao Shih* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩, by Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, and *Ch'üan Shang-ku San-tai Ch'in Han San-kuo Liu-ch'ao Wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, by Yen K'o-chün 嚴可均.

These are the same sources that Yü Hai-yen, and Lo Ch'ang-p'ei and Chou Tsu-mo used. Both the compilers of the great collections have done the necessary work of textual criticism. We take the rime material only from the relevant parts of the data, i. e., rimed compositions. Besides that, fragmentary works and those suspicious compositions which have been restored by collecting fragments from various sources are also not taken into consideration. Those few pieces which are attributed simultaneously to two authors have, according to their rhetoric and other features, been assigned to only one author. For example, the poem "春水滿四澤, 夏雲多奇峯, 秋月揚明輝, 冬嶺秀寒松" was registered twice in Ting's collection under different authors and headings, i. e., Ku K'ai-chih 顧愷之: 神情詩 and T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛: 四時. Because on the one hand Ku was twenty years older than T'ao, and on the other hand, according to the commentary, these four lines formed one stanza of Ku's poem, but were registered as a single poem under Tao's name, we assigned it to Ku K'ai-chih.

By employing the method of conjoining rime words (系聯韻字), we group them into different rime categories. The so-called normal and exceptional cases are determined by statistical evidence. The rime categories which are set up through the mutual relations of riming words serve as the basic corpus for further investigation, reconstruction and discussion. From this standpoint, the riming system of the Wei and Chin period will

be compared with those of the Archaic, Han, Nan-pei-ch'ao and Ancient periods.

At this stage, a crucial question may be raised: is it allowable to group the rime words into a certain number of categories without taking into consideration the dialectal feature which we know must have existed. This question leads us to our basic assumptions with regard to the literary language of the Wei-Chin period:

(1) We assume that a kind of official or literary language usually existed in sophisticated political and literary circles throughout Chinese history. Such a language probably had a rather broad phonological system. For example: The term *ya-yen* 雅言 (literary language) occurs several times in the Analects of Confucius. The *Shih-ching* rimes are considered as having been remodeled according to this *ya-yen*, literary language, of the Chou court.<sup>(39)</sup> Careful studies on the nature of the *Ch'ieh-yün* and its phonological foundation in recent years<sup>(40)</sup> offered further substantiation for our assumption. Among the studies, Chou Tsu-mo's conclusion has been well received by the students of Chinese phonology:

The *Ch'ieh-yün* is a highly systematized rime book containing extremely strict definitions of phonetic distinctions. Its phonological system is not based solely on the dialect of one given region; the system has been established on the basis of the received and cultured speech and reading pronunciations of Southern gentlemen, such as Yen Chih-t'ui and Hsiao Kai, and on an attempt to bridge the differences between South and North... This system can therefore be said to constitute the phonological system of the literature language of the 6th century.<sup>(41)</sup>

If this is true, we may rightly assign rime words to the correct category according to their riming behavior.

(2) Because the riming compositions or poems only require homophonous finals, i.e., the same main vowel and, if any, the same ending, dialectal discriminations may not affect the "category" of rimes. Words ending in -ung and -jung may rime together in one dialect, and may make perfect rimes in another dialect even though those words are actually pronounced

as -ong and -jong. Only rime contacts between categories will be considered as exceptional cases.

(3) Following Wang Li's method, we consider each writer as a unit. The ideosynchronic, as well as dialectal, characteristics will be shown in the normal and exceptional rime lists. Since the language of an individual's ancestral home is not necessarily his native tongue, the ancestral origin of each writer as indicated in his official biography will be used as reference only.

More details about the arrangement of rime lists will be given in 3.1.

### Notes to Chapter One

- (1) In the *Outline of the General Index to Ch'ing Encyclopaedia* 清四庫全書總目提要, the section called "small learnings" is divided into three subcategories, namely, *hsün-hu* 訓詁 (semantics), *tzu-shu* 字書 (dictionaries) and *yün-shu* 韻書 (rime books).
- (2) Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁, a Ch'ing scholar, says: "After the phonology has been clarified, the grammatology (six principles) would be clearly understood; and after the grammatology has been understood, then in the archaic classics there would be nothing that could not be interpreted" 音韻明而六書明, 六書明而古經傳無不可通.
- (3) The term "old Chinese" is used here in a wide sense and refers to the period before Wu Yü's time.
- (4) Wu Yü, *Yün Pu* 韻補, *YYHTS*; cf. Tung 1954, pp. 125-126.
- (5) Ch'en Ti, *Mao-shih Ku-yin K'ao* 毛詩古音考, Preface, *YYHTS*.
- (6) Tung op. cit., pp. 126-127.
- (7) Wang Li (1957) gives a complete picture of the Archaic Chinese phonology in the Ch'ing Dynasty. pp. 269-427; Tung op. cit., pp. 128-131; Chou Fa-ko 1969, p. 110.
- (8) In his preface to Wu Yü's *Yün Pu*, Hsü Ch'an 徐藏 states that "the character *mai* 霾 ought to have 陵之 as its *fan-ch'ieh* rather than 亡皆, because it has the character *li* 狸 as its phonetic."
- Chiang Yung 江永 also expresses a similar idea in the introductory chapter 凡例 of his book *Szu Sheng Ch'ieh-yün Piao* 四聲切韻表 such as 尉, 蔚 having the same phonetic 尉 and 沸, 費 also having the same phonetic 弗. Cf. Wang Li 1967, p. 71.
- (9) The *Shuo-wen Chieh-tzu* 說文解字, compiled by Hsü Shen 許慎 about 100 A.D., serves as the main source for determining which words are actually phonetic compounds (*hsing-sheng* 形聲). This book is a document presenting the graphic analysis of early Chinese scholars. Ch'ing epigraphers made magnificent contributions to the commentaries of this book. Among them, four are the most accomplished ones, namely, Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁, Kuei Fu 桂馥 (1736-1806), Wang Yün 王筠 (1784-1854) and Chu Chün-sheng 朱駿聲 (1788-1858). They not only traced the original ideas of Hsü Shen, but also corrected Hsü's mistakes. In determining the phonetic compounds their comments are very valuable. Cf. Wang Li op. cit., pp. 53-62.
- (10) Comparing both the twenty-one categories of Chiang and Wang, we notice that Chiang has the extra *Tung* 冬 but not the category *Chih* 至, whereas Wang has the extra category *Chih* 至, but not the category *Tung* 冬. Cf. Tung op. cit., pp. 144-145.
- (11) At the time when he studied the riming system of the Nan-pei-ch'ao period, Wang Li discovered the difference between the *Chih* 脂 *Wei* 微 rimes of that period and the ones of the Ancient period. Cf. Wang Li 1936b, pp. 801-802. Later on, he developed this discovery into his theory on the Archaic categories *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微. Cf. Wang Li 1937, pp. 528-534.

- (12) See Chou Fa-kao 1969, pp. 110, 119, 124.
- (13) Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕, *Shih-chia-chai Yang Hsin Lu* 十駕齋養新錄, vol. 5; Chang Ping-lin 章炳麟 *Kuo-ku Lun-hen* 國故論衡, part I, *Chang-shih Ts'ung-shu* 章氏叢書 pp. 31-33; Tseng Yün-ch'ien 曾運乾, "Yü-mu Ku-tu K'ao" 喻母古讀考, Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達 ed., *Ku Sheng Yün T'ao-lun Chi* 古聲韻討論集. Cf. Wang Li 1967, p. 67.
- (14) Archaic Chinese is usually reckoned as the language of the Chou and Ch'in period (1122-207 B. C.), and Ancient Chinese is recorded in the *Ch'ieh-yün* which was compiled in 601 A. D. From 206 B. C., the first year of the Han Dynasty, to 600 A. D. the interval between Archaic and Ancient Chinese covers 806 years.
- (15) Lo and Chou 1958, p. 2.
- (16) Lo and Chou (1958) criticized the ideas of Wang Yüeh 王越, which were presented in his articles 1933b and 1933c, but overlooked his 1933a.
- (17) Wang Li collected his data from *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao San pai Ming-chia Chi* 漢魏六朝三百名家集 which includes the riming compositions and poetry of forty-nine famous writers only. With regard to those writers who do not have many writings, Wang simply skipped them because their riming systems are not essential for his study. Apparently, Lo and Chou do not agree with him on this approach. See Lo and Chou 1958, p. 3.
- (18) Lo and Chou op. cit., p. 3.
- (19) See Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung's preface 錢玄同序 to Yü's book pp. 3-4.
- (20) Wang Li 1936a.
- (21) Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 3-4.
- (22) Lo Ch'ang-pei's preface to Lo and Chou op. cit., p. ii.
- (23) Chou Tsu-mo 1966, pp. 459-462.
- (24) We follow Tung T'ung-ho's terminology here. Cf. Tung op. cit. pp. 144-145.
- (25) Cf. Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 13-14; Li Fang-kuei 1971b, p. 1.
- (26) Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 16-44.
- (27) Wang Li 1936b, pp. 839-842; Chou Tsu-mo 1966, pp. 459-462.
- (28) Wang Jen-hsiü's 王仁昉 edition of *Ch'ieh-yün* has three different manuscript versions. The first version is a fragmentary one, which is kept in the Bibliothèque National of France now and called *Wang-yi* 王一 in *Shih-yün Hui-pien*. This version is suspected of being a recompiled edition by P'ei Wu-Ch'i 裴務齊 according to Wei Chien-kung's 魏建功 introduction to *Shih-yün Hui-pien* and Chou Tsu-mo's study (1966, pp. 483-484). The second version is also a fragmentary one, which is kept in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan and called as *Wang-erh* 王二 in *Shih-yün Hui-pien*. The third version is a complete manuscript which is also kept in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan. It is usually called *Ch'üan-Wang* 全王. Its content is different from *Kuang-yün* as Wang Lien-tseng 王聯曾 pointed out in his article (1957). On the contrary, Li Jung (1956) and Tung (1948a, 1952) claimed that this version is very similar to the *Kuang-yün*. The minute differences in rime numbers are merely a matter of different standard in dividing rimes. It does not reveal any change in the system (Tung 1954, p. 42).
- (29) Li Fang-kuei 1971b, p. 1.
- (30) Ibid.
- (31) Wang Yüeh 1933b, pp. 44-45.
- (32) Ibid.
- (33) Ibid.
- (34) Lo and Chou op. cit., p. 4.
- (35) For "CS", see section 3.1.
- (36) WW 62.7-10; For "WW", see section 3.1.
- (37) The article of Lo Tsung-t'ao 羅宗濤 was in manuscript and written in 1964 as an annual report to *Kuo-chia Chiang-ch'i Fa-chan K'o-hsüeh Wei-yüan-hui* 國家長期發展科學委員會. Mr. Lo kindly allowed me to use this unpublished article as reference.
- (38) Lin Chung-yang 林炯陽, 1972.
- (39) Chou Fa-kao 1968, p. 109; See also Serruys 1959, p. 10.
- (40) Chou Tsu-mo 1966, pp. 434-473; Chou Fa-kao op. cit., pp. 107-111.
- (41) Malmqvist 1968, p. 74.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ARCHAIC CHINESE FINALS: A REVIEW

Since the present paper deals mainly with the Wei-Chin rime system, which includes medials, vowels, final endings, and tones, and only cursorily with the initials, our review here will be focused on the reconstructions of Archaic Chinese finals. To facilitate the discussion of phonetic change, we will first adopt one of the reconstructed systems of Archaic Chinese and then refer to its initial system in the subsequent discussion. As a matter of fact, special attention must be paid to the close correlation between the initials and finals in discussing the phonological development of the Chinese language.

The reconstruction of Archaic Chinese is based on three sources, the *Shih-ching* rimes, the *hsieh-sheng* contacts and the rimes of Ancient Chinese. On the one hand, the Archaic system must be adequate for explaining the rimes as well as *hsieh-sheng* contacts, and on the other hand, it must also fulfil the requirement of interpreting the phonological changes from Archaic to Ancient Chinese. In other words, a basic rule for reconstructing a proto-language is that all later distinctions must some-how be revealed in the earlier system. Furthermore, under identical conditions, the same sound cannot develop differently. Our criticisms on the following systems are proposed simply on this ground. We shall discuss their perfections and imperfections by judging the systems as a whole instead of individual points.

#### 2.1 Bernhard Karlgren's Reconstruction

Karlgren was the first one to apply western linguistic methodology to the vast body of material assembled by the traditional Chinese phonologists. We can observe his utilization of the Ch'ing scholars' contributions throughout his works. The fact that we shall criticize his reconstruction will by no means detract from its merit. We shall list his Archaic Chinese finals in accordance with the traditional rime categories as follows:<sup>(1)</sup> (His finals

are classified here according to the divisions of Ancient Chinese rimes.)

Rime Categories	Karlgren's finals				Group Numbers in Compendium
	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	
之 陰.....	æg, wæg	æg, wæg	ïæg, ïwæg, ïüg		(XX)
入.....	æk, wæk	ek, wek	ïæk, ïwæk, ïük	iwæk	(XIX)
蒸.....	æng, wæng	eng, weng	ïæng, ïüng		(XXI)
幽 陰.....	ôg	ôg	ïôg	iôg	(XXVIII)
入.....	ôk	ôk	ïôk	iôk	(XXVII)
中.....	ông	ông	ïông		(XXIX)
宵 陰.....	og	ög	ïog, ïög	iog	(XXVI)
入.....	ok, ək	ök	ïok	iok	(XXV)
侯 陰.....	ug	üg	ïug		(XXXI)
入.....	u		ïu		(XXXIV)
入.....	uk	ük	ïuk		(XXX)
東.....	ung	üng	ïung		(XXXII)
魚 陰.....	äg, wäg	äg, wäg	ïag, ïwag, ïäg		(XVIII)
入.....	o, wo	ă, wă	ïo, ïwo, ïă		(XXXIII)
入.....	âk, wâk	ăk, wăk	ïak, ïwak, ïăk	iak	(XVII)
陽.....	âng, wâng	äng, wäng	ïang, ïwang, ïäng, ïwäng		(XVI)
佳 陰.....		ëg, wëg	ïëg, ïwëg	ieg, iweg	(XXIV)
入.....		ëg, wëk	ïëk	iek, iwek	(XXIII)
耕.....		ëng, wëng	ïëng, ïwëng	ien, iweng	(XXII)
歌 陰.....	âr, wâr	war, ăr	ïar, ïwar, ïăr, ïwăr	iar	(VIII)
入.....	â, wâ	a, wa	ïa, ia, wia		(XXXV)
祭 陰.....	äd, wäd	ad, wad, ăd, wăd	ïad, ïwad, ïăd, ïwăd	iad	(III)
入.....	ât, wât	at, wat, ăt, wăt	ïat, ïwat, ïăt, ïwăt	iat, iwat	(II)
元.....	ân, wân	an, wan, ăn, wăn	ïan, ïwan, ïăn, ïwăn	ian, iwan	(I)
脂 陰.....			ïed	ied	(XI)
入.....			ïët, ïwët	iet, iwet	(X)
真.....			ïên, ïwên	ien, iwen	(IX)



微	陰	...əd, wəd	əd, wəd	iəd, iwəd, iəd, iwəd	iəd, iwəd	(VI)
	入	...ər, wər	ər, wər	iər, iwər, iər, iwer	iər, iwər	(VII)
文	入	...wət	ət, wət	iət, iwət, iwət	iət, iwət	(V)
	入	...ən, wən	ən, wən	iən, iwən, iən, iwen	iən, iwən	(IV)
緝	入	...əp	əp	iəp, iəp	iəp	(XV)
侵	入	...əm, ũm	əm	iəm, iəm, iŭm	iəm	(XIV)
葉	入	...āp	ap, āp	iap, iāp, iwāp	iap	(XIII)
談	入	...ām	am, ām	iam, iām, iwām	iam	(XII)

Karlgren's system has been reviewed and modified by many scholars on quite a few points. It is unnecessary to go fully into all these points in detail. We shall merely point out some basic and significant deficiencies in Karlgren's system.

(1) Karlgren's system comprises three medials, *i*, *i* and *w*; fourteen vowels,

		u, ũ
e, ě		ô, ô
		o, ǒ
ε	ə	â
a, ǎ		â

nine final consonants in three sets,

1. -(b)<sup>(2)</sup>    -p       -m
2. -d, -r    -t       -n
3. -g        -k       -ng

and open syllables ending with the following vowels, *â*, *a*; *o*, *â*; *u*. It is difficult to accept a language with fourteen different vowels, in which eight are back vowels distributed in five different heights.<sup>(3)</sup>

(2) From the above list, we can see that Karlgren posits several vowels in each rime category, i.e., with the identical endings: (a) *ə* and *ε* rime with *ũ*; (b) *ô* rimes with *ô*; (c) *o* and *ǒ* rime with *â*; (d) *u* rimes with *ũ*; (e) *â* and *ǎ* rime with *a*; (f) *ě* rimes with *e*. The fact that vowels with different lengths rime together may be a moot point<sup>(4)</sup>, but we must

bear in mind that each vowel modified by diacritical marks is in fact a different phoneme. Besides that, the assumption that the vowels *ə*, *ɛ* rime with *ʏ* is hard to accept.

(3) Karlgren has reconstructed four groups of words as open finals: (a) his rime category XXXV (a part of the *Ko* 歌 category) as *â*, *wâ*, *a*, *wa*, *ja*, *ia* and *wia*; (b) his rime category XXXIII (part of the *Yü* 魚 category) group one as *o*, *wo*, *io*, *iwo* and group two as *â*, *ja*, *wâ*; and (c) his rime category XXXIV (a part of the *Hou* 侯 category) as *u*, *iu*. All but one of these categories are more correctly reconstructed as having a final velar consonant by Professor Tung T'ung-ho 董同龢 and others<sup>(5)</sup> in the light of the evidence of both the *Shih-ching* rimes and *hsieh-sheng* contacts. The one exception is *Ko* 歌 category, for which Tung reconstructs the vowel *a* without final consonant, and the others (see below) reconstruct *a* and a final dental consonant, -d, -r or -l. Karlgren attacks these suggestions in his recent article (1963).<sup>(6)</sup> He argues that his category XXXV (*Ko* 歌) evidently had no final guttural (velar) consonant because this group has no contacts in the *hsieh-sheng* series with words ending in -k. His statement is irrelevant since no one considers that group to have had final guttural consonants!

With regard to his categories XXXIII (*Yü* 魚) and XXXIV (*Hou* 侯), Karlgren gives the same argument that these categories have no final guttural consonants. His evidence for this is also based on the *Shih-ching* rimes and *hsieh-sheng* contacts as is that of the other authorities. Tung points out that Karlgren has twisted and overlooked some of the *hsieh-sheng* series and the *Shih-ching* rimes;<sup>(7)</sup> in our opinion, Karlgren has not convincingly refuted Tung's contention. For example, he does not take the following evidence into account. (Temporarily, Karlgren's Archaic reconstruction are given here.)

(A) Category XXXIII

a) *hsieh-sheng* series

固 *ko* : 涸 *ʔak*

專 *p'wo* : 博 *pâk* : 傳 *piwo* : 縛 *b'iwak*

者 *tja* : 著 *tjo* : 斲 *tjak*

b) *Shih-ching* rimes

Ode 194.2 夫 piwo : 夜 ziăg : 夕 dziăk : 惡 'ak

Ode 177.4 茹 nio : 穫 g'wâk

## (B) Category XXXIV

a) *hsieh-sheng* series

婁 gliu : 數 suk

蕚 ku : 斟 kûk : 講 kŭng

芻 ts'iu : 齠 dz'ük

b) *Shih-ching* rimes

Ode 223.6 木 muk : 附 b'iu : 屬 điuik

Ode 257.12 谷 kuk : 穀 kuk : 圻 ku

In view of the above examples, we cannot assert that the words of these categories never rime or have *hsieh-sheng* connections with -k groups. Hence Karlgren's reconstruction of these open syllables are not acceptable.<sup>(8)</sup>

## 2.2 Tung T'ung-ho's Reconstruction

Karlgren's reconstruction of Archaic Chinese has led to fruitful discussions by others.<sup>(9)</sup> Among these, a complete reconsideration was undertaken by Tung (1944, 1948b). Tung's system of Archaic Chinese finals is as follows:

Rime Categories	Tung's finals			
之 陰.....ôg	əg, uəg	jəg, juəg, juǎg		
之 入.....ôk, uək	ək, uək	jək, juək, juǎk		
蒸.....ông, uəng, uəng	əng, uəng	jəng, juəng, juǎng		
幽 陰.....ôg	og	jog, jǒg	iog	
幽 入.....ôk	ok	jok	iok	
中.....ông	ong	jong		
宵 陰.....ôg	ɔg	jɔg, jǒg	iɔg	
宵 入.....ôk	ɔk	jɔk	iɔk	
侯 陰.....ûg	(ug)	jug		
侯 入.....ûk	uk	juk		
東.....ûng	ung	jung		

## 2.2 Tung's Reconstruction

魚	陰……	ag, uag	(ag), äg, uäg	jag, juag, jäg	
	入……	ak, uak	(ak), äk, uäk	jak, juak, jāk	
陽	……	ang, uang	(ang), än, uäng	jang, juang, jäng, juäng	
佳	陰……		eg, ueg	jeg, jueg	ieg, iueg
	入……		ek, uek	jek, juek	iek, iuek
耕	……		eng, ueng	jeng, jueng, jëng, juëng	ieng, iueng
歌	陰……	a, ua	a, ua	ja, jǎ, juǎ	
祭	陰……	ad, uad	ad, uad, æd, uæd	jæd, juæd, jad, juad, jǎd, juǎd	iæd, iuæd
	入……	at, uat	at, uat, æt, uæt	jæt, juæt, jat, juat, jǎt, juǎt	iæt, iuæt
元	……	an, uan	an, uan, æn, uæn	jæn, juæn, jan, juan, jǎn, juǎn	iæn, iuæn
脂	陰……		ed	jed, jued, jer	ied, iued
	入……		et, uet	jet, juet	iet, iuet
真	……		en	jen, juen	ien, iuen
微	陰……	êd, uêd, uêr	êd, uêd	jêd, juêd, jêd, juêd, juêr	
	入……	êt, uêt	êt, uêt	jêt, juêt, jêt, juêt	
文	……	ên, uên	ên, uên	jên, juên, jên, juên	iên, iuên
葉	入……	ap, Ap	ap, ep	jap, jep, jǎp, juǎp	iap
談	……	am, Am	am, em	jam, jem, jǎm, juǎm	iam
緝	入……	âp	âp	jâp	iâp
侵	……	êm, uêm	êm	jêm, juêm	iêm

(1) Tung's system comprises three medials *j*, *i* and *u*; twenty vowels,

		û
		u
e, ě		ô
	â, â	o, ǒ
	ə, ǎ	ô
æ	e	ɔ, ǔ
a, ǎ	A	a

nine final consonants in three sets,

1.	-p	-m
2. -d, -r	-t	-n
3. -g	-k	-ng

and one open syllable ending with the vowel *a*. Generally speaking, Tung's critique of Karlgren's system is correct. But he posits more vowels than Karlgren. It is difficult to believe that any language has nine different back vowels and six different central vowels, and yet has no simple front vowel *i*.

It is necessary to notice here that Karlgren was not aware of the problem of *fan-chieh* doublets in *Kuang-yün*, i. e., when two sets of words with different *fan-ch'ieh* occur under the same initial and in the same rime. Tung (1945) and Chou fa-kao (1945) bring up a similar solution for this problem by assigning the difference to the vowels. Therefore, Tung has to posit more vowels in order to take care of this phenomenon in Archaic Chinese.

(2) Tung's riming system seems to be more reasonable than Karlgren's. He postulates one main vowel in each rime category, but allows vowels with different color and tenseness to rime together. For example: (a) Words like t'æg, muæg, ljæg and kjuæg are considered to rime perfectly; (b) Words like lum, lam, kam, dz'em may rime with gjäm. The same vowel with different diacritical marks may be grouped together, but are nevertheless distinctive phonemes. If there is a system which has only one vowel in each rime category and can explain the development from Archaic to Ancient Chinese as well, of course, it would be more acceptable.

(3) Tung excludes all but one open syllable postulated by Karlgren. The only remaining one, as mentioned before, is a part of the *Ko* 歌 category. Karlgren divides the *Ko* rime category into two groups: -ar and -a. Tung not only maintains the -a, but also changes the -ar to -a. It is the only open syllable in his Archaic Chinese system. Actually, Tung hesitated in reconstructing this final as -a. He claims that the *Ko* 歌 category does not behave in exactly the same manner as the *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories for which dental finals are postulated. On the one hand, he posits the *Ko* 歌 category as having an open syllable, but on the other hand, he points out that some words of this category have *hsieh-sheng* contacts only with -n words but not -m or -ng words.<sup>(10)</sup> The reason that he did not wish to reconstruct a final dental for *Ko* 歌 may be due to a reluctance to leave no open syllables at all. A language without any open syllable seems doubtful. As E. G. Pulleyblank has justly demonstrated, the solution

of leaving no open syllables at all in Archaic Chinese is at the same time the most extreme and the most logical.<sup>(11)</sup> He gives typological evidence showing that the Old Mon language would not appear to have had open syllables. Professor Li Fang-kuei has also concluded that Archaic Chinese had no open syllables.<sup>(12)</sup>

### 2.3 Lu Chih-wei's Reconstruction

At almost the same time Tung established his reconstruction, another scholar, Lu Chih-wei also thoroughly studied the *hsieh-sheng* contacts and the *Shih-ching* rimes and presented his system (1947, 1948). Let us first list Lu's Archaic finals.

Rime Categories		Lu's finals	
之	陰.....ə, wəg, ug? (əg)	iəg, iwəg, Iəg, Iwəg, ieg, iweg	
	入.....ək, wək	iək, iwək, Iwək	
蒸	.....əng(<əm), wəng?	iəng(<iəm), Iwəng(<iwəm)	
幽	陰.....uig	Iuig	iuig
	入.....uik	Iuik	
中	.....uung(<uum)	Iuung(<Iuum)	
宵	陰.....ʌg ɔg	Iʌg, iʌg	əg
	入.....ʌk	Iʌk	ək
侯	陰.....og ɔg	Iog	
	入.....ok ɔk	Iok	
東	.....ong ɔng	Iong	
魚	陰.....ag, wag ag, wag	Iag, Iwag, iag, iag	
	入.....ak, wak ak, wak, ək, wək	Iak, Iwak, iək, iwək, Iak	
陽	.....ang, wang ang, wang	Iang, Iwang, Iang, Iwang	
佳	陰..... æg, wæg	Iæg, Iwæg, iæg, iwæg	eg, weg
	入..... ək, wək	iæk, iwæk	ek, wək
耕	..... eng, weng	Iəng, iəng, iweng	əng, wəng
歌	陰.....a <sub>d</sub> , wa <sub>d</sub> a <sub>d</sub> , wa <sub>d</sub>	ia <sub>d</sub> , iə <sub>a</sub> , iwə <sub>a</sub> , Iə <sub>a</sub> , Iwə <sub>a</sub>	

祭	陰……ad, wad	ad, wad	iad, iwad, iad, iwad, iəd, iwəd	
	入……at, wat	at, wat, et, wet	iat, iwat, iat, iwat, iət, iwet	
元	……an, wan	an, wan, en, wen	ian, iwan, ian, iwan, ien, iwen	
脂	陰……	əd, wəd	iəd, iwəd, iəd, iwəd	əd, wəd
	入……		iət, iwət, iət, iwət	ət, wət
眞	……		ien, iwen, ien, iwen	en, wen
微	陰……əd, wəd		iəd, iwəd, iəd, iwəd, iəd, iwəd	
	入……ət, wət		iət, iwət, iət, iwət, iət, iwət	
文	……ən, wən		iən, iwən, iən, iwən, ien, iwen	
葉	入……ap	ap, ep	iap, iap, iap, iwəp	əp
談	……am	am, em	iam, iam, iam, iwəm	əm
緝	入……əp(<Δp)		iəp, iəp, iəp, iəp	
侵	……əm(<Δm)		iəm, iəm, iəm, iəm	

(1) Lu's system comprises three medials, *i*, *i* and *w*; thirteen vowels,

		ui, u
ě		o
ε	ə	
æ	ə	Λ, ɔ
a	ɛ	u

and nine final consonants in three sets,

1.	-p	-m
2. -d, -a	-t	-n
3. -g	-k	-ng.

Lu's vowel system is as complicated as Karlgren's system. He posits thirteen vowels, only one less than Karlgren's. Curiously enough, while he argues that it is doubtful to accept a seven-vowel system for any Chinese dialect,<sup>(13)</sup> he does not postulate a simpler one for Archaic Chinese.

(2) When Lu criticizes Karlgren's system by saying that -ük, -eg and -iək make hedge rimes in *Shih-ching*,<sup>(14)</sup> it seems that he intends to re-

construct his system in closer conformity with the *Shih-ching* rimes. But for the same *Chih* 之 category, Lu himself assigns four different vowels which make finals like -æg, -ug, -ëg, -iëg and -wæg.<sup>(15)</sup> He claims that one need not posit the same vowel for each category, and that his theory is more reasonable according to the history of Chinese poetry.<sup>(16)</sup> It is difficult for us to agree with his claim. We can hardly see any evidence in the history of Chinese poetry that may support his theory. No matter how flexible the rimes are, words with -æg, -ug, -ëg, -iëg and -wæg would not be considered as perfect rimes.

(3) Lu is excessively inclined to rely on his reconstruction of Ancient Chinese. Thus in the process of forming his system of Archaic Chinese, he starts with Archaic Chinese rime categories and evidently switches to trace back every single rime of Ancient Chinese to the Archaic time. By doing this, he shifts his unit from large categories to individual rimes. He even twists the Archaic Chinese categories in order to fit his peculiar way of reconstruction. Therefore, he postulates only one final for *Hao* 豪, *Yao* 肴 and *Hsiao* 蕭 respectively, which both the Ch'ing scholars and the other modern students have considered as having two sources. Actually, the Ancient rimes *Hao* 豪, *Yao* 肴 and *Hsiao* 蕭 came from two Archaic categories *Yu* 幽 and *Hsiao* 宵. Lu has assigned them only to the category *Hsiao* 宵 and assumes the *hsieh-sheng* contacts and *Shih-ching* rimes between the words of *Hao* 豪—*Yao* 肴—*Hsiao* 蕭 and the words of *Yu* 幽 category to be exceptions.<sup>(17)</sup>

We have found another case in rime *Hsien* 先, to which Lu has again reconstructed one final -en, while the others reconstructed it as having come from three different sources.<sup>(18)</sup> Hence, there are no fourth division finals at all in either the *Wen* 文 or the *Yüan* 元 categories in Lu's list. He says that this -en is a kind of final which stands between the *Chen* 真 and *Yüan* 元 categories, and its contacts with the *Wen* 文 category are exceptions.<sup>(19)</sup> He apparently contradicts his own basic assumption that the *hsieh-sheng* contacts and *Shih-ching* rimes are main data for setting up the frame-work of Archaic Chinese.<sup>(20)</sup>

## 2.4 Wang Li's Reconstruction

Wang Li (1936–7, 1957) originally accepted Karlgren's system, but when



he developed his own system later (1957-8, 1958), it differed from Karlgren's in several respects. His Archaic finals are given below:

Rime Categories			Wang's finals	
之	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...ə, uə	ə, uə	ĩə, ĩwə, ĩwə	
	long <i>ju</i> ...ēk, uēk	ēk	ĩēk, ĩwēk, ĩāk	
	short <i>ju</i> —職...ǎk, uǎk	ǎk	ĩǎk, ĩwǎk, ĩwǎk	
蒸	...əng, uəng	uəng	ĩəng, ĩwəng	
幽	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...əu	eəu	ĩəu	iəu
	long <i>ju</i> ...ēuk			
	short <i>ju</i> —覺...ǎuk	eǎuk	ĩǎuk	iǎuk
宵	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...au	eau	ĩau	ia
	long <i>ju</i> ...āuk	eāuk	ĩāuk	iāuk
	short <i>ju</i> —藥...ǎuk	eǎuk	ĩǎuk	iǎuk
侯	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...o		ĩwo	
	long <i>ju</i> ...ōk		ĩwōk	
	short <i>ju</i> —屋...ǎk	eǎk	ĩwǎk	
東	...ong	eong	ĩwong	
魚	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...a, ua	ea, oa	ĩa, ĩwa, ia	
	long <i>ju</i> ...āk, uāk	eāk	ĩāk, iāk	
	short <i>ju</i> —鐸...ǎk, uǎk	eǎk, oǎk	ĩǎk, ĩwǎk	
陽	...ang, uang	eang, uang	ĩang, ĩwang, iang, ĩwang	
支	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...	e, ue	ĩe, ĩwe	ie, iwe
	long <i>ju</i> ...	ēk, uēk	ĩēk	iēk
	short <i>ju</i> —錫...	ǎk, uǎk	ĩǎk, ĩwǎk	iǎk, iwǎk
耕	...	eng, ueng	ĩeng, ĩweng, ĩeng	ieng, iweng
脂	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...	ei	ĩei, ĩwei	iei
	long <i>ju</i> ...	ēt	ĩēt, ĩwēt	iēt, iwēt
	short <i>ju</i> —質...	ǎt	ĩǎt, ĩwǎt	iǎt, iwǎt
真	...	en	ĩen, ĩwen	ien, iwen
微	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...əi, uəi, uəi	eəi, oəi	ĩəi, ĩwəi, ĩwəi	
	long <i>ju</i> ...ēt, uēt		ĩēt, ĩwēt	
	short <i>ju</i> —物...ǎt, uǎt		ĩǎt, ĩwǎt	
文	...ən, uən	eən	ĩən, ĩwən, ĩən, ĩwən	iən, iwən

	<i>p'ing-shang</i> ...a, ua	ea, oa	ĭa, ĭwa, ia	
歌	long <i>ju</i> ...āt, uāt	eāt, oāt	ĭāt, ĭwāt	iāt
	short <i>ju</i> —月 ...āt, uāt	eāt, oāt	ĭāt, ĭwāt	iāt, iwāt
寒	...an, uan	ean, oan	ĭan, ĭwan	ian, iwan
緝	short <i>ju</i> ...əp, uəp	eəp	ĭəp, ĭwəp	
侵	...əm, uəm	eəm, oəm	ĭəm, ĭwəm	iəm
葉	short <i>ju</i> ...ap	eap	ĭap, ĭwap	iap
談	...am	eam	ĭam	iam, iwam

(1) Wang's system comprises six medials, *e*, *o*, *ĭ*, *i*, *u* and *w*; seven vowels,

i		u
e		o
a	ə	ɑ

and six final consonants in three sets,

1. -p            -m
2. -t            -n
3. -k            -ng.

Since Wang has not reconstructed final -b, -d and -g, all his vowels can occur in final position and form various open syllables. Wang demonstrates that Karlgren's system which has only a few open syllables is certainly suspicious from the standpoint of common sense, because there is no single language in the world having so few open syllables.<sup>(21)</sup> From the list of his finals above, we can clearly see that Wang's open syllables occur in rather limited environments. Since they are based on the *hsieh-sheng* contacts and *Shih-ching* rimes, his open syllables are bound to correspond to certain syllables with final consonants. For example, ə : ək, əng; əi : ət, ən; ɑ : ək, ung; a : at, an. As rightly pointed out by Pulleyblank (1962-3), Wang explains the *hsieh-sheng* contacts entirely on the basis of vowel congruence, i. e., by supposing that identity of main vowels is sufficient to account for the usual use of the same phonetic in words with and without a final consonant. But we are then faced with the question of why the vowels ə and e go only with -ək, -əng and -ek, -eng respectively, but not with -ət, -ən, -əp, -əm and -et, -en.<sup>(22)</sup>

Another arbitrary arrangement of Wang's system is that he posits two

low vowels -a and -u only for the sake of explaining their individual contacts with different final consonants, i. e., the front -a corresponds to -at and -an while the back -u corresponds to -uk and -ung.<sup>(23)</sup> Furthermore, in the light of the riming pattern of Chinese poetry that words with -a may rime with words with -ia, -ua or -ya, but not with -au, Wang is apparently unable to explain the occasional rime contacts between the *Chih* 之 and *Yu* 幽 categories, (his -ə and -əu), which have long been recognized by most of the phonologists.

(2) There are twelve italicized finals in the above list, which are those reconstructed as different finals by others but as exceptions by Wang. He usually proposes one final for two Ancient rime groups conditioned by initial factors, and then explains those words which do not fit as exceptions. For instance, in the *Chih* 之 category, his -iwək has split into two rimes, *Chih* 職 and *Wu* 屋, in Ancient Chinese. He fails to explain the reason of the split, and consequently regards the group of words later becoming a part of the Ancient *Chih* 職 rime as an exception.<sup>(24)</sup>

In the *Wei* 微 category, he reconstructs only -iwəi for those words which later separated into Ancient rimes *Wei* 微 and *Chih* 脂. He gives the condition that words with labial and velar initials develop into the *Wei* 微 rime while those words with dental initials enter the *Chih* 脂 rime. Unfortunately, there are some words with labial and velar initials which also develop into the *Chih* 脂 rime, such as 悲, 巖, etc. The reason he gives is again that they are exceptions.<sup>(25)</sup> Too many exceptions are permitted in his system.

(3) Wang propounds a new theory about Archaic Chinese tones which will be discussed below in 2.8. From this theory, he claims that all the *ch'ü-sheng* words in the Ancient period derive from two Archaic sources: one being the *ju-sheng* and the other being the *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng*, i. e., he reconstructs no *ch'ü-sheng* words at all in Archaic Chinese. He indicates that the difference between the normal *ju-sheng* and the pseudo-*ju-sheng* is a matter of long and short vowels respectively, while some of the *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* words change to Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* due to a morphological development.<sup>(26)</sup> Thus, in the framework of his Archaic Chinese, we shall expect the Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* words to be well distributed under the other tones. This is indeed the case for the pseudo-*ju-sheng*

parts. That is why we have listed the special row of the so-called long-*ju* 長入 in the above list of Wang's finals. But when Wang lists the sample words for individual rime categories under open syllables, which is his *p'ing* and *shang* part, we can see that he still groups the *ch'ü-sheng* words together and does not identify them as having been *p'ing* or *shang* as he claims to do.<sup>(27)</sup> This arrangement reveals inconsistency on one hand, and hesitation on the other. Since there is no evidence to prove all the *ch'ü-sheng* words, except those from long-*ju*, having morphological affinity with either *p'ing* or *shang* words, Wang has no other choice but leave them without comment. His theory is refuted by his own examples.

(4) Wang posits three medials for the *ho-k'ou* element, namely, -u-, -o- and -w-. It seems that he intends to use -u-, -o- and -w- for the rimes of division I, II and III-IV respectively. But for some unknown reason, he also uses -u- for division II rimes, such as -uəŋ in the *Cheng* 蒸 category and -uek, -uek and -ueng in the *Chih* 支 and *Keng* 耕 categories. It is also not convincing at all to propose three medials for one element from the phonemic point of view. Especially the -u- and -w- could well be represented by one phoneme.

## 2.5 E. G. Pulleyblank's Reconstruction

Since Wang Jung-pao 汪榮寶 started the pioneer work of discussing the real pronunciation of certain rimes in Archaic Chinese by using the Chinese transcriptions of foreign words as main material in 1923,<sup>(28)</sup> Pulleyblank has been the one who extends this method to the whole Archaic Chinese system. Even if we do not agree with him on certain points, his work is still valuable and stimulating.<sup>(29)</sup> His first article (1962-3) deals mainly with the initial and final consonants and gives only an outline of his vowel system. At first, he proposed ten vowels in five sets, *i*, *ī*; *e*, *ē*; *a*, *ā*; *o*, *ō*; *u*, *ū*; six diphthongs, *ea*, *ēā*; *au*, *āu*; *eu*, *ēu*; and two triphthongs, *eau*, *ēāu*.<sup>(30)</sup> This is of course a fairly complicated system. Subsequently, he reconsidered his theory and reduced the vowels to only two, *ə* and *a*, which contrast in tongue height.<sup>(31)</sup> He has not come to any definite conclusion yet. Recently, he has proposed a new hypothesis about the *Shih-ching* rime categories, from which, he presents the framework of his system.<sup>(32)</sup> Since he is still in the process of working out the details,

and changes some ideas now and then, we are unable to single out a complete list of finals from his articles as we have done for the systems discussed above. We simply copy his own summary with slight rearrangement in the order of rime categories.

之 陰.....əi  
       入.....ək  
 蒸.....əng  
 幽 陰.....əw  
       入.....ək<sup>w</sup>  
 中.....əng<sup>w</sup>

脂 陰.....əj  
       入.....ək<sup>j</sup>  
 眞.....əng<sup>j</sup>  
 微 陰.....əl  
       入.....ət  
 文.....ən  
 緝.....əp  
 侵.....əm

魚 陰.....ai  
       入.....ak  
 陽.....ang  
 侯 陰.....aw  
       入.....ak<sup>w</sup>  
 東.....ang<sup>w</sup>  
 宵 陰.....ah  
       入.....a<sup>?</sup>  
 支 陰.....aj  
       入.....ak<sup>j</sup>  
 耕.....ang<sup>j</sup>  
 歌 陰.....al  
       入.....at  
 元.....an  
 祭.....去.....ats  
 葉.....入.....ap  
 談.....am

(1) Pulleyblank's system is very neat and symmetrically distributed. We know that Archaic Chinese has twenty-two categories which may be divided into twelve groups as shown above. While Pulleyblank limits his vowels to only two, he must seek some other solutions to account for the existence of the twelve rime groups. Therefore, he postulates additional final consonants and finally sets up a set of labiovelars, -w, -k<sup>w</sup>, -ng<sup>w</sup>,<sup>(33)</sup> a set of palatals, -j, -k<sup>j</sup>, -ng<sup>j</sup>, a set of laryngals, -h, -?, and -l and -i instead of the traditional -d and -g. In the mean-time, he still keeps Karlgren's -k, -ng; -t, -n and -p, -m. Hence in Archaic Chinese, there are five distinctive nasal endings, -m, -n, -ng<sup>j</sup>; -ng, and -ng<sup>w</sup>, and six final stops, -p, -t, -k<sup>j</sup>, -k, -k<sup>w</sup> and -?. No matter how plausible the theory is, with the same concomitant vocalic feature, ə or a, one may doubt the linguistic reality and wish to see whether any other possibility may also explain the data as well.

(2) His theory of two vowels contrasting in tongue height has very significant meaning, because this contrast occurs through the whole history of the Chinese language. We may trace this back to the insight of a Ch'ing scholar Chiang Yung 江永. He is the first one who discriminates the phonetic difference between categories *Yu* 幽 and *Hsiao* 宵; *Chen* 眞 and *Yüan* 元; and *Ch'in* 侵 and *T'an* 談. He recognized that the former ones of these three pairs, namely, *Yu* 幽, *Chen* 眞 and *Ch'in* 侵, have a sort of close-mouth sound as opposed to the latter ones which have an open-mouth sound.<sup>(24)</sup> Li Fang-kuei has also pointed out this phenomenon from another point of view and really spelled out the contrast between *ə* and *a*.<sup>(25)</sup> We believe that, as Pulleyblank claims, this contrast may hold true for the basic nuclear vowels of Sino-Tibetan.<sup>(26)</sup> Now the question is whether these two are the *only* vowels in Archaic Chinese. Modern phonetics investigates the universal features of language, and indicates that the most basic vowels are *i*, *a* and *u* which compose the overall triangle complementing the vocalic apex.<sup>(27)</sup> We have reason to believe that *ə* and *a* are not the only vowels in a language.

(3) With regard to the Chinese transcriptions of foreign words, the interpretation may differ in various ways. We can see the large flexibility of interpreting those words according to the difference between Pulleyblank's previous and recent reconstructions. Both are supposed to fit with the transcription values. The difficulty is that the transcriptions are mostly from Han documents which may or may not represent the early Archaic situation. Furthermore there are dialectal factors involved. For instance, in the case of 高附=Kabul, Pulleyblank originally reconstructs the word 高 as *kauh*, later changes to *kawh*, and finally to *kah* giving the value of the Han period as *kaβ*.<sup>(28)</sup> Then he indicates the development of the final *h* by shifting it to *ɤ* or *ɣ*, then being substituted by a bilabial fricative *β*. We hardly comprehend, on one hand, the reason of the whole theory, because the *b* sound in Kabul is already taken care of by the word 附 which has a voiced labial initial; and on the other hand, a Han transcription seems to be a very vague piece of evidence on which to base an Archaic Chinese reconstruction.

Practically, dialectal elements are deeply involved in the transcriptions. Let us examine a modern transcription: the name of the city Chicago is

officially transcribed as “芝加哥” or “支加哥” in Mandarin, but it reveals little information as to the actual pronunciation of Mandarin *Chih-chia-ko*, because this transcription was originally done by Cantonese. Therefore, we suggest that the transcription values may be used as important references, but may not serve as primary evidence for systematic reconstruction.

## 2.6 Chou Fa-kao's Reconstruction

In 1968, Professor Li Fang-kuei gave a series of lectures on the problems of Archaic Chinese at National Taiwan University. His lectures inspired Chou Fa-kao who then published two articles (1969, 1970) on Archaic Chinese phonology, which provide useful statistical materials. We shall list the finals of Chou's Archaic Chinese reconstruction as follows.

Rime Categories	Chou's finals			
之 陰.....əɿ, wəɿ	rəɿ, rwəɿ	jiəɿ, iəɿ, jiwəɿ, iwəɿ, jwəɿ		
之 入.....ək, wək	rək, rwək	jiək, iək, iwək, jwək	ewək	
蒸.....əng, wəng	rəng, rwəng	jiəng, iəng, jwəng		
幽 陰.....əwɿ	rəwɿ	jiəwɿ, iəwɿ, jəwɿ	eəwɿ	
幽 入.....əwk	rəwk	iəwk, jəwk	eəwk	
中.....əwng	rəwng	iəwng, jəwng		
宵 陰.....awɿ	rawɿ	jiawɿ, iawɿ	eawɿ	
宵 入.....awk, wawk	rawk	jawk	eawk	
侯 陰.....ewɿ		jewɿ		
侯 入.....ewk	rewk	jewk		
東.....ewng	rewng	jewng		
魚 陰.....aɿ, waɿ	raɿ, rwaɿ	jiaɿ, jaɿ, jwaɿ		
魚 入.....ak, wak	rak, rwak	jiak, iak, jak, jwak	eak	
陽.....ang, wang	rang, rwang	jang, iang, jwang, iwang		
佳 陰.....	reɿ, rweɿ	jieɿ, jiweɿ	eɿ, weɿ	
佳 入.....	rek, rwek	jiek, jiwek	ek, wek	
耕.....	reng, rweng	jieng, ieng, jiweg, iweng	eng, weng	
歌 陰.....a, wa	ra, rwa	ja, jia, ia, jiwa, iwa	ea <sup>r</sup>	

## 2.6 Chou's Reconstruction

祭	陰.....ar, war	rar, riar, rwar, riwar	jiar, iar, jar, jiwar, iwar, jwar	ear
	入.....at, wat	rat, riat, rwat, riwat	jiat, iat, jat, jiwat, iwat, jwat	eat, ewat
元.....an, wan		ran, rwan, rian, riwan	jian, ian, jan, jiwan, iwan, jwan	ean, ewan
脂	陰.....	rer	jier, ier, jie <sup>r</sup> , ie <sup>r</sup> , jiwer	er, wer
	入.....	ret	jiet, riet, jiwet	et, wet
眞.....			jien, rien, jiwen, iwen	en, wen
微	陰.....ær, wær, wæ <sup>r</sup>	rær, rwær	jær, jiær, iær, jwær, jiwær, iwær, iwæ <sup>r</sup>	
	入.....æt, wæt	ræt, rwæt	jæt, jiæt, iæt, jwæt, jiwæt	eæt, ewæt
文.....æn, wæn		ræn, rwæn	jæn, jiæn, riæn, iæn, jwæn, jiwæn, iwæn	eæn, ewæn
緝...入.....æp		ræp	jiæp, iæp, jiwæp, iwæp	eæp
侵.....æm, wæm		ræm	jiæm, iæm, jwæm	eæm
葉...入.....æap		rap, riap	jiap, iap, jap, jwap	eap
談.....æam		ram, riam	jiam, iam, jam, jwam	eam

(1) Chou's system comprises five medials, *r*, *j*, *i*, *e* and *w*; three vowels,

e            ə            a

nine final consonants in three sets,

- |    |                    |    |     |
|----|--------------------|----|-----|
| 1. |                    | -p | -m  |
| 2. | -r, - <sup>r</sup> | -t | -n  |
| 3. | -ʒ                 | -k | -ng |

and one final vowel *a*. Chou follows a strictly phonemic line which would reduce the vowel system to the extreme, establishing only three vowels: the front *e*, central *ə* and back *a*. As we mentioned before, in addition to *a*, the vowels *i* and *u* are more basic than the others in a natural language. In reconstructing Archaic Chinese, the *hsieh-sheng* contacts and the *Shih-ching* rimes are of great importance, and pose problems for a strictly phonemic analysis. For example, occasional contacts between the *Tung* 東 and *Yang* 陽 categories are recognized by most scholars. This would be difficult to explain from Chou's point of view, because these two categories are reconstructed as -ewng vs. -ang. Chou assumes an allophone *o* for his *e* conditioned by the immediately following -w-. But to our way of think-



ing, it is unlikely that the single vowel *a* would rime with the diphthongized *-ew-* in spite of the identical final consonant.

(2) As a consequence of reducing vowel phonemes, it is necessary to increase the medials in order to maintain the distinctions among finals. Chou's medials provide thirteen different combinations, i.e., *-w-*, *-r-*, *-rw-*, *-ri-*, *-riw-*, *-ji-*, *-jiw-*, *-i-*, *-iw-*, *-j-*, *-jw-*, *-e-* and *-ew-*. The phonetic reality here would be a great problem. Chou was aware of this, and explained that *-j-*, *-ji-* and *-i-* correspond to the [j], [i] and [ɪ] as pronounced in English words *yet*, *eat* and *it* respectively.<sup>(39)</sup> Aside from the different quantity of vowels in these English words, even if we assent to his claim, the distinctions of *-jw-*, *-iw-*, *-jiw-* and *-ew-* are still doubtful and artificial.

(3) From the above list, we can see that Chou does not reconstruct any final consonant for the *Ko* 歌 category. In his article, he suggests that all the open syllables of the *Ko* 歌 category actually have final weak *-ʳ* which also occurs in certain words of the *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories. Concerning this weak *-ʳ*, Chou makes a very vague statement. He says that by attaching the *-ʳ* to these categories, the preceding vowels become retroflexed. These syllables may also be reckoned as open syllables; and in the transcription, they will be written by omitting the weak *-ʳ*.<sup>(40)</sup> In fact, he writes all but one syllable of the *Ko* 歌 category as open. The only exception is *-eaʳ*, to which he gives no explanation. At the same time, he permits both plain *-r* and weak *-ʳ* in the *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories. One is puzzled by this inconsistent treatment, and intrigued by the following questions: Is there any phonetic difference among the open syllables, the plain *-r* and the weak *-ʳ*? If the answer is positive, then what is the difference? If the answer is negative, then why should one write them in different ways?

## 2.7 Li Fang-kuei's Reconstruction

We shall first list Li Fang-kuei's finals of Archaic Chinese.<sup>(41)</sup>

Rime Categories	Li's finals	
之 陰.....əg	rəg	jəg, jiəg
入.....ək	rək	jək, jiək

## 2.7 Li's Reconstruction

蒸·····əng	rəng	jəng, jiəng	
幽 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····əg^w \\ \text{入}·····ək^w \end{cases}$	rəg <sup>w</sup> rək <sup>w</sup>	jəg <sup>w</sup> , jiəg <sup>w</sup> jək <sup>w</sup>	iəg <sup>w</sup> iək <sup>w</sup>
中·····əng <sup>w</sup>	rəng <sup>w</sup>	jəng <sup>w</sup>	
宵 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····ag^w \\ \text{入}·····ak^w \end{cases}$	rag <sup>w</sup> rak <sup>w</sup>	jag <sup>w</sup> , jiag <sup>w</sup> jak <sup>w</sup>	iag <sup>w</sup> iak <sup>w</sup>
侯 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····ug \\ \text{入}·····uk \end{cases}$	ruk	jug juk	
東·····ung	rung	jung	
魚 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····ag \\ \text{入}·····ak \end{cases}$	rag rak	jag, jiag jak, jiak	
陽·····ang	rang	jang, jiang	
佳 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}····· \\ \text{入}····· \end{cases}$	rig rik	jig jik	ig ik
耕·····	ring	jing	ing
歌 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····ar, uar \\ \text{入}·····ad, uad \end{cases}$	rar, ruar rad, riad, ruad	jar, jiar, juar jad, jiad, juad	iad
祭 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····ad, uad \\ \text{入}·····at, uat \end{cases}$	rat, riat, ruat	jat, jiat, juat	iat
元·····an, uan	ran, rian, ruan	jan, jian, juan	ian
脂 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}····· \\ \text{入}····· \end{cases}$	rid rit	jid jit	id it
真·····	rin	jīn	in
微 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····əd, ər \\ \text{入}·····ət \end{cases}$	rəd rət	jəd, jiəd, jər jət, jiət	
文·····ən	rən	jən, jiən	iən
葉 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····ab \\ \text{入}·····ap \end{cases}$	rap, riap	jab, jiab jap	iab iap
談·····am	ram, riam	jam, jiam	iam
緝 $\begin{cases} \text{陰}·····əb \\ \text{入}·····əp \end{cases}$	rəb rəp	jəb, jiəb jəp, jiəp	iəp
侵·····əm	rəm	jəm, jiəm	iəm

(1) Li's system comprises two medials, -r- and -j-, four vowels,

i

u

ə

a

three diphthongs *iə*, *ia* and *ua*, and thirteen final consonants in four sets,

- |                    |                 |                    |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. -b              | -p              | -m                 |
| 2. -d, -r          | -t              | -n                 |
| 3. -g              | -k              | -ng                |
| 4. -g <sup>w</sup> | -k <sup>w</sup> | -ng <sup>w</sup> . |

From the point of view of both simplicity and linguistic universals, the vowel system is quite neat. In setting up his vowel phonemes, Li not only analyzes from the phonemic point of view but also takes the overall tendency of the phonological development of Archaic Chinese into consideration. For instance, his *u* only occurs before velar finals. He notices that this distribution is unusual. One may consider the velar finals of *Hou* 侯 and *Tung* 東 categories as having been rounded -g<sup>w</sup>, -k<sup>w</sup> and -ng<sup>w</sup> and the vowel as having been *i*, which subsequently changes to *u* due to the influence of the labiovelar finals. But he did not adopt this solution, because he believes that the occurrences of Archaic *u* were not so restricted, but may also have occurred before -d, -t and -n. Conditioned by the finals, this *u* had already undergone a breaking to *ua* by *Shih-ching* times.<sup>(42)</sup> With such an insight, he has prevented any peculiar treatment from a unilateral viewpoint.

(2) Li has two medials, -r- and -j-, but no *ho-k'ou* medial -u- or -w-. This is a significant difference between Li's system and the others'. Li suggests that there was no primary *ho-k'ou* element in Archaic Chinese at all. The diphthong -ua- of the *Ko* 歌, *Chi* 祭 and *Yüan* 元 categories is secondary development, which is derived from *k'ai-k'ou* rimes and conditioned by the dental finals -d, -t and -n.<sup>(43)</sup> We can clearly see that in Tung's phonological tables the contrast between *k'ai-k'ou* and *ho-k'ou* words exists only in the columns of labial and velar initials of all rime categories except those three mentioned above. The distinction between *k'ai-k'ou* and *ho-k'ou* after labials in the *Ch'ieh-yün* period has been generally recognized as questionable point. It is also not necessary to distinguish *k'ai-k'ou* and *ho-k'ou* after labials in Archaic Chinese. Therefore, such a distinction is required only after velars. Li reconstructs a series of labiovelar initials, g<sup>w</sup>-, k<sup>w</sup>- etc., to account for it.<sup>(44)</sup> In other words, the *ho-k'ou* element in the *Ch'ieh-yün* period is derived primarily from the labial and labio-velar

initials, and secondarily from certain *k'ai-k'ou* rimes. This theory provides the phonological system of Archaic Chinese with a completely new situation.

(3) Yakhontov (1960) and Pulleyblank (1962-3) established a medial -l- for Division II rimes. Li adopted their idea and set up his own -r-. He attaches full significance to this -r-. It would cause retroflexion of the preceding dental initials on one hand, and centralize the following vowels on the other.<sup>(45)</sup> Hence, a judicious explanation is provided for the sources of Ancient supradental initials, t, t<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>s</sup>, t<sup>sh</sup> etc., as well as the sources of Ancient vowels in Division II rimes, such as *â*, *ɤ* etc. We shall discuss its practical influence in detail below (Chapter 5).

(4) Of course, there are some minute problems in Archaic Chinese phonology, which have not been solved yet in Li's system. For example, Li postulates a set of consonant clusters with s- as the first element and the velar initials as the second.<sup>(46)</sup> But many other intricate cases await solution. The sources of most Ancient doublets are traced back clearly in Archaic Chinese by Li. Yet certain cases, such as the one of the *Yüan* 元 category, are still unknown. Comparing Li's system to those of the other scholars, one point ought to be emphasized here, i. e., in his methodology, he does not make artificial or constrained effort to explain all the complicated data. The few problems which he is not sure about are left open.

In view of the above discussion, Li's system is the most reliable one. Therefore, we will refer to his reconstruction whenever we discuss Archaic Chinese.

## 2.8 Tonal System of Archaic Chinese

So far, we have generally reviewed the medials, vowels, final consonants and open syllables of various systems, and have not touched upon the problem of Archaic Chinese tones. In order to clarify this problem, it is easier and more adequate to gather and investigate the different theories together in the present section. It is not our intention to examine and criticize all the theories of Ch'ing scholars, a task which has been undertaken by Chou Tsu-mo and others.<sup>(47)</sup> We shall summarize their general conclusions as follows.

Roughly speaking, most Ch'ing scholars agree that there are four tones<sup>(48)</sup> in Archaic Chinese, which are somewhat different from the four

tones of Ancient Chinese. The proofs are: (a) In the odes of *Shih-ching*, one stanza may contain five, six or more than ten rime words which belong to the same tonal class. In other words, rime words of Ancient *p'ing*, *shang*, *ch'ü* and *ju* often rime with the words of the same tone class respectively in Archaic Chinese. (b) Within one poem or one stanza, rime words of different tones are clearly separated.<sup>(49)</sup> (c) The same rime word occurs in different poems always has the same tone.

We shall now turn to some rather recent theories which affect the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese. In his 1954 book, Tung accepted the conclusion of most Ch'ing scholars but made an inductive study of Chiang Yu-kao's *T'ang-yün Szu-sheng Cheng* 唐韻四聲正 in order to investigate the contacts of rime words between different tone classes. According to the data cited in Chiang's book, Tung discovers that Archaic *p'ing-sheng*, *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* words commonly rime together; *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* words also commonly rime together; but *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* words rarely rime with *ju-sheng* words. From these phenomena, Tung gives the following interpretation: (a) The words of *p'ing-sheng*, *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* of individual rime category usually rime together because they all have the same final consonants; (b) The words of *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* rime together because they have a similar contour in addition to corresponding final consonants such as -g and -k or -d and -t. (c) *P'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* words rarely rime with *ju-sheng* words because the former have finals and contours which differ from the latter.<sup>(50)</sup>

We should pay special attention to Tung's assumption about the contacts between the words of the Archaic *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* tones. He supposed a similar contour for these two tones. Interestingly enough, Li Jung (1956) made the same hypothesis for the Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* and gave very credible evidence from Sino-Vietnamese, the Lung-chou dialects of Tai and some Chinese dialects.<sup>(51)</sup> It is possible for us to draw a direct line from Archaic to Ancient Chinese.

Karlgren (1960) made his own study on the tones in Archaic Chinese by using *Shih-ching*, the *Hsiang-tz'u* 象辭 section of *Yi-ching* 易經 and the *hsieh-sheng* seires to prove that there are four tones in Archaic Chinese. His discovery is almost the same as the conclusion of most Ch'ing scholars.

But for the contacts between different non-*ju*-tones, he found that the rime sets with mixed tones are mostly a mixing of *p'ing* and *shang* or *p'ing* and *ch'ü* but rarely *shang* and *ch'ü*; then as to the contacts between the *ju-sheng* and non-*ju-sheng*, he pointed out that the non-*ju-sheng* is almost always a *ch'ü-sheng* word. Karlgren's explanations for these two facts also involve tone contours, but are different from Tung's interpretation.

Karlgren suggests that the Archaic *p'ing-sheng* is an even tone; the *shang-sheng* is a rising tone; and the *ch'ü-sheng* is a falling tone. Therefore, a mixing between the words of even tone and rising or falling tone is reasonably more frequent than a mixing between the words of rising tone and falling tone.<sup>(52)</sup> His main reason for such an explanation is that he considers the even tone as a neutral tone. It is difficult to prove or disprove his hypothesis of tone contour. But we cannot see any basis to consider an even tone as a neutral tone. As long as they are different tonemes, the even, rising and falling tones do not show any different relationships in modern Chinese dialects.

The contacts between the *ch'ü-sheng* and the *ju-sheng* are explicated by Karlgren in a different way. He suggests that the final consonants such as -d of *ch'ü-sheng* words are affected by their falling tone and then become devoiced in the final moment.<sup>(53)</sup> Hence, with the weakened final consonant, a *ch'ü-sheng* word would be acceptable to rime or have *hsieh-sheng* contacts with a *ju-sheng* word which has a voiceless final consonant. For example, the word 害 with a final -d<sup>h</sup> would be acceptable as the phonetic in the word 割 with a final -t; and would make a passable rime with the word 發 which also has a final -t (Ode. 202). Karlgren cited the devoicing of Mandarin *ch'ü-sheng* words ending in -n as his evidence. But it is doubtful that a native speaker would recognize this kind of minute phonetic phenomenon of a voiced final and intuitively connect it with a correspondent voiceless final. We would rather accept Tung's theory for which there is at least some evidence in modern dialects.

Besides Karlgren and Tung, three different theories need to be mentioned here.

(1) Lu Chih-wei (1947) reconstructed a fifth tone for certain Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* words, especially for the words in the rimes *Chi* 祭, *T'ai* 泰, *Kuai* 夬 and *Fei* 廢 which form the only rime category (i. e., *Chi* 祭)

without *p'ing* and *shang* words in Archaic Chinese.<sup>(54)</sup> He says that two kinds of *ch'ü-sheng* should be distinguished in the Archaic period. One is a long *ch'ü-sheng* which is related to the *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng*; the other one is a short *ch'ü-sheng* which is related to *ju-sheng*. Therefore, he postulates the following finals in pre-*Shih-ching* times:

<i>T'ai</i> 泰 : ad	<i>Kuai</i> 夬 : ad, wad
<i>Chi</i> 祭 : iad, iwad, iad, iwad	<i>Fei</i> 廢 : ied, Iwed

In other words, he reconstructs exactly the same finals as for some words of the *Ko* 歌 category. The whole picture may be drawn as follows:

<i>Ko</i> 歌	$\begin{array}{l} \nearrow p'ing \\ \dots shang \\ \searrow ch'ü \end{array}$	ad, wad (a <sub>a</sub> , wa <sub>a</sub> )	ad, wad (>a <sub>a</sub> , wa <sub>a</sub> )	iad (>ia <sub>a</sub> )
<i>Chi</i> 祭 —the fifth tone		ad, wad	ad, wad	iad, iwad, iad, Iwad, ied, Iwed
<i>Chi</i> 祭 —ju		at, wat	at, wat, et, wet	iat, iwat, iat, Iwat, iet, Iwet

The only difference between the parallel finals of the *Ko* 歌 category and the *Chi* 祭 category is the tones. Subsequently, the finals of the *Ko* 歌 category weakened their final -d into -a in the *Shih-ching* time, while the finals of the *Chi* 祭 category remained the same.

Lu's theory seems very plausible, but there are two things against such a solution. One is mentioned by Pulleyblank, i. e., that it is extremely unlikely to have both explosive and implosive final stops as contrastive phonemes in the *Shih-ching* period. The other one is that if the finals of the *Chi* 祭 category are as Lu reconstructed them, we would expect more contacts between the *Chi* 祭 and *Ko* 歌 categories which have the same vowel as well as the final consonant. But it is not the case. On the contrary, in spite of their respective relationships with the words of the *Yüan* 元 category, the words in the *Chi* 祭 and *Ko* 歌 categories very rarely rime or have *hsieh-sheng* contacts with each other.

(2) Wang Li (1957-8) proposed four tones for Archaic Chinese.<sup>(55)</sup> But he accepted Tuan Yü-ts'ai's idea that the *ch'ü-sheng* of Ancient Chinese did not exist in the Archaic period, so he divided the four tones into two groups. The first group comprises two tones without final stops; and the second group comprises the other two tones with final stops. Each group

has a long tone and a short tone. Therefore, in the first group, both tones do not have final stops, and the long one and the short one are roughly equivalent to Ancient *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* respectively. In the second group, both tones do have final stops, and the long one is in part the source of the Ancient *ch'ü-sheng*, and the short one is the source of all the Ancient *ju-sheng*. The Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* has derived also from the two tones of the first group, which has been reviewed above in 2.4.

Wang's hypothesis has been refuted by Chou Fa-kao (1969) and Cheung Yat-shing (1968) for reasons which we cannot follow. Based on a statistical study of the mutual contacts of all tones in the *Shih-ching* rimes and *hsieh-sheng* series, Chou and Cheung have pointed out a shortcoming in Wang's classification, namely, that *p'ing-shang* and *ch'ü-ju* have been set up as two groups. They demonstrated that the *shang-sheng* bears the same relation to the *p'ing-sheng* and the *ch'ü-sheng*, hence there is no basis for grouping the *p'ing* and *shang* together.<sup>(56)</sup> But in our opinion, their illustration is not valid, because according to Wang's theory, those Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* words related to the *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* are basically considered as *p'ing-sheng* or *shang-sheng* in origin. This means no *ch'ü-sheng* at all in Archaic Chinese. Chou and Cheung's evidence is thus deniable. They also objected by asking why the *shang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* have the same short vowel but bear no special relation to each other as against the situation of the *p'ing-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* of long vowels which are close in riming and *hsieh-sheng* contacts.<sup>(57)</sup> Again this is not valid, because on the one hand the relationship between the *p'ing-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* is questionable as just mentioned; and on the other hand Wang considers the final consonants as the main standard to classify the tones, while the vowel length is a minor issue. Therefore, the *shang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* are naturally distinguished by the final stops.

Wang's theory may be refuted on other grounds. As illustrated before in 2.4, Wang failed to relegate those Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* words to original *p'ing* or *shang* tones, which are related to these two tonal classes as he claimed. The morphological evidence is at present not yet sufficient. There is another reason to doubt Wang's reconstruction. He assumed without any justification that the Archaic *shang-sheng* has a short vowel.



It is extremely doubtful that an open syllable with a short vowel would change and merge with another syllable having a long vowel and a final stop. Both syllables are possible sources of the Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* according to Wang.

(3) Following Haudricourt (1954), Pulleyblank (1962-3) asserted that Archaic Chinese has no tones. Except for the fact that the later *p'ing-sheng* and *ju-sheng* are conditioned by final voiced and voiceless consonants respectively, the later *shang-sheng* has developed from the final consonant -ʔ and the later *ch'ü-sheng* from another final consonant -s.<sup>(58)</sup> Thus, for example, we may have the following formulae:

<i>p'ing</i> :	-d	-n
<i>shang</i> :	-d'	-n'
<i>ch'ü</i> :	-ds (-ts)	-ns
<i>ju</i> :	-t	

The -ts type of final consonants will account for those Ancient *ch'ü-sheng* words which have close relations to the *ju-sheng* words. This theory seems very interesting in view of Pulleyblank's examples from early Chinese transcriptions of foreign words. But more investigation will be needed before precise dates can be assigned to such reconstructions. Pulleyblank believes that some of the -s's may have been preserved even as late as the third and fourth centuries.<sup>(59)</sup> We have reservations on this point, because the Han or Wei transcriptions, in some instances, may have had earlier traditional origins and also because some of the examples which Pulleyblank gave are somewhat doubtful. For example, in "貴霜" (Kushan) and "貳師" (Nesef), "貴" and "貳" may not have had a final -s in the Han time, because the second elements "霜" and "師" have already provided an initial similar to the foreign s.

As Li Fang-kuei says, there are certain cases in the *Shih-ching*, which have rime words in different tones, and we may have difficulty in explaining these rime words if they all possess different final consonants.<sup>(60)</sup> However, Gilbert Mattos presents a kind of support for Pulleyblank's theory in his recent article "Tonal Anomalies in the *Kuo Feng* Odes", in which he applies stanzaic parallelism, and concludes that the overwhelming majority of the *Kuo Feng* odes were tonally congruent at the time these odes were com-

posed.<sup>(61)</sup> But the odes of the *Hsiao-ya*, *Ta-ya* and *Sung* are much more complicated than the *Kuo-Feng*, and it is probably best to leave the question open for the time being.

## Notes to Chapter Two

- (1) Karlgren 1954, pp. 282-365.
- (2) In his *Compendium and Grammata Serica Recensa*, Karlgren reconstructed only a few words with final -b, such as 去, 內, 對, and so forth. See Karlgren 1954, pp. 313, 317; and his 1957, pp. 170-171, 181-183.
- (3) Li Fang-kuei 1971a, p. 21; Chou Fa-kao 1969, p. 120.
- (4) See Tung 1948b, pp. 75-79.
- (5) *Ibid.*, pp. 45-57.
- (6) Karlgren 1963, pp. 21-23.
- (7) Cf. Tung op. cit., pp. 45-50, 60-62.
- (8) Cf. Pulleyblank 1962-3, p. 210; Li Fang-kuei op. cit., pp. 26-27.
- (9) See W. Simon, 1927-8, 1938; Li Fang-kuei 1931, 1932, 1935.
- (10) Tung op. cit., p. 57.
- (11) Pulleyblank op. cit., p. 209.
- (12) Li Fang-kuei 1971a, p. 27.
- (13) Lu 1947, p. 74. In fact, several Wu and Min dialects have a seven-vowel system.
- (14) *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- (15) *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- (16) *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.
- (17) *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.
- (18) Karlgren has reconstructed the *Hsien* rime as -ien, -iæn and -ian; while Tung has reconstructed it as -ien, -iæn and -iæ̃n. See their lists of finals above.
- (19) Lu op. cit., pp. 173-175.
- (20) *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- (21) Wang Li 1957-8, p. 64.
- (22) Pulleyblank op. cit., p. 86.
- (23) *Ibid.*; Chou Fa-kao op. cit., p. 125.
- (24) Wang Li op. cit., p. 86.
- (25) *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- (26) *Ibid.*, pp. 102-104.
- (27) *Ibid.*, pp. 77-83.
- (28) Wang Jung-pao 1923, pp. 241-363.
- (29) See Bodman 1969, p. 35.
- (30) Pulleyblank op. cit., p. 141.
- (31) Pulleyblank 1963, pp. 207-208.
- (32) Pulleyblank 1971.
- (33) For final labiovelars, Rai Tsutomu (1953) has first proposed for the categories *Yu* 幽, *Hsiao* 宵 and *Hou* 候. Li Fang-kuei (1971a) posits only for the categories *Yu* 幽 and *Hsiao* 宵.
- (34) Chiang Yung 江永, *Ku-yün Piao-chun* 古韻標準, introductions to his fourth, sixth and twelfth categories. Cf. Wang Li 1964, p. 70.
- (35) Li Fang-kuei 1931.
- (36) Pulleyblank 1965.
- (37) Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle 1971, p. 53.
- (38) Pulleyblank 1962-3, p. 223; 1963, p. 206; 1971, p. 12.

- (39) Chou Fa-kao 1970, p. 372.
- (40) Chou Fa-kao 1969, p. 131.
- (41) Li Fang-kuei 1971a, pp. 28-54.
- (42) Ibid., pp. 23-24.
- (43) Ibid., pp. 13, 23-24, 38-42.
- (44) Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- (45) Ibid., pp. 17-18.
- (46) Ibid., pp. 19-20.
- (47) Chou Tsu-mo 1966, pp. 32-47; Tung 1954, pp. 182-185; Wang Li 1956, p. 451-455.
- (48) Tung op. cit., p. 185.
- (49) See Chou Tsu-mo op. cit., pp. 42-45.
- (50) Tung op. cit., pp. 188-189.
- (51) Li Jung 1956, pp. 152-162.
- (52) Karlgren 1960, pp. 133-134.
- (53) Ibid., p. 138.
- (54) Lu op. cit., pp. 188-201.
- (55) Wang Li 1957-8, pp. 65, 102.
- (56) Chou Fa-kao op. cit., pp. 141-147; Cheung 1968, p. 167.
- (57) Chou Fa-kao op. cit., p. 144; Cheung op. cit., p. 167.
- (58) Pulleyblank op. cit., pp. 217-228, 231-233.
- (59) Ibid., p. 220.
- (60) Li Fan-kuei op. cit., p. 25.
- (61) Mattos 1971, p. 319.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE RIME CATEGORIES OF THE WEI-CHIN PERIOD

#### 3.1 Introduction to Rime Categories

By using Yü Hai-yen's work as the main reference, we have determined and assembled riming words from the two great anthologies mentioned above (1.4). After the riming patterns of these words have been clearly established, we conjoined and grouped the riming words into thirty-seven categories. These categories are allotted in three groups which are traditionally known as *yin-sheng*, *yang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* rimes. In the Wei-Chin period, *yin-sheng* rimes contain the syllables ending in a vowel or voiced stop; *yang-sheng* rimes contain the syllables ending in a nasal; and *ju-sheng* rimes contain the syllables ending in a voiceless stop. The contrast between the final voiced and voiceless stops is phonemically irrelevant but set up only for the sake of clarity, since they are conditioned by different tones. The final voiceless stops only occur with *ju-sheng*, while the voiced one, -d, only occurs with *ch'ü-sheng*. There are four tones in the Wei-Chin period, which correspond to the four tones of Ancient Chinese with very minute differences which will be given in 4.5.

The following table shows the rime categories of the Wei-Chin period.

<i>yin-sheng</i>	<i>yang-sheng</i>	<i>ju-sheng</i>
1. <i>Chih</i> 之	13. <i>Cheng</i> 蒸	26. <i>Chih</i> 職
2. <i>Hai</i> 哈	14. <i>Teng</i> 登	27. <i>Teh</i> 德
3. <i>Yu</i> 幽	15. <i>Tung</i> 冬	28. <i>Wo</i> 沃
	16. <i>Tung</i> 東	29. <i>Wu</i> 屋
4. <i>Hsiao</i> 宵		
5. <i>Hao</i> 豪		
6. <i>Yü</i> 魚	17. <i>Yang</i> 陽	30. <i>Yao</i> 藥
7. <i>Ko</i> 歌		
8. <i>Chih</i> 支	18. <i>Keng</i> 耕	31. <i>Hsi</i> 錫

9. <i>Chih</i> 脂	19. <i>Chen</i> 眞	32. <i>Chih</i> 質
	20. <i>Wen</i> 文	
10. <i>Chieh</i> 皆	21. <i>Hun</i> 魂	33. <i>Mo</i> 沒
11. <i>Chi</i> 祭	22. <i>Yüan</i> 元	34. <i>Yüeh</i> 月
12. <i>T'ai</i> 泰	23. <i>Han</i> 寒	35. <i>Ho</i> 曷
	24. <i>Ch'in</i> 侵	36. <i>Chi</i> 緝
	25. <i>T'an</i> 談	37. <i>Yeh</i> 葉

Our discussion of each category includes at least three sections, i.e., (1) a list of all rime words; (2) a tabulation of all rime sequences; and (3) rare contacts with the other rime categories. Where applicable, a fourth section showing the rare contacts between different tone classes has been added.

Within each of these rime categories, rime words are arranged first according to the tones, and secondly, under the *Kuang-yün* rimes<sup>(1)</sup> in order to show the relationship between the Wei-Chin rime categories and the *Kuang-yün* rimes. This relationship serves as the basis of further reconstruction. Within each rime, the rime words are divided into small groups in which every group has the same phonetic element (聲符). These are listed according to the number of words in each group, with the highest number first and the lowest last. Underlined words are those having different readings, especially tones, from Ancient Chinese. We will discuss some of them in the next chapter.

The second section is a complete tabulation of all rime sequences arranged according to their tonal classes. Each rime sequence is registered together under the name of its author. The title of the poem or rimed composition and the page number refer to the anthology from which the sequence has been quoted. Since the division of dynasties may not be related to the phonological change, the rime sequences, as well as the list of all rime words, is divided into the Wei period and the Chin period only when it is necessary.

The authors are listed in a chronological order. For those authors whose dates of birth and death are obscure, we arranged their works in accordance with the information provided by their compositions or poems. For example, for Hsia Ching 夏靖 we have no official record concerning his birth, death and native place. However, the title of his poem is

“Reply to Lu Shih-heng” 答陸士衡, and since we know that 陸士衡 is another name of Lu Chi 陸機, we may place Hsia’s work next to Lu Chi’s.

The works of anonymous authors appear in the end of the rime sequences of the Wei or Chin dynasties according to the sources from the two above mentioned anthologies.

The third section is a tabulation of all contacts between the rime category under discussion and other rime categories. This section reveals the dialectal and ideosyncratic discrepancies and the phonological similarities among various rime categories as well. Although we refer to the rimes in this section as rare contacts, they are not necessarily exceptions.

The fourth section of some rime categories is a tabulation of all contacts between certain words of one tonal class and words having other tones. In both the third and fourth sections, the words which do not belong to the rime category or tonal class in question are marked by a dot underneath them. For example: under the *Chih* 之 category, two rime sequences are shown as follows.

*Chih* 之, *Chih* 脂 and *Yü* 魚

*Ping*

*Hsu Kan* 徐幹: 之期譏魚思室思 WS184

*Chih* 之 *Ping* 平 and *Chih* 之 *Shang* 上

*Fu Hsüan* 傅玄: 紀使之饗神歌 CS240

For the sake of clarity and convenience of usage, the author’s names are also italicized, and all the romanizations of Chinese characters in the rime sequence are labelled by diacritical tone marks. When we refer to the source in the anthology, the following abbreviations are used:

HHW: *Hou Han Wen* 後漢文

WW: *Wei Wen* 魏文

CW: *Chin Wen* 晉文 (from Yen K’o-chün’s *Complete Collection of Writings*)

WS: *Wei Shih* 魏詩

CS: *Chin Shih* 晉詩 (from Ting Fu-pao’s *Complete Collection of Poems*)

The numerals after WW and CW refer to the volume number and page

number of Yen's book. All the editions of Yen's book have the same pagination system. Unfortunately, different editions of Ting's book have their respective pagination systems. Therefore, our numerals after WS and CS only refer to the pages of the edition published by *Shih-chieh* Book Company 世界書局.<sup>(2)</sup> For example, WW 4.3 means that this rime sequence is quoted from Yen's book, the Wei *Wen* 魏文 section, volume four and page three; while CS 240 means the sequence from Ting's book, the Chin *Shih* 晉詩 section and page 240.

### 3.2 Rime Patterns of the Literature of the Wei-Chin Period

It is an important but sometimes difficult task to analyze the rime patterns in rimed compositions. We must always take the whole piece and the paragraph into consideration. The overall parallelism plays an integral role in the literature of the Wei-Chin period. It applies not only to the structure of paragraphs, but also to the number of characters in each sentence. Of course, at the beginning of this period, there are exceptions, yet some of which can be explained. The tendency to follow parallelism becomes more and more pronounced towards the end of this period. We shall demonstrate these phenomena in the following examples:

- |                |             |              |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| (1) 1. 登城隅之飛觀兮 | 2. 望六師之所營   | 3. 幡旗轉而心思兮   |
| 4. 舟楫動而傷精      | 5. 顧身微而任顯兮  | 6. 愧責重而命輕    |
| 7. 嗟我愁其何爲兮     | 8. 心遙思而懸旌   | 9. 師旅憑皇穹之靈祐兮 |
| 10. 亮元勳之必舉     | 11. 揮朱旗以東指兮 | 12. 橫大江而莫御   |
| 13. 循戈櫓于清流     | 14. 汎雲梯而容與  | 15. 禽元帥于中舟   |
| 16. 振靈威于東野     |             |              |

The author composed this piece in sixteen lines. The last word of every even numbered line is a riming word. All the riming words are equally distributed in two rime categories, i.e., the first set including 營, 精, 輕 and 旌 belongs to the *Keng* 耕 category, and the second set including 舉, 御, 與 and 野 belongs to the *Yü* 魚 category. He used the particle 兮 to mark the odd lines with the exception of the last two which are structurally different. Generally speaking, he took two lines as a unit. Within each unit, the particles 之, 而, 其, 以 and 于 were also used in parallel positions. In addition, the structure of the two lines in the same unit is roughly the same, such as lines 5 and 6. 顧 and 愧 are verbs; 身, 任 and

責, 命 are nouns; and 微, 顯 and 重, 輕 are adjectives.

Line 9 seems to be an exception because its number of characters is not equal to that of line 10. But on the basis of the riming words, we can see that the whole piece is divided into two sections and that line 9 begins second. In other words, the author purposely composed this line in such a peculiar way. More similar structures will be discussed below.

In the last four lines, the author maintained the parallelism but dropped the particle 兮. The last word of line 13 and that of 15 probably are rimed, thus forming a pattern of "A B A B" with the regular riming words of lines 14 and 16. But judging from his habits of using rime words in his other compositions, we find that this phenomenon is purely accidental.

(2) As in the case of line 9 above, in the beginning of a new paragraph, some additional words may be added to the regular line. Such additional words are usually conjunctions:

曹植: 于是精移神駭, 忽焉思散, 俯則未察, 仰以殊觀, 觀一麗人, 于巖之畔。

洛神賦 WW 13.2

陸雲: 若夫歲聿云暮, 上天其涼, 感運悲聲, 貧士含傷, 或歌我行永久, 或哀之子無裳, 原思歎于蓬室, 孤竹吟于首陽。寒蟬賦 CW 100.8

The underlined words above are conjunctions. 若夫 means "with regard to"; and 于是 means "thereupon". This kind of additional element may sometimes be a whole sentence and may be used at the end of a paragraph. We can clearly see these structures as underlined in the following examples.

庾闡: 子未聞揚都之巨偉也, 左滄海, 右岷山, 龜鳥津其落, 江漢演其源, 碣金標乎象浦, 注桐柏乎玄川。揚都賦 CW 38.2

陸雲: 朝有俊弼, 野有逸民, 各有攸屆, 而後品物有倫。逸民箴 CW 104.4

潘岳: 明明天子, 旌以殊恩, 光光寵增, 乃牙其門。司勳頒爵, 亦兆後昆, 死而有靈, 庶幾冤魂, 嗚呼哀哉。馬汧督誄 CW 92.10

With regard to the poems, the parallelism applies to almost all of them. The only exception is the so-called *Po-liang-t'ai* style 柏梁臺體 which permits an odd number of lines.<sup>(8)</sup> This style was rarely used in the Wei-Chin period and its rime pattern is very simple, i.e., each line has a riming word. Examples will be given below.



In the *Complete Collection of Poems*, Ting Fu-pao collects quite a few folk songs. In general, these folk songs also exhibit influences of parallelism, although their style may differ in various ways. Since the rime words in those folk songs are easy to single out, we shall not go into great detail in establishing patterns for them.

The following riming patterns are the frequently used ones.

(1) OAOA

曹植：靜閑居而無事，將遊目以自娛，登北觀而啓路，涉雲路之飛除，從熊羆之武士，荷長戟而前驅。遊觀賦 WW 13.10

傅咸：搦紙申辭，臣弔始皇，有姬失統，命不于常，六國既平，奄有萬方，政虐刑酷，如火之揚。弔秦始皇賦 CW 51.4

曹植：恨人神道殊兮，想盛年之莫當，抗羅袂以掩襟兮，淚流襟之浪浪，悼良會之永絕兮，哀一逝而異鄉，無微情以效愛兮，獻江南之明璫。洛神賦 WW 13.3

成公綏：起寒門之北垠兮，集玄塞目安處，賓弱水之陰岸兮，有沙漠之絕渚。鴻雁賦 CW 59.7

繁欽：瞻我北園，有條者桑，遵此春景，既茂且長。贈梅公明詩 WS 193

左思：秋風何冽冽，白露爲朝霜，柔條旦夕勁，綠葉日夜黃。雜詩 CS 387

This is the most popular pattern which has been used in both rimed compositions and poems. The word 兮 usually occurs after the non-rimed odd lines in the rimed compositions as shown above in the third and fourth examples.

(2) AAOA

嵇康：寧聚貨千億，擊鍾鼎食，枕藉芬芳，婉變美色乎？將苦身竭力，翦除荆棘，山居谷飲，倚巖而息乎？卜疑 WW 47.5

傅咸：蓋泰清垂象，匪日不光，向晦入冥，匪火不彰。燭賦 CW 51.7

陳琳：飲馬長城窟，水寒傷馬骨，往謂長城吏，慎莫稽留太原卒。飲馬長城窟 WS 182

陸機：置酒高堂，悲歌臨觴，人壽幾何，逝如朝霜。短歌行 CS 323

This pattern usually occurs in the beginning of a whole piece or a paragraph. It could be connected with the pattern "OAOA" to cover a paragraph of any length.

(3) AAOAOA, AAOAOA—

嵇康：寧外化其形，內隱其情，屈身隨時，陸沈無名，雖在人間，實處冥冥乎？將激昂爲清，銳思爲精，行與世異，心與俗并，所在必聞，恆營營乎？卜疑 WW 47.5

### 3.2 Rime Patterns

夏侯湛：日暮兮初晴，天灼灼兮遐清，披雲兮歸山，垂景兮照庭，列星兮皎皎，  
星稀兮月明。長夜謠 CS 396

繆襲：楚之平，義兵征，神武奮，金鼓鳴，蓬武德，揚洪名，漢室微，社稷傾，  
皇道失，桓與靈。楚之平 WS 190

#### (4) AAAA—

曹丕：秋風蕭瑟天氣涼，草木搖落露爲霜，群燕辭歸雁南翔，念君客遊思斷腸，  
慊慊思歸念故鄉，君何淹留寄他方。燕歌行 WS 128

傅玄：歷九秋兮三春，遺貴客兮遠賓，顧多君心所親，乃命妙伎才人，晒若日月  
星辰。歷九秋篇董逃行 CS 294

This pattern is used only in the *Po-liang-t'ai* style. The first example contains fifteen lines; and the second one five lines.

#### (5) AABCCB

嵇康：吾寧發憤陳誠，讜言帝庭，不屈王公乎？將卑懦委隨，承旨倚靡，爲面從  
乎？卜疑 WW 47.5

#### (6) ABAB

傅玄：本支克昌，資始開元，惠我無疆，享祀永年。潁川府君登歌 CS 243

潘尼：離索何惆悵，後會未可希，河朔貴相忘，歧路安足悲。贈汲郡太守 CS 383

The above two patterns are rarely used.

#### (7) Middle rime

無名氏：死諸葛走生仲達。諸葛謠 WS 237

無名氏：蘆生漫漫竟天半。安帝義熙初童謠 CS 571

無名氏：鳳凰鳳凰止阿房。苻堅時長安謠 CS 573

無名氏：大才槃槃謝家安；河東獨步王文度；盛德日新郗家賓。郗王謠 CS 577

The middle rime was never used in rime compositions or poems. The above occurrences are all common sayings or folk songs which usually have only one line. Those having more than one line refer to different themes.

(8) The particles in the final position of a line may or may not be designated as riming words.

#### (A) Particles as non-rime words:

嵇康：寧與王喬赤松爲侶乎？將進伊摯而友尙父乎？卜疑 WW 47.5

嵇康：況今千龍竝馳，萬驥徂征，紛紜交競，逝若流星，敢不惟思，謀于老成哉。卜疑 WW 47.5

傅玄：水之清猶可穢也，德之修不可廢也。操盤銘 CW 46.11

潘岳：綰髮綰髮，髮亦鬢止，日祇日祇，敬亦慎止。家風詩 CS 373

(B) Particles as rime words:

曹植：湯將伐桀，謀于卜子，既克讓位，隨目爲恥，薄予殷世，著自汙已，自投潁水，清風邈矣。卞隨贊 WW 17.6

王虞：於是古之有德則納瑞而求安，無德則不勝而爲災，赤烏降於周文兮，尙稱曰休哉。白兔賦 CW 20.10

劉楨：仰視白日光，皦皦高且懸，兼燭八紘內，物類無頗偏，我獨抱深感，不得與比焉。贈徐幹 WS 186

劉琨：英藥夏落，毒卉冬敷，如彼龜玉，輶憤毀諸，芻狗之談，其最得乎。贈盧誼 CS 416

### 3.3 Rime Lists

#### (1) Rime Category *Chih* 之

##### (1.1) List of All Rime Words

##### *P'ing*

*Chih* 之：淇基祺期耜欺基箕旗騏 怡治貽飴 淄緇蓍輶 茲滋慈岨 時持詩 而洎  
輶 姬頤熙 之芝 疑嶷 嬉熹 司詞 蚩嗤 孜籽 思颶 辭 絲 醫  
差 釐

##### *Shǎng*

*Chih* 止：已圯杞紀記隸 止址沚祉趾齒 已圯汜祀起 恃峙時峙 里理裏鯉 已以  
似姒苴 矣俟涖 士仕 耳恥 市柿 史使 子李 梓滓 如 喜 擬  
徵 茝 猓

*Chih* 旨：瘠鮪 兗軌 鄙 否 暑

*Hǎi* 海：海

*Chěn* 軫：敏

##### *Ch'ü*

*Chih* 志：值植置 忌記 司嗣 吏駛 熾識 寺侍 珥餌 事 志 試 異 喜  
治 意 思 字 厠

*Chih* 至：備

(1.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chih* 之*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：期時之詩而思 贈蔡子篤 WS 177 之之思而期 贈士孫文始 WS 177 時之疑辭出婦賦 HHW90.2 時怡 寡婦賦 HHW90.3 時之鶯賦 HHW90.7 之時熙期 兗射鐘銘 HHW 91.7  
*Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：期辭神女賦 HHW 92.3 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：詞思期治時 室思 WS 184  
*Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：時期欺之絲定情詩 WS 195 *Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：舊期期時辭之答贈詩 WS 199 *Ts'áo P'i* 曹丕：之滋期出婦賦 WW4.3 期時治怡 槐賦 WW4.7 時茲持露陌刀銘 WW7.10 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：期芝 平陵東行 WS147 慈之 聖皇篇 WS 154 滋辭基芝思期怡離友之二 WS 164 思疑欺持時期辭 贈白馬王彪之七 WS168 貽之 朔風詩 WS168 嬉旗芝怡辭之詩期欺疑持 洛神賦 WW13.3 旗怡辭疑之 離思賦 WW13.4 辭疑 九愁賦 WW13.8 期時 芝辭九詠 WW14.7.7 期茲之基孔子廟頌 WW17.2 芝滋時絲怡嬉治 魏德論 WW17.9 期思旗之 時治熙基王仲宣誄 WW19.2.3 時期金瓠哀辭 WW19.9 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：期詩茲藉田賦 WW38.1 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：時熙詩思治之 景福殿賦 WW 39.7 *Ying Ch'ü* 應璩：期辭茲 百一詩之二 WS 197  
*Wú-ch'iu Chiën* 毋丘儉：思怡時基熙之期醫嗤治詩辭答杜曄 WS200-1 *Yáng Hsi* 楊戲：思時 贊王國山等 WW62.9 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：基疑治思六言之六 WS 210 時嬉基芝詩滋思琴賦 WW47.3 疑之卜疑 WW47.5 時之 大師箴 WW51.6 *Juän Ch'ü* 阮籍：詩期思時之嗤詠懷十五 WS 217 絲期之辭欺持 又二十 WS 217 思之期嬉時 又四九 WS 221 之期思持時欺 又五五 WS221 時欺蚩期持 又五六 WS222 基嬉之姬 又六四 WS222 茲期知之時 又八十 WS224 時治之東平賦 WW44.7 辭之首陽山賦 WW44.8 之思辭治茲 期疑之辭思清思賦 WW44.10,11 *Chi Hsi* 嵇喜：嬉思答嵇康之一 WS286

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：期基時熙 正旦大會行禮歌之六 CS 256 時期熙基 又十二 CS 257  
*Yü Chün* 庾峻：時思期 祖德頌 CW 36.2 *Fü Hsiün* 傅玄：之之時思熙祺 饗神歌之二 CS240 茲之之 迎送神歌 CS242 基之 宣皇帝登歌 CS243 之熙 食舉東西廂歌之十二 CS249 期基景龍飛 CS260 之時 大豫舞歌 CS266 時期 飲馬長城窟行 CS291 *Huáng-fü M* 皇甫謐：司疑 釋勸論 CW71.6 *Hsün Hsi* 荀勗：熙茲之治 正旦大會行禮歌 CS 251 時熙基之思祺 大豫舞歌 CS 267  
*Hsiè-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：時舊春可樂 CW68.6 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：之思 梁令孫侯頌 CW60.8 時蚩之反金人銘 CW60.9 *Fü Hsiên* 傅咸：詩期辭思贈崔伏二郎詩 CS308 時滋申懷賦 CW51.3  
*Chang Huá* 張華：滋期食舉東西廂樂詩 CS254 基時期又六 CS254 期時熙基正旦大會行禮歌之三 CS255 時期之茲詩三月後園會 CS282 時期崑絲招隱之二 CS 285 之疑茲 思期姬 女史箴 CW58.8.8 之期章懷皇后誄 CW58.9 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：基辭之輶 贈王曹 CS373 疑辭 賈謐坐講漢書 CS373 茲之期慈西征賦 CW90.4 茲之 悼亡賦 CW91.1 思辭期之 籍田賦 CW91.5 滋嬉之 笙賦 CW91.7 時思辭旗武帝誄 CW92.6 期基時怡楊荊州誄 CW92.7 熹時茲之 夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 茲之思時劉氏妹哀辭 CW 93.5-6 輶辭 妹哀辭 CW93.6 *Tsö Chiü-pin* 左九嬪：期時詞持詩辭 感離 CS 510 辭思洵詩離思賦 CW13.1 時姬絲治思之 慈滋思 時洵元皇后誄 CW13.5,6,6 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：

時辭詩玄居釋 CW87.5 *Lù Chi* 陸機：疑期時怡之 董述行 CS332 時持期月重輪行 CS334 茲期怡行思賦 CW96.6 時期之思歸賦 CW96.7 期蒼怡思別賦 CW96.7 怡之思時歎遊賦 CW96.8 之辭大暮賦 CW96.9 茲辭期感丘賦 CW96.10 基之期歎時漏刻賦 CW97.4 思慈之基辭期功臣頌 CW98.6 時思演連珠之十 CW99.4 期茲怡旗疑弔魏武帝文 CW99.11 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：熙時茲期征西大將軍會射堂 CS 352 基之時茲從事中郎 CS 353 茲慈之期答顧處微 CS 358 詩辭之貽美哉良友 CS 364 *Juǎn Hsiu* 阮修：時之嬉上已會詩 CS412 *Pan Ní* 潘尼：時熙期詩獻長安君安仁 CS378 姬時箕思辭 茲基懷退賦 CW94.2,2 期茲基桑樹賦 CW94.5 之慈思滋欺疑乘輿殿 CW95.4 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：之詩贈褚武良 CS316 期思思游賦 CW76.3 思之熙帝堯贊 CW77.4 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：時茲之贈荀彥將 CS314 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：芝熙期爾雅圖芙蓉贊 CW121.7 飴滋期山海經圖白蓉贊 CW122.3 絲之思又菖草贊 CW123.2 之期疑又巴蛇贊 CW123.10 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：芝疑熙期遊仙之五 CS447 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：辭絲而述懷 CS392 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：期絲滋思綦基時雜詩之三 CS393 嬉芝時期七命之二 CW85.9 熙詩時又七 CW85.11 *Lu Hsiü* 魯褒：茲醫錢神論 CW113.8 *Lí Chung* 李充：時詩基疑良弓銘 CW53.8 *Ts'ao P'í* 曹毗：熙基四時祠祀歌 CS 248 *Chiang Yü* 江淹：時辭疑絲之期治逸民箴 CW107.5 *Chih Tün* 支遁：思持之茲首立著薩贊 CW157.14 *Yüán Háng* 袁宏：疑時辭治詩之詠史之二 CS449 時熙基三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 司時祭牙文 CW57.8 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：持基疑詩遊天台賦 CW61.1 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：茲之時而榮木 CS455 攷之詩思答龐參軍 CS456 時思茲而命子 CS458 時之茲期思而疑辭形贈影 CS459 詩之思時茲欺移居之二 CS464 之期時茲辭疑庚子五月 CS468 之時茲疑持飲酒之一 CS472 時辭茲疑欺之又十二 CS473 茲時潛疑辭思欺之詩擬古之六 CS477 之期紆詩疑歸去來辭 CW111.7 時之疑辭讀史述屈賈 CW112.1 之欺辭期祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9 之時思茲繙詩自祭文 CW112.10 *Yin Ch'án* 殷闡：茲思祭王東亭文 CW142.3 *Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：熙時期辭陶安公贊 CW139.8 *Hsin Hsiao* 辛蕭：茲熙元正詩 CS513 *Su Pó-yü's* wife 蘇伯玉妻：之期思之治之盤中詩 CS 510 Anonymous 無名氏：期思濟濟篇 CS 274 時期子夜歌之九 CS523 嬉時又十三 CS523 嬉詞又三十一 CS524 思時子夜歌之十一 CS529 期絲七日夜女郎歌之五 CS535 絲時青陽度之一 CS543 絲時作蠶絲之二 CS549 思時吳趨行 CS552 持期巴東三峽歌 CS560

### Shāng

*Juǎn Yü* 阮瑀：軌紀使紀征賦 HHW93.1 *Tsui Yën* 崔琰：止記汨始述初賦 HHW94.5,5 *Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：已止汨起贈士孫文始 WS 177 峙里趾齒紀游海賦 HHW 90.2 士理侯時七釋 HHW91.1 *Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：鄙子飲馬長城窟行 WS182 理子馬腦勒賦 HHW92.3 *Yáng Hsiu* 楊修：起止許昌宮賦 HHW51.10 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：里已龜雖壽 WS119 *Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：鄙祀齒侯子止答贈詩 WS199 侯峙子魏受命述 WW26.2 *Ts'ao P'í* 曹丕：士海煌煌京洛行 WS126 紀起齒十五 WS127 紀里恃理仕令詩 WS135 *Ts'ao Ch'ih* 曹植：耳止怨歌行 WS151 始使子喜大魏篇 WS154 李汴齒恃雜詩之四 WS162 恃齒貢躬詩 WS165 里止起雜詩 WS 173 已喜離思賦 WW13.4 似齒子蝙蝠賦 WW14.6 恃已學宮頌 WW17.1 耻耳巢父贊

WW17.5 子恥已矣 卞隨贊 WW 17.6 里海 魏德論 WW 17.8 恃士已峙止理 王仲宣誄 WW 19.2,3  
*Chu Kō-liang* 諸葛亮：里似子紀子 梁甫吟 WS 236 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：里理耳 趙都賦  
 WW 32.2 *Miào Hsí* 繆襲：已恃 喜霽賦 WW38.1 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：子敏止 始俟 景福殿賦  
 WW39.6.6 紀理瑞頌 WW39.12 *Wei Tàn* 韋誕：士祀 敘志賦 WW32.9 始敏 景福殿賦 WW32.10  
*Hsià-hóu Hsüán* 夏侯玄：紀祀社始皇胤賦 WW21.2 *Tù Chhì* 杜摯：徵起 笳賦 WW41.1  
*Wáng Sù* 王肅：子起宗廟頌 WW23.11 *Sun Kai* 孫該：始理琵琶賦 WW40.3 *Chi K'ang*  
 嵇康：恥已否瘠幽憤詩 WS 204 汜杞恃起 贈秀才入軍之四 WS 205 已峙鯉鮪軌齒起子始已酒會  
 之七 WS207 喜恥已子 六言之八 WS 210 敏擬徵子峙起 止理 琴賦 WW 47.2,3 *Juǎn Chí* 阮  
 籍：李始杞趾子已 詠懷之三 WS 215 里汜俟杞已理止 又五二 WS 221 否止 東平賦 WW 44.6  
*Hsì Chèng* 卻正：記止恥 釋議 CW70.7 *Chi Hsǐ* 嵇喜：理起裏齒已 答嵇康之三 WS 287  
 Anonymous 無名氏：紀士社祀范式碑 WW56.6

*Liú Líng* 劉伶：士以齒起 酒德頌 CW66.1 *Chéng Kung-sui* 成公綏：理峙起址里已  
 天地賦 CW59.2 汜趾齒起徵里已擬嘯賦 CW59.4 起里鴻雁賦 CW59.7 趾使社起士紀烏賦 CW59.7  
 起峙止七唱 CW59.8 士已始否市使錢神論 CW113.7 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：祀社海紀天郊饗神歌  
 CS241 止祀夕牲歌 CS242 止祀子社征西將軍登歌 CS243 理始饗神歌 CS244 止已景皇帝登歌 CS244  
 海裏士始起理紀惟聖皇篇 CS268 止理吳楚歌 CS295 里起古詩 CS301 里海理驚雷歌 CS302 否起  
 里海汜 大寒賦 CW45.2 峙里理 乘輿馬賦 CW46.1-2 峙起止 良馬賦 CW46.2 軌起 走狗賦 CW46.3  
*Hsüeh Yíng* 薛瑩：紀使止獻詩 CS287 *Hsüán Hsü* 荀勗：始社士子於皇 CS250 社止士  
 理喜華林園宴 CS277 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：里起峙趾 江上泛歌 CS396 已理否始范蠡贊  
 CW69.5 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：士里齒 答弘農故吏民 CS398 止齒起徵 笳賦 CW60.2 *Fù Hsién*  
 傅咸：仕已已論語詩之二 CS306 已里與尚書同僚詩 CS307 杞汜起 神泉賦 CW51.2 理恥已齒權賦  
 CW 51.6 理子齒祀已俟趾 玉賦 CW 51.8 里市止祀子喜始 釋奠頌 CW 52.11 *Wáng Chì* 王  
 濟：汜里耳 三日華林園詩 CS 321 *Chang Huá* 張華：士里喜已始起 門有車馬客行 CS 277-8  
 起始理里 勵志詩 CS 281 始俟已 永懷賦 CW58.1 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：峙起士峙 關中詩 CS 371  
 紀子祀峙贈陸機 CS372 起耳子紀鄙悼亡之二 CS376 市已恥以 喜史理士子矣淳裏仕已耳鄙齒  
 起峙紀趾西征賦 CW90.4,7,9 洙士市峙始 柿李 子軌鯉汜齒喜閑居賦 CW91.5,6,6 止起裏峙擬已  
 射雉賦 CW92.2 士已海里 兩階銅人訓 CW92.5 里史士理己子 任府君贊 CW92.5 士子已恃武皇帝誄  
 CW92.6 矣始已子楊仲武誄 CW92.8 裏史子始夏侯常侍誄 CW93.1-2 齒里劉氏妹哀辭 CW93.5 矣耳  
 子哀永逝文 CW93.7 姒子耳 祭庾新婦文 CW 93.8 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：里趾洙理峙耳己子  
 楚妃歎 CS401 *Ch'én Tsung* 陳總：理海終南山請雨文 CW86.10 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：洙鯉子  
 似社南陔 CS318 *Mù Huá* 木華：汜里 海賦 CW105.7 *Lù Chi* 陸機：始起吳趨行 CS331  
 耳紀梓里始百年歌之八 CS335 止子矣里贈顧令文 CS336 已起止社贈夏少明 CS336 止里紀社贈馮  
 文龍 CS337 紀止起理齒擬耳文賦 CW97.3 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：姒士子社止思文 CS356 里紀 贈  
 張仲膺 CS356 紀圯子齒 紀已答兄平原 CS 359, 360 紀止軌已答孫顯世 CS363 止里子齒紀始爲顧彥  
 先贈婦之二 CS 365 始洙里止南征賦 CW 100.7 耳里子起林陽子頌 CW 100.3-4 止始子耳 鬼谷子頌

CW103.11 始止子祖考頌 CW104.2 社祀已紀 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Chèng Feng* 鄭豐：涖起止  
 蒞止 鶯鶯 CS367 *Sun Chǎng* 孫拯：紀始理祀 止止已紀 贈陸士龍 CS369 *Tsǒ Szu* 左  
 思：紀時里 趾里 已理蜀都賦 CW74.2,2,4 起里 紀趾 始祀時里吳都賦 CW74.5,7,7 涖起始趾猥  
 祀裏魏都賦 CW74.13 以理齒里侯子白髮賦 CW74.17 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：理擬止士木弓銘 CW65.7  
*Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：子理耳侯似思友人詩 CS408 理起止子圍棋賦 CW107.6 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：  
 梓紀士喜贈陸機 CS379 士里梓恥士起 贈蔡陽令 CS382 理祀社釋奠 CS383 理已始社上已 CS384  
 始子理已釋奠頌 CW94.7 始時紀矣乘輿箴 CW95.4 *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞：始軌紀圯太康頌 CW77.3  
*Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：始梓子仕贈杜方叔 CS314 *Chang Mǐn* 張敏：耳齒起里踞頭責子羽文  
 CW80.2 *Wáng Yì* 王廙：理峙 洛都賦 CW20.9 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：士裏子耳起齒使 遊仙  
 之二 CS423 峙起里巫咸山賦 CW120.1 峙起子士登百尺樓賦 CW120.6 苕李似爾雅圖米苕贊 CW121.7  
 齒耳子山海經圖神武羅贊 CW123.1 理始子又丈夫國贊 CW123.7 子使理又君子國贊 CW123.9 齒耳趾  
 又黑齒國贊 CW123.9 里起耳 又大澤贊 CW123.10 峙起里 又吉良贊 CW123.11 *Chang Hân* 張  
 翰：時里否已贈張弋陽 CS388 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：紀始止揚都賦 CW38.3 *Lǐ Hsing* 李興：  
 矣已 諸葛丞相故宅陽表 CW70.12 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：喜起恃祀 劍閣銘 CW85.5 *Chang*  
*Hsiéh* 張協：止起理裏七命之二 CW85.9 起里又五 CW85.10 *Ts'ao Ti'ên* 棗腆：起耳士  
 里始答石崇 CS409 *Lǐ Hsiün* 魯褒：士已始紀市耳使錢神論 CW113.7 *Lǐ Ch'ung* 李充：  
 耳里 穆天子賦 CW53.6 紀里陳太丘頌 CW53.6 杞理擬子恥已矣里己子學箴 CW53.8 *Lü Ch'én*  
 盧諶：理士起已贈劉琨 CS417 *Chiang Yü* 江淹：始紀風賦 CW107.2 *Yüán Hūng* 袁  
 宏：始恥已耳三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：士紀起史已 太常碑 CW61.7 紀起 庾  
 亮碑 CW62.7 *Hsiü Hsün* 許詢：始已理起子黑麕尾銘 CW135.5 *Lǐ Yü* 李頤：始紀感冬  
 篇 CS449 *Wáng Fang-chih* 王豐之：趾時 蘭亭 CS439 *Fú Lǎng* 苻朗：已理始市  
 子紀臨終詩 CS499 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：止里始酬丁柴桑 CS456 始理止喜命子 CS458 仕已  
 恥里紀止恃 飲酒之十九 CS474 止裏子喜起理已矣涖祀 止酒 CS474 士止理子 讀山海經之十二  
 CS483 已理已恥止市 感士不遇賦 CW111.5 己子恥紀 史述程杵 CW112.1 恃祀已里 祭程氏妹文  
 CW112.8 *Hsiéh Tào-yün* 謝道韞：似擬起詠雪聯句 CS512 *Tsung Ping* 宗炳：擬里  
 起 登白鳥山 CS490 *Yin Ch'ân* 殷闡：子里始 祭王東亭文 CW142.3 *Pièn Ch'eng-chih*  
 卞承之：始子社喜 無患枕贊 CW140.3 *Chang Wàng* 張望：擬子 枕賦 CW135.5 *Kuo*  
*Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：紀理使峙 涓子贊 CW139.3 使里恥始 服闋贊 CW139.8 *Wáng K'ang-*  
*chü* 王康琚：市史子士裏起趾已理始反招隱 CS491 *Ch'ân Fang-sheng* 湛方生：始起  
 恥里喜否北叟贊 CW140.7 *Lǐ Hsiün* 李秀：理始西維賦 CW143.2 *Liú Mì-chih* 劉謐之：  
 耳事 龍郎賦 CW143.2 市士似耳 迷賦 CW143.2 *Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：士子已 釋時論 CW89.2  
 Anonymous 無名氏：士子治矣 孫皓時詩妖 CS236 始海子已 洪業篇 CS270 李紀充起里理  
 景皇篇 CS271 比已濟濟篇 CS274 裏子子夜歌十四 CS523 喜起又十九 CS524 里子 又三七 CS525  
 起子又四十 CS525 裏子子夜歌之八 CS527 起李又九 CS527 裏子子夜歌之十二 CS529 里似子夜  
 冬歌之一 CS529 裏紀 上聲歌之四 CS531 裏起 又六 CS532 裏子 懷儂歌之七 CS538 起里 又八 CS538

### 3.3 Rime Lists—Category *Chih* 之

子起孟珠之七 CS 546 喜子鳳凰歌 CS 556 里已蜀人謠 CS 562 耳子元康中童謠 CS 564 已齒幼興歌 CS 567 止起洪水謠 CS 572 始祀已恃耳 成帝哀策文 CW 146.6

#### *Ch'ü*

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：試事異 酒賦 HHW 90.4 志事 七釋 HHW 91.1 *Yáng Hsiu* 楊修：事  
試忌出征賦 HHW 51.9 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：置事武帝哀策文 WW 7.11 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：志  
忌妬詩 WS 170 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：事志喜六言之二 WS 210 *Hsü Chèng* 卻正：治事釋譏  
CW 70.8

*Chéng Kung-sui* 成公綏：異珥事喜忌 天地賦 CW 59.2 異事思志 嘯賦 CW 59.4 *Huáng-fü Mí* 皇甫謐：異意 意志 釋勸論 CW 71.6,7 *Chang Huá* 張華：意異思 歸田賦 CW 58.1  
*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：喜思熾駛寺事植志異忌司 在懷縣作之二 CS 375 思嗣植異 懷舊賦 CW 91.1  
寺司熾植馬汧督誄 CW 92.10 *Chiang Wéi* 江偉：熾備司記思志 襄邑令傳頌 CW 67.7 *Shü*  
*Hsi* 束皙：吏字 近遊賦 CW 87.2 事志 玄居釋 CW 87.6 *Lü Chi* 陸機：治使演連珠之四 CW 99.3  
*Lü Yün* 陸雲：司事思志贈汲郡太守 CS 354 備事志嗣太尉王公 CS 352 *Tsö Ssu* 左思：侍  
吏司治魏都賦 CW 74.12 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：侍則事志釋奠頌 CW 94.7 *Chang Min* 張敏：  
試使事 志事喜 忌意 頭責子羽文 CW 80.2,2,2 *Lü Ch'ên* 盧諶：植意餌識 贈劉琨 CS 419  
*Hsièh An* 謝安：事吏識意異 與王胡之 CS 439 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：喜事意值駛置雜詩  
之六 CS 478 事異志意張長公 CW 112.2 事志意意祭從弟敬遠文 CW 112.9 *Su Yèn* 蘇彥：治志  
事語箴 CW 138.2 Anonymous 無名氏：事意子夜歌十五 CS 523 意思鬱樂之一 CS 546

### (1.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

#### *Chih* 之 and *Hai* 哈

#### *P'ing*

*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：時灰 龜雖壽 WS 119 *Hü Tsung* 胡綜：基災 黃龍大牙賦 WW 67.5  
*Hó Yèn* 何晏：時災 斫猛獸刀銘 WW 39.12 *Lü Chi* 陸機：期哉之詩贈夏少明 CS 336 *Lü*  
*Yün* 陸雲：才淇茲基答兄平原 CS 359 頤思來詩高岡 CS 362 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：之辭來  
杯詩才貽乞食 CS 462 Anonymous 無名氏：期來黃生曲之一 CS 535 思來懷儂歌之十二 CS 539  
時來孟珠之五 CS 546

#### *Shang*

Anonymous 無名氏：裏在上聲歌之七 CS 532 里在懷儂歌之三 CS 538 子在江陵樂之四 CS 542

#### *Ch'ü*

*Fu Hsüán* 傅玄：載備思宗廟饗神歌 CS 244 *Lü Chi* 陸機：思載與弟清河雲 CS 339 *Ch'ên*  
*Yào* 陳窈：異態 箴賦 CW 144.8

#### *Chih* 之 and *Yu* 幽



*P'ing*

*Hó Yèn* 何晏：思休時基 瑞頌 WW39.11 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：旗謀 大師箴 WW51.6 *Hsè*  
*Chèng* 卻正：時滋期尤辭 釋議 WW70.9

*Shāng*

*Hsü Kān* 徐幹：起藪齊都賦 HHW93.5 Anonymous 無名氏：已社母止友紀理王太后哀  
策文 CW146.4

*Chih* 之 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Lù Yūn* 陸雲：螭基茲之答大將軍 CS357 怡規時旗九懸修身 CW101.1 *Yü Ch'ān* 庾闡：  
嶷芝滋期差疑 採藥詩 CS446 Anonymous 無名氏：絲爲子夜秋歌之十三 CS529 絲爲採桑度  
之七 CS542 期知休洗紅 CS552 欺爲蜀民謠 CS562

*Shāng*

*Lù Yūn* 陸雲：子士止爾社紀贈顧驃騎 CS355 社士子止紫宰陸公誄 CW104.6 *T'áo Ch'ien*  
陶潛：子倚理維思十二 CS479

*Ch'ü*

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：思意義事記異僞隸易 隸書體 CW59.1

*Chih* 之 and *Chih* 脂

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'ān* 王粲：悲之期遲旗辭時茲諮 七哀之三 WS182 *Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：達治  
蚩 秋胡行之二 WS 123 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：旗師 征蜀論 WW 18.1 師時滋 告咎文 WW.19.10  
*Huān Fēng* 翹鳳：時期眉嗤怨詩 CS511 *Lù Chì* 陸機：基師太素卜宅 CS351 疑期之欺  
追丞相箴 CW99.7 *Lù Yūn* 陸雲：期龜頤怡悲 愁霖賦 CW100.3 茲司夷期之祖考頌 CW104.2

*Shāng*

*Wáng Ts'ān* 王粲：妣止姒子 思親詩 WS 178 *Yüng Yāng* 應瑒：紀起峙鄙尾 奕勢  
HHW42.6 *Lù Yūn* 陸雲：社水暑止 盛德頌 CW103.12 Anonymous 無名氏：起視子夜  
冬歌之十二 CS530 子水西洲曲 CS551

*Ch'ü*

*Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：識異事意至答謝安 CS431

*Chih* 之 and *Chieh* 皆

*Shāng*

*Ch'in M* 秦宓：紀己弟起里子遠遊 WS237

*Chih* 之 *Hai* 哈 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：離淇來之贈張仲膺 CS356    *Hsià Ch'ing* 夏靖：茲能詩規思答陸士衡 CS370  
*Chih* 之, *Hai* 哈 and *Chih* 脂

*Shang*

*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：海峙茂起裏觀滄海 WS119    *Lù Yün* 陸雲：采水里子苙已贈顧尚書 CS358  
*Chih* 之, *Yu* 幽 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：基猷儀期詩辭之贊述太子賦 WW30.11  
*Chih* 之, *Chih* 脂 and *Yü* 魚

*P'ing*

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：之期議與思室思 WS 184  
*Chih* 之, *Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Chi Hân* 嵇含：基枝馨持悅晴 CS 411  
*Chih* 之, *Chih* 支, *Hai* 哈 and *Chieh* 皆

*P'ing*

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：夷垂熙來旗黎之陸公誄 CW104.5  
*Chih* 之, *Chih* 脂, *Hai* 哈 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Lù Chi* 陸機：茲基旗闡詩時輻期辭來騏臺知時思能離挽歌之一 CS324  
*Chih* 之, *Chih* 脂, *Chih* 支 and *Chieh* 皆

*P'ing*

*Chang Hân* 張翰：時歸離栖贈張弋陽 CS388  
*Chih* 之, *Hai* 哈, *Yu* 幽, *Yü* 魚 and *Chih* 支

*Ch'ü*

*Wéi Chao* 韋昭：帝異思代治園字記事意賚喜裕從歷數 WS232

(1.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Chih* 之 *P'ing* 平 and *Chih* 之 *Shang* 上

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：紀始之饗神歌 CS240    *Lù Chi* 陸機：里緇子起理汨爲顧彥先贈婦之一 CS342  
*Chang Hsiéh* 張協：趾岷耳里紀登北芒賦 CW85.6-7

*Chih* 之 *P'ing* 平 and *Chih* 之 *Ch'ü* 去

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：志事忌釐嗣喜皇太子生頌 WW17.3

(2) Rime Category *Hai* 哈

## (2.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing**Hai* 哈：垓孩該 台胎鮐 哉栽裁 來萊 才材 能 災 臺 埃 鰓 猜*Hui* 灰：灰恢 杯 媒 梅*Shang**Hai* 海：采採 待 等 在 海 宰 殆 改 倍*Hui* 賄：悔*Hai* 駭：駭*Ch'ü**Tai* 代：能態 載載 賸賸 榮 穰 代 閔 愷*Tui* 隊：誨悔悔 佩 輓 背*Kuai* 怪：戒 怪(2.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Hai* 哈*P'ing**Juàn Yü* 阮瑀：來灰臺能杯萊 七哀 WS189 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：來杯能 秋胡行之二 WS125*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：來該懿公主誄 WW19.8 *Chi Kang* 嵇康：來裁 思親詩 WS211 *Juàn**Chi* 阮籍：臺哉萊來埃灰 詠懷三一 WS219 萊能哉 又五十 WS221*Fü Hsüán* 傅玄：臺來杯媒萊 雜詩之二 CS299 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：臺杯裁 登樓賦 CW60.2*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：來哉才西征賦 CW90.3 才媒來鰓射雉賦 CW92.2 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：埃來 思歸歎 CS403 *Lü Chi* 陸機：災來哉 甲魏武帝文 CW99.11 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：才能萊瑋瑋 琬賦 CW94.4 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：才能 尚書令箴 CW77.6 *Wang Yü* 王廙：災哉 白兔賦CW20.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：來埃 蚩蚩賦 CW120.6 才台來爾雅圖蚩蚩贊 CW121.8 災來媒 山海經圖跋踵賦 CW123.4 災能來 山海經圖修即贊 CW123.5 杯災臺 又蛇巫贊 CW123.11 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：埃栽安石榴賦 CW85.7 鮐胎梅杯七命之六 CW85.11 *Lü Hsü* 魯褒：財來錢神論 CW113.7*Ts'áo Pi* 曹毗：才臺孩災胎埃萊鰓 對儒 CW107.9 *Yüán Hung* 袁宏：才猜萊臺三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：孩來才哉 命子 CS458 才來猜哉 讀山海經之十三 CS483

Anonymous 無名氏：來臺 子夜夏歌之五 CS527

*Shang**Hó Yén* 何晏：等在景福殿賦 WW39.6 *Chi Kang* 嵇康：在悔 贈秀才入軍十八 WS206 在海 思親詩 WS211 宰海大師箴 WW51.6 *Juàn Chi* 阮籍：駭海在清思賦 WW44.10-11

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：海宰殆在 西征賦 CW 90.3    *Tsō Szu* 左思：倍等在 吳都賦 CW 74.7  
*Ts'áo Shu* 曹摅：海在殆改倍贈歐陽建 CS406    *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：改在海井賦 CW120.4 采  
 海駭客傲 CW121.2 海宰采 爾雅圖翡翠贊 CW121.10 駭在待 山海經圖朱孺贊 CW122.12 在采宰又赤  
 銅贊 CW 123.1 海改在 又都州贊 CW 123.12    *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：海采 安石榴賦 CW 85.3  
*Chang Hsiéh* 張協：駭海七命之五 CW85.10    *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：宰倍海在釋道安贊 CW61.8  
*T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：採改海待悔 擬古之九 CS477 海在悔待 讀山海經之十 CS482

*Ch'ü*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：戒載悔悔背 寡婦賦 CW91.2 態睞背能 射雉賦 CW92.2 代載閔戒 武帝帝誄  
 CW92.6    *Chang Min* 張敏：戴佩輓榮穠悔態頭實子羽文 CW 80.2    *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：背怪  
 佩山海經圖瘳詭贊 CW122.2 代佩誨又夏后啓贊 CW123.6 載背閔又井封贊 CW123.7    Anonymous  
 無名氏：悔載背代 成帝哀策文 CW146.5

(2.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Hai* 哈 and *Chih* 之

*P'ing*

*Hsià Ch'ang* 夏靖：才釐答陸士衡 CS370    *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：災萊臺杯頤垓孩才遊仙之六 CS424

*Shang*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：駭起待 浮淮賦 WW4.3    *Lü Chi* 陸機：待祀在 與弟清和雲 CS339    *Kuo*  
*P'ü* 郭璞：裏采在客傲 CW121.2    *Ts'áo P'ü* 曹毗：駭峙 涉江賦 CW107.7

*Ch'ü*

Anonymous 無名氏：載事黃督之二 CS547

*Hai* 哈 and *Chih* 脂

*P'ing*

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：裁裁來晞 行女哀辭 WW19.9

*Hai* 哈 and *Chieh* 皆

*P'ing*

*Wéi Tàn* 韋誕：才階 敘志賦 WW 32.9    *Juàn Chí* 阮籍：埃來排哉 詠懷之三十七 WS 219  
 Anonymous 無名氏：埃嵬來臺 行者歌 WS 226    *Lü Chi* 陸機：來催 日重光行 CS 334  
*P'an Ní* 潘尼：材階能臺來哉贈侍御史 CS381 災臺杯胎階恢乘輿箴 CW95.4    Anonymous  
 無名氏：埃來賴臺 大風謠 CS575

*Hai* 哈, *Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：來誰爲 秋胡行之二 WS123

(3) Rime Category *Yu* 幽

## (3.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing**Hòu* 侯：侯喉猴餗 區謳鷗 婁樓 鉤 頭 溝 投*Yü* 尤：修悠脩飢儵 旂游遊游 秋楸愁鞦 猷遒鞦 留榴雷騶 由油抽魴 州洲  
酬 浮桴紉 儔疇籌 劉瀏瀏 流旒 舟輶 求裘 矛柔 丘邱 仇鳩 雠  
雛 周稠 叟搜 憂 牛 謀 羞 尤 休 收 繇 眸 囚 不 勳 馵  
郵*Yu* 幽：繆縻繆 幽 糾 虬 休*Shang**Hòu* 厚：苟耇响 偶耦 藪藪 口叩 后垢 母拇 走 後 叟 畝 取 部 厚  
牡 簍*Yü* 有：友右有 西酒醜 莠誘 受綬 守肘 紐 柳 首 壽 久 手 朽 咎  
阜 缶 舅 負 九 牖 婦 否 溴*Ch'ü**Hòu* 候：奏湊 够鳩 茂 陋 懋 耨 寇 構 候 鬥 漱 鏤*Yü* 宥：宙岫胃袖 守狩 復覆 溜雷 副富 瘠囿 就鶯 糅輶 謀 救 壽 授  
秀 疚 臭 舊 繡 祐 繇 廐 獸 猶 鷄 宿 究*Yü* 幼：謬(3.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Yu* 幽*P'ing*

王祭：州休脩憂遊柔 矛諫新福歌 WS176 流休由留仇憂舟 贈文叔良 WS178 愁丘由流舟游收  
憂疇馵休留 從軍詩之五 WS180 憂仇洲流丘疇留 登樓賦 HHW90.3 幽休舟 迷迭賦 HHW90.5 稠  
憂休求 鸚鵡賦 HHW90.7 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：休修區 黎陽山賦 HHW 65.1 *Ch'ên Lín* 陳  
琳：仇流遊 神女賦 HHW92.3 *Yüng Yáng* 應瑒：流抽由憂 別詩之二 WS196 丘流浮流州  
靈河賦 HHW42.1 劉憂遊疇由 文質論 HHW42.5 謀尤 奕勢 HHW42.6 *Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲  
淳：稠投儔 投壺頌 WW26.1 *Ts'áo P'i* 曹丕：流舟遊裘憂 善哉行之一 WS 126 洲求愁憂  
又二 WS 126 憂牛裘 艷歌何嘗行 WS 130 遊酬 濟川賦 WW4.1 遊求浮流舟 滄海賦 WW4.2 愁謀  
戒盈賦 WW4.3 儔幽 彈棊賦 WW4.6 *Fü Sün* 傅巽：幽修由儔 筆銘 WW35.2 *Ts'áo Chih*  
曹植：遊牛柔謳羞酬尤求流遒丘憂 筌篋引 WS141 樓仇妾薄命之二 WS143 遊流邱 遊儔 WS145  
流游儔丘雛州浮憂 鰕鮒篇 WS 149 流仇尤 浮萍篇 WS 149 休幽留由 聖皇篇 WS 153 遊仇由流

舟憂 雜詩之五 WS 163 游由 應詔詩 WS 165 游流儔舟愁留周憂 贈王粲 WS 166 周秋 憂舟朔風詩 WS 168, 169 舟鳩逍遙芙蓉池 WS 173 留愁 洛神賦 WW 13.3 流求流靜思賦 WW 13.4 騶儔遊憂舟仇流愁 節遊賦 WW 13.6 求憂休遊愁流丘感節賦 WW 13.6 愁留舟 九愁賦 WW 13.8 儔憂 閑居賦 WW 13.10 舟流 寶刀賦 WW 14.1 游流 芙蓉賦 WW 14.3 遊流 白鶴賦 WW 14.4 求流 離騷雁賦 WW 14.5 求流 蟬賦 WW 14.6 裘遊州留 七啓序 WW 16.8 仇由修愁 又四 WW 16.10 周休 武帝誄 WW 19.4 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：流舟鮒丘籌讎景福殿賦 WW 39.6 霽疇瑞頌 WW 39.12 丘劉斫猛獸刀銘 WW 39.12 *Hsià-hóu Huì* 憂侯惠：周浮流景福殿賦 WW 21.1 *Chi Kang* 嵇康：遊憂愁留求幽憤詩 WS 204 儔洲流游 贈秀才入軍之二 WS 205 遊丘游洲憂 又十六 WS 206 遊流洲浮 酒會之二 WS 207 洲仇遊留繆 琴賦 WW 47.2 州桴 大師箴 WW 51.6 *Kuo Hsiá-shu* 郭遐叔：遊憂求留愁贈嵇康之二 WS 212 *Juǎn Chí* 阮籍：洲讎求遊浮舟流朝憂 詠懷二八 WS 218 幽秋悠流浮留遊舟 又三十二 WS 219 憂舟遊 又六十三 WS 222 浮侯羞丘流遊 又六十六 WS 223 舟由憂讎遊 又七十二 WS 223 憂流讎羞遊 又七十七 WS 224 遊流憂 東平賦 WW 44.7 憂留浮 清思賦 WW 44.11 *Chung Huì* 鍾會：儔遊流 葡萄賦 WW 25.2 *Chi Hsi* 嵇喜：遊丘 答嵇康之一 CS 286 *Yáng Ch'üán* 楊泉：流遊洲 五湖賦 WW 75.1 流周優 蠶賦 WW 75.2

*Chung Yèn* 鍾琰：留愁 遐思賦 CW 144.1 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：流舟 陰霖賦 CW 59.3 悠求錢神論 CW 59.9 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：鈞侯流舟讎羞游憂 長歌行 CS 289 洲流秋由憂 擬四愁詩之一 CS 301 留浮愁又三 CS 302 周流天時泰兮 CS 302 裘旋修 流浮留正都賦 CW 45.4.4 樓儔頭瓜賦 CW 45.9 柔流桃賦 CW 45.9 讎流龐侯誄 CW 46.13-4 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：柔遊 喪賦 CW 68.1 憂秋流 左丘明贊 CW 69.4 周遊尤牛流 莊周贊 CW 69.5 柔浮憂游 東方朔贊 CW 69.6 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：流周丘抽除婦服詩 CS 398 由流繆笑賦 CW 60.1 浮搜維賦 CW 60.4 裘疇丘脾 臆賦 CW 60.4 讎丘丘管仲贊 CW 60.8 丘鈞尤反金人銘 CW 60.9 *Fù Hsién* 傅咸：舟浮流丘頭小語賦 CW 51.2 留柔尤修 由抽 明意賦 CW 51.44 蜉蝣秋求游 蜉蝣賦 CW 51.11 柔讎由尤羞類讎憂 叩頭蟲賦 CW 51.12 *Chang Huá* 張華：繇休流 食舉東西廂樂詩之一 CS 254 流柔又五 CS 254 猷幽流又九 CS 255 留周休晉冬至初歲小會歌 CS 257 游周秋流讎志詩 CS 280 丘流猷贈華仲治 CS 285 尤讎由女史箴 CW 58.8 留遊章懷皇后誄 CW 58.9 猷流鮑玄泰誄 CW 58.9 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：郵周西征賦 CW 90.3 流丘疇楸 懷舊賦 CW 91.1 遊榴繆柔安石榴賦 CW 92.1 周流侯猷 周流侯州休讎柔 楊荊州誄 CW 92.7.7 收由傷弱子辭 CW 93.5 舟憂謀求囚裘弔孟嘗君文 CW 93.8 *Tsō Chiu-pin* 左九嬪：流秋周抽憂丘 元皇后誄 CW 13.6 *Ou-yáng Chièn* 歐陽建：流周秋悠繆答石崇贈 CS 410 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：油柔留羞南陔 CS 317-8 由柔由柔抽流山庚 CS 318 修悠 由儀 CS 319 疇州求牛鞞遊 近遊賦 CW 87.2 流優疇 玄居釋 CW 87.6 *Mù Huá* 木華：流舟 海賦 CW 105.7 *Lù Chi* 陸機：憂遊求由適 童逃行 CS 332 流丘 白雲賦 CW 96.1 丘浮疇修區 感丘賦 CW 96.10 留流求抽尤勗由 文賦 CW 97.3 周述鼈賦 CW 97.7 遊侯七微之六 CW 98.3 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：周悠幽休答顧秀才 CS 357 憂休答兄平原 CS 359 猷流丘謀答孫顯世 CS 363 幽繆秋悠 思樂芳林 CS 364 樓疇由憂留美哉良友 CS 364 瓊流綠房含青實 CS 366 適秋流留憂遊洲喜霽賦 CW 100.4 丘求遊流逸民賦 CW 100.5 流由求謀猷 九啓行吟 CW 101.3 休流憂尤 又九 CW 101.5 謀猷流 祖考頌 CW 104.1

遊裘丘憂榮啓期讚 CW104.3 *Chèng Feng* 鄭豐：周浮中陵 CS369 *Sun Chěng* 孫拯：猷休流浮贈陸士龍 CS369 *Tsō Szu* 左思：州浮侯游由流詠史之五 CS386 洲舟遊蝕蚪謳侯浮流蜀都賦 CW74.4 流浮 颺悠侯留丘羞 吳都賦 CW74.6,9-10 佗劉由洲悠疇留 魏都賦 CW74.14 *Juǎn Hsiu* 阮脩：流酬浮上已會詩 CS412 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：遊侯秋浮贈司空掾安仁 CS378 流秋疇遊 侍皇太子宴玄圃 CS379 州儔流丘 贈陸機 CS379 浮流 苦雨賦 CW94.1 流舟 龍賦 CW94.5 休遊周柔流浮後園頌 CW94.8 *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞：游流舟浮脩丘籌收 求游 思游賦 CW76.2,3 求憂 鵲鵲賦 CW76.4 羞柔酬流 觀魚賦 CW76.4 周猷秋休 左丘明贊 CW77.5 猷休 尚書令箴 CW77.6 *Lü-ch'iu Ch'ung* 閻丘沖：舟遊酬柔 三月三日之一 CS412 *Chang Mǐn* 張敏：州仇神女賦 CW80.1 讎仇憂 尤流游謀頭 頭責子羽文 CW80.2,3 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：璆叟求侯鉤讎游周憂丘流浮秋朝柔 重贈盧諶 CS416 頭流 扶風歌 CS417 *Wáng Yì* 王廙：流浮洛都賦 CW20.9 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：游舟投秋流遊仙之五 CS424 頭眸璆遊侯流 江賦 CW120.2 鳩丘頭山海經圖灌灌贊 CW122.2 猴流牛 又長右鏡贊 CW122.2 舟遊留 又沙棠贊 CW122.6 遊鉤周 又白狼贊 CW122.7 憂儵游 又儵贊 CW122.8 鳩州遊樓 又韓雁贊 CW123.12 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：洲丘遊仙之四 CS446 遊浮舟 海賦 CW38.1 洲流遊 閑居賦 CW38.4 *Li Hsing* 李興：由流 諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW70.11 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：州修流憂 擬四愁詩之四 CS391 遊秋流收浮憂濠汜池賦 CW85.1 遊周流羞酬休猷丘 鄆酒賦 CW85.3 侯籌劍閣銘 CW85.5 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：疇榴秋安石榴賦 CW85.7 收秋疇流七命之一 CW85.9 *Lü Ch'ên* 盧諶：周休流猷贈劉琨 CS418 秋收 感運賦 CW34.8 *Chih Tün* 支遁：儔丘修繆柔流舟求休浮 八關齋詩之一 CS501 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：流儔秋舟 蘭亭之一 CS433 周流遊繆秋 答許詢 CS435 流舟 望海賦 CW61.2-3 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：周柔流丘蘭亭之一 CS431 猷丘休儔流秋 用筆賦 CW22.1 *Wáng Hsiün-chih* 王玄之：流憂 蘭亭 CS437 *Hsiéh An* 謝安：遊丘疇流 蘭亭之一 CS439 *Yáng Hsiün* 楊宣：流求 宋纖畫像頌 CW154.6 *Ch'ên Fen* 陳玠：榴秋 石榴賦 CW144.9 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：旒修由朝悠收抽丘孝武帝哀策文 CW20.3 *Huì Yuǎn* 慧遠：求修流柔周遊憂萬佛影銘 CW162.16 *Lǐ Hào* 李暹：留丘浮求舟流述志賦 CW155.1 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：由憂休游 酬丁柴桑 CS456 周丘流侯 命子 CS457 休遊流鷗丘儔酬不憂求 遊斜川 CS461 周秋疇不遊酬劉柴桑 CS464-5 遊州流丘周求 擬古之八 CS477 婁酬周憂儔求 詠貧士之四 CS480 州儔流憂酬脩又七 CS480 丘儔流游讀山海經之三 CS481-2 秋求閑情賦 CW111.5 遊求憂疇舟丘流休留歸去來分辭 CW111.7 流儔休遊 周陽珪贊 CW112.3 *Chang Wàng* 張望：洲留游求 鷺鵲贊 CW135.5 *Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：柔游儔求 容成公贊 CW139.2 鉤休仇流鉤翼夫人贊 CW139.6 鉤修虬求陵陽子明贊 CW139.9 *Ch'ân Fang-sheng* 湛方生：遊修周遊園詠 CW140.4-5 *Shih Tsung* 史宗：憂裘舟丘 詠懷詩 CS507 *Anonymous* 無名氏：浮留子夜夏歌之十三 CS527 秋愁子夜變歌之三 CS531 流洋長樂佳之二 CS537 流頭江陵女歌 CS539 憂遊同生曲之一 CS541 秋憂又二 CS541 頭流三洲歌之一 CS541 舟遊又二 CS542 樓州 孟珠之八 CS546 流憂 月節折楊柳歌十一月歌 CS550 秋頭 洲樓頭 悠愁洲 西洲曲 CS551 羞裘頭離州 井州歌 CS554 游頭樓 楚遊歌 CS557 矛幽頭 隴上歌 CS557 牛流 淫豫歌 CS559 牛鞞休 關道謠 CS562 麇喉 京口謠 CS569 流頭

安帝義熙初謠之二 CS571 頭州西土謠 CS572 侯樓五樓 CS577 幽酬修遊流成帝哀策文 CW146.6 幽休丘轉旂抽流 穆帝哀策文 CW146.6-7 侯猷丘浮遊流旒悠流秋周處碑 CW146.13

*Shǎng*

*Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：叩後 定情詩 CS194 *Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：取耦手投壺賦 WW26.1  
*Ts'ao Chün* 曹植：藪走 孟冬篇 WS156 紐有後 魏德論 WW17.9 柳首任城王誄 WW 19.5 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：有取景福殿賦 WW39.6 *Yüing Ch'ü* 應璩：友誘 百一詩之三 WS197 叟莠壽醜受首久三叟 WS198 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：久壽朽友 贈秀才入軍之七 WS205 守醜友朽六言之五 WS210  
*Fü Hsián* 傅玄：有母 地郊饗神歌 CS 241 受咎右 吏部尚書箴 CW 46.10 有咎 口誡 CW 46.13  
*Ts'ao Chü* 棗據：藪畝阜 登樓賦 CW67.5 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：阜藪 獵兔賦 CW68.3 友手 張平子碑 CW 69.9 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：久口手 反金人銘 CW 60.9 母有 石人銘 CW 60.9  
*Fü Hsién* 傅咸：後久銜手 與尚書同僚詩 CS307 *Chang Huá* 張華：首畝醜右 大司農箴 CW58.7 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：有醜首久 關中詩 CS 372 母首舅友 贈王冑 CS 373 有母 家風詩 CS373 負咎首有西征賦 CW90.7 耦手畝九藉田賦 CW91.4 友母首舅 楊仲武誄 CW92.8 母壽首朽 南陽長公主誄 CW 93.3 久友首部后朽 鄭玄碑 CW 93.4 友母咎 楊仲武哀祝文 CW 93.8 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：阜柳思歸歎 CS403 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：畝口酒勸農賦 CW87.2 *Lü Chi* 陸機：牖手柳久守擬明月何皎皎 CS346 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：厚手有久答顧秀才 CS357 久友牖有九懸考志 CW101.3 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：阜朽 蜀都賦 CW74.2 有藪右九 阜畝 吳都賦 CW74.5,6 畝阜後口 魏都賦 CW74.13 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：婦友厚咎綬阜久畝 贈韓德眞 CS404-5 *Pan Ni* 潘尼：朽誘手友 贈司空掾安仁 CS 378 首酉耆 皇太子社 CS 380 后首九阜 釋奠頌 CW 94.7  
*Chih Yü* 摯虞：有右藪阜 雍州詩 CS 317 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：後首友誘 贈杜方叔 CS 314 *Ts'ai Hsing* 蔡洪：朽取 圍棋賦 CW81.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：缶醜 井賦 CW 120.5 后有簾爾雅圖鼎贊 CW121.5 首有拇 又挾首蛇贊 CW121.6 後九 响 山海經圖陳陳贊 CW122.11 肘醜有 又柔利國贊 CW123.3 柳首后又共工贊 CW123.8 負守首 又龜竇贊 CW123.10 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：友九柳手洛禊賦 CW85.6 *Lü Hsiün* 魯褒：走口後 有守母婦錢神論 CW113.7,8 *Lü Ch'ung* 李充：後部壺籌銘 CW53.8 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：阜右厚守贈劉琨 CS419 *Chih Tün* 支遁：九牖阜畝柳右手藪偈肘 八關齋詩之三 CS 502 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：舅首有后 與庾冰 CS 434 有阜遊天台山賦 CW61.1 *Hsièh An* 謝安：友苟與王胡之 CS439 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：久耦畝手 勸農 CS457 柳久友酒負厚有 擬古之一 CS476 走負有後 讀山海經之九 CS482 友母咎厚 祭從弟祭遠文 CW112.9 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：久友取右 介之推贊 CW139.3-4 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：藪畝牖友酒阜有朽久 後齋詩 CS 492 阜首有久後 帆入南湖 CS 492  
*Hsin Hsiao* 辛蕭：酒壽耆朽 菊花頌 CW 144.2 *Anonymous* 無名氏：友壽 晉杯槃舞歌 CS276 久有 子夜夏歌之四 CS527 婦否青聽白馬之四 CS543 婦手作蠶絲之一 CS549 柳久 月節折楊柳歌二月歌 CS549 柳取 又三月歌 CS549 柳取 又四月歌 CS 549 柳手 又五月歌 CS 549 柳渙 又六月歌 CS550 柳負 又七月歌 CS550 柳婦 又八月歌 CS550 柳取 又九月歌 CS550 柳負 又十月歌 CS550 柳否



又十一月歌 CS550 柳久又十二月歌 CS550 朽后守阜母應管歌 CS553 朽後武帝太康後童謠之二 CS563  
斗久走哀帝隆和初童謠 CS568

*Ch'ü*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：壽輅茂 靈壽杖頌 HHW91.2 授茂守繇荊州文學記 HHW91.6 *Ts'áo Pi*  
曹丕：謀救 煌煌京洛行 WS 126 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：秀就疾臭岫壽 幽憤詩 WS 204-5 覆秀  
溜 琴賦 WW47.1  
*Fù Hsién* 傅咸：授茂陋覆贈崔伏二郎詩 CS308 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：茂守授就贈王曹 CS373  
疾構 家風詩 CS373 繇祐懋 西征賦 CW90.4 授茂舊溜鵠 射雉賦 CW92.2 富守 馬汧督誄 CW 92.10  
胄授茂疾 南陽長公主誄 CW93.2 胄就秀 悲刑生 CW93.6 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：霑秀茂 華黍 CS318  
覆茂壽 崇丘 CS319 就臭授富繡 玄居釋 CW 87.7 *Lü Chi* 陸機：胄構 遂志賦 CW 96.5 茂胄  
秀惡懷太子誄 CW 99.9 茂秀 陸公少女哀辭 CW99.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：構鷺 答兄平原 CS 359  
*Tso Szu* 左思：糴繡吳都賦 CW74.6 修究魏都賦 CW74.16 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：寇復門圍棋賦  
CW107.6 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：構宙秀茂繹奠頌 CW94.7 寇胄耨廢火賦 CW94.3 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯  
虞：秀舊茂就答伏仲武 CS315 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：茂秀授富贈杜方叔 CS314 *Wáng Ts'án*  
王讚：副壽 三月三日 CS397 覆繡奏祐 侍宴始平王 CS397 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：授秀臭宙覆與王  
使君 CS422 臭溜侯 山海經圖此魚贊 CW 122.12 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：構奏湊楊都賦 CW38.3 秀疾  
宙弔賈生文 CW38.9 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：棲奏七命之六 CW85.11 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：授  
陋蟋蟀賦 CW34.9 *T'ai K'ui* 戴逵：秀構岫漱壽 山贊 CW137.2 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：陋  
舊富疾榮木 CS455 *Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：秀宙岫壽負局先生贊 CW139.9 *Hsin Hsiao*  
辛蕭：茂秀芍藥花頌 CW144.2 *Lü Chung* 陸沖：就侯風賦 CW86.9 Anonymous 無名  
氏：袖秀裴秀謠 CS561

## (3.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Yu* 幽 and *Chih* 之

*P'ing*

*Hsü Ch'eng* 卻正：尤思 釋議 CW70.7

*Yu* 幽 and *Hsiao* 宵

*P'ing*

*Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：愁條丘幽流憂 愁思賦 HHW93.8 *Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：愁脩秋塘上行之  
一 WS124 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：飄瀏述征賦 WW4.2 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：聊抽思親詩 WS211  
*Lü Yün* 陸雲：姚天幽繆周思文 CS355 修周條繆夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Ch'eng Feng* 鄭豐：  
蕭翹收周秋 南山 CS368

*Yu* 幽 and *Hao* 豪

*P'ing*

*Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：浮流濤曹娥碑 WW26.4 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：流休濤糾州浮丘琴賦 WW 47.1 *Tsǎo Chū* 棗據：幽周舟流由浮濤留游憂 船賦 CW67.5-6 *Mù Huá* 木華：浮濤 遊濤舟流 海賦 CW 105.7,8 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：茅留丘流 吳都賦 CW 74.6 *Kū K'ái-chih* 顧愷之：流浮濤 觀濤賦 CW135.3

Yu 幽 and Yü 魚

*P'ing*

*Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：疏鋸聊魚浮游 溝壚鉤樓 武軍賦 HHW92.2,2 *Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：於頭定情詩 WS 194 *Tsǒ Yén Nién* 左延年：廬休讐矛休 囚襦憂讐 秦女休行 WS 201 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：榴櫟鬚安石榴賦 CW68.5 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：殊憂遊流珠螢火賦 CW92.3 *Lù Chi* 陸機：謳趨吳趨行 CS311 浮扶婁白雲賦 CW96.2 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：猷扶答兄平原 CS359 驅流疇仇求 九惑涉江 CW101.1 憂愁須遊興舒又八 CW101.4 猷符流區夏府君誄 CW104.8-9 *Ch'eng Feng* 鄭豐：遊流浮憂舟闕 答陸士龍鴛鴦 CS367 *Tù Yü* 杜育：秋休求流隅劉浮敷 萍賦 CW89.10 *Yin Chü* 殷巨：洲休由隅敷珠流區奇布賦 CW81.9

*Shǎng*

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：右數齊都賦 HHW93.5 *P'ei Hsiü* 裴秀：阜祐大蜡詩 CS310 *Fù Hsiün* 傅玄：后祖穎川府君登歌 CS243 *Là Yün* 陸雲：首主 后字 盛德頌 CW103.12,13 *Chang Hân* 張翰：手久首距杖賦 CW107.11 *Yang T'ai-huá* 楊苔華：久數牖朽缶口首有後贈竺度 CS509 Anonymous 無名氏：柳敷 月節折楊柳歌正月歌 CS549 柳主又閏月歌 CS550

*Ch'ü*

*Ch'eng Feng* 鄭豐：秀茂授富袖附 蘭林 CS367 *Sun Ch'eng* 孫拯：胃裕茂富 贈陸士龍 CS369 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：獸猶就羽繆岫鷄狩宿 吳都賦 CW74.9 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹摅：湊赴陋舊答趙景猷 CS407

Yu 幽, Hsiao 宵 and Háo 豪

*P'ing*

*Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：儔修茅雕 曹娥碑 WW26.4

Yu 幽, Chih 之, Yü 魚 and Chih 脂

*P'ing*

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：思遊憂娛流俱私 贈顧尚書 CS359

Yu 幽, Hai 哈, Háo 豪 and Yü 魚

*P'ing*

*Yáng Fang* 楊方：浮求軀杯稠趨留魚牢軀灰儔 合歡詩之一 CS 426

## (3.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Yu* 幽 *P'ing* 平 and *Yu* 幽 *Shǎng* 上

*Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：守流授副 贈建平太守 CS309 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：求抽叟流鱸游丘 玄居釋 CW87.6 Anonymous 無名氏：頭戴漸就姑曲之一 CS540 樞周探桑度之四 CS542

*Yu* 幽 *Shǎng* 上 and *Yu* 幽 *Ch'ü* 去

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：有茂十五 WS 127 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：秀阜春可樂 CW 68.6  
*Lü Chi* 陸機：酒秀七微之一 CW98.2 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：構牖漱奏 孫登隱居詩 CS444

*Yu* 幽 *Shǎng* 上 and *Yü* 魚 *Ch'ü* 去

*Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：婦住 飲馬長城窟行 WS 182

(4) Rime Category *Hsiao* 宵

## (4.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Hsiao* 宵：遙徭搖瑤謠飆緇 劬招昭超軺韶 消宵脩綃霄 標影燦飄 喬嶠驕 燒饒翹  
焦焦 朝潮 桃姚 焱飆(颯) 天妖 要腰 苗 焱 鵠 椒 鏢 囂  
脩 邀

*Hsiao* 蕭：堯澆嶢 凋彫雕 茗貂髻 寮遼僚 蕭簫 條 料 聊 么 寥

*Shǎng*

*Hsiǎo* 小：小少杪眇渺緲 嶠標縹 沼紹 兆旄 悄趙 繞 表 夭 矯 漾 擾 渫  
*Hsiǎo* 篠：窈挑 皎皎 鳥 曉 繚 了

*Ch'ü*

*Hsiào* 笑：劬照邵 曜耀耀 肖峭 笑 妙 漂 要 廟 燎

*Hsiào* 嘯：嘯 叫 調 窈 挑 隲 弔

(4.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Hsiao* 宵*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：遙條招 九愁賦 WW13.8 飆翹 七啓之五 WW16.11 昭堯 魏德論 WW 17.9  
*Hü Tsung* 胡綜：苗條 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5 *Juǎn Chí* 阮籍：朝消招饒飄焦 詠懷三十三  
WS219 喬霄遼朝飆 又八十一 WS224 飆霄招 東平賦 WW44.6 消遠 清思賦 WW44.11  
*Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：鏢遙 馬駟勒賦 CW28.2 *Ch'êng Kung-sui* 成公綏：條雕 木蘭賦  
CW59.6 *Fú Hsián* 傅玄：天條遙 柳賦 CW45.11 *Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：遼昭朝消飄 喜雨賦  
CW51.1 *Chang Huá* 張華：朝簫韶食舉東西廂樂之十一 CS255 朝僚 冬至初歲小會歌 CS257

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：朝僚韶遙 贈陸機 CS372 招朝寮苗條喬朝消飄徭綃嶢遼劬要颯謠驕恍  
河陽縣作之一 CS 374 凋標 相風賦 CW 91.8 碧焱喬劬 楊仲武誄 CW92.8 朝霄朝 祭庾新婦文 CW 93.8  
*Tsǒ Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：謠昭遼 狂接與妻贊 CW13.4 *Lù Chi* 陸機：條凋霄颯翹擬蘭若生  
春陽 CS346 翹條 王氏誄 CW99.9 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：姚天 思文 CS355 寮翹若遙颯霄條 登臺賦  
CW100.4 凋宵朝遙 何女子頌 CW103.10 招霄颯 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Hsià Chèng* 夏靖：招朝  
答陸士衡 CS370 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：苗條僚朝韶招詠史之二 CS385 條霄標蜀都賦 CW74.2 焱影  
霄寮遙朝魏都賦 CW74.13 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：招條長生樹賦 CW65.5 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：招霄  
朝韶贈司空掾安仁 CS378 霄搖僚朝喬消超要 贈長安令 CS381 遙條霄寮桑樹賦 CW94.5 寮朝瑤  
韶鐸羹頌 CW94.7 *Chh̄h Yü* 摯虞：朝寮 贈褚武良 CS316 *Wáng Tsàn* 王讚：僚瑤侍宴  
始平王 CS397 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：喬昭翹鏢朝謠 答盧謏 CS416 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：搖霄標  
山海經圖迷穀贊 CW 122.1 宵驕標 又毗魚贊 CW 122.10 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：消標遙 孫登隱居詩  
CS 444-5 霄搖潮颯江都過風 CS 446 霄喬 翹焱 揚都賦 CW38.2,3 潮焦朝浮查賦 CW38.5 消標遙  
孫登贊 CW 38.7 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：嶢霄颯 玄武館賦 CW 85.7 嶢颯條 七命之一 CW 85.8  
*Fàn Chien* 范堅：標瑤 安石榴賦 CW 124.4 *Lú Ch'ên* 盧諶：標條彫颯 贈劉琨 CS 419  
*Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：標條筌篴賦 CW107.8 消焦颯 詣雨文 CW107.10 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：颯昭澆  
霄 贈謝安 CS435 *Hsí Tsuò-ch'ih* 習鑿齒：朝霄招 諸葛武侯宅銘 CW134.11 *Hsièh An*  
謝安：消朝凋標瑤霄與王胡之 CS439 *Li Yü* 李顥：條翹悲四時賦 CW53.10 *Yüan Sung*  
袁崧：颯條 菊花詩 CS452 *Hsièh Tào Yün* 謝道韞：凋條喬颯 擬嵇中散詠松 CS 511  
*Yáng Hui* 羊徽：要朝囂謠 贈傅長猷 CS 487 *Chou Ch'í* 周祗：條寥 枇杷賦 CW 142.1  
*Wáng Shao-chih* 王劭之：翹條 夫誄 CW 144.11 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：霄喬  
廬山神仙詩 CS 492 嶢標條 七歡之四 CW140.6 *Anonymous* 無名氏：邀搖潮長干曲 CS 551  
妖腰惠帝時洛陽童謠 CS 565

*Shǎng*

*Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：挑繞綃少曉隸書體 CW59.10 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：鳥  
表寒雪賦 CW68.1 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：標兆窈曉哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：少表  
眇山海經圖一目國贊 CW123.8 小了 又婦人贊 CW123.12 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：擾鳥 詔七命之七  
CW85.11 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：少擾兆表 孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2 *Anonymous* 無名氏：  
鳥旒庾公歌之一 CS555

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：耀笑 七啓之二 WW16.9  
*Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：妙漂 雲賦 CW59.2 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：嘯叫漂要笑賦 CW60.1  
*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：妙曜 武皇帝誄 CW92.6 *Lù Chi* 陸機：曜劬 祖德賦 CW96.2 耀劬 演連  
珠之三十三 CW99.6 照妙又三十五 CW99.6 照曜 吳大帝誄 CW99.8 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：曜照廟贈顧  
驃騎 CS355 *Hsià Chèng* 夏靖：曜照 答陸士衡 CS370 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：耀照 狹室賦  
CW 38.4 妙耀照劬 二妃像贊 CW 38.7 *Li Hsing* 李興：妙要 諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW 70.11

*Chang Hsiéh* 張協：峭曜嘯 遊仙 CS 395 照燎 安石榴賦 CW 85.7 妙照 文身刀銘 CW 85.12  
*Yüan Hūng* 袁宏：照要曜妙三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 *Kū K'ái-chih* 顧愷之：照曜雷電賦  
 CW135.2 *Yin Ch'ân* 殷闡：照要調 祭王東亭文 CW142.3 *Anonymous* 無名氏：照笑  
 子夜秋歌之八 CS528 曜照子夜冬歌之十 CS530 曜照妙威帝哀策文 CW146.5

### (4.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Hsiao* 宵 and *Yu* 幽

*P'ing*

*Lù Chi* 陸機：僚僚稠秋答賈謐 CS338 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：韶朝霄休贈汲郡太守 CS354 喬遙  
 韶朝休谷風 CS361

*Ch'ü*

*Lù Chi* 陸機：照謬 演連珠之二十九 CW 99.5

*Hsiao* 宵 and *Hào* 豪

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Ch'ih* 曹植：苗條遭 告咎文 WW 19.10 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：驕切 思親詩 WS 211  
*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：苑蕭嘈凋條嘯賦 CW59.5 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：條高  
 霄秋可哀 CW68.7 *Tsō Ch'ü-pin* 左九嬪：昭嬌瑤苞萬年公主誄 CW13.7 *Tsō Szu* 左思：  
 消椒皋苞飆料消 蜀都賦 CW74.3 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：豪高招皋瑤 蕭朝僚 贈石崇 CS 405  
*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：搖翹濤喬綃軺遙 遊仙之十 CS424 潮朝濤標嶠陶霄焦江賦 CW120.1-2 玄標  
 陶 爾雅圖瑩火贊 CW 121.9 鯀霄庖 山海經圖鯀魚贊 CW 122.6 旄標招 又旄牛贊 CW 122.9 *Wáng*  
*Piao-chih* 王彪之：曉霄遼豪嶠 登會稽刻石山 CS 429 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：高謠霄條凋朝遙  
 秋日 CS436 高招霄朝太常碑贊 CW61.7 *Ch'ih Yün* 郗雲：條郊蘭亭 CS441 *T'ao Ch'ien*  
 陶潛：朝郊霄苗時運 CS455 條標交勞歸鳥 CS458 蕭郊曉條朝挽歌之三 CS484

*Shāng*

*Ts'ao Ch'ih* 曹植：小少飽 鸛雀賦 WW14.5 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：草沼表縹潦 浮  
 萍賦 CW 68.4 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：道紹表夭矯歲暮賦 CW100.2 *Tsō Szu* 左思：道趙僚漾  
 沼表老 魏都賦 CW74.11-2 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：草澡漾道宛表嶸矯眇矯 江賦 CW120.3 曉棗少  
 流寓賦 CW120.5 表鳥抱 山海經圖窮奇獸贊 CW122.8 爪表渺又神靈贊 CW123.3 *Yüan Hūng* 袁  
 宏：擾表寶道三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：窈曉矯兆道遊天台山賦 CW61.1

*Ch'ü*

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：蹈妙照爛 答大將軍 CS357 曜貌照 張二侯頌 CW104.3 超耀照妙肖邵蹈 曜暴  
 廟陸公誄 CW104.5,6 *Tso Szu* 左思：調妙覺 魏都賦 CW74.14 *Wáng Yü* 王廙：挑妙教劭

### 3.3 Rime Lists—Category *Hao* 豪

笙賦 CW20.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：煦叫操山海經圖鵠贊 CW122.11 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：  
曜蹈妙與七命序 CW85.8 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：照嘯好調與庾冰 CS434 *Chih T'án Tì* 支  
曇諦：敦曜照妙燈贊 CW165.17

*Hsiao* 宵, *Yu* 幽 and *Háo* 豪

#### *P'ing*

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：巢鶚條飈 寒蟬賦 CW100.8

#### (4.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Hsiao* 宵 *P'ing* 平 and *Hsiao* 宵 *Shǎng* 上

*Hó Yèn* 何晏：昭縹景福殿賦 WW39.6 *Yü Chǎn* 庾闡：嶠杪揚都賦 CW38.2 *Wáng*

*Shào-chih* 王劭之：鶚霄昭朝番靈壽杖銘 CW144.11

*Hsiao* 宵 *P'ing* 平 and *Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：燿笑炤飄感節賦 WW13.6 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：嘯超吳都賦 CW74.6

*Hsiao* 宵 *Shǎng* 上 and *Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去

*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：照兆天郊饗神歌 CS241

*Hsiao* 宵 *Shǎng* 上 and *Háo* 豪 *Ch'ü* 去

*Lù Chi* 陸機：眇繞杪到悄窈羽扇賦 CW97.5

*Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Háo* 豪 *Shǎng* 上

*Tsǒ Szu* 左思：巧要耀廟魏都賦 CW74.12 *P'ei Miao* 裴邈：巧妙照耀文身刀銘 CW33.9

*Hsiao* 宵 *P'ing* 平, *Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Háo* 豪 *Ch'ü* 去

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：邵朝曜照蹈操夏府君誄 CW104.9

*Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去, *Háo* 豪 *Shǎng* 上 and *Háo* 豪 *Ch'ü* 去

*Lù Chi* 陸機：照撓效妙功臣頌 CW98.6

#### (5) Rime Category *Háo* 豪

##### (5.1) List of All Rime Words

#### *P'ing*

*Háo* 豪：高膏毫豪 嘈遭糟 毛旄髦 刀忉 逃眇 醪 陶 牢 臬 勞 號 濤  
操

*Hsiao* 肴：交郊蛟蛟鳩 爻肴淆嶠 包庖苞匏 巢 茅 哮 宵

*Shǎng*

*Hào* 皓：浩造皓 璫腦惱 考攷 鎬稿 掃掃 早草 保綵 燥藻 老 道 抱

好 寶 潦 昊 討 蚤 棗 稻 天 阜 倒

*Ch'iao* 巧：飽 攪 巧 爪

*Ch'ü*

*Hào* 號：告浩造詬 操躁 導 奧 蹈 好 勞 暴 冒 報 到

*Hsiào* 效：効效傲 孝教 悼棹 覺 櫟 樂 貌

(5.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Háo* 豪*P'ing*

*Liú Líng* 劉伶：醪糟陶酒德頌 CW66.1 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：交巢 涪勞郊刀 西征賦 CW90.4-5,9 *Ou-yáng Chièn* 歐陽建：勞刀郊爻高答石崇贈 CS410 *Lù Chi* 陸機：包逃 演連珠之三十四 CW99.6 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：巢忉咷勞悼離贈妹之二 CS385 *Wáng Yǐ* 王廙：匏高笙賦 CW20.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：號薨蛟山海經圖纂雕贊 CW122.3 膏豪號又丹木贊 CW122.5 蛟毛刀又鮫魚贊 CW123.3 *Wen Chiào* 溫嶠：高豪 侍從箴 CW80.11 *Yü Ch'an* 庾闡：刀高 遊仙之四 CS446 涪濤哮宵 涉江賦 CW38.1 *Chang Tsǎi* 張載：巢高交勞 擬四愁詩之一 CS391 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：肴毛刀七命之六 CW85.11 *Chiang Yü* 江迥：號嶠逃風賦 CW107.2 *Chou Ch'í* 周祗：交毛執友箴 CW142.2 *Anonymous* 無名氏：高勞子夜秋歌之一 CS528 勞巢 朔馬謠 CS574

*Shǎng*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：寶璫阜 璫璫勸賦 HHW90.5 道考太廟頌 HHW91.2 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：道老草惱保室思 WS184 *Ying Yáng* 應瑒：造道 慙驥賦 HHW42.2 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹丕：老早考保 短歌行 WS125 道抱 見挽船士 WS136 造考早 武帝哀策文 WW7.11 *Ts'áo Ch'ih* 曹植：考早老抱 靈芝篇 WS154 道老 雜詩之二 WS162 寶道 矯志詩 WS169 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：道寶浩邕熙 WS193 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：造綵幽憤詩 WS204 *Juǎn Ch'í* 阮籍：道保草老好 詠懷之四 WS215

*Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：老道草寶保遊仙詩 CS286 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：草道飲馬長城窟行 CS291 道草老保 炎旱詩 CS300 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：道考 顏回贊 CW60.8 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：道寶 西征賦 CW90.3 道考 藉田賦 CW91.4 造保昊 景獻皇后哀策文 CW93.5 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：道草保 玄居釋 CW87.6-7 *Lù Chi* 陸機：道考造保 宴玄圃 CS336-7 老飽早 道草與弟清和雲 CS339-40 寶道鎬考 功臣頌 CW98.6 道寶老昊造 孔子贊 CW98.7 道早攷 愍懷太子誄 CW99.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：道考保造贈汲郡太守 CS354 道皓草老思樂芳林 CS364 老皓攷抱 造蚤草歲暮賦 CW100.1 道寶老昊造孔仲尼贊 CW103.9 道皓老考 養長房頌 CW103.10 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：棗稻魏都賦 CW74.15-16 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹摅：造道圍棋賦 CW107.6 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：

草道造藻 釋奠頌 CW94.7 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：造老藻天 新婚箴 CW77.6 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：草皓遊仙之十一 CS424 草天老 山海經圖藻贊 CW123.3 道飽巧又三首感贊 CW123.6 爪道討又西方尊收贊 CW123.7 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：造考樂賢堂頌 CW38.6 *Chang Tsai* 張載：皓草氣力漸衰損 CS392 *Lu Hsiün* 魯褒：道寶錢神論 CW113.7 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：倒抱情人碧玉歌之二 CS436 藻潦討抱 于法威贊 CW61.8 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：老保燥早抱道 雜詩之四 CS 478 Anonymous 無名氏：老草子夜歌之十六 CS523 道草子夜春歌之六 CS526 草倒 懊儂歌之十三 CS539 草好江陵樂之二 CS543 草老來羅之一 CS544 惱抱孟珠之四 CS546 道老 邯鄲歌 CS552 道倒衛玠 CS576 道考造保老早吳文明王太后哀策文 CW146.4 保道造帝社祝文 CW146.14

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：奧蹈土不同 WS119

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：教權效樂西征賦 CW90.9 詬冒好奧 武帝詠 CW92.6 教操暴效景獻皇后哀策文 CW93.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：告效思文 CS355 *Wáng Piao-chih* 王彪之：棹悼與諸兄弟方山別詩 CS430 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：孝造詬操卿大夫孝傳贊 CW112.5 操樂孝傲蹈報程氏妹 CW112.8 *Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：道奧悼到效崔文子贊 CW139.6

## (5.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Háo* 豪 and *Yu* 幽

*P'ing*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：勞休 演連珠之三十 CW99.5-6

*Háo* 豪 and *Hsiao* 宵

*P'ing*

*Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：刀燒 曹娥碑 WW26.4 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：高昭 雷賦 CW68.1 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：陶牢皋寥條登虎牢山賦 CW90.2 *Ts'ö Chiu-pin* 左九嬪：咷聊離思賦 CW13.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：濤招朝豪髦翹茅 客傲 CW121.2 毛囂高 山海經圖居暨獸贊 CW122.10 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：臬濤毫韶 蘭亭之二 CS433 豪霄濤 望海賦 CW61.3 *T'ài K'ü* 戴逵：臬條 松竹贊 CW 137.4 *Wáng Ning-chih* 王凝之：濤條 風賦 CW 27.1 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：交凋高霄勞焦陶朝 己酉九月 CS471

*Shäng*

*Ts'áo Ch'ih* 曹植：窈好草道道造腦老飛龍篇 WS152 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：沼浩草鳥道景福殿賦 WW39.6 *Fü Hsüán* 傅玄：草鳥抱寶擬四愁詩之二 CS301 *Huáng-fü Mí* 皇甫謐：表好道保釋勸論 CW71.6 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：道造草兆表紹 正德舞歌 CS 266 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：抱寶小少 離親詠 CS396 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：草道保天繞小早抱昊老西征官屬淦於陟陽 CS 399 稿擾 蟬賦 CW60.5 *Lü Chi* 陸機：造表早攪草道寶老 歎逝賦 CW96.8



表道老列仙賦 CW97.5 表討趙埽草功臣頌 CW98.5 *Tsǝ Szu* 左思：天道草沼寶擾浩造  
 兆魏都賦 CW74.15 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：紹皎道藻答趙景猷 CS406 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：鳥爪道  
 山海經圖狙獮獸贊 CW122.1 老矯早又乘黃贊 WC123.7 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：巧窈藻筵篋賦 CW107.8  
 浩擾兆表矯草曉浩道藻寶對儒 CW107.9-10 *Wáng Hū-chih* 王胡之：矯皓道老贈庚翼  
 CS430 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：道老槁好寶表飲酒十一 CS473 Anonymous 無名氏：表  
 埽道成帝哀策文 CW146.5

*Ch'ü*

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：好奧覺蹈嘯嘯賦 CW59.4 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：教奧笑妙原壤  
 贊 CW60.8 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：報弔造楊仲武哀祝文 CW93.8 *Tsǝ Szu* 左思：奧蹈覺妙  
 吳都賦 CW74.10 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：教勞曜暴周文王贊 CW77.5 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：教躁竅  
 覺曜妙贈謝安 CS435

## (5.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Háo* 豪 *Shǎng* 上 and *Háo* 豪 *Ch'ü* 去

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：教道正德舞歌 CS 266 *Tsǝ Chiü-pin* 左九嬪：教効奧道孟軻母贊  
 CW13.3 *Yüán Húng* 袁宏：教到撓孝三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 Anonymous 無名氏：  
 暴飽阿子歌之三 CS533

*Háo* 豪 *P'ing* 平 and *Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去

*Huáng-fü M* 皇甫謐：曜高操釋勸論 CW71.6

*Háo* 豪 *P'ing* 平, *Háo* 豪 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去

*Mèi T'áo* 梅陶：毛效教暴劭贈溫嶠 CS429

*Háo* 豪 *Shǎng* 上, *Háo* 豪 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Hsiao* 宵 *Ch'ü* 去

*Tsǝ Szu* 左思：導誥巧妙奧曜悼離贈妹之一 CS384

(6) Rime Category *Yü* 魚

## (6.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Mú* 模：盧墟鱸鱸鱸顧鷗 姑枯辜胡湖鵠 途涂塗茶餘 摹模謨謬 逋蒲 吾梧 乎  
 呼 狐孤 麤(龠) 屠都 圖 徒 徂 烏 拏 蘇 壺 滂 吳 玕  
*Yü* 魚：虛墟歔慮廬驢 著睹(曙)豬諸儲 余徐徐畚餘 且苴起睢 渠葉鵠 居琚  
 裾 與與譽 予紓舒 如如 疏蔬 輿 車 魚 於 書 疎 初 閭 蕮  
 胥

*Yü* 虞：朱姝株殊殊誅 區樞謳驅驅謳 喻愉愉愉愉 句劬拘煦駒 隅隅隅隅 錫趨  
雛騶 儒濡濡濡 夫扶扶 俘郇杼 吁紆竿 無憺燕 與腴莢 厨蹶 須鬚  
娛虞 痛敷 衢 符 俱 誣 蹻 鳧 膚 鏤 蜃 陬 无

*Shǎng*

*Mǔ* 姥：古估拈苦苦 戶扈慮顧 浦圃補簿 堵覩 魯魯 虎虜 弩怒 五伍 鼓  
土 祖 賈 午 普 路 壘 滂 股 塢

*Yü* 語：與嶼舉譽嶼 渚暑署褚緒 咀沮阻俎 予序野墅 杵許滸 旅簪 虛處 佇  
紓 呂侶 女汝 胥譜 御禦 拒距 語圉 敍 楚 黍 鼠 所 茹

*Yü* 麌：撫撫撫燕舞舞 主拄柱廬 甫脯輔 禹寓隅 付府拊 數縷 父斧 取聚  
矩鉅 羽詡 雨 武 宇 侮 赴 樹 咀 豎 慶 邁 窳

*Ch'ü*

*Mù* 暮：賂路露覽 墓慕暮謨 故酤固錮 布佈怖 作阼祚 五悟寤 度渡 遡遡  
捕哺 兔菟 厝錯 獲護 訴訴 妒顧 互桓 夸袴 素 怒 步 惡 誤  
庫 迂

*Yü* 御：著箸著署署 與舉譽 處慮 御 去 豫 據 倨 飫 庶 語 馭 念

*Yü* 遇：住注駐 務霧鶩 寓遇 句煦 謳謳 喻輸 數屢 欲裕 羽 樹 附 傳  
趣 懼 雨 具 斲 赴 賦 贖

(6.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Yü* 魚

*P'ing*

*Juǎn Yü* 阮瑀：徐衢等賦 HHW 93.2 都俎 鸚鵡賦 HHW 93.2 *Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：誣書  
酒賦 HHW 90.4 居渝夫符譽 弔夷齊文 HHW 91.7 *Liu Chen* 劉楨：都塗烏 清慮賦 HHW 65.3  
*Yǐng Yǎng* 應瑒：衢羣區隅 西狩賦 HHW 42.2 舒拏紆拘攬隅衢踟躕 愁蹙賦 HHW 42.4 滯  
書居餘 文質論 HHW 42.5 *Fàn Ch'in* 繁欽：區珠隅襦嶠 定情詩 WS 194 隅敷疏 柳賦 HHW  
93.9 居蒲圖 威儀箴 HHW 93.11 *Yáng Hsiu* 楊修：都謦居隅 出征賦 HHW 51.9 *Hán-tan*  
*Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：餘衢都隅 殊渝曹娥碑 WW 26.4, 4 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：隅珠踟須秋胡行之二  
WS 125 娛衢區等舒都 孟津 WS 132 都予 愁霖賦 WW 4.1 珠夫 滄海賦 WW 4.2 興舒隅娛除衢  
扶 登城賦 WW 4.5 隅渠衢車居娛 曹叡舒誄 WW 7.11 *Wú Chih* 吳質：居踟殊舒墟珠書夫  
思慕詩 WS 199 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：著隅等魚如衢虛軀符餘樞廬居徐湖須 仙人篇 WS 142  
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啓 WW16.8 虛隅居 七啓之四 WW 16.10 拘喻 除夫 饞饅說 WW 18.8,8 湖徒徂塗 王仲宣誄 WW19.3  
 徂胡 任城王誄 WW19.5 圖虞 文帝誄 WW19.6 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：敷娛劬扶儒株舒餘虛 贊述  
 太子賦 WW 30.11 謳殊 許昌宮賦 WW 30.12 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：廬居虛圖無 景福殿賦 WW 39.7  
*Yìng Ch'ü* 應璩：初誣閭魚廬居書譽虛如 百一詩之一 WS197 麤蘇 雜詩之三 WS198 *Wéi*  
*Tàn* 韋誕：興車敷衢隅 皇后親蠶頌 WW 32.11 *Fù Kū* 傅嘏：魚書符謨 皇初頌 WW 35.5  
*Lǚ An* 呂安：如無膚 饞饅賦 WW53.5 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：枯枯烏徂辜枯 秋胡行之四 WS  
 203 居如虞疎 幽憤詩 WS204 車渠魚且 贈秀才入軍之十 WS205 除隅車踟廬舒魚駒虛符 雜詩  
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 舒鳧虞虛殊娛符蹠 詠懷四十一 WS220 隅扶榆如居譽 又五十七 WS222 珠廬輿隅獻舒 又五十九  
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*Yáng Ch'üan* 楊泉：徂模都區圖 五湖賦 WW 75.1 如跌俱居 蠶賦 WW 75.2 *Chiǎ Tàì-*  
*tsung* 賈岱宗：虛都俱書 大狗賦 WW 53.8 Anonymous 無名氏：臚臚如 鴻臚歌 WS 227  
 魚居 孫皓初童謠 WW235 如珠 柑頌 WW75.5  
*Yìng Chen* 應貞：初敷符虞 華林園集詩 CS 311 株榆 朱杖銘 CW 35.2 *Liú Líng* 劉伶：  
 與衢廬如壺餘 酒德頌 CW66.1 *Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：渠衢隅疏 柳賦 CW59.6 衢符  
 虞 司馬公誄 CW 59.9-10 *Yü Shù* 庾儵：徒除隅 冰井賦 CW36.4 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：娛舒  
 天郊饗神歌 CS241 敷娛 地郊饗神歌 CS241 痛虛湖誄圖隅 時運多難 CS260 隅餘虛居燕辜夫圖 惟  
 庸蜀 CS261 徂殊徒書居虛徐車虞敷 夏苗田 CS263 珠渠 短歌行 CS288 虛殊無疎軀 歷九秋篇 CS  
 295 珠魚劬駒 擬四愁詩之一 CS 301 *Hsüeh Yìng* 薛瑩：汚符隅樞 虛居 獻詩 CS 287,288  
*Tsǎo Chü* 棗據：娛榆衢須 有鳳適南中 CS313 *Hsiàng Hsiù* 向秀：徂居隅廬墟蹠如  
 思舊賦 CW72.5 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：敷舒殊殊 芙蓉賦 CW68.4 初敷鬚珠 石榴賦 CW68.5  
 娛隅 春可樂 CW 68.6 燕疏墟 秋可哀 CW 68.7 圖燕除居 東方朔贊 CW 69.6 涂衢墟如 張平子碑 CW  
 69.9 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：洿娛夫虛 井賦 CW60.1 區衢 登樓賦 CW60.2 腴扶騶 蓮華賦 CW60.3 顧  
 胡枯呼徂 臚賦 CW60.4 *Fù Hsién* 傅咸：車珠 愁霖詩 CS310 車廬 申懷賦 CW51.3 居書隅紙賦  
 CW51.5 殊滯淪 款冬花賦 CW51.8 儲虛敷 釋奠頌 CW52.11 *Chang Huá* 張華：拘踰餘娛敷  
 廬輿渠魚榆 答何劭之一 CS282 裾廬竿墟 遊仙之一 CS 285 舒廬居墟敷娛 歸田賦 CW 58.1 隅居衢  
 朽社賦 CW58.2 區殊隅餘如 鷦鷯賦 CW58.3 輿疏 劉騶駘誄 CW58.9 都徂虛途車舒踟敷徒夫廬初  
 區姑謨 元皇后哀策文 CW58.10 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：辜衢孤俘 關中詩 CS371 隅圖淪吳 贈陸機  
 CS372 踟隅無車餘 悼亡之三 CS 377 鬚軀圖 滄海賦 CW 90.2 塗辜蘇屠 虞拘輿諸郭墟 區虛 西  
 征賦 CW90.4,4,6 衢遽愚餘 閑居賦 CW91.5 敷葉 蓮花賦 CW91.8 腴殊 芙蓉賦 CW91.9 初腴敷鬚 安石  
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*Tsō Chü-pin* 左九嬪：符謨廬 離思賦 CW13.1 符虞敷乎 虞舜二妃贊 CW 13.3 虛誣虞 班婕妤  
 贊 CW13.3 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：跌陬淪劬 白華 CS318 居虛廬書徐舒 讀書賦 CW87.1 *Hó Shào*

何劭：舒俱敷廬無墓墟書曙魚 贈張華 CS320 *Mù Huá* 木華：墟徐餘魚居珠無 區廬儲  
 虛居都無 海賦 CW105.8,8 *Lù Chi* 陸機：謳趨 吳趨行 CS331 除紆如 上留田行 CS332 廬舒疏  
 除渠徐魚 贈顧彥先之二 CS341 繻夫 周夫人贈車騎 CS343 舒居初汙 白雲賦 CW96.1-2 墟居 懷土賦  
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 榆 答兄平原 CS360 *Chèng Feng* 鄭豐：渝殊踰踰 答陸士衡中陵 CS369 *Hsià Ching* 夏  
 靖：與書舒 答陸士衡 CS370 *Tsō Szu* 左思：圖書歟舒 悼贈妹之二 CS385 書虛都苴吳圖  
 胡廬 詠史之一 CS385 居衢廬竿輿虛如區 又四 CS386 隅廬塗魚儲疎書枯餘模 又八 CS386 渠腴  
 莫區敷疏儲 鳩蘆徂渠 區都塗廬 蜀都賦 CW74.2,3,3,3 鴛鴦 儲桴餘居珠都 隅衢 廬諸趨鏤  
 閭渠儲廬湖除膚夫姑區屠渠塗 鱸模壺初蘇區禹胥夷 吳都賦 CW74.6,7,7,8,9 蕪墟初都壺 隅  
 渠塗踰徒衢居閭 殊書渝 魏都賦 CW74.11,13,15 途枯廬謨符衢吾 白髮賦 CW74.17 *Ts'ao Shu*  
 曹攄：除榆駒塗衢殊踰魚 贈韓德真 CS404 初除居塗殊踰隅衢鳧紆 答趙景猷 CS407 車徂 又答  
 趙景猷 CS407 除枯疎駒俱 思友人詩 CS408 娛疏圖辜 述志賦 CW107.6 *Juǎn Chan* 阮瞻：娛  
 廬疏塗 上已會賦 CW72.8 *Juǎn Hsiu* 阮脩：娛敷魚諸 上已會詩 CS412 *Tù Yü* 杜育：  
 駒徂壺魚 贈摯仲 CS315 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：都塗壺娛 獻長安君安仁 CS378 魚衢 苦雨賦 CW94.1  
 紆塗 膚軀 惡道賦 CW94.1,1 廬娛 釣賦 CW94.2 殊鱸 火賦 CW94.3 居渠隅殊虛 安石榴賦 CW94.4  
 隅儒 後園頌 CW94.8 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：徂壺居如 答杜育 CS316 虛輿都鑪符虞句徂圖衢居  
 閭書娛 思遊賦 CW76.2,3 居疏渠衢睢烏 槐賦 CW76.4 *Yü Ai* 庾敳：符虛腴 幽人箴 CW36.5  
*Chang Mìn* 張敏：敷吁如 神女賦 CW80.1 車珠濡 頭賁子羽文 CW80.3 *Hsià-hou Ch'un*  
 夏侯淳：娛殊 彈碁賦 CW69.10 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：塗虛都敷諸乎 答盧謚 CS416 *Kuo P'ü*  
 郭璞：渠湖閭菰蔬 江賦 CW120.3 孤無 客傲 CS121.2 餘魚疏 爾雅圖比目魚贊 CW121.6 鬚餘無 山  
 海經圖當盧贊 CW122.7 珠閭魚 又蟹紫魚贊 CW122.8 疏餘魚 又肱疏獸贊 CW122.8 殊餘如 又焦饒國贊  
 CW123.6 狐書符 又九尾狐贊 CW123.9 枯烏符 又十日贊 CW123.9 *Li Hsing* 李興：吳模 諸葛丞  
 相宅碣表 CW70.11 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：都徂 敘行賦 CW85.1 隅駒居衢謨疏 鄴酒賦 CW85.3  
 區起居 劍閣銘 CW85.5 *Chng Hsiéh* 張協：娛疏衢無隅夫儲愚俱書 詠史 CS393 娛居腴拘  
 七命序 CW85.8 模胡都吳 又四 CW85.10 *Fàn Chien* 范堅：疏朱 安石榴賦 CW124.4 *Lú*  
*Chien* 盧諶：疎初狐敷 贈劉琨 CS418 墟除居 登鄴臺賦 CW34.8 圖徂輿都 廬府君誄 CW34.13  
*Ts'ao P'í* 曹毗：符衢區珠敷虞 歌高祖宣皇帝 CS245 舒初區 正朝 CS451 *Hsièh Shàng* 謝  
 尚：無虛 談賦 CW83.2 *Chiang Yü* 江淹：岵區 羽扇賦 CW107.2 *Chih Tün* 支遁：劬  
 書初榆徂虛無塗珠渠符疎居 詠懷之二 CS502 虛岵蔬梧軀符劬 述懷之一 CS503 虛羸無榆 閉首  
 菩薩贊 CW157.13 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：珠徂孤墟 袁宏詩 CS432 夫衢墟茶 與庾冰 CS433-4 都居隅  
 疏敷渠珠虛無 遊天台山賦 CW61.2 竿蒲豬攄 列仙傳商丘子贊 CW61.8 虛餘敷疏 又竺道壹贊 CW61.9  
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*chih* 王彬之：渠魚 蘭亭 CS438 *Hsü Feng-chih* 徐豐之：疏舒 蘭亭 CS442 *Yin Ch'ung-*  
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 舉五主父土 文帝誄 WW19.6,6 輔武緒土 卞太后誄 WW19.8 輔圃 詣紂文 WW 19.10 舉楚 怒斧 告  
 咎文 WW19.10,11 *Ts'ao Ju* 曹叡：虜旅浦虎雨矩父武阻許土御虜伍怒所撫祖 善哉行 WS

137 虜阻怙怒浦 權歌行 WS139 戶覩 游魂賦 WW9.1 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：士祐薦顧 喜霽賦 WW38.1 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：戶宇圍處女祐 景福殿賦 WW39.6 *Yáng Hsì* 楊戩：武舉叙 贊費賓伯 WW62.8 *Sun Kai* 孫該：府緒羽茹 父楚 琵琶賦 WW40.3,3 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：圍阻與沮補 幽憤詩 WS204 羽渚侶與 贈秀才入軍之一 WS205 澣楚隅雨 又三 WS205 侶父 卜疑 WW47.5 緒矩宇予禹 太師箴 WW51.6 *Juǎn Chí* 阮籍：序與宇楚羽佇輔武父處 詠懷之一 WS214 舞黍 聚宇 魯旅輔處楚宇 東平賦 WW44.6,6,7 處輔 矩宇雨賈 清思賦 WW44.11,11 *Hsì Chèng* 卻正：野矩 釋議 CW70.8 *Wáng Chiéh* 王傑：府旅雨舉 阮元瑜誄 WW36.6

*Ch'eng Hsiǎo* 程曉：處俎父脯 贈傅休奕 CS305 *Yìng Chen* 應貞：廡府 安石榴賦 CW35.1 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：虛武羽舞呂主 正旦大會行禮歌之十 CS257 女處序輔 中宮之一 CS286 處渚 鴻雁賦 CW59.7 處隅 蜘蛛賦 CW59.8 處與 七唱 CW59.8 處叙所 市長箴 CW59.9 許楚 司馬公誄 CW59.10 *Yü Shù* 庾儵：序禦戶暑怒雨處 冰井賦 CW36.4 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：祐祖序 迎送神歌 CS242 祐祖 京兆府君登歌 CS243 序舉士 饗神歌 CS244 舉序 禦雨 食舉東西廂歌 CS249,249 祐虎輔 天序 CS261 虎禦 金靈運 CS262 鼓序武 仲春振旅 CS263 父序鼓府五武祐 仲秋彌田 CS263 武舉序虎 順天道 CS263 古禹五武舉寓輔胥 羽鐸舞歌 CS270 鼓叙古普 鄉飲酒賦 CW45.3 虛鼓舞 正都賦 CW45.3 舞拊 節賦 CW45.7 與舉舞禦 拊虎 聞鷄賦 CW46.1,1 怒虎 馳射馬賦 CW46.2 虎武處輔寓禦 走狗賦 WW46.2 柱輔 棟銘 CW46.13 *Huáng-fū Mì* 皇甫謐：苦處釋勸論 CW71.8 *Hsün Hsi* 荀勗：祐祖土序 邦國 CS251 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：宇組 缸燈賦 CW68.3 廡暑 感桐賦 CW68.5 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：紆父渚 筮賦 CW60.2 舞與 韓王故臺賦 CW60.2 阻處羽渚 鷹賦 CW60.4 輔主 羊祐碑 CW60.10 *Fù Hsién* 傅咸：羽舉暑縷魯矩序甫 羽扇賦 CW51.5 與序寓 班鳩賦 CW51.10 禦賈 叩頭蟲賦 CW51.12 *Chang Huá* 張華：羽舉緒矩 勵志詩 CS280 佇渚與雨侶 情詩之五 CS283-4 呂緒輔 劉驥誄 CW58.9 *P'an Yüèn* 潘岳：斧舉士苦 關中詩 CS371 處呂野舉普宇侮祐語所阻敍 離合詩 CS374 蠱虜顧補 主舉禦佇 西征賦 CW90.5,8 暑宇雨 狹室賦 CW91.6 羽武楚敍 笙賦 CW91.8 旅沮舉武 武帝誄 CW92.6 旅舉敍 魯武公誄 CW93.1 阻緒主宇武父處 楊仲武哀祝文 CW93.8 宇舉暑敍 祭新婦文 CW93.8 *Chiang Wěi* 江偉：處父佇 答賀蠟 CS495 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：處渚武取 玄居釋 CW87.6 *P'ei Wei* 裴頠：舉武羽輔 交身劍銘 CW33.9 *Lù Chi* 陸機：古祐土 太子宴玄圃 CS336 土祐祖魯 答賀謐 CS338 舉渚予 撫緒 與弟清和雲 CS339 予楚緒渚 於承明作 CS341 序處舉佇 白雲賦 CW96.2 舉所 述先賦 CW96.3 楚予 思歸賦 CW96.7 語予 應嘉賦 CW96.9 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：脊禦序浦 征西大將軍會射堂 CS352 暑處語舉楚 贈顧彥先 CS356 土苦 野旅 答兄平原 CS360 苦覩土 語處佇 有美一人 CS365 旅予處侮佇 九愍修身 CW101.1-2 土怒 盛德頌 CW103.13 武府 陸公誄 CW104.5 祖宇序 陸府君誄 CW104.7 序緒楚 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Ch'eng Feng* 鄭豐：鱣處舉與序語 南山 CS368 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：古宇阻 處雨 武舞府 廬虎 蜀都賦 CW74.2,2,2,4 宇距女語縷 緒父 吳都賦 CW74.6,9 宇禹堵 雨黍紆 魏都賦 CW74.12,13 *Chi Hàn* 嵇含：女處宇取 弔莊周文 CW65.8 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹摅：聚侶胥渚 答趙景猷 CS406 處語汝佇 又答趙景猷 CS407 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：宇楚堵黍 贈司空掾安仁 CS378 女暑與 安石榴賦 CW94.5 緒武阻土 釋奠頌 CW94.7 禹序武主阻旅土緒

乘輿箴 CW95.4 *Chh Yü* 摯虞：舉普與褚 贈褚武良 CS316 祖旅 思游賦 CW76.1 士敍字 夏禹讚 CW77.4 阻叙梅字 周宣王讚 CW77.5 武楚字緒 漢高祖讚 CW77.5 *Wáng Tsàn* 王讚：緒阻土 侍祖道楚淮南二王 CS398 *Chang Mìn* 張敏：虎鼠苦 頭責子羽文 CW80.3 *Wáng Yü* 王虞： 語舉 宰我讚 CW20.12 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：鼓柱宇園舞 南郊賦 CW120.5 武主柱戶古 登百尺樓賦 CW130.6 鼠舉簪 爾雅圖比肩獸贊 CW 121.6 樹蠱 又膏蓉草贊 CW 122.4 主舞園 山海經圖神英招贊 CW 122.6 府宇柱 又崑崙丘贊 CW122.6 羽鼠禦 又耳鼠贊 CW 122.9 窺阻雨 又合窺贊 CW 122.12 虎羽鼓 又馬腹獸贊 CW123.1 羽拒黍 又讓頭國贊 CW123.5 女俎處 又女祭贊 CW123.7 祐署祖 又軒轅國贊 CW 123.7 聚舞土 又都廣之野贊 CW123.13 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：岨與 土浦 涉江賦 CW38.1.1 柱府 羽舞 揚都賦 CW38.2.2 觀五補 弔賈生文 CW38.10 *Lǐ Hsing* 李興：魯堵 諸葛丞相故宅隅表 CW70.11 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：旅舉禦 平吳頌 CW85.4 *P'ei Hsi-sheng* 裴希聲：序輔簪武主 嵇侯碑 CW33.10 *Ts'ao P'i* 曹毗：緒舉楚斧旅字 歌世宗景皇帝 CS245 暑楚舉字 秋興賦 CW107.7 *Méi T'ao* 梅陶：土斧武武汝 贈溫嶠 CS429 *Chiang Yü* 江逌：舉暑 羽舉 羽扇賦 CW 107.2.3 *Liú Yén* 劉惔：土主序 酒箴 CW131.6 *Yuán Hūng* 袁宏：土矩宇堵叙武 東征賦 CW57.1 呂輔字舉 桓溫碑 CW57.8 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：序暑戶宇 表哀詩 CS433 渚舉 望海賦 CW61.2 *Shih Yüan* 史援：舉武主侮虜豎府取土滸戶覽撫聚虎宇所處阻 史君頌 CW132.6 *Wáng Hsien-chih* 王獻之：苦汝 桃桑歌 CS436 *Li Yü* 李頤：渚浦觀縷岨滸舞旅 涉湖 CS448 *T'ai K'ui* 戴逵：浦渚 離興賦 CW137.1 *K'ü K'ái-chih* 顧愷之：雨矩舉園 鳳賦 CW135.3-4 鼓武 祭牙文 CW135.4-5 *Lǐ Hào* 李暠：魯武浦舉武祐雨 述志賦 CW155.2 矩處 罍股 麒麟頌 CW155.6 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：雨阻撫佇 停雲 CS454 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：女舉園雨 赤松子贊 CW139.1 祖古雨侮 彭祖贊 CW139.3 *Sun Ch'eng* 孫承：與野渚鯁 嘉遯賦 CW143.1 *Anonymous* 無名氏：舞五武主呂舉敍羽鼓輔所 晉經舞雲門篇 CS273 塢苦 子夜歌十一 CS523 渚汝 又十二 CS523 鼓苦 又二八 CS524 柱顧 歡開變歌之一 CS532 戶櫓 又二 CS532 渚侶 黃鸝曲之四 CS536 渚許 長樂佳之三 CS537 許汝 懷儂歌十四 CS539 杵汝 青陽度 CS543 渚許 白附鳩 CS548 虜父脯舞 豫州歌 CS554 簿怒 都王歌 CS555 鼓雨女五武 綿州巴歌 CS560 阻午 三秦紀 民謠 CS561 土虎 咸康二年童謠 CS568 股虜 苻堅時長安謠 CS573 輔父武渚叙宇鼓與土矩 穆帝哀策 文 CW146.6

### Ch'ü

*K'üing Jüing* 孔融：路素固故祚暮步厝度慕 雜詩之一 WS44 *Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：慕翹 迂 傷天賦 HHW90.3 慮處懼樹屢 柳賦 HHW90.6 注雨 七釋之五 HHW91.1 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：慕 布著務 瓜賦 HHW65.3 度素慕路酤悟祚故 國文甫碑 HHW65.5 *Hsü K'an* 徐幹：素度 園扇賦 HHW93.6 *Yüing Yáng* 應瑒：路菟怒 馳射賦 HHW42.2-3 *Hàn-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：與 遇舉 答贈 WS199 *Ts'ao P'i* 曹丕：度故路顧慕 出婦賦 WW4.3 露暮 曹蒼舒誄 WW7.11 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：翹處寓露素浮萍篇 WS149 度素露御 遡慕曙路去洛神賦 WW13.2.3 御驅素 玄鳴賦 WW13.5 去嫗樹語捕附句怖兔妒 鷓鴣賦 WW14.5 露顧素 度喻 神龜賦 WW14.5.6 寤路渡 九詠 WW 14.7 錯布 七啓之二 WW16.9 兔驚 又三 WW16.10 傅素寤錯 成王贊 WW 17.7 喻素露慕 白鶴詠

WW17.10 度據素舉路 王仲宣誄 WW19.3-4 路厝 武帝誄 WW19.4 路墓 任城王誄 WW19.5 顧務 文帝誄 WW19.6 度錯布慕素 卞太后誄 WW19.7 度訴 行女哀辭 WW19.9 趣度去 釋愁文 WW19.10 *Hsüeh Tsung* 薛綜：顧祚 鳳頌 WW66.6 素顧 白鳥頌 WW66.7 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：祚布露度 太和 WS193 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：柳具務豫路度 附注斲 悟路謨故素 景福殿賦 WW39.5,7,7 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：度步布素赴驅趣倨 琴賦 WW47.3 素惡故 卜疑 WW47.4 *Hsì Chèng* 卻正：慮舉譽務 釋議 CW70.7-8 Anonymous 無名氏：誤顧 吳謠 WS235

*Yìng Chen* 應貞：數喻御飫 華林園集詩 CS311 *Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：寤路 故筆賦 CW59.6 慕素哺 鳥賦 CW59.7 翥去怒路 隸書體 CW59.10 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：豫布 地郊饗神歌 CS241 據佈附布 征遼東 CS259 度附兔 三光篇 CS300 素布 筆賦 CW 45.5 度故數御布務 善賦 CW 45.8 路兔路度 走狗賦 CW46.3 *Hsün Hsi* 荀勗：固布素豫度 大豫舞歌 CS267 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：布露暮 朝華賦 CW 68.5 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：度附據慕素 樂毅贊 CW 60.9 *Chang Huá* 張華：祚固布 鮑玄泰誄 CW58.9 度素固慕 武帝哀策文 CW58.10 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：固祚錯庫關中詩 CS371 慕露素顧路故度固顧內之二 CS376 遇豫 怒庫寤度 處贖著惡 具務傅 御欲慮 西征賦 CW90.3,7,8,9 渡路亘暮 懷舊賦 CW91.1 素附厝路顧訴墓 寡婦賦 CW91.2-3 路桓布祚 藉田賦 CW91.3 樹賦 橘賦 CW92.1 驚豫住御舉 射雉賦 CW92.3 素固舉路 任府君贊 CW 92.5 路顧 金鹿哀辭 CW93.5 慮遇處去 哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Tsǒ Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：懼慮訴慕曙 離思賦 CW13.1 御路布數厝厝暮露 元皇后誄 CW13.6 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：步互 近遊賦 CW87.2 箸據遽 餅賦 CW87.3 趣喻附 懼務 玄居釋 CW87.6,7 *Hó Shào* 何劭：樹素顧露步遇慕慮 雜詩 CS321 *Mù Huá* 木華：霧注輸 惡暮布露度海賦 CW105.7,7 *Lù Chi* 陸機：祚路顧 路墓 與弟清河雲 CS339,340 暮露 周夫人贈車騎 CS343 步顧素暮度露 擬迢迢牽牛星 CS345 度暮故露 素寤 數逝賦 CW 96.7 素步 吳大帝誄 CW 99.7 固路祚暮 陸君誄 CW 99.8 度祚惡懷太子誄 CW 99.9 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：慕顧路步 大安二年 CS353 度顧 思文 CS355 素度暮煦 失題 CS363 暮素路暮 露 九思舒思 CS101.2 素顧步祚 九疑仙頌 CW103.9-10 路墓慕厝 夏府君誄 CW104.10 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：慮譽賦布路慕 悼離贈妹之一 CS384 度樹 路布夸互 吳都賦 CW74.6,7 豫舉御著 度厝裕具 魏都賦 CW74.14-5,15 訴暮素惡故 呼誤著舉 白髮賦 CW74.17,17 *Ch'ien Hsiü* 牽秀：度務素 祚故 彭祖頌 CW84.7 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：路遡顧 答趙景猷 CS407 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：惡步 鼃賦 CW94.5 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：暮豫度露顧著 豫數固 思游賦 CW76.1,3 *Wáng Tsán* 王讚：祚附 黎樹頌 CW86.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：路懼 流寓賦 CW120.5 庶度素 南郊賦 CW120.5 霧翥御 山海經圖天馬贊 CW122.10 樹布顧 又琅玕樹贊 CW123.11 *T'áo K'án* 陶侃：驅路度 相風賦 CW 111.1 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：渡固布 涉江賦 CW38.1 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：布素路慕 擬四愁詩之一 CS391 注霧樹數 濠汜池賦 CW85.1 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：霧御翥赴 七命之五 CW85.10 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：舉顧步露 贈劉琨 CS419 豫路樹露慕訴務固 懼慮遇御庶譽賦去素故 贈崔溫 CS419 去顧樹注曙 蟋蟀賦 CW34.9 *Ts'ao P'í* 曹毗：祚路度步布固 歌肅宗明皇帝 CS246 *Méi T'áo* 梅陶：豫路布度悟 贈溫嶠 CS429 *Chih Tün* 支遁：布樹路素欲趣暮務遇注慮度住取 詠禪思道人 CS504 *Yüán Hóng* 袁宏：素固度暮 遇路務趣 三國名臣序贊 CW57.5,6



*Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：顧祚念著 與庾冰 CS434 豫步素祚慕度 都鑒碑 CW62.7 *Tài K'ui* 戴逵：步素務慮悟 閒遊賦 CW137.4 *Yin Ch'ung-K'an* 殷仲堪：步路 將離賦 CW129.5 *Chiu Mò Ló Shih* 鳩摩羅什：喻處住去十喻詩 CS505 *Seng Ch'ào* 僧肇：度悟素路 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW165.15 *Hui Yu'án* 慧遠：度悟數務布步 襄陽丈六金像頌 CW162.14 顧度素霧趣路曙遇 萬佛影銘 CW162.16 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：著故附語處住數具譽去懼慮 神釋 CS459 豫翥去慮如住處懼 雜詩之五 CS478 去趣舉傳路顧譽務素悟慮著 詠二疏 CS480 *Liu Chin* 劉瑾：遇樹布露素暮趣度 甘樹賦 CW140.9 *T'ung Ching* 董京：悟故度去答孫楚 CS400 *Kuo Yu'án-tsü* 郭元祖：祚露步度 赤將子輿贊 CW139.2 務度悟趣 關令尹贊 CW139.2 *Chiä Pin* 賈彬：喻著數布御 箏賦 CW89.11 *Wang Shào-chih* 王劭之：裕豫路 御布舉 懷思賦 CW144.10,10 *Sun Ch'üing* 孫瓊：布慕 悼艱賦 CW144.12 *Ch'ân Fang-sheng* 湛方生：故慕布素亙慕 懷歸謠 CS493 *Wang Ch'ên* 王沈：素步渡兔錯惡路錮素祚慕 釋時論 CW89.3 Anonymous 無名氏：附路數度恕慕布素故布 晉聲舞洪業篇 CS270-1 度路子夜歌之一 CS523 慮去子夜春歌十八 CS526 路誤 又十九 CS526 暮度子夜秋歌之五 CS528 暮顧 又十八 CS529 度故 前溪歌之一 CS533 布度袴安東平之二 CS544 作厝 又三 CS544 暮度月節折楊柳歌十二月歌 CS550 處渡樹 西洲曲 CS551 曙去 吳人歌 CS554 暮故 三峽謠 CS560 步度 鄭王謠 CS577 Anonymous 無名氏：故步汧布暮 周處碑 CW146.13

## (6.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Yü* 魚 and *Chih* 之

*Shäng*

*Ch'ên Lín* 陳琳：旅軌 武軍賦 HHW92.2 *Tsö Ch'ü-pin* 左九嬪：禹輔軌府 元皇后誄 CW13.5 *Lü Chi* 陸機：舉海旅與楚 功臣頌 CW98.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：予游暑與 思樂芳林 CS364 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：距裏 鼃賦 CW94.5 Anonymous 無名氏：戶祖事 王彭祖謠 CS566

*Yü* 魚 and *Hai* 哈

*Shäng*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：楚駭所舉 歲暮賦 CW100.2

*Yü* 魚 and *Yu* 幽

*P'ing*

*Fün Ch'in* 繁欽：於頭 定情詩 WS194 都敷模隅扶遊 碩頌 HHW93.10 *Hü Tsung* 胡綜：書符俱休 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：郭葉疏婁敷書 景福殿賦 CW39.5-6 *Wàn Ch'ên* 萬震：傳朱浮踰拘 南州異物志贊貝 WW74.8 *Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：隅樓敷珠孺虛居 樞闕車殊夫圖 艷歌行 CS289 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：榆須驅浮嶠 贈顧彥先 CS357 *Ts'ài Háng* 蔡洪：籌駒驅敷符丘珠 圍棋賦 CW81.7 *Lü Hsing* 李興：塗墟周餘諸諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW

70.12 *Chang Tsăi* 張載：樓虛隅巫蔬餘居衢廬侯鉤殊魚蜎區娛登白菟樓 CS390 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：腴渠墟廬樓 玄武館賦 CW85.7

*Shǎng*

*Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：土武矩垢輔語 補 遠戍勸戒詩 WS194 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：走阻舉 校獵賦 WW4.5 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：武後宇處沮矩 孔子廟頌 WW17.2 *Liu Shào* 劉劭：女舞舉 楚偶 趙都賦 WW32.1 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：偶所父禹卜疑 WW47.5 *Lü Chi* 陸機：後甫羽 羽扇 CW 97.4 敷武字主 功臣頌 CW 98.6 輔后宇斧羽 陸抗誄 CW 99.8 考宇 愍懷太子誄 CW 99.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：后撫武 陸府君誄 CW104.7 *Chang Min* 張敏：偶宇許翽語諧杵序府 頭責子羽文 CW80.3 *Chang Tsăi* 張載：阜阻雨 波行賦 CW85.1 *Anonymous* 無名氏：鯢甄建興中江南謠 CS567

*Ch'ü*

*Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：鏤具駐 投壺賦 WW26.1 *Hsià-hou Huè* 夏侯惠：附搆 景福殿賦 WW21.1 *Fü Hsiün* 傅玄：奏薦 琵琶賦 CW45.6 素度謀祚 明德馬皇后贊 CW46.10 *Lü Chi* 陸機：秀數裕 皇太子宴玄圃 CS337 裕附樹謀 功臣頌 CW98.6 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：固鬥舉 流寓賦 CW120.5

*Yü* 魚 and *Háo* 豪

*Shǎng*

*Chang Tsăi* 張載：五主撫虎戶虜堵豎掃圍土古 七哀之一 CS390

*Yü* 魚 and *Ko* 歌

*Shǎng*

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：古祐下舞暑野土宇渚雨黍父 文帝誄 WW19.6 *Hü Tsung* 胡綜：野下緒 祖下土夏 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5,5 *Wei Chao* 韋昭：祖夏下 據武師 WS230 *Anonymous* 無名氏：戶下 宿阿曲 CS539

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：路步度夜暮露素 歲暮賦 CW100.1 夜暮故 張二侯頌 CW104.3 祚路顧露步那 陸公誄 CW104.6 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：佐步布祚 揚都賦 CW38.3 *Anonymous* 無名氏：素蛾子夜歌四十二 SC525

*Yü* 魚 and *Chih* 支

*Ch'ü*

*Juän Chí* 阮籍：義度慕 首陽山賦 WW44.8

Yü 魚, Chih 之 and Hai 哈

Shǎng

Lù Chi 陸機：沮予軌阻旅悔序舉與 凌霄賦 CW97.5-6

Yü 魚, Chih 之 and Yu 幽

P'ing

Liu Chen 劉楨：隅嬉洲衢魚 魯都賦 HHW65.2      Lù Yün 陸雲：序旅舉潁予處海輔右  
土虎祖野虜 陸公誄 CW104.5

#### (6.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

Yü 魚 Shǎng 上 and Yü 魚 Ch'ü 去

Yang Hù 羊祜：武序聚路所羽與渚 雁賦 CW41.5      Lǐ Hsing 李興：輔矩武度 羊公碑  
CW70.13      Anonymous 無名氏：櫓渡 桃葉渡 CS537

Yü 魚 Ch'ü 去 and Yü 魚 P'ing 平

Hsià-hóu Chàn 夏侯湛：顧步塗路 離親詠 CS396

Yü 魚 Ch'ü 去 and Yü 魚 Shǎng 上

Ting Yì 丁廙：路兎怒五慕 彈棊賦 HHW94.4      Sǒ Ch'ing 索靖：樹附布豫趣據距顧度  
草書狀 CW84.10-11

Yü 魚 Shǎng 上 and Yu 幽 Ch'ü 去

Yang Ch'üan 楊泉：午祖女處所雨縷候 蠶賦 WW75.2      Fù Hsiên 傅咸：羽序舉處阻  
與字舊赴 燕賦 CW51.10

Yü 魚 Shǎng 上, Yü 魚 P'ing 平 and Yu 幽 Shang 上

Ts'ao Chih 曹植：藪阻居 髑髏說 WW18.8

Yü 魚 Ch'ü 去, Chih 之 Shǎng 上 and Chih 之 Ch'ü 去

Chi K'ang 嵇康：固志步士 卜疑 WW47.5

#### (7) Rime Category Ko 歌

##### (7.1) List of All Rime Words

P'ing

Ko 歌：何河阿呵柯珂荷歌 佗(他)沱拖陀(陶)跢迤 羅蘿 峨娥 蹉嗟 多

那 𪛗

*Ko* 戈：渦過過 波婆頗 播嶠嶠 訛靴 禾和 窠 娑 磨 科 戈

*Mā* 麻：遐瑕蝦霞蝦 加笳嘉 巴琶葩 華譁 沙鈔 牙邪 差嗟 洩誇 麻魔 蝸  
 緺 瓜窠 化花 家 奢 崖 蛇(蛇蛇) 車 耶 斜 磓 蟆

*Shǎng*

*Kǒ* 哿：沱沱柁(柁) 可呵舸 我 左 娜

*Kuǒ* 果：果裏 墮 坐 禍 蓊 火 麼

*Mǎ* 馬：假蝦 詐鮓 者赭 馬 野 寡 下 寫 雅 夏 冶 社 賈 瓦 把

*Ch'ü*

*Kō* 箇：賀 佐 那 餓

*Kuò* 過：播 過 臥 破

*Mà* 禡：射樹謝 舍捨 嫁稼 借藉 暇 駕 化 夜 吒 罵 亞 叱 夏

## (7.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Ko* 歌

*P'ing*

*Juǎn Yǔ* 阮瑀：戈河 紀征賦 HHW93.1 *T'sui Yǎn* 崔琰：羅義 述初賦 HHW94.5 *Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：多奢 酒賦 HHW90.4 加華波葩 神女賦 HHW90.5 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：華歌波和 河 魯都賦 HHW65.2 *Yīng Yáng* 應瑒：華波車 渠婉賦 HHW42.3 羅阿柯華 鍊迷迭賦 HHW42.3 *T's'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：歌何多 短歌行 WS117 *T's'ao P'i* 曹丕：渦波迤和柯華 臨渦賦 WW4.2 波阿戈譁 浮淮賦 WW4.2 多家 感離賦 WW4.3 嘉華羅阿 槐賦 WW4.7 羅戈阿 武帝哀策文 WW7.11 *T's'ao Ch'ih* 曹植：波柯河娥 妾薄命 WS143 多歌 善哉行 WS147 波過峨阿霞家沙 歌華多 遠遊篇 WS148 波多羅 野田黃雀行 WS150 阿華邪歌 大魏篇 WS155 沙娥 遠遊篇 WS157 華 加 賁躬詩 WS165 羅華峨歌和他 有美一人 WS173 霞波 波歌 洛神賦 WW13.2,3 波華過 閑居賦 WW13.11 阿荷 寶刀賦 WW14.1 譁歌 酒賦 WW14.2 和訛華家化 橘賦 WW14.3 羅娥 九詠 WW14.7 羅歌七啓之四 WW16.10 和家遐歌 孔子廟頌 WW17.2 何嘉花宜男花頌 WW17.4 荷嘉 武帝誄 WW19.4 家遐嗟 任城王誄 WW19.5 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：義蛇阿波華多 許昌宮賦 WW30.12 *T's'ao Juè* 曹叡：加柯阿和窠 猛虎行 WS140 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：河華波 洮河 趙都賦 WW32.1,1 *Miào Hs'í* 繆襲：河波戈沱家和 定武功 WS191 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：崖多荷加 景福殿賦 WW39.5,5 *Hsià-hoú Huè* 夏侯惠：荷華波葩 景福殿賦 WW21.1 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：多多家羅他多 秋胡行之一 WS203 嗟遐歌華波阿 贈秀才入軍十一 WS205 荷阿他華羅嗟波嘉霞和歌多 答二郭之二 WS208 多化 思親詩 WS211 波義娑葩 琴賦 WW47.2 *Juǎn Chí* 阮籍：歌過陀河多何 詠懷之五 WS215 阿過多河嗟 又十三 WS216 河葩華誇跼何 又二七 WS218 阿華嗟加何 又七八 WS224 華葩禾阿嗟 又八二 WS225 沱多和嘉化 元父賦 WW44.12 *Chung Huè* 鍾會：和波 葡

荀賦 WW25.2 Anonymous 無名氏：車河何 明帝中童謠 WS226

*Ch'eng Hsião* 程曉：車過家何嗟多那沱瑕呵 嘲熱客 CS305-6 *Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：阿波 馬腦勒賦 CW28.2 *Yìng Chen* 應貞：加沙遐家 華林園集詩 CS311 葩阿 安石榴賦 CW35.1 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：河峩阿波 大河賦 CW59.3 羅波 嗟跢 撾羅 琵琶賦 CW59.5.5.5 *Yü Shü* 庾儵：阿嘉 大槐賦 CW36.4 阿波 安石榴賦 CW36.5 *Fü Hsián* 傅玄：和家嘉饗 神歌之一 CS244 河何羅和 伯益 CS264-5 波邪峨河 秋胡行 WS288-9 花家何 美女篇 CS294 峨羅車 河 雲中白子高行 CS297 和柯 昔思君 CS298 和華嘉歌 答程曉詩 CS298 葩波華柯 芙蓉 CS298 霞沱 阿波河蝦 但暑未一句 CS300-1 花羅波阿 蓮歌 CS303 花波 有女殊代生 CS304 霞嘉 紫華賦 CW45.7 和羅 桃賦 CW45.9 珂華 良馬賦 CW46.2 沙河家嘉牙蛇 走狗賦 CW46.2-3 *Yáng Hù* 羊祐：阿 和羅 雁賦 CW41.5 *Tsão Chiü* 棗據：華柯阿花霞波多 遊覽 CS313 峨華柯波 表志賦 CW67.5 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：柯羅 虞賦 CW68.2 笱和 夜聽竽賦 CW68.2 華羅 宜男花賦 CW68.4 華 波羅 芙蓉賦 CW68.4 和何河 張平子碑 CW69.9 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：荷華嗟 答弘農故吏民 CS398 峩華加 故臺賦 CW60.2 峨波歌 登樓賦 CW60.2 *Chang Huá* 張華：和家 食舉東西廂樂詩之五 CS254 華奢嘉羅珂牙耶葩家峨陸波巴多歌阿河嗟和嗟花譚邪霞他過跢何沱磋輕薄篇CS278 阿華荷羅遐嗟 雜詩之二 CS284 霞華阿 遊仙之二 CS285 和華 章懷皇后誄 CW58.9 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：和荷 家風詩 CS373 河阿波華柯峨訛羅邪麻和歌荷 河陽縣作之二 CS375 鼉蛇 滄海賦 CW 90.3 峨阿戈河 西征賦 CW90.4 何阿峩柯沱歌華佗 寡婦賦 CW91.3 和羅歌他 閒居賦 CW91.6 葩 波娥荷 秋菊賦 CW91.8 和花柯葩波 蓮花賦 CW91.8 羅霞 芙蓉賦 CW91.9 葩沙嘉遐柯羅 螢火賦 CW92.3 華遐家 武皇帝誄 CW92.6 家和阿牙嘉遐華何 楊荊州誄 CW92.6 華和柯何 楊仲武誄 CW92.8 嘉華加家 夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 和荷家加華何 劉氏妹哀辭 CW93.5 *Tsō Chiü-pin* 左九嬪：峨 波葩 松柏賦 CW13.2 和華 菊花頌 CW13.3 波歌多阿 巢父惠妃贊 CW13.4 阿河家嘉 元皇后誄 CW13.6 歌訛阿沱 萬年公主誄 CW13.7 *Sō Ching* 索靖：邪波華差 草書狀 CW84.10 *Lü Chi* 陸機：遐阿峨沙苛波羅和戈何 從軍行 CS326 嘉河葩波歌霞 權歌行 CS 328-9 峨波阿過嘉波華遐 羅葩多家河沱歌 吳趨行 CS331 阿峨華峨羅和歌霞波家 前緩聲歌 CS331 家歌華過 百年歌之五 CS335 華和何歌 贈顧令文 CS336 遐華嘉 皇太子宴玄圃 CS337 峨和蛇華 答賈謐 CS338 遐華阿家 嗟 祖道 CS343 華阿 贈潘正叔 CS349 遐波 招隱之二 CS350 華何 詠老 CS350 差霞葩 白雲賦 CW96.2 波華加 幽人賦 CW96.9 遐波娑羅歌阿和過 應嘉賦 CW96.9 河過 感丘賦 CW96.10 華瑕和 文賦 CW 97.2 娑過波多柯羅 瓜賦 CW97.6 何荷葩和 感懷太子誄 CW99.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：戈娑家和 征西大將軍會射堂 CS352 家歌波和 贈汲郡太守 CS354 華多 贈張仲膺 CS356 遐波嘉和 贈顧彥先 CS356 和波華邪 答顧秀才 CS357 和遐 遐和 答兄平原 CS359 嘉阿播和沱華何 谷風 CS361 葩華嘉羅 何加歌多 有美一人 CS365 波峩歌沙和華多 喜鸞賦 CW100.4 波譚和羅遐霞華 南征賦 CW100.8 嘉華和寒蟬賦 CW100.8 波娥華瑕 九愍修身 CW101.1 阿華加河 紆思 CW101.3 波歌何和羅嘉行吟 CW101.3 多羅沙波遐 九愍之九 CW101.5 葩荷 夷門子頌 CW103.10 遐華嘉和 盛德頌 CW103.12 荷 家和華 張二侯頌 CW104.3 嘉和嶠華 榮啓期贊 CW104.3 和華波遐 陸公誄 CW104.5 嗟瑕和嘉華 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Sun Ch'eng* 孫拯：遐華嘉波 贈陸士龍 CS369 *Tsō Szu* 左思：峩霞阿

波 家和波過蜀都賦 CW74.2,4 蛇琶 魴鰕羅吳都賦 CW74.5,9 河波幡譚 家阿葩 歌河 遐羅戈  
 魏都賦 CW74.14,15,16,16 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：義家河迤瑯華柯和何 贈韓德質 CS404 河過峨  
 葩柯和華阿歌波何羅跢瑯他 答趙景猷 CS407 *Juǎn Hsiu* 阮修：波過河上已會詩 CS 412  
*P'an Ní* 潘尼：遐華嘉和 獻長安君安仁 CS378 阿歌波河華多 贈河陽詩 CS381 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯  
 虞：嘉波家 鵠鵠賦 CW76.4 嘉羅波 觀魚賦 CW76.4 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：荷加播家河磨 答盧諶  
 CS416 *Sun Huì* 孫惠：嘉羅華和家 雜車賦 CW115.9 *Wáng Chièn* 王鑒：家嘉峨河車  
 華霞和義 加羅多娥 七夕觀織女 CS428 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：蛇靡華蝸蝦車葩硃沙 波娥嗟阿  
 戈歌鼉科和河 江賦 CW120.2,4 麻加遐 爾雅圖麻贊 CW121.7 華霞邪 山海經圖瑤瑤贊 CW122.5 河波  
 阿 又積石贊 CW122.6 瓜華蛇 又若華贊 CW123.2 頗多鼉 又三足龜贊 CW123.2 牙蛇華 又鑿齒贊 CW  
 123.6 柯羅過 又建木贊 CW123.10 沙蛇波 又流沙贊 CW123.10 阿禾播 又木禾贊 CW123.10 *Chang*  
*Hàn* 張翰：華羅和 忽有一飛鳥 CS389 阿柯 杖賦 CW107.11 *Yáng Fang* 楊方：華柯霞家  
 葩洿何 合歡之五 CS427 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：波歌河家 登楚山 CS445 魴波牙琶華 揚都賦 CW  
 38.2,2 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：義嶠斜華 劍閣銘 CW85.5 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：嘉荷柯河波  
 洛襍賦 CW85.6 迤羅柯義歌 登北芒賦 CW85.7 峨阿華葩 波和歌 七命之二 CW85.9,9 禾華 七命之六  
 CW85.11 *Lü Ch'ên* 盧諶：羅遐加他 贈劉琨 CS418-9 羅那 菊花賦 CW34.8 *Ts'ao P'í* 曹  
 毗：播和過波柯河 歌顯宗成皇帝 CS246 和歌 四時祠祀歌 CS248 *Chih Tùn* 支遁：義羅阿霞  
 阿彌陀佛贊 CW157.12 *Yüán Húng* 袁宏：波阿 北征賦 CW57.2 過波和柯 三國名臣序贊 CW57.5  
*Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：羅波和霞 贈溫嶠 CS433 羅柯 望海賦 CW61.2 *Shih Yüán* 史援：家加車  
 蝸華瑯奢 後漢史君頌 CW132.6 *Wáng Hui-chih* 王徽之：羅阿 蘭亭 CS438 *Yü Sù-chih*  
 庾肅之：羅和瑯洿 玉贊 CW38.10 *Hsiéh Hùn* 謝混：歌跢過霞阿華柯何多 遊西池 CS489  
*T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：柯和多河 停雲 CS454 柯羅窠沙 命子 CS457 和花多歌 蜡日 CS476 和歌  
 多華何 擬古之七 CS477 何家歌阿 挽歌之三 CS484 過河波歌遐 閑情賦 CW111.6 遐過歌何 自祭文  
 CW112.10 *Su Yèn* 蘇彥：花霞 芙蓉賦 CW138.1 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：阿和 祭梁鴻文 CW142.2  
*Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：華葩娥瑯 園客贊 CW 139.7 巴沙葩遐 赤斧贊 CW 139.8 *Chü*  
*Seng-tü* 竺僧度：過多嗟歌羅何他 答省華 CS508 *Ch'ân Fang-sheng* 湛方生：阿禾波  
 七歡 CW140.6 *Hsin Hsiao* 辛蕭：華歌 芍藥花賦 CW144.2 和華阿葩 菊花頌 CW144.2 *Liú*  
*Mì-chih* 劉謐之：靴花蟆 下也賦 CW143.2 *Lü Ch'ung* 陸沖：和阿波 卑觀野原外 CS495  
 Anonymous 無名氏：過多華歌 晉白紵舞歌之二 CS275 嗟多 子夜歌之十 CS523 花葩 子夜春歌  
 之八 CS526 歌過 又十六 CS526 波柯 子夜冬歌之七 CS530 歌河 七日夜女郎歌之一 CS534 河歌 又六  
 CS535 瓜花 歡好曲之二 CS538 花歌 採蓮童曲之一 CS541 多羅 來羅之三 CS545 波何 夜度娘 CS547  
 羅何 攀楊枝 CS548 羅多 作蠶絲之四 CS549 花何 月夜折楊柳歌九月歌 CS550 何婆 休洗紅之一 CS552  
 多何歌 飲酒樂 CS552 河何 隴上歌 CS557 多過 淫豫歌 CS559 峨阿和波歌 武陵人歌 CS560 沙峨牙  
 元康中京洛童謠之一 CS564 牙沙 洛下謠 CS565

*Shāng*

*Miào Hsi* 繆襲：馬野寡 克官渡 WS191 野下馬我墮者 挽歌 WS193 *Juǎn Chí* 阮籍：者

馬野下寫 詠嶽之十七 WS 217      Anonymaus 無名氏：可我 軍中謠 WS 227 者馬 黃龍中童謠 WS234

*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：社下 食舉東西廂歌之六 CS249 者馬墮下 飲馬長城窟行 CS291 馬野 吳楚歌 CS 295 *Hsià-hōu Chàn* 夏侯湛：馬野 山路吟 CS396 馬野 獵兔賦 CW68.3 *Fù Hsién* 傅咸：我雅下 申懷賦 CW51.3 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：夏野馬 登虎牢山賦 CW90.2 馬坐我可禍左寡火下 西征賦 CW90.8 寡下假馬 馬汧督誄 CW92.10 寡雅賈下 夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 *Lü Chi* 陸機：冶下雅 文賦 CW97.2 夏下假可禍 功臣頌 CW98.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：寡我假可 歲暮賦 CW100.2 可寡野我賈禍雅 逸民賦 CW100.6 假馬野下 九愍修身 CW101.1 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：馬瓦 惡道賦 CW94.1 *Wáng Yü* 王虞：社下醉坐可 春可樂 CW20.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：蓀裏淹火 江賦 CW120.3 野馬雅 爾雅圖羊贊 CW121.11 火果應 山海經圖螭渠贊 CW122.4 蔭下社 又流緒贊 CW122.4 馬假者 又杜衡贊 CW122.5 下野寫 又鵠鳥贊 CW122.9 可禍我 又洞洞贊 CW121.11 野馬夏 又桃林贊 CW123.2 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：硤火左下 遊仙之十 CS447 舸拖馬 揚都賦 CW38.3 *Tsao T'ien* 棗腆：寫夏雅 答石崇 CS409 *Li Ch'ung* 李充：馬下野可 舟楫銘 CW53.8 *Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：下寡假冶馬 贈庚翼 CS 430 *Yüan Hung* 袁宏：野者假下寫 北征賦 CW57.2 把下雅假 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：下寫 漏刻銘 CW62.5 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：火我可假 命子 CS458 Anonymous 無名氏：可我 獨漉篇 CS274 下我子夜冬歌十二 CS530 娜我 桃李歌之一 CS536 假下 懷儂歌之四 CS538 者詐 又六 CS538 下把 拔蒲之二 CS548 火坐 月節折楊柳歌六月歌 CS550 馬下 涼州大馬歌 CS557 馬下 淫穢歌 CS 559 賈下 秦始中謠 CS 561 可我 蜀人謠之二 CS562 雅假 洛中謠 CS576 馬下 王與馬 CS577

### Ch'ü

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：暇射駕 馳射賦 HHW42.2 *Jñan Chi* 阮籍：夏駕 東平賦 WW44.7 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：賀暇 食舉東西廂歌之五 CS249 化賀 金靈運 CS262 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：化佐 答弘農故吏民 CS398 *Chang Huá* 張華：化謝夜舍 勵志詩 CS280 *Tsö Chiü-pin* 左九嬪：化夜 元皇后誄 CW13.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：播稼那化 悠悠縣象 CS363 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：夜捨 謝駕 觀魚賦 CW76.4 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：謝化夜舍 夏駕藉 答賈九州愁詩 CS422 謝夏化賀舍 吒遊仙之四 CS424 黑化嫁 山海經圖山膏贊 CW123.2 夜駕化 又神人二八贊 CW123.5 *Chiang Yü* 江淹：駕化夏榭夜暇 詠秋 CS444 *Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：佐餓過臥 答謝安 CS431 *Li Yü* 李頤：夏叱 夏日 CS448 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：亞駕夜惜化 孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2 Anonymous 無名氏：餓破 太寧初童謠 CS567

## (7.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Ko* 歌 and *Yu* 幽

*Shang*

*Lù Yún* 陸雲：夏馬下首 盛德頌 CW103.13

*Ko* 歌 and *Yü* 魚

*Shāng*

*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：左楚 善哉行之二 WS118

*Ch'ü*

Anonymous 無名氏：夜素 子夜秋歌之十六 CS529

# (8) Rime Category *Chih* 支

## (8.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Chih* 支：摘螭離離離離 奇猗漪椅騎羈 訾疵貲觜雌 岐枝歧肢 池馳迤施 皮披  
波波 儀褻曦犧 磨靡靡靡 卑裨脾裨 斯嘶嘶 麗儷縹 危脆 涯崖  
隨墮 兒鯢 爲媯 垂陲 規窺 戲戲 透萎 蛇(蛇) 知 移 筵 羈  
虧 差 宜 祇 彌 攜 吹 篴 跣 鬲 支 罹

*Chia* 佳：佳 釵

*Ch'z* 齊：圭哇桂閨 溪蹊谿雞 攜螭 啼蹄 麤 隄 笄 犀 稽 西

*Shāng*

*Chih* 紙：倚漪綺 此紫背 爾邇璽 灑(洒)縹 詭跪 伎技 蕊藥 蟻蟻 徙 委  
彼 是 靡 埤 累 豕 紕 毀 髓

*Hsieh* 蟹：擺 解

*Ch'ü*

*Chih* 寘：侈移 避臂 彼被 伎芟 易賜 爲僞 弛施 翅 義 瑞 規 智 累  
刺 企 屨 寄 離 睡 譬

*Kuà* 卦：懈

*Chì* 霽：麗麗 盞 繫 羿 隸 帝 脆 係

*Chih* 至：地

## (8.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Juàn Yü* 阮瑀：馳枝啼斯兒 施皮知離嘶貲規 鶴出北郭門行 WS188 *Wáng Ts'ân* 王  
粲：知爲訾隨陲靡移施規虧詠史 WS180 移垂笄釵離宜神女賦 HHW90.5 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：



枝貲移 青青女蘿草 WS 187 *Yàng Yáng* 應陽：支規移 馳射賦 HHW42.3 危墜虧奇 勢勢 HHW42.6 *Fán Chín* 繁欽：離釵 定情詩 WS194 涯離 槐樹詩 WS195 離猗 柳賦 HHW93.9-10 *Yáng Hsiu* 楊修：移池 出征賦 HHW51.9 桂離移 神女賦 HHW51.10 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：為儀危知移 秋胡行之一 WS125 枝為 又二 WS125 崖枝知為馳 善哉行之一 WS126 涯徙為 釣竿行 WS WS127 儀知池 猛虎行 WS127 羈為 善哉行 WS127 馳為枝為 大牆上高行 WS129-30 隨離虧兄知 艶歌何嘗行 WS130 離隨枝移馳知池 清河見挽船士新婚與妻別 WS131 馳移為 登城賦 WW4.5 崖枝為 儀 玉玦賦 WW4.6 枝差離垂 彈基賦 WW4.6 規宜車渠 梔賦 WW4.7 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：谿涯枝馳 升天行 WS142 羈馳兒垂支蹄螭移隄卑 白馬篇 WS143 佳涯螭 桂之樹 WS151 施移為儀 精微篇 WS155 離移為 樂府詩 WS159 疲隨差池枝移斯 公讌 WS160 隳儀 責躬詩 WS165 離虧 惡志賦 WW13.7 為馳 歸思賦 WW13.7 離池儀規 九華扇賦 WW14.1 虧危疲 鸚鵡賦 WW14.4 靡麗 七啓序 WW16.9 披枝規 木連理謠 WW17.10 移虧 鬪說 WW18.8 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：奇知 許昌宮賦 WW30.12 *Ts'ao Jué* 曹叡：祇移隨嬌 懼歌行 WS139 *Hu Tsung* 胡綜：移施奇 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：陂馳 戰禁陽 WS191 為儀戲離奇馳 青龍賦 WW38.2 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：移彌池知 轉蓬去其根 WS201 奇離螭 為施規儀 景福殿賦 WW39.5,6 *Wéi Tàn* 韋誕：馳為 敘志賦 WW32.9 *Wu-ch'iu Chièn* 毋丘儉：池枝施 承露盤賦 WW40.4 *Yáng Hsi* 楊戲：移規裊 贊費文儀 WW62.8 *Sun Kai* 孫該：離谿危蹊斯 神祠賦 WW40.2 施規離 琵琶賦 WW40.3 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：池羲陂宜離施儀崖羈知枝馳為 述志之一 WS209 宜離蛇危池 崖綴猗 琴賦 WS47.3 隨靡 卜疑 WW47.5 羲虧離 大師箴 WW51.6 *Juàn Chí* 阮籍：移迤差知離 詠懷之七 WS216 池宜枝離隨 又四六 WS220-1 宜施池離隳 又五一 WS221 池差馳彌儀知 東平賦 WW44.7 危皮隨 獼猴賦 WW44.9 斯差地 清思賦 WW44.10 *Chung Huè* 鍾會：儀垂繚 離差離規 孔雀賦 WW25.2 *Chi Hsi* 嵇喜：儀螭池離枝虧 答嵇康之一 CS286 *Chang Ch'ün* 張純：施宜 賦席 WS233 *Anonymous* 無名氏：馳騎 齊王嘉平中謠 WS227

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：離儀規卑虧移 天地賦 CW59.1 規離迤隨 雲賦 CW59.2 施宜背犀枝 琵琶賦 CW59.5 枝歧垂 螭螭賦 CW59.8 *Fu Hsián* 傅玄：祇儀施移 地郊饗神歌 CS241 施移垂戲儀馳 宣輔政 CS259-60 施離 因時運 CS261 危規離差儀 短兵篇 CS269 知離為 何嘗行 CS293 佳崖 吳楚歌 CS295 馳垂施啼池移為 白楊行 CS296 儀移馳支螭馳為 雲中白子高行 CS297 虧離 昔思君 CS298 崖池儀離攜 擬四愁詩之二 CS301 移馳虧 又四 CS302 枝羈 湯谷發清曜 CS304 宜池儀 視賦 CW45.5 危離 筆賦 CW45.6 卑危 吏部尚書箴 CW46.10 危隨 杖銘 CW46.11 *Hsüeh Ying* 薛瑩：垂施 獻詩 CS287 *Chiä Chung* 賈充：為虧移離知宜 與妻聯句 CS312 *Hsiä-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：釵奇規 雀釵賦 CW68.3 離披 芙蓉賦 CW68.4 離披垂 石榴賦 CW68.5 奇儀 感桐賦 CW68.5 儀差崖垂危 觀飛鳥賦 CW68.6 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：為馳枝儀奇 菊花賦 CW60.3 *Fu Hsién* 傅咸：儀祇 喜雨賦 CW51.1 羈馳斯 登芒賦 CW51.4 枝斯知危規 黏蟬賦 CW51.11 *Chang Huá* 張華：枝崖離斯移 擬古 CS284 差離 永懷賦 CW58.1 斯移 感婚賦 CW58.2 儀知漸 鮑玄泰諫 CW58.9 儀儷嬌規虧 元皇后哀策文 CW58.10 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：垂囂移池吹椅哇離卑施斯宜枝 在懷縣作之一 CS375 危規移為 垂奇池為馳隳 西征賦 CW80.6,8 移枝披垂 寡婦賦

CW91.2 施義騎吹麗 池籬披差閑居賦 CW91.6,6 歧垂委差 離枝爲 離移疲施 笙賦 CW91.7,7,7-8 離移相風賦 CW 91.8 移雌虧爲 射雉賦 CW 92.3 知卑奇危 馬汧督誄 CW 92.10 歧離 悲荆生 CW93.6  
*Ou-Yang Chièn* 歐陽建：離移儀規垂 答石崇贈 CS410 垂崖差疲 登壇賦 CW109.1 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：移枝施 施宜 餅賦 CW87.3,3 *Mù Huá* 木華：涯縹 海賦 CW105.8 *So Ching* 索靖：宜爲 草書狀 CW84.10 *Lù Yún* 陸雲：差池 寒蟬賦 CW100.8 *Cheng Feng* 鄭豐：滄奇馳儀池 蘭林 CS367-8 *Tsô Szu* 左思：崖枝離猗馳啼儀垂 枝池 蜀都賦 CW74.2,2 儀差垂枝 靡趾 奇螭漪 奇稽池 吳都賦 CW74.6,6,9,9,10 垂儀疵靡 白髮賦 CW74.17 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：馳移枝萎離虧歧斯爲 答趙景猷 CS408 離移枝馳儀斯歧 感舊詩 CS408 *Pan Ní* 潘尼：陂披萎儀離答陸士衡 CS379 戲靡披 火賦 CW94.3 奇危 琉璃碗賦 CW94.3 差披 安石榴賦 CW94.4 差儀 桑樹賦 CW94.5 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：螭宜規離 答伏仲武 CS315 戲知馳儀離斯 知爲 離縹馳儀 思遊賦 CW76.2,3,3 離奇疲虧 太康頌 CW77.3 *Hsià-hou Ch'ün* 夏侯淳：爲卑知 懷思賦 CW69.9 吹移雞離 笙賦 CW69.10 *Wáng Yì* 王廙：離垂 離歧 笙賦 CW20.10,10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：宜差 爾雅圖五果贊 CW121.8 枝猗危 山海經圖桃枝贊 CW122.4 危知奇 又貳負臣危贊 CW123.10 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：離施蹄 楊都賦 CW38.2 *Chang Tsai* 張載：規枝 白日隨天廻 CS392 枝奇斯 瓜賦 CW85.3 池崖哇差 訾 洪池波銘 CW85.5 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：祇離澌池垂移 雜詩 CS395 垂差閨 玄武館賦 CW85.7 *Ts'ao T'ien* 棗腆：危移爲義規 答石崇 CS409 *Hsi K'ü* 習嘏：儀施離披靡垂迤 長鳴雞賦 CW124.3 *Li Ch'ung* 李充：移奇 學箴 CW53.8 *Chiang Yü* 江迥：池移 巨龍戴蓬萊 CS444 *Hsièh Wän* 謝萬：爲儀 楚老頌 CW83.4 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：爲奇涯儀 老子贊 CW61.8 *Wáng Hui-chih* 王徽之：羈崖池奇 蘭亭 CS438 *Li Yü* 李顥：義離枝筵摛 悲四時賦 CW53.10 *Yüan Sung* 袁崧：離移馳 歌賦 CW56.5 *Pien Fàn-chih* 卞範之：宜離施 無思枕贊 CW140.1 *Yin Ch'ung-wén* 殷仲文：離斯迤 送東陽太守 CS487 *Huà Yüän* 慧遠：馳移隨靡離儀 襄陽文六金像頌 CW162.14 *Ch'ao Ch'eng* 趙整：池知 酒德歌 CS498 *Su Yèn* 蘇彥：規奇疲 隱几銘 CW138.2 *Hü Yü-chou* 胡義周：施儀垂差螭奇 統萬城功德銘 CW156.7 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：爲奇涯儀 老子贊 CW139.2 池螭移離 騎龍鳴贊 CW139.7 *Wáng Shào-chih* 王劭之：離靡 懷思賦 CW144.10 *Ch'än Fang-sheng* 湛方生：罷施 七歡 CW140.6 *Li Hsiü* 李秀：奇儀 四組賦 CW143.2 *Anonymous* 無名氏：移支儀施 洪業篇 CS 270 支施陂披鯢 景皇篇 CS 272 施爲 獨漉篇 CS 274 疲兒杯漿舞歌 CS276 離移 子夜歌二七 CS524 移西 又三六 CS525 施儀 子夜夏歌之二 CS527 溪啼 前溪歌之二 CS533 離佳 長樂佳之四 CS537 佳隨 又七 CS537 蹄兒 明下童曲之一 CS541 池啼 月節折楊柳三月歌 CS549 池知離兒 襄陽兒童歌 CS554 儀儷嬌規虧 武元楊皇后哀策文 CW146.5 儀爲 兩足虎文 CW146.14

### *Shang*

*Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：綺委 七謨 CW46.8 *Chang Huá* 張華：倚彼 倚几銘 CW53.8 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：是靈靡徙 閑居賦 CW91.6 邇技卑背 射雉賦 CW92.3 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：是此玄居釋 CW87.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：灑蟻 蚍蜉賦 CW120.6 豕靡猗 爾雅圖犀贊 CW121.10 藥背伎 山海經圖鸚鵡贊 CW122.5 詭豕徙又象贊 CW122.3 豕毀技又封豕贊 CW123.13 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：蕊髓

綺纒 遊仙之八 CS447 嶷灑 揚都賦 CW38.2 靡灑 浮查賦 CW38.5 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：伎豕純  
擺 七命之三 CW85.10 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：是毀爾綺 飲酒之六 CS472 *Tsung Ping* 宗  
炳：洒委詭髓 登牛山石 CS490

*Ch'ü*

*Juán Yü* 阮瑀：地易 箏賦 HHW93.1 *Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：彼整弛 投壺賦 WW26.1  
*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：翹避 鷗雀賦 WW14.5 義儷瑞地規 文帝詠 WW19.6

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：繫帝地 天地賦 CW59.3 *Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：懈帝 明堂饗神歌  
CS242 脫地 門雞賦 CW46.1 *Chang Huá* 張華：智累易偽 鷗鷗賦 CW58.3 *P'an Yüeh* 潘  
岳：弛義武帝詠 CW92.6 偽企甲孟嘗君文 CW93.8 *Tsö Chiü-pin* 左九嬪：寄易 洛誦賦 CW  
13.2 *Sö Ching* 索靖：易麗 草書狀 CW84.10 *Tsö Szu* 左思：侈臂義刺 魏都賦 CW74.11  
*P'an Ni* 潘尼：智易累屣侈 乘輿箴 CW95.4 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：地被寄 爾雅圖萍贊 CW121.7  
臂避義 又螳螂贊 CW121.8 被地智 山海經圖橐駝贊 CW122.9 智睡繫 又幽額贊 CW122.9 爲避義 又鷗  
贊 CW 123.1 企地義 又跋躡國贊 CW 123.8 寄地羿 又不死樹贊 CW 123.11 被義隸寄地 元皇帝哀策文  
CW123.13 *Yüan Hing* 袁宏：偽易累寄 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *Anonymous* 無名氏：  
帝地易 景皇篇 CS271

## (8.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Chih* 支 and *Chih* 之*P'ing*

*Chi K'ang* 嵇康：崖儀池虧疑差施羈離陂危蟻奇隨 贈秀才入軍之十九 WS206 *Lü Chi* 陸  
機：涯辭 與弟清河雲 CS339 *Yü Ai* 庾敳：虧規疑 幽人箴 CW36.5 *Chih Tün* 支遁：彌  
奇羈馳疲垂施危池規爲疵肢離知移思兒 座右銘 CW157.14-15 *Seng Ch'ao* 僧肇：爲羈擒  
馳時規施祇 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW165.15

*Shang*

*P'an Ni* 潘尼：記鯉技解累 釣賦 CW94.2-3

*Ch'ü*

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：義寄事 市長箴 CW59.9 *Anonymous* 無名氏：菱思 採蓮童  
曲之二 CS541

*Chih* 支 and *Ko* 歌*P'ing*

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：多知崖馳 悠驥賦 HHW42.4 *Lü Chi* 陸機：佳河 三月三日 CS350

*Chih* 支 and *Chih* 脂

*P'ing*

*Liú Chen* 劉楨：離絺圭 瓜賦 HHW 65.4    *Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：奇麗施蕤 柳賦 HHW 92.3  
*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：離知離悲脾 塘上行之一 WS124    *Lù Yün* 陸雲：危儀施畿 夏府君誄  
 CW104.9    *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：姿枝奇爲羈飲酒之八 CS472    *Ch'én Shen* 陳璆：達曦垂螭  
 儀池差猗移 五時盡扇頌 CW144.10    Anonymous 無名氏：馳飢 拂舞歌詩白鳩篇 CS274

*Shǎng*

*Wàn Chèn* 萬震：詭豨尾跪美徒 象贊 WW74.8    *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：累水紫蕊 安石榴賦  
 CW92.1

*Ch'ü*

*Chang Ts'ai* 張載：易累視繫地離僞智 招隱詩 CS390

*Chih* 支 and *Chieh* 皆

*P'ing*

*Juǎn Yü* 阮瑀：隨開靡爲箏賦 HHW93.1    *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：麗棲離知 短歌行 WS125    *Yáng*  
*Ch'üan* 楊泉：施階危虧差知爲規 贊善賦 WW75.1-2    *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：陂規崑垂差施離  
 披池 魏都賦 CW74.12    *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：稽崖懷彌離羈虧 雜詩之十 CS479    Anonymous  
 無名氏：佳諧 長樂佳之五 CS537    佳齊 又六 CS537

*Chih* 支, *Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 之

*P'ing*

*Yáng Ch'üan* 楊泉：奇斯馳宜儀虧施垂差披離枝眉歧基規枝奇持 草書賦 WW75.3

*Chih* 支, *Chih* 脂 and *Yü* 魚

*P'ing*

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：池璿遲隅 齊都賦 HHW93.5

*Chih* 支, *Chih* 脂 and *Chieh* 皆

*P'ing*

*Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：移飢歸梯池止欲賦 HHW92.1    *Lù Yün* 陸雲：馳階飢罷 答兄平原 CS360  
 Anonymous 無名氏：雞啼衣棲 太元末京口謠 CS569

(8.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Chih* 支 *P'ing* 平 and *Chih* 支 *Ch'ü* 去

*Hó Yèn* 何晏：危知偽陂靡 景福殿賦 WW39.7

*Chih* 支 *Shǎng* 上, *Chih* 支 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Chih* 脂 *Shǎng* 上

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：美賜靡智麗侈 西征賦 CW90.7

## (9) Rime Category *Chih* 脂

### (9.1) List of All Rime Words

#### *P'ing*

*Chih* 脂：惟推帷維誰誰雕雕 姿茨資咨諮 壘纍纍 坻砥砥 著緒馨 眉湄  
媚 遲埤 衰懷 肌飢 尸屍 犁梨 伊咿 夷莢 悲私 遺師 蕤  
葵 罌 龜 綏 鵠 尼 達 邳 藐 夔 糜 追 脂 彝

*Weí* 微：非斐扉腓誹菲霏駢 幾機磯譏譏幾幾 韋幃圍違闌 揮暉輝輝暉 沂祈圻  
旂 希唏稀絺 微微微 衣依 肥肥 飛巍 歸糜 威妃 祁毗

#### *Shǎng*

*Chih* 旨：几机 矢雉 旨指 底砥 比牝 水死 暑鄙 兕視 否美 履  
軌 詠 揆 蕊 雌 圯

*Wěi* 尾：煒燁 臺幾 篋虺 尾豸

#### *Ch'ü*

*Chih* 至：墜遂墜隧隧綏綏 卒悴萃粹翠瘁瘁 次恣齋懿 至致輕緻 四泗駟 季悸  
稚 位莅蒞 冀驥 比坻 匱遺 利器 類二 棄歃 視示 肆  
肄 祕愧 帥轡 擡蹕 淚諛 眊備 癸鼻 媚寐 懟

*Wèi* 未：畏胃渭謂 偉瑋緯諱 慰尉蔚 貴簣饋 氣餽 沸髡 味卉 穀暨  
欸 魏 泊

### (9.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chih* 脂

#### *P'ing*

*K'ung Jūng* 孔融：歸悲輝遲薇飛誰依追衣希 雜詩 WS 44 微衰威違悲 魏私肥祈饑悲  
六言詩 WS45,45 *Juǎn Yü* 阮瑀：歸輝夷衣 雜詩之二 WS 189 衣遲飛葵 白髮隨櫛墮 WS 189 微  
師資箏賦 HHW93.1 師夷薇暉尼飛 弔伯夷 HHW93.4 *Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：夷師違湄 贈士孫  
文始 WS177 幾微惟師 贈文叔良 WS178 蕤暉棧疊悲遲歸誰違綏追 公謙詩 WS179 誰師威夷  
遺坻肥資飛違歸私揮姿犁非 從軍之一 WS179 夷坻暉飛悲衣誰私違 又三 WS 179-80 湄暉追  
飛歸雜詩之二 WS181 依悲違閑邪賦 HHW90.2 暉幃悲寡婦賦 HHW90.3 霏肌坻夷羽獵賦 HHW90.4

姿暉槐樹賦 HHW90.6 咨曩微涓 鵲賦 HHW90.6-7 葵暉 七釋之六 HHW91.1 微幾師 又七 HHW91.2  
*Liú Chen* 劉楨：威師圍魯都賦 HHW65.2 墀夷清慮賦 HHW65.3 *Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：暉闡  
 葵宴會 WS 183 *Hsü Kān* 徐幹：師私達西征賦 HHW93.6 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：衣暉悲  
 愁霖賦 HHW42.1 暉飛追歸達悲 正情賦 HHW42.1-2 *Fān Ch'in* 繁欽：悲衣 定情詩 WS194-5  
 悲歸啼達威闡 愁思賦 HHW93.8 微歸遲 弭愁賦 HHW93.8 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：稀飛依短歌行  
 WS 118 非悲 土不同 WS119 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：微饑衣追壘 善哉行之一 WS 126 遲飛悲 大牆  
 上蒿行 WS130 啼暉飢飛 喜霽賦 WW4.1 悲依誰 寡婦賦 WW4.4 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：私遲歸  
 啼 妾薄命之一 WS 143 衰夷遺 丹霞蔽日行 WS 146 暉飛追 苦思行 WS 148 悲飛 野田黃雀行 WS 150  
 遺肥歸機 靈芝篇 WS154 幾饑悲微實躬詩 WS165 達歸師衰啼追悲 贈白馬王彪之五 WS168 啼飛  
 朔風詩 WS 168 機追 矯志詩 WS 169 衣飛歸啼微悲 情詩 WS 170 悲遺依衣希飛 秋思賦 WW13.2  
 聞悲 洛陽賦 WW 13.3 達歸私飛 臨觀賦 WW 13.10 飛啼 酒賦 WW 14.2 涓暉葵追飛希 車渠碗賦  
 WW 14.2 暉墀 迷迭香賦 WW14.2 墀暉 鵲賦 WW14.4 遺歸飛希輝 鸚鵡賦 WW14.4 葵肌微七啓之一  
 WW16.9 微暉又二 WW16.9 夷罽飛圍又三 WW16.10 歸機飛龜又四 WW16.10 飛歸又七 WW16.12  
 威衰歸王仲宣誄 WW19.3 微非 衰衣武帝誄 WW19.4 扉依微悲 懿公主誄 WW19.9 微私依幾飢  
 告咎文 WW19.11 *Piēn Lán* 卞蘭：魏暉飛微 許昌宮賦 WW30.12 *Ts'ao Juē* 曹叡：微  
 涓歸善哉行 WS137 歸飛依 步出夏門行 WS137 *Wēi Tān* 韋誕：衰歸 敘志賦 WW32.9 姿威  
 景福殿賦 WW 32.10 *Kao Kuēi Hsiang Kung* 高貴鄉公：微衰追達 傷魂賦 WW 11.4  
*Yang Hsü* 楊戲：綏威夷 贊諸葛丞相 WW62.7 衰諮機贊法孝直 WW62.8 祇私贊楊季休 WW62.9  
*Chi K'ang* 嵇康：威師幽憤詩 WS204 暉歸飛姿 贈秀才入軍之九 WS205 幾暉飛歸饑悲又十三  
 WS 206 涓坻衰腓機 酒會詩之五 WS207 飛涓夷暉歸 琴賦 WW47.2 著龜卜疑 WW47.5 資師私  
 大師箴 WW51.6 *Juān Chī* 阮籍：衣依飢歸悲飛歸 詠懷之八 WS 216 帷悲誰暉歸 又十四  
 WS216 璣暉微啼威達涓夷 又四十 WS220 悲幾啼姿遺又七十 WS223 涓私非資 歸飛追東平賦  
 WW 44.6,7 歸姿 鵲賦 WW44.9-10 旂夷闡暉機衣微綏葵依歸墀裴微帷姿達暉私非歸悲  
 飛清思賦 WW44.11 *Chung Huē* 鍾會：姿咿孔雀賦 WW25.2 *Hsü Ch'eng* 卻正：微衰  
 機威飛資私輝 釋議 CW70.7

*Ch'eng Kuang-sui* 成公綏：威夷微 正旦大會行禮歌之九 CS 257 歸飛圍遺 蜘蛛賦 CW 59.8  
 揮飛飢歸達鄉賦 CW59.8 幾機威 司馬公誄 CW59.10 *Yü Shü* 庾儵：希茨資暉大槐賦 CW36.4  
*Fü Hsiün* 傅玄：機飛宣受命 CS259 飛威機夷魏綏達景龍飛 CS 260 飛歸達維希魏機幾咨  
 輝玄雲 CS264 暉衣眉姿衰微依悲 明月篇 CS293 機飛姿 却東西門行 CS294 暉微衰飛追歷九秋篇  
 CS295 暉稀依歸 柳賦 CW45.10 微私 吏部尚書箴 CW46.10 *Hsüeh Ying* 薛瑩：遺歸微機  
 輝達 獻詩 CS287-8 *Chiā Ch'ung* 賈充：誰悲 與妻聯句 CS312 *Hsü Hsü* 荀勗：維暉  
 幾達威綏 三后 CS 251-2 *Hsiā-hōu Chàn* 夏侯湛：希飛 觀飛鳥賦 CW68.6 衣稀飛 玄鳥賦  
 CW68.6 暉衣秋可哀 CW68.7 微機師遺希顏子贊 CW69.4 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：幾駢葵輝 太僕座  
 上詩 CS399 歸暉 雄賦 CW60.4 微機 季子贊 CW60.8 衰達飢眉機夷悲 反金入銘 CW60.9 帷微王驥  
 驥誄 CW60.9 *Fü Hsién* 傅咸：微闡飛暉帷姿希追坻達歸饑私夷 贈何劭王濟 CS309 達譏幾

悲 申懷賦 CW51.3 咨機依暉衣 感別賦 CW51.3-4 違妃依 登芒賦 CW 51.4 妃衰暉姿 鏡賦 CW 51.6  
**Kuo T'ài-chi** 郭泰機：衣機飛遺希機 答傅咸 CS413 **Hsin K'uàng** 辛曠：依機違歸  
 贈皇甫謐 CS414 **Chang Huá** 張華：維闌妃機祇微追暉 晉中宮所歌 CS258 畿威私機暉屍  
 夷罪微歸勞還師歌 CS266 歸暉圍機大豫舞歌 CS268 綏湄遲 祖道征西 CS281 墀帷稀姿眉悲情詩  
 之二 CS283 微闌機 章懷皇后誄 CW58.9 **P'an Yüeh** 潘岳：微夷威悲 關中詩 CS372 衰歸  
 絳衣帷飛微 秋興賦 CW 90.1,1 微霽飛霏 衣飢祇希 西征賦 CW 90.9,9 依帷悲衣 寡婦賦 CW91.2  
 微機飛威 閑居賦 CW 91.5-6 歸微扉棲 狹室賦 CW 91.6 飛翬姿畿 射雉賦 CW92.2 姿微機輝 楊仲  
 武誄 CW92.8 歸追衣揮誰 夏侯常侍誄 CW 93.2 悲輝 悲邪生 CW93.6 遲歸夷悲 袁永逝文 CW93.7  
**Tsö Chü-pin** 左九嬪：悲歸 離思賦 CW13.1 霏唏畿綏 武帝納皇后頌 CW 13.2-3 微幾衰追  
 鄧曼贊 CW13.4 **Ou-yáng Chièn** 歐陽建：違邳威綏暉答石崇贈 CS410 **Shü Hsi** 束皙：  
 悲歸 讀書賦 CW87.1 **Lü Chi** 陸機：違微暉威 答賈謐 CS338 衣威 微違 歸輝 與弟清河雲  
 CS 339, 339, 340 微湄述先賦 CW96.3 暉微思親賦 CW96.3 推衣悲湄思歸賦 CW96.7 飛湄綏壘 悲幾  
 感丘賦 CW96.10,10 微歸悲文賦 CW97.2 扉微非歸羽扇賦 CW97.5 違悲歸輝 功臣頌 CW98.7 歸微  
 王子喬贊 CW98.7 希稚夏育贊 CW98.7 輝悲演連珠之十三 CW99.4 遲機又十八 CW99.5 歸輝又二十二  
 CW99.5 圍圻暉 吳大帝誄 CW99.8 暉追歸 微綏 闡歸 愍懷太子誄 CW99.9,9,9 違飛威遺綏闡微  
 歸暉推 弔魏武帝文 CW99.11 **Lü Yün** 陸雲：微威揮沂歸大將軍宴會 CS351 駢微輝歸微太尉  
 王公 CS352 暉飛微違 從侍中郎 CS353 綏歸暉暉 贈汲郡太守 CS354 輝微 贈張仲膺 CS356 微飛威  
 答兄平原 CS360 悲歸暉遺 歲暮賦 CW100.2 輝歸 登臺賦 CW100.5 遺遲悲歸飛 九思修身 CW101.1  
 悲微歸 又九 CW101.5 輝歸飛微 王喬頌 CW103.9 微飛威輝微 張二侯頌 CW104.2 微葵微悲榮啓  
 期贊 CW104.3 違遺微 陸府君誄 CW104.7-8 **Chèng Feng** 鄭豐：暉違扉綏唏飢 中陵 CS369  
**Tsö Szu** 左思：葵菲吳都賦 CW74.6 暉湄畿機維微魏都賦 CW74.11 **Ch'ien Hsiü** 牽秀：  
 姿微輝師老子頌 CW84.7 姿綏飛微王喬赤松頌 CW84.7 **P'an Ní** 潘尼：違私歸微獻長安君安仁  
 CS378 追悲葵旂姿湄衣飛歸三月三日洛水作 CS380 畿衰闡微悲答楊士安 CS382 遺追衣微唏飛  
 歸誰逸民吟 CS383 希悲 贈李茂彥 CS383 威暉火賦 CW94.3 微暉微飛 希違機微 釋奠頌 CW94.7,7  
**Chih Yü** 摯虞：違微顏子贊 CW77.5 **Tsao Sung** 棗嵩：綏畿飛暉贈荀彥將 CS314 **Yü Ai**  
 庾敬：希悲違幽人箴 CW36.5 **Hsià-hóu Ch'ün** 夏侯淳：違非微懷思賦 CW69.9 **Wáng Yü**  
 王虞：肌飢洛都賦 CW20.9 **Kuo P'ü** 郭璞：暉唏客微 CW121.2 龜著歸機爾雅圖龜贊 CW121.9  
 貌夷非又龜贊 CW121.10 飢龜暉山海經圖祝荼贊 CW122.1 微肥歸又譽石贊 CW122.5 鴟鵂飛又數斯鳥贊  
 CW122.5 歸飛推又鳥鼠同穴山贊 CW122.8 飛蜚悲又微微贊 CW122.12 龜鴟伊又旋龜贊 CW123.2 葵悲  
 又跋踵贊 CW123.4 麋衣非又毛民國贊 CW123.9 非衣微又夏后贊 CW123.10 非尸眉又闡非贊 CW123.11  
**Chang Hsièh** 張協：祁達湄幃 洛襪賦 CW85.6 葵姿威 安石榴賦 CW85.7 衣飛稀師 七命之三  
 CW85.9 威違飛 長銘錄 CW85.12 **Lü Ch'ung** 李充：姿飛 華太尉頌 CW53.6 **Lü Ch'én**  
 盧諶：追闡遐舉遊名山 CS421 **Ts'ao P'í** 曹毗：姿曩妃歸違 笠後賦 CW107.8 **Méi T'áo**  
 梅陶：輝微機維 贈溫嶠 CS428 **Chiang Yü** 江適：綏飛 井賦 CW107.2 **Chih Tün** 支  
 遁：唏微歸幾機暉 釋迦文佛像讚 CW157.11 **Wáng Hú-chih** 王胡之：夷緒師歸輝 贈庾翼

CS430 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：希夷遺歸贈溫嶠 CS433 資夷瑤微與庚冰 CS434 違畿扉罪誰答許詢  
 CS435 機遺毗悲賀循像贊 CW61.7 歸師私非韋悲庚公誄 CW62.6 *Hsièh An* 謝安：輝薤飛  
 遺與王胡之 CS439 *Yü Sù-chih* 庾肅之：揮霏雪贊 CW38.10 *Hsü Hsün* 許詢：姿飛  
 微師白麝尾銘 CW135.5 *Wáng Ning-chih* 王凝之：涓歸蘭亭 CS 437 *Kü K'ài-chih*  
 顧愷之：違尸涓威追雷電賦 CW135.2-3 暉巍冰賦 CW135.3 *Lì Hào* 李暉：機師魯顏回頌  
 CW155.6 *Chào Chéng* 趙整：脂綏飛誰琴歌 CS 499 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：沂歸揮追  
 時運 CS455 飛依歸遺歸鳥 CS458 稀歸衣違歸田園居之三 CS460 腓歸依違悲暉遲遺於王撫軍座  
 送客 CS465 歸悲非遺依推衰揮還舊居 CS470 飛悲依歸衰違飲酒之四 CS472 肌肥衣悲非遺歸  
 師有會而作 CS475 依暉飛歸飢悲詠貧之一 CS479 遺微私帷非歸違希悲衣詠三良 CS 481 歸悲  
 追非衣微歸去來辭 CW 111.7 遲非夷悲讀史述箕子 CW 112.1 歸夷丙曼容 CW 112.2 涓微鄭次都  
 CW112.2 *Yin Yün* 殷允：資誰杖銘 CW129.2 *Yáng Fú* 羊孚：霏暉雪贊 CW140.9 *Chou*  
*Ch'í* 周祇：飛衰執友箴 CW142.2 *Hü Yì-chou* 胡義周：歸飛姿夷圍統萬城功德頌 CW156.7  
*Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：輝衰微帽陸通贊 CW139.4 涓姿私追江妃二女贊 CW139.4 畿綏輝違  
 桂父贊 CW139.5 資眉微師子主贊 CW 139.8 *Wáng Shào-chih* 王劭之：幾歸綏暉啓母塗  
 山頌 CW144.11 *Wáng Ch'í-chih* 王齊之：微暉機希念佛三昧之二 CS496 *Chàn Fang-*  
*sheng* 湛方生：資師夷祇老子贊 CW140.7 *Anonymous* 無名氏：希依濟濟篇 CS 274  
 違歸子夜歌之二十二 CS524 違飛又三四 CS525 飛歸子夜秋歌之三 CS 528 輝歸又六 CS528 飛磯  
 歡聞變歌之四 CS532 葵非國扇郎之四 CS534 薤誰黃生曲之三 CS536 帷歸懷儂歌之二 CS538 衰薤  
 姑恩曲之二 CS541 離歸明下童曲之二 CS541 悲衣女兒子之一 CS544 歸離黃督之一 CS547 悲衣巴東  
 三峽歌之二 CS559 闌追暉旂依悲遺文明王太后哀策文 CW146.4-5 違夷綏微成帝哀策文 CW146.5

*Shāng*

*Anonymous* 無名氏：水死孫皓初童謠 WS235

*Fü Hsüán* 傅玄：几矢元日朝會賦 CW45.3 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：水軌浮萍賦 CW68.4  
*Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：煒水蓮華賦 CW60.3 視指誅揆小同哀辭 CW60.10 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：指  
 死底履水秋興賦 CW90.2 死矢水指西征賦 CW90.5 死薤美誄揚荊州誄 CW92.6-7 *Lü Yün* 陸  
 雲：水軌夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Ts'ò Szu* 左思：軌砥水臺視指吳都賦 CW74.7,10 軌隄水簠  
 魏都賦 CW74.14 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：否履軌粃答趙景猷 CS406 *Chiang T'ing* 江統：  
 矢美兕隄弧矢銘 CW106.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：死比旨爾雅圖卷施贊 CW121.7 水尾死山海經圖  
 經贊 CW122.2 履水死又女子國贊 CW 123.7 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：指圯死水弔賈生文 CW 38.10  
*Chang Tsai* 張載：水旭雉平吳頌 CW85.4 *Chang Hsièh* 張協：美砥水軌泰阿劍銘  
 CW85.12 *Lü Ch'ung* 李充：尾視旨死弔嵇中散 CW53.9 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：几水美旨  
 贈劉琨 CS419 *Chih Tün* 支遁：美水法護像贊 CW157.14 旨兕于法蘭像贊 CW157.14 *Wáng*  
*Hü-chih* 王胡之：指水机否答謝安 CS 431 *Sun T'ung* 孫統：軌旨几水蘭亭 CS 441  
*Wáng Hsün* 王珣：軌揆美旨孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：鄙履軌美觀農  
 CS457 *T'ung Ching* 董京：死尾水答孫楚 CS400



## Ch'ü

*Hän-tau Ch'un* 邯鄲淳：遂貴類 投壺賦 WW26.1 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：醉氣 善哉行 WS 127  
 卒遂氣 曹蒼舒誄 WW7.11 *Ting Yü* 丁廙：二萃髡至棄歎 蔡伯喈女賦 HHW94.4 *Ts'ao*  
*Chih* 曹植：類肆 責躬詩 WS165 悴遂 九愁賦 WW13.8 致至 文王赤雀贊 WW17.7 器貴承露盤銘  
 CW19.2 類悴 任城王誄 WW19.5 季位貴味悴利氣 釋愁文 WW 19.10 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：二比  
 景福殿賦 WW39.7 *Fü K'ü* 傅嘏：位氣 皇初頌 WW35.5 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：氣味墜萃類  
 慰貴 琴賦 WW47.4 貴類氣萃 井丹贊 WW52.11

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：位類氣 天地賦 CW59.1 緯次 故筆賦 CW59.6 *Fü Hsüan* 傅  
 玄：位氣風賦 CW45.1 *Hsüeh Ying* 薛瑩：貴類髡獻詩 CS288 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：暨  
 匱粹位比萃致貴諱類卉遂墜 翼翼 CW253 *Hsia-hou Chàn* 夏侯湛：氣貴 石榴賦 CW68.5  
 粹匱玄鳥賦 CW68.6 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：驥至祖道 CS399 *Fü Hsien* 傅咸：嚮類悴喜雨賦  
 CW51.1 *Chang Hua* 張華：萃類位 食舉東西廂樂之一 CS 254 位類遂 又七 CS 254 位氣類  
 又十 CS 255 類氣貴味尉 至致畏璋 鷦鷯賦 CW 58.3,3 饋懿 貴墜遂類 女史箴 CW 58.8,8  
*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：肆器二肆 關中詩 CS371 卉萃 登虎牢山賦 CW90.2 季位二器 暨帥毅嚮擅  
 貴 西征賦 CW90.4,7 萃駟嚮器蹕 藉田賦 CW91.3-4 悴貴淚氣渭沸肆匱 笙賦 CW91.7 翠次利緻  
 至視射雉賦 CW92.2 稷諡淚悴歎 楊荊州誄 CW92.7 萃匱墜肆楊仲武誄 CW92.8 利至致眊馬汧督誄  
 CW92.10 貴味類器夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 墜駟歎淚髡 景獻皇后哀策文 CW93.5 遂類澤蘭哀辭 CW93.6  
 淚髡 哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：至利次 餅賦 CW87.3 *Lü Chi* 陸機：備粹與弟  
 清河雲 CS339 氣匱 七微之二 CW98.2 魏愧緯泊冀肄 功臣頌 CW98.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：駟寐  
 答兄平原 CS360 類位遂貴 悠悠縣索 CS363 粹匱器尉渭饋慰 九慰悲詔 CW101.2 *Tsö Szu* 左  
 思：淚悴 悼離贈妹之二 CS385 揆視吳都賦 CW74.8 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：味氣 鈞賦 CW94.3 貴氣  
 類費匱火賦 CW94.3,3 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：貴位槐賦 CW76.4 位懿類匱庖犧贊 CW77.4 *Yin Chü*  
 殷巨：器匱貴墜鯨魚燈賦 CW81.8-9 *Ch'eng Ts'än* 成祭：鼻利平樂市賦 CW86.1 *Kuo P'ü*  
 郭璞：嚮位悴肆贈溫嶠 CS423 駟類嚮爾雅圖馬贊 CW121.11 類四醉 山海經圖酸與贊 CW122.11 沸  
 氣貴 又鴈鵠贊 CW 122.12 貴蔚氣 又帝壹贊 CW 123.2 胃髡味 又視肉贊 CW 123.6 鶯至媚 又鶯鳥贊  
 CW123.7 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：蔚卉墜萃 遊仙之九 CS 447 *Chang Tsai* 張載：墜類祕氣  
 霖雨 CS391 *Chang Hsieh* 張協：駟利七命之四 CW85.10 味器畏又七 CW85.11 *Lü Hsü*  
 魯褒：匱至肆寐視利貴二鼻致 錢神論 CW113.7 *Chiang Yü* 江逌：季位墜稷苴 述歸賦  
 CW107.2 *Chih Tün* 支遁：懿致 法護像贊 CW157.14 *Yüan Hung* 袁宏：懿毅位器  
 墜匱味氣 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6, 6-7 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：次悴氣味 與虞冰 CS434 長萃蔚致匱  
 答許詢 CS 434-5 利味 王長史誄 CW 62.6 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：謂貴髡 孝武帝哀策文 CW 20.2  
*Huán Hsüan* 桓玄：萃蔚粹鸞鵠賦 CW119.1 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：墜長驥至榮木 CS455 匱  
 冀至愧勸農 CS457 至醉次貴味飲酒十四 CS473 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：駟類嚮蔚馬師皇贊  
 CW139.2 肆味匱萃酒客贊 CW139.5 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：墜二四季孔公贊 CW140.7  
*Sun Ch'eng* 孫承：墜味 嘉遯賦 CW 143.1 *Hsin Hsiao* 辛蕭：翠媚 芍藥花頌 CW 144.2

*Lǐ Hsiù* 李秀：位類 四維賦 CW143.2    Anonymous 無名氏：翠二 白石郎曲之二 CS 540  
二至 懷帝永嘉初童謠 CS 566

(9.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 之

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：衰之感物賦 WW4.4    *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：飛治七哀詩 WS 171 衰夷微草  
師歸悲飛旗武帝誄 WW19.4    *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：飛歸思希追夷輝微師餓綏述志之二 WS209  
*Fu Hsüan* 傅玄：飛薤輝衣疑追諮幾微歸園巍希肥悲非資違墙上難爲趨 CS292    *Hó Shào*  
何劭：歸綏駢頤悲洛水應詔 CS320    *Lù Chi* 陸機：湄辭與弟清河雲 CS339    *Lù Yün* 陸  
雲：尸司逸民箴 CW104.4    *Chang Hàn* 張翰：時肥歸悲思吳江歌 CS389    *T'ao Ch'ien*  
陶潛：颺衣微葵衰揮遲悲和胡西曹 CS467

*Shang*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：視履喜大牆上蒿行 WS130    *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：砥水矢耜履藉田賦 CW91.3  
*T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：旨死履特讀山海經之十一 CS483    Anonymous 無名氏：比已濟濟篇  
CS274 水裏休洗紅 CS552

*Ch'ü*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：二器忌 山海經圖類贊 CW122.2    Anonymous 無名氏：媚意子夜春歌之四  
CS526

*Chih* 脂 and *Yu* 幽

*Shang*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：猗矢牡 山海經圖類贊 CW122.4

*Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：輝歸披 代劉勳妻王氏雜詩之一 WS134    *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：追嘶肥稀悲  
龜 釋愁文 WW 19.10    *Kuo Hsia-chou* 郭遐周：遲歸悲違飛池違饑 贈嵇康之二 WS 212  
*Chang Hua* 張華：衰虧機 女史箴 CW58.8    *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：沂違幾湄夷依揮棹梨  
坻遲悲希歸金谷集作詩 CS374 眉谿揮維西征賦 CW90.4 雞飛歸悲笙賦 CW91.7    *Shih Ch'ung*  
石崇：幾聞威規歸飛 楚妃歎 CS401    *Mu Hua* 木華：祈蹊屍夷 海賦 CW105.7    *Lù Chi*  
陸機：暉飛隨歸違百年歌之一 CS334 衰非悲誰危揮又九 CS335 違暉陸悲贈馮文龍 CS337 歸馳  
暉漪與弟清河雲 CS339    *Lù Yün* 陸雲：歸垂違答兄平原 CS360 微猗輝違悲夏府君誄 CW104.10

*Chèng Feng* 鄭豐：猗儀機幾依 中陵 CS368      *Anonymous* 無名氏：歸池 歡聞變歌之三  
CS532 磯馳 又六 CS532 衣施 團扇郎之六 CS534

*Shǎng*

*Chang Huá* 張華：晷鄙矢兕雉視否 旨蟻水裏幾死美履軌遊儼篇 CS 279-80      *P'an Yüeh*  
潘岳：累水紫蕊 安石榴賦 CW92.1

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：二墜繫短歌行之二 WS118      *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：稚利至義周公贊 CW17.7  
*Fü Hsien* 傅咸：譬示畏利叩頭蟲賦 CW51.12      *Lü Yün* 陸雲：緯義緯施 陸府君誄 CW104.7  
*Tsö Szu* 左思：利麗 吳都賦 CW 74.10      *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：類瑞駟 山海經圖水馬贊 CW 122.8  
*Pien Yü* 卞裕：寄蒞氣 送桓竟陵 CS496      *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：緯地匱 望海賦 CW61.3  
*Chih* 脂 and *Chieh* 皆

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：綏師威黎尸達 安臺新福歌 WS 176      *Liú Chen* 劉楨：皚輝歸飛追  
贈五宮中郎將之四 WS 185 晞皚 魯都賦 HHW 65.2      *Fán Ch'ün* 繁欽：依頽徊暉晞姿哀 蕙詠  
WS 194 衰懷 雜詩 WS195      *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：暉頽萋 彈基賦 WW4.6      *Fü Sün* 傅巽：錐  
飛衰雷飢機蚊賦 WW35.1      *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：饑泥依西 怨歌行 WS151 私縷聖皇篇 WS 154  
*Miào Hsi* 繆襲：悲依摧達誰歸 舊邦 WS191      *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：追悲依摧誰哀 思親詩  
WS 211      *Juǎn Chí* 阮籍：夷衣衰隤推歸哀 采薪者歌 WS225 依棲歸誹微遲 首陽山賦 WW44.8  
*Chung Yén* 鍾琰：悽衰追懷 衣懷歸遐思賦 CW144.1.1      *P'ei Hsiün* 裴秀：歸黎肌綏師  
追帷 大蜡詩 CS310      *Fü Hsiün* 傅玄：機遲微姿飛諸威 軍鎮篇 CS269      *P'an Yüeh* 潘  
岳：推祇私齊坻 藉田賦 CW 91.5 聞嵬飛歸微追依 王氏哀辭 CW 93.6      *Tsö Chiü-pin* 左九  
嬪：綏駢摧哀 萬年公主誄 CW 13.7      *Lü Chi* 陸機：聞衣棲 東武吟行 CS 329 追飛墀悲歸達  
輝棲涓晞誰遲 燕歌行 CS333 限幾希衣 贈夏少明 CS 336 嵬衰頽暉達薤悲微飛涓 擬東城高且長  
CS347 微飛歸懷誰 擬庭中有奇樹 CS 348 萋晞輝飛威薤衰悲 園葵之一 CS349 遠希廻 鼓吹賦 CW  
97.3-4 栖妃微歸 列仙賦 CW97.5      *Lü Yün* 陸雲：輝歸回闌 思文 CS355 歸悲幾徊 贈顧彥先  
CS357 悲徊衣階微懷寒蟬賦 CW100.9 圍威頽微旂 衰徊飛微階陸公誄 CW104-5.5 輝機懷幾旂  
輝哀歸 旂輝徊哀悲陸府君誄 CW104.7,8,8 希飛微徊 夏府君誄 CW104.9      *Sun Chéng* 孫拯：  
微回祈暉 贈陸士龍 CS369      *Tsö Szu* 左思：威闌開暉 蜀都賦 CW74.3      *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：  
非懷歸 客傲 CW121.2      *Chang Tsai* 張載：涓隤頽悲 擬四愁詩之二 CS391      *Chih Tün*  
支遁：綏師姿夷廻機微 阿彌陀佛像贊 CW 157.12      *Ch'én Yao* 陳竊：揮廻 箏賦 CW 144.8  
*Su Pó-yü's Wife* 蘇伯玉妻：悲肥飢稀衣非悲階催誰 盤中詩 CS510      *Anonymous* 無名  
氏：機諮暉巍歸達階棲 晉鬱舞洪棠篇 CS271 飛徊誰 黃鶴曲之一 CS536 磯西 湖就姑曲之二 CS540  
悲徊 朔馬謠 CS 574

*Shǎng*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：尾眴隄 山海經圖源獸贊 CW122.7

*Ch'ü*

*Ting Yü's Wife* 丁虞妻：慰涕墜 寡婦賦 HHW96.10 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：昧遂醉萃蔚 左元放頌 CW103.10 *Ssu Ch'ò* 孫綽：漑泗渭 望海賦 CW61.2

*Chih* 脂 and *Chì* 祭

*Ch'ü*

*Ting Yü's Wife* 丁虞妻：逝寐歔髴至 寡婦賦 HHW96.10 *Yang Hsü* 楊戲：類計 贊馬季常 WW62.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：淚瘁愁穢 醉行吟 CW101.3 肆位帥噬 陸公誄 CW104.5

*Chih* 脂 and *T'ai* 泰

*Ch'ü*

*Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：氣贍翠偉 瓜賦 CW5.8,9 *Tung Ching* 董京：貴大 答孫楚 CS400

*Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 質 (Contacts between *ch'ü-sheng* and *jü-sheng*)

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：類日 七啓之四 WW16.10 *Hsü Ch'eng* 卻正：醉懣失悸輕紉 卹 釋譚 CW70.8 *Ying Chen* 應貞：墜器失位 華林園集 CS 311 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：質器帥二馬 汧督誄 CW92.10 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：肆室寐棄至逸 日 玄居賦 CW87.7 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：淚悸筆日 悼離贈妹之二 CS 385 萃瑟 匱暨駟日溢 一坐萃肆 玳 吳都賦 CW74.6,8 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：逸萃沸 火賦 CW94.3 *Lü Haò* 李暠：弼類墜轡述寐 日 述志賦 CW155.2

*Chih* 脂, *Chih* 支 and *Chih* 之

*P'ing*

*Liü Chen* 劉楨：暉肌危機依思 大暑賦 HHW65.1

*Chih* 脂, *Chieh* 皆 and *Hai* 哈

*P'ing*

*K'ung Jüng* 孔融：非歸哀來 六言詩 WS45

*Chih* 脂, *Chieh* 皆 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：陂維蹊涓微栖稽歸依 序征賦 HHW 93.6 *Yang Hsiu* 楊修：微嵬差許昌宮賦 HHW 51.9 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：巍摧悲啼霏懷歸徊棲饑藥哀 苦寒行 WS 120

*Mün Hüng* 閔鴻：揮曦懷 羽扇賦 WW74.10 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：嗜池猗瓊衣晞 鳴鶴 CS 361

*Chang Hän* 張翰：圻馳歸哀 贈張弋陽 CS 338

*Chih* 脂, *Chieh* 皆 and *Chè* 祭

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲: 遂墜昧銳第類蔚質 登臺賦 CW100.4-5

*Chih* 脂, *Chieh* 皆 and *T'ai* 泰

*Ch'ü*

*Huang-fü M* 皇甫謐: 髡愛外 釋勸論 CW71.7

*Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去, *Chieh* 皆 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Chih* 質 (*jü-sheng*)

*Han-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳: 絃類棟苴 魏受命述 WW26.2

*Chih* 脂, *Chè* 祭 and *Chih* 支

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Chi* 陸機: 致係緯掃媚翠偉 文賦 CW97.2 *Tsö Szu* 左思: 致繼地麗 吳都賦 CW74.10

*Chih* 脂, *Chè* 祭 and *T'ai* 泰

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Chi* 陸機: 器蔚綴類殺最 鼓吹賦 CW97.3 氣歲會 漢連珠之一 CW99.3

*Chth* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去, *Chè* 祭 and *Chih* 質 (*jü-sheng*)

*Lü Yün* 陸雲: 父器位黻 盛德頌 CW103.13

*Chih* 脂, *Chih* 支, *Chih* 之 and *Hai* 哈

*P'ing*

*Wei Chao* 韋昭: 微違依飛威摩機羈奇羈綏施馳基來 炎精缺 WS229-30

*Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去, *Chih* 支 *Ch'ü* 去, *Chè* 祭 and *Chih* 質

*Tsö Szu* 左思: 麗旨致系毅室肆 魏都賦 CW74.16

*Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去, *T'ai* 泰, *Chieh* 皆 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Chè* 祭

*Lü Yün* 陸雲: 大渭懿器慨世 答兄平原 CS 359

(10) Rime Category *Chieh* 皆

(10.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Chieh* 皆: 偕喈階楷諧 俳排 乖 淮 懷 槐 儻

3.3 Rime Lists—Category *Chieh* 皆

*Hui* 灰：回徊迴 堆催摧 隤(頽)隤 窺魁 雷礪 隈 莓 枚 徘徊 碓 厖 縷 瓌

*Hai* 哈：開 哀 皐

*Ch'í* 齊：妻淒淒妻 齊蹠 栖 梯 閨 泥 稽 羝 黎 岿 迷 隄 萸

*Shǎng*

*Hài* 駭：偕楷

*Chè* 薺：禮醴體 濟薺 弟涕 陞 啓 抵 睪

*Ch'ü*

*Kuài* 怪：薤 蒯 湃

*Tuè* 隊：曄曄曄 對霽 潰績 碎粹 昧 退 內 隊

*Tài* 代：漑慨概(槩) 逮 愛

*Chè* 霽：涕第 棣

(10.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chieh* 皆

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：摧回階頽哀 思親詩 WS 178 *Yìng Yáng* 應瑒：莓徊 竦迷迭賦 HHW42.3 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹丕：淒徊頽乖迴棲懷 寡婦 WS135 *Ts'áo Ch'ih* 曹植：徊哀 妻淒 諧懷 怨歌行 WS 151 隈階 應詔詩 WS 165 棲泥 矯志詩 WS 169 哀徊階懷 九愁賦 WW13.8 乖懷栖 橘賦 WW14.3 頽閨 七啓之五 WW16.11 摧淮頽徊栖 王仲宣誄 WW19.3 *Ts'áo Juè* 曹叡：摧棲徊步出夏門行 WS137 *Miào Hs'í* 繆襲：懷哀回隤開喜霽賦 WW38.1 *Juàn Ch'í* 阮籍：開頽懷 大人先生歌 WS 225 哀懷 東平賦 WW44.7 *Chiā T'ài-tsung* 賈岱宗：枚摧 頽開 大狗賦 WW53.8

*Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：諧哀懷回階 宴嘉賓賦 CW28.1 *Chung Yǎn* 鍾琰：頽催驚賦 CW144.1 *Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：泥黎淮 天地賦 CW 59.2 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：懷頽迴摧哀 歷九秋篇 CS295 *Huáng-fu Mì* 皇甫謐：頽階 釋勒論 CW71.6 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：楷偕 賓之初筵 CS251 *Hsiè-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：諧哀乖夜聽笙賦 CW68.2 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：哀乖迴懷 登虎牢山賦 CW90.2 摧哀乖頽迴開懷 寡婦賦 CW91.3 諧偕 笙賦 CW91.7 開乖隈徊 哀懷摧 楊仲武誄 CW92.8 *Mù Huá* 木華：迴碓頽魁厖 海賦 CW 105.7 *Lù Ch'í* 陸機：雷隤催迴開諧懷枚摧哀 折楊柳 CS 328 迴懷摧開哀 功臣頌 CW 98.5 開哀 演連珠四四 CW 99.7 迴隤懷 愍懷太子誄 CW99.9 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：階頽諧懷答孫顯世 CS363 徊懷頽登臺賦 CW100.5 頽懷摧 九愍志 CW101.3-4 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：哀迴頽開懷 送盧景宣 CS382 開諧階懷 釋奠頌 CW94.7 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：齊迷尚書令箴 CW77.6 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：頽懷雷迴開堆哀遊仙 之九 CS424 窺頽迴堆開礪隈江賦 CW120.2 迴頽雷蜜峰賦 CW120.6 栖諧偕爾雅圖梧桐贊 CW121.8 懷哀黎 山海經圖秋山贊 CW123.6 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：窺開敘行賦 CW85.1 *Chang Hsiéh*

張協：歸谿蹊七命之一 CW85.8 *Lú Ch'én* 盧諶：階迴齊稽贈劉琨 CS419 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：乖迴黎懷與庾冰 CS434 *Huá Mào* 華茂：隈懷蘭亭 CS440 *Tài K'ui* 戴逵：乖開頽雷懷酒贊 CW 137.3 *Chào Ch'eng* 趙整：齊迷酒德歌 CS 498 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：徊棲諧懷歸鳥 CS 458 開懷乖栖泥諧迷回飲酒之九 CS 473 淒徊階哀摧懷閑情賦 CW 111.6 Anonymous 無名氏：齊乖子夜歌十八 CS524 哀開子夜春歌之十 CS526 淒諧子夜夏歌之三 CS527 哀懷上聲歌之二 CS531 溪啼前溪歌之二 CS533 回頽黃鶴曲之三 CS536 槐棲黎關隴歌 CS558

*Shāng*

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：楷體隸書體 CW59.10 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：濟禮饗神歌 CS 244 禮濟正旦大會行禮歌 CS248 *Hsüeh Ying* 薛瑩：弟體啓獻詩 CS287 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：濟禮陸弟楷偕賓之初筵 CS 251 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：弟禮楷齊贈王冑 CS 373 禮體悼亡賦 CW91.1 禮濟弟禮武皇帝誄 CW92.6 *Chang Lin* 張林：禮體陳夫人碑 CW109.6 *Wáng Tsàn* 王讚：體齊禮侍宴始平王 CS397 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：體抵涕爾雅圖麟贊 CW121.10 *Yüán Háng* 袁宏：體陸啓禮三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：禮啓陸弟孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2

*Ch'ü*

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：對退潰悖奕勢 HHW42.6 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：昧概景福殿賦 WW39.5 *Huáng-fü M* 皇甫謐：昧概釋勸論 CW 71.7 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：愛逮西征賦 CW 90.6 *Tsö Szu* 左思：淳昧霽悖吳都賦 CW 74.5, 6 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：對績逮瑋瑁枕賦 CW 94.4 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：退昧內概感騷 CW76.5 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：對霽愛山海經圖帝休贊 CW123.2 *Yüán Háng* 袁宏：碎愛內概三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：概愛祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9

(10.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Chieh* 皆 and *Chih* 之

*P'ing*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：頽懷而答兄平原 CS360 Anonymous 無名氏：黎時歷陽歌 CS556

*Chieh* 皆 and *Hai* 哈

*P'ing*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：棲萊萸梯妻羝齊遊仙之一 CS423 *Lü Ch'ung* 李充：來迴開風賦 CW53.5

*Chieh* 皆 and *Yü* 魚

*P'ing*

*Fü Hsien* 傅咸：槐哀積催摧回與棲鳴鯛賦 CW51.11

*Chieh* 皆 and *Chih* 支

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：隨開頽徊臨高臺 WS129 *Ying Chen* 應貞：開懷迴隕枝臨丹賦 CW35.1  
*Lü Chi* 陸機：積枝懷思親賦 CW96.3 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：齊妻斯儷思文 CS355 離齊躋泥  
 聞喜霽賦 CW100.3-4 轡羈階懷摧哀爲逸民賦 CW100.6 *Chih T'an Tì* 支曇諦：棲移徊  
 赴火蛾賦 CW165.16 *T'ao Chiên* 陶潛：隈懷諧雞迴哀開頽乖栖 丙辰八月 CS471

*Chieh* 皆 and *Chih* 脂

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：徊霏飛棲 冬十月 WS119 *Hàn-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：哀歸泥 曹娥碑  
 WW26.4 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：懷妻私歸 白馬篇 WS143 徊哀妻棲泥諧懷依七哀 WS161  
*Liu Shào* 劉劭：迴開階飛趙都賦 WW32.1 *Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：喈槐錐悲俳迴啄木 CS303  
 開嵬階薤元日朝會賦 CW45.2 *Lü Chi* 陸機：嵬悲迴飛挽歌 CS325 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：  
 隄資 魏都賦 CW74.14 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：溪鬻七命之六 CW85.11 *Lü Ch'ung* 陸冲：  
 棲歸徊風賦 CW86.9 Anonymous 無名氏：開衣子夜歌之四 CS523 開衣 又十七 CS524

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：寐愛薤蒯塘上行之一 WS124 *Yang Hsü* 楊戲：愛墜贊吳子遠 WW62.8  
*Yü Ai* 庾敳：退愛類 幽人箴 CW36.5

*Chieh* 皆 and *Chè* 祭

*Ch'ü*

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：衛碎潰 馳射賦 HHW42.3 *Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：內制 衣銘 CW46.12

*Chieh* 皆 and *T'ai* 泰

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：泮邁 滄海賦 WW4.2

*Chieh* 皆, *Chih* 支 and *Chih* 脂

*P'ing*

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：哀徊棲淮頽泥諧梯階疲微宜歸懷 侍五官中郎將 WS196 *Chang Huá*  
 張華：遲滋偕濟懷 答何劭之三 CS283

*Chieh* 皆, *Chè* 祭 and *Chih* 脂

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：退厲愛萃 七微之五 CW98.3

*Chieh* 皆, *Mo* 沒 and *Chi* 祭



*Tsō Szu* 左思：卒對績戾 吳都賦 CW74.9

#### (10.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Chieh* 皆 *P'ing* 平 and *Chieh* 皆 *Shāng* 上

*Tsō Szu* 左思：禮濟姜醴 魏都賦 CW94.12

*Chieh* 皆 *Shāng* 上 and *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去

*Chang Huá* 張華：摯禮濟 晉宴會歌 CS258

#### (11) Rime Category *Chì* 祭

##### (11.1) List of All Rime Words

*Chì* 祭：制掣(掣)獊製 弊(弊)澈蔽弊 勢蓺藝襪 世柢泄跽 厲勵礪厲 稅說銳  
祭際際 逝誓 噬噬 曳洩 彗櫟 憩(憩) 滯 裔 衛 歲 穗 綴  
毳 袂 脆 掃

*Kuài* 怪：介芥界齎 屈 戒 殺

*Fèi* 廢：乂刈 廢 穢 肺 吠

*Chì* 霽：曄慧 系 濟 契 翳 惠 戾 計 替 繼 詣 遞 蒂 隸

##### (11.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chì* 祭

*Wang Ts'ân* 王粲：逝瀝濟藝 浮淮賦 HHW 90.2 厲噬 七釋之五 HHW 91.1 *Yìng Yáng*  
應瑒：逝厲 西狩賦 HHW42.2 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：裔逝際 濟川賦 WW4.1 *Ts'áo Ch'ih* 曹  
植：逝裔衛 洛神賦 WW13.3 曄逝 蟬賦 WW14.6 裔厲 九詠 WW14.7 裔世系制 少昊 WW17.5  
*Tù Ch'ih* 杜摯：殺滯筋賦 WW41.1 *Sun Kai* 孫該：契厲逝琵琶賦 WW40.3 *Chi K'ang*  
嵇康：逝滯裔歲酒會之一 WS207 世藝琴賦 WW47.4 *Juān Chí* 阮籍：裔逝際制誓詠懷之四  
十三 WS220 勢制 東平賦 WW44.6 *Hsì Ch'eng* 卻正：廢翳 計世穢 蓺制逝裔世滯誓 釋讖  
CW70.8, 8, 9 *Mǐn Háng* 閔鴻：稅制 親蠶賦 WW74.9

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成 公綏：制滯逝厲世衛 嘯賦 CW59.5 蓺制世 琵琶賦 CW 59.5 裔憩衛  
鴻雁賦 CW59.7 *Fù Hsüan* 傅玄：祭世 明堂饗神歌 CS 242 厲計世 因時運 CS 261 誓祭制  
仲春振旅 CS263 逝厲世 擬四愁詩之一 CS 301 逝歲大寒賦 CW45.2 世制 鷹兔賦 CW46.1 穢廢 漢盤銘  
CW46.11 *Huáng-fu Mǐ* 皇甫謐：說勢 釋勸論 CW71.7 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：  
獊厲際泄 獵兔賦 CW68.3 逝勢遞 觀飛鳥賦 CW 68.6 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：穢世乂衛 尼父頌  
CW60.7 *Fù Hsien* 傅咸：惠世桑樹賦 CW51.9 *Chang Huá* 張華：際裔逝弊世 鷦鷯賦  
CW58.3 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：銳逝厲計 關中詩 CS 371 逝厲翳歲制祭 悼亡之三 CS 376 厲稅

滋澈世歲 秋興賦 CW90.2 惠戾世說 西征賦 CW90.4 *Tsǝ Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：制厲世 周宣王  
 姜后贊 WC13.3 *Mù Huá* 木華：逝掣屈 海賦 CW105.7 *Lù Chi* 陸機：櫟翳惠誓弊逝  
 大暮賦 CW96.9 穗銳 七微之一 CW98.2 世契噬脆 漢高祖功臣頌 CW98.5 *Lù Yún* 陸雲：制誓  
 藝替盛德頌 CW103.13 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：世繼 寒食散賦 CW65.5 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：制惠火賦  
 CW94.3 *Ch'èh Yü* 摯虞：裔世制曳 思游賦 CW76.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：逝蒂藝 遊仙之十三  
 CS 425 契藝世 爾雅圖筆贊 CW 121.5 契厲逝 山海經圖遺蛇贊 CW 122.4 斃噬厲 又長蛇贊 CW 122.9  
 藝藝世滯 又鬼草贊 CW123.1 際替 又三珠樹贊 CW123.5 斃翳厲 又女丑尸贊 CW123.7 *Lǐ Hsing*  
 李興：世勵諸葛丞相故宅碑表 CW70.12 *Lǐ Ch'ung* 李充：廢替世厲學歲 CW53.8 *Lú Ch'én*  
 盧諶：惠世廢契 贈劉琨 CS418 逝際澈趾猗 燕賦 CW34.9 *Yüan Háng* 袁宏：勢際契憩  
 從征行 CS 449 世替銳戾 三國名臣序贊 CW 57.6 世翳 桓溫碑 CW 57.8 裔世戾惠 祭牙文 CW 57.8  
*Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：滯際 太平山銘 CW62.5 *T'ài K'ui* 戴逵：世滯翳契逝際 尚長贊 CW137.3  
 世際翳契滯惠 閒遊賦 CW137.4 *Chih T'an Tì* 支曇諦：蒂勢 廬山賦 CW 165.16 *Huì*  
*Yüan* 慧遠：際勢滯世契歲 報羅什謁 CS 506 *Li Hào* 李勣：際穢滯稅 述志賦 CW 155.2  
*T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：世廢惠蔽計歲說界濟袂 感士不遇賦 CW 111.4 刈濟界逝脆世 祭從弟  
 敬遠文 CW112.9 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：惠世 執友箴 CW142.2 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：勢  
 惠斃逝 師門贊 CW139.3 契逝世惠 呼子先贊 CW139.8 *Wáng Shào-chih* 王劭之：制計春花  
 賦 CW 144.11 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：勢際 遊園詠 CW 140.4 Anonymous 無名  
 氏：替衛契 成帝哀策文 CW146.5

## (11.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Ch'è* 祭 and *Hai* 哈 *Ch'ü* 去

*Mù Huá* 木華：代際際裔 海賦 CW105.7 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：滯厲代逝 獻長安君安仁 CS 378  
*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：替弊戾惠代 與王使君 CS422

*Ch'è* 祭 and *Yü* 魚 *Ch'ü* 去

*Juān Chí* 阮籍：契誓署世 東平賦 WW44.8

*Ch'è* 祭 and *Chih* 支 *Ch'ü* 去

*Sun Huì* 孫惠：地濟帝隸 雜車賦 CW115.8

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：憩隸地 山海經圖青鳥贊 CW122.7

*Ch'è* 祭 and *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去

*Lù Chi* 陸機：際器惠 演連珠之八 CW99.4 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：厲燧墜世 夏府君誄 CW104.10

*P'an Ní* 潘尼：逝厲遺斃裔 火賦 CW94.3

*Ch'è* 祭 and *Chieh* 皆 *Ch'ü* 去

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：屈隊計芥裔 浮淮賦 HHW90.2 *Yáng Hsì* 楊戲：惠對世 贊張君嗣

WW62.9 *Là Yün* 陸雲：裔槩逝 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：槩愛介惠世

厲藝 祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9

Chì 祭 and T'ài 泰

Wáng Ts'ân 王祭：厲逝大裔世行辭新福歌 WS176 Juǎn Chí 阮籍：外世裔逝誓詠懷之五十八 WS222 Hsì Chèng 卻正：敗世計釋譏 CW70.8 Fù Hsián 傅玄：系制會元日朝會賦 CW45.2 Lù Chì 陸機：契會演連珠之三十六 CW99.6 Kuo P'ü 郭璞：肺害衛山海經圖珠璣魚贊 CW122.11 害厲逝又蜚贊 CW122.13 T'áo K'án 陶侃：大際裔相風賦 CW111.1 T'áo Ch'ien 陶潛：世逝廢憩藝稅吠製詣厲歲慧界蔽外契桃花源詩 CS485 Anonymous 無名氏：衛世歲制界會外大晉篇 CS272

Chì 祭 and Ch'ih 質 (Contacts between ch'ü-sheng and jü-sheng)

T'ung Ching 董京：逝七答孫楚詩 CS400

Chì 祭 and Yüeh 月 (Contacts between ch'ü-sheng and jü-sheng)

Wáng Ts'ân 王祭：厲裔逝憩勢際臬洩屆游海賦 HHW90.1 Ying Yang 應瑒：世烈別制弊文質論 HHW 42.5 Ts'ao Ch'ih 曹植：世別蔽遷都賦 WW 13.4 藝際世蜺七啓之六 WW16.11 世月契際厲穴逝又七 WW16.11,11 裔世察月帝譽贊 WW17.5 濊察月惠魏德論 WW17.9 礪衛蹶寶刀銘 WW19.2 厲弊制越逝王仲宣誄 WW19.3 Hó Yèn 何晏：制臬景福殿賦 WW39.7 Chi K'ang 嵇康：列慧滯逝琴賦 WW47.3 Ch'eng Kung-sui 成公綏：制列掣節隸書體 CW59.10 Chang Huá 張華：袂設晉宴會歌 CS258 P'an Yüeh 潘岳：裔戾髮襁翳世載厲制藉田賦 CW91.4 裔惠析筮賦 CW91.7 Shü Hsi 束皙：制滅祭弔衛巨山文 CW87.8 Tsó Szu 左思：穴鼈咽穢翳癘噬烈脆臺髮歲藝綴勢制衛絕轍魏都賦 CW74.16 Ts'ao Shu 曹攄：裔殺節誓答趙景猷 CS407 礪制列裔伐際圍棋賦 CW107.6 P'an Ni 潘尼：戾計穴曳斃惡道賦 CW94.1 Hsià-hóu Ch'ün 夏侯淳：際列憩拔八勢曳彈棋賦 CW69.10

Chì 祭：Hai 哈 Ch'ü 去 and Chieh 皆 Ch'ü 去

Ch'eng Feng 鄭豐：翳厲逝代憩愛蘭林 CS368

Chì 祭，Chih 脂 Ch'ü 去 and Chieh 皆 Ch'ü 去

Lü Yün 陸雲：父懿昧世墜陸府君誄 CW104.7

Chì 祭，T'ài 泰 and Yüeh 月 (Contacts between ch'ü-sheng and jü-sheng)

Hsià-hóu Chàn 夏侯湛：穢蒼發弊獵兔賦 CW68.3 Fù Hsiên 傅咸：世父害伐喜雨賦 CW51.1

Chì 祭，Tê 德 and T'ài 泰 (Contacts between ch'ü-sheng and jü-sheng)

Fù Hsián 傅玄：北廢世藝大窮武篇 CS269

Chì 祭，Yüeh 月 and Ch'ih 支 Ch'ü 去 (Contacts between ch'ü-sheng and jü-sheng)

Chang Huá 張華：哲世厲伎烈文先生誄 CW58.9

Chì 祭，Yüeh 月 and Ch'ih 質 (Contacts between ch'ü-sheng and jü-sheng)

Li Hào 李暠：哲袂列際穢滯銳傑出發述志賦 CW155.2

(12) Rime Category *T'ai* 泰

(12.1) List of All Rime Words

*T'ai* 泰：大太汰碓蓋碓 會蒼繪黯 沛旆霈 噉翹 賴瀨 藹靄 蔡縑 帶 沫  
外 竄 艾 害 泰 柰 猥 兌 最

*Kuài* 夬：敗 邁 快

*Kuài* 怪：介 芥

*Fèi* 廢：父

(12.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *T'ai* 泰

*Yīng Yāng* 應陽：害大 奕勢 HHW 42.6    *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：帶敗 煌煌京洛行 WS 126  
*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：旆邁沫蓋外 七啓之三 WW16.10 外泰 又七 WW16.11 泰介 魏德論 WW17.9  
*Hsià-hóu Hsián* 夏侯玄：沛外 皇胤賦 WW21.2    *Fù Ku* 傅嘏：蓋噉 皇初頌 WW 35.5  
*Yāng Hsè* 楊戲：害沛大 贊馮休元等 WW62.10    *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：邁艾沛害 贈秀才入軍  
之六 WS205    *Juàn Chí* 阮籍：外帶會害賴 詠懷之六 WS215-6 瀨外 帶賴害大 又三十八  
WS220    *Hsè Chèng* 卻正：父敗沛會 釋譏 CW70.7  
*Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：大蓋外 天地賦 CW59.2    *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：會蓋外  
輿賦 CW68.2 藹蓋外 惑桐賦 CW68.5    *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：賴會柰汰帶 井賦 CW60.1 瀨邁蓮華賦  
CW60.3 蔡泰邁 尼父頌 CW60.7 穢會 反金人銘 CW60.9    *Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：邁會賴蓋 答樂弘  
CS309    *Chang Huá* 張華：泰外 晉冬至初歲小會歌 CS 257    藹外蓋瀨會泰 歸田賦 CW 58.1  
*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：帶害竄外大泰 西征賦 CW 90.5 蓋縑艾兌會旆藹碓外 藉田賦 CW 91.4  
大會蓋旆 武皇帝誄 CW92.6 旆蓋瀨 哀永逝文 CW93.7    *Shü Hsi* 束皙：藹大泰 崇丘 CS 319  
會外最 飢賦 CW87.3    *Lü Chi* 陸機：藹邁 上留田行 CS 332 沛會敗大 豪士賦 CW 96.5 父泰  
七微之七 CW98.3    *Lü Yün* 陸雲：泰會藹帶 大將軍宴會 CS 352 旆邁藹蓋 太尉王公 CS 352  
蒼會父泰 大安二年 CS353 邁蓋旆藹 九思紆思 CW101.2 大藹蓋邁 陸公誄 CW104.5    *Tsö Szu*  
左思：會藹 蜀都賦 CW74.2 會瀨邁碓外沛 吳都賦 CW 74.5    *P'an Ni* 潘尼：會蓋藹泰帶  
東武館賦 CW94.2 蓋會芙蓉賦 CW94.5    *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞：大帶廢賴 贈褚武 CS 316 瀨會芥外  
贈李叔龍 CS316 會蓋 答杜育 CS316 藹邁蓋 思游賦 CW76.3 猥帶 疾愈賦 CW76.3    *Kuo P'ü* 郭  
璞：帶藹會 巫咸山賦 CW120.1 澮會沛外介 江賦 CW120.1 外帶會 南郊賦 CW120.5 帶外會爾雅圖  
水賦 CW121.7 大害帶山海經圖天狗贊 CW122.7 芥會外又磁石贊 CW122.9 害會大又狙如贊 CW123.4  
帶外會又大江贊 CW123.12    *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：外瀨帶三月三日 CS445 碓外海賦 CW38.1 蒼瀨  
會沛揚都賦 CW38.2    *Chang Tsai* 張載：沛柰快帶 江南郡蔗 CS392 藹帶害外敘行賦 CW85.2  
*Chang Hsieh* 張協：泰外帶蔡藹大 七命之七 CW 85.11    *Ts'ao T'ien* 棗腆：沛蓋介賴  
帶泰 答石崇 CS409    *Chih Tün* 支遁：大外會泰 善多菩薩贊 CW157.14    *Wáng Hú-chih*

王胡之：泰會帶藹外瀨贈庚翼 CS430 *Yüan Húng* 袁宏：蔡會沛泰三國名臣序贊 CW57.5  
*Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：帶瀨藹太平山銘 CW62.5 *Yü Yü* 庾友：邁會蘭亭 CS442 *Kü K'ái-chih* 顧愷之：靄礪敗沛外雷電賦 CW135.2 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：會大泰賴諸侯孝傳贊 CW112.4 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：邁會蓋泰嘯父贊 CW139.3 *Sun Ch'eng* 孫承：邁蓋嘉遜賦 CW143.1

## (12.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*T'ai* 泰 and *Hai* 哈 *Ch'ü* 去  
*Lü Yün* 陸雲：藹邁父蒼會帶懷鳴鶴 CS361  
*T'ai* 泰 and *Chih* 支 *Ch'ü* 去  
*Tai K'ui* 戴逵：離太會害外賴申三復贊 CW137.3  
*T'ai* 泰 and *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去  
*Chang Hün* 張翰：味外賴杖賦 CW107.11  
*T'ai* 泰 and *Chieh* 皆 *Ch'ü* 去  
*Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：繪粹射雉賦 CW92.2 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：大泰邁旆蓋藹愛陸公諫 CW104.6  
*T'ai* 泰 and *Chè* 祭  
*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：蓋會會滯雜詩之二 WS133 邁裔述征賦 WW4.2 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：裔外竄艾會邁世大饗碑 WW19.1-2 *Wei Tàn* 韋誕：蓋樞會景福殿賦 WW32.10 *Cheng Hsiao* 程曉：邁歲穢會又贈傅休奕 CS305 *Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：大外父會邁衛世文皇統百揆 CS261 會嗣際外邁玄雲 CS264 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：會外賴世逝胡母哀辭 CW60.11 *Lü Chi* 陸機：泰蓋外帶旆藹逝挽歌之二 CS 325 邁裔外大帶旆贈顧交趾 CS 341-2 裔會帶藹行思賦 CW96.6 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：邁外裔沛答兄平原 CS359 藹裔蓋際泰世逸民頌 CW100.6 蓋旆邁藹裔南征賦 CW100.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：衛邁害山海經圖精衛贊 CW122.11 *Chang Tsai* 張載：帶曳韓舞賦 CW85.2 *Chang Hsieh* 張協：竄廢歲蒼七命 CW85.8 *Sun Ch'ung* 孫瓊：會際悼艱賦 CW144.12  
*Yang Yi* 楊乂：裔藹會雲賦 CW89.3  
*T'ai* 泰 and *Yüeh* 月 (Contacts between *ch'ü-sheng* and *jü-sheng*)  
*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：大劣煌煌京洛行 CW126  
*T'ai* 泰 and *Hó* 曷 (Contacts between *ch'ü-sheng* and *jü-sheng*)  
*Tsö Szu* 左思：達帶會大沛怛藹會魏都賦 WS 74.14,16 Anonymous 無名氏：會渴七日夜女郎歌之四 CS535  
*T'ai* 泰, *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Chè* 祭  
*Lü Chi* 陸機：邁霈外氣戾浮雲賦 CW96.1  
*T'ai* 泰, *Chè* 祭 and *Chih* 支 *Ch'ü* 去  
*Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：害歲帝敗泰外喜霽賦 CW45.1

### 3.3 Rime Lists—Category *Cheng* 蒸

*T'ài* 泰, *Chì* 祭 and *Yüeh* 月 (*ch'ü-sheng* and *jü-sheng*)

*Ying Yaug* 應瑒: 大蔽結 文質論 HHW42.5

*T'ài* 泰, *Chì* 祭 and *Hé* 曷 (*ch'ü-sheng* and *jü-sheng*)

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植: 父鬪帶蓋謫 王仲宣誄 WW19.3

#### (13) Rime Category *Cheng* 蒸

##### (13.1) List of All Rime Words

###### *P'ing*

*Cheng* 蒸: 淩淩陵菱淩 澂徵徵 澁蠅繩 應膺膺 丞丞蒸 升昇 馮憑 澄證 興  
承 凝 兢 乘 稱 矜 仍 冰 繒 勝

##### (13.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Cheng* 蒸

###### *P'ing*

*Wang Ts'an* 王粲: 徵升 太廟頌 WS175 升興蒸 大暑賦 HHW 90.1 繩興 硯銘 HHW 91.7

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植: 升興 應詔詩 WS165 承凝承徵 甘露詔 WW17.9 *Fü Kū* 傅嘏: 興升  
皇初頌 WW35.5 *Wü-ch'iu Chiën* 毋丘儉: 憑升承露盤賦 WW40.4 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康:  
證應興 琴賦 WW47.2 凝興 承徵 大師箴 WW51.6,6

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏: 興乘蒸徵 正旦大會行禮歌之五 CS 256 *Yü Shü* 庾儵: 升淩  
冰承澂凝 冰井賦 CW36.4 *Fü Hsiün* 傅玄: 興膺升徵 上壽酒歌 CS 249 徵乘金靈運 CS262

興冰凝升承繩徵矜陵 唐堯 CS 264 勝凝冰興 季冬詩 CS 300 興陵蒸凝 朱明運將極 CS301 升興  
箏賦 CW45.6 興徵升乘漢高祖贊 CW46.9 *Huang-fü Mí* 皇甫謐: 凝蒸徵陵 釋勸論 CW71.7  
*Hsiè-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛: 興升蒸雷賦 CW68.1 *Fü Hsién* 傅咸: 興陵升凝感涼賦 CW51.2

*Chang Huá* 張華: 承升興凝冰應膺 雜詩之一 CS 284 矜興 女史箴 CW58.8 *Pan Yüèh*  
潘岳: 興陵 西征賦 CW90.8-9 冰興凝升 寡婦賦 CW91.3 徵興 兩階銅人訓 CW92.5 陵升興憑魯武  
公誄 CW93.1 升徵蒸興夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 興承升矜膺哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Lü Chi* 陸機: 淩

承徵昇仍凝乘憑興膺 梁甫吟 CS329 承澄興 皇太子宴玄圃 CS336 丞膺興徵 答賈謐 CS338 凝升  
秋詠 CS351 興承應文賦 CW97.2 淩凝冰瓜賦 CW97.6 承陵徵 乘徵興冰淩升膺功臣頌 CW98.6,6

膺承慰懷太子誄 CW99.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲: 徵升興膺 答顧處徵 CS 358 興承答兄平原 CS 360 興  
承升澄乘應淩陵 南征賦 CW100.7 澄陵凝勝 九愍感逝 CW101.4 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思: 陵興稱乘

吳都賦 CW74.5 *Chiang T'ung* 江統: 陵承升興 函谷關賦 CW106.1 *Pan Ni* 潘尼: 繩  
凝承興後園頌 CW94.8 乘憑丞兢應徵興徵乘興箴 CW95.4 *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞: 升興陵徵思遊賦  
CW76.3 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞: 蒸冰凝 爾雅圖歌冬贊 CW 121.7 乘凝稱 神長乘贊 CW 122.6 陵乘升

龍魚贊 CW123.7 *Lǐ Hsing* 李興：稱徵 諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW 70.11 *Lǐ Ch'ung* 李充：  
承興凝澄 學箴 CW53.7 *Ts'ao P'i* 曹毗：升興澄凝仍 詠冬 CS 451 *Yüan Háng* 袁  
宏：凝興昇 北征賦 CW57.2 *Li Yü* 李顥：凝興 雪賦 CW53.10 *Yüan Sung* 袁崧：澄  
升興 酒賦 CW56.5 *Kü K'ai-chih* 顧愷之：升應憑 雷電賦 CW135.2 Anonymous 無名  
氏：矜冰子夜冬歌十五 CS530 繩凝稱 雙行纏之一 CS547 陵膺 崔左丞歌 CS553 膺承興升簡文帝哀  
策文 CW146.7

### (13.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Cheng* 蒸 and *Keng* 耕

*P'ing*

*Chang Hua* 張華：丞名 鮑玄泰誄 CW58.9 *Lü Chi* 陸機：陵承勝興凝冰徵凌聲 駕言出  
北闕行 CS330 *Tsö Szu* 左思：肱勝應興菱升 吳都賦 CW74.10

*Cheng* 蒸 and *Tung* 冬

*P'ing*

*Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：仍彤風升 大暑賦 CW68.2

*Cheng* 蒸 and *Teng* 登

*P'ing*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：登凌升興乘 答兄平原 CS360 升登勝徵 思樂芳林 CS364 興登乘應凌升 九思  
之八 CW101.4 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：凌騰馮 山海經圖飛鳳贊 CW122.11

*Cheng* 蒸 and *Ch'in* 侵

*P'ing*

Anonymous 無名氏：菱澄音 神弦歌嬌女詩之一 CS540

### (14) Rime Category *Teng* 登

#### (14.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Teng* 登：曾增憎層晉 朋崩朝 登燈 恒 弘 棱 騰 滕

#### (14.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Teng* 登

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：騰晉 七啓之三 WW16.10 崩登 征蜀論 WW18.1 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：騰  
憎登朋 幽憤詩 WS204 崩增 大師箴 WW51.6

*Chiang T'ung* 江統：增崩 函谷關賦 CW106.1 *Seng Chao* 釋僧肇：弘騰燈崩增 鳩摩  
羅什法師誄 CW165.15

(14.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Teng* 登 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：崩騰恒登晉曾澄 答賈九州愁詩 CS422

*Teng* 登 and *Keng* 耕

*P'ing*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：層恒橙崩 爲賈謐作贈陸機 CS373

(15) Rime Category *Tung* 冬

(15.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Tung* 冬：宗 儂 彤

*Tung* 東：宮躬(船)窮 中忠沖 弓穹 終蠡 崇 嵩 戎 融 蟲 宮 隆 雄  
熊 風 豐 夢 充

*Chiang* 江：降

*Ch'ü*

*Sung* 宋：統 綜 冪

*Chiang* 絳：降

(15.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Tung* 冬

*P'ing*

*Wang Ts'an* 王粲：宮崇 太廟頌 WS175 *Yang Hsiu* 楊修：宮風隆許昌宮賦 HHW51.10

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：忠宮 臨高臺 WS129 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：終宮 孟冬篇 WS156 風中窮戎  
充 雜詩之二 WS162 弓雄 矯志詩 WS169 窮終 出婦賦 WW13.7 隆窮終躬風中 七啓序 WW16.9 弓  
風七啓三 WW16.9 宮終又五 WW16.10 風雄 又六 WW16.11 窮躬終穹 武帝誄 WW19.4 風隆嵩豐  
告咎文 WW19.11 *Wei Ch'ü* 衛覬：宗隆西嶽華山亭碑 WW28.9 *Ts'ao Ju* 曹叡：終躬中



月重輪行 WS138 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：宮雄中 獲呂布 WS190 *Hô Yèn* 何晏：宮中風融  
窮隆景福殿賦 WW39.6,7 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：中風終窮琴賦 WW47.3 *Juàn Chí* 阮籍：  
雄隆融冲戎崇終風 詠懷詩四二 WS220 中雄隆風終 采薪者歌 WS225 風降 東平賦 WW44.7

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：窮忠風 正旦大會行禮歌之三 CS256 隆穹融終崇 又五 CS256  
*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：崇融 明堂饗神歌 CS242 風雄平玉衡 CS260 中蟲窮 雜詩之三 CS299 官風終  
正都賦 CW45.4 終宮箏賦 CW45.6 官風 鬱金賦 CW45.8 *Hsüeh Ying* 薛瑩：宮隆崇豐忠終  
獻詩 CS287 *Huáng Fǔ-mè* 皇甫謐：中窮中 釋勸論 CW71.7 *Hsün Hsi* 荀勗：融終  
隆崇躬 賤元辰 CS251 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：崇中 雷賦 CW68.1 風中 夜聽箏賦 CW68.2  
風中窮浮萍賦 CW68.4 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：冲隆中風雁賦 CW60.4 *Chou Ch'ü* 周處：戎  
終 詩一首 CS413 *Chang Hua* 張華：隆戎風 食舉東西廂樂詩十一 CS255 隆蟲風崇 大豫舞歌  
CS268 窮終崇冲弓穹 風戎中雄壯士篇 CS280 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：隆官風中西征賦 CW90.9  
終風悼亡賦 CW91.1 窮終風宮中相風賦 CW91.8 終戎官風崇楊荊州誄 CW92.7 隆風終融楊仲武誄  
CW92.8 宗彤魯武公誄 CW93.1 宮終中夢躬 哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：中融隆  
終戎躬夢冲 答曹嘉 403 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：風中豐 補亡詩華黍 CS318 躬豐 玄居釋 CW87.7  
*Lü Chi* 陸機：隆宮中豐 百年歌之六 CS335 豐融 思親賦 CW96.3 崇宮中 豪士賦 CW96.5 窮風  
演連珠四九 CW99.7 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：融窮隆風終九 啓行吟 CW101.4 崇冲隆終 逸民箴 CW104.4  
隆風 陸府君誄 CW104.7 融崇躬冲 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Tsö Szu* 左思：中充 蜀都賦 CW74.2  
充豐風弓 吳都賦 CW74.10 隆風熊隆風 魏都賦 CW74.11,15 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：中冲崇風  
答趙景猷詩 CS407 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：融官風冲 贈陸機 CS379 隆風官戎躬終 贈隴西太守 CS381  
蟲隆中風瑯琊枕賦 CW94.4 豐隆戎風終冲後園頌 CW94.8 *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞：戎豐終風雍州詩  
CS317 窮融終冲思游賦 CW76.1 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：崇終隆風贈陸方叔 CS314 *Liu Kun*  
劉琨：中窮扶風歌 CS417 *Wang Yü* 王廙：忠躬崇充保傳箴 CW20.12 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：  
隆冲終崇風與王使君 CS422 蟲蟲雄 爾雅圖蚯蚓贊 CW121.8 弓中窮山海經圖白猿贊 CW122.2 風融  
隆山海經圖育隧谷贊 CW122.3 *Lü Hsing* 李興：終冲諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW70.11 *Chang Tsai*  
張載：宮風中濠汜池賦 CW85.1 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：風中七命序 CW85.8 窮雄戎風七命四  
CW85.10 *P'ei Hsi-sheng* 裴希聲：崇風忠侍中嵇侯碑 CW33.10 *Lü Chàn* 盧諶：中融  
劉公誄 CW34.13 *Ts'ao P'ü* 曹毗：融崇官風戎窮歌太祖文皇帝 CS245 風弓雄馬射賦 CW107.8  
*Chiang Yü* 江淹：充豐井賦 CW107.2 *Yüan Hün* 袁宏：融終隆風三國名臣序贊 CW57.6  
*Wang Piao-Chih* 王彪之：弓中蟲 閩中賦 CW21.2 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：風冲融 徐君墓頌  
CW61.6 嵩風充崇冲庾冰碑 CW62.8 *Wang Tü* 王度：風融扇上銘 CW148.9 *Wang Hsün*  
王珣：終融風隆孝武帝哀策文 CW20.3 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：風中終躬答龐參軍 CS457 窮中  
豐風終冲隆嵩五月旦作和戴主簿 CS463 終戎雄風窮中擬古之二 CS476 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元  
祖：隆窮風宮馬丹贊 CW139.4 宮中冲窮琴高贊 CW139.4 Anonymous 無名氏：中僂孟珠  
之二 CS546 風中拔蒲之一 CS548 雄宮 符堅長安歌 CS558 隆宮成帝末童謠 CS568 躬冲終成帝哀策文  
CW146.5 中融風冲簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

*Ch'ü*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：統綜降 爾雅圖巫咸贊 CW123.7

(15.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：通宮窮 武帝哀策文 WW7.11 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：茸弓中 獵兔賦 CW68.3 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：崇戎中從牽招碑 CW60.10 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：通窮隆風終玄居釋 CW87.5 *Lü Chi* 陸機：忠邦丞相箴 CW99.7 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：庸風忠宮蹤 贈顧驛騎有皇 CS355 恭充豐風 贈張仲膺 CS356 從躬風 贈顧彥先 CS356 豐宮凶 逸民箴 CW104.4 融邦東崇功風融崇終邦 陸府君誄 CW104.7, 8 凶終隆 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Tsö Szu* 左思：中江 蜀都賦 CW74.3 窮蓬終風 白髮賦 CW74.17 *Wen Chiao* 溫嶠：忠融崇風終從 侍臣箴 CW80.11 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：沖公矇融 劉元眞贊 CW61.8 *Hsi Tsuò-ch'ih* 習鑿齒：風豐雅諸葛武侯宅銘 CW134.11 *Wang Chia* 王嘉：中鋒 讖歌之一 CS490 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：風中通弓 飲酒十七 CS474 *Hü Yü-chou* 胡義周：隆功穹終風 統萬城功德銘 CW156.7 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：宮通窮窮攻七歡 CW140.6 Anonymous 無名氏：風容 子夜春歌之五 CS526 風容 子夜夏歌之一 CS527 風容 子夜冬歌之三 CS529 雄雙 夜黃 CS547 風桐中宮隴紅 樂辭 CS551

*Tung* 冬 and *Yang* 陽

*P'ing*

Anonymous 無名氏：風中凰 姑恩曲 CS540

*Tung* 冬 and *Keng* 耕

*P'ing*

*Chi K'ang* 嵇康：終成 贈秀才入軍十八 WS206 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：崇宮寧沖終風 張二侯頌 CW104.3

*Tung* 冬 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：陵窮風中 黎陽作之一 WS131 *Liu Chen* 劉楨：宗朋 魯都賦 HHW65.2 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：隆躬中崇沖憑終 元皇帝哀策文 CW123.13

*Tung* 冬, *Tung* 東 and *Yang* 陽

*P'ing*

*Hsueh Tsung* 薛綜：崇容風彰 駙虞頌 WW66.6

*Tung* 冬, *Tung* 東 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Lì Chi* 陸機：龍風弘邦崇 與弟清河雲 CS 339

*Tung* 冬, *Tung* 東, *Cheng* 蒸, *Keng* 耕 and *Yang* 陽

*P'ing*

*Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：征蹤戎終繩宮光龍衝崩雄 神武賦 WW92.2

# (16) Rime Category *Tung* 東

## (16.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Tung* 東：櫛璫龍龍龍聾 工功空虹紅攻 同洞桐筒銅 蒙濛朦朦 童潼 從睽 公  
翁 通筩 東 鴻 洪 蓬 聰 葱 叢 鬢

*Chung* 鍾：凶洵胸 從縱蹤(踪)縱 龍龔 松訟 容蓉 鐘 雍 恭 封 茸 醴

*Chiāng* 江：幢 江 邦 雙 窗

*Shāng*

*Tung* 董：滂翁 動 崧 總

*Chung* 腫：蛹踊涌勇湧 重種踵 寵壠隴 恐鞏 悚竦 奉 溶 冢 拱

*Chiāng* 講：蚌 項

*Ch'ü*

*Sung* 送：控輓 弄 貢 鳳 夢 洞 棟 送

*Yung* 用：共拱 用 重 縱 訟

*Chiāng* 絳：巷

## (16.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Tung* 東

*P'ing*

*Juān Yǔ* 阮瑀：工滕蹤同逢 筆賦 HHW93.2 *Wáng Ts'ān* 王粲：東邦江通同 贈蔡子篤  
WS176 雍封 七釋 HHW91.2 功邦同鍾 裴實鐘銘 HHW91.6 *Yáng Hsiu* 楊修：雙蓉鴻工同  
恭從神女賦 HHW51.10 *Hān-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：功容鍾魏受命述 WW26.2 *Ts'ao Chih*  
曹植：通龍平陵東行 WS147 蓬東重洵虹龍松鴻通幢鍾同江從邦公 盤石篇 WS152 蹤聰雍邦  
責躬詩 WS164 墉從 應詔詩 WS165 鴻龍松 洛神賦 WW13.2 從通 愍志賦 WW13.7 同公江 九愁賦

WW13.8 容恭通 潛志賦 WW13.9 通凶 寶刀賦 WW14.1 功江同邦 禹治水贊 WW17.6 恭鋒封從 魏德論 WW17.8 矇雍鍾恭龍邦空從通 王仲宣誄 WW19.3 庸公邦龍 武帝誄 WW19.4 庸功聰邦 卞太后誄 WW19.8 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：聰雙龍凶恭同蒙 贊述太子賦 WW30.11 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：鍾濛 趙都賦 WW32.1 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：潼墉凶平關中 WS192 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：工工逢凶從工 秋胡行之二 WS203 松葱雙通龍逢蒙容桐邕蹤 遊仙詩 WS209 公從 龍鴻 功容 卜疑 WW47.5,5,5 *Kuo Hsiá-shu* 郭遐叔：從同蹤雙容東 贈嵇康之五 WS213 *Juán Chí* 阮籍：容從東平賦 WW44.8 洪蒙同松從容 鳩賦 WW44.9 龍重容 清思賦 WW44.11 公從同聾邦 元父賦 WW44.12 *Wei Chao* 韋昭：功封 秋風 WS231 *Mín Hóng* 閔鴻：容聰 羽扇賦 WW74.10 *Yáng Ch'üan* 楊泉：江胸 五湖賦 WW75.1 工通 織機賦 WW75.3 *Chu Yü* 朱異：銅墉 賦終 WW73.1 Anonymous 無名氏：空功 徐州歌 WS226 公洪 軍中謠 WS227 洵通 州中歌 WS227 容雙空 王世容歌 WS234 童江龍 孫皓天紀中臺謠 WS235

*Yüing Chen* 應貞：容恭聰功 晉武帝華林園集詩 CS311 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：雍容鍾同 正旦大會行禮歌之二 CS256 邦同墉通濛同 天地賦 CW59.2 重鋒蹤 故筆賦 CW59.6 公通 司馬公誄 CW59.9 *Yü Chün* 庾峻：墉同 祖德頌 CW36.2 *Fü Hsiün* 傅玄：功凶 景皇帝登歌 CS244 工容 鍾功 雍公 饗神歌之二 CS244 蹤蒙 天行篇 CS299 雍容重公邦同 鄉飲酒賦 CW45.3 鴻江凶 正都賦 CW45.3 江東 賚賦 CW45.10 踪龍 走狗賦 CW46.3 *Huang-fü Mí* 皇甫謐：同通 釋勸論 CW71.6 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：邦容鍾功從邕 既宴 CS253 容功鏞蹤 邕邦正德舞歌 CS267 *Hsiá-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：工銅容籠窗 缸燈賦 CW68.3 蹤龍同容東方朔畫贊 CW69.6 *Fü Hsiên* 傅咸：通蹤 感別賦 CW51.3 松籠 鸚鵡賦 CW51.10 聰蒙恭雍功 釋奠頌 CW52.11 *Chang Huá* 張華：通公容邦食舉東西廡樂詩之三 CS254 雍容功蹤又四 CS254 聰功邦蹤正旦大會行禮詩之二 CS255 邦通雍功大豫舞歌 CS268 籠重庸松容鸚鵡賦 CW58.3 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：訟空從邦關中詩 CS372 通同江滄海賦 CW90.2 潼蹤龍公西征賦 CW90.5 邦從雍 武帝誄 CW92.5 容同蒙從 夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 *Shih Chung* 石崇：聰恭雍龍 從同功蹤 大雅吟 CS401 江胸思歸歎 CS403 *Mü Huá* 木華：東峯邦濛賦 CW105.8 *Lü Chi* 陸機：通功東公 鋒功江東功臣頌 CW98.5,6 功洪 演連珠之十九 CW99.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：東空庸 張二侯頌 CW104.2 功東邦庸 陸公誄 CW104.5 *Tsö Szu* 左思：桐縱峯 蜀都賦 CW74.2 鴻江 簡叢 吳都賦 CW74.6 通容攻醴 魏都賦 CW74.14 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：銅恭容 火賦 CW94.3 蒙龍 童工容 琉璃碗賦 CW94.4 聰從 乘輿箴 CW95.4 *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞：凶邦東江 工邕庸蹤封 太康頌 CW77.3,4 鍾從蹤 周武王贊 CW77.5 *Chang Mí* 張敏：通公容 頭責子羽文 CW80.2 *Lü Wu-Chü* 盧无忌：公通邦同庸工功東洪 太公呂望表 CW86.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：峯叢 紅茸江松龍空容東 江賦 CW120.3 江東同 山海經圖鍾山子贊 CW122.5 通聰江 又帝江贊 CW122.7 蒙重通 又滅蒙鳥贊 CW123.6 叢龍又文王贊 CW123.11 *Chang Hän* 張翰：童東紅蓉周小史 CS388 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：江峯墉衝 揚都賦 CW33.3 叢桐雍窗 樂賢堂頌 CW38.6 東桐峯公通 弔賈生文 CW38.9 *Chang Tsai* 張載：雙鋒同容鴻龍 羽扇賦 CW85.2 東邦通同鐘 鄴酒賦 CW85.2 簞紅醴 瓜賦 CW85.3 墉從 平吳頌 CW85.4 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：櫛葱重墉七命之二

CW85.9 從蹤鋒叢 七命之三 CW85.10 *Lǐ Chung* 李充：通蒙公 學箴 CW53.7 *T's'ao P'í* 曹毗：功容 四時祠祀歌 CS248 容童鴻鋒葱通功洞籠龍聰濛恭衝蹤洪鋒從重蓬雙 對儒 CW107.9 *Wáng Piao-chih* 王彪之：筒蒙 閩中賦 CW21.2 *Sun T'ung* 孫統：踪桐松峯 蘭亭 CS441 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：通容松嚙胸蒙蹤 遊天台山賦 CW61.2 公通龍 庾亮碑 CW62.7 *Hsì Chao* 郗超：同通封空 答傅郎 CS453 *Hsièh An* 謝安：通桐龍蹤峯 與王胡之 CS439 *Kü K'ài-chih* 顧愷之：峯松神情詩 CS452 *Lǐ Sung* 李嵩：凶邦同墉峰 述志賦 CW155.2 *Hán Yèn-chih* 韓延之：江蹤龍從邦鴻同 贈中尉李彪 CS1470 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：濛江 窗從 停雲 CS454 同東江通 贈長沙公 CS456 龍功封蹤 命子 CS457 蓬工龔同通從 詠貧士之六 CS480 東同閑情賦 CW111.6 *Yáng Hui* 羊徽：逢同從蓬 答丘泉之 CS488 *Wáng K'ang-chü* 王康琚：蹤窗招隱 CS491 *Huáng Chang* 黃章：蹤雙龍馬賦 CW105.1 *Ying Shih* 應碩：恭江容 祝祖文 CW128.10 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：重峯叢蒙 靈秀山銘 CW140.8 Anonymous 無名氏：江同大晉篇 CS272 同工晉杯槃舞歌 CS276 通同 子夜歌之五 CS523 空同 子夜歌之二十五 CS524 濛容 子夜歌之三十二 CS524 容雙 阿子歌之一 CS533 窗容 七日夜女郎歌之九 CS535 通雙空 徐聖通歌 CS553 櫛通 楚道謠 CS561 櫛通 三秦紀民謠 CS561 翁功 南土謠 CS561 响髮元康中京洛童謠之二 CS564 江龍大安中童謠 CS564 龍公東 苻堅時長安謠之一 CS573 容雙石仲容 CS575 雖從衝工通庸縱同 鄭烈碑 CW146.10

*Shàng*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：動溶 浮淮賦 WW90.2 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：動輦交勢 HHW42.6 *Fu Hsüan* 傅玄：動踊良馬賦 CW46.2 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：竦墉思歸歎 CS403 *Mu Hua* 木華：竦動湧墉 海賦 CW105.7 *Chiang T'ung* 江統：寵恐勇項 函谷關賦 CW106.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：隴鍾涌總動 南郊賦 CW120.5 動恐重勇 蚍蜉賦 CW120.6 動湧悚山海經圖鯨魚贊 CW122.8 蚌蛹種 歐絲贊 CW123.8 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：滂湧動 揚都賦 CW38.2

*Ch'ü*

*Cheng Kung-sui* 成公綏：用弄 琴賦 CW59.5 輓弄貢 射兔賦 CW59.8 *Lü Chi* 陸機：鳳夢 演連珠之七 CW99.4 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：縱弄巷用 答王門子 CS423 貢用弄 爾雅圖金銀贊 CW121.5 洞用共 爾雅圖無腸國贊 CW123.8 棟重縱 又鄭氏國贊 CW123.10 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：送用棟控 與庾永 CS433 Anonymous 無名氏：拱用縱 成帝哀策文 CW146.5

## (16.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Tung* 東 and *Tung* 冬*P'ing*

*Ts'ui Yèn* 崔琰：朦風 述初賦 HHW94.5 *Liu Chen* 劉楨：松風 贈從弟之二 WS186 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：鍾崇 齊都賦 HHW93.5 *Wang Sü* 王肅：雍躬通 宗廟頌 WW23.1

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：重同邕容中 元日朝會賦 CW45.2 *Chang Huá* 張華：風功蹤 鮑玄泰詠 CW58.9 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：同臙空風容胸 悼亡詩之二 CS376 *Lü Chi* 陸機：工庸東隆戎 贈夏少明 CS326 凶窮豐 演連珠之二 CW99.3 充龍 演連珠之三十八 CW99.6 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：雍風容豐崇 大將軍宴會 CS352 雍風蹤龍宮 贈鄭曼季南衡 CS362 容豐龍蹤 寒蟬賦 CW100.9 東容沖窮 登遐頌 CW103.10 *Tsō Szu* 左思：隆蒙充通叢瓏童衆江同 吳都賦 CW74.6,9 忠東公窗中 終邦沖公庸蹤 魏都賦 CW74.13,15 *Yü Ch'ān* 庾闡：通隆紅 海賦 CW38.1 *Hsièh Shang* 謝尚：紅中 大道曲 CS432 *Chih Tün* 支遁：童蹤蒙同中容空功通 善思菩薩贊 CW157.13 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：宗龔通同東雍 歌烈宗孝武帝 CS247-8 *Chih T'án-tì* 支曇諦：松江冬衝 廬山賦 CW165.16 *Hsièh Tào-Yün* 謝道韞：庸宗終同 論語贊 CW144.8 Anonymous 無名氏：窗風 子夜歌之二十四 CS524 松中 青聰白馬之三 CS543 松風雙 長松標 CS547 中紅鴻 西洲曲 CS551

*Ch'ü*

*Yuán Hūng* 袁宏：用零控棟 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6

*Tung* 東 and *Yáng* 陽

*P'ing*

*Ch'ên Lín* 陳琳：工鋒鴻剛縫光 武軍賦 HHW92.2 *Yáng Hsì* 楊戲：從潼同亡龍 贊馬孟起 WW62.7 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：桐江方通芳 高崗 CS362 通功方窗同 悠悠縣象 CS363 方戎功 陸公詠 CW104.6 鍾通聰章蹤網芒 陸府君詠 CW104.7

*Tung* 東 and *Keng* 耕

*P'ing*

*Wèi Chì* 衛覬：明通邦公蒙功 西嶽華山亭碑 WW28.9

*Tung* 東 and *Ch'in* 侵

*Shāng*

*Chang Hàn* 張瀚：拱竦任 東隣有一樹 CS389

*Tung* 東, *Tung* 冬 and *Yáng* 陽

*P'ing*

*Wèi Chao* 韋昭：通蒙江翔邦同隆 關背德 WS231 *Lü Chi* 陸機：豐宗鴻龍皇 七微 CW98.2 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：龍雄終塘蓬傷 答兄平原 CS360 容公宮邦雍功王 盛德頌 CW103.13 *Tù Yü* 杜育：鍾陽岡降 薺賦 CW89.10

*Tung* 東, *Tung* 冬, *Yáng* 陽 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Wèi Chao* 韋昭：恭鋒疆章風弘央 通荊門 WS231

## (16.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Tung* 東 *P'ing* 平 and *Tung* 東 *Shǎng* 上

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：墉茸冢動踊悚踵項 射雉賦 CW92.2

*Tung* 東 *Shǎng* 上 and *Tung* 東 *Ch'ü* 去

*Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：重奉共 代劉劭妻王氏雜詩之二 WS134

(17) Rime Category *Yáng* 陽

## (17.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*T'áng* 唐：皇徨惶惶遑隄風煌煌鎗 浪琅琅郎廊榔榔 黃潢璜橫簧 堂堂當璫鐺 芒  
荒茫邙 抗抗航頤 岡剛綱鋼 旁傍榜 唐塘塘 康慷糠 桑顙 臧藏  
叩昂 倉蒼 喪 行 光 湯 囊 鶯 葬

*Yáng* 陽：場陽揚楊陽颺蕩傷瘍觴 方坊防房肪芳雫魴 相廂湘箱湘霜鸛驕 伴洋  
祥詳翔姜 牀妝戕莊粧(粧)裝 僵僵疆(強)薑疆疆 攘穰穰瓢鑲釒 長悵  
張張漲 常裳賞嘗嘗 將蔣漿鏘 亡忘鎡邛 昌倡娼唱 章彰璋障 央泱  
殃 良鄉響 王望 梁梁 涼涼 匡筐 牆牆 量糧 商 香 腔 享

*Shǎng*

*Tàng* 蕩：莽潏潏 晃幌幌 盪蕩 曩曩 黨 廣 恍 朗

*Yǎng* 養：漾漾漾 養養養 敞掌賞 象像 丈丈 仿旁 上 悅 往 枉 長 仰  
爽 兩 壤 網 獎 想 緲 鞅 颺 相

*Ch'ü*

*Tàng* 宕：亢抗 曠曠 當 喪 浪 謗 葬

*Yàng* 漾：長悵帳 王望誑 暢颺 妄忘 況貺 創愴 尙償 相 放 讓 壯 狀  
亮 快 昶 量 將 匠 唱 向 上 響 仰

(17.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Yáng* 陽*P'ing*

*K'üing Jüing* 孔融：方張傍王匡揚彰忘光藏長 離合作郡姓名字詩 WS43-4 *Juǎn Yü* 阮

瑀：良亡光忘桑 詠史之一 WS188 涼傷房光央忘 雜詩之一 WS189 長裳傷洋 苦雨 WS189 茫岡  
量 紀征賦 HHW93.1 光章良防姜忘裳翔 止欲賦 HHW93.1 *Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：翔當光堂

牀方湯裳涼惶岡光堂 大暑賦 HHW 90.1 蒼網王 鷗翔光章 游海賦 HHW 90.1, 2 翔場喪 思友賦 HHW90.3 堂廂傷 寡婦賦 HHW90.3 璫裳煌 神女賦 HHW90.5 鄉長揚 柳賦 HHW90.6 桑漿 白鶴賦 HHW90.6 章方康皇 先射鐘銘 HHW91.7 *Liu Chen* 劉楨：央翔傍蒼防塘涼梁詳忘 公議詩 WS 185 鄉翔涼光堂方康央 贈五官中郎將之一 WS 185 芒唐光張翔 門難 WS 187 岡陽 望鄉傷 翔康 黎陽山賦 HHW 65.1, 1 棠皇 芒箱 陽倡房霜 詳璫璫 光驤亡魯都賦 HHW65.1, 2, 2, 2 當昂 行陽芳光煌 遂志賦 HHW 65.3 芳瓢良藏 瓜賦 HHW65.4 *Ch'en Lin* 陳琳：梁航牀 止欲賦 HHW92.1 房昌 神女賦 HHW92.3 *Hsü Kân* 徐幹：煌璫 良陽 驤牆 齊都賦 HHW 93.5, 5.5 皇裳西征賦 HHW93.6 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：方堂章 康觴公議 WS196 櫬防光 靈河賦 HHW42.1 光黃 撰征賦 HHW42.2 常方章黃光 車渠碗賦 HHW42.3 涼陽光唐 楊柳賦 HHW42.4 裳房剛 文質論 HHW42.5 昌場亡疆方 詳亡 奕勢 HHW42.6, 6 *Fan Ch'in* 繁欽：桑長光翔忘彰 贈梅公明詩 WS 193 陽裳腸 定情詩 WS 195 陽光房望裳芳 弭愁賦 HHW 93.8 光將房陽銛 征天山賦 HHW 93.9 翔鏘涼 建章鳳闕賦 HHW 93.9 方常芒章疆光 硯贊 HHW 93.11 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：慷忘康 短歌行 WS 117 場商 冬十月 WS 119 鄉行翔揚當方傍鄉岡忘 却東西門行 WS 121 當傍廂當觴央 氣出唱之三 WS 121 常桑 董逃行 WS 124 *Han-tan Ch'un* 邯鄲淳：光疆方黃昌 魏受命述 WW 26.2 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：揚方 秋胡行之三 WS 125 揚腸方芳商忘 善哉行之二 WS 126 長行 藏房亡當 煌煌京洛行 WS 126 涼霜翔腸鄉方房忘裳商長牀央望梁 燕歌行之一 WS 128 梁糠傷 上留田行 WS 129 管涼印霜央殃祥光陽鋼良堂涼倡商腸魴康觴忘 大牆上蒿行 WS 130 光煌長 月重輪行 WS 131 昂僵裳 黎陽作之二 WS 131 驤橫光臧陽 黎陽作之三 WS 131 光觴梁揚鏘昂康 於讎作 WS 132 湯光橫航良商額亡方康傷 至廣陵於馬上作 WS 133 長涼徨裳光橫翔鄉梁腸 雜詩之一 WS 133 涼倡傍揚腸長 夏詩 WS 135 陽光 愁霖賦 WW4.1 翔行芳望光 濟川賦 WW4.1 牀長 房光 離居賦 WW4.3 涼傷徨行黃揚 感潮賦 WW4.3 傷梁當 永思賦 WW4.3 橫牀亡悼天賦 WW4.4 翔梁綱房堂 校獵賦 WW4.5.5 岡章陽蒼光 瑤璫勒賦 WW4.7 *Ting Yi's-wife* 丁廋妻：行 廊揚傷浪 寡婦賦 HHW96.10 *Fu Sun* 傅巽：梁牆芳七誨 WW35.1 皇昌 揚方筆銘 WW35.1, 1 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：藏房光桑觴 傍梁香姜忘 妾薄命之一 WS 143 房綱 妾薄命之二 WS 143 桑當 艷歌行 WS 145 翔荒裳驤蒼光堂廂漿芳方疆 五遊詠 WS 146 堂鄉觴 當來日大難 WS 150 長忘 怨歌行 WS 151 常祥皇亡 廂觴皇康行昌 大魏篇 WS 155 場芒僵 結客篇 WS 156 鄉藏苦熱行 WS 156 陽翔 兩儀篇 WS 157 涼芳 艷歌行 WS 157 腸皇方香 樂府詩 WS 159 商方房揚光傷翔場 門難詩 WS 161 良堂章黃光方張商良長央王 元會詩 WS 161 常霜方陽觴腸長翔 送應氏之二 WS 162 鄉綱方疆驤航房康 離友詩之一 WS 163 皇方攘王方央 責躬詩 WS 164, 165 疆陽梁長傷 贈白馬王彪之一 WS 167 蒼橫岡黃 贈白馬王彪之二 WS 167 方翔 朔風詩 WS 168 蕩傷 七怨 WS 172 傍湘方張 雙鶴俱遶遊 WS 173 方霜裳皇考建世業 WS 174 皇將愁霖賦 WW13.1 陽行喜霽賦 WW13.1 霜涼大暑賦 WW13.1 徨陽翔芳長 岡陽綱當浪鄉璫王光洛神賦 WW13.3 光當祥靜思賦 WW13.4 皇方綱王祥望 玄暢賦 WW13.5 光霜常綱房 節遊賦 WW13.6 光霜腸 慰子賦 WW13.7 翔常殃王 九愁賦 WW13.8 涼張倡章綱 娛賓賦 WW13.9 揚方光王 登臺賦 WW13.10 常翔 閒居賦 WW13.10 翔堂方 酒賦 WW14.2 章觴忘 車渠碗賦 WW14.2 鄉光方 橘賦 WW14.3 祥光當傷皇行殃揚白鶴賦



WW14.3-4 翔場僵 駢賦 WW14.4 傷祥行方商翔康 離騷賦 WW14.4 方岡鄉翔 神龜賦 WW 14.5 牀觴房 九詠 WW 14.7 觴香腸 七啓之一 WW 16.9 裳光霜 七啓之二 WW 16.9 梁箱霜 七啓之四 WW 16.10 光行房張商裳央 七啓之五 WW 16.11 光方堂章祥光岡 七啓之七 WW 16.11 蕩傷 七忍 WW16.12 將商光綱 孔子廟頌 WW17.2 臧昌 宜男花頌 WW 17.4 王綱祥唐 姜嫄節狄贊 WW 17.6-7 王商方光 周文王贊 WW17.7 昌康 漢景帝贊 WW 17.8 光攘疆章王 漢武帝贊 WW17.8 光康 魏德論 WW 17.9 芳商亡光疆王 王仲宣誄 WW 19.3 陽皇章 康匡 武帝誄 WW 19.4 璋商剛匡 任城王誄 WW 19.5 霜行傷唐蒼喪 嘗璋常鎗鏘享祥康光綱當張揚翔匡 亡皇將陽康疆藏堂翔 文帝誄 WW 19.5, 6, 7 傍牀皇殃翔 光疆王煌 懿公主誄 WW 19.8 湯方牀行方翔 釋愁文 WW 19.10

*Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：房裳陽倉光行堂 許昌宮賦 WW 30.12 *Ts'ao Juè* 曹叡：堂堂裳頑良房方 短歌行 WS 136 揚涼張方疆 權歌行 WS 139 牀長颺堂徨翔腸裳 樂府詩 WS 139 *Hsüeh Tsung* 薛綜：良霜 白鹿頌 WW66.6 *Liu Shào* 劉劭：行岡嵯 光梁陽 趙都賦 WW32.1,1 方昌陽 龍瑞賦 WW32.3 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：王綱光 楚之平 WS 190 傍揚傷望當方章 克官渡 WS 191 皇昌方光祥梁岡皇 應帝期 WS 192 堂倡簧綱央 邕熙 WS 193 彰翔光疆 喜霽賦 WW 38.1 長章量陽光 青龍賦 WW38.2 *Hō Yèn* 何晏：方桑 堂鏘驤琅揚煌 璫光張方章 場當 景福殿賦 WW39.4,5,5,6 章祥光岡疆 瑞頌 WW39.12 *Ying Ch'ü* 應璩：陽牆光康 百一詩之二 WS 197 *Wei Tàn* 韋誕：驤翔長揚 房涼陽 景福殿賦 WW32.10,10 陽桑篋當方 皇后親蠶頌 WW32.11 *Fu Kū* 傅嘏：祥章 皇初頌 WW35.5 *Tu Ch'ih* 杜摯：蒼望 贈毋丘荊州 WS 200 *Kao Kuè Hsiang Kung* 高貴鄉公：良亡 傷魂賦 WW11.4 *Yang Hsi* 楊戲：臧鏘 贊許司徒 WW 62.7 常綱 贊董幼宰 WW 62.8 鄉張強 贊李德昂 WW 62.8 方章祥驤 贊黃公衡 WW62.9 章光贊秦子敕 WW62.9 臧芳贊馬季常等 WW62.9 常剛香 贊王國山等 WW62.9 *Sun Kai* 孫該：岡陽將房堂煌驤梁章揚廂光詳疆穰 神祠賦 WW40.2 良颺藏光腔簧 琵琶賦 WW40.3

*Lü An* 呂安：鄉傍蒼長荒裝堂 髑髏賦 WW 53.4-5 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：岡航長徨 贈秀才入軍之八 WS 205 藏傷 思親詩 WS211 岡驤光蒼陽康 張亮 房光芳 琴賦 WW47.1,2,2 臧囊 揚臧卜疑 WW 47.5, 5 *Kuo Hsiā-chou* 郭遐周：量佯涼章臧房姜康方翔傷 贈嵇康之一 WS 211 *Juān Tè-ju* 阮德如：常芳翔鄉長行忘梁康腸慷藏房傷章 答嵇康之二 WW213 *Juān Ch'í* 阮籍：翔芳忘腸房陽傷 詠懷之二 WS 215 陽光霜芳裳翔忘 又十二 WS 216 梁茫翔望霜傷常章又十六 WS 217 光璜芳陽翔傍傷又十九 WS 217 陽綱房霜光翔 又二十三 WS 218 傷旁桑霜長又二十五 WS 218 遑陽光梁傍芳翔 又三十五 WS 219 荒忘光揚場彰常 又三十九 WS 220 方堂傷光常 又四十四 WS 220 常方腸梁房傍 又五十三 WS 221 常綱璋梁芳方腸 又六十七 WS 223 箱光揚腸望 又七十三 WS 223 旁翔望忘常央 又七十六 WS 224 風岡荒藏翔傷 又七十九 WS 224 章房方康 東平賦 WW44.7,8 岡章旁光 清思賦 WW44.8 嘗陽藏 元父賦 WW44.12 *Chung Huè* 鍾會：霜岡岡芒煌張光 菊花賦 WW25.1 *Wei Chao* 韋昭：張祥陽殃 關背德 WS 231 *Mün Hūng* 閔鴻：陽張 琴賦 WW74.9 章揚 羽扇賦 WW74.10 *Yang Ch'üan* 楊泉：方洋桑望五湖賦 WW75.1 昌殃長亡陽當 贊善賦 WW75.2 房陽漿旁康 蠶賦 WW75.2 長張方章 芒光匡揚商剛揚梁強陽頑常方 織機賦 WW 75.3, 3 *Anonymous* 無名氏：康祥 徐州歌 WS 226

堂昂 邢子昂歌 WS 228 橫當陽 彭子陽歌 WS 234 黃囊 時人語 WS 235

*Szu-ma Yi* 司馬懿：光方鄉荒陽 天地開闢 CS 239 *Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：揚揚行璋王  
正會賦 CW28.1 鄉堂光芳 釋詩論 CW89.2 *Chung Yǎn* 鍾琰：隄翔遐思賦 CW144.1 *Ch'eng*  
*Kung-sui* 成公綏：央疆 王公上壽酒歌 CS 256 彰翔唐箱皇光昌彰疆 正旦大會行禮歌之四 CS256  
陽光綱康 正旦大會行禮歌之九 CS257 陽光房王湯姜忘 中宮之二 CS286 章光蒼黃方房張昌行望  
囊常強 天地賦 CW 59.1,2 蒼荒鄉疆強梁量 大河賦 CW59.3 場觴 洛禊賦 CW59.3 方藏慷揚傷荒  
鳴賦 CW 59.4 簣嬌章 琵琶賦 CW 59.6 堂鄉綱張方 蜘蛛賦 CW 59.8 張芒揚行章 隸書體 CW 59.10  
*Yü Chün* 庾峻：常亡章荒 祖德頌 CW 36.2 *Yü Shü* 庾儵：喪涼常亡 氷井賦 CW 36.4  
*Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：方康皇祥疆 迎送神歌 CS 240 光祥皇 饗方夕牲歌 CS 240 祥光方章皇疆  
降神歌 CS241 芳觴 天郊饗神歌 CS241 象荒 地郊饗神歌 CS241 堂皇嘗穰 豫章府君登歌 CS243 昌疆  
顯川府君登歌 CS243 皇方正旦大會行禮歌 CS248 章方皇驤唐綱疆常強荒揚光 靈之祥 CS259 梁康  
宣受命 CS259 祥長光疆 景龍飛 CS260 方堂芳璋王 文皇統百揆 CS 260 方芳 天序 CS 261 章皇鏘  
鎗觴康疆方 金靈運 CS262 剛霜揚 仲秋獵田 CS 263 芒皇方唐祥 釣竿 CS 265 皇彰光康翔昌祥  
良疆 羽籥舞歌 CS269 鄉房商防長桑筐章驤忘旁裝霜堂央湯望翔腸剛 和班氏詩 CS 290 鴛翔  
商飲馬長城窟行 CS291 芳箱揚璋詳嬌璫光裳霜方王望堂翔商 有女篇艷歌行 CS291-2 芳鴛翔裳  
秋蘭篇 CS293 觴廂方央堂 前有一樽酒行 CS293 光芳障飛靈篇 CS294 觴行光裳方 歷九秋篇 CS294  
岡商光翔藏驤揚芳忘 鴻雁生塞北行 CS295 涼疆當傷方常僵旁梁攘忱良殃揚章秦女休行 CS296  
皇詳祥鄉張 雲中白子高行 CS297 洋忘 車遙遙篇 CS297 陽祥皇光康 答程曉詩 CS298 長翔房方行  
廂裳昂霜光 雜言之十一 CS 298-9 陽驤方荒 日升歌 CS 300 香鴛梁裳 擬四愁之三 CS302 方翔光鄉  
殃擬四愁之四 CS302 陽翔 無題 CS302 翔腸 雲歌 CS303 簣廂歌詞 CS304 璋光 失題五首之四 CS304  
陽芒荒長翔述夏賦 CW 45.2 光煌方陽 觴翔章鏘簧皇揚 元日朝會賦 CW 45.2,3 艤航張琅行 正  
都賦 CW45.4 梁光傷揚商 琵琶賦 CW45.6 黃芳方 鬱金賦 CW45.7-8 方祥 宜男花賦 CW45.8 光煌揚  
安石榴賦 CW45.9 章黃房 李賦 CW45.9 堂長 霜嘗桃賦 CW45.9,9 祥章揚翔商裳梁 雄賦 CW45.11  
梁霜 七謨 CW46.8 驤疆 信陵贊 CW46.9 堂芳王 太子少傅箴 CW46.10 光桑陽彰 燭銘 CW46.12 霜  
揚 龐公誄 CW46.13 行箱良 祝祖文 CW 46.14 *Huáng-fü Mí* 皇甫謐：張方 腸玉皇方王  
釋勸論 CW71.7,8 *Tsao Chü* 棗據：疆陽良場翔長梁岡蒼裳涼傷方房忘 雜詩 CS 313 蒼  
傷唐 表志賦 CW67.5 悵望疆漳 登樓賦 CW 67.5 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：將皇荒唐祥臧方王常  
堂陽光璋疆 隆化 CS252 *Hsüà-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：祥彰陽芳 宜男花賦 CW68.4 翔頤光揚  
伴 觀飛鳥賦 CW68.6 裳芳翔行 春可樂 CW68.6 長光房裳傷 荒岡 秋可哀 CW68.7,7 長傷房翔光  
霜 秋夕哀 CW68.7 *Sun Chü* 孫楚：芳揚桑頤 登樓賦 CW 60.2 皇傷 羊祜碑 CW 60.10 芳霜  
胡母夫人哀辭 CW 60.11 *Fü Hsüan* 傅咸：光常方長 周易詩 CS 307 揚霜匡綱 與尚書同僚詩  
CS 307 方陽 奕奕恒山 CS 310 光揚房 感涼賦 CW 51.2 光陽 神泉賦 CW51.2 光翔 感別賦 CW 51.3  
亡皇常方揚王商堂疆 甲秦始皇賦 CW 51.4 常殃 登芒賦 CW 51.4 塘翔梁桑湯 羽扇賦 CW 51.5  
王涼忘傍商霜房藏良方 扇賦 CW51.6 陽方詳彰 鏡賦 CW51.6 光彰桑望常傷長央房煌陽忘  
觴 燭賦 CW51.7 陽芒光商祥 桑樹賦 CW 51.9 陽行章行翔 梧桐賦 CW 51.9 梁房頤傷翔 班鳩賦

CW51.10 *Wáng Chì* 王濟：陽方涼房 槐樹賦 CW28.7 *Chang Huá* 張華：觴方 王公上壽詩 CS254 光彰央 食舉東西廂樂詩之二 CS254 康疆忘光祥 又七 CS254 方荒裳疆翔 又九 CS255 皇光方 晉宴會歌 CS258 光章王方疆康 正德舞歌 CS267 場旁霜鑲光橫牆香方 博陵王宮俠曲之二 CS279 方光王揚 祖道征西 CS281 王相方彰 祖道趙王 CS281 房光壯長傷 情詩之三 CS283 襪梁姜揚常陽 感婚詩 CS284 湘陽裳 遊仙之三 CS285 方祥疆塢良荒昌亡康彰 地理贊 CW58.7 祥光皇 章懷皇后誄 CW58.9 方嬌祥陽皇將常揚光芳荒喪嘗傷 元皇后哀策文 CW58.10 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：傷疆疆陽 關中詩 CS372 王揚疆翔 良岡裳芳 贈陸機 CS372 王莊霜房揚驤傷 央章光梁傍芒 黃郎牆亡 西征賦 CW90.6,6,8 薑芳陽霜 閑居賦 CW91.6 長簫商揚 笙賦 CW91.7 望陽安石榴賦 CW92.1 良陽輓傷 武皇帝誄 CW92.6 章傷詳張王疆 揚荊州誄 CW92.7 惶糧長方 馬汧督誄 CW92.10 傷相行彰魯武公誄 CW93.1 王良陽傷夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 芳艷良殃皇女誄 CW93.3 王方良芳 王氏哀辭 CW93.6 良望 仲武哀祝丈 CW93.7 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：陽翔梁康徨將方姜商觴 思歸引 CS402-3 方鄉光堂芳娉疆 贈叢映 CS403 *Ts'ö Ch'ü-pin* 左九嬪：楊陽祥光姜霜方荒揚臧皇將章 殃康方良荒光昌傷 箱簫章裳 元皇后誄 CW13.5,6,6 芳霜翔 萬年公主誄 CW13.7 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：方暢涼壯 餅賦 CW87.3 *Lü Chi* 陸機：堂觴霜揚芳長房章忘臧荒 短歌行 CS323 鄉湘裳涼亡喪荒芒長傷 門有車馬客行 CS328 剛鄉璫 百年歌之四 CS335 常湘堂荒康 房亡徨 與弟清和雲 CS329-40 綱亡 述先賦 CW96.3 忘臧方 述思賦 CW96.3 傷長喪荒忘芒歎逝賦 CW96.8 長喪量亡大暮賦 CW96.9 章妨傷芒當文賦 CW97.2 洋塘藏房龍賦 CW97.7 行蒼翔 七微之三 CW98.2 光揚王梁 疆陽皇章亡 功臣頌 CW98.5,6 揚蒼 演連珠之三 CW99.3 皇芳臧昌 霜望傷房 惡懷太子誄 CW99.9,9 昌揚臧詳香長房倡觴亡光藏嘗茫望葬王忘傷 甲魏武帝文 CW99.11-2 *Lü Yun* 陸雲：王光臧揚芒太尉王公CS352 祥臧蒼堂 大安二年CS353 臧堂光將房從事中郎 CS353 章疆昌陽相 贈顧驃騎 CS354 臧堂桑揚長常答兄平原CS359 涼章翔梁裳谷風CS361 蒼泱臧光桑揚南衡CS362 長觴梁商箱答兄平原CS365 芒湘桑亡喪堂荒歲暮賦CW100.2 洋梁箱陽喜霽賦CW100.4 芒房霜涼翔方 伴昌廂芳亡堂 登臺賦 CW100.4.5 涼傷裳陽 寒蟬賦 CW100.8 湘將鄉長傷九思修身CW101.2 翔裳香祥 九思行思CW101.3 襄長商霜九思感逝CW101.4 芒章芒方張招頌CW103.10 唐王光綱桑蒼盛德頌CW103.12 皇桑 荒揚皇璋張二侯頌CW104.2,3 喪荒牆亡 逸民箴 CW104.4 揚桑堂荒綱 陸公誄 CW104.4 璫堂璫康荒光綱 陸府君誄 CW104.8,8 光荒唐煌 翔章張昌陽 夏府君誄 CW104.9,10 *Ch'eng Feng* 鄭豐：翔翔唱揚嘗 鴛鴦 CS367 *Hsiä Ch'eng* 夏靖：荒康臧綱答陸士衡 CS370 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：堂橫長光悼離贈妹之二CS385 霜黃光翔堂慷 雜詩CS387 狼章 魴鱗章忘 紕橫方榔鄉 障防向王向量 蜀都賦 CW74.3,3,3,5 航浪樟榔檀 霜陽 芳房翔行 方鏘霜光將芒章驤張綱湘煌 芒藏 吳都賦 CW74.5,6,7,7,8,9 良藏隍王 廊藏光章 堂陽芳梁魏都賦CW74.12,12,12-13 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：芳梁旁陽長望光 贈韓德眞 CW404 霜鶩翔行商光傷 答趙景猷CS407 匡常颺洋望翔 述志賦CW107.6 *Juän Chan* 阮瞻：疆慷商 上巳會賦CW72.8 *Chiang T'ung* 江統：皇康桑方長王嘗 酒誥CW106.1 陽章珍珠銘 CW106.10 *Pan Ni* 潘尼：悵忘 贈汲郡太守李茂彥 CS383 傍黃長僵 莊昂 惠道賦 CW94.1,1,1 薑方梁芳忘 鈞賦 CW94.3 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：荒疆方驤 贈褚武良 CS316 璫裳琅光遑傷彰光

荒翔 思遊賦 CW1.2 方良 疾愈賦 CW 76.3 涼房 槐賦 CW 76.4 陽藏皇梁 太康頌 CW 77.4 商湯王 殷湯贊 CW77.5 荒藏綱王 孔子贊 CW77.5 殃常 武庫銘 CW77.6 *Lü-ch'iu Ch'ung* 閻丘沖：陽梁翔 三月三日之一 CS 412 荒王芳方良康 三月三日之二 CS 412 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：揚光 贈荀彥將 CS 314 *Chang Mìn* 張敏：姜藏皇 神女賦 CW 80.1 臧光芳 頭責子羽文 CW 80.2 *Hsià-hóu Ch'ün* 夏侯淳：湯橫方光 彈基賦 CW69.10 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：亡藏長傷扶風歌 CS 417 *Sun Huì* 孫惠：裴翔煌 龜賦 CW115.9 *Wáng Yì* 王廙：霜堂 洛都賦 CW 20.9 藏光 笙賦 CW20.10 光綱陽長 白兔賦 CW20.10 陽剛蒼 春可樂 CW20.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：長 觴梁漲茫湘漳陽桑 翔榜艗橋商浪荒 江賦 CW 120.1,3 方崗璋牀光 鹽池賦 CW 120.4 肪香長 方蜜峰賦 CW120.6 牀芳簧 爾雅圖靡蕪贊 CW121.7 方璫望 又蚌贊 CW121.9 方漿裳 山海經圖華山贊 CW 122.4 羊鶩當 又土塋獸欽原鳥贊 CW 122.6 羊良 又寓鳥贊 CW122.9 光湘祥 又修輔贊 CW 122.11 穰光祥 又當康贊 CW122.12 陽光惶 又神泰逢贊 CW123.2 光祥方 又睿明贊 CW123.12 *Wen Chiào* 溫嶠：芒彰揚釋奠頌 CW80.10 *Hü Chì* 胡濟：陽鄉 霜荒璫黃甘賦 CW109.2,2 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：茫陽堂忘 遊仙詩之七 CS 447 浪桑光王 涉江賦 CW38.1 臧陽祥堂昌 棠章 塘箱 揚都賦 CW38.2,2,3 昌王張方 甲賈生文 CW38.10 *Lǐ Hsing* 李興：陽光鄉方常驤裳莊藏行良荒疆 諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW 70.11 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：煌堂桑 安石榴賦 CW 85.3 芳牀臧陽 瓜賦 CW85.3 章綱張 平吳頌 CW85.4 *Chang Hsièh* 張協：黃霜 七命序 CW85.8 張梁昌商 七命之一 CW85.9 剛芒鸛荒 七命之二 CW85.9 綱將芒 手戟銘 CW85.12 *Ts'ao T'ien* 棗腆：方陽 皇長 答石崇 CS409 *Lu Hsiün* 魯褒：方強 張望商方光彰 錢神論 CW113.7,7 *Lǐ Ch'ung* 李充：蒼箱梁 七月七日 CS447 荒忘彰狂 學箴 CW53.7 *Lü Ch'ien* 盧諶：翔岡風芳 重贈劉琨 CS421 *Ts'ao P'ü* 曹毗：臧桑荒章疆芳 晉江左宗廟歌孝宗穆皇帝 CS247 *Méi T'áo* 梅陶：唐光皇璋綱 贈溫嶠 CS428 *Chiang Yü* 江淹：陽光商 風賦 CW107.2 鄉霜芳 竹賦 CW107.3 *Sun Szü* 孫嗣：莊芳 蘭亭 CS440 *Chih Tün* 支遁：陽翔疆堂霜傍商芳長方藏綱章光 喪亡張航浪場 五月長齋詩 CS501 陽香翔芳長忘 阿彌陀佛像贊 CW157.12-13 長方鄉堂忘芳 文殊 師利贊 CW157.13 忘光梁鄉方堂場芳 月光童子贊 CW157.14 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：皇綱彰芳 贈 謝安 CS435 房方光漲細芳 望海賦 CW61.2 祥章光 賀循像贊 CW61.7 藏光章霜 名德沙門贊康法朗 CW61.8 *Hsiè Ch'ao* 郗超：方常芳場 答傅郎 CS453 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：章驤長 頤行強 用筆賦 CW22.1 *Hsièh An* 謝安：芒揚霜芳梁翔 與王胡之 CS 439 裳航唐殤 蘭亭 CS 439 *T'áo Yü* 桃葉：光忘 答王團扇歌 CS 512 *Ts'ao Huá* 曹華：梁鄉 蘭亭 CS 443 *Fü T'ao* 伏滔：望驤壯陽剛漲 望濤賦 CW133.7 *T'ài K'üi* 戴逵：康嘗 申三復贊 CW137.3 *Kü K'ái-chih* 顧愷之：王光 祭牙文 CW135.4 *Seng Ch'ao* 僧肇：方綱霜坊鄉臧 鳩摩羅 什法師誄 CW165.15 *Chih T'án T'ü* 支曇諦：陽茫房翔亡 赴火蛾賦 CW 165.16 *Lǐ Sung* 李嵩：霜芳光驤漿岡 述志賦 CW155.1 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：堂璋霜光 贈長沙公 CS456 唐 光商昌 命子 CS457 荒堂茫場邛昂方傷 擬古之四 CS477 量房央陽腸 雜詩之三 CS478 桑糠糧陽 傷方觴 雜詩之八 CS 478-9 涼梁鄉霜長 雜詩之十一 CS479 陽長光黃 讀山海經之四 CS482 長常糧 央又八 CS482 觴嘗傍光鄉央挽歌之二 CS484 芳央 揚粧閑情賦 CW111.5,5 *Yin Yün* 殷允：

觴湘璫 石榴賦 CW129.2 *Su Yèn* 蘇彥：藏陽箱裳芳堂桑驤長 詠織女 CS494 央望光堂芳常霜 秋夜長 CW138.1 彰翔疆王芳霜亡颺鄉康 語巖 CW138.2 *Hú Yì-chou* 胡義周：揚章央王光 統萬成功德銘 CW156.8 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：黃王方蒼 黃帝贊 CW139.2 方驤方將 偃佺贊 CW139.2 商光陽彰 朱仲贊 CW139.6 *Sun Ch'üing* 孫瓊：方揚商 筮復賦 CW144.12 *Ch'ang Nú* 張奴：彰殃囊霜蒼鄉王方傷章 濛濛大象內 CS509 *Ying Shih* 應碩：良揚章光箱將 祝祖文 CW128.10 *Ch'ân Fang-sheng* 湛方生：陽鄉洋梁 懷歸謠 CS493 長光涼霜傷忘方莊綱芒忘殤 秋夜詩 CS493-4 堂廂鏘翔光章商 七歡之一 CW140.6 霜光陽芳 又五 CW140.6 祥昌長王揚 木連理頌 CW140.7 房涼香芳翔鄉 靈秀山銘 CW140.8 *Hsin Hsiao* 辛蕭：揚堂房涼傷翔忘 燕頌 CW144.2 *Yáng Yì* 揚乂：祥陽光 雲賦 CW89.3 *Anonymous* 無名氏：皇方康王 常疆涼僵 天命篇 CS271 皇唐光章方綱揚亡霜方大晉篇 CS272 黃翔 白鳩篇 CS274 芳黃行央 濟濟篇 CS274 洋翔昂光行方忘央白貯舞之一 CS275 翔光芳陽白貯舞之二 CS275 香璫簧揚梁翔光行長昌 白貯舞之三 CS275 當長 杯槃舞歌 CS276 當郎 子夜歌之二 CS523 璫郎 子夜春歌之九 CS526 梁陽 子夜春歌之十三 CS526 涼妝 夏歌十九 CS528 光裳香 秋歌之四 CS528 霜傷 又九 CS528 霜陽 又十 CS529 颺光 又十七 CS529 光忘 團扇郎之一 CS534 塘光 又五 CS534 瑯當 長樂佳之一 CS537 璫牀 同上 CS537 箱鄉 黃竹子歌 CS539 梁郎 青溪小姑曲 CS540 鐙行 三洲歌之三 CS542 韁梁 青聰白馬之一 CS543 常鄉 又二 CS543 堂璫 孟珠之一 CS545 央長 同前 CS546 榔陽 月節折楊柳歌二月歌 CS549 裳霜 又八月歌 CS550 楊韁漿御路揚歌 CS555 長昌樊氏波歌 CS556 良忘 從者歌 CS556 長裳 巴東三峽歌 CS559 王綱 秦始中謠 CS561 長牆傷 溫縣狂書 CS563 囊郎 囊郎謠 CS566 傷鄉 司馬元顯時民謠之一 CS571 鳳房 苻堅時長安謠 CS573 堂房梁章 二梁 CS578 康皇光疆 殃喪傷 文明王太后哀策文 CW146.4 方嬌祥陽煌將常揚光芳荒喪嘗傷 楊皇后哀策文 CW146.5 皇璋芳 光滅傷 康帝哀策文 CW146.6,6

### Shang

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：壤像爇 寶刀賦 WW14.1 響象七啓之五 WW16.11 往掌黨爽 釋愁文 WW19.10 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：敝象 景福殿賦 WW39.5 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：朗象響賞 酒會之三 WS207 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：響悅 琴賦 CW59.5 *Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：壤長 琴賦 CW45.10 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：掌響往 笑賦 CW60.1 朗往壤響掌 梁令孫侯頌 CW60.8 *Fü Hsien* 傅咸：象上釀黨 小語賦 CW51.2 *Chang Huá* 張華：象響 女史箴 CW58.8 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：蕩丈廣 往響廣兩 滄海賦 CW90.2,3 往賞網長網往響兩 西征賦 CW90.5,9 象壤想朗響 寡婦賦 CW91.3 往朗 閑居賦 CW91.6 兩往朗懷響壤仰 射雉賦 CW92.2 象廣朗 鄭表碑 CW93.4 敝往壤 哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：壤養長 崇丘 CS319 *Mü Huá* 木華：朗往像 海賦 CW105.8 *Lü Chi* 陸機：廣養往響朗想 赴洛道中作之二 CS344 掌響 鼃賦 CW97.7 響往壤象 網朗廣仰 功臣頌 CW98.7 朗緹長響 陸府君誄 CW99.8 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：廣響蕩朗潏 南征賦 CW100.7 想廣往網 九思紆思 CW101.3 廣象仰響 陸公誄 CW104.6 *Tsö Szu* 左思：想往爽 悼離贈妹之二 CS385 往黨掌兩蜀都賦 CW74.4 淺廣長往 晃響莽象黨吳都賦 CW74.5,6 *Chi Han* 嵇含：獎象 甲莊周圖文 CW65.8 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：壤廣爽朗答趙景猷 CS406 爽兩想往仿養

又答陸景猷 CS407-8 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：象響往漢 火賦 CW94.3 *Ts'ao Sung* 裴嵩：網象往爽 贈杜方叔 CS314 *Chang Mǐn* 張敏：長獎 奇士劉披賦 CW80.1 *Sun Huì* 孫惠：象網 雜車賦 CW115.8 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：丈朗響想掌往象網 遊仙之八 CS424 潁朗晃長 塩池賦 CW120.4 長蟒丈 爾雅圖蟒蛇贊 CW121.9 兩廣恍 山海經圖神于兒贊 CW123.5 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：象往想朗廣響 閑居賦 CW38.4 愧敞蕩朗 狹室賦 CW38.4 壤蕩浮查賦 CW38.5 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：棍朗響 七命之二 CW85.9 蕩壤象又七 CW85.11 *Lü Hsiün* 魯褒：賞往錢神論 CW113.7 *Lǐ Ch'ung* 李充：爽朗 郭有道頌 CW 53.6 *Lü Ch'ên* 盧誼：往仰想曩 贈劉琨 CS418 壤響 鸚鵡賦 CW34.9 *Ts'ao P'í* 曹毗：壤往 四時祠祀歌 CS 248 *Chiang Yü* 江淹：往蕩養掌黨 逸民箴 CW107.5 *Hsiéh Wàn* 謝萬：上相網賞 嵇中散贊 CW83.4 *Chih Tün* 支遁：往上仰響長爽 朗網想敞象杖 詠懷之三 CS 502-3 敞悅蕩往掌朗象仰網壤 詠大德詩 CS504 *Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：鞅往兩象想 贈庾翼 CS 430 丈響朗往 答謝安 CS 431 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：像廣仰響 列仙傳贊支孝龍 CW61.8 *Lǐ Yü* 李頤：壤響長晃象雪賦 CW53.10 *T'ai K'ui* 戴逵：象仰朗響 顏回贊 CW137.3 *Wáng Ning-chih* 王凝之：往蕩風賦 CW27.1 *Huì Yuàn* 慧遠：獎像朗爽響賞曩 萬佛影銘 CW162.15 *Lǐ Sung* 李嵩：想象壤仰象響掌往鞅 述志賦 CW 155.2,2 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：鞅想往長廣莽 歸田園居之二 CS 460 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：響朗杖 執友箴 CW142.2 *Chang Wàng* 張望：壤相網朗 蝨蛛賦 CW 135.5-6 *Kuo Yuán-tsü* 郭元祖：爽響上往 王子喬贊 CW139.5 *Chiä Piao* 賈彪：壤象蕩 大鵬賦 CW 89.11 *Anonymous* 無名氏：響長 子夜春歌二十 CS 527 象上 淫豫歌 CS 559 廣朗響象養爽想 康帝哀策文 CW146.6 朗仰 簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：仰王儷相 殷湯贊 WW17.6 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：放尙 幽憤詩 WS204 放尙讓忘悵壯亮相抗快 卜疑 WW47.5 放狀相尙 司馬相如贊 WW52.9 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：望亮放壯旺 嘯賦 CW59.4 望抗放壯尙 螳螂賦 CW 59.8 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：暢貺響讓 煌煌 CS251 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：仰壯望暢 相將望暢量 西征賦 CW 90.5, 6-7 養葬暢亮 夏侯常侍誄 CW 93.2 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：量暢亮尙 大雅吟 CS 401 *Lü Chi* 陸機：昶續量壯 祖德賦 CW 96.2 量狀匠讓相當曠亮 愴壯暢誑放長 文賦 CW 97.2 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：將亮壯唱 南征賦 CW 100.7-8 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：暢亮唱 吳都賦 CW 74.6 狀量壯相匠 魏都賦 CW74.12 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：放量曠 弔莊周圖文 CW65.8 *Chang Mǐn* 張敏：帳響放 神女賦 CW83.1 *Ch'eng Ts'ân* 成粲：創尙 平樂市賦 CW86.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：喪浪曠客傲 CW121.2 浪放況 山海經圖鸚鵡贊 CW 122.2 狀浪亢 又鳴蛇贊 CW 123.1 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：望相暢匠放狀向喪悵 藏鉤賦 CW38.4 *Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：唱當量 颺匠答謝安 CS431 *Hsi Ch'ao* 郗超：喪暢匠向 答傅郎 CS453 *Huân Wei* 桓偉：尙王唱暢 蘭亭 CS441 *Seng Ch'ao* 僧肇：望相量匠向唱 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW165.15 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：上妄謗亮 感士不遇賦 CW111.4 *Kuo Yuán-tsü* 郭元祖：向壯量上 仇生贊 CW139.3 *Anonymous* 無名氏：唱亮 子夜冬歌之四 CS 529 尙養相創望暢讓放響仰 文明王太后哀策文

CW146.4 讓尙王 穆帝哀策文 CW146.6

### (17.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Yáng* 陽 and *Keng* 耕

#### *P'ing*

*Liú Chen* 劉楨：方荆行洋將場翔忘 遂志賦 HHW65.3 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：良疆王殃  
京喪行傷 薤露 WS120 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：良光剛行藏疆英 曹蒼舒誄 WW7.10 *Ts'ao Chih*  
曹植：方長裳章英房望傷徨鄉 叙愁賦 WW13.7-8 霜英芳棠光 迷迭香賦 WW14.3 英章光曹休誄  
WW19.7 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：光陽岡英 趙都賦 WW32.2 *Cheng Kung-sui* 成公綏：明  
行芒 故筆賦 CW59.6 疆京抗荒棠 司馬公誄 CW99.10 *Fù Hsüan* 傅玄：皇光衡明唐良康  
疆 大晉承運期 CS 262 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：彰陽鄉揚張英 贈顧尚書 CS 358-9 翔商陽京常 寒蟬賦  
CW100.8 張康臧揚京 陸府居誄 CW 104.7 *Chang Tsai* 張載：方京 羽扇賦 CW 85.2 *Lü*  
*Ch'en* 盧諶：傷芳莖 菊花賦 CW34.8

#### *Shang*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：壤景 與弟清河雲 CS 339

*Yáng* 陽 and *Tung* 東

#### *P'ing*

*Hsü Kün* 徐幹：牀陽蓉當七喻 HHW93.7 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：黃幢翔驤西狩賦 HHW42.2  
*Han-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：王同黃 魏受命述 WW26.2 *Yang Hsi* 楊戲：方鐘驤 贊昭烈皇帝  
WW62.7 *Lü Chi* 陸機：涼邦 七微之六 CW98.3 Anonymous 無名氏：疆邦祥 太社祝  
文 CW146.14

#### *Shang*

*Hsia-hou Chan* 夏侯湛：動盪往黨枉爽 浮萍賦 CW68.4

*Yáng* 陽 and *Tung* 冬

#### *P'ing*

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：祥攘雄湯 漢高帝贊 WW17.7 *Hü Tsung* 胡綜：中常望方祥 黃龍牙  
賦 WW67.5

#### *Ch'ü*

*Hsi Tsuò-ch'ih* 習鑿齒：亮降 燈 CS 452

*Yáng* 陽 and *Cheung* 蒸

#### *P'ing*

*Wei Chao* 韋昭：裳鷹疆傷亡 秋風 WS 231

*Yáng* 陽 and *Teng* 登

*P'ing*

*Lù Chi* 陸機：涼弘 演連珠之二十 CW 99.5      *Lù Yün* 陸雲：弘王昌 陸府君誄 CW 104.7

*Yin Chü* 殷巨：祥燈張房翔 鯨魚燈賦 CW 81.8

*Yáng* 陽 and *Yuán* 元

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：王賢 善哉行之一 WS118

*Yáng* 陽, *Tung* 東 and *Keng* 耕

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：凶陽戕方亡鳴腸 蒿里行 WS120

*Yáng* 陽, *Tung* 東 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：興方傷空光 室思 WS184

*Yáng* 陽, *Keng* 耕 and *Teng* 登

*P'ing*

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：紘弘涼驤鏘 征西大將軍 CS 352

#### (17.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Yáng* 陽 *P'ing* 平 and *Yáng* 陽 *Ch'ü* 去

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：亮霜壯續 馬汧督誄 CW 92.10

*Yuán* 陽 *Shàng* 上 and *Yuán* 陽 *Ch'ü* 去

*Lú Ch'én* 盧諶：杖暢量望 贈劉琨 CS 419      *Su Yèn* 蘇彥：杖暢亮常匠王 邛竹杖銘 CW 138.2

#### (18) Rime Category *Keng* 耕

##### (18.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Keng* 庚：京鯨鯨驤 生牲笙 明盟鳴 瑩榮嶸 亨烹 平苹 英瑛 鳴 驚 行  
衡 荆 卿 兄 鎗 迎 彭 兵 祊 橫 羹 更



*Keng* 耕：爭崢箠錚 紘宏𦉰 莖 耕 倬 嚶 鶯 萌 橙

*Ch'ing* 清：情清晴晴精菁 貞楨禎禎 成城誠盛 呈程逞醒 塋榮營榮 嬰櫻纓  
盈楹盈 羸羸 頸輕 征政 聲 傾 井 名 旌 瓊 晶 駢

*Ch'ing* 青：冷玲於苓齡聆鈴零蔭齡 廷庭挺筵霆颺 星猩腥醒 靈靈樞鄺 亭停  
惺惺 駢屏瓶 形刑劓 丁汀寧 冥溟冥 涇經 青鵲 榮榮 局垌  
馨 銘 聽 萍

### *Shang*

*K'eng* 梗：景影 永 警 省 猛 炳 冷 境 正 青 問

*K'eng* 耿：幸 耿

*Ch'ing* 靜：靖請靜 領嶺 穎 整 騁 屏 脛 井 郢 頃

*Ch'ing* 迥：挺霆 頂町 迥炯 並 溟 醒 鼎

### *Ch'ü*

*Y'ing* 映：竟境鏡 泳詠 敬 競 命 病 慶 榮 映

*Cheng* 諍：迸 諍

*Ch'ing* 勁：性姓 正政 令命 聖 鄭 盛 勁 聘 命 併

*Ching* 徑：徑 廷 聽 定 凜 馨 冥 佞

## (18.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Keng* 耕

### *P'ing*

*K'ung Jung* 孔融：靈貞榮霆寧 張儉碑 HHW 83.12 *Ju'än Yü* 阮瑀：形榮鸛鵲賦 HHW93.2

*Ts'ui Y'än* 崔琰：生溟 述初賦 HHW94.5 *W'ang Ts'än* 王粲：生寧征嬰訪爭頸逞情

齡誠 思親詩 WS178 刑征垌情城鳴寧 齡平貞誠榮聲 從軍之二 WS179 情榮鳴征形冥誠并

雜詩 WS 180-181 靈驚 閑邪賦 HHW90.2 榮明傷天賦 HHW90.2 精鳴生經形思友賦 HHW90.3 征垌

羽獵賦 HHW90.4 盈成 聲情 神女賦 HHW90.5.5 庭莖精 迷迭賦 HHW90.5 明榮 槐樹賦 HHW90.6

征庭柳賦 HHW90.6 冥頸 鸛鵲賦 HHW90.7 冥頸鳴榮情 鶯賦 HHW90.7 名晶馨 七釋之二 HHW91.1

形頸榮 又六 HHW91.1 兵清呈形鯨靈明 刀銘 HHW91.7 征嶸靈平情 弔夷齊文 HHW91.7 *Liu*

*Chen* 劉楨：城靈榮冷 黎陽山賦 HHW 65.1 傾生 遂志賦 HHW 65.3 *Ch'én Lin* 陳琳：程

聲城 飲馬長城窟行 WS 182 清生城庭 榮傾銘經名 遊覽之二 WS 182-3 征靈 止欲賦 HHW 92.1

精靈嚶榮 神女賦 HHW92.3 形聲精 鸛鵲賦 HHW92.3 *Hsü K'än* 徐幹：冷庭楹榮生精停

聲醒 情詩 WC183 零情 室思 WS184 經清序征賦 HHW93.6 *Y'ing Yang* 應瑒：聲庭形零

愁霖賦 HHW43.1 征驚傾星 靈河賦 HHW42.1 庭城盈聲撰征賦 HHW42.2 生形榮車渠碗賦 HHW42.3

靈形經 文質論 HHW 42.5 *F'än Ch'in* 繁欽：情櫻 定情詩 WS 194 廷鳴名榮 建章鳳賦

HHW93.9 形楹并生桑賦 HHW93.9 庭衡明成清榮經聲廷尙書箴 HHW93.11 *Yang Hsiu* 楊修：

### 3.3 Rime Lists—Category *Keng* 耕

征逞靈生成英賴莖青馨形榮 節遊賦 HHW51.9 征驚 出征賦 HHW51.9 盈成 許昌宮賦 HHW51.10  
 庭清靈榮 神女賦 HHW 51.10 精靈頸程 孔雀賦 HHW 51.10 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：鳴萃笙 短  
 歌行 WS 118 *Hàn-tan Ch'un* 邯鄲淳：精清庭聲成卿 魏受命述 WW26.2 *Ts'ao Pi*  
 曹丕：萍傾榮英庭頸 秋胡行之三 WS 125 纓輕榮 大墙上蒿行 WS130 城經聲榮生鳴傾情 於玄  
 武陵作 WS 132 亭星生城 於明津作 WS133 征崢營傾亭生青零情 黎陽作 WS 134 傾鳴征 濟川賦  
 WW4.1 生冷榮 滄海賦 WW4.2 征靈庭 戒盈賦 WW 4.3 城鳴平 出婦賦 WW 4.4 寧庭情鳴 悼天賦  
 WW4.4 靈冥冷庭 感物賦 WW4.4 形榮傾停 精平彈基賦 WW4.6,6 庭莖榮清征生迷迭賦 WW4.6  
 成星 瑪瑙勒賦 WW4.7 形靈榮并 車渠腕賦 WW4.7 庭成征形情 楸賦 WW 4.8 生鳴 鶯賦 WW4.8  
 名榮 連珠 WW7.10 *Ting Yi* 丁廌：精平貞 彈基賦 HHW 94.4 *Ting Yi's wife* 丁廌  
 妻：成楓冥 冥婦賦 HHW96.11 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：情輕纓呈 妾薄命之一 WS 143 形明生盈  
 聲徑庭平寧名 惟漢行 WS 150 情聲名城 當事君行 WS 152 城名清亭英精征成程 貞靈形冥生  
 驅車篇 WS 153 營軒精聲纓生庭鳴情 聖皇篇 WS154 斃牲形名 靈芝篇 WS 154 庭形鳴驚 大魏篇  
 WS 155 明傾生零卿名頸生 精微篇 WS 155 清兵明停 孟冬篇 WS 156 生形 飛龍篇 WS 158 生榮  
 征庭成 喜雨詩 WS 163 盈經 嬰庭 責躬詩 WS 165 寧征旌聲 庭醒 應詔詩 WS 165 京清城清兵  
 名聲營經 贈丁儀王粲 WS 167 誠榮朔風詩 WS 169 烹名矯志詩 WS 169 楫庭征并斃榮生萍傾情  
 雜詩 WS 169 庭青榮靈鳴成寧星精并鳴庭聲箏清靈成寧棄婦詩 WS 171 行精鳴愁靈賦 WW13.1  
 成誠 喜霽賦 WW 13.1 靈清榮 大暑賦 WW 13.1 驚營停平 懷親賦 WW 13.4 生莖榮鳴成 節遊賦  
 WW 13.6 冥英聲驚零生 感節賦 WW 13.6 零庭驚征聲 出婦賦 WW 13.6 旌庭形傾鳴聲 九愁賦  
 WW 13.8 清英鳴營情成纓 感婚賦 WW 13.9 營精輕旌 東征賦 WW 13.10 情營清城榮鳴逞京明  
 登臺賦 WW13.10 靈莖青榮 臨觀賦 WW13.10 英營庭靈 寶刀賦 WW14.1 名清城成萍酒賦 WW14.2  
 聲庭形成征星驚精 車渠腕賦 WW14.2 靈莖廷 芙蓉賦 WW14.3 庭清生零榮 橘賦 WW14.3 名形  
 鸚鵡賦 WW14.4 營生傾聽 鸚鵡賦 WW14.5 庭莖形 蟬賦 WW14.6 衡旌鯨 九詠 WW14.7 庭靈營  
 生傾 英經聲 榮情 七啓序 WW 16.8,8,9 營成生 又一 WW16.9 情纓旌 又三 WW16.9 形晴 又四  
 WW16.10 庭笙鳴又五 WW16.10 靈榮傾馨孔子廟頌 WW17.2 生榮經明禎聲聽皇太子生頌 WW17.3  
 貞并城輕 冬至獻饗頌 WW17.3 笙成形靈 女媧贊 WW 17.4 牲靈 湯禱桑林贊 WW 17.6 形營貞寧  
 商山四皓贊 WW17.7 并形 清成貞聲 魏德論 WW17.9,9 精莖庭靈 嘉禾謳 WW 17.10 傾冥靈情 庭  
 聲盈榮停 靈形 形生 饞饕說 WW 18.8,8,8,8 清停英經營明并零傾 承露盤銘 WW 19.2 纓耕衡  
 荀侯誄 WW19.2 冥零 青生征零 京鳴形聲頸冥生榮 王仲宣誄 WW 19.2,3,4 生成京 冥靈形  
 武帝誄 WW19.5 名青聲 任城王誄 WW19.5 齡庭冥瑩形瓊平輕情 禎靈聲征形冥局驚頸崢嬰  
 經庭輕生零聽形誠 文帝誄 WW19.6,7 名生旌情 貞靈明冥牲誠 卞太后誄 WW19.7,8 聆聲懿公主誄  
 WW 19.8 榮形齡 曹仲雍哀辭 WW19.9 成盈貞詰紉文 WW19.10 形生釋愁文 WW19.10 *Wèi Chè*  
 衛覬：亭靈聲形誠平精迎生庭成貞 西嶽華山亭碑 WW38.9 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：庭楨榮聲征  
 并庭 許昌宮賦 WS 30.12,12 *Ts'ao Juè* 曹叡：征靈 善哉行 WS137 鳴聲生庭明榮榮情盈纓  
 長歌行 WS 138 行城營傾形名榮清兵齡纓 苦寒行 WS 138-9 傾庭莖征寧 燕歌行 WS 139  
*Hsüeh Tsung* 薛綜：精生 赤鳥頌 WW 66.7 *Hü Tsung* 胡綜：生精營成 黃龍大牙賦

WW 67.5 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：頸精聲 形成 趙都賦 WW22.1,2 靈形精成經名丁寧樞鳴榮齡聲  
嘉瑞賦 WW22.2 形寧名聲 靈清 龍瑞賦 WW22.3 *Miào Hsì* 繆襲：平征鳴名傾靈爭城經  
旌平寧成 楚之平 WS 190 成榮平驚傾冥營成寧 戰榮陽 WS 191 清征城庭成 平南荆 WS 192  
清情明平太和 WS193 瓊旌星榮靈禎 青龍賦 WW38.2 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：清并萍驚擬古 WS201  
情經明清 正行生平寧卿誠靈成聲旌營征成英停明形庭 兵刑情 景福殿賦 WW 39.4,5-6,6,6  
*Wéi Tàn* 韋誕：星寧名庭景福殿賦 WW32.10 垌貞旌 皇后親蠶賦 WW32.11 *Hsià-hóu Huà*  
夏侯惠：形傾榮經 景福殿賦 WW21.1 *Hsià-hóu Hsüán* 夏侯玄：清生 皇胤賦 WW 21.2  
*Fù Kū* 傅嘏：卿庭皇初頌 WW35.5 *Wú-ch'iu Chièn* 毋丘儉：營成靈征承露盤賦 WW40.4  
*Tù Chèh* 杜摯：成零鳴情清 筮賦 WW41.1 *Yáng Hsì* 楊戲：荆盟并寧聲 贊昭烈皇帝  
WW 62.7 精呈 贊程公弘 WW62.10 *Sun Kai* 孫該：精清寧生形聲 神祠賦 WW40.3 聲生成  
程盈輕 琵琶賦 WW40.3 *Chi Kang* 嵇康：城城英庭生城 秋胡行之七 WS 204 名生榮情貞  
幽憤詩 WS 204 京征營情生生成形寧停并馨盈 答二郭之一 WS 208 生停聲正 知惠用 WS 210 榮精  
驚寧 名與身孰親 WS210 荆耕萍傾 又九 WS 211 榮聲 思親詩 WS211 形聲明 聲清鳴平情 琴賦  
WW47.2,3 誠庭 誠名 形情名冥情精并營 名生聲征星成 卜疑 WW 47.5,5,5,5 營成生情明  
大師箴 WW51.6 *Juàn Té-jú* 阮德如：城生情誠形榮成清征精銘并聽纓貞靈生停寧  
答嵇康之一 WS 213 *Juàn Chí* 阮籍：傾冥榮生榮并情 詠懷十八 WS 217 冥征聲鳴庭 又二  
十一 WS 217 驚傾庭情鳴生 又二十四 WS 218 行名情聲冥城榮形生 又三十 WS 219 生形冥情  
又三十六 WS 219 榮城生情清 又四十五 WS 220 城聲垌鳴情生 又六十一 WS 222 榮城生名傾形  
又七十五 WS 224 聲青情榮誠逞靈 征城精溟形 東平賦 WW44.7,7 形聽清聲冥情逞鵲生營城  
傾寧局征清鳴青庭驚 清思賦 WW44.10 平嶸生情 元父賦 WW44.12 *Chung Hui* 鍾會：并  
靈情榮青羸城形榮菊花賦 WW25.1 *Wéi Chao* 韋昭：城征驚荆聲成明程名伐烏林 WS230  
*Hsì Chèng* 郤正：形聲荆名清寧 譯譏 CW 70.9 *Mín Húg* 閔鴻：鳴英芙蓉賦 WW74.10  
*Yáng Chuán* 楊泉：成庭寧 靈賦 WW75.2 Anonymous 無名氏：鳴平生成 孫亮初白  
鵲鳴童謠 WS 234

*Wáng Ch'en* 王沈：靈精貞庭嶸旌成 正會賦 CW28.1 平明誠聲 宴嘉賓賦 CW28.1 盈形貞成  
馬腦勒賦 CW28.2 *Liú Líng* 劉伶：醒聲形情萍蛤 酒德頌 CW66.1 *Chung Yén* 鍾琰：  
形庭 驚賦 CW144.1 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：庭清刑聲 正旦大會行禮歌之一 CS 256 寧清  
成平 又三 CS 256 城清星旌榮庭 又九 CS 257 清成形 天地賦 CW59.1 冥形 雲賦 CW59.2 生精情  
延賓賦 CW59.3 鳴零 琴賦 CW59.5 形生成星 琵琶賦 CW59.5 生經 故筆賦 CW59.6 精庭檉 芸香賦  
CW59.6 *Yü Chün* 庾峻：靈生 祖德頌 CW36.2 *Yü Shü* 庾儵：青榮 安石榴賦 CW36.5  
*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：明靈成牲聽 夕牲歌 CS239 形清 聲聽 天郊饗神歌 CS241 馨生庭齡 地郊饗  
神歌 CS241 清平 文皇帝登歌 CS244 生成 食舉東西廂歌之一 CS249 聲平 又十三 CS249 聲馨成盈  
寧傾 嘉會 CS253 城生寧 靈之祥 CS259 傾盈明經兵寧 宣受命 CS259 明生庭清聲成平英經寧  
盈榮冥星零靈成 於穆我皇 CS262 經明兵生 仲春振旅 CS263 清成形靈并 明平 釣竿 CS265  
盈傾平清經 窮武篇 CS269 寧兵平聲明 羽籥舞歌 CS269 清征成生寧齡 羽籥舞歌 CS270 城亭

庭征鳴榮情 形星 短歌行 CS 288 生聲情 飲馬長城窟行 CS 291 形萍盈榮征 零馨明青傾 歷九秋篇 CS 295 鳴行 白楊行 CS 296 聽成名榮清 秦女休行 CS 296 明榮成 衆星詩 CS 300 縷形零星 擬四愁詩之四 CS 302 清成征名生 兩儀詩 CS 302 庭形雲歌 CS 303 晴明庭靈平榮清喜霽賦 CW 45.1 征清生萍榮英庭鳴形 陽春賦 CW 45.1 貞名形 團扇賦 CW 45.5 形亭傾征 相風賦 CW 45.5 精名榮庭形英精 紫華賦 CW 45.7.7 征庭 宜男花賦 CW 46.8 生貞靈 蓍賦 CW 45.8 經生榮莖明 瓜賦 CW 45.8 英盈成生 李賦 CW 45.9 精庭 傾輕荆星生 鸛賦 CW 45.11,11 英榮榮聲 鸚鵡賦 CW 46.1 精清盈傾成平生星鳴廷 門雞賦 CW 46.1 縷鈴 良馬賦 CW 46.2 形成星精名 走狗賦 CW 46.3 靈形馨生征清零鳴 蟬賦 CW 46.3 刑情平經 漢明帝賀 CW 46.9 形成 太子少傅箴 CW 46.10 形情 鏡銘 CW 46.11 貞傾 杖銘 CW 46.11 靈亭 燈銘 CW 46.12 精庭形清 龍銘 CW 46.13 庭貞明廳侯誄 CW 46.13

*Hsüeh Ying* 薛瑩：耕盈成榮征聲 獻詩 CS 287 *Huáng-fǔ Mǐ* 皇甫謐：成寧 女怨詩 CS 322 明靈形 清寧生靈 誠榮成輕寧傾名盈釋勸論 CW 71.6,7.7 *Tsào Chū* 棗據：情聲營京 登樓賦 CW 67.5 清盈停征寧輕形正 船賦 CW 67.6 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：聲馨成盈 寧傾嘉會 CS 253 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：明征清 山路吟 CS 396 征荆庭 江上泛歌 CS 396 荆征京亭離觀誄 CS 396 晴清庭明 長夜謠 CS 396 縷旌驚 褖賦 CW 68.2 生庭榮 石榴賦 CW 68.5 庭生莖 恩桐賦 CW 68.5 精莖零星 朝華賦 CW 68.5 生貞榮縷清 形情靈明聲 東方朔畫贊 CW 69.6 生清英明聲 張平子碑 CW 69.9 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：聲征庭 箴賦 CW 60.2 營征清 故臺賦 CW 60.2 清明寧形庭 相風賦 CW 60.3 精榮 菊花賦 CW 60.3 生榮 杜杜賦 CW 60.3 庭生莖 茱萸賦 CW 60.3 冥驚 鸛賦 CW 60.4 名鳴 蟬賦 CW 60.4 名清馨 反金人銘 CW 60.9 青平城 牽招碑 CW 60.10

*Fù Hsien* 傅咸：名爭生明 孝經詩之二 CS 306 冥寧經 毛詩詩之一 CS 306 情聲名榮 左傳詩 CS 307 榮聲馨明瓊驚 答潘尼 CS 308 經寧明零成晴并齡平 患雨賦 CW 51.1 清庭 青榮 神泉賦 CW 51.2.2 瑛明英京馨聲形輕 申懷賦 CW 51.3 馨征明聲京清庭榮 感別賦 CW 51.3 庭貞營成 相風賦 CW 51.5 經名形 狗脊扇賦 CW 51.6 精營庭靈 鏡賦 CW 51.6 精清形 汗卮賦 CW 51.7 經名青形 縷情生明 畫像賦 CW 51.7 清經盈情 樹賦 CW 51.7 生精 貞傾逞形 款冬花賦 CW 51.8 英庭清莖 榮青芸香賦 CW 51.8 生精清玉賦 CW 51.8 生明形桑樹賦 CW 51.9 清英榮莖星明營 舜華賦 CW 51.9 清精靈嬰征形名平成經榮庭誠情營瓊 儀鳳賦 CW 51.9-10 聲聽形冥名 鸚鵡賦 CW 51.10 庭清黏蟬賦 CW 51.11 經營輕盈馨清 青蠅賦 CW 51.11 寧情生庭清形征明誠旌貞 螢火賦 CW 51.12 明傾生貞 御史中丞箴 CW 52.12

*Chang Huá* 張華：明禎食舉 東西廂樂詩之五 CS 254 庭明誠馨清榮 成清靈刑 又十 CS 254 聲寧明 又十一 CS 255 停聲 冬至初歲小令歌 CS 257 經庭聲英形冥 正德舞歌 CS 268 名衡英橫鳴兵行荆卿彭 遊俠篇 CS 278 清冥盈聲 勵志詩 CS 281 明盈生榮英 三日後園會 CS 281 生形名經傾輕清驚誠情 答何劭之二 CS 282-3 城情英 永懷賦 CW 58.1 榮盈 女史箴 CW 58.8 清榮 魏劉騷駢賦 CW 58.9 征旌鳴聲庭冥局營情靈 武帝哀策文 CW 58.10

*Pan Yuèh* 潘岳：平兵明京 關中詩 CS 371 生聲京庭 爲賈謐作贈陸機 CS 372 盈齡情生思子詩 CS 377 鵲青滄海賦 CW 90.3 零情京庭瑩 成明平名西征賦 CW 90.3.6 輕情庭靈熒悼亡賦 CW 90.1-2 清笙形聲 生情鄙鳴笙 笙賦 CW 91.7.8 隕征榮明馨營貞銘 螢火賦 CW 92.3 貞形營爭城政名庭盈靈榮聲 許由頌 CW 92.5 局傾 晉武帝誄 CW 92.6 嬰名荆聲 夏侯常侍誄 CW 93.1 庭鳴聲縷

南陽長公主誄 CW93.3 庭聲經齡 皇女誄 CW 93.3 荆聲情生 劉氏妹哀辭 CW 93.5 嚶冥瑩 澤蘭哀辭  
 CW93.6 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：庭旌鳴纓城名榮驚生盈征營英并情 王明君辭 CS 402 征鳴  
 清盈 思歸歎 CS 403 情名生 答襄陽 CS 403 *Tsō Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：庭清零 情零 離思賦  
 CW13.1 莖英鳴 孔雀賦 CW13.1 頸榮鸚鵡賦 CW13.1 青馨冷聲零榮貞生寧 松柏賦 CW13.2 靈形  
 生成淳 洛渚賦 CW13.2 生成停平傾聲 德柔頌 CW13.3 誠經情生 齊義繼母贊 CW 13.4 英明聲馨  
 魯敬美誄 CW13.4 靈生馨明貞明成庭榮盈齡 納揚后贊 CW13.4-5 誠并傾齡 驚庭零生 冥明形  
 經零青榮 元皇后誄 CW13.5-6 成經 經靈楨明 萬年公主誄 CW13.6,7 *Cheng Yi* 程猗：  
 靈形成精形明齡 柳谷石文贊 CW72.2 *P'ei Wei* 裴頠：清馨 女史箴 CW33.9 *Mn Hua*  
 木華：名形庭亭清靈征溟生 海賦 CW105.8 *Sō Ching* 索靖：形生 草書狀 CW84.10  
*Lū Chi* 陸機：庭冥亭靈聲 太山吟 CS329 平冥城名京傾盈情停營 齊謳行 CS 331 庭盈生  
 停鳴征平生箏情 順東西門行 CS 333-4 征停 營名 日重光行 CS 334 成榮清城盈 百年歌之二  
 CS 334 京靈情 榮聲 與弟清河雲 CS 339-40 征兄情纓亭聲明 於承明作 CS341 行兄寧名清  
 榮情瓊 爲陸思遠婦作 CS343 平城 周夫人贈車騎 CS343 明傾庭鳴冥情楹 擬明月皎夜光 CS 348 形  
 并 浮雲賦 CW 96.1 營誠清 思親賦 CW 96.3 呈聲耕名 遂志賦 CW 96.6 營冷鳴 愍思賦 CW96.8  
 靈聲盈 大暮賦 CW96.9 形情輕清精聲精 文賦 CW 97.3 垌城榮 鼓吹賦 CW97.3 誠精筵平明  
 精靈 漏刻賦 CW97.4 誠平清冷情 羽扇賦 CW97.5 庭征營 桑賦 CW97.6 冥靈情形寧 兄征城  
 黥 功臣頌 CW 98.5,6 清平寧 演連珠二十六 CW 99.5 傾貞情 又三十九 CW 99.6 生精榮靈 貞庭  
 銘纓營聲明靈冥零 吳大帝誄 CW 99.7,8 誠庭 愍懷太子誄 CW99.9 征樞王氏誄 CW99.9 *Lū Yün*  
 陸雲：征零冷情成寧 贈顧驃騎 CS355 征榮生城 榮名 贈張仲膺 CS356 聲庭寧 贈顧彥先 CS356  
 明生刑瓊 成情誠榮 答顧處微 CS 358 靈成英兄生明 清征馨庭聲鳴 贈顧尚書 CS 358 精生齡  
 靈明清庭 生馨 征齡靈 征鳴情生 征靈生冥答兄平原 CS359-60 聲涇生瓊纓冥情鳴鶴 CS361  
 盈城庭纓 答孫顯世 CS363 榮清貞形 悠悠懸象 CS363 靈精瓊誠并 美哉良友 CS364 榮情靈傾盈  
 星爲顧彥先贈婦之三 CS366 城聲庭盈愁霖賦 CW100.3 靈京征寧 登臺賦 CW100.4 征靈聲寧 形盈  
 輕零鳴 寒蟬賦 CW 100.8,8 形聽靈盈 九思紆思 CW 101.2 情榮傾零嶸生 又八 CW101.4 停盈經  
 又九 CW 101.5 精形庭冥 梅福頌 CW 103.10 聲平亨衡行 祖考頌 CW 104.2 榮民 逸民箴 CW 104.4  
 刑明纓平榮 聲筵明情征營庭零 陸府君誄 CW104.7,8 傾靈京 京刑營聲庭 榮銘靈冥征驚鳴  
 夏府君誄 CW104.9,9,10 *Cheng Feng* 鄭豐：鳴情形瓊齡 鸞鸞 CS 367 經馨情營冥誠貞  
 南山 CS 368 聲貞驚寧鳴盈 中陵 CS 368-9 *Hsia Ching* 夏靖：生清精誠 答陸士衡 CS 370  
*Tsō Szu* 左思：青經靈禎生榮成聲 生情兄寧庭齡 悼離贈妹之一CS384 明庭兄頌 又二CS385  
 青英 棊生榮成 并傾靈 名庭呈城 靈英平生庭名程 蜀都賦 CW74.2,3,4,4,4 并荆精垌 明形  
 嶸經名硯楹靈寧瓊 聲旌垌 康京生挺零 鳴驚鳴鵲 并征清誠 吳都賦 CW 74.5,6,7,8,8,9,10  
 庭城 營嶸成冥 經程兵驚 卿名榮局楨 寧靈莖英纓羸 成莖靈驚聆 盈城魏都賦 CW74.11,  
 13,13,13,14,14,17 成清明榮 白髮賦 CW74.17 *Ch'ien Hsü* 牽秀：靈形經征成成清冥纓聲  
 黃帝頌 CW84.7 生靈盈清彭祖頌 CW84.7 聲生形征冥盈王喬赤松頌 CW84.7 *Chi Han* 嵇含：  
 榮莖英齡 菊花銘 CW 65.7 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：荆瓊聲聽誠馨情 贈王弘遠 CS 406 榮馨英

答趙景猷 CS 406 經名榮 英玲 述志賦 CW 107.6.6 營兵并形 圍棋賦 CW 107.6 *Chiang Tǔng*  
 江統：精聲傾生名榮庭 函谷關賦 CW106.1 *Juǎn Hsiu* 阮修：溟生形征清靈輕情 大鵬贊  
 CW72.8 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：楨馨刑清 京行清明 獻長安君安仁 CS 377-8 庭成生盈 京明羹行  
 贈司空掾安仁 CS 378 生情 贈劉佐 CS383 榮清上已日 CS384 零明庭苦雨賦 CW94.1 靈情 形腥成  
 清生 盈停形清 琉璃碗賦 CW94.3.3.3.3 清馨成生榮 釋奠頌 CW94.7 精清庭寧靈 楊恭侯碑 CW95.5  
*Chàh Yü* 摯虞：生京聲平 贈李叔龍 CS316 呈荆盈榮情 庭兵行旌 思游賦 CW76.1.3 程輕平  
 疾慙賦 CW76.3 平生冥靈靈清太康頌 CW77.3 輕生新婚箴 CW77.6 形性龜屋銘 CW77.6 *Lǔ-ch'iu*  
*Ch'ung* 閻丘沖：成盈榮寧 三月三日 CS 412 *Wáng Tsàn* 王讚：生明形情靈 梨樹頌  
 CW86.1-2 *Yü Ái* 庾欽：成生 幽人箴 CW36.5 *Chang Mìn* 張敏：嶸清 情聲驚神女賦  
 CW80.11 精形平名貞 頭責子羽文 CW80.2.2 *Yin Chü* 殷巨：鯨京 鯨魚燈賦 CW81.8 名庭靈  
 精生寄布賦 CW81.9 *Hsià-hóu Ch'ün* 夏侯淳：誠形成 懷思賦 CW69.9 聲成笙笙賦 CW69.9  
*Liu K'un* 劉琨：庭明 扶風歌 CS 417 *Sun Hui* 孫惠：形行傾 維車賦 CW 115.8 庭聲  
 祭金鼓文 CW115.12 *Ts'ài Hsing* 蔡洪：靈精形英纓鳴征庭 門梟賦 CW81.7 *Wáng Yü*  
 王虞：明寧 保傅箴 CW 20.12 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：成生情冥 贈溫嶠 CS 423 靈淳生成 塩池賦  
 CW120.4 庭榮性清靈精冥停 南郊賦 CW 120.5 冥辟形生 客傲 CW 121.2 衡明英 爾雅圖太室山贊  
 CW121.6 猩嚶情 又猩猩贊 CW121.10 臚名盛 又臚鼠贊 CW121.10 兵行明 山海經圖鳧溪鳥贊 CW122.5  
 英鳴兵 又駁贊 CW122.8 衡明英 又泰室贊 CW123.3 庭冥靈 又神二女贊 CW123.5 精明靈 又櫛龍贊  
 CW123.8 平青生 又平丘贊 CW123.8 精形靈 又開明贊 CW123.11 *Chang Hàn* 張翰：榮征  
 城情 贈張弋陽 CS 388 *Szu-mǎ Shào* 司馬紹：寧情營 蟬賦 CW9.1 *Wen Chiào* 溫嶠：  
 名享貞情生榮 侍臣箴 CW80.11 *T'áo K'án* 陶侃：征傾城嶸榮相風賦 CW111.1 *Kǒ Hsing*  
 葛洪：清榮 洗藥池 CS427 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：溟庭仙遊之二 CS 446 靈名形瑛涉江賦 CW38.1  
 庭城 城并楊都賦 CW38.2.3 榮傾清 閑居賦 CW38.4 靈明生聲明冥 虞舜像贊 CW38.7 形生庭明  
 弔賈生文 CW 38.10 *Lǐ Hsing* 李興：靈精清生 諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW 70.11 形榮清 羊公碑  
 CW70.13 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：清形情榮 鄙酒賦 CW85.3 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：城旌聲  
 征亭纓經兵楹名 離詩之七 CS 394 庭屏溟齡生情莖聲形瓊貞名生 離詩之十 CS 394 傾盈 安石  
 檣賦 CW 85.7 冥生 嶸莖聲 七命之一 CW85.8 營精成 又四 CW85.10 *Lǔ Hsiù* 魯褒：成生  
 錢神論 CW113.7 *Hsi Kū* 習嘏：冥精停鳴 長鳴雞賦 CW124.3 *Chang Chiün* 張駿：明  
 廷刑鳴傾城垓京盈靈 薤露行 CS497 正瓊征垓精榮鳴馨傾莖情 東門行 CS 497 *Lǐ Ch'ung*  
 李充：征驚 送許從詩 CS448 丁零聲輕營 弔嵇中散文 CW53.9 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：晴精 朝華賦  
 CW34.9 榮嚶爭 燕賦 CW34.9 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：明庭情平呈聲 歌世祖武帝 CS 245 清征  
 觀鵲賦 CW107.7 *Fü Ch'ün* 傅純：形精盈青英 雉賦 CW128.3 *Chiang Yü* 江淹：靈生  
 冥成 井賦 CW107.2 莖榮 竹賦 CW107.3 營生明成行情經榮平旌名經 逸民篇 CW107.5 *Hsièh*  
*Wàn* 謝萬：旌榮莖冷 蘭亭 CS 440 *Chih Tün* 支遁：明清生形英冷榮瓶庭營名精馨  
 冥纓情 四月八日讚佛詩CS500 生形青行榮情清 詠八日詩之三CS500-1 靈清明聲征冥 釋迦文佛像讚  
 CW 157.11 馨清英成 阿彌陀佛像贊 CW 157.12 庭名平情英生 維摩詰贊 CW 157.13 靈名情清生

法作菩薩不二入菩薩贊 CW157.13 清馨 于道邊像贊 CW157.14 *Pièn Yü* 卞裕：情嬰 余弟適東邁 CS 496 *Yuán Húng* 袁宏：亭檣 擬古 CS 450 經停城生 三國名臣序贊 CW 57.5 *Wáng Piao-chih* 王彪之：明榮生 閩中賦 CW21.2 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：兵征清成 贈溫嶠 CS 433 庭傾鈴頸榮 清瓊冥生平情 答許詢 CS 434-5 行庭城情鈴嶸 征冥屏莖生平 遊天台山賦 CW 61.1-2 齡傾情聲 太常碑贊 CW61.7 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：情征 用筆賦 CW22.1 *Shih Yuán* 史援：精靈英聲櫻庭聽寧城情清名 史君頌 CW132.6 *Yü Sù-chih* 庾肅之：停清 山贊 CW 38.10 *Li Yü* 李頤：盈經營聲 雪賦 CW 53.10 青旌征榮 悲四時賦 CW 53.10 *Tài K'ui* 戴逵：清靈 琴贊 CW137.2 *Kü K'ai-chih* 顧愷之：零行生情 雷電賦 CW 135.2 瑛名 觀濤賦 CW 135.3 平成清形 筆賦 CW 135.3 *Chih T'an Tì* 支曇諦：亭冥名 廬山賦 CW165.16 *Wáng Tàn* 王誕：靈寧旌 代廣固祭牙文 CW19.8 *Huà Yuán* 慧遠：名形亭明靈冥 萬佛影銘 CW162.15 *Lǐ Sung* 李嵩：成榮經生耕 清聲 清平榮行征旌寧 述志賦 CW155.1,2 *Hsü Kuāng* 徐廣：清零 秋賦 CW 136.10 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：榮情征生停雲 CS454 鳴零京寧 答龐參軍 CS456-7 生名明聲齡榮情成 九月閑居 CS 460 零冥生傾成齡聲庭情形盈 悲從弟仲德 CS467 冥清荆生明平征耕榮名 辛丑歲七月 CS468-9 情名生驚成 飲酒之三 CS472 英情傾鳴生 又七 CS472 經成更庭鳴情 又十六 CS473 羸卿京行櫻英聲生驚名庭城營成情 詠荊軻 CS 481 靈名生情形驚耕聲榮 感士不遇賦 CW111.4 楹明 閑情賦 CW111.6 生情嬰齡成 祭程氏妹文 CW 112.8 情行盈誠 祭從弟敬遠文 CW 112.9 *Su Yen* 蘇彥：平城情 柏枕銘 CW138.2 *Tsü T'ai-chih* 祖台之：誠形寧明聲荀子耳賦CW138.11 *Yang Hui* 羊徽：清誠清生 答丘泉之CS488 *Chou Ch'i* 周祇：成情零 平青 執友箴 CW142.2,2 *Pièn Ch'eng-chih* 卞承之：名莖庭情 懷香贊 CW140.3 *Hü Yü-chou* 胡義周：經京形成亭屏星統萬城功德銘CW156.7 *Kuo Yuán-tsu* 郭元祖：生精輕庭 叩疏讚CW139.3 靈經聲榮 葛由讚CW139.4 清生亭洽 安期讚CW139.5 庭聲冥清 蕭史讚CW139.5 靈精經形 修羊公讚CW139.6 苓形冥征 犢子讚CW139.6 迎靈冥生 朱璣讚CW139.9 靈驚成迎齡 木羽讚CW139.9 *Wáng Shào-chih* 王劭之：榮馨英 春花賦CW144.11 征樞 夫諫CW144.11 *Wáng Ch'i-chih* 王齊之：誠征冥靈 薩陀波耨入山求法讚 CW143.9 *Sun Ch'üing* 孫瓊：青生 悼艱賦CW144.12 營笙笙篴賦CW144.12 *Huáng Chang* 黃章：星情 龍馬賦 CW105.1 *Lü Shàn* 陸善：形聲 長鳴鷄賦 CW143.1 *K'üing Fä-sheng* 孔法生：齡情 祖王少傳 CS 497 *Chän Fang-sheng* 湛方生：清青貞情還都帆 CS492 榮英情生 秋夜 CS493 冥停經情生萌榮名 風賦 CW140.3 冥庭清征聲榮莖 懷春賦CW140.4 冥鳴長鳴鷄贊CW140.8 生靈聲 清征櫻庭驚鳴 弔鶴文CW140.8 *Hsin Hsiao* 辛蕭：庭靈芍藥花頌CW144.2 *Ch'én Yáo* 陳窈：成平盈靈聽鳴庭 筆賦CW144.8 *Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：明寧平生卿停庭盈成榮耕 形鎗貞誠清聲諍名釋時論CW89.2 *Yang Yü* 楊乂：冥清形盈榮城征生靈賦CW89.3 *Yü T'ung* 庾統：明形榮誠朱明張臣尉贊CW132.9 *Hó Chün* 何瑾：情生清鳴冷 悲秋夜 CW 140.1 *Liú Hó's wife* 劉和妻王氏：經正 正朝詩 CS 513 Taoist priests in *Lü Shan* 廬山諸道人：生情城輕清經冥遊石門 CS507 Anonymous 無名氏：征城兵 景皇篇 CS272 情榮庭生名成 明君篇 CS272 鳴庭 清輕 白鳩篇 CS274 萍輕并

獨渡篇 CS 274 停零英鳴傾行庭城 白紵舞歌之二 CS 275 寧平寧 清醒聽輕 晉杯樂舞歌詩 CS 276 情生子夜歌之八 CS523 情明又三五 CS525 荆英 子夜春歌之二 CS525 星情 又七 CS526 鳴情又十一 CS526 輕生 又十五 CS526 傾鳴 子夜夏歌之十一 CS527 明情 子夜秋歌之七 CS528 情生子夜冬歌之五 CS529 盈生 又六 CS529 鳴生 又十七 CS530 名聲 上聲歌之一 CS531 箏聲 又三 CS531 亭情 前溪歌之三 CS533 清名并 又七 CS533 庭情 七月夜女郎歌之八 CS535 庭榮 長史變歌之三 CS535 鳴情 黃鶴曲之二 CS 536 生情齡 安東平之五 CS 544 生明零生生 東哲歌 CS 553 明名清 三明歌 CS 555 寧生 哀帝隆和初童謠(附註) CS 568 英明 黃曇謠 CS 570 驚生鳴 姑臧謠 CS 572 城青星 苻堅時長安謠之二 CS 573 清城 苻堅時童謠 CS 574 兵明鳴 四部司馬 CS 575 錚卿 洛中謠之二 CS 576 英明 又三 CS 576 冥庭旌聲鳴纓情 康帝哀策文 CW146.6 靈庭名 周處碑 CW146.13

*Shàng*

*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：靜領 九詠 WW14.7 穎景領靜 玄裕頌 WW17.3 *Juàn Chí* 阮籍：靜整省 東平賦 WW44.8

*Ying Chen* 應貞：嶺靜影 臨丹賦 CW 35.1 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：景猛炳永 烈文 CS 252 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：整嶺景騁 贈王冑 CS373 穎省家風詩 CS373 永冷屏景省省領騁炯靜秋興賦 CW90.1-2 挺領警 金鹿哀辭 CW93.5 猛影 阮尚書誄 CW93.1 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：靜猛整請 玄居釋 CW87.6 *Lü Chi* 陸機：領騁景永 贈馮文龍 CS337 穎領騁 浮雲賦 CW96.1 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：景整永領省大安二年 CS353 省景脛靖永領 愁霖賦 CW100.3 靜領挺穎景南征賦 CW100.7 穎景領靖 玄洛賦 CW103.9 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：穎靈鼎 騁並 吳都賦 CW74.6.8 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：整靖領屏 答傅咸 CS380 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：穎町靜領 答王門子 CS422 挺景景穎 贈溫嶠 CS423 猛罔永失題之二 CS425 靜整猛洞溟嶺頃景 江賦 CW120.3 井嶺省景蜜峰賦 CW120.6 炳永南郊賦 CW120.5 穎景 客傲 CW121.2 嶺穎挺 山海經圖桂贊 CW 122.1 猛炳境 又白虎贊 CW122.7 炳景正 又畢方贊 CW122.7 井溟靜 又岷山贊 CW 123.3 頂景眚 又神耕父贊 CW 123.4 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：嶺井 遊仙詩之一 CS446 景穎 揚都賦 CW38.2 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：省騁幸玄 武館賦 CW85.7 靜警鼎七命之七 CW85.11 *Ts'ao P'ü* 曹毗：井景騁嶺觀濤賦 CW107.7 *Chih Tün* 支遁：穎騁領挺炳永正境靖詠懷之五 CS503 永靜穎不胸菩薩贊 CW157.14 *Wáng Piao-Chih* 王彪之：靜炯井景 井賦 CW21.1 *Hsü Hsün* 許詢：騁景 竹扇 CS 451 *Wáng Sün-chih* 王肅之：嶺靜 蘭亭 CS437 *Huán Hsüán* 桓玄：頂騁屏 鸚鵡賦 CW119.1 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：境醒領穎炳 飲酒十三 CS 473 嶺景冷永影騁靜 雜詩之二 CS 478 *Sun Ch'üing* 孫瓊：挺整穎 公孫夫人序贊 CW144.13

*Ch'ü*

*Wáng Ts'ün* 王祭：盛姓政敬命聖 正孝父讚 HHW 91.2 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：盛勁正性 贈從弟之二 WS 186 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：命令廷政盛 文質論 HHW42.5 *Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：盛命 魏受命述 WW26.2 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：正聖命丹霞蔽日行 WS146 聖政政命 帝舜贊 WW17.6 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：聖命政盛 景福殿賦 WW39.4 *Wéi Tàn* 韋誕：正令敬 皇后親蠶頌 WW32.11



*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：聖命金靈運 CS262 命聖性 大豫舞歌 CS266 敬正冠銘 CW46.12 *Hsià-hōu Chàn* 夏侯湛：聖正敬詠 閔子騫贊 CW69.4 *Chang Huá* 張華：聖定命 食舉東西廂樂詩之九 CS255 聖命慶政 正且大會行禮詩之一 CS255 盛正 感婚賦 CW58.2 性正聖 女史箴 CW58.8 正命 席前右端銘 CW58.8 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：正性聘 答摯虞新婚箴 CW92.5 姓敬盛詠武帝誄 CW92.5-6 政令性命 揚荊州誄 CW92.7 命政 夏侯常侍誄 CW93.1 盛正 南陽長公主誄 CW93.3 政競 弔孟嘗君文 CW93.8 *Tsō Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：詠映盛慶 武帝納皇后頌 CW13.2 *Shū Hsi* 束皙：性政 由機 CS319 *Lù Chi* 陸機：政聖命詠 皇太子宴玄圃 CS336 境詠聖命 答賈謐 CS338 詠命 演連珠十六 CW99.4 聽聖敬命 愍懷太子誄 CW99.9 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：命定聖正大將軍宴會 CS351 聖定命政 南征賦 CW100.6-7 慶定命 九愍悲郢 CW101.2 定命盛德頌 CW103.13 聖命定正 張二侯頌 CW104.3 競競徑正 逸民箴 CW104.4 聖政命 陸公誄 CW104.6 *Tsō Szu* 左思：競映濤 吳都賦 CW74.8 聖詠競競 聽定聖鏡 性正 魏都賦 CW74.12,16 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹摅：鄭政詠競聖盛 病 贈歐陽建 CS406 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：鄭姓政盛 獻長安君安仁 CS378 政性 大賦 CW94.3 *Wáng Tsán* 王讚：命盛姓 侍祖道楚淮南二王 CS398 敬盛性 梨樹頌 CW86.1 *Lú Wú-chè* 盧無忌：榮敬姓正命進盛慶令 太公呂望表 CW86.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：正磬盛 山海經圖神耆 童贊 CW122.7 病性詠 又帝臺漿贊 CW123.4 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：聖映詠命 樂賢堂頌 CW38.6 *Lǐ Ch'ung* 李充：病徑 學箴 CW53.8 *Chih Tün* 支遁：映聖正命鏡 詠八月詩之一 CS500 *Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：映鏡正病贈庾翼 CS430 *Yüán Hūng* 袁宏：正性命敬三國名臣 序贊 CW57.6 鏡映 桓溫碑 CW57.8 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：令盛競政 贈溫嶠 CS433 *Tài K'ü* 戴逵：鏡性詠映 水贊 CW139.2 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：鏡映 月賦 CW142.1 *Hú Yü-chou* 胡義周：競映盛命鏡 統萬城功德銘 CW156.7 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：鏡映令性懷春 賦 CW140.4 Anonymous 無名氏：倭正 蜀人謠 CS562 命境正 成帝哀策文 CW146.5 競詠政 命 簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

## (18.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Keng* 耕 and *Yang* 陽

*P'ing*

*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：傍卿馨 秋胡行 CS288 青名房靈瓊輕 李賦 CW45.9 *Fù Hsién* 傅咸：禎京庭明揚靈征 贈褚武良詩 CS308 *Hó Shào* 何劭：湯鳴笙情 洛水應詔 CS320

*Ch'ü*

*P'an Ní* 潘尼：上敬競病 贈司空掾安仁 CS378 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：鏡映上詠 江賦 CW120.2 上命竟 山海經圖不死國贊 CW123.6

*Keng* 耕 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Hsè Chèng* 卻正：星生榮矜倭經成刑 譯譏 CW70.7 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：明清貞矜 夏府君誄 CW104.10 *Anonymous* 無名氏：艇陵 那呵難 CS 545

*Keng* 耕 and *Yüán* 元

*Ch'ü*

*Yáng Hsè* 楊戲：命境亂性 贊魏文長 WW62.9

*Keng* 耕 and *Tung* 東

*Ch'ü*

*Anonymous* 無名氏：令政性訟 蔡陽令歌 WS226

*Keng* 耕 and *Ch'in* 侵

*Ch'ü*

*Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：任正令命 周官詩 CS 307

*Keng* 耕 and *Chen* 眞

*P'ing*

*Chi K'ang* 嵇康：眞名櫻營 東方朔至清 WS 210 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：生淳經營京齡 任君墓銘 CW46.13

*Keng* 耕 and *Teng* 登

*P'ing*

*Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：登行英 武軍賦 HHW 92.2

#### (18.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Keng* 耕 *P'ing* 平 and *Keng* 耕 *Shāng* 上

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：景冥 地郊饗神歌 CS 241

*Keng* 耕 *P'ing* 平 and *Keng* 耕 *Ch'ü* 去

*Tsào Chü* 裴據：併營榮 船賦 CW67.6 *Tsǒ Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：清經靈明生成瑩名庭 英聘迎武帝納皇后頌 CW13.2 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：瑩進性安石榴賦 CW85.8 *Tǔng Ching* 董京：靈榮停磬情 答孫楚詩 CS 400

*Keng* 耕 *Shāng* 上 and *Keng* 耕 *Ch'ü* 去

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：競定慶命盛廻 西征賦 CW90.4 郢政敬廷命 楊荊州誄 CW92.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：性冥盛 山海經圖甘水聖木贊 CW123.11 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王胡之：影嶺頃詠 郢贈庾翼 CS430 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：猛諍耿 用筆賦 CW22.1

(19) Rime Category *Chen* 眞

(19.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing* (Wèi 魏)

*Chen* 眞：辰振宸晨震 民泯岷珉 賓濱濱蟻蟻 申伸神紳 辛親新薪 鄰麟麟麟  
臣囂 垠銀 眞慎 玢貧 信信 人仁 幽身 甄陳 津雲 珍  
因 塵 巾 秦 蘋 麇

*Chun* 諄：倫淪論輪 淳醇鶉 述純 旬詢 巡春 均遵 循脣

*Chen* 臻：榛蓁臻

*Wén* 文：分汾氛紛芬雰 云耘紆雲 君裙群 勳薰 軍文 墳聞 勛焚 煨

*Hsin* 欣：斤忻欣斷 殷勤

*Hín* 魂：昏存 昆坤 門尊 崙奔

*Hên* 痕：根恩

*P'ing* (Chìn 晉)

*Chen* 眞：鄰隣隣隣隣隣 民泯岷珉璿縉 申伸呻神紳 辰振宸晨震 眞眞眞眞 賓  
濱濱濱 因姻茵緇 親新薪 涇禪甄 人仁 垠銀 辛莘 臣身 陳  
塵珍 秦巾 旻津 幽貧 聞貧 彬

*Chun* 諄：侖倫淪淪輪 旬詢荀詢 淳醇鶉 屯純 均鈞 循脣 脣春 遵馴 蓴

*Chen* 臻：榛臻蓁 詵

*Shāng* (Wèi 魏)

*Chūn* 準：允

*Wěn* 吻：吻

*Shāng* (Chìn 晉)

*Chěn* 軫：泯愍 隕殞 盡引 軫忍 隕隣 慇緊 牝菌 晒

*Chūn* 準：隼準 允

*Ch'ü* (Wèi 魏)

*Wèn* 問：分運 奮憤 聞

*Chèn* 震：双震 陣進 引

*Chùn* 稔：雋殉

*Ch'ü* (Chìn 晉)

*Chèn* 震：双仞仞 隣隣 吝悋 進胤 晉鬢 慎蘭 燼振 信陣 震

訊 瑾 印 韻 引 訖 櫟

*Chün* 稔：俊浚峻駿 雋僞 舜瞬 潤 順 潛 迅(19.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chen* 眞 (Wèi 魏)*P'ing*

*Juǎn Yǔ* 阮瑀：賓秦津人雲 詠史之二 WS188 濱貧仁眞 隱士 WS189 仁親珍雲 公讌 WS190 津勤神紛晨信 止欲賦 HHW93.1 *Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：陳神仁賓 弩齋新福歌 WS176 濱隣岷勤 贈文叔良 WS178 津軍人勳君臣陳秦人身 從軍詩之四 WS180 因雲身勤 雜詩之三 WS181 仁親新勤 出婦賦 HHW90.2 均泯 傷天賦 HHW90.3 軍親賓因 酒賦 HHW90.4 眞人群 神女賦 HHW90.5 珍眞雲津文分倫 車渠腕賦 HHW90.6 神振 七釋之四 HHW91.1 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：濱甸人身勤鄰塵分春文珍 贈五官中郎將之二 WS185 根氛群君 贈從弟之三 WS185 倫斷鱗臻氛青殷 蟻身 紳新 魯都賦 HHW65.2,2,3 *Ch'ên Lín* 陳琳：濱人鄰嬪 止欲賦 HHW92.1 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：句春 答劉公幹 WS183 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：勤賓陳倫紛分群欣珍門鶴 WS197 鄰巡 撰征賦 HHW42.2 辰塵 震陳分雲 西狩賦 HHW42.2,2 分文春 文質論 HHW42.5 *Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：塵巾人 勤銀 忻裙 定情詩 WS194 群文紛人 弭愁賦 WW93.8 *Yang Hsiu* 楊修：陳垠 出征賦 HHW51.9 *Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：存恩 短歌行之一 WS118 仁幽 仁身善哉行之一 WS118 眞神氣出唱之三 WS121 雲門崙君門神陌上桑 WS122 *Hán-tan Ch'un* 邯鄲淳：坤墳人門分神人昆 孝女曹娥碑 WW26.4 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：人臣 煌煌京洛行 WS126 陳人 雜詩之二 WS133 津雲塵 失題 WS136 巡神塵 喜霽賦 WW4.1 神身 滄海賦 WW4.2 親塵 出婦賦 WW4.3 珍因春辰分純伸麟 柳賦 WW4.8 身泯神 鷺賦 WW4.8 *Ting Yi* 丁廙：賓陳親申文 彈碁賦 HHW94.4 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：因塵君群麟人分芬 薤露行 WS144 欣輪 當來日大難 WS150 人親陳民秦 門有萬里客行 WS150 雲人親眞陳津 當牆欲高行 WS151 人辛珍雲銀輪 聖皇篇 WS154 濱神畧仁親巾 靈芝篇 WS154 人塵麟 陌上桑 WS159 醇勤 樂府詩 WS159 春塵身陳秦神 侍太子座 WS160 紛文雲軍春群君 新詩六首之三 WS162 臣濱臣身 責躬詩 WS165 神陳鄰親勤仁辛 贈白馬王彪之六 WS168 鄰人 朔風詩 WS169 分耘群 大暑賦 WW13.1 神塵洛神賦 WW13.3 墳君焚 述行賦 WW13.5 塵清 出婦賦 WW13.6 濱振榛歸思賦 WW13.7 遵親濱秦人身塵 九愁賦 WW13.8 分熅文 九華扇賦 WW14.1 辰分身云 文仁貧親 酒賦 WW14.2 尊門根恩 槐樹賦 WW14.3 雲群聞 離騷雁賦 WW14.5 濱人晨振 神龜賦 WW14.6 聞雲 九畹 WW14.7 珍鱗鵠醇辛 七啓之一 WW16.9 文紘 又二 WW16.9 群雲 又三 WW16.10 蘋人濱 又四 WW16.10 文紛雲 又五 WW16.11 仁倫身秦 又六 WW16.11 均春民 又七 WW16.11 辛塵春神 辛堯贊 WW17.5 民神新親 仁純 夏禹贊 WW17.6 民身 禹渡河贊 WW17.6 殷臣民賓 武王贊 WW17.7 身親民淳 漢文帝贊 WW17.8 神春 長樂觀畫贊 WW17.8 神春賓 魏德論 WW17.9 君軍塵巾濱榛陳均 鶴樓說 WW18.8 神民濱陳震辰賓 君文 武帝誅 WW19.4 分倫眞純勳秦焚因遵聞 純人因辰麟新神民鄰震臣塵 岷鱗珍賓 文帝誅 WW19.5,6 文雰泯 懿公主誅 WW19.8 輪巾 曹仲雍哀辭 WW19.9 民神新 告咎文

WW19.10-11 *Wèi Chè* 衛覲：醇群仁民助存云芬 殷華碑 WW28.10 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：真神身貧珍邇人塵聞群鄰倫純 座右銘 WW30.12-3 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：人倫垠輪雲 趙都賦 WW32.2 春辰 仁文玢雲分 龍瑞賦 WW32.3,3 *Miào Hsì* 繆襲：民臣新人均屑塵 平南荆 WS192 文循君親神鄰 應帝期 WS192 分均句 喜霽賦 WW38.1 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：文雲分 臣遵身鄰聞真人仁民紳 景福殿賦 WW39.5,6 *Hsià-hóu Hsián* 夏侯玄：仁新 皇胤賦 WW21.2 *Fù Kū* 傅嘏：臻人 皇初頌 WW35.5 *Wú-ch'iu Chièn* 毋丘儉：神倫均辰薪甄民 承露盤賦 WW40.4 *Yáng Hsè* 楊戲：身文人 贊劉子初 WW 62.8 賓臣 贊糜子仲 WW 62.8 君身君贊程季然 WW62.10 *Sun Kai* 孫該：垠雲青 琵琶賦 WW40.3 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：身真人塵 幽憤詩 WS240 塵鱗人親 贈秀才入軍之五 WS 205 珍身人神 又十七 WS 206 均親民 六言之一 WS210 親因 聞雲思親 WS211 斤神均文 賓醇秦人神倫 真身仁信慎 珍人琴賦 WW47.2,3,3,4 淪親仁陳真 大師箴 WW51.6 *Juàn Chì* 阮籍：晨淪人辛真身鄰 詠懷三四 WS 219 雲群紛 又四十八 WS221 賓塵神人 又六十二 WS222 濱真人身幸 又六十五 WS 222-3 人因真儗 首陽山賦 WW 44.8 臻珍群 新人親 獼猴賦 WW 44.10,10 *Chung Huè* 鍾會：巾屑神 菊花賦 WW25.1 淳珍垠 蒲萄賦 WW25.2 *Wèi Chao* 韋昭：神鄰濱臣新 章洪德 WS 232 真民親新津忻鄰 玄化 WS 232-3 *Hsè Chèng* 卻正：民春文醇 春陳 鄰人民真分貧 倫仁 釋議 CW 70.8,8,8,8 *Sun Hào* 孫皓：鄰臣春 爾汝歌 WS229 *Chiā T'ai-tsung* 賈岱宗：人賓猶大狗賦 WW53.8 Anonymous 無名氏：昆君文民仁勳 呂君碑 WW56.2

*Shàng*

*Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：允吻 尚書箴 HHW39.11

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：雋刃 七啓之二 WW16.9 *Tù Ch'èh* 杜摯：進引 筮賦 WW41.1

(19.3) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chen* 眞 (Chin 晉)*P'ing*

*Wáng Ch'ên* 王沈：振陳 錢行賦 CW28.1 *Yìng Chen* 應貞：臣賓人輪 華林園集詩 CS311 *Cheng Kung-sui* 成公綏：賓新 正旦大會行禮歌之二 CS 256 仁鈞 又七 CS 256 鈞神 鄰身鱗人濱 天地賦 CW 59.1,2 辰濱 洛禋賦 CW59.3 醇旬 七唱 CW59.8 *Yü Shü* 庾儵：倫濱塵大槐賦 CW36.4 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：新民神純禋臻 饗神歌 CS 240 臣民身天序 CS261 民新 仲春振旅 CS263 鱗因塵新神人 放歌行 CS 291 春賓親人辰 倫新屑塵神 歷九秋篇董逃行 CS294 秦身 車遙遙篇 CS 297 旬春神人濱 又答程曉 CS 299 鱗臣 雜歌 CS 303 辰神 陽春賦 CW45.1 賓新 鄉飲酒賦 CW45.3 身輪 正都賦 CW45.3 秦巾神 菊賦 CW45.8 新珍人濱神 棗賦 CW 45.10 春純濱伸 柳賦 CW45.10 濱神身塵 馳射馬賦 CW46.2 珍薪倫七謨 CW46.8 倫身人 吏部尚書箴 CW46.10 *Wáng Chün* 王湛：詵新輪津鄰塵 祖道應令 CS 312 *Ts'ao Chü* 棗據：晨辰仁鱗津塵神人表志賦

CW 67.5 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：塵鄰秦仁民震人賓陳鈞珍身新 時邕 CS 253 震春仁賓臣 華林園宴 CS 277 *Hsià-hòu Chàn* 夏侯湛：仁身倫民 管仲像贊 CW 69.4 *Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：親人身民 孝經詩之一 CS 306 磷臣身 論語詩之一 CS 306 濱均震 與尚書同僚詩 CS 307 塵親新 感別賦 CW 51.3 臣身震 御史中丞箴 CW 52.11-2 *Chang Huá* 張華：仁麟 食舉東西廂樂詩之五 CS 254 神人仁新 正旦大會行禮詩之四 CS 255 臣陳 晉宴會歌 CS 258 仁鈞新人 勵志詩 CS 281 茵珍新仁 神垠 三日後園會 CS 282 春辰塵賓茵真人濱珍陳秦旬因新麟 上巳篇 CS 282 眞仲招靈之一 CS 285 人神鈞辰新鄰 相風賦 CW 58.2.2 珍人 席前左端銘 CW 58.8 眞辰人民津賓新震塵臣珍淳 武帝哀策文 CW 58.10 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：秦因榛濱 關中詩 CS 372 人彬珍新 講漢書 CS 373 賓辰秦辛民幽新 人詢神仁 西征賦 CW 90.3,3,9 珍神真人 安石榴賦 CW 92.1 臣貧 魯武公誄 CW 93.1 磷申身人 夏侯常侍誄 CW 93.2 輶塵晨臣 巾南陽長公主誄 CW 93.3 晨輶哀永逝文 CW 93.7 *Tsō Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：親人 離思賦 CW 13.1 屯賓旻津 杞梁妻贊 CW 13.4 純仁親塵貧民身邊 德剛贊 CW 13.4 民仁新振 萬年公主誄 CW 13.7 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：身貧薪人 讀書賦 CW 87.1 姻巾 近遊賦 CW 87.2 *P'ei Wei* 裴頠：神人 女史箴 CW 33.9 *Chang Lín* 張林：仁新身 陳夫人碑 CW 109.6 *Hó Shào* 何劭：仁神親濱洛水應詔 CS 320 *Mù Hua* 木華：津濱海賦 CW 105.7 *Lù Chi* 陸機：輪塵民春親晨遵人循津 長安有狹邪行 CS 327 臣賓 皇太子賜燕詩 CS 337 振人臣塵湮與弟清河雲 CS 339 親身津人 赴洛道中之一 CS 344 臣陳人 吳王郎中時從梁陳 CS 344 因陳 大暑賦 CW 96.9 因津人泯綸神新 文賦 CW 97.3 因人秦民親臣 功臣頌 CW 98.5 神人 連珠三十七 CW 99.6 仁遵 陳身 丞相箴 CW 99.7.7 仁神 陸抗誄 CW 99.8 姻親 陳臣人 愍懷太子誄 CW 99.9,9 *Lì Yün* 陸雲：申神鄰鎮 征西大將軍會射堂 CS 352 人仁振陳民 從侍中郎 CS 353 淳振神人 贈汲郡太守 CS 354 振人塵贈顧驃騎 CS 355 仁麟賓新贈張仲膺 CS 356 新眞新珍塵 贈顧彥先 CS 356 振鄰仁塵塵辰人遵身答兄平原 CS 359,359-60 塵榛循鄰親人辛答張士然 CS 365 塵寅辰賓九愍修身 CW 101.1 麟津振輪 又八 CW 10.4 薪資秦神津 郊閑人頌 CW 103.9 眞神 夷門子頌 CW 103.10 臣秦震辰塵民濱人振 祖考頌 CW 104.2,2 臣民倫 親仁淳眞人 逸民篇 CW 104.4,4 晨眞仁神 鄰陳 麟塵陸公誄 CW 104.5,5,6 辰民臻湮 塵振 陸府君誄 CW 104.8,8 振湮身邊臻 夏府君誄 CW 104.10 *Tsō Szu* 左思：震人倫陳塵鈞 詠史之六 CS 386 榛神眞津伸塵仁辰 招靈之二 CS 387 春辰賓陳麟倫人 津旬 蜀都賦 CW 74.4,4,4 垠珍 緡人綸麟 臻貧珍塵 吳都賦 CW 74.7,9,9 人塵均 振岫陳津遵輪春賓 魏都賦 CW 74.11,12 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：眞倫均塵 獻長安君安仁 CS 377-8 珉臣春新贈陸機 CS 379 鄰濱臣濱珍振塵 皇太子集應令 CS 380 身塵鄰仁 東武館賦 CW 94.2 陳醇麟 火賦 CW 94.3 臣閭眞新 釋奠頌 CW 94.7 人新莘神 乘輿賦 CW 95.4 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：津人塵新濱春震 均人 思游賦 CW 76.2,3 綸身 尚書令箴 CW 77.6 *Lü-ch'iu Ch'ung* 閻丘沖：臣塵茵新津 三月三日 CS 412 *Tsão Sung* 棗嵩：身人申塵 贈杜方叔 CS 314 眞仁新神 珍鈞身塵贈荀彥將 CS 314 *Wáng Chün* 王浚：倫垠鄰濱麟珍貧鈞春神津因塵 從幸洛水 CS 322 *Líu K'un* 劉琨：珍神臻塵賓鄰 答盧謐 CS 416 *Wáng Yü* 王虞：珍臻 洛都賦 CW 20.9 仁純 白兔賦 CW 20.10 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：人麟津神塵 與王使君 CS 422 銀瑤濱鄰津 江賦 CW 120.2-3 人薪 淪津麟 客傲 CW 121.2,2 珍伸人 爾雅圖尺蠖贊 CW 121.9 臣人秦 山海經圖會稽山贊

CW122.3 韓珍寶 又鵲鳥寶 CW122.6 人鱗身 又竊竊寶 CW122.10 人賓津 又崑崙寶 CW122.12 倫辛神 又椒寶 CW 123.3 岷鈞輪 又菱牛寶 CW 123.3 珍人鱗 又自此山來寶 CW 123.5 人民濱 又長臂國寶 CW123.6 人輪寶 又奇肱國寶 CW123.6 神身震 又天吳寶 CW123.9 人鱗津 又氏人寶 CW123.10 身神仁 又驕虞寶 CW123.11 人鱗珍 又列姑射山寶 CW123.12 濱津仁 又若木寶 CW123.13 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：珉珍鱗銀 揚都賦 CW38.2 *Chang Tsai* 張載：混人神均新珍 倫均春 鄴酒賦 CW 85.2.3 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：津垠塵輪 七命序 CW85.8 *Lì Ch'ung* 李充：神仁 九賢頌 管徵君 CW53.6 人仁登 安仁峯銘 CW53.8 *Lü Ch'ên* 盧諶：親珍陳臣 贈劉琨 CS418 濱真珍 答劉琨 CS421 臻振 盧府君誄 CW34.13 *Ts'ao P'í* 曹毗：神津濱鱗宸 詠史 CS450 *Chiang Yü* 江迥：榛塵貧 詠貧 CS 444 *Hsièh Wàn* 謝萬：辰新綱賓陳塵春 春遊賦 CW 83.4 *Chih T'un* 支遁：因濱甸津倫身混神 詠八日詩之二 CS 500 真人純因塵輪珍身神詵臣鄰 詠懷之四 CS 503 津仁因民濱塵仲真鈞 利城山居 CS 504 津春神仲新鈞 釋迦文佛像贊 CW 157.11 神詵新人 阿彌陀佛像贊 CW 157.12 *Yuán Hóng* 袁宏：塵津新身仁濱 東征賦 CW 57.1 純親身臣 三國名臣序贊 CW 57.6 *Wáng Piao-chih* 王彪之：淳新鱗 登會稽刻石山 CS 430 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：人塵薪人紳 答許詢 CS435 震塵神津 賀循像贊 CW61.7 純紳春民 孔松陽像贊 CW61.7 新人珍濱 支愨度贊 CW61.9 伸倫 漏刻銘 CW62.5 神人身賓 樽銘 CW62.5 *Hsi Ch'ao* 郝超：神人津新陳 答傅郎 CS 453 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：濱陳均親 蘭亭 CS 431 *Yü Yun* 庾蘊：賓因 蘭亭 CS442 *Hsièh Yì* 謝繹：鱗塵 蘭亭 CS442 *Yü Shuo* 虞說：津人 蘭亭 CS443 *Fú Tao* 伏滔：鱗神身珍 長笛賦 CW133.7 *Wáng Ning-chih* 王凝之：淳津 蘭亭 CS437 *Wáng Shù-chih* 王肅之：神鱗 蘭亭 CS437 *Kü K'ái-chih* 顧愷之：彬身 筆賦 CW135.3 *Huán Hsüán* 桓玄：津鄰神輪 登荊山 CS486 *Seng Ch'ò* 僧肇：因真人珍賓新 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW165.15 *Lí Hào* 李暉：賓倫宸 述志賦 CW 155.1 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：珍親人鄰 答龐參軍 CS456 人真因人勸農 CS457 塵身親鄰晨人雜詩之一 CS 478 親仁貧身辛陳 感士不遇賦 CW 111.4-5 身新 閒情賦 CW 111.5 鈞親民純 士孝傳贊 CW112.5 旻人貧陳薪晨 自祭文 CW112.9 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：人親 執友箴 CW142.2 *T'ung Ching* 董京：麟真孔子不遇 CS400 *Kuo Yuán-tsü* 郭元祖：鱗臣身人呂尚贊 CW 139.3 仁真均臣 身務光贊 CW139.3 人倫神民黃阮丘贊 CW139.9 身陳臻塵 女丸贊 CW139.9 *Wáng Shào-chih* 王劭之：純遵綸循 姜嫄頌 CW144.11 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：辛人 懷歸謠 CS 493 人塵津春 七歡之三 CW140.6 *Pó Tào Yü* 帛道猷：津榛人薪民 陵峯採藥 CS508 *Ch'ên Ts'an* 陳珍：震春 獻春頌 CW 144.10 Anonymous 無名氏：臣名 洪業篇 CS 270 賓臣 大晉篇 CS272 身秦津新辰民珍薪 明君篇 CS273 人真 獨漉篇 CS274 銀人巾塵賓淳神陳 晉白紵歌之一 CS275 身人 子夜夏歌之七 CS 527 巾人塵 安東平之四 CS 544 倫賓 郗王謠 CS 577 新賓 又謠 CS577 陳混 康帝哀策文 CW146.6 綸伸津 簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

### Shang

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：盡引愍隕軫忍 悼亡之三 CS 376-7 盡愍引忍隕 寡婦賦 CW 91.3 愍忍軫 武皇帝誄 CW 92.6 盡忍隕愍 王氏哀辭 CW 93.6 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：盡愍 思歸歎 CS 403

*Chih Tùn* 支遁：盡軫隕泯 善宿菩薩贊 CW157.14 *Yuán Húng* 袁宏：引隕允 東征賦 CW57.1 *Yin Chùng Wén* 殷仲文：準盡緊牝隕茵軫引泯晒 南州桓公九井作 CS 487 *Huì Yuán* 慧遠：盡引軫泯 曇無竭菩薩贊 CW162.14

*Ch'ü*

*Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：潤俊胤 正旦大會行禮歌之七 CS 256 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：潤順食舉東西廂歌之十一 CS249 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：仞潤引慎信磷順井賦 CW60.1 儻順莊周贊 CW60.8 *Chang Huá* 張華：進恪 女史箴 CW58.8 侵潤順 鮑玄泰誄 CW58.9 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：鬢慎 家風詩 CS 373 進燼蘭刃雋 西征賦 CW90.4 胤順信峻 南陽長公主誄 CW 93.3 引陣櫛 宜城宣君誄 CW93.3 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：信進胤吝 楚妃歎 CS401 *Lü Chi* 陸機：順進 遂志賦 CW 96.5 順潤峻 演連珠之四十一 CW 99.6 俊順 吳大帝誄 CW 99.8 駿胤儻晉 愍懷太子誄 CW 99.8 *Tsö Szu* 左思：仞慎駿 魏都賦 CW74.14 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：峻儻潤晉 獻長安君安仁 CS 377 信晉順潤 後園頌 CW94.8 *Tsao Sung* 棗嵩：瑾儻潤振 贈荀彥將 CS314 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：仞俊峻韻 浮查賦 CW38.4-5 峻俊順潤 樂賢堂頌 CW38.6 *Chang Tsai* 張載：晉胤舜 平吳頌 CW85.4 鎮仞峻順晉 劍閣銘 CW 85.5 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：振信 露拍刀銘 CW 85.12 *Tsao T'ien* 棗腆：儻峻舜吝仞 答石崇 CS409 *Lü Ch'en* 盧諶：晉韻順峻 贈劉琨 CS418 俊胤韻 盧府君誄 CW34.13 *Ts'áo P'i* 曹毗：峻雋仞印慎潤振 對儒 CW107.9 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：俊吝潤振徐君墓頌 CW61.6 *Yü Sü-chih* 庾肅之：濬潤永贊 CW38.10 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：胤晉韻順 孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2 *Kü K'ai-chih* 顧愷之：俊信順 觀濤賦 CW 135.3 *Chih T'an T'i* 支曇諦：仞潤 廬山賦 CW165.16 *Hsiéh Hün* 謝混：韻瑾儻順胤峻訊 吝蘭仞振慎 誠廢子 CS489

## (19.4) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories (Wèi 魏)

*Chen* 眞 and *Yuán* 元

*P'ing*

*Liu Chen* 劉楨：連垠津 魯都賦 HHW 65.2 *Ch'en Lin* 陳琳：陳原晷震原陳 武軍賦 HHW92.1 *Hsü Kän* 徐幹：勤人悄緣辰 室思 WS184 崙淵奔 齊都賦 HHW93.5 *Hän-tan* *Ch'un* 邯鄲淳：鈞賢分 投壺賦 WW 26.1 君純文雲親聞鄰民因垠均人年申詢晏新 漢鴻臚陳紀碑 WW26.4 *Ting Yü's wife* 丁廙妻：倫塵津淵連泯 寡婦賦 HHW96.10 *Hü Tsung* 胡綜：軍門雲煩 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5 *Tsö Yen Niën* 左延年：人軍西身 從軍行 WS 202 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：身臣顛 大師箴 WW51.6

*Chen* 眞 and *Hän* 寒

*P'ing*

*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：君官 善哉行之一 WS 118



*Chen* 眞 and *Keng* 耕

*P'ing*

*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：仁命善哉行之一 WS 118 人臣榮秋胡行之二 WS 123

*Ch'ü*

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：命夔分田開疆贊 WW177

*Chen* 眞 and *Tung* 冬

*P'ing*

*Yang Hsi* 楊戲：演眞文風身贊諸葛丞相 WW62.7

*Chen* 眞 and *Ch'in* 侵

*P'ing*

*Juàn Yü* 阮瑀：塵身心怨詩 WS 190 *Hsüeh Tsung* 薛綜：振音麟臻鳳頌 WW 66.6

*Yang Hsi* 楊戲：眞文林贊王元泰等 WW62.8 人侵云贊揚威公 WW62.9 *Juàn Chi* 阮籍：

陳純心秦眞鄰獼猴賦 WW44.9 *Hsi Chèng* 卻正：群林殷釋譏 CW70.8

*Chen* 眞 and *Yang* 陽

*P'ing*

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：因人神晨唐正情賦 HHW42.1

*Chen* 眞, *Yüan* 元 and *Hán* 寒

*P'ing*

*Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：乾倫人門軍玄存魏受命述 WW26.2

*Ch'ü*

*Wei Chao* 韋昭：亂運建陣刃奮散館憤聞漢之季 WS 230

*Chen* 眞, *Ch'in* 侵 and *Yüán* 元

*P'ing*

*Fü Kū* 傅嘏：音信人神辰欣臻原皇初頌 WW35.5

(19.5) Rare Contacts between different Tone Classes (Wei 魏)

*Chen* 眞 *P'ing* 平 and *Chen* 眞 *Shang* 上

*Hó Yèn* 何晏：幽陳震菌神宸榛春芬景福殿賦 WW39.5

*Chen* 眞 *P'ing* 平 and *Chen* 眞 *Ch'ü* 去

*Juàn Chi* 阮籍：貧塵殉倫神演詠懷之七十四 WS 224

## (19.6) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories (Chin 晉)

*Chen* 眞 and *Wên* 文*P'ing*

*P'ei Hsiù* 裴秀：辰薪勤 大錯詩 CS310 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：神賓薪雲 天郊饗神歌 CS 241  
 陳神塵珍人雲屑賓春身新秦辰 苦相篇 CS 290 分新陳 筆賦 CW45.6 伸人巾屑瞬斷呻 猿猴賦  
 CW46.3 *Hsièh Yìng* 薛瑩：身分 獻詩 CS288 *Huáng-fu Mì* 皇甫謐：隣勤 釋勸論  
 CW71.7 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：人珍神臣文 鞞舞歌 CW 68.2 人親殷神仁 玄鳥賦 CW68.6  
 文新人神 張平子碑 CW69.9 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：新文 胡母夫人哀辭 CW60.11 *Fù Hsiên* 傅  
 咸：珍眞文新 紙賦 CW51.5 *Chang Huá* 張華：親人民仁姻珍欣垠 晉宗親會歌 CS 258  
 賓殷垠晏秦人親仁民塵 命將出征歌 CS265 分甄人臣倫 女史箴 CW58.8 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：  
 蘊新麟 滄海賦 CW90.3 塵姻親鄰人薪巾塵文 懷舊賦 CW91.1 分臣麟輪震辰 藉田賦 CW91.3 文  
 眞人巾 楊仲武誄 CW 92.8 芬荀勤嬪姻身 南陽長公主誄 CW 93.2-3 倫均人君 宜城宣君誄 CW 93.3  
 新勤人身振晏 澤爾哀辭 CW93.6 聞辛身人 仲武哀祝文 CW93.7 *Tsō Chü-pin* 左九嬪：純  
 仁新震陳欣 武帝納皇后頌 CW13.2 勤新仁親綸辰 元皇后誄 CW13.5 *Lü Chi* 陸機：人君 周  
 夫人贈車騎 CS343 墳震陳鄰神 遂志賦 CW 96.5 *Tsō Szu* 左思：震欣臣陳 吳都賦 CW 74.10  
*Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：新春旬晨人勤濱輪 答趙景猷 CS408 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：綸芬 鈞賦 CW94.2  
*Wáng Tsán* 王讚：新雲春賓三月三日 CS397 *Wáng Yü* 王廙：辰輪濱雲 洛都賦 CW20.9  
*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：玟人津麟贈溫嶠 CS423 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：淳春君塵七命之七 CW85.12  
*Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：仁春分 表哀詩 CS 432-3 人因勤仁 與庾冰 CS 434 *Kü K'ài-chih* 顧愷  
 之：熅焚塵雲新神 雷電賦 CW135.2 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：欣人因臻聞勤鄰濱 示周穆祖謝  
 CS 461-2 勤親鄰晨分春雲因貧人 與殷晉安別 CS 466 貧勤人新欣津鄰民 癸卯始春 CS 469 眞淳  
 新秦塵勤親津巾人 飲酒二十 CS474 *Kang Hün* 康泓：人羣身臻津 單道開傳贊 CW133.7  
 Anonymous 無名氏：葦軍 吳中童謠 CS568 鎮純神雲 鄭烈碑 CW146.10

*Shang*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：憤近忍盡隼殞秋興賦 CW90.1 盡嶙憤引隕慙西征賦 CW90.7 *Lü Ch'en*  
 盧諶：近殞盡 盧府君誄 CW34.13 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：盡殞隼隱 荷篠丈人贊 CW112.2

*Ch'ü*

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：雋運晉胤 正旦大會行禮歌之十四 CS257 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：  
 運胤峻晉愼 景獻皇后哀策文 CW93.4-5 *Lü Chi* 陸機：運順 皇太子宴玄圃 CS336 俊問 與弟清  
 河雲 CS339 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：胤韻訓鎮晉順雋振 劉府君誄 CW108.11 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：  
 麟奮迅 山海經圖贊 CW123.4 Anonymous 無名氏：胤愼潤運迅順 康帝哀策文 CW146.6

*Ch'en* 眞 and *Ch'in* 侵

*P'ing*

*Huáng-fū* M<sub>2</sub> 皇甫謐：莘濱秦屯神倫音伸 心鱗岑辰塵人臣倫臣 沈眞臣人鄰貧衾岑  
濱人 人賓眞塵身人沈深 釋勸論 CW 71.6,6,7,8 *Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：垠今民 喜雨賦 CW 51.1  
*Tsō Chiū-pin* 左九嬪：親塵尋因巾 離思賦 CW 13.1

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：訊仞進潤浸峻韻振瞬 文賦 CW 97.1

*Chen* 眞, *Ch'in* 侵 and *Wên* 文

*P'ing*

*Yüan Hūng* 袁宏：文屯民衽 祭牙文 CW 57.8

*Chen* 眞 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Shü Hsi* 束皙：屯辛貧陳塵鎮珍嗔仁冰身 貧家賦 CW 87.1

*Chen* 眞, *Wên* 文 and *Hün* 魂

*P'ing*

*Wáng Hsün* 王珣：根民淳臻津殷 孝武帝哀策文 CW 20.2

*Chen* 眞 and *Yüán* 元

*P'ing*

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：臻天夕牲歌 CS 240 *Lü Chi* 陸機：間天懸晨年鄰塵振泯賓親陳  
挽歌之三 CS 325 均淳人天賢 贈夏少明 CS 336 泯振民天 答賈謐 CS 338 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：川麟  
賓人太尉王公 CS 352 遠研玄陳淵春仁 贈顧尚書 CS 358 人天珍存寒蟬賦 CW 100.9 天臣神陸公誄  
CW 104.4 仁振屯泉 旋辰泯民 陸府君誄 CW 104.8,8 均年連泯 宣新臣親 夏府君誄 CW 104.9,9  
*Ts'ài Hūng* 蔡洪：陳神賢 圍棋賦 CW 81.7

*Ch'ü*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：雋振潤絢 夏侯常侍誄 CW 93.1 *Lü Chi* 陸機：覺晉禪獻 答賈謐 CS 338

俊嫚七微之五 CW 98.3 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：潤振晉變信 南衡 CS 362 舜晉雋彥陸公誄 CW 104.5

*Chen* 眞 and *Hün* 魂

*P'ing*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：仁坤神 吳大帝誄 CW 99.8

*Chen* 眞 *Yüán* 元 and *Wên* 文

*P'ing*

### 3.3 Rime Lists—Category *Wên* 文

*Lù Yǔn* 陸雲：春燭繁元人谷風 CS361 文珍神川南衡 CS362 文辰人震年民津神殷陸公誄  
CW104.6 *Chèng Fèng* 鄭豐：燭民仁鄰塵身綿南山 CS368

#### *Ch'ü*

*Lù Yǔn* 陸雲：峻順韻變盛德頌 CW103.12

*Chen* 眞, *Yüán* 元 and *Hán* 寒

#### *P'ing*

*Yáng Fang* 楊方：煙親身緜氈歡塵捐身民陳合歡之二 CS426

*Chen* 眞, *Yüán* 元 and *Hün* 魂

#### *P'ing*

*Lù Chì* 陸機：賢鈞臣川孫七微之七 CW98.3

*Chen* 眞 and *Keng* 耕

#### *P'ing*

*Chang Huá* 張華：仁鈞明垠食舉東西廂樂詩之八 CS 254 *Anonymous* 無名氏：親零  
前溪歌之六 CS 533

*Chen* 眞, *Keng* 耕 and *Wên* 文

#### *P'ing*

*Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：珍貞文新紙賦 CW51.5

*Chen* 眞, *Keng* 耕 and *Yüán* 元

#### *P'ing*

*Lù Yǔn* 陸雲：仁親姻紳塵振甄鈴辰員純濱陸府君誄 CW104.7 *Sun Chéng* 孫拯：  
冥新捐賓贈陸士龍 CS 369

### (19.7) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes (Chin 晉)

*Chen* 眞 *P'ing* 平 and *Chen* 眞 *Ch'ü* 去

*Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：𪔐巾勿韻潤答謝安 CS 431

### (20) Rime Category *Wên* 文 (Chin 晉)

#### (20.1) List of All Rime Words

#### *P'ing*

*Wên* 文：分份紛芬 氲燭縕蘊 君裙群 熏勳薰 云芸雲 軍輝 墳濱 文玟 聞 焚

*Hsin* 欣：欣 勤 殷 垠 斷

*Shǎng*

*Wěn* 吻：吻 憤 忿

*Yīn* 隱：近 謹 隱

*Ch'ü*

*Wèn* 問：訓 問 運 奮 慍 糞 分 韻

## (20.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Wén* 文

*P'ing*

*Yīng Chen* 應貞：文雲芬欣 華林園詩集 CS 311 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：雲氤分群 天地賦 CW59.1 燼雲 時雨賦 CW59.3 雲文 隸書體 CW59.10 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：欣文 地郊饗神歌 CS241 雲群軍文 順天道 CS263-4 群文君雲芬 伯益 CS265 分雲群君文紛 羽鐸舞歌 CS270 群紛 聞雲放歌行 CS291 君文分紛雲 歷九秋篇董逃行 CS294 文紛雲 正都賦 CW45.4 文君紛雲 班婕妤贊 CW46.10 *Tsǎo Chü* 棗據：垠聞分 船賦 CW67.5 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：文君勤勤殷氤 分垠 猗歎 CS252 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：雲文 宜男花賦 CW68.4 *Chang Huá* 張華：雲文勤殷勵志詩 CS281 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：縕君文分贈陸機 CS372 君聞群焚西征賦 CW90.6 *Lü Chi* 陸機：聞雲熏文紛 百年歌之三 CS 335 軍勳分墳 功臣頌 CW 98.6 雲君 演連珠之三二 CW99.6 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：聞勳雲芬 從侍中郎 CS 353 分聞紛雲 南征賦 CW 100.7 聞芬群芸 九愍感逝 CW101.4 文芬分雲 九愍之九 CW101.5 勤殷 夏府君誄 CW104.10 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：君 軍紛群分雲 詠史之三 CS385 紛雲 文紛 蜀都賦 CW74.2,4 聞紛芬云 魏都賦 CW 74.16 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：群芬墳君雲聞分 贈歐陽建 CS 406 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：分紛君勤殷文 乘輿箴 CW95.4 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：文分群雲思游賦 CW76.2 文君軍墳漢文帝贊 CW77.5 *Tsǎo Sung* 棗嵩：雲紛群文 贈杜方叔 CS314 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：文分君 爾雅圖星贊 CW121.6 文群雲 山海經圖鹿蜀贊 CW122.2 群文君 又鳳皇贊 CW122.3 *Wáng Hū-chih* 王胡之：雲群芬燼 贈庾翼 CS430 *Yüán Sung* 袁崧：雲紛 圓扇賦 CW56.5 *Kü K'ài-chih* 顧愷之：群燼文君 鳳賦 CW135.3 *Chih T'án Tì* 支曇諦：氤雲芬分 廬山賦 CW165.16 *T'áo Chiên* 陶潛：欣雲聞 答龐參軍 CS 456 群聞芬雲勤殷欣紛紛 閑情賦 CW 111.5 分耘 荷篠丈人贊 CW 112.2 欣群 長沮桀溺贊 CW112.2 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：文墳芬 祭梁鴻文 CW142.2 *Wáng Ch'í-chih* 王齊之：雲群分紛 念佛三昧之三 CS496 *Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：紛聞 釋時論 CW89.2 *Yáng Yü* 楊乂：分燼雲 雲賦 CW 89.3 Anonymous 無名氏：君紛群分文雲 景皇篇 CS 271 紛裙 採桑度之三 CS 542

*Shǎng*

*Chang Tsai* 張載：謹近忿隱 匕首銘 CW85.6

*Ch'ü*

*Chi Hân* 嵇含：分問 寒食散賦 CW65.5 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：運慍 登百尺樓賦 CW120.6 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：冀訓 表哀詩 CS433

(20.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Wên* 文 and *Hün* 魂

*P'ing*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：坤雲輝熅動 白雲賦 CW96.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：韞聞 山海經圖鳴石贊 CW123.2

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：奮遁 浮雲賦 CW96.1

*Wên* 文 and *Chen* 眞

*P'ing*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：分殷身雲軍 聞垠珍文雲 楊荊州誄 CW 92.7,7 聞殷辛 哭弟文 CW 93.7

*Lü Chi* 陸機：文麟 浮雲賦 CW96.1 墳紛春雲芬彬文 文賦 CW97.1 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：熅文 分倫 征西大將軍會射堂 CS 352 紛軍潰塵 答顧處微 CS 358 *Sun Ch'eng* 孫拯：文勳勳振 贈陸士龍 CS369 *Yü Ai* 庾敳：分陳 幽人賦 CW36.5 *Chang Hsieh* 張協：氤芬麟雲欣 濱 洛禊賦 CW85.6 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：聞分雲墳晨 馴身勳君薰文紛紛親倫 述酒 CS 475 *Yang Hui* 羊徽：勳殷潰屯 答丘泉之 CS 488

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：峻問奮 思文 CS 355 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：訓問潤運 釋奠頌 CW94.7

*Wên* 文, *Chen* 眞 and *Hün* 魂

*P'ing*

*Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：軍雲門臣人 惟庸蜀 CS261 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：門文熅淳勳 陸公誄 CW104.6

*Wên* 文 and *Yüan* 元

*P'ing*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：聞言 七微 CW98.2 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：泉繼雲 陸府君誄 CW104.8 君熅繁 文源分 夏府君誄 CW 104.9,9 *Tsai Hsing* 蔡洪：文圓群原 圍棋賦 CW 81.7 Anonymous 無名氏：勤言 懷儂歌之五 CS 538

*Wên* 文, *Yüan* 元 and *Hün* 魂

*P'ing*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：勳繁軍門雲 昆聞 答兄平原 CS359 原芬門雲 高崗 CS362 *Lü Ch'ung* 陸沖：分尊熅元 風賦 CW 86.9

(21) Rime Category *Hún* 魂 (Chin 晉)

(21.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Hún* 魂：昏惛婚 崙論 尊樽 溫韞 孫蓀 昆 門 奔 魂 存 敦 坤 豚 鵠

*Hên* 痕：恩 根

*Shǎng*

*Hūn* 混：損 本 沌

*Ch'ü*

*Hùn* 恩：遯 悶

(21.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Hún* 魂

*P'ing*

*Ch'êng Kung-sui* 成公綏：昆門 晉四廟樂歌之八 CS257 奔門 大河賦 CW59.3 *Hsiueh Ying* 薛瑩：論恩 獻詩 CS288 *Tsǎo Chū* 棗據：根奔 門昆存 船賦 CW67.6,6 *Hsià-hōu Chān* 夏侯湛：恩昏門敦 周詩 CS395 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：存坤恩門 西征賦 CW90.3 存樽恩魂 悼亡賦 CW91.2 恩門昆魂馬汧督誄 CW92.10 門昏根存金鹿哀辭 CW93.5 *Ou-yáng Chien* 歐陽建：溫尊昏論敦 答石崇贈 CS410 *Lü Chi* 陸機：存昏尊門昆 功臣頌 CW98.6 *Tsō Szu* 左思：崙門奔昏 蜀都賦 CW74.2 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：門根魂存 思游賦 CW76.3 門尊 門銘 CW77.6 *Liú Kun* 劉琨：婚敦奔門根魂 答盧謐 CS416 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：溫門孫樽 失題 CS425 鵠孫豚 山海經圖鵠鳥贊 CW122.10 根魂存 又無臂國贊 CW123.8 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：昏奔 霖雨 CS451 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：根存門敦 榮木 CS455 奔門存樽 歸去來兮辭 CW111.7 存奔魂門孫 自祭文 CW112.10 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：溫門存根 谷春贊 CW139.7 Anonymous 無名氏：根恩 歡聞歌 CS532 門昆 五龍一門 CS578

*Shǎng*

*Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：損本 疾愈賦 CW76.3 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：沌損本 山海經圖三身國贊 CW123.6

(21.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Hún* 魂 and *Wén* 文

*P'ing*

Anonymous 無名氏：根勤 前溪歌之四 CS533 根勤 桃葉歌之二 CS536

*Hún* 魂 and *Yüan* 元

*P'ing*

*P'an Ni* 潘尼：門崙奔前 贈司安緣安仁 CS378

*Hún* 魂 and *Chen* 眞

*P'ing*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：命門魂 山海經圖神陸吾贊 CW122.6

*Hún* 魂, *Chen* 眞 and *Yüán* 元

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ch'en* 王沈：尊天人門悒 釋時論 CW89.2

(21.4) Rare Contacts between Different Tone Classes

*Hún* 魂 *P'ing* 平, *Hún* 魂 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Chen* 眞 *P'ing* 平

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：綸遯悶蓀 答王門子 CS423

(22) Rime Category *Yüán* 元

(22.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Yüan* 元：幡幡幡幡幡幡翻 原源源 爰爰爰 園猿猿 繁蘩 元沅 垣喧 煩  
言 軒 怨 垣 樊 冤

*Shan* 山：間閒閒 山 艱 湔 閑

*Hsien* 仙：全荃詮詮詮詮 蟬羶氈氈氈 延挺涎涎涎 娟捐惓惓 連漣漣漣 偏篇翩  
專傳縛 塵纏墮 輝禪蟬 衍愆 還翻 員圓 然燃 騫蹇 縣綿 溪  
川 泉 遷 鮮 旃 鐫 便 鳶 宣 虔 仙 船 焉 權 拳 旋  
讐 僊 錢 扇 遄 穿 蠱 煎 捲 洊 饌 緣 乾

*Hsien* 先：寘填闕顛巔 玄弦絃絃牽 田汧吹鈿 千阡芊 涓娟娟 妍研 堅賢 縣  
懸 煙(烟) 邊籛 天 先 年 前 肩 戔 憐 眠 燕 蓮 淵 駢  
西 饌

*Hún* 魂：存

*Shǎng*

*Juǎn* 阮：反阪坂坂返飯 偃纏 挽晚 宛婉 遠 綫

*Ch'ǎn* 產：限眼 產湮 簡

*Hsiǎn* 獮：卷捲 淺踐 辨辯 免冕 遍褊 鮮薛 湏緬 轉 輦 蹇 善 翦 尠  
演 闡 衍 便 權



*Hsiên* 銑：典 殄 顯

*Ch'ü*

*Yüàn* 願：怨苑婉苑 建 獻 憲 勸 願 蔓 遠 萬

*Chien* 憊：辨 綻 幻

*Hsiên* 線：眷卷倦陞 援媛 戰禪 變戀 選饌 串 彥 弁 賤 羨 面 衍 延  
線 扇 狷 院 便 箭 傳

*Hsiên* 霰：練鍊 燕讌 倩蒨 麵(麪) 宴 見 餞 奠 遍 咽 電 縣 薦 研  
殿 甸 絢 晒 顯 湮 茜

## (22.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Yüán* 元

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：天年懸顛 思親詩 WS178 園原山間 雜詩之一 WS181 邊間閑言 又四 WS181  
*Liu Chen* 劉楨：垣宣言遷園源翻連懸偏焉 贈徐幹 WS186 *Ch'ên Lín* 陳琳：牽垣 先  
千 武軍賦 HHW92.2.2 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：山言旋 別詩之一 WS196 旋仙閑連 馳射賦 HHW42.3  
*Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：原軒煩旃 暑賦 HHW93.7 天旋 建章鳳閣賦 HHW93.9 *Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：  
賢山 善哉行 WS118 天年 龜雖壽 WS119 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：筵存遷連 短歌行 WS125 全  
天 秋胡行之一 WS125 天翩繁言 丹霞蔽日行 WS126 天怨 上留田行 WS129 前年言 月重輪行 WS131 園  
川天前間鮮仙年 芙蓉池上作 WS132 嬋天山連前川 登臺賦 WW4.5 泉藩 天連山旂鮮川 校獵賦  
WW4.5.5 鐫便圓鮮連間 瑤瑤勒賦 WW4.7 山天 車渠挽賦 WW4.7 *Ting Yì* 丁廙：然鮮言玄  
天佃繁年邊山泉 蔡伯喈女賦 HHW94.4 藩驚軒 彈碁賦 HHW94.4 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：山天巔  
仙 升天行 WS142 然田川間賢 豫章行之一 WS144 連然言賢 又二 WS145 巔連然言 苦思行 WS148  
然閑阡間泉田西存山艱燔連 吁嗟篇 WS148 天年 野田黃雀行 WS150 仙煩然存天 桂之樹行 WS151  
宜虔田賢年然 靈芝篇 WS154 山玄年 大魏篇 WS155 船前淵川先艱譽天原賢先年 精微篇 WS155  
軒原閒元山言 雜詩之六 WS163 山繁閒間天軒憐全篇愆然年宣言 贈徐幹 WS166 連焉 婦志詩  
WS169 藩轅山煩田川 娟鮮權閑言 洛神賦 WW 13.2.2 鐫存 藩田 玄暢賦 WW13.5.5 弦川傳 幽思  
賦 WW13.5 繁鮮 槐樹賦 WW14.3 然天泉 神龜賦 WW14.5 猿緣閑連纏捐燔 蟬賦 WW14.6 宣言愆  
虔 賢明頌 WW17.3 焉天敗玄 庖羲贊 WW17.4 轅天宜虔 顧項贊 WW17.5 船天 禹渡河贊 WW17.6 年  
天 湯壽桑林贊 WW17.6 權川浚連 魏德論 WW17.9 存言 饒饒說 WW18.8 遷賢元玄年天宣 文帝詠  
WW19.6 天年痊言藩原遷然煙軒筵存天 卞太后詠 WW19.8 連鮮存 懿公主詠 WW19.8-9 言天譽  
金匏哀辭 WW19.9 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：翩連 旋天 許昌宮賦 WW30.12.12 *Ts'áo Juè* 曹叡：浚  
縣天淵 善哉行 WS137 山賢仙傳遷存 蟬西連天翩間 綿憐繁言 步出夏門行 WS137-8 垣連山  
緣全拳然 種瓜篇 WS139 *Liu Shào* 劉劭：淵甸 龍瑞賦 WW32.3 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：川田  
喜鸞賦 WW38.1 *Tsō Yèn Nien* 左延年：西前 秦女休行 WS202 *Hō Yèn* 何晏：天連  
錢燄天 景福殿賦 WW39.5.5 *Tù Ch'ên* 杜摯：然遷 筵賦 WW41.1 *Wang Sù* 王肅：泉天

宗廟頌 WW23.11 *Sun Kai* 孫該：天山焉 神祠賦 WW40.2 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：山川絃玄筌言 贈秀才入軍之十四 WS206 還然 又十八 WS206 淵懸年然 酒會之四 WS207 原繁宣軒騫 又六 WS207 西前巔閑閑 山絃然煩 琴賦 WW47.1,3 權山賢 倦言前 大師箴 WW51.6,6 *Juān Chī* 阮籍：顛山翩然娟連 詠懷二六 WS218 顛天憐妍眠年 又二九 WS218 年前 獼猴賦 WW44.9 *Chung Huì* 鍾會：泉然 蒲萄賦 WW25.2 *Anonymous* 無名氏：淵千 夏侯歌 WS227

*Yüing Chen* 應貞：旋縣駢 安石榴賦 CW35.1 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：天玄淵年 正旦大會行禮歌十五 CS257 山川翩綿然 洋洋熊耳流 CS286 旋翩 雲賦 CW59.2 山川泉娟連縣然 嘯賦 CW 59.4-5 泉煖 鴻雁賦 CW59.7 宣言愆虔 賢明頌 CW59.9 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：賢天 文皇帝登歌 CS244 天虔 正旦大會行禮歌之三 CS248 閑塤 食舉東西廡歌之八 CS249 天賢年 順天道 CS264 川間言 翩間 伯益 CS264 鮮淵篇然天 釣竿 CS265 山淵天緣艱 擬四愁詩之三 CS302 泉天 陽春賦 CW45.2 堅玄 硯賦 CW45.5 天泉 宜男花賦 CW45.8 園爰 學賦 CW45.9 山天然遷旋 柳賦 CW45.10-11 專怨 吏部尚書箴 CW46.10 傳川山 口誡 CW46.13 *Li Mì* 李密：言緣田然 賜餞東堂 CS322 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：遷還田弦年 獵兔賦 CW68.3 天泉 宜男花賦 CW68.4 翩鮮 朝華賦 CW68.5 遷年 藁 秋夕哀 CW68.7 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：天泉 故臺賦 CW60.2 顛閑 相風賦 CW60.3 *Wáng Chì* 王濟：玄饌宣筵年 平吳後三月三日華林園詩 CS321 *Chang Huá* 張華：泉天翩鮮田燕妍旃 煙連川還閑肩翻原 遊獵篇 CS279 專遷然 女史箴 CW58.8 衍禪 章懷皇后誄 CW58.9 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：延遷言軒 贈陸機 CS372 天連 哀詩 CS377 山閒 滄海賦 CW90.2 專天 倡言 縣川 賢邊煙 前牽 西淵 西征賦 CW90.3,4,6,7-8,9 塤天田千巔 然天先 籍田賦 CW91.4,4 閑淵年天 宣痊 軒園 閑居賦 CW91.6,6,6 山田 蓮花賦 CW91.8 旋閑鮮 芙蓉賦 CW91.9 淵閑 安石榴賦 CW92.1 繁娟鮮言 皇女誄 CW93.3 筵遷 哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：翻園絃年 思歸歌 CS403 *Tsō Chü-pin* 左九嬪：原翻轅澣山 元皇后誄 CW13.6 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：扇躋 由庚 CS318 牽天 西憐年銅饒然懸間邊 貧家賦 CW87.1 麪綻見練遍呬咽 餅賦 CW87.3 *Mù Huá* 木華：宣山 鮮然泉娟 田天淵 海賦 CW105.7,8,8 *Lü Chi* 陸機：煙懸賢 隴西行 CS324 旋弦全捐延間然 宣閑 長歌行 CS325 宣邊淵堅鮮捐全妍前年 塘上行 CS327 前然遷川縣旋全捐旃傳 飲馬長城窟行 CS328 旋年遷還然 董逃行 CS332 軒言 贈顧彥先 CS349 玄眠年田阡顛淵篇 答張士然 CS342 眠巔前綿憐 赴洛道中之一 CS344 賢淵妍鮮年 吳王郎中時從梁陳 CS344 間煙賢 戶鄉亭 CS350 遷妍宣 便泉顛鮮 眠絃篇先捐 文賦 CW97.2,2 幻薦咽電殿箭見 漏刻賦 CW97.4 賢田延綿連鮮 瓜賦 CW 97.6 銅賢 功臣頌 CW98.6 賢田 演連珠十二 CW99.4 絃年 又十四 CW99.4 玄絃 又四十五 CW99.7 繁存 丞相箴 CW99.7 艱天年 感懷太子誄 CW99.8 塤賢堅天年 甲蔡邕文 CW99.10 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：天玄賢淵 從事中郎 CS353 天年 答兄平原 CS360 天淵弦鮮 答大將軍 CS357 淵弦天肩年綿 南衡 CS362 然山言 歲暮賦 CW100.2 塤天淵田年 愁霖賦 CW100.3 閑原 淵天煙眠娟 南征賦 CW100.7,7 淵蟬 寒蟬賦 CW100.9 淵年弦 九歌之九 CW101.5 天淵玄 張二侯頌 CW104.2 天淵 陸公誄 CW104.6 山淵 陸府君誄 CW104.8 旃軒 延然言艱縣 夏府君誄 CW104.10,10 *Sun Ch'eng* 孫拯：天賢宣堅 贈陸士龍 CS369 *Tsō Szu* 左思：言樊篇蕃 悼離贈妹之二 CS385 山川 山連園 西淵千繁 原鮮旋闐間 蜀都賦 CW74.2,3,3,4 然全山天淵原 娟鮮連閑 錢縣 吳都賦 CW74.6,6,7 弦年 魏都賦

CW74.11 *Ch'ien Hsiù* 牽秀：宣然傳 老子頌 CW84.7 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：綿甕泉鮮 伉儷  
 CS411 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：川軒泉源船延鮮言煩 贈石崇 CS405 川沚綿翮旋然捐 答趙景猷  
 CS407 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：山筵年遊西岳 CS384 鮮籩旋 東武館賦 CW94.2 川閒 安石榴賦 CW94.4-5  
*Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：塵堅 疾愁賦 CW76.3 *Liu K'un* 劉琨：山淵軒泉 言旋 扶風歌 CS417  
 蓮前憐年 胡姬年十五 CS417 *Ts'ui Hsing* 蔡洪：源怨 圖棋賦 CW81.7 *Wang Yi* 王廙：  
 泉然鮮痊言 洛都賦 CW20.9 元幡 春可樂 CW20.11 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：鮮山絃泉煙肩年 遊仙之  
 三 CS424 煙天 失題之三 CS425 淵沚潏涓涓邊煙天 山蠡筌船旋絃年 江賦 CW120.2,3 天泉涓  
 玄 井賦 CW120.4 賢鮮 閒言先山 涓山年 客傲 CW121.1,1,2 蟬鮮然 爾雅圖蟬贊 CW121.8 川煙天  
 山海經圖水玉贊 CW122.2 川玄天 又鰭魚頭鳥贊 CW122.3 天山員 又白帝少昊贊 CW122.6 槿山然 又檀  
 木贊 CW122.8 眠年天 又狹徐贊 CW122.12 邊天淵 又尋木贊 CW123.8 燃山傳 又炎火山贊 CW123.13 艱  
 淵巔懸田 天元皇帝哀策文 CW123.13 *Chang Hân* 張翰：鮮煙妍言周小史 CS388 *Yü Ch'ân*  
 庾闡：山泉天然閒鮮 觀石鼓 CS445 煙仙玄然 遊仙之六 CS447 山源川 遷閒 揚都賦 CW38.2,2 塵  
 縣爛惡餅賦 CW38.5 *Chang Tsai* 張載：年前旋艱言年川 贈虞顯度 CS390 原山連煩 擬四  
 愁詩之三 CS391 源川泉 滌汜池賦 CW85.1 愆賢筵篇 鄴酒賦 CW85.3 鮮然 安石榴賦 CW85.3 *Chang*  
*Hsieh* 張協：閒圓園山燕然 雜詩之八 CS394 田連筵 洛陵賦 CW85.6 玄前山天 七命 CW85.8 天  
 連山軒 七命之二 CW85.9 薦鮮弦軒繁煙旋 又三 CW85.10 狷痊 又七 CW85.12 *Kan Pao* 干  
 寶：然艱賢 白志詩 CS487 *Lü Hsiü* 魯褒：錢焉 錢神論 CW113.7 *Lü Ch'ung* 李充：  
 川玄筌言源年然 學箴 CW53.8 賢偏 博銘 CW53.8 *Lü Ch'en* 盧諶：遷艱顛愆 贈劉琨 CS418  
 翺遷 蟋蟀賦 CW34.9 遷纏冤 盧府君誄 CW34.13 *Ts'ao P'ü* 曹毗：川芊懸然 涉江賦 CW107.7  
*Chiang Yü* 江淹：玄鮮 羽扇賦 CW107.2 然天田川原 竹賦 CW107.3 *Hsieh Wan* 謝萬：  
 鮮川 屈原頌 CW83.4 *Chih Tün* 支遁：旋遷玄閒閒然鮮全筌 詠懷之一 CS502 玄先川然傳  
 閑絃遷 述懷之二 CS503 遷閑篇天千蓮然玄幡園緣 彌勒贊 CW157.13 *Wang Hsi-chih* 王  
 胡之：泉堅然玄鮮 答謝安 CS431 *Yüan Hsing* 袁宏：川泉懸天閒 東征賦 CW57.1 筵前妍  
 懸 夜酣賦 CW57.2 言然愆鮮 三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 *Yüan Hsing's wife* 袁宏妻李氏：全焉  
 宣賢然 弔嵇中散文 CW144.9 *Wang Piao-chih* 王彪之：言泉玄圓堅閒川泉 水賦 CW21.1  
 泉懸牽 井賦 CW21.1 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：然天宣賢 遷言賢篇 與庾冰 CS434 全閑川園然 答許  
 詢 CS434 園絃玄然 贈謝安 CS435 閑捐全川峯煙仙泉篇閒玄幡言然 遊天台山賦 CW61.2 還懸簫  
 望海賦 CW61.3 玄宣銓然淵 漏刻銘 CW62.5 *Wang Hsi-chih* 王羲之：然仙用筆賦 CW22.1  
*Lü Yü* 李顥：天巔賓源 雷賦 CW53.10 宣天鮮山 悲四時賦 CW53.10 *Wang Yün-Chih* 王  
 蘊之：捐淵 蘭亭 CS438 *Ts'ao Mao-chih* 曹茂之：閒閒 蘭亭 CS441 *Tai K'ui* 戴逵：  
 年延 流火賦 CW137.1 *Wang Hsün* 王珣：天淵遷言傳玄 歌太宗簡文帝 CS247 *Kü K'ai-*  
*chih* 顧愷之：泉鮮 冰賦 CW135.3 前宣 鳳賦 CW135.3 *Chiu Mo Ló Shih* 鳩摩羅什：延  
 天 贈沙門法和 CS505 *Seng Chao* 釋僧肇：川玄堅年遷千延緣天 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW165.16  
*Ch'ü Shuang* 褚爽：川然煙天軒 禪賦 CW67.2 *Li Hao* 李暹：顛泉原烟然 述志賦 CW  
 155.2 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：言山然先 贈長沙公 CS456 山年淵田閒前煙巔閑然 歸田園居之一

CS460 然年偏田塵眠遷前煙賢 怨詩楚調 CS462 言園篇然緣宜山年 答龐參軍 CS463 然間仙天  
 先還年言 連雨獨飲 CS464 泉言繁愆山還纏年遷然 歲暮和張常侍 CS466 軒燔前圓還天年閑堅  
 田眠園 戊申歲六月 CS470 山言年傳 飲酒之二 CS472 喧偏山還言 又五 CS472 軒園煙妍言賢 詠登  
 士之二 CS479 憐山言年 讀山海經之五 CS482 軒山絃妍言響先遷 局煎 旋前 閑情賦 CW111.5,5,5  
 賢言牽年 七十二弟子贊 CW112.1 然園 於陵仲子贊 CW112.2 還閒 張長公贊 CW112.2 天先言旂 天子  
 孝傳贊 CW112.3 言閑然還 祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9 園繁絃泉閒年 自祭文 CW112.9 *Su Yèn* 蘇彥  
 : 山連 西陵觀濤 CS494 鮮堅天連玄眠 楠榴比路 CW138.2 *Hsièh Tào Yün* 謝道韞: 天玄  
 然遷年 登山 CS511 *Chou Ch'í* 周祗: 連年 祭梁鴻文 CW142.2 *Yin Ch'ân* 殷闡: 遷言  
 連 祭王東亭文 CW142.3 *Pièn Ch'êng-chih* 卞承之: 泉天年荃 溝井贊 CW140.3 *Chang*  
*Wàng* 張望: 川旋漣全 鷺鴒賦 CW135.5 *Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖: 然煙山元 寧封子贊  
 CW139.2 傳遷旋絃 寇先贊 CW139.4 山年延然 稷丘君贊 CW139.6 山鮮延年 赤須子贊 CW139.6 縣  
 泉閒年 鹿皮公贊 CW139.7 全延纏緣 山圖贊 CW139.7 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生: 間肩山  
 七歡之六 CW140.6 Taoist priests in *Lí Shan* 廬山諸沙彌: 篇然然纏淵仙玄年 觀化決  
 疑 CS507 Anonymous 無名氏: 天虔 大晉篇 CS272 鮮乾 白鳩篇 CS274 肩憐 子夜歌之三 CS523  
 前弦 又四十一 CS525 邊連 子夜夏歌之十 CS527 鮮連 又十四 CS527 綿間 又二十 CS528 憐年 子夜秋  
 歌之十五 CS529 憐然 大子夜歌 CS530 煙絃 前絃 子夜警歌 CS531 天憐 歡聞變歌之五 CS532 邊還鮮  
 前溪歌之五 CS533 邊川 七日夜女郎歌之三 CS535 還閒 黃生曲之二 CS536 眠言 懊儂歌十一 CS538 鮮連  
 青陽度之三 CS543 然年 來羅之四 CS545 邊還 那呵離之一 CS545 纏妍憐 雙行纏之二 CS547 天間 西平  
 樂 CS548 還閒 尋陽樂 CS548 連前 月節折楊柳歌四月歌 CS549 邊年 又七月歌 CS550 前鈿連 西洲曲  
 CS551 年邊 符堅初童謠 CS573 然燕 燕童謠 CS574 言元 江應元 CS576 然玄園 簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

*Shàng*

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植: 遠反 懷親賦 WW13.4 挽遠 九愁賦 WW13.8 踐轉 七啓之三 WW16.10 *Juàn*  
*Chi* 阮籍: 遠反 東平賦 WW44.8

*Ying Chen* 應貞: 顯踐辯簡踐 華林園集詩 CS311 *Fù Hsien* 傅咸: 卷顯 紙賦 CW51.5  
*Chang Huá* 張華: 輦遠 女史箴 CW58.8 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳: 卷遠反轉 西征賦 CW90.3 編  
 淺鮮顯 安石榴賦 CW92.1 典善剪淺鮮免 馬汧督諫 CW92.10 淺渺遠反 哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Shù*  
*Hsi* 束皙: 便善 餅賦 CW87.3 *Chang Lín* 張林: 善踐顯 陳夫人碑 CW109.6 *Mù Huá*  
 木華: 轉反遠 海賦 CW105.8 *Lù Chi* 陸機: 晚飯 周夫人贈車騎 CS343 反遠 大暑賦 CW96.9 遠  
 顯 演連珠之十七 CW 99.4 善辯 又二十三 CW 99.5 *Tsö Szu* 左思: 晚遠坂漣 蜀都賦 CW 74.4  
*Szu-ma Pião* 司馬彪: 淺轉遠返 雜詩 CS320 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹摅: 鮮善遠踐 答趙景猷 CS406  
*P'an Ni* 潘尼: 晚蹇遠阪 贈司空掾安仁 CS378 剪顯鮮善淺湏辯踐 典珍乘輿箴 CW95.4 *Chih*  
*Yü* 摯虞: 纏遠 觀魚賦 CW76.4 *Yü Ai* 庾敳: 遠晃 幽人箴 CW36.5 *Hsià-hóu Ch'ün* 夏  
 侯淳: 淺免善蹇 懷思賦 CW69.9 *Ts'ai Hsing* 蔡洪: 捲權 園棋賦 CW81.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭  
 璞: 眼辨限 山海經圖製胡贊 CW122.12 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡: 綽顯 弔賈生文 CW38.9-10 *Chang*  
*Hsièh* 張協: 岷遠產顯轉淺蹇 登北芒賦 CW85.6 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗: 遠踐簡偃闡善 歌哀皇

帝 CS247 *Chih Tùn* 支遁：遠典簡善演闡遍 釋迦文佛像贊 CW157.11 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：鮮演緬遠 贈溫嶠 CS433 遠翦踐反 贈謝安 CS435 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：踐免緬善遠返淺 癸卯歲始春 CS469 遠眼返踐 祭程氏妹文 CW112.8 返眼 祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9 *Yün Yün* 殷允：遠反 杖銘 CW129.2 *Chùng Ch'áng Áo* 仲長敖：限眼善坂蹇晚 駮性賦 CW86.13

*Ch'ü*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：獻宴 酒賦 HHW90.4 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：煖倦賤賤衍羨 柳賦 WW4.8 願變 武帝哀策文 WW7.11 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：戰獻 矯志賦 WS169 倦練譙顯 卞太后誄 WW19.8 *Hsià-hóu Huì* 夏侯惠：眇延練 景福殿賦 WW21.1

*Ying Chen* 應貞：眷禪變扇面 華林園集詩 CS311 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：見願 車遙遙篇 CS297 瓣餽 瓜賦 CW45.9 麪衍線 七謨 CW46.8 *Chang Huá* 張華：變宴 晉宴會歌 CS258 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：萬願建援 關中詩 CS371 狷戰電見 變倦箭怨 射雉賦 CW92.3,3 衍賤 悲刑生 CW93.6 *Ou-yáng Chien* 歐陽建：眇衍扇 登櫓賦 CW109.1 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：賤羨禪 玄居釋 CW87.6 *Lü Chi* 陸機：見扇殿面 班婕妤 CS329 藉見眇箭扇 羽扇賦 CW97.5 餽賤 瓜賦 CW97.6 眇電面扇 功臣頌 CW98.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：電扇見眷 答顧處微 CS358 見薦扇宴 答孫顯世 CS363 *Ts'ò Szu* 左思：蔓苑蓊羨 建苑衍 選萬饌 吳都賦 CW74.6,7,8 宴戰卷憲變勸賤衍 魏都賦 CW74.14 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：選面變旬辯見縣 贈歐陽建 CS406 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：宴見 琉璃碗賦 CW94.4 研奠縣薦 釋奠頌 CW94.7 *Kuo Pü* 郭璞：見湮蓊練 答王門子 CS422-3 面見蓊 山海經圖神靈池贊 CW123.1 縣見面 又聶耳國贊 CW123.8 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：倩箭薦 楊柳賦 CW38.2 *Chang Tsai* 張載：電院苑燕見扇變 秋詩 CS392 *Yuán H'ung* 袁宏：眇縣變 東征賦 CW57.1 變眇見面 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：扇電 絹扇銘 CW62.5 *T'áo Yü* 桃葉：扇便 答王團扇歌之二 CS512 扇面見 又三 CS512 *Hsièh Fang-tzu* 謝芳姿：扇見 國扇歌 CS513 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：變殿薦見 孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2 *Kü K'ai-chih* 顧愷之：練電見變 雷電賦 CW135.2 *Kuo Yuán-tsü* 郭元祖：戀蓊鍊賤 昌容贊 CW139.7 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：扇研眇見 天晴 CS492 Anonymous 無名氏：扇見子夜夏歌之六 CS527 扇殿 又十六 CS528 燕見 子夜秋歌之十四 CS529 見變 子夜變歌之一 CS531 扇便 國扇郎之二 CS534 面見 同前 CS534 戰萬 軍中謠 CS562

## (22.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Yuán* 元 and *Han* 寒

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：淵軒翻宣歎 贈蔡子篤 WS177 言難艱 酒賦 HHW90.4 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：筵盤 清慮賦 HHW65.3 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：閒丹翻 齊都賦 HHW93.5 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：轡猿原宣 西狩賦 HHW42.2 *Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：泉蘭元翻千愆 陌上桑 WS122 *Ts'áo*

*P'i* 曹丕：原還言傳端觀 折楊柳行 WS128 難漫言還顏歎寬 肝眠西間憐存 燕歌行之二 WS128-9 軒寒翻 臨高臺 WS129 *Ts'áo Ch'ih* 曹植：年鮮間前山連鳶妍千蹻筵端攀還 名都篇 WS144 煩端 善哉行 WS147 然間冠肩難餐賢 君子行 WS147 弦援轡冠 孟冬篇 WS156 淵鬱間 雜詩之二 WS173 肩拳斑 七啓之三 WW16.10 天彎然 魏德論 WW17.9 宣言泉篇閑賢顛遷難蠻鮮川權 王仲宣誄 WW19.3 *Hsì Ch'eng* 卻正：言餐肝元 釋讖 CW70.7

*Yü Shü* 庾儵：宣干寒延 冰井賦 CW36.4 *Fü Hsüan* 傅玄：還間權翩旋顏前肩言山全 原歎 惟漢行 CS289 歡軒翻言山 歷九秋篇 CS294 羶蕃宣歡 答程曉詩 CS298 閑鞍鮮 馳射馬賦 CW46.2 田桓 走狗賦 CW46.3 肝蹠原 七謨 CW46.8 然泉翰言 水龜賦 CW46.11 *Huang-fü Mí* 皇甫謐：焉歎 釋勸論 CW71.8 *Hsia-hôu Ch'ân* 夏侯湛：園殘殫繁鮮 齊賦 CW68.4 田班泉 瓜賦 CW68.6 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：歡言然 莊周贊 CW60.8 *Fü Hsien* 傅咸：泉原寒瀾 神泉賦 CW 51.2 *Chang Huá* 張華：乾園延川源 三日後園會 CS282 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：班關 西征賦 CW90.3 原鸞 秋菊賦 CW91.8 *Lü Chi* 陸機：間餐 東武吟行 CS329 愆觀歎歎 月重輪行 CS334 閑翰 與弟清河雲 CS339 天先玄冠園蘭 贈潘尼 CS340 元浚言 列仙賦 CW97.5 縛班蹠山端顏丹圓 瓜賦 CW97.6 *Lu Yün* 陸雲：言繁顏權 大安二年 CS353 蕃觀閑官 贈汲郡太守 CS354 蕃源瀾繁 答顧處微 CS353 *Ts'ó Szu* 左思：山淵怨閑焉連仙旋燔 魏都賦 CW74.15 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：繁顏 仇覽 CS411 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：蘭旂璠言 贈陸機 CS379 言還蘭 送盧晏 CS383 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：蕃蠻愆垣 贈李叔龍 CS316 輟川患安 黃帝贊 CW77.4 *Hsia-hôu Ch'ün* 夏侯淳：娟連殘顏遄歡 彈琴賦 CW69.10 *Wáng Yì* 王廙：乾言垣虔 歸德箴 CW20.12 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：鯁鯁顏斑 嘔延間還 江賦 CW120.2 患閒然 山海經圖思贊 CW122.3 翻端燔 又鰓鰈魚贊 CW122.9 *Lü Ch'ên* 盧諶：傳言患全賢關前捐還歡端冠彈難干軒譽歎 鹽古詩 CS420 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：宣鮮全絃川延川山前患源年篇 對儒 CW107.10 *Chih Tün* 支遁：天傳先乾源玄 釋迦文佛像贊 CW157.11 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：端遷巔絳緣篇 雜詩之九 CS479 顏年山言 讀山海經之二 CS481 *Ch'ân Fang-sheng* 湛方生：軒園瀾言 七歡之七 CW140.6 *Yáng Yü* 楊乂：綿烟婉仙雲賦 CW89.3 *Anonymous* 無名氏：閒蕃蠻安 景皇篇 CS271-2 端權言患源還 明君篇 CS272 斑間賢 獨漉篇 CS274 邊冠 來羅之二 CS544

### *Shäng*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：晚纂遠短 愍思賦 CW96.8 *Ts'ó Szu* 左思：暖顯遠 魏都賦 CW74.17 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：遠綣婉管 答王門子 CS423 卯遠反 山海經圖羽民國贊 CW123.5 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：闡暖衍坂轉 三月三日 CS435 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：遠惋返卷范蠡贊 CW139.4 *Anonymous* 無名氏：遠斷 那呵灘之三 CS545

### *Ch'ü*

*Hân-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：倦讚投壺賦 WW26.1 *Ts'áo Ch'ih* 曹植：戀見歎觀 慰子賦 WW13.7 *Yüing Ch'ü* 應璩：獻亂憲弁煥願 雜詩之二 WS198 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：羨祭 贈張仲膺

CS356 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：面變變山海經圖神燒贊 CW122.8 *Ch'en Ts'an* 陳珍：建煥獻萬  
正旦獻椒花頌 CW144.10

*Yuán* 元 and *Wen* 文

*P'ing*

*Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：紛田年雪賦 CW60.1 *Lü Chi* 陸機：軒文鼓吹賦 CW97.3 *Ch'eng*  
*Feng* 鄭豐：翻群源云川鴛鴦 CS367 宣勤文存言蘭林 CS368 Anonymous 無名氏：煩  
君廣陵諺 WS235 翻裙採桑之六 CS542 穿裙江陵樂之一 CS542 軒寃勳存康帝哀策文 CW146.6

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：選運演連珠之五 CW99.4-5 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：運奠讌見釋奠頌 CW77.4  
*Yuán* 元 and *Hün* 魂

*P'ing*

*Tsö Szu* 左思：尊山軒蕃魏都賦 CW74.16 *Lü Hsiü* 魯褒：山錢天坤圓川錢神論 CW113.6

*Shang*

*T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：晚損遠反尚長禽慶贊 CW112.2

*Ch'ü*

*T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：眷恨遁戀自祭文 CW112.10

*Yuán* 元 and *Chen* 真

*P'ing*

*Liu Chen* 劉楨：雲仙連旋妍射鸞 WS187 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：人怨間秋胡行 WS123  
*Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：川塵因身均前然年當欲遊南山行 WS152 山焚天年田阡煙言送應氏詩之  
一 WS162 臻損前天遷山怨秋思賦 WW13.2 言論存延旆絃文帝誄 WW19.5 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：  
偏臻輝年景福殿賦 WW39.6 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：山然泉鮮臻弦遷年琴贊 WW47.8-9 *Juán*  
*Chi* 阮籍：淵牽年前臻賢元父賦 WW44.12 *Wei Chao* 韋昭：山連賓親間震通荊門 WS  
231 *Mín Háng* 閔鴻：川圓雲芙蓉賦 WW74.10 *P'ei Hsiü* 裴秀：泉山臻天延年大蜡詩  
CS311 *Fü Hsüán* 傅玄：天年民饗神歌之三 CS240 天臻元年穎川府君登歌 CS243 *Chang*  
*Huá* 張華：年臻顯玄天武帝哀策文 CW58.10 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：延甄川傷弱子辭 CW93.5  
*Tsö Chiü-pin* 左九嬪：繁賢嫺元藩焉臻元皇后誄 CW13.5 *Lü Chu* 綠珠：穿津懷儂歌  
CS511 *Lü Chi* 陸機：縣年輪塵贈馮文龍 CS337 妍輪煩鮮羽扇賦 CW97.4-5 便身鼈賦 CW97.7  
臻天研顯艱年弔魏武帝文 CW99.11 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：天玄淵臻大將軍宴會 CS351 川濱年辰  
艱答兄平原 CS360 玄純詮川陸公誄 CW104.5 偏均淵夏府居誄 CW104.10 *Hsià Ch'ing* 夏靖：  
天人答陸士衡 CS370 *Tsö Szu* 左思：蓮蔡蔡焉蜀都賦 CW74.3 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：圓鮮甄  
川釋奠頌 CW94.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：醴泉鮮爾雅圖祭天地贊 CW121.6 Anonymous 無名氏：

艱淵天臻先 天命篇 CS271 臻年艱天 文明王太后哀策文 CW146.4

*Ch'ü*

*Lü Chi* 陸機：晉獻建彥 贈羅文寵 CS337 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：晉建禪獻彥眷萬 登臺賦 CW100.5

*Yüan* 元, *Hán* 寒 and *Chen* 眞

*P'ing*

*Ch'en Lin* 陳琳：幹煙弦堅端身 武軍賦 HHW92.2 蟪紛閑顏 迷迭賦 HHW92.3 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：人觀泉天 攀隣因傳 秋胡行 WS123 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：臻漫前寒翻隣 寡婦賦 WW4.4 *Wei T'an* 韋誕：前恩轅戔原歡旋玄 皇后親蠶頌 WW32.11 *Wu-ch'iu Chien* 毋丘儉：焉端原安觀園雲 承露盤賦 WW40.4 *Lü An* 呂安：乾年翩泉昏然 鸛鵲賦 WW53.5 *Chi Hsi* 嵇喜：泉濱人園端 答嵇康之二 WS287 論原難端遷 又四 WS387 *Mün Hün* 閔鴻：泉雲然紛懽歎 羽扇賦 WW74.10

*Ch'ü*

*Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：賤戰漢奮難面叛 韓信贊 CW60.8-9

*Yüan* 元, *Hán* 寒 and *Wén* 文

*P'ing*

*Yang Fang* 楊方：端言山還群 合歡之三 CS427

*Yüan* 元, *Chen* 眞 and *Wén* 文

*P'ing*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：文淳璠詮宜 答顧秀才 CS357 延欣言連因 贈顧尚書 CS359 *Yang Fang* 楊方：輪山邊銀雲芬鮮旋隣文 合歡之四 CS427

*Yüan* 元, *Wén* 文 and *Hün* 魂

*P'ing*

*Ts'ai Hün* 蔡洪：捲權文翻傳分奔門源 圍棋賦 CW81.7

*Yüan* 元, and *Keng* 耕

*P'ing*

*Hsü Kan* 徐幹：零情繇連泉 室思 WS184 *Fu Hsien* 傅咸：原情登芒賦 CW51.4 *Chang Huá* 張華：泉原清 章懷皇后誄 CW58.9

*Yüan* 元, *Hán* 寒 and *Ch'in* 侵

*P'ing*

*Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：難間琴煩 秋胡行 WS123



*Yuán* 元 and *T'an* 談

*Ch'ü*

*Hsü Chèng* 卻正：面豔見練 釋譏 CW70.7

(23) Rime Category *Hán* 寒

(23.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Hán* 寒：干玕刊肝竿杆 乾幹翰韓 闌瀾爛蘭 歎(嘆)難 單殫彈 壇檀 安鞍  
淺殘 餐(淦) 寒 簾 丹 啞

*Huán* 桓：懽歡觀驩 澣澣櫟鸞 湍端 丸紉 完冠 官棺 半判 槃盤 寬 酸  
蟠 桓 貫 婉 攢 漫

*Shan* 刪：蠻彎灣 班班 環還 攀 顏 關 訕 姦 菅 患

*Shǎng*

*Hàn* 旱：罕竿悍 袒 散

*Huǎn* 緩：琯管 暖緩 惋惋 滿 纂 短 卵 伴 斷 浣

*Shan* 潛：板

*Ch'ü*

*Hàn* 翰：汗扞杆閑岸吁汧 漢歎難 贊讚 幹翰 瀾爛 爍爍 按案 憚彈 旦  
炭 散 看

*Huàn* 換：半判泮畔叛絆 奐喚喚喚喚喚 玩冠翫 灌觀 惋腕 漫漫 亂 蒜 館  
貫 筭 竄 斷

*Chièn* 諫：慢慢漫 雁賁 澗 患 宦 諫 晏

(23.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Hán* 寒

*P'ing*

*Liú Chen* 劉楨：歎翰寒關殫難歡 贈五官中郎將之三 WS185 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：安觀盤顏  
車渠婉賦 HHW93.6 *Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：顏環 定情詩 WS194 *Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：寒難 土不  
同 WS119 *Hán-tan Chún* 邯鄲淳：安觀 投壺賦 WW26.1 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：冠觀 大墙上  
蒿行 WS130 湍難 愁霖賦 WW4.1 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：盤端干顏歡蘭 顏盤難環顏 妾薄命之一  
WS143 蘭歡還 浮萍篇 WS149 翰竿 孟冬篇 WS156 安殘患難歎還肝 三良詩 WS170 安還顏蘭餐  
洛陽賦 WW13.3 攀還 九愁賦 WW13.8 蘭餐乾 娛賓賦 WW13.9 寒紉 九華扇賦 WW14.1 安顏 扇賦

### 3.3 Rime Lists—Category *Han* 寒

WW14.1 蘭寒歡 九詠 WW14.7 難安歡簞顏 曹休謫 WW19.7 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：壇寒 趙都賦  
 WW32.1 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：難歎 定武功 WS191 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：難歎 環源園歡言 景福  
 殿賦 WW39.7,7 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：顏寒寬惠 嗟古賢原憲 WS211 歎瀾 思親詩 WS211 顏惠 大師  
 箴 WW51.6 *Yáng Hsi* 楊戲：難幹 贊龐士元 WW62.8

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：難安 食舉東西廂歌之四 CS249 安還 飲馬長城窟行 CS291 安環玕 西長安行 CS  
 297 翰蘭丹 筆賦 CW45.5 *Huáng-fū M* 皇甫謐：淦官 釋勸論 CW71.6 *Hsià-hóu Chàn*  
 夏侯湛：寒幹殘竿 寒苦謠 CS397 *Wáng Chì* 王濟：蘭觀歡 平吳後三月三日華林園詩 CS321  
*Chang Huá* 張華：盤蘭安患 鶴鳴賦 CW58.3 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：端蘭單寒 悼亡之二 CS  
 376 關盤餐官 西征賦 CW90.5 安刊 西征賦 CW90.8 安顏蘭 悼亡賦 CW91.1 難患寒歎狹室賦 CW91.7  
 酸關 笙賦 CW91.7 觀爛盤 橘賦 CW92.1 顏盤蘭安 武皇帝誄 CW92.6 完安單端 馬汧督誄 CW92.10  
 難寒酸 魯武公誄 CW93.1 顏肝 澤蘭哀辭 CW93.6 *Ou-yáng Chièn* 歐陽建：盤盤患關官端  
 寬安寒難觀歎肝酸殘環瀾 臨終詩 CS410 *Shù Hsi* 束皙：蘭安盤餐 南陔 CS317 *P'ei*  
*Wei* 裴頠：冠端 女史箴 CW33.9 *Lù Chi* 陸機：安歡端顏歎 董逃行 CS332 難彈歡蘭 贈馮  
 文龍 CS337 難歎翰蘭 答賈謐 CS338 蘭歡難歎 擬涉江採芙蓉 CS345-6 桓瀾餐 招隱之一 CS350 歡攢  
 端酸寒瀾 感侍賦 CW96.2 干歎端 感丘賦 CW96.10 歡顏官 演連珠之二十七 CW99.5 *Lù Yün* 陸  
 雲：觀顏關盤蘭 悠悠縣象 CS363 官觀寒瀾端顏 歲暮賦 CW100.1 桓蘭顏端瀾盤歎 逸民賦 CW  
 100.6 顏桓餐歎 李少君頌 CW103.10 桓蘭餐端 劉根頌 CW103.10 貫盤顏顏 夏府君誄 CW104.9 *Tsō*  
*Szu* 左思：歎觀 吳都賦 CW74.5 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：盤蘭歡 仇麗 CS411.2 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：  
 瀾湍 觀魚賦 CW76.4 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：盤酸蘭 山海經圖丹木贊 CW122.8 苜顏還 又荀草贊 CW123.2  
 丹寒歎 又顧柏贊 CW123.3 *Chang Hân* 張翰：歎難權安 豆羹賦 CW107.11 *Lǐ Hsing* 李  
 興：晏歎 諸葛丞相故宅碑表 CW70.11 *Chang Tsai* 張載：端環轡嘆 擬四愁詩之三 CS391  
*Chang Hsiéh* 張協：盤攢丹 安石榴賦 CW85.7 觀蘭壇 七命之二 CW85.9 轡轡關 又三 CW85.9  
*Yuán Hūng* 袁宏：殘難淦桓 祭牙文 CW57.8 *Hsi Tsuò-ch'ih* 習鑿齒：桓轡端歡 諸葛  
 武侯宅銘 CW134.11 *Hsü Feng-chih* 徐豐之：蘭歎 蘭亭 CS442 *Weì P'ang* 魏滂：歡瀾  
 難竿 蘭亭 CS443 *Yuán Chiāo-chih* 袁矯之：歡盤蘭竿 蘭亭 CS443 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶  
 潛：彈歡顏彈 諸人共遊周家臺柏下 CS462 端安觀還寒難干顏關歎 庚戌歲九月 CS471 完冠顏關  
 端彈鸞寒 擬古之五 CS477 干官餐寒顏關 詠貧士之五 CS480 歎顏寒端還彈安攀 閑情賦 CW111.6  
 顏安關觀還桓 歸去來兮辭 CW111.7 難寒安完 管鮑贊 CW112.1 殘關患難 韓非贊 CW112.1 歡簞顏  
 寒 祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9 *Yáng Hui* 羊徽：鸞班官難 贈傅長猷 CS487 蘭翰難寒 答丘泉之 CS  
 488 *T'ung Ching* 董京：歡餐單 答孫楚 CS400 *Kuo Yuán-tsū* 郭元祖：蟠紘安難 幼  
 柏子贊 CW139.5 丹顏安端 任光贊 CW139.5 關驩端刊 祝鷄翁贊 CW139.5 *Wáng Ch'ing* 王  
 慶：竿丸鸞瀾 釣魚賦 CW143.1 *Wáng Ch'ên* 王沈：安寬 釋時論 CW89.2 Anonymous  
 無名氏：蘭難 子夜歌之六 CS523 顏半 團扇郎之三 CS534 闌彈 七日夜女郎歌之七 CS535 難環 女兒  
 子 CS544 灣還 那呵離之四 CS545 安還 又五 CS545 歡蘭 又六 CS545 蘭歎 惠帝時兒童謠 CS563 干桓  
 安帝元興中童謠 CS570 榮安 都王謠之二 CS577

*Shǎng*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：袒滿 西征賦 CW90.6 管酒緩散纂 笙賦 CW91.7 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：伴罕  
竿挽緩滿 答盧諶 CS416 *Lǚ Hsiù* 魯褒：暖悍 錢神論 CW113.7 Anonymous 無名氏：  
滿斷 子夜歌之二十一 CS524 板浣 懷儂歌之九 CS538

*Ch'ü*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：祭半散 七釋 HHW91.1 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：散晏亂觀雁瀾 雜詩 WS186  
*Ts'áo P'i* 曹丕：旦炭讚亂 黎陽作之一 WS131 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：翰判 樂府詩 WS159 幹  
爛岸散 大暑賦 WW13.1 散觀畔 洛神賦 WW13.2 惋蒜喚觀 鷗雀賦 WW14.5 散吁 七啓之三 WW16.10  
吁觀 又四 WW16.10 畔觀漢 魏德論 WW17.9 散漢 王仲宣誄 WW19.3 *Yáng Hsi* 楊戲：難幹  
贊黃漢升 WW62.8 *Chi Kang* 嵇康：腕漫案翫亂散爛祭 琴賦 WW47.2 叛難 大師箴 WW51.6  
*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：潛幹亂散旦玩 烏賦 CW59.7 腕翰散案爛觀翫煥 隸書體 CW59.10  
*Yü Ch'ün* 庾峻：亂官 祖德頌 CW36.2 *Hsiueh Ying* 薛瑩：漢觀難亂 獻詩 CS287 *Hsià-*  
*hōu Ch'ân* 夏侯湛：觀煥長夜謠 CS396 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：亂叛算泮觀 汗漫漢 西征賦  
CW90.5,9 畔岸汗散煥 哀永逝文 CW93.7 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：半散判畔亂 餅賦 CW87.3  
*Mù Huá* 木華：岸漫散漢汗 海賦 CW105.7 *Lü Chi* 陸機：漢觀煥旦 祖德賦 CW96.2 *Lü*  
*Yün* 陸雲：畔歎 失題 CS366 散晏館漢旦觀 愁霖賦 CW100.3 亂旦觀難 南征賦 CW100.7 煥漢難  
判晏 祖考頌 CW104.1 換觀漢亂 張二侯頌 CW104.2-3 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：汗漫漢泮半 翰翫瀾  
亂散 漫館 吳都賦 CW74.5,6,6,7 貫半觀算 魏都賦 CW74.14 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：散歎貫 弔莊周圖  
文 CW65.8 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：冠煥散翰 贈司空掾安仁 CS378 散岸 東武館賦 CW94.2 散幹翫 安  
石榴賦 CW94.5 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：岸幹漢祭 贈杜方叔 CS314 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：觀歎 登百  
尺樓賦 CW120.6 煥漢斷 山海經圖贊 CW123.4 煥館漢 又豎沙贊 CW123.12 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：  
岸煥散彈 孫登隱居詩 CS444 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：幹岸爛觀吁 濠池賦 CW85.1 *Chang*  
*Hsiéh* 張協：灌炭漫 七命之四 CW85.10 觀爛亂玩 短狹銘 CW85.12 *Ts'ao Triên* 棗腆：腕  
漢翰館 答石季倫 CS409 *Lí Ch'ung* 李充：贊觀散亂 學箴 CW53.7 *Lí Ch'én* 盧諶：  
憚漢冠炭 贈劉琨 CS419 玩漢 朝華賦 CW34.9 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：貫漢亂散煥祭 歌中宗元皇帝  
CS246 煥瀾岸 涉江賦 CW107.7 畔岸散晏歎觀 請雨文 CW107.11 *Yuán Hing* 袁宏：斷亂讚  
東征賦 CW57.1 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：館旦畔歎 與庾冰 CS434 贊幹歎煥 庾冰碑 CW62.8 *Shih*  
*Yuán* 史援：憚叛漢竄亂 後漢史君頌 CW132.6 *Yü Sü-chih* 庾肅之：散漢祭 雪贊 CW38.10  
*Ch'én Hsin T'ü's wife* 陳新塗妻李氏：散旦歎館 冬至詩 CS514 Anonymous 無名  
氏：雁畔散 獨漉篇 CS274 散喚 子夜春歌之十二 CS526 亂斷 懷儂歌之十 CS538 腕亂 雜詩 CS552 汗  
看灌 元康中洛中童謠 CS565 亂扞 京口民間謠之二 CS569 漫半 安帝義熙初謠 CS571 腕觀 永嘉中長安謠  
CS572

## (23.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Hân* 寒 and *Yuán* 元

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：歎官藩 贈士孫文始 WS177 言患歡難 贈文叔良 WS178 患蠻攀原間還完言安肝 七哀之一 WS181 寒原 七釋 HHW91.1 *Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：關全 飲馬長城窟行 WS182 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：關繁 答劉公幹 WS183 *Ying Yáng* 應瑒：安觀歎煩 正情賦 HHW42.2 *Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：泉歡歎 暑賦 HHW93.7 *Ting Yi* 丁儀：觀安攀殘訕干韓閑檀桓翰歎 厲志賦 HHW94.2 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：閑閑翩環玕難還蘭餐端關顏安難歡歎 美女篇 WS145 難患刊言連寒干端歎 怨歌行 WS146-7 難乾歡翩丸寒宣干浚 煩端 善哉行 WS147 *Liú Shào* 劉劭：寒翰源旖環紉間端燕 趙都賦 WW32.1 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：難漫酸山患 屠柳城 WS192 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：殫丹玕班鮮旖 景福殿賦 WW39.7 *Wei Tán* 韋誕：觀櫟攢川 景福殿賦 WW32.10 *Tù Chih* 杜摯：間酸竿歎餐還官患言安丸 贈毋丘儉 WS200 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：安安殘患愆安 秋胡行之三 WS203 軒褰歡殫蘭歎 贈秀才入軍之十五 WS206 肝蘭觀歎難言 蟠患然軒安攀寬完寒酸 與阮德如 WS208 蠻源患 繁端鸞怨患竿 卜疑 WW47.4.4 *Juàn Chì* 阮籍：寒鸞蘭沅顏丹繁詠 詠懷詩之二 WS214 漫言餐歎愆元桓顏冠蘭 又三 WS214 千言簞寒 軒餐歎 又六十 WS222 難干餐言 又六十九 WS223 觀殘姦愆干原 東平賦 WW44.7 *Hsi Ch'eng* 卻正：歎然 獻畔諫 釋譌 CW70.8.8

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：元安難患端轅 羽箭舞歌 CS269 環間鸞安原 歷九秋篇 CS295 丹原安 李賦 CW45.9 顏原安山閑盤姦言 桃賦 CW45.9-10 殫旋 走狗賦 CW46.3 翰言 筆鋒 CW46.11 *Hsià-hou Chàn* 夏侯湛：川鞍桓 征遼辭 CW68.8 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：賤晏觀 笑賦 CW60.1 桓安然韓丹 關原蟠歎 白起贊 CW60.8 *Fù Hsien* 傅咸：鸞班蘭 感別賦 CW51.3 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：桓園 西征賦 CW90.5 *Sō Ch'ing* 索靖：鸞安還桓 草書狀 CW84.10 *Lü Chi* 陸機：端源觀歎 秋胡行 CS323 端顏閑翰餐言紉璠瀾繁軒丹殫蘭盤鸞源歡湍歎 日出東南隅行 CS324 難瀾患寒顏 歎端歡冠然 君子行 CS326 難盤鸞端喧歎歡餐言寒 苦寒行 CS326 攀端歡殫愆難歡歎言然 鞠歌行 CS333 愆觀歡歎 百年歌之七 CS335 單患涎難安 又十 CS335 翰瀾歡安桓冠蘭軒歎 擬青青陵上柏 CS347 安端閑蘭殫歎歡翰 擬西北有高樓 CS347 蕃殘端難 園葵之二 CS349 難山顏蘭言 懷土賦 CW96.6 歡端言蘭 思歸賦 CW96.7 歡端言軒殘半歎瀾難然顏 歎逝賦 CW96.8 班殫源難瀾安言 端翰繁顏歎然 文賦 CW97.1 閑盤安 七微之四 CW98.2-3 言歎蘭韓權原安難藩 功臣頌 CW98.6 難山殘安端言歎翰焉瀾棺 弔魏武帝文 CW99.11 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：瀾源觀園 答孫顯世 CS363 翰餐蟠然 寒蟬賦 CW100.8 言歎瀾盤 九思涉江 CW101.1 安閑鸞刊 盛德頌 CW103.13 *Tsō Szu* 左思：蟠躔 吳都賦 CW74.5 端干紉 吳都賦 CW74.8 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹摎：浚桓安歎肝軒端 答趙景猷 CS407 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：官桓園閑顏言 後園頌 CW94.8 難奸虔患官安蘭言 乘輿箴 CW95.5 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：歎難餐乾歡鸞軒 思游賦 CW76.3 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：觀歡關弦天 客傲 CW121.2 顏歡言 山海經圖西王母贊 CW122.6 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：簞患浚肝寒 狹室賦 CW38.4 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：寒捐 感運賦 CW34.8 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：顏歡涎肝表哀詩 CS433 Anonymous 無名氏：安歡槃槃翻年 晉林榮舞歌詩 CS276 源歡顏 曲池歌 CS499 寒閑 月節折楊柳園月歌 CS550 安寬肝鞍湍盤前 隴上歌 CS557

## Shǎng

*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：管簡 食舉東西廂歌之九 CS249 *Lù Chi* 陸機：短晚 思親賦 CW96.3 短簡  
瑄 羽扇賦 CW97.5 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：卵遠管 爾雅圖燕贊 CW121.9

## Ch'ü

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：館變 齊都賦 HHW93.5 *Kuo Hsiá-shü* 郭遐叔：亂畔難貫算館旦怨 贈  
嵇康之三 WS212 *Juàn Chi* 阮籍：半岸衍 清思賦 WW44.11

*Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：漢媛 胡母哀辭 CW60.11 *Fù Hsién* 傅咸：環煥憲慢 御史中丞箴 CW52.11  
*Sō Ching* 索靖：彥憲變判亂案散漫爛祭腕觀 草書狀 CW84.11 *Lù Chi* 陸機：館彈漢  
算爛晏旦賤 擬今日良宴會 CS345 館宴 講漢書詩 CS351 燦散煥戰 浮雲賦 CW96.1 幹觀貫賈婉散  
羽扇賦 CW97.5 貫漢亂彥 功臣賦 CW98.6 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：觀晏祭彈腕散漢讚煥賤 爲顧彥先贈  
婦之四 CS366 散宴旦難 九思感逝 CW101.4 觀勸晏煥散 逸民箴 CW104.4 漢判羨爛贊館祭旦 陸府  
君誄 CW104.8 *Ts'ai Hung* 蔡洪：讚傳貫 圍棋賦 CW81.7

*Hán* 寒 and *Wèn* 文

## P'ing

*Hsüng Fū* 熊甫：焚歎難 別歌 CS428

*Hán* 寒, *Yuán* 元 and *Chen* 真

## P'ing

*Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：難安山臻 答贈詩 WS199 *Yáng Ch'üán* 楊泉：觀盤連攀言  
動 靈武 WW75.2 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：珍盤完蘭煩 瓜賦 CW45.9

## Ch'ü

*Juàn Yü* 阮瑀：運怨玩亂 琴歌 WS183 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：昞迅駿軒散亂 齊都賦 HHW93.5  
*Hsià-hón Chàn* 夏侯湛：顏引歎變 夜聽笛賦 CW68.2

*Hán* 寒 and *Chen* 真

## P'ing

*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：寒人 被銘 CW46.13

*Hán* 寒, *Yuán* 元 and *T'án* 談

## Ch'ü

*Yü Ai* 庾敳：貫歎驗遠戀願建岸館旦半玩散 意賦 CW36.5

(24) Rime Category *Ch'in* 侵

(24.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*Ch'in* 侵：今吟岑衿衾琴 林森霖禁襟 參慘滲 音情歆 深琛 陰蔭 禽擒 沈  
忱 任淫 箴鍼 侵駸 欽嶠 金峯 蕈鐔 心 臨 尋 斟 砧 簪

*T'an* 覃：潭 蠶 南 耽(耽) 龕 驂 含

*Yèn* 鹽：潛

*Shang*

*Ch'in* 寢：稟凜慄廩 稔 寢 甚 枕 審 錦 品 朕

*K'an* 感：慘

*Ch'ü*

*Ch'in* 沁：讖 任

(24.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Ch'in*

*P'ing*

*Wáng Ts'an* 王粲：林深箴心音 贈士孫文始 WS177 臨心沈音深今 思親詩 WS178 淫心陰林  
吟襟琴音任 七哀詩之二 WS181 今任襟岑深襟音吟心 登樓賦 HHW90.3-4 深襟 槐樹賦 HHW90.6  
淫心沈 祝銘 HHW91.7 *Liu Chen* 劉楨：岑陰心 逐志賦 HHW65.3 *Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：心  
音林陰襟 遊獵之一 WS182 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：陰吟林心 報趙淑麗 WS195 尋禽泮 校獵賦  
HHW42.3 *Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：心鍼岑襟心 定情詩 WS194-5 沈陰吟深桑賦 CW93.9 *Ts'ao*  
*Ts'ao* 曹操：衿心今 深心 短歌行 WS117-8 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：陰禽音琴吟沈林心任禁  
善哉行 WS128 沈音心深林 清河作 WS134 陰心 槐賦 WW4.7 *Ting Yi* 丁廙：心擒箴 彈碁賦  
HHW94.4 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：陰深衾琴心沈林禽襟吟參今任 種葛篇 WS149 琴參 浮萍篇  
WS149 林深任吟音心 雜詩之一 WS162 陰林 離友之二 WS164 林心 釋思賦 WW13.5 深陰心林吟  
幽思賦 WW13.5 心林 岑禽心 九愁賦 WW13.8,8 岑深陰 九華扇賦 WW14.1 岑林 蟲賦 WW14.4 陰林  
吟心 蟬賦 WW14.6 岑林 沈臨音 七啓序 WW16.8,9 林深 又四 WW16.10 淫心 又七 WW16.12 深林  
魏德論 WW17.9 林琴 武帝詠 WW19.4 *Chi Kang* 嵇康：林陰琴音欽吟 贈秀才入軍十二 WS  
205-6 林心 又十八 WS206 心禁 思親詩 WS211 音吟心任琴 心禁 琴賦 WW47.2,3 心沈禁 音淫  
大師箴 WW51.6,6 *Juán Chi* 阮籍：琴襟林心 詠懷之一 WS215 岑林襟陰音心 又九 WS216 音  
沈淫林心 又十 WS216 林駸心淫尋禁 又十一 WS216 林沈音尋心 又二十三 WS217-8 襟林心尋  
又四十七 WS221 心林岑沈禁 又五十四 WS221 任心尋林淫禁 又六十八 WS223 陰岑林東平賦 WW

44.6 陰襟林心尋吟 岑音 首陽山賦 WW44.8,8 禽林 深禁禽 彌猴賦 WW44.9,9

*Líu Líng* 劉伶：陰音林心任琴襟 北芒客舍 CS317 *Ch'èng Kung-sui* 成公綏：音吟沈琴深淫陰 嘯賦 CW59.4 *Yü Shü* 庾儵：陰森岑吟心淫 大槐賦 CW36.5 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：歆心 天郊饗神歌 CS241 琛歆琛今 地郊饗神歌 CS242 歆心 夕牲歌 CS242 深心 宣輔政 CS259 音金 秋胡行 CS288 心沈深 西長安行 CS297 心音 雜言 CW303 峯林禽琴心吟 正都賦 CW45.3 陰林 李賦 CW45.9 陰林 柳賦 CW45.10 林音心 蟬賦 CW46.3 *Tsǎo Chü* 棗據：箴音沈尋 答阮得猷 CS313 *Hsiàng Hsiü* 向秀：吟琴陰尋心 思舊賦 CW72.5-6 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：林音沈尋 江上泛歌 CS396 惜琴音心金 虞舜像贊 CW69.4 惜音心金欽 鮑叔像贊 CW69.5 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：尋心林陰岑 登樓賦 CW60.2 林音 雉賦 CW60.4 *Fù Hsién* 傅咸：欽尋林音深 答樂弘 CS309 深心任 申懷賦 CW51.3 尋今任沈衿陰心林 扇賦 CW51.5 尋慘陰任 桑樹賦 CW51.9 *Chang Huá* 張華：心音 冬至初歲小會歌 CS257 陰禽吟心音 鐔金林禁 傅陵王宮俠曲之一 CS279 林禽心深 勵志詩 CS281 琴音欽心淫林吟衿衾 情詩之一 CS283 陰深欽心 又四 CS283 心深金 永懷賦 CW58.1 森心陰襟陰 朽社賦 CW58.2 心深 感婚賦 CW58.2 深禽箴淫 相風賦 CW58.2 禽音心 女史箴 CW58.8 心音 章懷皇后誄 CW58.9 陰音 鮑玄泰誄 CW58.9 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：今深心音 贈陸機 CS372 忱心音深 家婦賦 CW91.2 林淫音 笙賦 CW91.8 尋林音 秋菊賦 CW91.8 心箴深音 答攀虞新婚箴 CW92.5 陰心深襟沈臨音 楊荊州誄 CW92.7 深心陰沈 楊仲武誄 CW92.8 參琴心音 夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 沈音 南陽長公主誄 CW93.2 林森 傷弱子辭 CW93.5 *Tsö Chü-pin* 左九嬪：金尋心欽衿沈 鬱金頌 CW13.3 陰衾尋沈臨音 元皇后誄 CW13.6 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：林音心 由畿 CS319 *Mü Huá* 木華：欽禽滲深淫林音 海賦 CW105.8 *Lü Chi* 陸機：陰尋林今陰侵禁心深音 豫章行 CS327 心陰音吟岑尋深禽沈欽 悲哉行 CS330 林陰尋音心 董逃行 CS332 尋襟 上留田行 CS332 陰心尋林陰吟岑音衿今 猛虎行 CS333 潛深陰南 沈尋音琛林心 贈顧令文 CS335-6 潭南林心 贈馮文龍 CS337 林琛心音 答潘尼 CS340 南尋林欽陰深心吟金音 贈馮文龍 CS340 南陰霖衾尋深音心 贈顧彥先之一 CS341 林心陰沈欽深襟音 贈從兄車騎 CS342 心潭陰音沈潛林岑吟深衿心 赴洛之一 CS344 深音沈林尋音心衿琴 擬行行重行行 CS345 禽林 祖德賦 CW96.2 臨禽 述先賦 CW96.3 陰淫林音深心 行思賦 CW96.6 林深尋 思歸賦 CW96.7 林音 大暮賦 CW96.9 欽音心深森林 文賦 CW97.1-2 吟臨音沈襟 鼓吹賦 CW97.4 尋臨音 桑賦 CW97.6 音林禽心 七微之二 CW98.2 深尋沈音 陰心 功臣頌 CW98.5.6 音心 演連珠之六 CW99.4 心陰 又九 CW99.4 尋簪 又四十 CW99.6 任沈音 又四十三 CW99.7 淫心 又五十 CW99.7 尋林 賦侯君誄 CW99.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：惜琴蔭襟林吟 太尉王公 CS352-3 歆潛林音尋 贈顧驃騎有皇 CS355 音林蕈心 思文 CS355 臨欽心今 答大將軍 CS357 音欽今心 答顧處微 CS358 音金林琴心 答兄平原 CS360 音林陰吟潛心 谷風 CS361 心林 南衡 CS362 今沈音尋 答孫顯世 CS363 潛欽金心林 失題 CS364 陰沈音襟心 爲顧彥先贈婦之一 CS365 心林音襟 歲暮賦 CW100.1 陰沈淫霖 吟心音陰襟 愁霖賦 CW100.2.3 南陰岑林歆 喜霽賦 CW100.3 深陰吟林音琴岑簪 逸民賦 CW100.5 深沈蔭心音林 南征賦 CW100.7 心音林 九慰修身 CW101.1 心陰林襟 又涉江 CW101.2 南岑陰襟 黃伯嚴頌 CW103.10 音林尋吟龕沈 盛德頌 CW103.12 臨音尋林陰 祖考頌 CW104.1 心林潛陰欽音 榮啓期贊 CW104.3 心淫林襟 逸民箴 CW104.4 深陰沈林 心林音潛

吟 陸公諫 CW104.6,6 *Chèng Feng* 鄭豐：吟林陰南音 鴛鴦 CS367 金心林音任耽 蘭林 CS367  
 潭陰潛耽欽吟 南山 CS368 *Hsià Ching* 夏靖：心音深林 答陸士衡 CS370 *Sun Chǎng* 孫拯：陰岑音林 贈陸士龍 CS369-70 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：今琴林沈音吟襟簪 招隱之一 CS386 林禽  
 音吟 蜀都賦 CW74.2 林陰 林陰岑音 音任吟情 吳都賦 CW74.6-7,8,10 林臨尋陰深森潭沈音陰  
 箴禽禁 魏都賦 CW74.13 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：林陰深心禁金欽 贈石崇 CS405 深情霖鍼心陰衿  
 金欽音 贈王弘遠 CS405 林吟心音斟今 贈石崇 CS408 *Chiang T'ung* 江統：淫侵 岑深箴  
 心 函谷關賦 CW106.1 *Tù Yü* 杜育：音林心音 贈摯仲治 CS315 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：霖淦禁  
 沈 苦雨賦 CW94.1 任深心 懷退賦 CW94.2 林心沈尋 東武館賦 CW94.2 深尋林參 琉璃碗賦 CW94.4  
*Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：心音深琴 答伏仲武 CS315 林深音心 贈李叔龍 CS316 深沈心 觀魚賦 CW76.4  
*Lü-ch'iu Chung* 閻丘沖：尋心欽 招隱詩 CS413 *Wáng Tsán* 王讚：林心 侍祖道楚淮南  
 二王 CS398 心今參吟林心 雜詩 CS398 林金心 梨樹頌 CW86.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：林心音岑 答王  
 門子 CS422 林岑今吟 贈溫嶠 CS423 音吟 客傲 CW121.2 林禽任 爾雅圖麗風贊 CW121.10 深林淫  
 山海經圖蜚贊 CW122.13 潭參蠶 帝女桑贊 CW123.5 駢含南 南方祝融贊 CW123.6 尋林心 夸父贊 CW  
 123.8 林禽心 蓬萊山贊 CW123.12 沈林深 弱水贊 CW123.12 歆衿陰 元皇帝哀策文 CW123.13 *Chang*  
*Hàn* 張翰：尋吟林心 贈張弋陽 CS388 林金耽深尋吟心 雜詩 CS389 *Hü Ch'í* 胡濟：陰林  
 岑 黃甘賦 CW109.2 *Chang Ts'ai* 張載：林音森沈陰禽吟心深任襟 七哀之二 CS391 琴金深  
 吟 擬四愁詩之四 CS391 深岑林陰吟心 敘行賦 CW85.1-2 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：深尋林吟心  
 岑岑今 雜詩之六 CS394 陰深岑霖吟森音心沈林 又九 CS394 林尋 玄武館賦 CW85.7 *Lǐ Ch'ung*  
 李充：深心琴參陰任音吟襟金 嘲友人 CS447 深音心林 學箴 CW53.8 林簪琴音吟沈 弔嵇中散  
 CW53.9 *Lü Ch'en* 盧諶：禽心深沈 贈劉琨 CS419 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：衾陰衿吟心音 夜聽  
 擣衣 CS451 任吟 筵篴賦 CW107.8 *Ma Ch'í* 馬岌：尋林琛心 題宋纖石壁 CS498 *Kü Chiên*  
 谷儉：音吟 角賦 CW128.5 *Chiang Yü* 江適：襟心 羽扇賦 CW107.2-3 *Hsiéh Wán* 謝  
 萬：林岑音陰 蘭亭 CS440 陰衿 春遊賦 CW83.4 *Chih Tün* 支遁：深淫林心 阿彌陀佛像贊  
 CW157.12 *Yüán Hing* 袁宏：林陰 採菊 CS450 林音 東征賦 CW57.1 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：  
 森情林音襟心 徐君墓頌 CW61.6-7 *Hsì Ch'ao* 郝超：深尋衿箴 答傅郎 CS453 *Hsiéh An*  
 謝安：林琴襟心音 與王胡之 CS439 *Lǐ Yü* 李颺：尋臨 凌仙賦 CW53.11 *Wáng Pin-chih*  
 王彬之：林沈 蘭亭 CS438 *Wáng Huàn-chih* 王渙之：欽今 蘭亭 CS437 *Yin Ch'ung-*  
*kuan* 殷仲湛：吟林 遊園賦 CW129.5 音琴深 琴贊 CW129.8 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：琴情林  
 琴贊 CW20.2 深音林 孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2 *Huán Hsián* 桓玄：林禽心 南林彈 CS486 *Wú*  
*Yin-chih* 吳隱之：金心 酌貪泉 CS489 *Lǐ Hào* 李暠：尋岑深吟 述志賦 CW155.2 *Chào*  
*Chǎng* 趙整：蔭心 諷諫之二 CS498 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：林岑心陰 歸鳥 CS458 林陰襟  
 琴今欽斟音簪深 和郭主簿之一 CS465 琴音尋斟欽心 詠貧士之三 CS479 陰林音心 讀山海經之七  
 CS482 琴音心林陰襟尋 閒情賦 CW111.6 心陰林琴 祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9 *Sun Ch'ung* 孫  
 瓊：忱心音深 悼艱賦 CW144.11 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：陰音深林吟 風賦 CW140.3  
 林禽 七歡之二 CW140.6 *Sun Ch'eng* 孫承：心林陰尋音 嘉遯賦 CW143.1 *Wáng Ch'en*



王沈：吟沈林箴任深心 釋時論 CW89.3    *Lü Ch'ung* 陸沖：尋深陰岑禽 音心 命鴛鴦長途  
CS495    Anonymous 無名氏：襟心 子夜歌二十六 CS524    心林音 子夜春歌之一 CS525    林音 子夜  
冬歌之十四 CS530    林心 又十六 CS530    音心 大子夜歌之二 CS530    沈林深尋襟 簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

*Shǎng*

*P'an Yüèn* 潘岳：稔寢懷甚 關中詩 CS371    甚寢凜枕 寡婦賦 CW91.3    甚廩審錦 射雉賦 CW92.2  
稔甚廩 武皇帝誄 CW92.6    寢枕稔甚 楊仲武誄 CW92.8    *Lü Chi* 陸機：甚凜 春詠 CS350    *Tsǒ*  
*Szu* 左思：寢甚錦稟 魏都賦 CW74.12    *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：品稟朕 山海經圖貫勾國贊 CW123.5  
Anonymous 無名氏：甚寢 子夜夏歌十八 CS528

(24.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Ch'in* 侵 and *Yüán* 元

*P'ing*

*Yáng Hsiu* 楊修：南欄深 許昌宮賦 HHW51.10

*Ch'in* 侵 and *T'án* 談

*P'ing*

*Chi Kang* 嵇康：深崑崙尋 琴賦 WW47.1    *Fü Hsüán* 傅玄：陰摻 元日朝會賦 CW45.2

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：潛兼 山海經圖江擬贊 CW122.7

*Ch'in* 侵 and *Teng* 登

*P'ing*

*Hsü Kuang* 徐廣：林陵 秋賦 CW136.10

*Ch'in* 侵 and *Chen* 真

*P'ing*

*Fü Hsien* 傅咸：箴深心紳淫 鏡賦 CW51.6    *Hsin K'uàng* 辛曠：心臨深鱗 音欽 贈皇甫  
謐 CS414

*Ch'in* 侵, *T'án* 談, *Chen* 真 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Juàn Chí* 阮籍：侵岳尋吟林心矜神 獼猴賦 WW44.10

*Ch'in* 侵 and *Wén* 文

*P'ing*

*Hó Yèn* 何晏：林分 景福殿賦 WW39.7

*Ch'in* 侵 and *Tung* 冬

*P'ing*

*Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：音今尋風 贊述太子賦 WW30.12

*Ch'in* 侵 and *Cheng* 蒸

*P'ing*

*Yáng Hsè* 楊戲：音興 季漢輔臣贊 WW62.7 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：林今興 雪賦 CW60.1

(25) Rime Category *T'an* 談

(25.1) List of All Rime Words

*P'ing*

*T'an* 談：聃聃 談 柑 藍

*Hsien* 咸：咸 崑(崑) 慘

*Yen* 鹽：漸 瞻

*Tien* 添：兼嫌謙

*Shang*

*K'an* 敢：噉

*Yen* 琰：儉險檢漱 貶 漸 芡 淡 掩 染 柑

*T'ien* 忝：玷點

*Fan* 范：犯

*Ch'ü*

*K'an* 闕：濫

*Yen* 豔：歛驗 焰 漣 豔 占 膽

*T'ien* 忝：念 墊 忝

*Fan* 梵：汜

(25.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *T'an* 談

*P'ing*

*Shih Ch'ung* 石崇：談聃 思歸歎 CS403 *Ts'ai Hing* 蔡洪：謙嫌 圍棋賦 CW81.7 *Kuo*

*P'ü* 郭璞：柑藍談 爾雅圖柚贊 CW121.8

*Shǎng*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：貶儉 漸淡焚漱西征賦 CW90.8,9 *Tsö Szu* 左思：險桷掩染 吳都賦 CW74.8 *Chi Hân* 嵇含：漸染點掩 長生樹賦 CW65.6 *Chiang T'ung* 江統：險檢漸貶 函谷關賦 CW106.1 *Yuán Hûng* 袁宏：檢玷漸染 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6

*Ch'ü*

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：膽塹炤歛 馬汧督誄 CW92.10 *Lü Chi* 陸機：濫汜豔 文賦 CW97.3 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：念膽豔忝 答大將軍 CS357

(25.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*T'án* 談 and *Ch'in* 侵

*P'ing*

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：南咸漸膽 夏府君誄 CW104.10

*Shǎng*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：噉慘犯 山海經圖鳩鳥贊 CW123.3

*Ch'ü*

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：占塾識 山海經圖堪豸魚贊 CW122.11

*T'án* 談 and *Yuán* 元

*Ch'ü*

Anonymous 無名氏：淡茜 休洗江之一 CS552

(26) Rime Category *Chih* 職

(26.1) List of All Rime Words

*Chih* 職：直埴植殖 食飭飾 億憶臆 側測側 式拭軾 色絕 識職 敕棘 倡逼  
仄昃 域闕 極翼 息匿 嶷愿 卽稽 陟稷 力  
*Wu* 屋：服

(26.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chih* 職

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：匿食翼 游海賦 HHW 90.1 極力食匿色翼息側臆側 登樓賦 HHW 90.4  
*Liú Chen* 劉楨：域殖色食 魯都賦 HHW 65.1 *Hsü Kân* 徐幹：翼服 齊都賦 HHW 93.5

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：色飾息翼 鸚鵡賦 HHW42.4 *Fán Ch'in* 繁欽：側息服 定情詩 WS195  
 直翼 建章鳳閣賦 HHW93.9 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹丕：極食色翼億識 折楊柳行 WS128 飾服 瑤瑤勒賦  
 WW4.7 極服 曹蒼舒詠 WW7.11 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：食極 平陵東行 WS147 息食 應詔詩 WS165  
 極側匿翼食息 贈白馬王彪之四 WS167 息匿翼 感節賦 WS13.6 息翼式 卞太后詠 WW19.8 *Pièn*  
*Lán* 卞蘭：直嶽 許昌宮賦 WW30.12 *Miào Hsi* 繆襲：翼億 平關中 WS192 *Hó Yèn*  
 何晏：飾極職 景福殿賦 WW39.6 色服 瑞頤 WW39.12 *Wéi Tàn* 韋誕：職飾 側殖恩叙志賦  
 WW32.9 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：極極億翼色極 秋胡行之六 WS204 殖楚側 仄逼息識 測極  
 琴賦 WW47.1,3,4 億食色力棘息 卜疑 WW47.5 *Juàn Ch'i* 阮籍：色側棘翼拭力 詠懷七一  
 WS223 逼卽息測側極 東平賦 WW44.7 *Mín Húng* 閔鴻：色側飾救 芙蓉賦 WW74.10  
*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：翼食極 元旦大會行禮歌之八 CS257 色息食翼極 嘯賦 CW59.5 識  
 色翼逼 烏賦 CW59.7 翼飾 蔽譽銘 CW59.9 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：稽食 食舉東西廊歌之三 CS249  
 救職極 元旦朝會賦 CW45.2 翼救食 辟雍鄉飲酒賦 CW45.3 *Hsün Hsi* 荀勗：翼式救極 振鷺  
 CS252 *Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：救飾色翼側 雀釵賦 CW68.3 翼色 玄鳥賦 CW68.6 *Sun*  
*Ch'ü* 孫楚：職極 秋杜賦 CW60.3 億息翼極 雁賦 CW60.4 翼極力臆 鷹賦 CW60.4 *Fù Hsién*  
 傅咸：職直側極 周官詩 CS307 力直植 左傳詩 CS307 翼極逼匿 小語賦 CW51.2 色飾識 鏡賦  
 CW51.6 極式 玉賦 CW51.8 直植翼職力色恩救 御史中丞箴 CW52.12 直式 叩竹杖銘 CW52.12  
*Chang Huá* 張華：職極飾植翼 相風賦 CW58.2 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：偪力色測 關中詩  
 CS372 直闕億側職息 識極色棘息式埴 西征賦 CW90.6,9 側匿翼息側 息極識翼 寡婦賦  
 CW91.2,3 殖色側飾極 閑居賦 CW91.6 側直食翼 馬汧督詠 CW92.10 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：植稽食  
 翼 華黍 CS318 力翼食直匿 玄居釋 CW87.6 匿測食識 弔蕭孟恩文 CW87.8 *P'ei Wei* 裴頠：  
 色直 女史箴 CW33.9 *Lü Chi* 陸機：極側 與弟清河雲 CS340 側織色翼息 猿青河畔草 CS346  
 色力景域側 述思賦 CW96.3 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：極景息識 歲暮賦 CW100.2 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：  
 極職域棘 魏都賦 CW74.11 *Ts'ao Shu* 曹攄：直側色翼職力軾逼 贈石崇 CS405 *P'an Ni*  
 潘尼：職億極植 瑯琊賦 CW94.4 息植直 桑樹賦 CW94.5 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：食極直息觀魚賦  
 CW76.4 極稽植飾 神農讚 CW77.4 *Chang Min* 張敏：稷陟殖 頭責子羽文 CW80.2 *Liú*  
*K'un* 劉琨：植棘食食翼職 答盧諶 CS416 側食 扶風歌 CS417 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：棘直職  
 爾雅圖寶贊 CW121.8 稽翼食 山海經圖穀國贊 CW123.5 *Wen Chiào* 溫嶠：翼息側直 侍臣箴  
 CW80.11 *Ts'ao Pi* 曹毗：式極四時祠祀歌 CS248 息翼臆側 鸚鵡賦 CW107.8 *Yüán Húng*  
 袁宏：直嶽色棘 三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 *Wáng Chia* 王嘉：極息 歌三首之一 CS490 *Hui*  
*Yüán* 慧遠：識色測力息極 萬佛影銘 CW162.15-16 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：稷植稽食 勸農  
 CS457 色力飾式 庶人孝傳贊 CW112.6 極息域陟 祭從弟敬遠文 CW112.9 *Yang Hui* 羊徽：  
 色飾植 木槿賦 CW141.8 *Kuo Yüán-tsü* 郭元祖：職色翼極 子英讚 CW139.8 *Wáng*  
*Ch'i-chih* 王齊之：識力測極 念佛三昧之四 CS496 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：側植  
 色 庭前植稻苗贊 CW140.7 *Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：翼億職飾側色直極息力 釋時論 CW89.2-3  
 Anonymous 無名氏：域服 大晉篇 CS272 食憶 子夜歌之二三 CS524 色織 子夜春歌十七 CS526

翼側色 聖郎曲 CS540 色飾 採桑度之二 CS542 色息 色識 孟珠 CS 545,546 翼億 苻堅鳳凰歌 CS 558  
翼力 武帝太康後童謠之三 CS563 力側 明帝太寧初童謠 CS567

## (26.3) Rare Contacts With the Other Rime Categories

*Chih* 職 and *Tè* 德

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：翼服式冠賦 HHW93.6 *Hán-tan Ch'un* 邯鄲淳：棘直職得極 投壺賦 WW26.1 *Chung Huè* 鍾會：極色德直食 菊花賦 WW25.1 *Wei Chao* 韋昭：德德植色息服 嘿晨隱德稽式陟力直億極 承天命 WS 232 *Hsü Chèng* 卻正：得仄極側覆 釋譚 CW70.7 *Fü Hsüán* 傅玄：服職隱 吏部尚書箴 CW46.10 *Fü Hsien* 傅咸：色則 曹府君碑 CW52.12 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：逼極式直食力 楊荊州誄 CW92.7 *Lü Chi* 陸機：德識直桑賦 CW97.7 匿式 演連珠之二五 CW99.5 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：色德極 贈張仲膺 CS356 翼域德極稷鳴鶴 CS361 飾翼德寒蟬賦 CW100.9 德式極億植 德職極式 陸公誄 CW104.5,6 德直測色 隱革陸府君誄 CW104.7 *Tsö Szu* 左思：色職革默 魏都賦 CW74.15 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：黑翼極山海經圖北方禺疆贊 CW 123.9 *T'áo Chién* 陶潛：極息力飭側翼色惑 聯句 CS 484 *Ch'en Yáo* 陳窈：特息式 箴賦 CW144.8 Anonymous 無名氏：色得 長史變歌 CS535

*Chih* 職 and *Wò* 沃

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：蝠式翼 蝙蝠賦 WW 14.6 *Lü Chi* 陸機：域覺 失題之二 CS 351 Anonymous 無名氏：服職式極福 帝冠祝文 CW146.14

*Chih* 職 and *Yáo* 藥

Anonymous 無名氏：色柏 子夜歌之二九 CS524

*Chih* 職 and *Yüeh* 月

*Yáng Ch'üán* 楊泉：雪飾職服翼極憶 蠶賦 WW75.2

*Chih* 職 and *Chè* 緝

*Chang Hàn* 張翰：力職側邑 贈張弋陽 CS388

*Chih* 職, *Wò* 沃 and *Tè* 德

*Lü Chi* 陸機：側肅革側食克臆翼 赴洛之二 CS344 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：肅極直式則側陸府君誄 CW104.8 *Huáng Chang* 黃章：域極翼育則 龍馬賦 CW105.1

*Chih* 職, *Wò* 沃 and *Wu* 屋

*Sun Ch'èng* 孫承：域復錄 嘉遜賦 CW143.1

*Chih* 職, *Tè* 德, *Wu* 屋, *Chih* 質 and *Wò* 沃

*Ts'áo Ts'ao* 曹操：則極息域獄贖職律力國斲俗德曲威 度關山 WS117

(27) Rime Category *Tè* 德

## (27.1) List of All Rime Words

*Té* 德：黑嘿默墨 克剋 國惑 德得 則北 勒刻 塞隱 特忒 賊覆  
*Mài* 麥：麥 革

(27.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Té* 德

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：德則 太廟頌 WS175 國德則忒 贈士孫文始 WS177 德則塞 七釋之七 HHW91.2 *Yìng Yáng* 應瑒：北塞剋德 弈勢 HHW42.6 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：德國聖皇篇 WS154 則國 賁躬詩 WS164-5 國惑 七啓之七 WW16.12 則國 景帝贊 WW17.8 德北國則 王仲宣誄 WW19.3 國德 卞太后誄 WW19.8 *Wéi Tàn* 韋誕：德則麥 敘志賦 WW32.9 *Yáng Hsì* 楊戲：德隱國 贊關雲長等 WW62.7 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：默得國塞 秋胡行之五 WS204 *Juān Chī* 阮籍：德默惑 東平賦 WW44.6 *Wéi Chao* 韋昭：賊隱革德 克皖城 WS231 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：國德塞 正旦大會行禮歌之一 CS256 國德又四 CS256 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：德國 夕牲歌 CS240 德克則國 京兆府君登歌 CS243 則德 饗神歌 CS244 德則正旦大會行禮歌 CS248 國則德 正德舞歌 CS266 則國刻德默隱 印銘 CW46.12 則德 裳銘 CW46.12 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：德則隱國 赫矣 CS252 塞隱 從華林園 CS277 *Chang Huá* 張華：國德則 食舉東西廂樂詩 CS255 *P'an Yuèh* 潘岳：惑隱北國 西征賦 CW90.6 德惑得 答摯虞新婚箴 CW92.5 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：德國則 思文 CS355 *Tsō Szu* 左思：剋國北忒塞墨 悼離贈妹之一 CS384 北國 魏都賦 CW74.11 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：刻墨國 扇賦 CW94.4 則特德克惑 楊恭侯碑銘 CW95.5 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：惑得 思游賦 CW76.3 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：默德國塞 贈杜方叔 CS314 *Chang Mìn* 張敏：則德惑 神女賦 CW80.1 德墨惑 頭責子羽文 CW80.2 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：北國刻 流寓賦 CW120.5 國德則 爾雅圖珪贊 CW121.5 黑革德 山海經圖兕贊 CW122.3 北國德 又豎亥贊 CW123.9 *Ts'áo P'í* 曹毗：德塞默國 歌康皇帝 CS246 *Yuán Hūng* 袁宏：塞惑國德 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：革德墨塞 與庾冰 CS434 *Lǐ Yü* 李顥：克德北隱 雷賦 CW53.10 *Seng Ch'ao* 僧肇：德墨則北剋塞 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW165.15 *Ch'ao Ch'eng* 趙整：國則 酒德歌 CS498 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：德國忒得 命子 CS457-8 得惑塞國默 飲酒十八 CS474 *Wáng Shào-chih* 王劭之：德則 春花賦 CW144.11 Anonymous 無名氏：賊得 京口民間謠 CS569 國德 二王 CS576 德墨國默德 簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

## (27.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Té* 德 and *Chih* 職

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：勒刻德忒 瑪瑙勒賦 HHW90.5-6 *Hü Tsung* 胡綜：德極 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5 *Yáng Hsì* 楊戲：偃德北國 贊陳芳等 WW62.10 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：黑直 太子少傅箴 CW46.10 *Lü Chi* 陸機：德極 與弟清河雲 CS339 德極 七微之七 CW98.3 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：則則識德答顧秀才 CS357 *Chi Hán* 嵇含：德識惑賊則塞國食默色 贈石季倫 CS411

*Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：德色 情人碧玉歌 CS436 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：塞力 用筆賦 CW22.1  
*Chang Chün* 張浚：黑墨德息則極 白兔賦 CW128.10 *Anonymous* 無名氏：北色 西州  
 曲 CS551

*Tè* 德 and *Wò* 沃

*Miào Hsi* 繆襲：威北國 定武功 WS191 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：覲國得 喜霽賦 CW100.4

*Tè* 德 and *Yüeh* 月

*Yáng Hsi* 楊戲：克烈 贊趙子龍等 WW62.9

*Tè* 德 and *Chì* 緝

*Chì K'ang* 嵇康：德合 卜疑 WW47.5

*Tè* 德, *Chih* 職 and *Chih* 質

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：德極秩 承露盤銘 WW19.2

## (28) Rime Category *Wò* 沃

### (28.1) List of All Rime Words

*Wò* 沃：告格酷鵠 毒 篤 鵠

*Wu* 屋：叔俶淑菽 復覆腹馥 掬菊鞠 孰熟 陸睦 福幅 燠莠 郁楮 畜渚 服  
 育 肅 六 目 肉 逐 穆 蹙 伏 夙 或 竹 戮 矗 牧 鬻 宿  
 齣 築 軸 儻

*Chüen* 覺：覺學

*Hsi* 錫：迪 覲 戚 寂

### (28.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Wò* 沃

*Wáng Ts'an* 王粲：六淑陸福 裴賓鐘銘 HHW91.6 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：服育 肅叔 武帝詠  
 WW19.4.4 *Chiao Hsien* 焦先：肉逐 祝輿歌 WS 202 *Hsi Ch'eng* 郤正：目服釋讖 CW70.7  
*Yáng Ch'üan* 楊泉：服腹 蠶賦 WW75.2  
*Fù Hsüan* 傅玄：肅穆 地郊饗神歌 CS 241 *Hsün Hsi* 荀勗：淑畜育 蒲萄賦 CW 31.4  
*Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：育燠竹 齊賦 CW68.4-5 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：目毒之馮翊祖道詩  
 CS 399 *Fù Hsien* 傅咸：俶服淑目 毛詩詩之二 CS306 *Chang Huá* 張華：夙穆 章懷  
 皇后詠 CW58.9 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：戮鞠育覆 服福陸復西征賦 CW90.8,9 馥矗孰橘賦 CW92.1  
 築逐 馬汧督詠 CW92.10 育六 魯武公詠 CW93.1 鞠育復目 王氏哀辭 CW93.6 淑育目菊馥 澤蘭哀辭  
 CW93.6 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：覺督格 勸農賦 CW87.2 *Lü Chi* 陸機：服穆 月重輪行 CS 334  
 服淑目菽育掬 文賦 CW97.3 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：淑陸育 祖考頌 CW104.1 *Tsö Szu* 左思：  
 儻伏馥育 蜀都賦 CW74.3 學覲戚 魏都賦 CW74.15 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：牧燠陸服目逐覆 乘輿箴

CW95.4 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：伏渚育目陸思遊賦 CW76.2 *Sun Hu* 孫惠：幅竹 羅車賦  
 CW115.8 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：毒告覺 爾雅圖譚鼠贊 CW 121.10 伏目肉 山海經圖狸力獸贊 CW 122.1-2  
 鵲鵲鵲 又鵲鵲贊 CW122.10 目肉育 又鵲鳥贊 CW123.1 目服腹 又嘉榮贊 CW123.2 栳服目 又栳木贊  
 CW123.3 莫覺學 又蒟草贊 CW123.3 戮目服 又彤天贊 CW123.7 服穆福 又東方句芒贊 CW123.9 竹  
 目戮 又鵲鳥贊 CW 123.10 寂覲告酷戚 元皇帝哀策文 CW123.13-14 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：陸菊軸  
 遊仙之三 CS446 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：郁陸服 七命之七 CW85.11 *Yüán Hüng* 袁宏：  
 軸竹伏菊 三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 *Wáng Chia* 王嘉：肅熟福 歌三首之二 CS 490 *Huán*  
*Hsüán* 桓玄：育福伏陸竹牧收 王孝伯誄 CW119.9 *Seng Ch'ao* 僧肇：六軸覆目育 鮒 鳩  
 摩羅什法師誄 CW 165.15-16 *T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：陸穆逐宿 勸農 CS 457 目菊馥熟 問來使  
 CS 461 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：竹馥 枇杷賦 CW 142.1 *Chang Wàng* 張望：育畜 鸞鶴賦  
 CW135.5 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：淑肅 懷春賦 CW140.4 Anonymous 無名氏：  
 肉目腹 太康後童謠 CS563 腹服 著布謠 CS565 目腹復 荊州童謠 CS570 腹目 元興初童謠 CS570

## (23.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Wò* 沃 and *Chì* 祭 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Yáng Hsì* 楊戲：篤裔 贊輔元都等 WW62.9

*Wò* 沃 and *Chih* 職

*Mín Hüng* 閔鴻：福色 親鸞賦 WW74.9 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：六覆逐域育目 答盧謠 CS 416  
*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：目域 流寓賦 CW 120.5 伏築域 山海經圖狸力獸贊 CW 122.12 域陸服 又駟駘贊  
 CW123.9

*Wò* 沃 and *Tè* 德

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：篤嘿覲育牧服 贈顧驃騎 CS355

*Wò* 沃 and *Wu* 屋

*Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：木肅蹙伏 大寒賦 CW45.2 *Lù Chi* 陸機：鬻淑玉 贈紀士 CS349 覲蓐  
 福 七微之七 CW98.3 毒酷告剝 感懷太子誄 CW99.9 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：菊菽宿玉 思樂芳林 CS364  
 福育肅玉 九感修身 CW101.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：縮服族 山海經圖深目贊 CW 123.8 *Chang*  
*Hsiéh* 張協：陸竹菊肅馥目 勗 雜詩之二 CS393 Anonymous 無名氏：腹木 桓玄時小兒  
 歌 CS556

*Wò* 沃 and *Yào* 藥

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：菊或柏服福 菊頌 CW59.9 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：迪邈篤告 大安  
 二年 CS353 *Chou Ch'í* 周祇：學樂竹 執友箴 CW142.2

*Wò* 沃, *Tè* 德 and *Wu* 屋

*Lù Chi* 陸機：迪國服曲 贈夏少明 CS 336

(29) Rime Category *Wu* 屋



## (29.1) List of All Rime Words

*Wu* 屋：瀆憤讀讀 鹿漉麓 僕濮撲 涑餽速 穀穀 谷浴 木沐 滌祿 獨 卜  
屋 哭 斛 族  
*Chú* 燭：蜀獨燭觸觸屬屬 綠駮錄錄 辱褥縠縠 俗浴欲 續續 足促 局踰  
玉 曲 束 栗 旭 曷 獄  
*Chüeh* 覺：握渥握 角桷确 撲(朴)璞 散穀 岳 濁 剝 琢 斲 數 嶽 薦

(29.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Wu* 屋

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：俗撲欲辱 曲谷 七釋 HHW 91.1.1 *Liu Chen* 劉楨：木曲束足昔君  
錯哇時 WS187 促綠燭 天地無期竟 WS187 木燭穀 大暑賦 HHW65.1 *Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：濁燭  
大暑賦 HHW92.1 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：足鹿 孟冬篇 WS 156 嶽贖 貴躬詩 WS 165 欲俗 玄暢賦  
WW 13.5 木谷屬綠燭足 芙蓉賦 WW14.3 燭木谷穀 神龜賦 WW14.6 族木 蝙蝠賦 WW14.6 縠綠玉  
七啓之二 WW16.9 俗曲 又五 WW16.10 木穀俗 神農贊 WW17.5 濁浴 巢父贊 WW17.5 渥濁漉穀  
時雨謳 WW17.10 玉撲 武帝誄 WW19.4 獨族渥穀岳 懿公主誄 WW19.8 *Pièn Lán* 卞蘭：足  
幄俗撲玉欲 許昌宮賦 WW30.12 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：綠玉 曲角渥屬辱 俗曲 琴賦 WW47.2,2,3  
卜璞俗祿欲浴曲 卜疑 WW47.5-6 *Kuo Hsia-shü* 郭遐叔：足速谷俗僕玉綠 贈嵇康之一  
WS212  
*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：曲足 洛襖賦 CW 59.3 曲速屬續谷木濁俗 嘯賦 CW 59.4 *Fü*  
*Hsüan* 傅玄：渥足玉 宴會詩 CS298 足屬續曲促 正都賦 CW45.3 谷鹿足 走狗賦 CW46.3 續足  
嶽族 靈蛇銘 CW46.13 祿嶽 龐侯誄 CW46.14 *Hsia-hôu Chàn* 夏侯湛：桷屋辱足 玄鳥賦  
CW68.6 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：木足屋 反金入銘 CW60.9 *Fü Hsien* 傅咸：駮僕 屬辱 與尚  
書同僚詩 CS 307 屬縠 贈太尉司馬 CS310 岳餽 零露潛江海 CS310 *Chang Huá* 張華：俗  
屋撲 食舉東西廡樂詩之九 CS255 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：谷曲栗玉 西征賦 CW90.5 屬續促 悼亡賦  
CW91.1 族渥木谷 寡婦賦 CW91.2 栗僕木獄剝哭 馬汧督誄 CW92.10 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：足曲  
欲辱 白華 CS318 屬燭俗 餅賦 CW87.2 祿續族 欲足辱俗蜀 玄居釋 CW87.6,7 *P'ei Wei* 裴  
頤：曲濁 女史箴 CW33.9 *Lü Chi* 陸機：嶽族撲玉 贈顧令文 CS335 躅谷足渥木玉曲撲欲  
招隱詩 CS348 曲滌速 贈斥丘令 CS349 速玉屬木足曲躅 懷土賦 CW96.6 曲族卜谷木玉足 應嘉賦  
CW96.9-10 屬曲足玉 文賦 CW97.3 木縠桑賦 CW 97.6 木曲角 七微之四 CW 98.2 躅岳卜祿錄木  
谷哭渥足 功臣頌 CW98.5 足哭演連珠之十五 CW99.4 曷辱又二八 CW99.5 屋沐獨祿陸誄誄 CW99.8  
*Lü Yün* 陸雲：曲玉木谷 答孫顯世 CS363 欲木辱祿谷渥 逸民賦 CW100.6 濁卜足辱 九慰行吟  
CW101.3 祿穀族 張二侯頌 CW 104.2 祿屋 逸民箴 CW 104.4 *Hsia Ching* 夏靖：俗撲足瀆  
答陸士衡 CS370 *Tsö Szu* 左思：屬谷 族玉谷 鹿木角足 蜀都賦 CW74.2,2,4 撲玉 谷躅綠  
鹿東屬谷 俗踰續渥燭屬确 吳都賦 CW 74.7,7,9,10 濁嶽 曲俗 濮谷躅 魏都賦 CW 74.11,14,16  
*Chi Hân* 嵇含：局屋辱曲 弔莊周圖文 CW65.8 *Szu-mä Piao* 司馬彪：岳谷足薦束錄曲

速躑促璞燭 贈山濤 CS319 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：欲朴辱局斲桶足僕續谷族 贈王弘遠 CS405  
 辱躑促玉 答趙景猷 CS407 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：玉濁 琉璃碗賦 CW94.4 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：木  
 谷足促 思游賦 CW76.2 *Ts'ai Hung* 蔡洪：木岳 圍棋賦 CW81.7 *Ch'eng Ts'an* 成綽：  
 族屋 平樂市賦 CW86.1 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：漉斛濮嶽涑 鹽池賦 CW120.4 旭玉僕駮屋屬燭 南郊  
 賦 CW120.5 族屬谷 蜜峰賦 CW120.6 木燭錄 山海經圖橘木贊 CW122.6 綰角裕 又獨閭贊 CW122.10  
 足穀木 又鵬居贊 CW122.11 燭谷 又大壑贊 CW123.12 *Lü Pò* 盧播：欲辱足躑岳局濁俗僕錄  
 阮籍銘 CW89.4 *Yü Ch'än* 庾闡：玉俗 遊仙之三 CS446 足穀琢曲 揚都賦 CW38.2 嶽綠濁足  
 閑居賦 CW38.4 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：濁燭獨木綠屋曲 雜詩之一 CS393 谷足木束促卜又四  
 CS394 族穀屬曲 洛視賦 CW85.6 燭木 安石榴賦 CW85.7 幄麓谷燭綠 七命之二 CW85.9 屋足欲  
 又七 CW85.12 璞玉燭躑 把刀銘 CW85.12 *Fän Chien* 范堅：桺旭 蠟燈賦 CW124.4 *Ts'ao*  
*T'ien* 棗腆：俗玉贈石季倫 CS409 *Lü Hsiü* 魯褒：俗辱僕足錢神論 CW113.6,7 *Lü Ch'en*  
 盧諶：木燭璞駮 贈劉琨 CS418 *Ts'áo P'ü* 曹毗：族曲谷 湘中賦 CW107.7 足木 馬射賦  
 CW107.8 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：錄岳 鄒鑒碑 CW62.7 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：族谷 用筆賦  
 CW22.1 *Seng Ch'ao* 僧肇：俗朴錄族岳足 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW165.15 *Ch'ao Ch'eng* 趙  
 整：曲濁 諷諫之一 CS498 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：曲足局燭旭 歸田園居之五 CS461 木谷浴燭  
 讀山海經之六 CS482 *Chou Ch'ü* 周祇：俗欲錄 祭梁鴻文 CW142.2 *Pien Ch'eng-chih*  
 卞承之：木躑足 甘蕉贊 CW140.3 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：俗辱東谷 東方朔贊 CW139.6  
 谷蓐錄俗 谿父贊 CW139.7 躑辱屬屋 陰生贊 CW139.7 俗躑渥足 玄裕贊 CW139.9 *Sun Ch'üing*  
 孫瓊：族渥悼艱賦 CW144.11 岳蜀速躑筮篋賦 CW144.12 *Ch'än Fang-sheng* 湛方生：躑岳  
 遊園賦 CS494 俗木穀 七歡之一 CW140.5-6 *Wáng Ch'en* 王沈：木族穀祿速 釋時論 CW89.2  
*Su Pò-yü's wife* 蘇伯玉妻：玉谷玉足蜀數斛粟足讀角 盤中詩 CS510 Anonymous 無  
 名氏：曲欲濁祿谷族 明君篇 CS273 漉濁 獨漉篇 CS274 淶曲 子夜春歌十四 CS526 樛燭 子夜冬  
 歌之八 CS530 綠曲 採桑度 CS542 曲玉綠 西洲曲 CS551 僕觸 淫豫歌 CS559 木曲 樊道謠 CS560  
 角握 三秦記民謠 CS561 足續 貂不足 CS575

## (29.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Wu* 屮 and *Té* 德*Lü Chi* 陸機：嶽國 與弟清河雲 CS339*Wu* 屮 and *Wò* 沃

*Ch'en Lin* 陳琳：幄琢鹿綠服 神武賦 HHW92.2 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：穀屬岳鹿薦谷 目校獵  
 賦 WW4.5 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：曲鵠 琴賦 WW47.3 *Yáng Ch'üan* 楊泉：瀆曲逐 五湖賦  
 WW75.1 *Wàn Ch'en* 萬震：麓肉角燭觸 犀贊 WW74.8 *Ts'ò Chiü-pin* 左九嬪：木宿  
 欲辱 啄木詩 CS510 福速祿 萬年公主誄 CW13.7 *Lü Chi* 陸機：促足岳育服 贈弟士龍 CS341  
 玉福屬 七微之三 CW98.2 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：服幄穀嶽 贈汲郡太守 CS354 覆玉錄 答兄平原 CS360  
 服穀祿屋 祖考頌 CW104.2 *Wáng Tsün* 王讚：族木嶽 祿玉宿 三月三日 CS397 *T'áo*

*Ch'ien* 陶潛：促錄木哭覺辱足 挽歌之一 CS 484 *Pàn Kuāng-ch'üan* 范廣泉：足麓辱覺 錢王少傳 CS 495

*Wu* 屋 and *Yào* 藥

*Liú Chen* 劉楨：畢剝錄 魯都賦 HHW65.2 *Hsüeh Tsung* 薛綜：伯足角祿 麟頌 WW66.6

*Chi Shū-liáng* 嵇叔良：欲辱足燭岳局濁俗 漢錄 阮嗣宗碑 WW53.4 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：嶽谷鑠躍 陸公誄 CW 104.5 *Huán Hsüán* 桓玄：邈矚玉局促嶽 鶴賦 CW 119.1 *T'áo*

*Ch'ien* 陶潛：握邈 閑情賦 CW111.6

*Wu* 屋, *Wò* 沃 and *Yào* 藥

*Sun Huì* 孫惠：學鸛岳 楠榴枕賦 CW115.8

*Wu* 屋, *Yào* 藥, *Wò* 沃 and *Té* 德

*Hsüeh Tsung* 薛綜：伯足角祿福國 麟頌 WW66.6 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：肅俗樂學國璞屋 鑠 陸公誄 CW104.6

### (30) Rime Category *Yào* 藥

#### (30.1) List of All Rime Words

*Tó* 鐸：恪洛落烙絡維閣駱 作炸迤昨柞竿 博搏薄磚 幕寞漠獮 岑萼鄂鏹鏹 獲穫鑊 郭廓郭 霍藹礪 盾錯錯 託毫 樂蹠 鐸 惡 度 壑 鶴 泊 涸 鑿 索 諾

*Yào* 藥：勺灼約酌 藥燦鑠 淪淪箭 爵灞 卻腳 若 躍 弱 略 繳 諠 雀 鵲 削

*Chüeh* 覺：濯擢 駁 樂 朔 邈 舉 駁 擗 舉 稍

*Mò* 陌：白伯帛柏迫魄碧 格客額豁 百陌貊 隙(隙) 宅 索 澤 逆 赫 拆 唬 戟 絡 窄

*Hsì* 昔：畢憖駁譯釋驛 昔惜藉籍 液掖掖 石跖 夕窳 席蹠 奔(奕) 射 壁 尺 烏 赤

*Mài* 麥：獲 斤

*Hsì* 錫：激傲傲 的 礫 滌 溺

#### (30.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Yào* 藥

*Wáng Ts'án* 王粲：躍博 額石 游海賦 HHW 90.1,2 駱弱作錯澤 羽獵賦 HHW 90.4 若宅 硯銘 HHW91.7 *Liú Chen* 劉楨：石弱客澤 贈從弟之一 WS 186 *Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：鄂若齊都賦 HHW93.5 *Ts'áo Pi* 曹丕：宅客陌竿索石柏席落惜 陌上桑 WS129 *Ting Yi* 丁儀：惡錯閣壑託薄度作恪昨柞 厲志賦 HHW 94.2 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：客席鐸夕 當車以駕行

WS152 落閣澤獲博客惜薄 贈丁儀 WS 166 澤客 臨觀賦 WW 13.10 鑊博 離騷雁賦 WW 14.5 蹠霍  
落澤若 七啓之五 WW16.11,11 薄錯酪漠 魏德論 WW17.8 *Tsǒ Yèn-nièn* 左延年：樂駁作  
從軍行 WS 202 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：鑊灼 景福殿賦 WW39.5 *Ying Ch'ü* 應璩：際石白客逆  
陌澤 雜詩之一 WS198 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：宅惜 贈秀才入軍十八 WS 206 *Juǎn Chí* 阮籍：  
澤壑 東平賦 WW44.6 *Hsì Chèng* 卻正：澤額壑魄 釋譚 CW70.7 *Yáng Ch'üán* 楊泉：  
薄格錯薄 五湖賦 WW75.1 *Chang Yèn* 張儼：獲帛 賦犬 WW73.1 Anonymous 無名  
氏：恪若絡閣 孫亮初童謠 WS234

*Ying Chen* 應貞：博嶸 臨丹賦 CW35.1 *Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：錯薄落雲賦 CW59.2  
錯作朔漠 嘯賦 CW59.4 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：籍液 唐堯 CS264 稍貊 失題之三 CS 304 澤百失題  
之五 CS 305 液白駮 桑樞賦 CS 45.10 *Hsün Hsü* 荀勗：赫貊逆若 正旦大會行禮歌 CW 250  
*Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：落峯錯石 山路吟 CS396 繳獲 繳蹕賦 CW68.3 白躍幕獵兔賦 CW68.3  
*Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：澤泊樂宅 榮啓期贊 CW60.8 落薄漠朔 小同哀文 CW60.10 *Fù Hsien* 傅  
咸：惜若 汙厄賦 CW51.7 *Chang Huá* 張華：射逆 朽社賦 CW58.2 籍石 大司農箴 CW58.7  
*Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：澤奕石綍客尺夕獲釋 顧內之一 CS 376 柏夕昔席客石 哀詩 CS377 薄託  
落惡 秋興賦 CW90.1 落幕薄作 寔郭謫博錯惡 西征賦 CW90.8 薄惡作笙賦 CW91.8 弱激 蓮花賦  
CW91.8 的燭 芙蓉賦 CW91.9 幕廓 庚尚書誄 CW93.1 獲昔 祭庾新婦文 CW93.8 *Tsǒ Chü-pin*  
左九嬪：籍帛夕恪 昔閣窈落 元皇后誄 CW13.5.6 *Chiang Wéi* 江偉：赫尺宅白澤襄邑令  
傳頌 CW67.7 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：萼薄錯恪 白華 CS 318 白澤 作搏錯落 餅賦 CW87.3.3 託作  
壑落度薄 玄居釋 CW87.6 *Hó Shào* 何劭：柏落託石洛鶴樂邈 遊仙 CS 320-1 *Mü Huá*  
木華：尺席 海賦 CW 105.7 *Lü Chi* 陸機：郭漠閣薄幕作落博格輻 君子有所思行 CS 330  
赫宅昔格 皇太子賜誄 CS337 客宅惜 與弟清河雲 CS339 閣廓 浮雲賦 CW96.1 索幕落霍作漠廓  
感時賦 CW 96.2 迕索百宅客 歎逝賦 CW96.8 泊壑 七微之一 CW98.2 落錯石閣奕 又三 CW 98.2  
*Lü Yün* 陸雲：錯漠閣作薄 悠悠縣象 CS363-4 澤作石霍閣奕 喜霽賦 CW100.3 昔壑澤 逸民賦  
CW100.6 漠恪洛閣 鮮卑務塵頌 CW103.10 赫宅 盛德頌 CW103.12 作度廓奕 祖考頌 CW104.2 作烏  
漠恪霍 逸民箴 CW104.4 夕錯薄窈漠 夏府君誄 CW104.10 *Tsǒ Szu* 左思：薄宅郭廓籍壑  
昔澤 詠史之七 CS 386 礫礫 博雒錯莫澤液 廓幕泊薄 絡作魄昔 蜀都賦 CW74.2,3,4,4 錯鰐錯  
客奕百白博作 搏石 宅獲落格酪澤 吳都賦 CW 74.5-6,7-8,8,9 液白斤落作昔帛赫宅 錯博  
魏都賦 CW74.12,14 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：樂鑠略朔 太康頌 CW77.4 *Chang Mǐn* 張敏：索  
潘壑 頭責子羽文 CW 80.2 *Hsià-hóu Chün* 夏侯淳：石駁白錯鑠 彈基賦 CW 69.10 *Lü*  
*Wü-chü* 盧無忌：託澤 太公呂望表 CW86.10 *Kuo Pü* 郭璞：略漠灼邈廓 與王使君 CS 422  
魄白柏夕液石客 遊仙之七 CS 424 鑠駁礫激薄躍潘淪絡却錯鰐霍 壑夕液宅魄石 江賦  
CW120.2,3-4 錯索掬激潘灼 井賦 CW120.4 託落籥檄約雀略 蜜蜂賦 CW120.6 躍漠託 爾雅圖騰地  
贊 CW121.9 宅赤石 又贊贊 CW122.7 號繳作 山海經圖山渾贊 CW122.10 駁脚涸 又鋪贊 CW122.11  
薄落作 又九鍾贊 CW123.4 鵠勺酌 又嬰勺贊 CW123.4 石若伯 又馮夷贊 CW123.11 作廓鑠約漠略  
錯 元皇帝哀策文 CW123.13 *Chang Hân* 張翰：昔薄夕索 贈張弋陽 CS388 *Hü Chü* 胡

濟：薄壑嶸 渥谷賦 CW109.2 *Yü Ch'ăn* 庾闡：壑嶸薄躍 臨曲水 CS 445 霍託廓絡 崕錯薄壑 揚都賦 CW 38.2,2 驛射 藏鉤賦 CW 38.4 郭託幕 閑居賦 CW 38.4 落作薄壑 弔賈生文 CW 38.9  
*Lǐ Hsing* 李興：宅廓夕格 諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW70.11-12 *Chang Tsai* 張載：洛廓郭薄錯作閣落 敘行賦 CW 85.1,1 夕白拆釋液客 安石榴賦 CW 85.3 *Chang Hsien* 張協：藉壑澤薄七命之三 CW85.10 藥雀錯跖白 鏐落薄 又六 CW85.11,11 作宅毫澤 貂朔譯 又七 CW85.11,11  
*Fàn Chien* 范堅：削鏐 錯的 安石榴賦 CW124.4,4 *Lú Ch'én* 盧諶：廓藿洛薄落索崕作漠時興詩 CS420-1 擢犖遡 藿微 太尉劉公誄 CW34.13,13 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：壑作廓躍竺法質 CW61.9 霍嶸壑託漠 太平山銘 CW62.5 *Lǐ Yü* 李順：搏落陌作雷賦 CW53.10 *Seng Ch'ao* 僧肇：遡漠作溺 鳩摩羅什法師誄 CW 165.15 *Hsü Kuäng* 徐廣：落錯 悼亡賦 CW 136.10  
*T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：迫陌白窄客宅 雜詩之七 CS 478 射索落宅夕酌漠 自祭文 CW 112.9 *Yin Yün* 殷允：弱鑿 杖銘 CW 129.3 *Yáng Hui* 羊徽：薄閣昨索 贈傅長猷 CS 487-8 *Kuo Yuán-tsü* 郭元祖：柞漠廓落 方回贊 CW139.2 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：澤昔遡園詠 CS494 白石七歌之六 CW140.6 *Lǐ Hsiü* 李秀：驛獲 四維賦 CW143.2 *Lü Chung* 陸冲：奕薄幕霍 風賦 CW 86.9 Anonymous 無名氏：落薄 子夜歌二十 CS 524 惜薄 又三十 CS 524 灼諾 又三十三 CS 525 落博 阿子歌之二 CS 533 作厝 安東平之三 CS 544 白百 三秦記民謠 CS 561 度作 懷帝永嘉初童謠 CS566 赫石 渤海 CS575 奕石 慶孫越石 CS576

## (30.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Yào* 藥 and *Wò* 沃

*Lü Chi* 陸機：迪鏐遡灼 贈馮文舉 CS 337 躍濯樂溺學 遂志賦 CW 96.5 *Yuán Hsing* 袁宏：遡覺樂 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 Anonymous 無名氏：樂目 翳樂之二 CS546 樂逐 又三 CS 546

*Yào* 藥 and *Wu* 屋

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：嶽濯樂 陸府君誄 CW104.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：角白石 山海經圖猥如贊 CW122.5 *Yü Ch'ăn* 庾闡：鑿磚濁壑 海賦 CW38.1 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：濯囑足樂 時運 CS455

*Yào* 藥 and *Hsi* 錫

*Fü Hsiün* 傅玄：赫擊 門難賦 CW46.1 *Fü Hsien* 傅咸：昔壁 畫像賦 CW51.7 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：簫闢翺爵 高岡 CS362 *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞：晝白掖赤適 鵠鶴賦 CW76.4 赫辟獲貂益譯續 太康頌 CW77.3 *Yin Chü* 殷巨：續尺數濯赫白 寄布賦 CW81.9 *Chang Tsai* 張載：蹕爵繳鶴翺 羽扇賦 CW85.2 *Chang Hsieh* 張協：拆隔赤 安石榴賦 CW85.7-8 *Mèi T'áo* 梅陶：鶴壑客魄迹 怨詩行 CS 429 *Wáng Hsün* 王詢：赫奕役格 孝武帝哀策文 CW 20.2 *Lǐ Hào* 李暹：奕辟益壑溺 述志賦 CW 155.1 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：宅夕役席昔析 移居之一 CS464 宅跡百白惜 飲酒十五 CS 473 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：釋陌柏滌適 風賦 CW 140.4 翺雀薄落 弔鶴文 CW140.8 Anonymous 無名氏：雀隔 上聲歌之五 CS 531

*Yào* 藥 and *Chih* 質

*Ts'ài Húng* 蔡洪：郭落奕射悉 圍棋賦 CW81.7

*Yào* 藥 and *Hó* 曷

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：腋割若 山海經圖狍鴞贊 CW122.10

*Yào* 藥, *Wò* 沃 and *Hsi* 錫

*Hsià-hóu Chàn* 夏侯湛：鑿爍沃濯溺辟 雷賦 CW68.1

### (31) Rime Category *Hsi* 錫

#### (31.1) List of All Rime Words

*Hsi* 錫：剔惕錫 滴敵鎬 狄逖荻 劈壁 析皙 歷鏹 寂覓 擊閱 績霽

*Hsi* 昔：辟僻壁褊闕 易場 迹跡 適適 益擲 脊隻 刺積 役

*Mài* 麥：隔隔翻 脈(脈)鰲 厄扼 摘謫 責隤 畫愜 策冊 筴

#### (31.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Hsi*

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：辟益迹壁易謫 反金人贊 HHW91.2 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：策惕 賁躬詩 WS 165 *Hsi Chèng* 卻正：責迹益 釋議 CW70.8

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：迹役 大河賦 CW59.3 *Fù Hsüán* 傅玄：辟績 食畢東西廡歌

之二 CS249 *Fù Hsiên* 傅咸：益易策適 紙賦 CW51.5 *Chang Huá* 張華：易析迹壁

績翻隔 雜詩之三 CS 284 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：易隔益役歷 迹壁惕隻析滴積擊 悼亡之一

CS 376 析迹役惕鎬 西征賦 CW90.5 剔鰲辟歷鎬翻 射雉賦 CW92.2-3 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：易迹

由庚 CS318 *Lü Chi* 陸機：績錫 與弟清河雲 CS 339 適益策績易 文賦 CW97.2 迹錫敵績 功

臣頌 CW98.6 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：易辟適迹策 九思考志 CW101.3 *Ts'ö Szu* 左思：厄策敵

魏都賦 CW 74.16 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：惕易跡役壁 答陸士衡 CS 379 迹翻關役筴 懷退賦 CW 94.2

*Ts'ài Húng* 蔡洪：翻敵擊 門鬼賦 CW 81.7 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：歷場迹 流寓賦 CW 120.5

役適跡 山海經圖狍鴞贊 CW122.3 擊疫適 又池狼贊 CW123.4 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：迹僻摘隔策

藏鉤賦 CW38.4 *Lü Hsing* 李興：迹畫 諸葛丞相故宅碣表 CW70.11 *Chang Tsai* 張載：

翻壁隔績 擬四愁詩之二 CS391 易績壁迹益 劍閣銘 CW85.5 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：翻扼登北

芒賦 CW85.7 迹冊 七命序 CW85.8 隔迹策 又五 CW85.10 *Liú Yèn* 劉惔：狄辟 酒箴 CW131.6

*Yuán Hung* 袁宏：策壁隔 東征賦 CW57.1 迹敵壁隔 三國名臣序贊 CW 57.6 *Huà Yuán*

惠遠：跡滴適關隔翻益 廬山東林雜詩 CS 505 *Wang Ch'i-chih* 王齊之：關益適策 薩陀

波耑贊 CW143.9 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：適隔 遊園詠 CS494 *Wáng Ch'én* 王沈：

易適 釋時論 CW89.2 Anonymous 無名氏：摘覓 子夜夏歌之十二 CS 527 壁適 又十五 CS 528

覓跡 子夜冬歌之二 CS 529 荻積 義熙初童謠 CS 571

## (31.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

Hsi 錫 and Yào 藥

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：壁薄 君王禮英賢 WS 174 厄戟鎬場 曹休誅 WW19.7 *Chiă Tâi-tsung*  
賈岱宗：關冊易獲釋尺畫壁擲戟石覓迹閱劈脊岷刺射擊隻大狗賦 WW 53.7-8 *Lù Chi*  
陸機：適約跡 演連珠之四十二 CW99.6-7 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：爵辟易錫績贈顧驃騎 CS355 *Tsǒ*  
*Szu* 左思：哲歷壁迹赤愷益獲畫績易役翮襞擿蹟摘擲適積隔逃適鑣錫碧責壁 嬌女 CS  
388 *Chih Yü* 摯虞：適獲尺壁 答伏仲武 CS 315 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：赤積畧益 鹽池賦 CW  
120.4 赤隔翮 爾雅圖比翼鳥贊 CW121.6 赤辟迹 山海經圖孟槐贊 CW122.9 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：  
迹獲鎬翮 七命之三 CW 85.9-10 *Lü Ch'en* 盧諶：腋績跡翮益昔易厄積役惕隔蹟壁 答  
魏子綈 CS 420 *Chih Tün* 支遁：夕役適析擊策積寂蹟釋 八關齋詩之二 CS 502 *Huan*  
*Wen* 桓溫：跡石 八陣圖 CS 429 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：積昔翮役易析柏 己巳歲三月 CS  
469-70 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：迹惜驛謫 瑕丘仲贊 CW 139.5

Hsi 錫 and Yüeh 月

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：跡節 客傲 CW121.2(32) Rime Category *Chih* 質

## (32.1) List of All Rime Words

Wèi (魏)

*Chih* 質：失秩軼 栗慄 一 悉 率 日 吉 昵 質 逸 疾 室 溢 密 實  
漆 畢 弼 匹

*Shü* 術：出紉 卒 律 橘 術 恤 玃*Chiéh* 櫛：瑟*Wü* 物：物 絃 鬱*Mò* 沒：沒 卒 窟 骨 突 忽

Chin (晉)

*Chih* 質：必密蜜謚 乙失秩 日汨 室桎 漆膝 吉壹 一筆 栗慄 蹕蹕 溢  
質 實 逸 疾 弼 七 匹 昵 率

*Shü* 術：朮術述 出黜 恤邨 律 橘 卒 玃*Chiéh* 櫛：瑟 訊*Wü* 物：屈詘 峴拂 鬱 物 絃 歛 蔚(32.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chih* 質 (Wèi 魏)

*Wáng Ts'ân* 王粲：日軼質疾 浮淮賦 HHW 90.2 逸出室 閑邪賦 HHW90.2 *Ch'én Lín* 陳琳：窟骨卒 飲馬長城窟行 WS182 *Ying Yáng* 應瑒：質溢日 西狩賦 HHW42.2 一質文質論 HHW42.5 *Ts'áo Ts'áo* 曹操：沒卒 塘上行之二 WS124 *Ts'áo P'i* 曹丕：卒一 失悉 善哉行 WS 127 *Fù Sùn* 傅巽：物栗橘 七誨 WW35.1 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：紉牽 物紉 賁躬詩 WS 165 日瑟 宜男花頌 WW17.4 物鬱 吹雲贊 WW 17.8 一昵日慄 武帝誄 WW 19.4 質出一 物律 懿公主誄 WW19.8 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：秩一術 景福殿賦 WW39.7 *Chi K'ang* 嵇康：溢日 一質失 琴賦 WW47.3,3-4 失質術 一逸 失吉 卜疑 WW 47.4-5,5,5 逸恤 大師箴 WW 51.6 *Juàn Chí* 阮籍：瑟弼 鳩賦 WW44.9

(32.3) The Rime List of Category *Ch'eh* 質 (Ch'ìn 晉)

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：律物 天地賦 CW 59.1 質疾日吉 椒華銘 CW 59.9 *Fù Hsián* 傅玄：日室溢 宴詩 CS 299 術漆質 筆賦 CW 45.5 鬱實蜜 棗賦 CW 45.10 *Hsià-hón Chàn* 夏侯湛：質日大暑賦 CW68.2 質實橘實芙蓉賦 CW68.4 物鬱密拂石榴賦 CW68.5 *Chang Huá* 張華：逸日漆質 勵志詩 CS 280-1 吉室 女史箴 CW58.8 *P'an Yuèh* 潘岳：實一必吉 關中詩 CS 372 室弼失逸 贈陸機 CS 372 日出 屈出 滄海賦 CW 90.2,2 質室失黜 日室逸 一 日室吉 一 西征賦 CW90.3,6,9 壹秩必物慄逸邇溢術日實出栗吉 藉田賦 CW 91.4 一逸術室 閑居賦 CW91.6 逸律出日 笙賦 CW91.8 室日物逸 武皇帝誄 CW 92.5 室弼秩紉 黜出術室質逸疾卒 楊荊州誄 CW92.7,7 吉秩疾卒 夏侯常侍誄 CW93.2 *P'ei Wei* 裴頠：實日 女史箴 CW33.9 *Lù Chi* 陸機：屈日 演連珠之十一 CW99.4 *Lù Yün* 陸雲：秩質律謚 大將軍宴會 CS 351 實質室 贈張仲膺 CS356 一逸質室 逸民賦 CW100.5 日膝恤 九愍悲郢 CW101.2 室逸律謚質 九愍考志 CW101.3 吉卹日室 陸府君誄 CW104.8 *Ts'ò Szu* 左思：蹕蔚卒骨 吳都賦 CW74.8-9 術乙日室 室七 謚一 質瑟栗日 魏都賦 CW74.12,15,15 *Chi Hán* 嵇含：疾術日 寒食散賦 CW65.5 *P'an Ní* 潘尼：蜜質漆 扇賦 CW94.4 實一質溢 安石榴賦 CW 94.5 質日溢謚 後園頌 CW 94.8 *Yü Ái* 庾敳：室逸 幽人箴 CW36.5 *Chang Mìn* 張敏：一逸日 頭責子羽文 CW80.2 *Hsià-hón Ch'un* 夏侯淳：密出 笙賦 CW 69.10 *Liú K'un* 劉琨：疾卒實質 劉府君誄 CW 108.11 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：出室質 失題 CS425 一出術筆 江賦 CW120.4 溢出 井賦 CW120.4 蜜術 蜜蜂賦 CW120.6 質出溢 山海經圖序贊 CW122.3 出一吉又熊元贊 CW123.4 七密一又王子贊 CW123.12 室鞞 出述慄密質一元皇帝哀策文 CW123.14 *Yü Ch'án* 庾闡：汨日海賦 CW38.1 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：出白蜜橘實 都蔗賦 CW85.8 *Lü Hsiü* 魯褒：質實瑟室 實密物 錢神論 CW113.6,7 *Lí Ch'ung* 李充：質逸室一 弔嵇中散 CW53.8 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：出溢 太尉劉公誄 CW34.13 *Hsièh Wàn* 謝萬：室日 劉眞長誄 CW 83.4 *Yuán Húng* 袁宏：物屈屈屈 三國名臣序贊 CW57.6 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：物拂屈鬱詘 答許詢之一 CS434 質出質逸 一又四 CS434 質逸黜 出 康僧會贊 CW61.8 *Wáng Hsi-chih* 王羲之：實密質日用筆賦 CW22.1 *Lí Yü* 李頤：密室悲四時賦 CW53.11 *Wáng Hsün* 王珣：秩畢疾失孝武帝哀策文 CW20.2 *Kü K'ai-chih* 顧愷之：質一 水贊 CW135.4 *Pièn Fàn-chih* 卞範之：質秩 杖贊 CW140.1 *Hsièh Hün*



謝混：室瑟日 送二王 CS489 *Chào Chěng* 趙整：室日 諫歌 CS499 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：實筆匹術七栗物 責子 CS475 *Yin Yün* 殷允：質術 杖銘 CW129.2 *T'ung Ching* 董京：密述質實室 詩二首之一 CS400 *Kuo Yüan-tsü* 郭元祖：逸質恤室 平常生贊 CW139.4 逸實吉瑟 毛女贊 CW139.8 術朮出日 商丘子胥贊 CW139.8 *Sun Ch'ing* 孫瓊：日漆律 筮篋賦 CW144.12 *Lǐ Hsiü* 李秀：出畢 西維賦 CW143.2 Anonymous 無名氏：日一失 晉杯槃舞歌 CS276 一匹 子夜歌之七 CS523 出實 又三八 CS525 畢匹 子夜夏歌之十七 CS528 密匹 作蠶絲之三 CS549

## (32.4) Rare Contacts with the Other Categories (Wèi 魏)

*Chih* 質 and *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：器一吉出 黃帝三鼎贊 WW17.5 質出類懿白鳩謳 WW17.10 室粹物實 曹休諫 WW19.7 *Juǎn Chī* 阮籍：物氣 東平賦 WW44.6

*Chih* 質 and *Chie* 皆 *Ch'ü* 去 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：沒速 七啓之五 WW16.11

*Chih* 質 and *Chī* 祭 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：骨突窟洩 死牛詩 WS 172

*Chih* 質 and *Yüeh* 月

*K'ung Jung* 孔融：密穴室日實一漆畢 臨終詩 WS44 *Mín Hūng* 閔鴻：設日室逸日匹 羽扇賦 WW74.10

*Chih* 質, *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Chī* 緝 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Hsi Ch'eng* 郤正：質術悉祕執出失 釋譏 CW70.7

*Chih* 質, *Wò* 沃 and *Yü* 魚 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Juǎn Chī* 阮籍：栗戚室疾溢一日畢軀失 鳩賦 WW44.9

## (32.5) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories (Chìn 晉)

*Chih* 質 and *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：物氣 嘯賦 CW59.4 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：一醉 安石榴賦 CW92.1

*Ts'ó Chiu-pin* 左九嬪：溢吉室日出駟 元皇后諫 CW13.6 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：駟失疾日極

室 玄居釋 CW87.6 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：閱一日室質 登臺賦 CW100.5 *Ts'ó Szu* 左思：出室術

駟瑟恤 蜀都賦 CW74.3 一類 吳都賦 CW74.6 匱粹溢出訊秩器室莅日位 魏都賦 CW74.15

*Chih* 質 and *Yào* 藥

*Lü Yün* 陸雲：激質室疾溢 愁霖賦 CW100.2-3

*Chih* 質 and *Yüeh* 月

*Mù Huá* 木華：沍汨溢日 室質節 海賦 CW105.7-8,8      *Lù Chi* 陸機：密察 演連珠之四十七 CW99.7      *Lù Yün* 陸雲：室哲烈日 失題之四 CS363  
*Chih* 質, *Chih* 脂 *Ch'ü* 去 and *Chieh* 皆 *Ch'ü* 去  
*Lù Chi* 陸機：秩疾氣逮 陸君誄 CW99.8  
*Chih* 質, *Yüeh* 月 and *Wò* 沃  
*Lù Yün* 陸雲：哲逸秩穆 夏府君誄 CW104.9

(33) Rime Category *Mò* 沒 (Chin 晉)

(33.1) List of All Rime Words.

*Mò* 沒：𦏧机 骨 沒 勃 汨 窟 卒 訥

(33.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Mò* 沒

*P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：勃骨 西征賦 CW90.4      *Ch'eh Yü* 摯虞：骨沒忽 鵠鵠賦 CW76.4      *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：窟卒机忽骨 客傲 CW121.2      *Yüan Hün* 袁宏：訥骨机勃沒 詠史之一 CS449  
 忽勃沒机骨 東征賦 CW57.1      *T'ung Ching* 董京：沒汨答孫楚詩 CS400

(33.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Mò* 沒 and *Chih* 質

*Ts'ö Szu* 左思：𦏧𦏧 吳都賦 CW74.5      *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：窟室 蜜蜂賦 CW120.6

(34) Rime Category *Yüeh* 月

(34.1) List of All Rime Words

*Yüeh* 月：歇竭竭謁 猳越鉞 月 伐 發 罰 髮 闕 浹  
*Hsia* 黠：軋 察 拔 扎 八 殺 黠  
*Hsieh* 薛：列冽烈烈裂 折哲抵晰 悅說閱 徹澈輟 桀傑 熱裏 泄渫 掇 絕  
 別 滅 雪 蹶 設 劣 拙 缺 舌 擊 渴  
*Hsieh* 屑：契絜潔齧 切沏 蜺霓 結壹 戾 穴 節 咽 截 血 臬 竊 蔑  
 閉 譎 埴 訣

(34.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Yüeh* 月

*Wang Ts'ân* 王粲：別滅絕 神女賦 HHW90.5 節折 七釋之四 HHW91.1 *Liu Chen* 劉楨：  
 扎穴越 魯都賦 HHW65.1 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：哲潔列泄節 正情賦 HHW42.1 *Fán Ch'in*  
 繁欽：月節烈越渴 暑賦 HHW93.7 發烈折滅 征天山賦 HHW93.9 *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操：月接  
 絕 短歌行之一 WS118 鉞伐 又二 WS118 *Ting Yi* 丁廙：節說設血 蔡伯喈女賦 HHW94.4  
*Ting Yi's wife* 丁廙妻：節切結設結 寡婦賦 HHW96.10-11 *Ts'ao Chih* 曹植：戾越  
 責躬詩 WS165 越別 朔風之三 WS168 折滅 矯志詩 WS169 穴別 遊鳥翔故巢 WS173 月雪 洛神賦  
 WW13.2 節潔 蟬賦 WW14.6 雪切 節越 七啓之一 WW16.9 潔褻 荀侯誄 WW19.2 發拔伐 謁告啓文  
 WW19.11 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：設結 景福殿賦 WW39.6 *Wéi Tàn* 韋誕：烈別雪絕 景福殿賦  
 WW32.10 *Lü An* 呂安：說絕列別 髑髏賦 WW53.5 *Chi Kang* 嵇康：絕裂 思親詩  
 WS211 歇發 琴賦 WW47.2

*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：別絕列 天地賦 CW59.2 節烈雪折 木蘭賦 CW59.6 *Yü Shü*  
 庾儵：穴烈雪 冰井賦 CW36.4 *Fü Hsián* 傅玄：烈罰 宣皇帝登歌 CS243 發月 金靈運 CS262  
 契閑覽 順天道 CS263 結絕短歌行 CS288 竭月絕髮越歷九秋篇 CS295 月竭 關雲中白子高行 WS297  
 結絕 昔思君 WS298 察滅結 擬四愁詩之二 CS301 結澈折 琵琶賦 CW45.6 列潔發 紫華賦 CW45.7  
 發月髮 乘興馬賦 CW46.1 *Huang-fü Mí* 皇甫謐：切發結別雪 釋觀論 CW71.7 *Hsià-hóu*  
*Chàn* 夏侯湛：伐烈哲 雷賦 CW68.1 越月 禋賦 CW68.2 *Sun Ch'ü* 孫楚：傑月 尼父頌  
 CW60.7 *Fü Hsiên* 傅咸：節列結熱 神泉賦 CW51.2 *Chang Huá* 張華：哲烈 食舉  
 東西廡樂之六 CS254 *Pan Yüeh* 潘岳：絜雪節滅 西征賦 CW90.8 劣列哲拙 閑居賦 CW91.6  
 月關越發 武皇帝誄 CW92.6 *Tsö Ch'ü-pin* 左九嬪：別月絕血 離思賦 CW13.1 悅月烈雪  
 武帝納皇后頌 CW13.2 哲烈關結滅 萬年公主誄 CW13.6-7 *Lü Chi* 陸機：結悅髮 與弟清河雲  
 CS339 關穴 豪士賦 CW96.5 折結 鼓吹賦 CW97.3 滅察 演連珠之二十一 CW99.5 絕結滅 又二十四  
 CW99.5 熱節 又四十八 CW99.7 滅列絕烈 懸懷太子誄 CW99.9 *Lü Yün* 陸雲：越傑伐鉞發  
 陸公誄 CW104.6 *Ch'ih Yü* 摯虞：哲澈切 答杜育 CS316 *Hsià-hóu Ch'ün* 夏侯淳：察  
 節竭絕 笙賦 CW69.10 *Liu K'un* 劉琨：滅哲 劉府君誄 CW108.11 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：垓絕  
 遊仙之十二 CS425 血結垓穴 越 蚩蚺賦 CW120.7 月髮爾雅圖菊贊 CW121.7 穴哲絕又鸛鵲贊 CW122.5  
 噎舌穴 山海經圖天欄牛贊 CW123.2 折節哲又崑山贊 CW123.3 譎烈熱厭火國贊 CW123.5 *Yü Ch'ân*  
 庾闡：烈折絕哲 孫登隱居詩 CS445 絜雪血傑 弔賈生文 CW38.9 *Chang Hsiéh* 張協：越髮  
 設月別節察 雜詩之五 CS394 譎雪 玄武館賦 CW85.7 轍列發滅穴 七命之三 CW85.10 發雪潔關血  
 又四 CW85.10 越月發血滅 又五 CW85.10 *Lü Hsiü* 魯褒：節折錢神賦 CW113.7 *Li Ch'ung*  
 李充：哲轍 枯中散頌 CW53.6 *Lü Ch'ên* 盧諶：越轍別結 贈劉琨 CS419 *Chiang Yü*  
 江淹：徹列穴節 梁列伐 井賦 CW107.2 *Wáng Hú-chih* 王胡之：潔澈察雪 答謝安 CS431  
*Yüán Hung* 袁宏：節桀 失題 CS450 哲節雪月 三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 *Wáng Hsi-chih*  
 王羲之：絕雪蹶越 用筆賦 CW22.1 *T'áo Yeh* 桃葉：月發 團扇郎 CS512 *Yü Sù-chih*  
 庾肅之：結雪 松贊 CW38.10 *Lü Yü* 李頤：折轍裂傑 雷賦 CW53.10 *Kü K'ai-chih* 顧  
 愷之：切月節裂越 冰賦 CW135.3 *Huán Hsián* 桓玄：別桀穴烈越 鳳賦 CW119.1

*T'ao Ch'ien* 陶潛：拙絕悅別滅熱竭劣 影答形 CS459 節澈絕列傑訣月 和郭主簿之二 CS465  
 絕閉雪結設悅烈節拙別 癸卯歲十二月 CS469 罰越切月節血祭程氏妹文 CW112.8 *Kuo Yuán-tsū* 郭元祖：徹穴雪悅 主柱贊 CW139.7 穴列結徹 邦子贊 CW139.9 *Chiā Pin* 賈彬：悅列  
 節雪越徹 筆賦 CW89.11 *Wáng Shào-chih* 王劭之：咽泄結 懷思賦 CW144.11 列月 春花賦  
 CW144.11 *Wáng Ch'í-chih* 王齊之：轍哲 薩陀波崙讚 CW143.9 *Sun Ch'üing* 孫瓊：  
 絕滅雪列節 筌篋賦 CW144.12 *Chàn Fang-sheng* 湛方生：結轍絕歇設徹 諸人共講老子  
 CS493 節發 七歎之二 CW140.6 徹月節 又四 CW140.6 *Anonymous* 無名氏：發月 子夜秋歌  
 之二 CS528 雪熱 子夜冬歌之九 CS530 結雪 又十一 CS530 發月 七日夜女郎歌之二 CS535 節烈 長史  
 變歌之二 CS535 月 噦 歡好曲之三 CS538 烈雪絕 安東平之一 CS544

## (34.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Yüeh* 月 and *Chì* 祭 (*jü-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Hsü Kàn* 徐幹：伐制 西征賦 HHW 93.6 *Ying Yang* 應瑒：列絕滅勢 奕勢 HHW42.6  
*T'sáo Chih* 曹植：烈載發 潛志賦 WW13.9 傑藝烈嘶覓父 學宮頌 WW17.1 哲滅制列 黃帝贊  
 WW17.5 發制越 魏德論 WW17.8 滅絕咽斃穴滯誓 文帝誄 WW19.5 歲滅晰 懿公主誄 WW19.8  
*Liu Shào* 劉劭：越厲 趙都賦 WW32.1 *Hó Yèn* 何晏：覓泄滯眉晰 景福殿賦 WW39.5  
*Ch'eng Kung-sui* 成公綏：泄傑裔哲烈世 正旦大會行禮歌之十一 CS257 烈世截哲 又十三  
 CS257 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：替結節閉 替竊察炎哲 西征賦 CW90.5,9 *Tsö Chiü-pin* 左  
 九嬪：哲節世月晰絕 元皇后誄 CW13.6 結節制翳 萬年公主誄 CW13.7 *Shü Hsi* 束皙：制  
 設熱殺近遊賦 CW87.2 際熱設 餅賦 CW87.2,3 *Tsö Szu* 左思：厲結發裂烈 發節厲裔罰月  
 蜀都賦 CW74.3,4 衛滅轍烈 傑裔世轍設噎 吳都賦 CW74.5,7 蹶蒂 列翳悅世 列伐制銳月 傑  
 闕設嘶裔髮 魏都賦 CW74.11,13,14,14 *T'sáo Chia* 曹嘉：哲傑列裔衛結契 贈石崇 CS404  
*Wáng Yì* 王廙：缺逝擊 婦德箴 CW20.2 *Wáng Piao-chih* 王彪之：潔戾惠 井賦 CW21.1  
*Chung Ch'ang Aó* 仲長敖：列別劣衛翳傑契計結噬竊戾厲蔑轍制斃設絕點齟袂  
 覓性賦 CW80.12 *Anonymous* 無名氏：列轍逝翳血 簡文帝哀策文 CW146.7

*Yüeh* 月 and *Chih* 職

*Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：設絕側竭節伐哲 樽銘 CW62.5

*Yüeh* 月 and *Chih* 質

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：忽八越發 馳射賦 HHW 42.3 *T'sáo Pi* 曹丕：悅室 善哉行 WS127  
*Fü Hsián* 傅玄：絕日 九曲歌 CS304 *Huang-fü Mí* 皇甫謐：實結髮契 釋勸論 CW71.6  
*Fü Hsien* 傅咸：滅節屈 明意賦 CW51.4 *Lü Chi* 陸機：裂質節室 答賈謐 CS338 烈質  
 演連珠之四十六 CW99.7 轍實哲結溢 陸抗誄 CW99.8 *Yin Chü* 殷巨：察昵竭率 奇布賦 CW81.9

*Yüeh* 月 and *Mò* 沒

*Lü Chi* 陸機：泄忽 白雲賦 CW96.1

Yüeh 月 and Hó 曷

Líu Shào 劉劭：發頰越 趙都賦 WW32.1 Ch'eng Kung-sui 成公綏：折裂缺設闕 天地賦 CW59.2 Fu Hsüan 傅玄：月髮越闕達發遏葛闕末別裂絕穴 朝時篇 CS292 Kuo P'ü 郭璞：末闕髮 遊仙之十四 CS 425 Chang Hsieh 張協：節雪結缺咽秣 七命之一 CW85.9 Lǔ Hsiū 魯褒：熱闕活殺拔發 錢神論 CW113.7 Anonymous 無名氏：烈節闕哲 周處碑 CW146.13

Yüeh 月 and Yeh 葉

Hsia-hou Chàn 夏侯湛：節絜闕悅 魯仲連贊 CW69.5

Yüeh 月, Chih 脂 and Chì 祭

Ts'ao Pi 曹丕：發至裔 連珠 WW7.10

Yüeh 月, Chih 脂 and Hó 曷

Hán-tan Ch'ün 邯鄲淳：截越烈味發達 受命述 WW26.2

Yüeh 月, Chì 祭 and Yeh 葉

Yang Hsi 楊戲：世烈發業 贊關雲長等 WW62.7

Yüeh 月, Yao 藥 and Chì 祭

Mu Hua 木華：波鑿滌勢 海賦 CW105.7

Yüeh 月, Chih 質 and Chì 祭

Ts'ao Chih 曹植：出哲藝疾列察 卞太后誄 WW19.8 Sun Ch'ü 孫楚：節厲烈疾 茱萸賦 CW60.3

Yüeh 月, Tò 德 and Yeh 葉

Yang Hsi 楊戲：烈惑業 贊鄧孔山 WW62.8

Yüeh 月, Chih 質, Hsi 昔, Chì 祭 and Hó 曷

Kuo Hsia-shü 郭遐叔：忽夕歲越邁結怛 贈嵇康之四 WS 212-3

### (35) Rime Category Hó 曷

#### (35.1) List of All Rime Words

Hó 曷：喝渴葛褐遏鵠 達闕 割 頰 怛

Mò 末：末沫秣 活闕 跋鵠 撮 脫 豁 聒

Hsia 鎋：刮括 莖 轄

#### (35.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category Hó 曷

Fàn Ch'in 繁欽：闕脫 定情詩 WS194 Hó Yèn 何晏：跋闕 景福殿賦 WW39.6 Yìng Yèn 應瑗：撮葛喝雜賦 WS199 Chi K'ang 嵇康：闕割褐達 卜疑 WW47.4 Anonymous

無名氏：葛達 諸葛諺 WS237

*Chang Huá* 張華：達括 鮑玄泰諺 CW58.9 *Lù Chi* 陸機：闔末闊達括渴爲顧彥先贈婦之二  
CS343 *P'an Nî* 潘尼：秣轄闔渴 贈陸機 CS379 *Yü Ch'ân* 庾闡：末豁沫闊 衡山 CS446  
*Chang Hsiéh* 張協：達豁末 玄武館賦 CW85.7

### (35.3) Rare Contacts with the Other Rime Categories

*Hó* 曷 and *T'ai* 泰 (*jù-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Fù Sùn* 傅巽：殺末藹 槐樹賦 WW35.1 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：沫蓋 應詔詩 WS165  
Anonymous 無名氏：喝敗 京口謠 CS569

*Hó* 曷 and *Yüeh* 月

*Hsià-hón Chàn* 夏侯湛：竭沫葛 大暑賦 CW68.2 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：鵠月聒狨沫豁礪  
江賦 CW120.3

*Hó* 曷, *Yüeh* 月 and *T'ai* 泰 (*jù-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng*)

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：軋鵠喝蓋 孟冬篇 WS156

*Hó* 曷, *Yüeh* 月 and *Yào* 藥

*Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：月歇脫闊達越葛渴壑髮 答賈九州愁詩 CS422

### (36) Rime Category *Chì* 緝

#### (36.1) List of All Rime Words

*Chì* 緝：揖楫戢緝輯 及岌汲級 立泣粒 邑呬挹 執蟄繫 濕(溼)隰 十汁 習熠  
給翕 急 入 襲 集 澀 潞

*Hó* 合：合荅 納 雜

#### (36.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of Category *Chì* 緝

*Hán-tan Ch'ün* 邯鄲淳：集入 投壺賦 WW26.1 *Ting Yü* 丁廙：急立及彈棋賦 HHW94.4

*Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：泣急 七步詩之一 WS170 汁泣急 又二 WS170 急入執襲 禹妻贊 WW17.6  
入蟄及泣武帝諺 WW19.4-5 邑戢集及泣 卞太后諺 WW19.8 *Juán Chí* 阮籍：繫及入襲集  
東平賦 WW44.7 入集 鵠賦 WW44.9 *Hsü Chèng* 卻正：入執 釋譏 CW70.8

*Fù Hsián* 傅玄：入習立 元日朝會賦 CW45.2 *Hsià-hón Chàn* 夏侯湛：集蟄 玄鳥賦  
CW68.6 邑濕戢立 東方朔畫贊 CW69.6 *Chang Huá* 張華：邑集習及 祖道趙王 CS281 習邑  
感婚賦 CW58.2 集習給粒 鶴鵠賦 CW58.3 *P'an Yüeh* 潘岳：邑立襲入 西征賦 CW90.6 熠  
岌急入襲及泣 笙賦 CW91.7 集泣汲急 馬汧督諺 CW92.10 襲急執泣集及 夏侯常侍諺 CW93.2  
*Shü Hsi* 束皙：立戢溼執入集急入立泣 玄居釋 CW87.6 立十泣揖執集 弔衛巨山文 CW87.8

*Mù Huá* 木華：集濕濬海賦 CW 105.7 *Lù Chi* 陸機：習泣挽歌 CS 325 邑立戢入答賈謐 CS338 邑熠襲及立 遊遊出西城 CS348 輯戢立 述先賦 CW96.3 戢揖集及 豪士賦 CW96.5 襲立 遂志賦 CW96.5-6 襲立執及挹戢 歎逝賦 CW 96.7 戢級集挹 漏刻賦 CW97.4 襲立 七微之四 CW98.2 邑立襲集入戢粒 功臣頌 CW98.5 *Lù Yún* 陸雲：集邑 贈張仲膺 CS 356 襲集戢輯 答顧處微 CS 358 輯執集立 答孫顯世 CS 363 入邑集泣 歲暮賦 CW100.1-2 立戢入 逸民賦 CW100.5-6 集泣立及 九思悲郢 CW101.2 集襲邑入 祖考頌 CW 104.1-2 戢邑立襲 陸府君誄 CW104.7 *Tsō Szu* 左思：泣集及呬 悼離贈妹之二 CS 385 集立襲習及 魏都賦 CW74.13-14 *Ts'áo Shu* 曹攄：急及挹襲 答趙景猷 CS 407 *P'an Ni* 潘尼：急隰集入揖澀立繫習戢 迎大駕 CS 382 集執熠入十 釣賦 CW94.2 *Ts'ao Sung* 棗嵩：立執及十 贈杜方叔 CS314 *Kuo P'ü* 郭璞：執集粒 爾雅圖風贊 CW121.10 立蟄入山海經圖夔贊 CW122.4 汁習執又芒木贊 CW122.12 *Yuán Hūng* 袁宏：合納雜荅 三國名臣序贊 CW57.5 立入集襲 單道開贊 CW57.7 *Sun Ch'ò* 孫綽：繫襲及揖入立集 贈謝安 CS 435 *T'áo Ch'ien* 陶潛：及立急泣 命子 CS 458 澀立邑及泣入急 感士不遇賦 CW111.5 *Sun Ch'üing* 孫瓊：泣集 悼親賦 CW144.3 集緝立 公孫夫人序贊 CW144.13 *Yü T'üing* 庾統：立集翕入 三人贊 CW132.9

(37) Rime Category *Yèh* 葉

## (37.1) List of All Rime Words

*Yèh* 葉：獵蠶 捷捷 躡鐸 熠 葉 接 曄 厭 涉

*Hó* 壺：楊 蠟 闔

*Yèh* 業：脅 業

*T'ieh* 怗：莢篋 變 協

*Fá* 乏：法

*Hsiá* 狎：甲狎

(37.2) The Tabulation of All Rime Sequences of *Yèh* 葉

*Ying Yang* 應瑒：業法 文質論 HHW42.5 *Ts'áo Chih* 曹植：脅蠶熠 七啓之三 WW16.10

捷厭接業 班婕妤贊 WW17.8 Anonymous 無名氏：曄業州中歌 WS 227 狎甲李麟甲 WS237

*Lù Yün* 陸雲：葉躡涉接答孫顯世 CS 362 *Tsō Szu* 左思：葉接業法獵曄 吳都賦 CW74.6,9

曄業鐸 白髮賦 CW74.17 *Fàn Chien* 范曄：楊蠟闔 蠟燈賦 CW124.3 *Lü Ch'én* 盧諶：

接變捷 太尉劉公誄 CW 34.13 *Wáng Hsien-chih* 王獻之：葉楫 桃葉歌 CS 436 *Lǐ Yü*

李頤：法躡業協 雷賦 CW 53.10 *Wáng Ch'í-chih* 王齊之：葉接 薩陀波崙贊 CW 143.9

Anonymous 無名氏：楫接 桃葉歌之三 CS 536

(37.3) Rare Contacts With the Other Rime Categories

*Yèh* 葉 and *Chih* 質

*Chang Hsiéh* 張協：葉接法日捷曄 七命之六 CW85.11

*Yèh* 葉 and *Chì* 緝

*Chang Hàn* 張翰：莢篋急 豆羹賦 CW107.11

*Yèh* 葉, *Chih* 職 and *Tè* 德

*Yáng Hsì* 楊戲：曄臆德 贊龜土元 WW62.8

### 3.4 Textual Criticism of Wei-Chin Literature

In the process of locating rime words, we identify them by rime patterns. Occasionally, some rime words appear to be phonologically suspicious in their riming contacts, even though they rightly fit the pattern. This situation suggests two possibilities. One is that this special riming sequence preserves a kind of rare phonological phenomenon, either dialectal or idiosyncratic; the other one is that the text itself is corrupt. Only the latter one needs correction. The difficulty is that we have no way of distinguishing them. Therefore, we consider all the exceptions as belonging to the former, i. e., rare contacts between categories, unless we find definite evidence to prove the corruption of the text.

We have consulted *Yi-wen Lei-chü* 藝文類聚, *Ch'u Hsüeh Chi* 初學記, *Chao-ming Wen-hsüan* 昭明文選 and *Chin Shu* 晉書 as important sources, from which the compilers of the two anthologies collected their data. (These four books are abbreviated hereafter as *YWLC*, *CHC*, *WH* and *CSH* respectively.)

Our suggested corrections and explanations are given below. The section number refer to the categories in 3.3.

(1) 1.1 *P'ing*

張華：靖恭自思，所期榮顯，女史司箴，敢告庶姬。女史箴 CW 58.8

This is an "AAOA" pattern, but the word 顯 of the second line does not rime with 思 and 姬。We found that in *WH*, this line is quoted as 榮顯所期。期 makes a perfect rime with 思 and 姬。

(2) 1.1 *Shang*



何晏：其祐伊何，宜爾子孫，克明克哲，克聰克敏，永錫難老，兆民賴止。景福殿賦  
WW 39.6

Judging from the context, this paragraph should be an “OAOA” pattern, but three possible rime words belong to different rimes of Ancient Chinese. 孫, 敏 and 止 are registered in *p'ing-sheng Hun* 魂, *shang-sheng Chen* 軫 and *shang-sheng Chih* 止 respectively.

First of all, we found that the word 敏 is originally in the *Chih* 之 category in both the Archaic and Han periods.<sup>(4)</sup> It still rimes with other *shang-sheng* words of the *Chih* 之 category in the Wei-Chin period:

嵇康：于是器冷絃調，心閑手敏，觸撚如志，唯意所擬，初涉淶水，中奏清徵，  
雅昶唐堯，終詠微子，寬明弘潤，優遊躊躇，拊弦安歌，新聲代起。琴賦  
WW 47.2

This discovery ensures our theory of the pattern here. Then, we found that the combination 子孫 also occurred as 孫子 in the literature of this period. While having no concrete evidence, we believe that the second sentence of this paragraph originally was 宜爾孫子, which was copied incorrectly. 子, 敏 and 止 all belong to the *shang-sheng* of the *Chih* 之 category.

### (3) 1.4

曹植：於我皇后，懿章前志，克纂二皇，三靈昭事，祇肅郊廟，明德敬惠，潛和  
積吉，鍾天之釐。皇太子生頌 WW 17.3

The word 惠 does not rime well with the other rime words. We have emended it to 忌 according to *CHC* (Vol. 10).

### (4) 4.2 *Ping*

曹毗：嶧陽之桐，植穎巖標，清泉潤根，女蘿被條。筮篥賦 CW 107.8

標 and 條 are rime words here, but their tones do not match. We found that 標 was quoted as 標 in *YWLC* (Vol. 44) and *CHC* (Vol. 16). 標 not only makes a perfect rime with 條, but also clarifies the meaning of 巖標 which means “cliff top” while 巖標 has no clear meaning.

### (5) 4.3

左九嬪：既睇艷姿，徽音孔昭，盼舊其媚，婉曼其嬀。萬年公主誄 CW 13.7

嬀 is a misprint. It should be changed to 嬌 as quoted so in *YWLC* (Vol. 16) and *CHC* (Vol. 10).

(6) 6.2 *Ping*

無名氏：庾公上武昌，翩翩如飛鳥，庾公還揚州，白馬牽旒旒。

庾公初上時，翩翩如飛鳥，庾公還揚州，白馬牽流蘇。庾公歌 CS 555

In the first poem, 鳥 and 旒 are riming words; but in the second, 鳥 does not rime with 蘇。We believe that 鳥 is a misprint for 烏 which makes a good rime with 蘇。Fortunately, we found that this word was rightly registered as 烏 in *CSh Wu-hsing Chih* 五行志。

## (7) 11.3

潘岳：被褐振裾，垂髻總髮，躡踵側肩，倚裳連襪。藉田賦 CW 91.4

襪 is a misprint for 襪。We corrected it according to *WH* (Vol. 7) and *YWLC* (Vol. 39). The context also supports the radical 衣 rather than 禾。

## (8) 32.3

陸雲：君在初之嘉惠，每成言而永日，怨谷風之攸歎，彌九齡而未徹，願白獻於承聞，悲黨人之造膝，舒幽情其曷訴，卷永懷而淹恤。九慰悲郢 CW 101.2

This is supposed to be the “OAOA” pattern. 日, 膝 and 恤 belong to our *Chih* 質 category, but 徹 belongs to the category *Yueh* 月。It seems to be a sort of contact between categories. Interestingly enough, the author, Lu Yün, mentioned this very sequence in his letter to his brother Lu Chi 陸機。He writes, “(In this sentence), either 徹 or 察 does not rime with 日。I cannot think of any (proper) word. I hope that you may grant me this very word.” 徹與察皆不與日韻，思惟不能得，願賜此一字。CW 102.6<sup>(5)</sup> In other words, the author was aware of the hedge rime in this paragraph. We, therefore, omitted the word 徹 in this rime sequence.

## (9) 32.3

陸雲：明德遠燭，慮凶眚音，雖則榮泰，存亡是卹，爰築新邑，經始匪日，眷懷不虞，寧視斯室。陸府君誄 CW 104.8

This is also an “OAOA” pattern, but the word 音 does not rime with the other rime words. The meaning of the second line is also obscure. On the basis of the context, we consider 音 to be a misprint for 吉 which would clarify the meaning of the line. Hence: “Having illustrious virtue, you clearly shed light on the distance. You have apprehensions of evil fortune even at an auspicious time; although you are glorious and comfortable, you still keep in your mind the ones both alive and dead.”

**Notes to Chapter Three**

- (1) Karlgren based his Ancient Chinese system on *Kuang-yün*. Since we shall use his system as the basis of our reconstruction here, it is necessary to follow the classification of *Kuang-yün*.
- (2) See Ting Fu-pao 1962.
- (3) Wang Li 1964b, pp. 366-379.
- (4) Tung 1948, p. 126; Lo and Chou 1958, p. 18, 136.
- (5) Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 6-7.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### COMPOSITION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RIME CATEGORIES OF THE WEI-CHIN PERIOD

#### 4.1 Remarks on the Methodology of Reconstruction

The rime categories have been established in the previous chapter. We shall discuss their composition and reconstruct the finals of each here. Of course, the composition of the rime categories, including regular rime words and the contacts between rime categories, is the basis of our reconstruction. The rime categories provided the essential data of reconstruction, but we must also rely on the phonological system of Ancient Chinese which has been reconstructed in the light of modern Chinese dialects.<sup>(1)</sup> In addition, the system of Archaic Chinese plays a decisive role. We must also consider the periods immediately preceding and following the Wei-Chin period, i.e., the Han and the Nan-Pei-ch'ao periods. The phonology of the Wei-Chin period is to establish a link in the history of Chinese phonology from Archaic to Ancient.

In order to avoid superfluous statements, the reconstruction of each category will be given with a short discussion; the phonetic development of finals which partly supports our reconstruction will be shown in the next chapter. We adopt Li Fang-kuei's system of Archaic Chinese quoted in Chapter Two. As for the reconstructions of Ancient Chinese, we do not intend to criticize all the systems, but simply adopt Karlgren's system with Li Fang-kuei's modifications.<sup>(2)</sup> Li's modifications are partly for the sake of facilitating printing, and also make necessary emendations which are directly related to the reconstructions of earlier periods. The system of initials will be given in the next chapter. Only the Ancient Chinese finals, related to our reconstruction here, are listed as follows.

We shall let the *p'ing-sheng* stand for the *shang-sheng*, *ch'ü-sheng* and, if applicable, also for the *ju-sheng*. One needs only to change the nasal endings to their corresponding stops: -m, -n and -ng would change to -p, -t and -k respectively.

Division I	Division II	Division III (Div. IV Doublets)	Division IV
果攝 開歌 â	麻 a	麻 ja, 戈 jâ	.....
合戈 uâ	麻 wa	戈 juâ	.....
遇攝 模 uo	.....	魚 jwo	.....
.....	.....	虞 ju	.....
蟹攝 開哈 âi	皆 âi	祭 jâi (jiâi)	齊 iei
合灰 uâi	皆 wâi	祭 jwâi (jwiâi)	齊 iwei
開泰 âi	夬 ai	廢 jei	.....
合泰 wâi	夬 wai	廢 jwei	.....
開 .....	佳 aī	.....	.....
合 .....	佳 wai	.....	.....
止攝 開 .....	.....	支 jě (jiě)	.....
合 .....	.....	支 jwě (jwiě)	.....
開 .....	.....	脂 ji, i (i)	.....
合 .....	.....	脂 jwi, wi (wi)	.....
開 .....	.....	之 i	.....
開 .....	.....	微 jěi	.....
合 .....	.....	微 jwěi	.....
效攝 豪 âu	肴 au	宵 jâu (jiâu)	蕭 ieu
流攝 侯 ôu	.....	尤 jêu	.....
.....	.....	幽 jiêu	.....
咸攝 談 âm	銜 am	鹽 jām (jiām)	添 iem
覃 âm	咸 âm	嚴 jem	.....
.....	.....	凡 jwem	.....
深攝 .....	.....	侵 jəm (jiəm)	.....
山攝 開寒 ân	刪 an	仙 jăn (jiăn)	先 ien
合桓 uân	刪 wan	仙 jwăn (jwiăn)	先 iwen
開 .....	山 ăn	元 jən	.....
合 .....	山 wăn	元 jwen	.....
臻攝 開痕 ən	.....	臻 jən	.....
合魂 uən	.....	.....	.....
開 .....	.....	眞 jěn (jiěn)	.....
合 .....	.....	諄 juěn (juiěn)	.....
開 .....	.....	欣 jən	.....
合 .....	.....	文 juən	.....

宕攝 開唐	âng	.....	陽 jang	.....
合唐	wâng	.....	陽 jwang	.....
梗攝 開	.....	庚 eng	庚 jeng	青 ieng
合	.....	庚 weng	庚 jweng	青 iweng
開	.....	耕 eng	清 jäng	.....
合	.....	耕 weng	清 jwäng	.....
曾攝 開登	əng	.....	蒸 jəng	.....
合登	wəng	.....	.....	.....
通攝 東	ung	.....	東 jung	.....
冬	uong	.....	鍾 jwong	.....
江攝	.....	江 ǎng	.....	.....

Three principles for reconstructing the finals are laid down here as a working guide:

- (1) Vowel Principle: We posit the same main vowel for all words which occur in one rime category, because we believe that vowel congruency is an indispensable factor for rimed compositions and poems.
- (2) Ending Principle: We also posit the same final endings for all the words of one rime category unless we find definite evidence to prove that we should reconstruct more than one ending under special conditions.
- (3) Medial Principle: If the words of one Wei-Chin rime category belong to several different rimes in Ancient Chinese, in order to avoid violating the preceding two principles, we will assign the difference to the medials.

Thus the medial, vowel and ending will be reconstructed partially on the grounds of the phonological system of Archaic Chinese and partially on the grounds of the phonological system of Ancient Chinese. In those instances where the finals of Archaic and Ancient Chinese have identical reconstructions—e.g., Li's Arch.-jang and Karlgren's Anc.-jang—we will assign the same reconstruction to this rime unless the material positively rules against such a reconstruction.

As shown above, most rime categories contain the rime words belonging to more than one tone class. In fact, we can divide them into two or three corresponding rimes according to different tones. But for the sake of simplicity, we discuss them together in the traditional way of treating Archaic Chinese. The tone classes will be studied in a separate section.

## 4.2 The Yin-sheng Rime Categories

In the previous chapter, the order of the rime categories was given in a sort of traditional way for the convenience of comparison with those categories of the other periods. We will also follow that order in the discussion here. But for the sake of clarity, the order has been converted in the following table in order to illustrate the contacts among the different categories as established by the number of rime sequences. Such contacts demonstrate the phonetic relationship of these categories to a certain degree. They may reflect either diachronic or synchronic phenomena, and even idiosyncratic features. We shall refer to this table frequently in our reconstruction below.

Table I

	豪	宵	幽	魚	歌	哈	之	支	脂	皆	祭	泰	質	月	曷
豪	83	37	1												
宵	39	95	4												
幽	7	7	367	29			1								
魚	1		31	663	10	1	6								
歌			1	3	319										
哈						55	8		1	7					
之			5			15	421	11	15	1					
支					2		8	230	10	7					
脂			1				17	29	397	52	4	2	10		
皆				1		2	2	8	15	83	1	1			
祭				1		3		2	3	4	76	10	1	22	
泰						1		1	1	2	19	69		1	3

The figures in the table, read from left to right, register the number of regular cases of each rime category and contacts between the two categories concerned. The figures refer to the number of occurrences under each rime category in Chapter Three. Therefore, for instance, the occurrences of contacts between the *Hao* 豪 and *Hsiao* 宵 categories are listed in two different columns; the figures are 37 and 39; and the total contacts come to 76.

This statistical material deals only with the contacts between pairs of categories. The rime sequences having rime words from more than two categories are rare, and are not included in the statistics. They have been, however, listed under each category in Chapter Three.

The two large double-lined boxes in Table I show certain close relationships among categories. We shall refer to them as Box I, containing *Hao* 豪, *Hsiao* 宵, *Yu* 幽, *Yü* 魚 and *Ko* 歌; and Box II, containing the other seven *yin-sheng* categories.

In the following discussion, we shall let the names of Ancient *p'ing-sheng* rimes stand for their corresponding *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* counterparts. The *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* rime will be mentioned only when necessary.

#### 4.2.1 *Chih* 之 Category—-jəi

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Chih* 之 rime and its *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* counterparts. But in the *shang-sheng* part, we also find the following rime words:

(1) 瘡, 鮪; 兂, 軌; 晷; 鄙; 否.

These words are derived from the Han *Chih* 之 category. Among them, 軌 and 晷 were from the Archaic *Yu* 幽 category, and began to change into *Chih* 之 in Han times.<sup>(3)</sup> 兂 did not rime in Han literature, but was homophonous with 軌 in Ancient Chinese and presumably developed together with it from the Archaic period. The other words were originally in the Archaic *Chih* 之 category.

軌, 鄙, 否 and 晷 also rime with the words in Wei-Chin *Chih* 脂 category. Statistically speaking, we are unable to relegate them to either *Chih* 之 or *Chih* 脂. Their occurrences in the rime sequences are:

	With <i>Chih</i> 之	With <i>Chih</i> 脂
軌:	6	8
鄙:	2	1
否:	7	3
晷:	1	1

Hence, we registered them in both categories.

(2) 海 This word belongs to the Ancient *Hai* 哈 rime, some words of which, e.g., 台, 來, 才, 哉; 海, 在 and 再, 代 etc., were in the *Chih* 之



category from the Archaic through Han periods, but shifted to *Hai* 哈 category in the Wei-Chin period. This group and two others, i.e., certain words in Ancient *Hui* 灰 and *Chieh* 皆 rimes, established a new category in the Wei-Chin period which will be discussed next. 海 is the only residue untouched by this change. It rimes 9 times with *Chih* 之 rime words and 14 times with *Hai* 哈 rime words. We also registered it in both categories.

(3) 敏 This word belongs to Ancient *Chen* 軫 rime. But it rimes with the words in the *Chih* 之 category from the Archaic, through Han, to Wei-Chin periods. It has 每 as its phonetic and apparently has a non-nasal final. Lo and Chou (1958) pointed out that 敏 also has a reading with nasal ending in one dialect of the Han time as quoted in *Shih-ming* 釋名, which is also mentioned by Bodman.<sup>(4)</sup>

The *Chih* 之 category contains the Ancient Division III finals -i and -ji and has -jəg and -jiəgw in Archaic Chinese. We agree with Li Fang-kuei's assumption that the Archaic final -g was vocalized into -i at the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>(5)</sup> Therefore we posit -jəi for this category. We will discuss the change from -g to -i in the next chapter and bring up some proofs in support of Li's theory.

#### 4.2.2 *Hai* 哈 Category—-əi, -rəi

This category contains a part of the Ancient *Hai* 哈 and *Hui* 灰 rimes and a few words of the *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* of the *Chieh* 皆 rime. It is derived completely from the Archaic and Han *Chih* category. It contains the Ancient Division I finals -ăi, -uăi, and Division II finals -ăi, -wăi, in which the first two are reconstructed by Li as -əg and the second two as -rəg. The *ho-k'ou* element, -u(-w-) is accounted for by the labial and labio-velar initials in Li's theory, as pointed out in 2.7 above. In the Wei-Chin period, his theory is apparently also valid, since we cannot find any trace of distinguishing the Ancient *k'ai-k'ou* and *ho-k'ou* rimes in the actual usage of riming sequences. Therefore we posit the same -əi for both the words of the Ancient *Hai* 哈 and *Hui* 灰 rimes. The *ho-k'ou* problem will be brought up again in Chapter Five.

With regard to the few words belonging to Ancient *Chieh* 皆 rime, according to our Medial Principle, we have to attribute the special features of these words to a medial. We have accepted Li's hypothesis of the

Division II medial, -r-, in Archaic Chinese, which influenced the succeeding vowels causing them to centralize and become the various vowels of the Division II rimes in Ancient Chinese. It is adequate to posit his -r- also in the Wei-Chin rime categories. Then we have -rǎi for the words of the *Chieh* 皆 rime.

As far as the vowel and the ending are concerned, this category has the same final as the *Chih* 之 category. What, then, is the justification for dividing them, especially since there are 23 contacts between them? From the table above, we can see that there are 19 contacts between the *Chih* 之 and *Chih* 支 categories, and 32 contacts between the *Chih* 之 and *Chih* 脂 categories, but there is only one contact between the *Hai* 哈 category and the *Chih* 支 and *Chih* 脂 categories. This shows the difference between *Hai* 哈 and *Chih* 支. We realize that both the *Chih* 支 and *Chih* 脂 categories have the same medial -j- as the *Chih* 之 category. Presumably, this -j- influences the following vowel -ǎ- to a certain degree and separates -jǎi from -ǎi- or -rǎi.

#### 4.2.3 *Yu* 幽 Category—-ou, -jou, -jiou

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *hou* 侯, *Yu* 尤 and *Yu* 幽 rimes. The *Yu* 幽 rime words are derived completely from the Archaic and Han *Yu* 幽 category. The *Hou* 侯 rime words are evolved principally from the Archaic and Han *Hou* 侯 category and secondarily from the Archaic and Han *Chih* 之 category. The *Yu* 尤 rime words are also evolved from two sources. Most of them are from the Archaic and Han *Yu* 幽 category. The other part is from the Archaic *Chih* 之 category but it merges into this category in two stages. Words like 牛, 丘 and 舊 entered the *Yu* 幽 category in the Han period; the other words, like 謀, 尤 and 有, remained in the *Chih* 之 category and entered the *Yu* 幽 category only later, in the Wei-Chin period.

The *Yu* 幽 category contains the Ancient -ǎu, -jǎu and -jiǎu, and Archaic -ug, -ǎg, -jǎg, -jǎgw and -jiǎgw finals. The Ancient -u no doubt evolved from Archaic -g and -gw which underwent different developments under different conditions in the two Han periods. The conditions will be given in the next chapter. For the time being, we posit -ou, -jou and -jiou for the words under discussion. The vowel *o* is assigned as a intermediate stage from the Archaic *ə* to the Ancient *ə*. The reason that we

do not posit simply an *a* for the Wei-Chin period will also be given in next chapter (5.2).

The *Yu* 幽 category has six contacts with the *Chih* 之 category:

- (1) 何晏：思休時基瑞頌 WW39.11
- (2) 嵇康：旗謀大師箴 WW51.6
- (3) 卻正：尤思釋讖 CW70.7
- (4) 卻正：時滋期尤釋讖 CW70.9
- (5) 徐幹：起藪齊都賦 HHW93.5
- (6) 無名氏：已祉母止友紀理王太后哀策文 CW146.4

Among the six words of the *Yu* 幽 category, specified by a dot beneath them, four, i. e., 尤, 謀, 母 and 友, are originally derived from the *Chih* 之 category and are an explicable residue of evolution. The other two, 休 and 藪, occurring in the rime sequences of Wei literature, are also probably a sort of trace of earlier contact during the time when the finals of the *Chih* 之 and *Yu* 幽 were not very different.<sup>(6)</sup>

#### 4.2.4 *Hsiao* 宵 Category—*-jau*, *-jiau*, *-iau*

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Hsiao* 宵 and *Hsiao* 蕭 rimes. Except for a part of the *Hsiao* 蕭 rime which is derived from the Archaic and Han *Yu* 幽 category, the rest of the *Hsiao* 蕭 rime and the whole *Hsiao* 宵 rime are from the *Hsiao* 宵 category of the Archaic and Han periods.

The *Hsiao* 宵 category has the Ancient finals *-jäu*, *-jiäu*, *-ieu* and the reconstructed Archaic finals *-jagw*, *-jiagw*, *-iagw* and *-iægw*. As in the *Yu* 幽 category above, the Ancient *-u* is the trace of the Archaic final consonant. We, then, posit *-jau*, *-jiau* and *-iau* for this category.

There are 11 contacts between the *Hsiao* 宵 category and the *Yu* 幽 category. First of all, both of the categories have similar diphthongs as finals, the contacts are possible. But besides this explanation, we found some interesting features in these contacts. Let us list them as follows: (The *Hsiao* 宵 category words are indicated by the dot.)

- (1) 曹操：愁脩秋塘上行之一 WS124
- (2) 曹丕：飄瀏述征賦 WW4.2
- (3) 繁欽：愁條丘幽流憂愁思賦 HHW93.8
- (4) 嵇康：聊抽思親詩 WS211
- (5) 陸機：僚條稠秋答賈謐 CS338

- (6) 陸雲：韶朝霄休 贈汲郡太守 CS354  
 (7) 陸雲：姚天幽繆周 思文 CS355  
 (8) 陸雲：喬遙韶朝休 谷風 CS361  
 (9) 陸雲：修周條繆 夏府君誄 CW104.9  
 (10) 鄭豐：蕭翹收周秋 南山 CW368  
 (11) 陸機：照繆 演連珠之二十九 CW99.5

These rime sequences can be divided into two groups, i.e., from (1) to (4) being group one and from (5) to (11) being group two. Group one occurs in Wei literature, and group two in Chin literature. In group one, three of the four words of the *Hsiao* 宵 category, i.e., 脩, 條 and 聊, are originally from the *Yu* 幽 category in both the Archaic and Han periods. It is again clearly the residue of phonological change. Group two is from three authors, namely Lu Chi 陸機, Lu Yün 陸雲 and Cheng Feng 鄭豐. The first two were brothers and natives of the Wu 吳 area (吳郡, 華亭). The third one was originally from P'ei Kuo 沛國, but lived in the Wu area. All his poems are under the same title 贈陸士龍. 陸士龍 is another name of Lu Yün 陸雲. We may assume that Cheng Feng 鄭豐 also spoke the Wu 吳 dialect. Therefore, the seven contacts of group two probably show a dialectal feature of the Wu 吳 dialect.

#### 4.2.5 *Hao* 豪 Category—-au, -rau

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Hao* 豪 and *Hsiao* 肴 rimes which are almost evenly derived from the Archaic and Han *Yu* 幽 and *Hsiao* 宵 categories. In reality, this category has no clear-cut distinction from the *Hsiao* 宵 category that we set up above. With 76 contacts between these two categories and their similar contacts with the *Yu* 幽 category, we hardly find any distinction. The only justification of our classification is purely a statistical one. In separating these two categories, we have had 178 rime sequences as regular ones and 76 as inter-category contacts. We believe that this statistical difference does show a sort of discrimination. Of course, these two categories are well separated later in the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period.

The Ancient finals of the words in the *Hao* 豪 category are -âu and -au which were -ægʷ, -agʷ and -rægʷ, -ragʷ in Archaic Chinese. Following the reconstruction of the *Hsiao* 宵 category above, we posit -au and -rau for this category.

## 4.2.6 Yü 魚 Category—-o, -jo, -juo

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Mu* 模, *Yü* 魚 and *Yü* 虞 rimes. These words are all from the Han *Yü* 魚 category but from two Archaic sources. The Archaic sources are *Hou* 侯 and *Yü* 魚 categories which merged in the Han Dynasty.

The *Yü* 魚 category has the Ancient finals -uo, -jwo and -ju and the reconstructed Archaic forms -ag, -jag and -jug. Since the Ancient finals are not diphthongs, we believe that the Archaic -g changed in the process of the phonological evolution. We will illustrate the change in the next chapter. In the meantime, we shall seek some other hint to decide the vowel quality of this category.

So far, for the Box I rimes, we have reconstructed two kinds of diphthongs, i.e., *ou* for the *Yu* 幽 category and *au* for the *Hsiao* 宵 and *Hao* 豪 categories. The *Yü* category has 60 contacts with the *Yu* 幽 category which possesses -ou, -jou and -jiou as finals; but only one contact with the *Hao* 豪 category and none with the *Hsiao* 宵 category. If the *Yü* 魚 category also had a diphthong final, we would expect more contacts with the *Hao* 豪 and *Hsiao* 宵 categories. Since this is certainly not the case, then, what single vowel is the possible candidate for this category? The basic requirement is that this vowel must be close enough to -ou but far enough from -au. We, therefore, posit *o* as the main vowel and -o, -jo and -juo as the finals for the *Yü* 魚 category. This reconstruction is also partially supported by the development from Archaic -ag, -jag and -jug to Ancient -uo, -jwo and -ju which will be given later.

## 4.2.7 Ko 歌 Category—-a, -ra, -ja

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Ko* 歌, *Ko* 戈 and *Ma* 麻 rimes. Except for certain words, such as 家, 馬 and 舍, of the *Ma* 麻 rime which originated from the Archaic and Han *Yü* 魚 category, all the words resulted from the Han *Ko* 歌 category which is in general derived from the Archaic *Ko* 歌 category and in the case of a few words from the *Wei* 微 category. The *Ko* 歌 category has the Ancient finals -â, -uâ, -a, -wa and -ja and the corresponding Archaic finals -ar, -rar, -jar, -rag and -jiag. We have noticed how this Archaic -g changed after Archaic times in the case of the words in the *Yü* category. But the vowel *a*

has undergone different developments under various conditions which will be shown in the next chapter. It is presumed that the Archaic *a* was preserved in this category and mixed with the other *a* which resulted from the -ar, -rar, and -jar by dropping out the final -r. This hypothesis is sufficient to account for the Ancient finals when the *ho-k'ou* element has developed from the labial and labio-velar initials in a later stage.

The *Ko* 歌 category has 13 contacts with the *Yü* 魚 category. Let us list these rime sequences first:

- (1) 曹操：左楚 善哉行之二 WS118
- (2) 曹植：古祐下舞暑野土宇渚雨黍父 文帝誄 WW19.6
- (3) 韋昭：祖夏下 據武師 WS230
- (4) 胡綜：野下緒 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5
- (5) 胡綜：祖下土夏 黃龍大牙賦 WW67.5
- (6) 無名氏：戶下 宿阿曲 CS539
- (7) 陸雲：野旅 答兄平原 CS360
- (8) 陸雲：路步度夜暮露素 歲暮賦 CW100.1
- (9) 陸雲：夜暮故 張二侯頌 CW104.3
- (10) 陸雲：祚路顧露步那 陸公誄 CW104.6
- (11) 庾闡：佐步布祚 揚都賦 CW38.3
- (12) 無名氏：素蛾 子夜歌四十二 CS525
- (13) 無名氏：夜素 子夜秋歌之十六 CS529

There are three interesting phenomena reflected in these sequences:

(A) There are no *p'ing-sheng* contacts between this category and the *Yü* 魚 category. The first group, from (1) to (7), are *shang-sheng* contacts; and the second group, from (8) to (13), are *ch'ü-sheng* contacts. It seems that the *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* words were somewhat different from the *p'ing-sheng* words in this category. But, unfortunately, we cannot determine what the difference was, if it existed.

(B) Among the thirteen cases, eight occurrences involve only three words of this category, i.e., 下, 夏 and 夜 specified by the subscribed dot, which are derived from the previous *Yü* 魚 category. These contacts show again a sort of residue of phonological change.

(C) Except for (1), (2) and (11), the other ten occurrences, are by six authors. We found out that Wei Chao 韋昭 and Lu Yün 陸雲 were natives of the Wu 吳 area; Hu Tsung 胡綜 was from Ju Nan 汝南 but served as a

high official in the Wu 吳 court;<sup>(7)</sup> and the three anonymous authors were also from Wu 吳, because the titles of their poems were typical folk songs of the Wu 吳 area and classified under the section of Wu Songs 吳聲歌曲 in the anthology.<sup>(8)</sup> This study suggests that the contacts between the *Ko* 歌 category and the *Yü* 魚 category might be a dialectal feature.

Combining the explanations of the residue and the dialectal feature, we also found that they share the same seven sequences. Therefore, we may conclude that the Wu dialect preserved at that time a historical residue at least in this point.

A few special words mentioned above, such as 火, 叢 and 倭, are from the Archaic *Wei* 微 category and shifted to the Han *Ko* 歌 category. Among these words, only 火 occurs in the rime position. It has two readings in the Han period as Lo and Chou (1958) pointed out.<sup>(9)</sup> In the Wei-Chin period, 火 occurs 6 times riming only with the words of the *Ko* 歌 category. The *Ko* 歌 category has only one contact with the *Yu* 幽 category and none with the *Hao* 豪 and *Hsiao* 宵 categories which all possess diphthongized finals. In other words, the *Ko* 歌 category almost exclusively has contacts with the *Yü* 魚 category, because both have single vowel as finals. This phenomenon provides evidence for our reconstruction from another angle.

#### 4.2.8 *Chih* 支 Category—-riei, -jei, -jiei, -juei, -iei

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Chia* 佳 and *Chih* 支 rimes, a few words of the *Ch'i* 齊 rime, and one word of the *Chih* 脂 rime. It has three different sources: the first source is the Archaic and Han *Chih* 支 category; the second is a portion of the Archaic *Ko* 歌 category, such as the words 離, 危 and 義, which remain in the same category through the Western Han period but shift to the *Chih* 支 category at the Eastern Han period; and the third, involving a few words like 委 and 毀, is from the Archaic *Wei* 微 category, and changes to the *Ko* 歌 category in Western Han literature and later changes again to the *Chih* 支 category in the Eastern Han period.

One special word of the *Chih* 支 category is 地 which alone belongs to the *ch'ü-sheng* of the Ancient *Chih* 脂 rime. It is derived from our second source above. In the literature of the Wei-Chin period, it occurs 11 times, 10 times with the words of the *Chih* 支 category and only once

with the *Chih* 脂 category. Hence, we hold that 地 is still in the *Chih* 支 category. This word is ambiguous in Ancient Chinese, because the *Chih* 脂 rime is a Division III rime but this word has “徒四” as its *fan-ch'ieh* 反切 which reflects the d- initial occurring only in Division I or IV rimes. For this reason, we do not take its Ancient final into consideration.

The *Chih* 支 category has the Ancient finals -aĭ, -waĭ, -jě, -jwě, -iei and -iwei and their corresponding Archaic finals -rig, -jig, -ig, -jar, -jiar, -juar and -jər. From the Ancient finals, we believe that this category has presumably a diphthongized final with *i* as its second element which is derived from the Archaic -g and -r. The vowel *a* in -aĭ and -waĭ is possibly the result of the centralized development affected by the medial -r-. Therefore, we posit -riei, -jei, -jiei, -juei and -iei for this category. This is also supported by the intercategory contacts registered in Table I. There are 19 contacts between this category and the *Chih* 之 category. We have reconstructed a diphthong -jəi for the *Chih* 之 category above. There are also 39 and 15 contacts with the *Chih* 脂 and *Chieh* 皆 categories respectively which again have diphthongized finals as shown below.

#### 4.2.9 *Chih* 脂 Category—-jəi, -jiəi; -jəd, -jiəd

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 rimes. Except for a few words like 否, 鄙 and 軌, 龜, the former two originating from the Archaic and Han *Chih* 之 category, all of the words are derived from the Han *Chih* 脂 category which resulted from the merging of the Archaic *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories.

The words 否, 鄙 and 軌 have been discussed above in 4.2.1. There is another special word which needs explanation here. It is 龜. This word belongs to the Archaic *Chih* 之 category with two readings, i.e., kwjəg and kwjiəg. The former one is known as the transliteration of the name of a country, 龜茲. It has changed to the Han and Wei-Chin *Yu* 幽 category with the group of the Ancient *Yu* 尤 rime, and eventually developed to the *Yu* 尤 rime by the Ancient period. It is the latter one, meaning “turtle”, that concerns us. It rimes with the words of the *Yu* 幽 category in Han literature but changes to the *Chih* 脂 category in the Wei-Chin period. It seems to be an exception in Han literature but becomes regular again in the Wei-Chin period. Since Lo and Chou have pointed out that 龜 also rimes with *Chih* 之 category words in *Huai-Nan*



*Tzu* 淮南子 and *Shih Chi* 史記,<sup>(10)</sup> we believe that it had different dialectal readings in Han times and its riming behaviour is actually not exception.

The *Chih* 脂 category has the Ancient finals -ji, -jwi, -i, -wi, -jěi and -jwěi, and their Archaic sources -jid, -jiəd and -jəd. The Archaic -d has no doubt changed to the Ancient -i. Since this category has 32 contacts with the *Chih* 之 category which has -jəi as its final; and 39 contacts with the *Chih* 支 category which has -jei type finals; we posit -jəi, -jiəi for this category. These two final would be sufficient if the contacts of this category were limited to the *yin-sheng* rimes. But there are 10 contacts between the *Chih* 脂 category and the *ju-sheng* category *Chih* 質. *Chih* 質 has a final -t from Archaic to Ancient Chinese. The words of this category involved in the contacts with *Chih* 質 are exclusively *ch'ü-sheng* words. It shows a distinction between the *ch'ü-sheng* words and the *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* words. Conditioned by the tones, it seems that this category has developed irregularly. The connection with the *ju-sheng* *Chih* 質 category strongly suggests the reconstruction of a final -d for the *ch'ü-sheng* words only. Therefore, we posit the finals -jəd and -jiəd for *ch'ü-sheng* words and leave the finals -jəi and -jiəi reconstructed above for *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* words.

#### 4.2.10 Chieh 皆 Category — -əi, -rəi, -iəi

This category contains a part of the words of the Ancient *Hai* 哈, *Hui* 灰, *Chieh* 皆 and *Ch'i* 齊 rimes. In the same way as the *Chih* 脂 category, it is derived from the Han *Chih* 脂 category with two Archaic sources, i.e., *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微, -rid, -id and -əd, -rəd. Since this category has 67 contacts with the *Chih* 脂 category and since they shared a common origin as revealed by Archaic and Han sources, we are obliged to reconstruct similar finals. Because the words in these two categories belong to different Ancient divisions, namely, to *Chih* 脂 with Division III words and to *Chieh* 皆 with Division I, II and IV words, we can posit the finals -əi, -rəi, -iəi for this category without difficulty. The contrast between the Ancient Division III words and the words of the other divisions in the Wei-Chin period reveals that the medial -j- affected some of the finals in their riming. Parallel to the *Chieh* category, we find the same situation in the *Hai* 哈 category as stated above. Again, the identical justification used there is also valid here. The fact that *Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 之 has 32 contacts

but *Chieh* 皆 and *Chih* 之 has only 3 justifies the minute distinction between the finals with -j- and those without -j-.

The *Chieh* 皆 category does not have direct contacts with any of the *ju-sheng* rime categories in Table I, and has only one contact with the *Chih* 質 category below in Table III. Therefore it is not necessary to reconstruct -d finals for the *Chieh* 皆 category, in spite of its relation with the *Chih* 脂 category. This involves the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the other *yin-sheng* rime categories which have contacts with the -d type finals. This point will be brought up later (4.7).

#### 4.2.11 *Chi* 祭 Category — -riad, -jad, -iad

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Chi* 祭 and *Fei* 廢 rimes and a part of the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *Chieh* 皆 and *Ch'i* 齊 rimes. It is derived completely from the Archaic and Han *Chi* 祭 category which is reconstructed by Li Fang-kuei as having the finals -riad, -jad, -jiad, and -iad in Archaic Chinese and is stated by Lo and Chou as having positively kept the final -d at the Han period.<sup>(11)</sup> The ancient finals of the words in this category are -äi, -wäi, -jäi, -jwäi, jwei, -iei and -iwei. As in the case of the *Chih* 脂 category, the Archaic and Han -d has changed to -i in Ancient Chinese. Now, the problem is whether this category has still preserved the -d or changed it into -i. Because there are 54 contacts between this category and the *ju-sheng* category *Yueh* 月, which has a final -t, the choice between -d and -i is an easy decision. Hence we posit -riad, -jad and -iad for the *Chi* 祭 category.

#### 4.2.12 *T'ai* 泰 Category — -ad, -uad, -rad

This category contains all the words of the Ancient Chinese *T'ai* 泰 and *Kuai* 夬 rimes, two words from the *ch'ü-sheng* (*Kuai* 怪) of the *Chieh* 皆 rime and one word from the *Fei* 廢 rime. The latter two groups involving only three words need some explanation here.

The three words are 介 and 芥 from the *Kuai* 怪 rime and 义 from the *Fei* 廢 rime. All of them were registered also in the *Chi* 祭 category before. Because of their contacts with both of these two categories, we do not consider either of them as exceptions. In fact, the *T'ai* 泰 category has 29 contacts with the *Chi* 祭 category. They are almost combined into one category. The only difference is that the *Chi* 祭 category has exclusive

contacts with the *Yueh* 月 category; similarly, the *T'ai* 泰 category has exclusive contacts with the *Ho* 曷 category. In other words, each of these two *yin-sheng* categories has its own respective *ju-sheng* counterpart.

The *T'ai* 泰 category has the Ancient finals -âi, -wâi, -ai and -wai. We follow the reconstruction of the *Chi* 祭 category and posit -ad, -uad, -rad for it.

#### 4.3 The Yang-sheng Rime Categories

There are altogether thirteen *yang-sheng* rime categories. We shall also illustrate their mutual contacts first in the following table.

Table II

	蒸	登	冬	東	陽	耕	眞	眞	文	魂	元	寒	侵	談
蒸	62	4	1			3							1	
登	1	6				1								
冬	3		103	26	1	2								
東			29	166	6	1							1	
陽	1	3	3	7	711	16					1			
耕	3	1		1	7	774	1	1			1		1	
眞			1		1	3	136				11	1	6	
眞	1					2		358	54	1	17		6	
文								14	56	3	6			
魂								1	2	28	1			
元						3	11	23	10	4	428	75		1
寒								1	1		95	179		
侵	2	1	1					2	1		1		262	3
談											1		4	12

In our rime lists of Chapter Three, most rime categories contain the rime sequences from the literature of both the Wei and Chin periods, and only a few categories have been set up separately according to the two periods. The *Chen* 眞 category is one of those few. The words belonging to the *Chen* 眞 category in the Wei period have later branched out into the *Chen* 眞, *Wen* 文 and *Hun* 魂 categories in the Chin period. We have marked the contacts between these newly established categories and the

others by italicized figures.

#### 4.3.1 *Cheng* 蒸 Category — -jəŋg

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Cheng* 蒸 rime. It is derived from the Archaic and Han *Cheng* 蒸 category. Its Ancient Chinese final is -jəŋg and the Archaic form is also -jəŋg. We posit -jəŋg for this period too.

#### 4.3.2 *Teng* 登 Category — -əŋg

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Teng* 登 rime. It is derived from the Archaic and Han *Cheng* 蒸 category. There are only 6 regular rime sequences in this category but 5 contacts with the *Cheng* 蒸 category. It seems that the words of these two categories can rime freely. But statistically speaking, the *Cheng* 蒸 category has 62 rime sequences using only its own rime words; and it has 4 contacts with the *Tung* 冬 category as against the fact that the *Teng* 登 category has none. We, consequently, set up this *Teng* 登 category and reconstructed it as -əŋg which is the same as its corresponding Archaic and Ancient finals. Such a reconstruction is based on the principles that we established before (4.1).

#### 4.3.3 *Tung* 冬 Category — -oŋg, -roŋg, -joŋg

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Tung* 冬 rime, the Division III words of *Tung* 東 rime and two words of the *Chiang* 江 rime. It is mainly derived from the Archaic and Han *Chung* 中 category<sup>(12)</sup> and in part from the *Cheng* 蒸 and *Ch'in* 侵 categories.

Concerning the Archaic sources, there are several remarks that should be made here:

(1) As early in 1932, Li Fang-kuei pointed out that the Ancient *Tung* 冬 rime and a part of *Tung* 東 rime, i.e., the Division III words, are derived from one Archaic source as against the other group, Ancient *Chiang* 江, *Chung* 鍾 and Division I words of *Tung* 東, which are derived from another source.<sup>(13)</sup> In other words, Li brought support to K'ung Kuang-sen's classification, the establishment of Archaic *Tung* 東 and *Chung* 中 categories, and from that Li developed his own theory of Archaic reconstruction. After forty years, although he modified his reconstruction, the basic division of the two categories is unchanged. Lo and Chou (1958) accepted K'ung

Kuang-sen's theory but overlooked Li's emendation. Here, from the new evidence of the Wei-Chin period, we are able to prove the validity of Li's theory and make minor modification in the study on Han rimes by Lo and Chou.

There are three words involved in this problem, namely, 豐, 充 and 嵩, which are Division III words of the *Tung* 東 rime in Ancient Chinese. According to Li's theory, these words belong to the Archaic *Chung* 中 category. But Lo and Chou still put them in the Archaic *Tung* 東 category apparently following the classification of K'ung Kuang-sen and Chiang Yu-kao, but neglected Li's modification.<sup>(14)</sup> Therefore, Lo and Chou wrongly classified these words into their *Tung* 東 category in the Han period.

In the literature of the Wei-Chin period, these words have the following occurrences:

(A) Riming with the words of *Tung* 冬 category

- (a) 薛瑩：宮隆崇豐忠終 獻詩 CS287
- (b) 摯虞：戎豐終風 雍州詩 CS317
- (c) 束皙：風中豐 補亡詩華黍 CS318
- (d) 束皙：躬豐 玄居釋 CW87.8
- (e) 潘尼：豐隆戎風終冲 後園頌 CW94.8
- (f) 陸機：隆宮中豐 百年歌之六 CS335
- (g) 陸機：豐融 思親賦 CW96.3
- (h) 曹植：風中窮戎充 雜詩之二 WS162
- (i) 左思：中充 蜀都賦 CW74.2
- (j) 王廙：忠躬崇充 保傅箴 CW20.12
- (k) 荀勗：融終隆嵩躬 踐元辰 CS251
- (l) 曹植：風隆嵩豐 告咎文 WW19.11
- (m) 陶潛：窮中豐風終冲隆嵩 五月旦作和戴主簿 CS463
- (n) 左思：充豐風弓 吳都賦 CW74.10
- (o) 孫綽：嵩風充崇冲 庾冰碑 CW62.8
- (p) 江逋：充豐井賦 CW107.2

(B) Riming with the words of the *Tung* 東 category

- (q) 陸機：充龍 演連珠之三十八 CW99.6
- (r) 陸雲：容豐龍蹤 寒蟬賦 CW100.9

(C) Riming with the words of both the *Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東 categories

- (s) 陸機：凶窮豐 演連珠之二 CW99.3
- (t) 陸雲：雍風容豐崇 大將軍宴會 CS352
- (u) 陸雲：恭充豐風 贈張仲膺 CS356
- (v) 陸雲：豐宮凶 逸民箴 CW104.4
- (w) 左思：隆蒙充通叢璫 吳都賦 CW74.6
- (x) 習鑿齒：風豐雍 諸葛武侯宅銘 CW134.11

In view of these occurrences, statistically speaking, we may safely consider 豐, 充 and 嵩 to be words of the *Tung* 冬 category in this period. Besides that, in the sequences of (B) and (C), we have noticed that six out of eight are written by Lu Chi 陸機 and Lu Yün 陸雲. We will see below (6.1) that the mixture of rime words of the *Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東 categories is a special feature of the Wu 吳 dialect which was the native tongue of the Lus. This evidence supports our claim.

Now, the problem is that our late evidence may not reflect the situation of Archaic Chinese as well as the Han riming system. Let us, then, list the occurrences of these words in Han literature:

- (A) Riming with the words of the *Tung* 冬 category
  - (a) 李尤：隆中豐 辟雍賦 HHW50.2
  - (b) 張衡：中宮融豐崇 東京賦 HHW53.2
  - (c) 崔瑗：豐融 張平子碑 HHW45.6
- (B) Riming with the words of the *Tung* 東 category
  - (d) 闕名：功通邦蒙豐頌 劉熊碑 HHW106.3
  - (e) 蔡邕：公聰嵩龍從通攻功恭庸雍同邦 雷玄碑陰 HHW77.3
  - (f) 馬融：充攻功重空 廣成頌 HHW18.12
- (C) Riming with both the *Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東 categories
  - (g) 闕名：躬通隆充中
- (D) Riming with the words of the *Tung* 冬 and *Ch'in* 侵 categories
  - (h) 趙壹：風充中終 迅風賦 HHW82.8

Lo and Chou have considered the rime sequences of group (B) as regular ones and those of group (A) as exceptions. We cannot agree with such a treatment. The word 豐 occurs altogether four times. It rimes three times with the words of the *Tung* 冬 category. We have no right to neglect these three and consider the other single occurrence as regular. 充 occurs three times as shown in (f), (g) and (h). Special attention must be paid to the last example. There, 充 and 中, 終, of the *Tung* 冬

category, rime with 風. In the Han period, 風 is still in the *Ch'in* 侵 category which has the final -m. The contact between *Tung* 冬 and *Ch'in* 侵 is accepted by most scholars, including Lo and Chou, as a common phenomenon. Since *Ch'in* 侵 words never rime with words of the *Tung* 東 category, we are inclined to believe that 充 should be recognized as a word of the *Tung* 冬 category and that (f), (g) and (h) are all intercategory contacts.

嵩 occurs only once. It is difficult to draw any conclusions on the ground of a single occurrence.

Generally speaking, on the basis of the evidence of the Wei-Chin period and a kind of partial support from the Han riming system, we believe that Li's theory of the classification is correct.

(2) There are four words from the Archaic *Cheng* 蒸 category, i.e., 雄, 弓, 穹 and 夢. Among them 雄 has changed to the *Tung* 冬 category at the end of Western Han; the other three have probably changed later to the *Tung* 冬 category in Eastern Han. Because 弓 and 夢 do not occur in the literature of Eastern Han, and 穹 occurs only once, Lo and Chou cannot make any certain statement.<sup>(15)</sup> In the Wei-Chin period, these words can be clearly seen to belong to the *Tung* 冬 category, because of their frequent occurrences in riming position.

(3) The word 風 is included in the *Ch'in* 侵 category from Archaic Chinese until the end of Eastern Han. But, it changes completely to the *Tung* 冬 category, for in more than eighty occurrences, it rimes with the words of the *Ch'in* 侵 category only once which is found in Pien Lan's 卞蘭 work. (卞蘭：音今尋風 贊述太子賦 WW30.12) Pien's native place is Lang-ya 瑯琊.

(4) The two words of the Ancient *Chiang* 江 rime are the *p'ing-sheng* 降 and the *ch'ü-sheng* 降. Each has only one occurrence.

The *Tung* 冬 category has the Ancient finals -uong, -ang and -jung which are reflexes of the Archaic finals -əngw, -rəngw and -jəngw in general and -jəng and -jəm in some cases. We follow Li Fangkuei's assumption that ə changes to o through the influence of the labiovelar final.<sup>(16)</sup> Therefore, we posit -ong, -rong and -jong for this category. The special cases will be dealt with in the next chapter when we demonstrate the phonological development.

4.3.4 *Tung* 東 Category — -ung, -rung, -jung

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Chung* 鍾 rime, the Division I words of the *Tung* 東 rime and all the words of the *Chiang* 江 rime except for 降. It inherits all the words from the Archaic and Han *Tung* 東 category without any change.

The corresponding Archaic and Ancient finals of this category are -ung, -rung, -jung and -ung, -ång, -jwong respectively. Since there are 55 contacts between this category and the *Tung* 冬 category, we reconstruct -ung, -rung and -jung three finals which will account for those contacts as well as the development.

4.3.5 *Yang* 陽 Category — -ang, -jang

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *T'ang* 唐 and *Yang* 陽 rimes which have the finals -âng, -wâng, -jang and -jwang. It is derived from the Archaic and Han *Yang* 陽 category. The finals of its Archaic sources are -ang and -jang. We also posit the same finals for this category in the Wei-Chin period.

4.3.6 *Keng* 耕 Category — -reng, -rieng, -jieng, -ieng

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Keng* 耕, *Keng* 庚, *Ch'ing* 清 and *Ch'ing* 青 rimes. A few words of the *Keng* 耕 rime, like 宏, 橙 and 肱, are from the Archaic and Han *Cheng* 蒸 category. The majority of the *Keng* 庚 rime is from the Archaic and Western Han *Yang* 陽 category and moved into the *Keng* 耕 category in the Eastern Han period. The other words, including the whole *Ch'ing* 清 and *Ch'ing* 青 rimes, a great part of the *Keng* 耕 rime and a few words of the *Keng* 庚 rime, are from the Archaic and Han *Keng* 耕 category.

The *Keng* 耕 category has 23 contacts with the *Yang* 陽 category. There are three kinds of relationships:

(1) Among the 23 contacts, the following 11 words of the *Keng* 庚 rime are involved in 17 cases: the *p'ing-sheng* words 英, 京, 明, 衡 and the *shang-sheng* words 景, 竟, 鏡, 映, 泳, 競, 病. These words are originally of the *Yang* 陽 category in the Archaic and Western Han periods. The fact that they have rime contacts with it is probably a phenomenon of the period of transition.



(2) In the other 6 cases, three sequences are found in the works of Fu Hsüan 傅玄 and his son Fu Hsien 傅咸. They were from Pei Ti 北地 which was in the Ch'in 秦 area. The contacts here may reflect a dialectal difference.

(3) The authors of the remaining three cases are Liu Chen 劉楨 of Tung P'ing 東平, Ho Shao 何劭 of Ch'en Kuo 陳國, and Lu Ch'en 盧諶 of Fan Yang 范陽. We may consider their native places as the area of the Northern dialects in the Wei-Chin period. But an author may have his own way of using rime words, either strict or lax. We simply cannot make any further deductions.

The *Keng* 耕 category has the Ancient final -eng, -weng, -eng, -weng, -jeng, -jweng, -jäng, -jwäng, -ieng, -iweng. There is no Division I rime in this category. The Division II rimes, *Keng* 耕 (-eng, -weng) and *Keng* 庚 (-eng, -weng), are from different sources but both have the medial -r- which must have affected the succeeding vowels. Judging from the other rimes of Divisions III and IV, this category has a kind of high front vowel. Li Fang-kuei reconstructed the vowel *i* for his Archaic *Keng* 耕 category on the basis of this observation. Since there are 8 contacts between this category and the *Cheng* 蒸 and *Teng* 登 categories, which have the main vowel *a*, we posit *e* for this category. Therefore, the finals are -reng, -rieng, -jieng and -ieng.

#### 4.3.7 Chen 眞 Category — -ən, -rjien, -jən, -jiən (Wei); -rjien, -jiən (Chin)

The composition of this category in the Wei period differs from that of Chin times. In the Wei period, it contains the Ancient rimes *Chen* 臻, *Chen* 眞 and *Chun* 諄; *Wen* 文 and *Hsin* 欣; *Hun* 魂 and *Hen* 痕. Each of the latter two groups has become an independent rime category in the Chin period. The remaining group, *Chen* 臻, *Chen* 眞 and *Chun* 諄, is the only member left in this category.

The words of these rimes rime freely in the Wei literature, but tend to form special groups of words riming separately in the Chin time. We can clearly see such a tendency from the riming sequences in the *Wen* 文 and *Hun* 魂 categories.

The Archaic sources of this category are the *Chen* 眞 and *Wen* 文 categories which have merged into one category, *Chen* 眞, in the Han

period. As reconstructed by Li Fang-Kuei, the Archiac *Wen* 文 category has -ən, -rən, -jən, -jiən and -iən as finals; and the *Chen* 眞 category has -rjin, -jin and -in as finals. Li also suggested vowel breaking for the latter category in the Han period because of the merging of these two categories.<sup>(17)</sup> The ancient finals of the words of this category are -ən, -uən, -jən, -juən, -jĕn, -juĕn, -jiĕn, and -jiuĕn. We posit -ən, -rjiən, -jən and -jiən for the Wei period, and believe that some of the finals changed later, e.g., -jiən to -jien, due to the influence of medials. In the Chin period, only the finals -rjiən and -jiən were left.

#### 4.3.8 *Wen* 文 Category — -jən (Chin)

This category is established for the Chin literature only. It contains the Ancient *Wen* 文 and *Hsin* 欣 rimes. As stated above, the words of this category usually rime together in the Chin period. But there are still 69 contacts between this category and the Chin *Chen* 眞 category, hence, we posit the final -jən for this category, which is identical to the finals of *Chen* 眞 except for the medials.

#### 4.3.9 *Hun* 魂 Category — -ən (Chin)

This category is also established for the Chin literature only. It contains the Ancient *Hen* 痕 and *Hun* 魂 rimes. Since it has 7 contacts with the *Chen* 眞 and *Wen* 文 categories, we posit the final -ən for it.

#### 4.3.10 *Yüan* 元 category — -rian, -jan, -jian, -ian

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Shan* 山, *Yüan* 元, *Hsien* 仙 and *Hsien* 先 rimes and one word of the *Hun* 魂 rime. Except for certain words of the *Shan* 山 and *Hsien* 先 rimes from the Archaic *Chen* 眞 and *Wen* 文 categories, such as 𠂔, 天 and 玄 from the former one and 盼, 先 and 典 from the latter one, all the words are derived from the Archaic and Han *Yüan* 元 category.

The only word of the Ancient *Hun* 魂 rime is 存, which occurs in 22 sequences in the following situation:

	<i>Yüan</i> 元	<i>Chen</i> 眞..... <i>Hun</i> 魂
Wei	8	2
Chin	1	11

On the one hand, due to the similar frequent occurrences, we have registered 存 under all the three categories; on the other hand, we consider *Chen-Hun* 眞魂 as one group because the *Hun* 魂 category has been set up only in the Chin period. In fact, since this word shows the clear tendency of transition, we may also divide the *Yüan* 元 category into two diachronic periods and consider the only occurrence of 存 in the Chin period as an inter-category contact. But since no other words in the *Yüan* 元 category rime differently as the word 存 does, it is better to leave that category undivided.

The *Yüan* category has the Ancient finals -än, -wän, -jen, -jwen, -jän, -jwän, -jiän, -jiwän, -ien and iwen. Their Archaic reconstructed forms are generally the -an type and a few words with -in or -ien finals. We posit -rian, -jan, -jian and -ian for this category and believe that the Archaic -in and -ien have undergone some change and become -ian type in the Wei-Chin period.

The contacts between this category on the one hand and the *Chen* 眞—*Wen* 文—*Hun* 魂 group on the other are very frequent. Including the cases involved with more than two categories, such as *Yüan* 元 words riming with *Chen* 眞 and *Wen* 文 words in one sequence, there are altogether 125 contacts. Among these contacts, 41 cases are found in the works of the brothers Lu Chi 陸機 and Lu Yün 陸雲 from the Wu 吳 area; another 17 cases are found in the works of authors also from the same area, such as Wei Chao 韋昭, Yang Fang 楊方, Hsia Ching 夏靖 and Lu Ch'ung 陸冲 etc. And the other 67 cases are scattered among the works of 34 authors whose native dialect may be generally referred to as the Northern Dialect. (See 6.1.3.)

#### 4.3.11 Han 寒 Category — -an, -uan, -ran

This category contains the Ancient *Han* 寒, *Huan* 桓 and *Shan* 刪 rimes with the finals -ân, -uân, -an and -wan. All the words are derived from the Archaic *Yüan* 元 category which also has -an type finals. According to our Vowel and Ending Principles, we posit -an, -uan, and -ran for this category. -uan is reconstructed for those words which have initials other than labials and labio-velars and have a medial -w- in Ancient Chinese.

This category has 170 contacts with the *Yüan* 元 category. Theoretically, we should combine these two categories together, but, practically,

the *Yüan* 元 category has various contacts with the *Chen* 眞—*Wen* 文—*Hun* 魂 group as shown above, and even contacts with the *Keng* 耕 category, and on the contrary, this category has only two contacts with the other categories. It is apparent that a distinction exists between these two categories, which is probably the *i* before the main vowel, i.e., *a* versus *ia*. Another justification for dividing these two categories is a statistical one. The *Yüan* 元 and this category have respectively 428 and 179 regular internal sequences.

#### 4.3.12 *Ch'in* 侵 Category — -əm, -jəm

This category contains the Ancient *T'an* 覃 and *Ch'in* 侵 rimes with the finals -əm and -jəm. It is derived from the Archaic and Han *Ch'in* 侵 category. The Archaic finals are reconstructed as -əm and -jəm. We also posit -əm and -jəm for this period.

One special word, 潛, of the Ancient *Yen* 鹽 rime occurs also in this category. This word rimes with *Ch'in* 侵 category words constantly from Archaic Chinese to this period, but all the other words of the Ancient *Yen* 鹽 rime are derived from the *T'an* 談 category. 潛 occurs in altogether 7 cases which are found under three authors, namely, Lu Chi 陸機, Lu Yün 陸雲 and Cheng Feng 鄭豐. This is again a feature of the Wu 吳 dialect, although we consider the word 潛 as a regular rime word.

There are 14 contacts between the *Ch'in* 侵 category and the *Chen* 眞 category which has -ən type finals. These contacts are distributed in the following way:

Author	Native place	Occurrence
皇甫謐	安定	4
傅咸	北地	2
辛曠	安定	1
楊戲	犍爲	2
卻正	河南	1
薛綜	沛地	1
阮瑀	陳留	1
阮籍	陳留	1
左九嬪	齊	1

The first three authors are from the *Ch'in-Lung* 秦隴 area. With 7 contacts,

we are able to say that the -əm and -ən are very likely indistinguishable in their native tongue. In supporting our theory here, another riming sequence is found in the work of Fu Ku 傅覬.

*Chen* 眞, *Ch'in* 侵 and *Yüan* 元

傅覬：音信人神辰欣臻原 皇初頌 WW35.5

Fu Ku is also from the Ch'in 秦 area, Pei Ti 北地.

Yang Hsi 楊戲 was a native of the Shu 蜀 area, Chien Wei 犍爲; Hsi Cheng 郤正 was from Ho Nan 河南, but his family had moved to Yi Chou 益州 in his grandfather's time. We also recognize him as a native of Shu 蜀. Hsüeh Tsung 薛綜 was from P'ei Ti 沛地, but had moved to Chiao Chou 交州. Juan Yü 阮瑀 and his son Juan Chi 阮籍 were from Ch'en Liu 陳留. And Tso Chiu Pin 左丘賓 was from Ch'i 齊.

The examples are too few and not sufficient to establish any theory. We may say that -əm and -ən have the tendency to emerge in the Shu 蜀 and Ch'en 陳 areas.

#### 4.3.13 T'an 談 Category — -am, -riam, -jam, -iam

This category contains the Ancient *T'an* 談, *Hsien* 咸, *Yen* 鹽, *T'ien* 添 and *Fan* 凡 rimes with the finals -âm, -ãm, -jãm, -iem and -jwem. All the words are derived from the Archaic and Han *T'an* 談 category. The Archaic finals are -am, -ram, -jam and -iam. Therefore, we also posit the same finals for this period because the riming system remains the same.

#### 4.4 The Ju-sheng Rime Categories

There are altogether twelve *ju-sheng* categories. Their mutual contacts are illustrated in the following table.

As in the case of the *Chen* 眞 category above, the *Chih* 質 category in Wei times differs in content from the Chin period. A new category, *Mo* 沒, has branched out from the Wei *Chih* 質 category which retains the remaining words. We have marked the contacts involved with these Chin categories by the italicized figures in the table.

We realize that the *yang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* rimes of Ancient Chinese have corresponding relationships. We are able to assume that a parallel evolution exists in earlier stages between categories when the riming system does not rule against such an interpretation. In Table II, the con-

tacts between the *yang-sheng* categories are similar to those between their *ju-sheng* counterparts in Table III. Therefore, in the following discussion, we usually reconstruct the finals for the *ju-sheng* categories by comparing them to their *yang-sheng* counterparts.

Table III

	職	德	沃	屋	藥	錫	質	質	沒	月	曷	緝	葉	祭	泰	脂	皆
職	99	21	3		1					1		1					
德	12	54	2							1		1					
沃	5	1	54	9	3									1			
屋		1	15	136	6												
藥			5	4	147	16	1				1						
錫					16	40				1							
質							21			2				1		4	1
質					1			83		4						8	
沒								2	6								
月	1						2	7	1	109	7		1	32			
曷										2	10				3		
緝												59					
葉								1				1	15				

#### 4.4.1 *Chih* 職 Category — -jək, -jiək

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Chih* 職 rime and one word, 服, of the *Wu* 屋 rime. It is derived from the Han *Chih* 職 category which is equivalent to the *ju-sheng* of the Archaic *Chih* 之 category.

In Han times, the *Chih* 職 category inherited from Archaic Chinese a group of Ancient *Wu* 屋 words, such as 福, 伏, 牧, 郁 and 服. These words entered the *Wo* 沃 category in the Wei-Chin period. Among them, 服 is the only word which still rimes frequently with the words of the *Chih* 職 category. It has 13 contacts with words of the *Wo* 沃 category and 7 contacts with the *Chih* 職 category. Hence, we retain it in both categories. Concerning its 7 occurrences in the *Chih* 職 category, 5 of them appear in Wei literature. The transition stage is fairly clear.

The *Chih* 職 category has the Ancient finals -jək, -jwək and -juk and the corresponding Archaic finals -jək and -jiək. We posit here -jək and -jiək for the words of the Ancient *Chih* 職 rime, and also -jək for the word 服.

#### 4.4.2 Teh 德 Category — -ək, -rək

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Teh* 德 rime and a few words like 麥 and 革 of the *Mai* 麥 rime. It is also derived from the Archaic *Chih* 之 and Han *Chih* 職 categories. In addition to the similar Archaic and Ancient finals, it has 33 contacts with the *Chih* 職 category above. We, therefore, posit -ək and -rək for this category in the Wei-Chin period.

#### 4.4.3 Wo 沃 Category — -ok, -rok, -jok, -iok

This category contains the words of the Ancient *Wo* 沃 rime, the Division III words of the *Wu* 屋 rime and certain words of the *Chüeh* 覺 and *Hsi* 錫 rimes. With the exception of the above mentioned group from the Han *Chih* 職 category, it is derived completely from the Han *Wo* 沃 category which is identical with the *ju-sheng* component of the Archaic *Yu* 幽 category.

Parallel to the *Yu* 幽 and *Tung* 冬 categories discussed above, we posit -ok, -rok, -jok and -iok for this category. These finals evolved from the Archaic -əkʷ, -rəkʷ, -jəkʷ and -iəkʷ and changed into the Ancient -uok, -āk, -juk and -iek.

#### 4.4.4 We 屋 Category — -uk, -ruk, -juk

This category contains the Ancient *Chu* 燭 rime, the Division I words of the *Wu* 屋 rime and a part of the *Chüeh* 覺 rime. It retains all the words of the *ju-sheng* of the Archaic *Hou* 侯 category through Han times.

There are 24 contacts between the *Wu* 屋 category and the *Wo* 沃 category. Parallel to the relationship between the *Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東 categories, we posit -uk, -ruk and -juk here.

#### 4.4.5 Yao 藥 Category — -ak, -rak, -jak, -jiak, -iak

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *To* 鐸, *Yao* 藥 and *Mo* 陌 rimes, and a part of the *Chüeh* 覺, *Hsi* 昔, *Mai* 麥 and *Hsi* 錫 rimes.

It is a combination of the Han *To* 鐸 and *Yao* 藥 categories which are the *ju-sheng* parts of the Archaic *Hsiao* 宵 and *Yü* 魚 categories.

The *Yao* 藥 category has various Ancient finals, i. e., -âk, -wâk, -ek, -wek, -jek, -âk, -jak, -jwak, -jâk and -iek, which altogether reveal only one type, namely, -ak. Li Fang-kuei reconstructed -kw ending for the *Hsiao* 宵 category and -k for *Yü* 魚 with the identical vowel *a*. Because of the lack of discrimination of the words from these sources in the Wei-Chin period, we assume that the change from -kw to -k occurs around the end of the Eastern Han dynasty. Since there is no *yang-sheng* counterpart of the *Hsiao* 宵 category in Archaic Chinese, no parallel phenomenon can be compared. The Archaic -agw underwent a different development as shown in 4.2.4 above.

We posit -ak, -rak, -jak, -jiak and -iak for this category.

#### 4.4.6 *Hsi* 錫 Category — -riek, -jiek, -iek

This category contains the major parts of the Ancient *Mai* 麥, *Hsi* 昔 and *Hsi* 錫 rimes. It is derived from the Han *Hsi* 錫 category which is identical to the *ju-sheng* part of the Archaic *Chih* 支 category.

On the analogy of its corresponding *Keng* 耕 category, we posit -riek, -jiek and -iek for the *Hsi* 錫 category. It has 32 contacts with the *Yao* 藥 category. The *Yao* 藥 words involved in these contacts are mainly of the Ancient *Mo* 陌 and *Hsi* 昔 rimes. In other words, rime words with -rak and -jiak are phonetically close to -rek, -jiek and -iek, and actually rime together as one category in the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period. This is probably because the vowel *a* has changed towards *e* under such conditions.

#### 4.4.7 *Chih* 質 Category — -æt, -jæt, -jiæt (Wei); -jæt, -jiæt (Chin)

This category contains the Ancient *Mo* 沒, *Wu* 物, *Chih* 櫛, *Chih* 質 and *Shu* 術 rimes in Wei times. The words of the *Mo* 沒 rime branched out in the Chin period and established a separate category. The Han source of this category is the *Chih* 質 category which is a mixture of the *ju-sheng* parts of the Archaic *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories.

On the analogy of the corresponding *yang-sheng* category *Chen* 眞, we posit -æt, -jæt and -jiæt here. Afterwards, when the words having -æt form a new category, only words with -jæt and -jiæt are left in the *Chih* 質 category.



Of interest are the 12 contacts between this category and the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *Chih* 脂 category. This is the only contacts between *Chih* 脂 and any *ju-sheng* category. We have reconstructed a final -d for those *ch'ü-sheng* words before. The evidence here is a valid support for our reconstruction.

#### 4.4.8 Mo 沒 Category — -ət (Chin)

This category contains the words of the Ancient *Mo* 沒 rime. It arises only in the Chin period. On the basis of the reconstruction of the *Chih* 質 category above we posit -ət here.

#### 4.4.9 Yüeh 月 Category — -riat, -jat, -jiat, -iat

This category contains all the words of the Ancient *Hsia* 黠, *Yüeh* 月, *Hsüeh* 薛 and *Hsieh* 屑 rimes. It is derived mainly from the Archaic *Chi* 祭 category, (which became the Han *Yüeh* 月 category,) and partly from the Archaic *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories which merged into the Han *Chih* 質 category.

On the basis of our reconstruction for the corresponding *Yüan* 元 category we posit -riat, -jat, -jiat, -iat as finals for this category.

There are 54 contacts between this category and the *Chi* 祭 category. This is again a support of our reconstruction of the *Chi* 祭 category as having -rad, -jad and -iad finals.

#### 4.4.10 Ho 曷 Category — -at, -uat, -rat

This category contains the Ancient *Ho* 曷, *Mo* 末 and *Hsia* 鎋 rimes. Its Archaic source is solely the *ju-sheng* part of the Archaic *Chi* 祭 category which has the name *Yüeh* 月 in Han times.

Similar to the *yang-sheng* counterpart *Han* 寒 category, we posit -at, -uat and -rat here. The *Ho* 曷 category has 3 contacts with the *T'ai* 泰 category which is reconstructed as having -ad and -rad finals. We believe our system sufficiently accounts for those relationships.

#### 4.4.11 Chi 緝 Category — -əp, -jəp

This category contains the words of the Ancient *Ho* 盍 and *Chi* 緝 rimes. It retains the same content from Archaic Chinese through Han

times. Parallel to the *Ch'in* 侵 category, we posit -əp and -jəp for this category.

#### 4.4.12 Yeh 葉 Category — -ap, -rap, -jap, -iap

This category contains the words of the Ancient *Ho* 盍, *Hsia* 狎, *Yeh* 葉, *Yeh* 業, *Fa* 乏 and *T'ieh* 帖 rimes. It is derived from the Archaic and Han *Yeh* 葉 category. On the analogy of the *T'an* 談 category we posit -ap, -rap, -jap and -iap for this category.

### 4.5 The Tonal System

We have discussed the Archaic tonal system above (2.8). The conclusion is that, generally speaking, there are four tones in Archaic Chinese, which are probably derived from various final consonants in an early stage. But the precise date of this change is rather obscure. In Han times, there is also a four-tone system corresponding for the most part to that of Ancient Chinese, with only a few words not agreeing in tonal category with their Ancient readings.<sup>(18)</sup>

In the Wei-Chin period, except for the *ju-sheng* groups, all categories strictly keep the rime words in different tonal groups. The situation may be illustrated as follows:

	之	哈	幽	宵	豪	魚	歌	支	脂	皆	祭	泰	
<i>p'ing</i>	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			
<i>shang</i>	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			
<i>ch'ü</i>	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
	蒸	登	冬	東	陽	耕	眞	文	魂	元	寒	侵	談
<i>p'ing</i>	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
<i>shang</i>				×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
<i>ch'ü</i>			×	×	×	×	×	×	?	×	×	?	×

Among the *yin-sheng* categories, only the *Chi* 祭 and *T'ai* 泰 categories do not have *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* words. These two are traditionally strict *ch'ü-sheng* rime categories from Archaic to Ancient Chinese. As for the *yang-sheng* rime categories, *Cheng* 蒸 and *Teng* 登 contain no *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* words and the *Tung* 冬 category has no *shang-sheng* words. These phenomena simply reflect the fact that *shang-sheng* and *ch'ü-sheng* words of these categories are rarely used as rime words, because

only a few such words existed. The *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *Hun* 魂 and *Ch'in* 侵 categories occur only in intercategory contacts. We have marked those by a "?" as against the "x" which signifies the regular occurrences of rime sequences.

The contacts between the words of different tones can be summed up in the following chart:

	<i>p'ing</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>ch'ü</i>	<i>ju</i>
<i>p'ing</i>		15	16	
<i>shang</i>			30	
<i>ch'ü</i>				86

The contacts between the *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* occur solely in certain categories, as we have seen, which indicate the phonetic relationship between -d and -t.

Of contacts among *p'ing*, *shang* and *ch'ü*, there are altogether 61 cases. This is rather a small amount when compared to almost 7,000 tonally congruent rime sequences. We realize that there were no official rime books before T'ang times. And, of course, there were no standard patterns of writing poems or compositions in the Wei-Chin period. Such being the case, the 61 contacts of different tonal words are not particularly surprising.

#### 4.6 The Wei-Chin Initials

Since our data do not provide information on the Wei-Chin initials, we are unable to reconstruct the initials at this time. It would require an independent study to collect different materials and develop the initial system. However, there is one interesting children's song.

無名氏：呼汝恪，何若若，蘆葦單衣篋鉤絡，於何相求常子閣 孫亮初童謠 WS 234

(Anonymous: Oh you K'o, how can you be so complacent? The rushes will be your garments and the bamboo splint will form your sash. Where should one look for you? (On) Ch'ang-tzu-ko.)

Here, Ch'ang-tzu-ko refers to a special place. Chin Shu 晉書 explains that 常子閣 is reversely saying a rocky hill. 常子閣者反語石子岡也。We found that the phrase 反語 denotes a kind of phonetic relationship between 常子閣 and 石子岡. The middle element 子 does not change. Let us use Li Fang-kuei's Archaic system to explain this relation.

常 dj-ang	閣 kl-ak
石 dji-ak	堦 k-ang

In order to obtain the phrase 石子堦 from 常子閣, we must separate the initials and finals of the words 常 and 閣, and exchange the finals to make two syllables, i. e., *djak* and *klang*. In doing so, it seems that the medials are phonetically more closely attached to the initial rather than the final, and that the -j- and -ji- are either identical or very close. We have continued to reconstruct -jang and -jiak as the finals for 常 and 石 respectively in the Wei-Chin period. The interesting point is that the -l- of the consonant cluster kl- must have dropped by this stage, (giving Wei-Chin *kak*), otherwise we would expect 堦 to have been read as *klang*. In other words, the Archaic kl- type initials probably dropped the -l- by the Wei-Chin period, and the Archaic d-, Ancient 禪母, was felt to be phonetically combined with the medials as one unit. But, after all, one example does not conclusively establish a phonological change.

#### 4.7 The Inter-relationships of the yin-sheng, yang-sheng and ju-sheng Rime Categories

Except for the *yang-sheng* categories, Archaic rime categories contain both the *yin-sheng* and *ju-sheng* words. In Han times, all the *ju-sheng* words branched out and formed separate categories.<sup>(19)</sup> As we shall see later, for such a divergence, there is a phonological reason, namely, the evolution of the final consonants. In the Wei-Chin period, the *ju-sheng* and *yang-sheng* categories underwent a similar development which differs from the *yin-sheng* categories. We have reconstructed no final consonants for the *yin-sheng* categories, except for the restricted -d, while the *yang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* categories have their corresponding final consonants, such as -m and -p, -n and -t, -ng and -k. Therefore, the fact that the *ju-sheng* categories have a closer relationship to the *yang-sheng* categories rather than to the *yin-sheng* categories again has a phonological basis.

Special attention should be paid to the reconstruction of the final -d. We have assigned it to the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *Chih* 脂, *Chi* 祭 and *T'ai* 泰 categories which all have contacts with the *ju-sheng* words. We have pointed out that this reconstruction involves all the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *yin-sheng* rime categories which have contacts with the -d

type finals. Now we might ask if we should also reconstruct a final -d for those *ch'ü-sheng* words which have contacts with the *Chi* 祭, *T'ai* 泰 categories and the *Chih* 脂 category. All contacts of this type are shown in the following chart.

	脂	祭	泰
哈, 去		3	1
之, 去	3		
支, 去	9	2	1

First of all, only the Box II categories in Table I are involved here, i.e., *Hai* 哈, *Chih* 之 and *Chih* 支 on the one hand and *Chih* 脂, *Chi* 祭 and *T'ai* 泰 on the other. Among all the 19 contacts, 10 are involved with six authors who were from the Wu 吳 area or lived there for a certain period. Let us list the rime sequences as follows:

*Hai* 哈 *ch'ü* 去 and *Chi* 祭

- (a) 潘尼: 滯厲代逝 獻長安君安仁 CS 378
- (b) 木華: 代療際裔 海賦 CW 105.7
- (c) 郭璞: 替弊戾惠代 與王使君 CS 422

*Hai* 哈 *ch'ü* 去 and *T'ai* 泰

- (d) 陸雲: 藹邁父蒼會帶愼 鳴鶴 CS 361

*Chih* 之 *ch'ü* 去 and *Chih* 脂 *ch'ü* 去

- (e) 王胡之: 識異事意至 答謝安 CS 431
- (f) 郭璞: 二器忌 山海經圖類贊 CW 122.2
- (g) 無名氏: 媚意 子夜春歌之四 CS 526

*Chih* 支 *ch'ü* 去 and *Chih* 脂 *ch'ü* 去

- (h) 曹操: 二墜繫 短歌行之二 WS 118
- (i) 曹植: 稚利至義 周公贊 CW 17.7
- (j) 傅咸: 譬示畏利 叩頭蟲賦 CW 51.2
- (k) 張載: 易累視繫地離偽智 招隱詩 CS 390
- (l) 陸雲: 緯義緯施 陸府君誄 CW 104.7
- (m) 左思: 利麗 吳都賦 CW 74.10
- (n) 郭璞: 類瑞駟 山海經圖水馬贊 CW 122.8
- (o) 卞裕: 寄蒞氣 送桓竟陵 CS 496
- (p) 孫綽: 緯地匱 望海賦 CW 61.3

*Chih* 支 *ch'ü* 去 and *Chi* 祭

(q) 郭璞: 憇隸地 山海經圖青島贊 CW 122.7

(r) 孫惠: 地濟帝隸 雜車賦 CW 115.8

*Chih* 支 *ch'ü* 去 and *T'ai* 泰

(s) 戴逵: 離太會害外賴 申三復贊 CW 137.3

Lu Yün 陸雲 and Sun Hui 孫惠 were natives of the Wu 吳 area. Wang Hu-chih 王胡之 lived and probably was born in Chiang Tung 江東, since his great grandfather immigrated from Lang Ya 瑯琊. Tai K'uei 戴逵 was originally from Ch'iao Kuo 譙國 but moved to K'uai Chi 會稽. Kuo P'u 郭璞 was originally from Ho-Tung 河東 but also lived in the Chiang Tung 江東 area for 20 years.<sup>(20)</sup> The anonymous author was apparently from the Wu 吳 area, because the title of his song, is no doubt that of a kind of Wu 吳 folk song. The works of these authors indicate that the contacts, between the *Hai* 哈 *Chih* 之 *Chih* 支 group and the group having -d, are fairly common. On the contrary, there are only three contacts found in the works of the Wu 吳 authors among the 86 contacts between the -d categories and the *ju-sheng* categories. (See 4.5 and Tables I, III above.) In other words, the Wu 吳 authors rarely rime words having -d with those ending in -t, but commonly rime -d words with those of the *Hai* 哈, *Chih* 之 and *Chih* 支 categories. We believe that the -d had already changed to -i in Wu dialect by the Wei-Chin period. Therefore, it is not necessary to reconstruct a final -d for the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *Hai* 哈, *Chih* 之 and *Chih* 支 categories in these contacts.

With regard to the other 9 contacts of non-Wu authors, (a) and (b) involve only the word 代. This may not reflect any inter-category relationship, but only peculiar readings of the individual word. The remaining 7 cases are exclusively contacts between the *Chih* 支 and *Chih* 脂 categories. We have reconstructed -ei type finals for the *Chih* 支 category above. These contacts may be simply irregular cases between -i words and -d words which also become -i words in Nan-Pai-ch'ao times.

It seems rather odd to set out to prove that the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *Hai* 哈, *Chih* 之 and *Chih* 支 categories do not have a final -d, because historically speaking, these words have a final -g in Archaic Chinese. But they do not rime with -k words any more, the -g has clearly changed. Our discussion here is to prove that -g does not pass through a -d stage in changing to -i. This supports Li Fang-Kuei's assumption that the

Archaic final -g was vocalized into -i and became -i in a later stage.

In order to clearly demonstrate the relationships among the *yin-sheng*, *yang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* categories, we shall list the finals, which have been reconstructed above, in the following way:

<i>Yin-sheng</i> Category	<i>Yang-sheng</i> Category	<i>Ju-sheng</i> Category
之: -jəi	蒸: -jəng	職: -jək, -jiək
哈: -əi, -rəi	登: -əng	德: -ək, -rək
幽: -ou, -jou, -jiou	冬: -ong, -rong, -jong	沃: -ok, -rok, -jok, -iok
	東: -ung, -rung, -jung	屋: -uk, -ruk, -juk
宵: -jau, -jiau, -iau		
豪: -au, -rau		
魚: -o, -jo, -juo	陽: -ang, -jang	藥: -ak, -rak, -jak, -jiak, -iak
歌: -a, -ra, -ja		
支: -riei, -jei, -jiei, -juei, -iei	耕: -reng, -rieng, -jieng, -ieng	錫: -riek, -jiek, -iek
脂: -jəi, -jiəi ( <i>p'ing, shang</i> ) -jəd, -jiəd ( <i>ch'ü</i> )	真: -ən, -rjən, -jən, -jiən ( <i>Wei</i> ) -rjən, -jiən ( <i>Chin</i> )	質: -ət, -jət, -jiət ( <i>Wei</i> ) -jət, -jiət ( <i>Chin</i> )
	文: -jən ( <i>Chin</i> )	
皆: -əi, -rəi, -iəi	魂: -ən ( <i>Chin</i> )	沒: -ət ( <i>Chin</i> )
祭: -riad, -jad, -iad	元: -rian, -jan, -jian, -ian	月: -riat, -jat, -jiat, -iat
泰: -ad, -uad, -rad	寒: -an, -uan, -ran	曷: -at, -uat, -rat
	侵: -əm, -jəm	緝: -əp, -jəp
	談: -am, -riam, -jam, -iam	葉: -ap, -rap, -jap, -iap

#### 4.8 Summary

To summarize the conclusion of our reconstruction, we shall list the final system of the Wei-Chin period as follows.

Medials:	-r-	-j-	
Vowels:	i	i	u
	e	ə	o
		a	

Diphthongs:	ei	əi	əĩ	ou	au	
	ie	iə	ia	uo	ua	uə
Triphthongs:	iei	iəi	iou	iau	uei	
Final consonants:	-m		-p			
	-n		-t	-d		
	-ng		-k			

### Notes to Chapter Four

- (1) The reconstruction of Ancient Chinese was first made by Karlgren in his *Etudes sur la phonologie Chinoise* (1915-26).
- (2) Li Fang-kuei 1971a, pp. 4-7.
- (3) Lo and Chou 1958, pp. 17-18.
- (4) Ibid., p. 18; Bodman 1954, p. 115.
- (5) Li Fang-kuei 1971b, p. 6.
- (6) Contacts between the words of the *Chih* 之 and *Yu* 幽 categories are very frequent from Archaic Chinese down to the Han period. See Tung 1954, p. 143; Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 45-47, 56-57.
- (7) For Hu Tsung's biography, see CW67.5.
- (8) Cf. CS523.
- (9) Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 30-31.
- (10) Ibid., p. 17.
- (11) Ibid., p. 51.
- (12) This *Chung* 中 category is also called as *Tung* 冬 category by others.
- (13) Li Fang-kuei 1932, pp. 375-386.
- (14) Cf. K'ung Kuang-sen, *Shih Sheng Lei* 詩聲類 vol. 4, p. 1, and vol. 5, p. 1. Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 32-34; Li op. cit., p. 379. Note 1; and p. 383.
- (15) Lo and Chou op. cit., p. 32.
- (16) Li Fang-kuei 1971a, pp. 31-32.
- (17) Ibid., p. 50.
- (18) Lo and Chou op. cit., pp. 68-69.
- (19) Ibid., p. 13.
- (20) Serruys 1962, p. 326.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM ARCHAIC CHINESE TO ANCIENT CHINESE

#### 5.1 Remarks and Summary

In our reconstruction of the finals of the Wei-Chih period in the above chapter, we have stated that this reconstruction should also be in line with the overall linguistic development of Chinese. On the basis of Lo and Chou's study on the Han rime categories we are able to reconstruct all the finals for the Western Han and the Eastern Han periods. In other words, the development of the finals from Archaic Chinese, through Han times, to the Wei-Chin period can be illustrated quite clearly. Our reconstruction of the Wei-Chin finals is based on our study of the Wei-Chin rime categories and is confirmed by the overall development. In the following discussion, we will point out the significance of this development whenever it shows a decisive factor.

Concerning the riming system of the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period, only Wang Li's study (1936b) and Chou's list of the Ch'i-Liang-Ch'en rime categories are available (1.2). The composition of each rime category and the dialectal features of the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period still need intensive study. We can only give a provisional reconstruction of the finals of this period.

Since the Archaic initials affected the evolution of vowels, we shall list Li Fang-kuei's Archaic initial system<sup>(1)</sup> and the corresponding Ancient initial system. The latter is a revised version of Karlgren's system suggested by Li Fang-kuei.<sup>(2)</sup>

Labials (P): p- > p- 幫, ph- > ph- 滂, b- > b- 並, m- > m- 明, hm- > h- 曉 (悔).

Dentals (T): { t- > t- 端, th- > th- 透, d- > d- 定, hn- > th- 透, n- > n- 泥, hl- > th- 透, l- > l- 來.  
tr- > t- 知, thr- > th- 徹, dr- > d- 澄, hnr- > th- 徹, nr- > n- 娘, r- > ji- 以 (余).  
tj- > tš- 章, thj- > tšh- 昌, dj- > dž- 船; ž- 禪, hnj- > -š 書,  
nj- > ǎž- 日, hlj- > th- 徹, rj- > zj- 邪.

- Dental Sibilants (T):  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ts-} > \text{ts-精}, \text{tsh-} > \text{tsh-清}, \text{dz-} > \text{dz-從}, \text{s-} > \text{s-心}. \\ \text{tsr-} > \text{tʂ-莊}, \text{tshr-} > \text{tʂh-初}, \text{dzr-} > \text{dʒ-崇}, \text{sr-} > \text{ʂ-生}. \end{array} \right.$
- Velars (K):  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{k-} > \text{k-見}, \text{kh-} > \text{kh-溪}, \text{gj-} > \text{g-群}, \text{g-} > \text{ɣ-匣} \\ \text{ng-} > \text{ng-疑}, \text{hng-} > \text{h-曉}. \\ \text{h-} > \text{h-曉}, \text{'-} > \text{'-影}. \end{array} \right.$
- Labio-velars (KW):  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kw-} > \text{k-見}, \text{khw-} > \text{kh-溪}, \text{gwj-} > \text{jw-于}, \text{gwji-} > \text{g-群}, \\ \text{gw-} > \text{ɣ-匣}. \\ \text{ngw-} > \text{ng-疑}, \text{hngw-} > \text{h-曉}, \text{hw-} > \text{h-曉}, \text{'w-} > \text{'w-影}. \end{array} \right.$

All the initials listed above are considered as single phonemes. The medials *-r-* and *-j-* are placed after some initials in order to show the conditions of development. The letter *h* denotes aspiration when it is placed after a stop or an affricate, such as *th-* or *tsh-*; however, when placed before a nasal or lateral, *h* denotes that it is a voiceless nasal or lateral. Velars followed by the letter *w* are considered to be labio-velars, e. g., *kw-* or *hngw-*.

In our discussion below, we will refer to the labial initials as P, dentals and sibilants as T, velars as K, and labio-velars as KW. The labials and labio-velars usually have the same influence on the succeeding vowels. Hence, they are grouped together as LAB.

Besides these single phonemes, Li also reconstructed quite a few consonant clusters as follows:

- (1) *pl-* > *p-* 幫 (稟), *phl-* > *ph-* 滂 (品), *bl-* > *l-* 來 (稟), *brj-* > *ji-* 以 (聿), *ml-* > *m-* 明, *sl-* > *ʂ-* 生 (曬), *kl-* > *k-* 見, *khl-* > *kh-* 溪, *gl-* > *l-* 來 (藍), *grj-* > *ji-* 以 (鹽), *ngl-(?)* > *l-* 來.
- (2) *sm-* > *s-* 心 (喪), *smr-* > *ʂ-* 生 (禪), *st-* > *s-* 心 (襲), *stj-* > *s-* 心 (修), *sthj-* > *ʂ-* 書 (說), *sn-* > *s-* 心 (囊), *sk-* > *s-* 心 (楔), *skj-* > *tʂ-* 章 (支), *skh-* > *tsh-* (?) 清 (造), *skhj-* > *tʂh-* 昌 (車); *ʂ-* 書 (翹), *sg-* > *dz-* (?) 從 (造), *sgj-* > *dʒ-* 船 (示); *ʒ-* 禪 (視), *sngj-* > *ɳʒ-* 日 (兒), *skw-* > *s-* 心 (損), *skwj-* > *s-* 心 (歲), *sgwj-* > *z-* 邪 (松).

Unfortunately, no study on the Wei-Chin initials is yet available. We will discuss them only insofar as they seem to affect the development of the vowels.

Besides initials, the Archaic endings also affected the development of vowels. We shall refer to the endings, if not individually, in the following abbreviated way:

-P: -p, -m; -T: -t, -d, -n; -K: -k, -g, -ng; -KW: -kw, -gw, -ngw

Li Fang-kuei has reconstructed a -b for certain words in the early stage of Archaic Chinese, which changed to -d in *Shih-ching* times. That early stage may be referred to as the pre-Archaic period. We, therefore, do not consider Archaic Chinese as having any -b words.

Consonants, medials and vowels are represented by the letters C, M and V, respectively, unless otherwise specified.

In order to make our statement clearer, a summary of the development of finals from Archaic to Ancient times is given first. The name of each category is written before its finals. Italicized finals denote those words which do not occur in riming positions in Wei-Chin literature and have been reconstructed on the basis of analogy.

For each period of development, a discussion of the theory of reconstruction shall be given in separate sections. As a simple means of illustrating the phonological evolution step by step, a set of rules is given in addition to the statement. But because of the lack of detailed study on the riming system of the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period, the development from the Wei-Chin system to Ancient Chinese is still obscure. Although a provisional reconstruction will be given for the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period in the summary, and the same facts will be discussed in separate sections, no rules for that period have been proposed. In other words, the rules are proposed only for the development from Archaic Chinese to the Wei-Chin period.

Since the phonological evolution may take place simultaneously or sequentially, the rules are arranged in a specific order. Those rules labeled (A), (B), etc. have to be applied sequentially, while those numbered (1), (2), etc. may be applied either sequentially or simultaneously. In other words, rules under the headings of (1), (2), etc., are unordered, while those under (A), (B), etc., are ordered. For example, as we shall see later, there are seven rules for the period from Archaic Chinese to Western Han. By applying them to the Archaic finals, we shall obtain the finals of the Western Han period. The order in which we apply the seven rules does not affect the result. But within Rule (3), (3) (A) must be applied before (3) (B), otherwise the result would be different.

The summary is given as follows:

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
-əg	-əg	-əg	哈 { -əi -rəi	灰哈 { -əi -uəi	哈 -âi	來採代
-rəg	-rəg	-rəg		皆 { -ăi -uăi	灰 -uâi 皆 {-ăi -wăi	灰悔佩 戒駭 怪
之 -jəg	之 -jəg	之 -jəg	之 -jəi	之脂 { -jei -jiei	之 -î	詩止思
-jiəg	-jiəg	-jiəg	之 -jiəi		脂 -ji	丕鄙龜
-jəg	-jəg	-jəg	脂 -jiəi			
幽 -jog	幽 -jog	幽 -jog	幽 { -jou -jau	尤侯幽 { -jëu -jəu	尤 {-jëu -jəu	謀有右 牛久舊
-əgw	-ogw	-ogw	豪 { -au -rau	豪 -âu	豪 -âu	曹寶告
-rəgw	-rogw	-rogw		肴 -au	肴 -au	包巧孝
-jəgw	幽 -jogw	幽 -jogw	幽 { -jou -jiou	尤侯幽 { -jëu -jiəu	尤 -jëu 幽 -jiəu	浮酒秀 幽幼
幽 -jiəgw	-jiogw	-jiogw	宵 -iau	宵蕭 -iaeu	蕭 -ieü	條鳥嘯
-iəgw	-iogw	-iogw				
-jiəgw	之 -jiəg	之 -jiəg	之 -jiəi	之脂 -jiwei	脂 jwi	軌晷究
			脂 -jiəi			
-agw	-agw	-agw	豪 { -au -rau	豪 -âu	豪 -âu	刀惱暴
-ragw	-ragw	-ragw		肴 -au	肴 -au	肴爪效
宵 -jagw	宵 -jagw	宵 -jagw	宵 { -jau -jiau	宵蕭 { -jäu -jiäu	宵 {-jäu -jiäu	喬表笑 標遙
-jiagw	-jiagw	-jiagw				
-iagw	-iagw	-iagw			蕭 -ieü	遼窈窕

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
侯 { -ug -jug	{ -uag -juag	魚 { -uag -juag	幽 -ou (-juaī) ... -juo	尤侯幽 -əu 虞模 { -juo -uo	侯 -əu 虞 -ju 模 -uo	頭走侯 朱府裕 模祖固
{ -ag -rag	魚 { -raī -jag	歌 -ra 魚 { -ag -jag	(-aī) ... -o (-jaī) ... -jo	麻 { -a -ua 魚 -jo 虞模 -juo	麻 { -a -wa 魚 -jwo 虞 -ju	家下亞 瓜華 書許 無雨傳
魚 { -jag -jiag	{ -jag -jiaī	魚 -jag 歌 -jia	{ -ra (-jaī) ... -jo -jia	麻 { -a -ua 魚 -jo 虞模 -juo 麻 -ja	麻 { -a -wa 魚 -jwo 虞 -ju 麻 -ja	斜野舍
{ -ar -rar	{ -ar -rar	歌 { -a -ra	歌 { -a -ra	歌 { -â -uâ	歌 -â 戈 -uâ	多可賀 波果臥
歌 { -jar -jar	歌 { -jar -jar	歌 { -ja -jei	{ -ja -jei	麻 { -a -ua -ja	麻 { -a -wa -ja	差鴛 麻瓦化 嗟蛇
{ -juar -jiar	{ -juar -jiar	支 { -juei -jiei	{ -juei -jiei	支 { -jæi -juæi -juæi -jiæi -jiuæi	支 { -jě -jwě -jwě -jě -jwě	倚義 虧危 吹睡 皮離 跪
{ -rig -jig	支 { -rieī -jieī	支 { -riei -jiei	支 { -riei -jiei	佳 { -æi -uæi	佳 { -aī -waī	佳解 蛙卦
佳 { -jig -ig	支 { -jieī -iei	支 { -jiei -iei	{ -jiei -iei	支 { -jæi -juæi	支 { -jě, -jiě -jwiě	枝易 規
				齊 { -iei -iuei	齊 { -iei -iwei	谿帝 閨桂

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example							
脂	{ -rid -jid  -id	{ -riəd -jiəd  -iəd	{ -riəi -jiəi  -jəi	皆 -rəi	皆 -äi	皆 -äi	階階						
				脂 { -jiəi -jiəd	之脂 { -jiəi -jiuei -jiəd -jiued	脂 { -i -wi -i -wi	遲飢矢						
							夔水						
							至四棄						
				季									
微	{ -əd  -rəd  -jiəd  -jəd  -ər -jər	{ -əd  -rəd  -jiəd  -jəd  -ər -jar	{ -əi  -rəi  -jiəi -jiəd -jəi -jəd	{ 皆 -əi  -rəi  -jiəi -jiəd -jəi -jəd	齊 { -iei -iuei	齊 { -iei -iwei	棲體隸 惠						
					灰哈 { -əi -uəi	哈 -äi 灰 -uäi	開哀愛 回對						
						皆 { -äi -uäi	皆 { -äi -wäi	侏隸 懷					
					之脂 { -jiəi -jiuei -jiəd -jiued			脂 { -ji -jwi -ji -jwi	歛 悲誅 肆冀器 寐類位				
						微 { -jəi -juəi -jəd -juəd	微 { -jěi -jwěi -jěi -jwěi		衣幾 歸尾 暨氣 沸貴畏				
									歌 -a 支 -jei	歌 -a 支 -jei	歌 -a 支 juæi	戈 -uä 支 -jwě	火 委毀

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
-ad	-ad	-ad	-ad	泰 { -âd	泰 { -âi	帶藹
-uad	-uad	-uad	泰 { -uad	泰 { -uâd	泰 { -wâi	貝會外
-rad	-rad	-rad	泰 { -rad	泰 { -uâd	泰 { -wâi	兌最
-jad	-jad	-jad	-jad	夬 { -ad	夬 { -ai	薑轄
-jiad	-jiad	-jiad	-jiad	夬 { -uad	夬 { -wai	敗快
-juad	-juad	-juad	-juad	祭, 齊去 { -jed	祭 { -jâi	厲祭世
-riad	-riad	-riad	-riad	廢 { -jued(?)	廢 { -jwei	廢穢
-iad	-iad	-iad	-iad	祭, 齊去 { -jied	祭 { -jâi	蔽蓺
				祭 { -juad	祭 { -jwâi	銳歲慧
				皆 { -ăd	皆 { -ăi	介殺
				皆 { -uăd	皆 { -wăi	拜邁
				祭齊去 { -ied	齊 { -iei	隸
				祭齊去 { -iued	齊 { -iuei	慧

-ək	-ək	-ək	德 { -ək	德 { -ək	德 { -ək	德則克
-rək	-rək	-rək	德 { -rək	德 { -uək	德 { -wək	北國或
-jək	-jək	-jək	職 { -jək	陌麥昔 { -ək	麥 { -ək	革
-jiək	-jiək	-jiək	職 { -jiək	陌麥昔 { -uək	麥 { -uək	麥
-jək	-jək	-jək	職 { -jək	職 { -jək	職 { -jək	力識極
			職 { -jiək	職 { -jiuək	職 { -jwək	偃域
			-jok	屋 { -juk	屋 { -juk	伏牧郁
-əkʷ	-okʷ	-okʷ	沃 { -ok	沃燭 { -uok	沃 { -uok	篤告
-rəkʷ	-rokʷ	-rokʷ	沃 { -rok	覺 { -ɔk	覺 { -âk	覺學
-jəkʷ	-jokʷ	-jokʷ	沃 { -jok	屋 { -juk	屋 { -juk	復竹育
-iəkʷ	-iokʷ	-iokʷ	沃 { -iok	錫 { -iek	錫 { -iek	迪寂

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
宵入 { -akw -rakw -jakw -iakw	藥 { -akw -rakw -jakw -iakw	藥 { -akw -rakw -jakw -iakw	{ -ak -rak -jak -iak	鐸藥 -ak 覺 ɔk 鐸藥 -jak 錫 -iek	鐸 -âk 覺 -âk 藥 -jak 錫 -iek	樂鶴 駁濯 躍弱藥 礫激
侯入 { -uk -ruk -juk	屋 { -uk -ruk -juk	屋 { -uk -ruk -juk	屋 { -uk -ruk -juk 藥 { -ak -rak -jak -jiak	屋 -uk 覺 ɔk 燭 -juok	屋 -uk 覺 -âk 燭 -jwok	木獨谷 剝濁角 綠燭曲
魚入 { -ak -rak -jak -jiak	鐸 { -ak -rak -jak -jiak	鐸 { -ak -rak -jak -jiak	{ -ak -rak -jak -jiak	鐸藥 { -ak -uak 陌麥昔 { -ɛk -usk 鐸藥 { -jak -juak 陌麥昔 -jiek	鐸 { -âk -wâk 陌 { -ɛk -wek 藥 { -jak -jwak 昔 -jäk 陌 -jek	洛作涸 漠郭 澤客 白 略若 縛嬰 石尺 戟逆
支入 { -rik -jik -ik	錫 { -riek -jiek -iek	錫 { -riek -jiek -iek	錫 { -riek -jiek -iek	陌麥昔 { -ɛk -usk -jiek -jiusk 錫 { -iek -iuek	麥 { -ɛk -wek 昔 { -jäk -jwäk 錫 { -iek -iwek	脈隔 畫 僻迹益 役 惕析擊 鷄



Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
脂入	-rit	-riat	月 -riat	黠 { -æt -uæt	黠 { -ă̌t -wăt	黠 劓
	-jit	-jiæt	質 -jiæt	質迄術 { -jiet -jiuet	質 -jië̌t 術 -jiuë̌t	必七吉 恤橘
	-it	-iæt	月 -iat	屑薛 { -iet -iuet	屑 { -iet -iwet	節頁桔 譌穴
微入	-æt	質 -æt	質 -æt 沒 -æt	沒 { -æt -uæt	沒 { -æt -wæt	𪔐 沒卒骨
	-ræt	-ræt	月 -rat	黠 { -æt -uæt	黠 { -ă̌t -wăt	軋 率滑
	-jiæt	-jiæt	質 { -jiet -jæt	質術迄 { -jiet -jet	質 -jet 迄 -jæt	筆密乙 訖
	-jæt	-jæt		物 -juæt	物 -juæt	物屈
				質術迄 -juet	術 -juet	律述
祭入	-at	-at	-at	曷 { -ât -uât -uât	曷 -ât 末 { -uât -uât	達割 末闊 脫
	-uat	-uat	曷 { -uat	鐸 { -at -uat	鐸 { -at -wat	轄 刮
	-rat	-rat	-rat	屑薛 { -jiet -jiuet	屑 { -jät -jwät	別竭 雪缺
	-jiat	-jiat	月 { -jiet -jæt	月沒 { -jet -juet	月 { -jet -jwet	謁歌 伐月
	-jat	-jat	月 { -jiet -jæt	黠 { -æt -uæt	黠 { -ă̌t -wăt	察 拔
	-riat	-riat	-riat			

5.1 Remarks and Summary

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
祭入 { -at -iat	月 { -jat -iat	月 { -jat -iat	月 { -jat -iat	屑薛 { -jet -iet -iust	薛 -jät 屑 { -iet -iet	折孽 截絜 蔑
葉 { -ap -rap -jap -riap -iap	葉 { -ap -rap -jap -riap -iap	葉 { -ap -rap -jap -riap -iap	葉 { -ap -rap -jap -riap -iap	盍 -âp 狎 -ap 葉帖 -jɛp 葉乏 { -jɛp -juɛp 洽 -æp 葉帖 -iɛp	盍 -âp 狎 -ap 葉 -jâp 業 -jɛp 乏 -jwɛp 洽 -ăp 帖 -iep	蠟闔 甲 接涉 業 法 夾插 莢
緝 { -əp -rəp -jəp -iəp	緝 { -əp -rəp -jəp -iəp	緝 { -əp -rəp -jəp -iəp	緝 { -əp -rəp -jəp -iəp	合 -əp 洽 -æp 緝 -jəp 葉帖 -iɛp	合 -âp 洽 -ap 緝 -jəp 帖 -iep	合 洽 立習及 幘
蒸 { -əng -rəng -jəng -jiəng -jəng	蒸 { -əng -rəng -jəng -jiəng -jəng	蒸 { -əng -rəng -jəng -jiəng -jəng	登 -əng 耕 -reng 蒸 { -jəng -jiəng 冬 { -jong -jong	登 { -əng -uəng 耕 { -əng -uəng 蒸 { -jəng -jiuəng 東 { -jung -jung	登 { -əng -wəng 耕 { -əng -wəng 蒸 { -jəng -juəng 東 { -jung -jung	曾登恒 崩弘 橙 繡宏 徵興 冰 夢弓穹 雄

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example	
中 (冬)	{-əngw -rəngw -jəngw	冬{-ongw -rongw -jongw	冬{-ongw -rongw -jongw	冬鍾 -uong 江 -ɔng 東 -jung	冬 -uong 江 -ǎng 東 -jung	冬宗 降 中終宮	
東	{-ung -rung -jung	東{-ung -rung -jung	東{-ung -rung -jung	東 -ung 江 -ɔng 冬鍾 -juong	東 -ung 江 -ǎng 鍾 -jwong	東工 邦江 封從共	
陽	{-ang -jang -rang -jiang	陽{-ang -jang -rang -jiang	陽{-ang -jang -reng -jieng	唐陽{-ang -uang -jang -juang	唐{-âng -wâng 陽{-jang -jwang	當桑康 旁光 張章羊 方筐忘	
耕	{-ring -jing -ing	耕{-rieng -jieng -ieng	耕{-rieng -jieng -ieng	庚{-eng -ueng -jeng -jueng	庚{-eng -weng -jeng -jweng	庚行衡 榜橫 京英景 兵明永	
眞	{-rin -rjin -jin	眞{-rian -rjiən -jiən	眞{-rian -rjiən -jiən	元 -rian 眞{-rjiən -jiən	山 -æn 臻眞殷{-rjiən -jiən -jiuən	山 -ǎn 臻 -jen 眞 -jĕn 諄 -jiuĕn	啟 臻 人進 均

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
眞 -in	{ -iən	{ -iən	元 -ian	仙先 { -iən { -iuən	先 { -ien { -iwen	天賢茜 玄淵
{ -ən	-ən	-ən	{ -ən 魂 -ən 痕魂	{ -ən 痕 -ən { -uən 魂 -uən	痕 -ən 魂 -uən	痕恩 魂損
-rən	-rən	-rən	元 -ran	山 -uæn	山 -wǎn	盼
-rjiən	眞 -rjiən	眞 -rjiən	眞 -rjiən	眞 { -rjiən { -jiən	{ -jien 臻 -jen { -jien 眞 -jěn	洗 巾忍震
文 { -jiən	-jiən	-jiən		臻眞殷 { -jiuen 諄 -juěn		準順
{ -jən	-jən	-jən	{ -jən 文 -jən	{ -jen 欣 -jən { -juen 文 -juæn	欣 -jən 文 -juæn	欣隱近 文吻韻
{ -iən	{ -iən	{ -iən	元 -ian	仙先 -ien	先 -ien	先典
{ -an	{ -an	{ -an	{ -an	寒 { -an { -uan { -ran	寒 -ân 桓 { -uân { -uân	殘旱歎 官滿換 端亂
-uan	-uan	-uan		刪 { -an { -uan	刪 { -an { -wan	顏潛鴈 閑慢
-ran	-ran	-ran		仙先 { -jien { -jiuen	仙 { jǎn, -jiǎn { -jwǎn, -jiwǎn	變 圓捲變
元 { -jian	元 { -jian	元 { -jian	元 { -jian	元 { -jen { -juen	元 { -jen { -jwen	言偃建 元晚勸
-jan	-jan	-jan		山 { -æən { -uæn	山 { -ǎn { -wǎn	山簡諫 瓣幻
{ -rian	{ -rian	{ -rian	{ -rian			

Archaic Chinese	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin Period	Nan-Pei-ch'ao P.	Ancient Chinese	Example
元 { -jan -juan -ian	元 { -jan -juan -ian	元 { -jan -juan -ian	元 { -jan -juan -ian	仙先 { -jen -juen -ien -iuen	仙 { -jän, -jiän -jiwän 先 { -ien -iwen	連展戰 翩絹 蓮顯見 涓犬片
談 { -am -ram -jam -riam -jam -jiam -iam	談 { -am <i>-ram</i> -jam -riam <i>-jam</i> <i>-jiam</i> -iam	談 { -am <i>-ram</i> -jam -riam <i>-jam</i> <i>-jiam</i> -iam	談 { -am <i>-ram</i> -jam -riam <i>-jam</i> <i>-jiam</i> -iam	談 -âm 衙 -am 鹽添 -jem 嚴凡 -juem 咸 -æm 嚴凡 -jem 鹽添 { -jiem -iem	談 -âm 衙 -am 鹽 -jäm 凡 -jwem 咸 -äm 嚴 -jem 鹽 -jäm 添 -iem	談藍 衙檻 瞻 犯汜 斬陷 嚴劍 占儉 兼
侵 { -əm -rəm -jəm -iəm	侵 { -əm -rəm -jəm -iəm	侵 { -əm -rəm -jəm -iəm	侵 { -əm -rəm -jəm 冬 -jong -iəm	覃 -əm 咸 -æm 侵 -jəm 東 -jung 鹽添 -iem	覃 -âm 咸 -äm 侵 -jəm 東 -jung 添 -iem	南 咸 心稟任 風楓 欽念

## 5.2 From Archaic Chinese to the Western Han Period

According to Lo and Chou's study, except for the merger of a few rime categories, the classification of Western Han rime words is very close to that of Archaic Chinese. We have reconstructed the finals of the Western Han categories as similar to those of their Archaic counterparts, when they contain the same rime words and possess the same Ancient finals. Before we set up the phonological rules dealing with those Western Han finals which differ from Archaic Chinese, there are two remarks that we should make.

(1) Generally speaking, the Archaic consonant endings, -g, -gw, -r and -d, are preserved in the Western Han period. The contacts among certain Western Han categories are almost as frequent as in Archaic times,<sup>(3)</sup> e.g., 12 cases between *Chih* 之 and *Yu* 幽, 7 cases between *Hsiao* 宵 and *Yü* 魚, and 28 cases between *Ko* 歌 and *Chih* 脂. The crucial point is that, in Archaic Chinese, the categories having contacts possess similar endings, namely, -æg of *Chih* 之 and -æg<sup>u</sup> of *Yu* 幽, -ag<sup>u</sup> of *Hsiao* 宵 and -ag of *Yü* 魚, -ar of *Ko* 歌 and -äd of *Chih* 脂. If these endings had changed or dropped in the Western Han period, the contacts should not be so close. Surprisingly enough, we have seen above that in the Wei-Chin period, there is no single contact between *Hsiao* 宵 and *Yü* 魚, *Ko* 歌 and *Chih* 脂, and the 6 contacts between *Chih* 之 and *Yu* 幽 are early residues (4.2.3). In other words, the changing or dropping of final consonants of the *yin-sheng* categories had very likely begun by the Wei-Chin period. Some changes that actually started a little earlier in the Eastern Han period will be discussed below.

In the meantime, the contacts between the *yin-sheng* categories and *ju-sheng* categories exist but are relatively few. We believe that the final consonants of the *yin-sheng* categories had weakened phonetically in the Western Han period.

(2) Because of the similar articulations of the corresponding Archaic endings, namely, -g, -k, -ng; -gw, -kw, -ngw; -d, -t, -n; and -p, -m, we normally may expect a kind of parallel development of finals. We reconstruct different vowels for the corresponding *yin*, *yang* and *ju* categories only where the rime patterns of the respective categories indicate non-parallel development of the vowels in question.

The rules which describe the development of Archaic finals are as follows (all rules are obligatory unless specified):

(1) (A) -gw → -g / KWj \_\_\_\_\_

(B) ə → o / \_\_\_\_\_ KW

(1) (A) is to account for such words as 軌, 晷 and 達, which shifted from the Archaic *Yu* 幽 category to the Western Han *Chih* 之 category. As Li Fang-kuei pointed out, this change is a kind of dissimilation,<sup>(4)</sup> i. e., the labio-velar initials caused the ending -gw to become -g. This rule must apply before (1) (B), because the vowel ə of 軌, 晷 and 達 was still preserved in Western Han times and provided them with a final which could rime with the words of the *Chih* 之 category which has -əg type finals.

(1) (B) indicates the development of the *Yu* 幽, *Wo* 沃 and *Tung* 東 categories. From the summary above, we can see that both the *Wo* 沃, and *Tung* 冬 categories have u, o, and ə vowels in Ancient Chinese. It is natural to assume the vowel ə became a rounded o through the influence of the final endings -kw and -ngw. We believe that these endings dropped their labial features by the Wei-Chin period after they affected the vowel ə, because the contacts between *Wo* 沃 and *Wu* 屋, *Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東 considerably increased at Wei-Chin times. Let us list these contacts as follows:<sup>(5)</sup>

	Western Han	Eastern Han	Wei-Chin
<i>Wo</i> 沃: <i>Wu</i> 屋	6 (okw: uk)	7 (okw: uk)	24 (ok: uk)
<i>Tung</i> 冬: <i>Tung</i> 東	14 (ongw: ung)	19 (ongw: ung)	55 (ong: ung)

These figures are, of course, relative to the total number of rime sequences, but they still show the tendency to some extent.

Because the *Hou* 侯 category, having the Archaic -ug final, merged with *Yu* 魚 category in the Western Han period, there was no -ug final that can be compared with the *Yu* 幽 category. The fact that we also reconstructed an o vowel for the *Yu* 幽 category is on the analogy of the endings. In other words, since -kw and -ngw rounded the ə to o, -gw should have behaved the same way. Furthermore, the *Yu* 幽 category was divided into three categories in the Wei-Chin period and eventually formed four Ancient rimes having the finals, -âu, -au, -jěu, -jiěu and -ieu. Apparently, the *Yu* 幽 finals must have changed in the same way in the

Western Han period, and this change may very well have been vowel rounding. Therefore, we follow Li Fang-kuei's suggestion to reconstruct an *o* for the *Yu* 幽 category in the Han period.<sup>(6)</sup>

(2)  $u \rightarrow ua / \_\_\_\_\_\_ g$

This change occurred only in the Archaic *Hou* 侯 category. According to Lo and Chou's study, the *Hou* 侯 category merged with the *Yü* 魚 category in the Western Han period. But the corresponding *yang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* categories, *Tung* 東 and *Yang* 陽, *Wu* 屋 and *To* 鐸, still kept apart. This is a very early disagreement of development between *yin-sheng* and *ju-sheng* words.

The *Yü* 魚 category has -ag type finals in Archaic Chinese and certain groups of its rime words, forming the Ancient *Ma* 麻 rime, still have the vowel *a* in Ancient Chinese. Hence, we do not assume any change for the *Yü* 魚 category in order to fit the *Hou* 侯 category, but, following Li Fang-kuei's suggestion again, we have proposed a vowel breaking for the vowel *u* only in the *Hou* 侯 category.

(3) (A)  $i \rightarrow ie / \_\_\_\_\_\_ K$

(B)  $-g \rightarrow -i / e \_\_\_\_\_\_$

Rule (3) contains actually two rules which must apply to the Archaic finals in the specified order. (3) (A) is to account for the *Chih* 支, *Hsi* 錫 and *Keng* 耕 categories in the Western Han period. (3) (B) applies only to the *Chih* 支 category.

The *Chih* 支, *Hsi* 錫, *Keng* 耕 categories all have the words having Ancient -ie type vowels. The vowel *ɛ* of the Division II rimes is probably a result of centralization caused by the medial -r-.

To reconstruct an *ie* type vowel for the Western Han *Hsi* 錫 and *Keng* 耕 categories is sufficient to explain their inter-category contacts. *Hsi* 錫, with -iek final, has only 2 contacts with the *Chih* 職 category which has -ək type finals.

The *Keng* 耕 category has 13 contacts with the *Yang* 陽 category. Except for four of them which are dialectal phenomena, these contacts show a common connection between -ieng and -rang, -jang, or -jiang. In fact, the words having -rang and -jiang finals of the *Yang* 陽 category entered the *Keng* 耕 category in the Eastern Han period.

With regard to the *Chih* 支 category, there are some difficulties in



explaining its contacts with the *Ko* 歌 category. By applying (3) (A) to the Archaic finals of the *Chia* 佳 category, we obtain -rieg, -jieg and -ieg finals first. Then, by applying (3) (B) to these new finals, the result is -riei̯, -jiei̯ and -iei̯. We consider the -i̯ as a glide in the Western Han period. This is the transitional stage from -g to Ancient -i. Unlike the other *yin-sheng* categories, which preserved the endings -g and -d, the *Chih* 支 category did not maintain its -g. This change is detectable from the contacts between the *Chih* 支 and *Ko* 歌 categories. *Ko* 歌 has -ar type finals in Archaic Chinese. If the -g of the *Chih* 支 category was still preserved in Western Han times, it would be very unlikely to have contacts between -g words and -r words. The -i̯ is much closer to the -r. Now the problem is that, according to Lo and Chou's conclusion, *Chih* 支 words almost mixed with *Ko* 歌 words, but -iei̯ seems not close to -ar, -rar, -jar, or -jiar.

Roughly speaking, it seems very plausible to propose a different vowel breaking, say, *ia*, for the Archaic *Chih* 支 category, yielding an *-iaĩ* final which would be close enough to the *-ar* type finals of the *Ko* 歌 category. But, unfortunately, there is another category, *Yü* 魚, having *-ag* finals in Archaic Chinese and *-ag*, *-ai* in Western Han times. It has no single contact with the *Chih* 支 category in Western Han times. If the *Chih* 支 category had *-iaĩ* finals, we would expect free contacts between *-iaĩ* words and *-rai*, *-jiaĩ* words, especially the *-i* being a result of an early *-g*. But this is certainly not the case. We have to maintain our original reconstruction for the *Chih* 支 category with the understanding that *-iei* is somewhat phonetically close to *-ar*, *-rar*, *-jar*, *-jiar* and *-juar*. It is possible that the vowel *a* between the medials and the final *-r* is phonetically close to *e*. In fact, all the words with *-jar*, *-jiar*, and *-juar* finals in the Western Han *Ko* 歌 category, except for some special words, merged with the words of *Chih* 支 in the Eastern Han period.

(4)  $i \rightarrow iə$  / \_\_\_\_\_ T

This change shows the development of the Archaic *Chih* 脂 and *Chen* 眞 categories to *Chih* 脂, *Chih* 質 and *Chen* 眞 in the Western Han period. In Western Han literature, the words of the Archaic *Chih* 脂 and *Wei* 微 categories rime together. Likewise, their *ju-sheng* counterparts and the corresponding *yang-sheng* categories, *Chen* 眞 and *Wen* 文, also rime freely

with each other. Judging from their Ancient finals, it is clear that the *Chih* 脂 and *Chen* 眞 categories entered the *Wei* 微 and *Wen* 文 categories but not vice versa.

We have assumed a different breaking of the vowel *i* here conditioned by the endings. We could propose the same vowel breaking, i.e., *i* to *ie* in the *Chih* 脂 and *Chen* 眞 categories as we have done for the *Chih* 支 category above, but, then, we would be obliged to change the vowel *ə* of the *Wei* 微 and *Wen* 文 categories to *e* as well. It is not adequate to do so because the Ancient finals of the words of the Archaic *Wei* 微 and *Wen* 文 categories still preserved the same *ə*.

(5)  $\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{a} / \text{_____ r}$

This rule applies to a few words, such as 火, 委 and 毀, which have -ər finals in Archaic Chinese. They are the only group, having the -r, in the Archaic *Wei* 微 category. The other words of this category all end in -d. 火, 委 and 毀 entered the *Ko* 歌 category in the Western Han period.

(6)  $-\text{g} \rightarrow -\text{i} / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{r} \\ \text{ji} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \text{a} \text{_____}$

This change applies only to the Archaic *Yü* 魚 category. In the Western Han period, the Archaic *Hou* 侯 category merged with the *Yü* 魚 category and formed the new Western Han *Yü* 魚 category. It contains the Ancient *Hou* 侯, *Mo* 模, *Yü* 魚, *Yü* 虞 and *Ma* 麻 rimes. Lo and Chou observed that, among the contacts between the *Yü* 魚 category and the *Chih* 之 *Yu* 幽 and *Hsiao* 宵 categories, there are very few words of the Ancient *Ma* 麻 rime. These few words actually occurred only in two rime sequences by Szs-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如.<sup>(7)</sup> But, on the contrary, among the contacts between the *Yü* 魚 category and the *Ko* 歌 category, the *Yü* 魚 words involved are only those of the Ancient *Ma* 麻 rime.<sup>(8)</sup> These extreme situations suggest a slight distinction between the *Ma* 麻 words and the other words of the Western Han *Yü* 魚 category. We believe that the ending -g might undergo vocalization in different steps under various conditions. In the *Yü* 魚 category, the group of the *Ma* 麻 rime words had probably changed from -rag and -jiag to -rai and -jiaī in Western Han times. This change might explain the riming behaviour of these words, because -ai is different enough from -æg of *Chih* 之, -ogw of *Yu* 幽 and -agw of *Hsiao* 宵, but rather close to -ar of *Ko* 歌.

(7)  $\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{o} / \text{KWj} \text{ — } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{g} \\ \text{ng} \end{Bmatrix}$  (Optional)

This is an optional rule which applies only to certain words as 牛, 久, 丘, 舊 and 雄. 牛, 久, 丘 and 舊 were of the Archaic *Chih* 之 category, but shifted to the *Yu* 幽 category in the Western Han period. 雄 was of the Archaic *Cheng* 蒸 category and entered the *Tung* 冬 category also in Western Han times. These words all have labiovelar initials and the medial -j- which provide the condition of change. But, under some unknown conditions, certain words, like 郵, 右, 有 and 弓, do not change at the same time. In other words, 郵, 右 and 有 remained in the Western Han *Chih* 之 category and 弓 in the *Cheng* 蒸 category. These words also had the same shift but at a later stage. These phenomena reveal that a group of words may undergo the same phonological change in different periods due to unknown reasons. This rule will occur again in the Eastern Han period.

### 5.3 From the Western Han Period to the Eastern Han Period

On the basis of Lo and Chou's study (1958), we have reconstructed the finals of the Eastern Han categories as shown in the summary above. There are only a few changes in the finals. We proposed the following rules:

(1)  $-\text{i} \rightarrow -\text{i} / \text{ie} \text{ — }$

This rule is to indicate the change of the finals of the *Chih* 支 category. In the Western Han period, the *Chih* 支 category had 9 contacts with the *Chih* 脂 category. That is a contact between the -ei and -ed type finals. Down to the Eastern Han period, the contacts between these two categories suddenly increased to 34 cases.<sup>(9)</sup> Judging by the Ancient finals of the words of these two categories, we believe that -i had changed to -i and the -d of the *Chih* 脂 category had also changed to -i.

(2) (A)  $-\text{r} \rightarrow -\text{i} / \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Kj} \\ \text{jv} \end{Bmatrix} \text{V} \text{ — }$

(B)  $\text{a} \rightarrow \text{e} / \text{j(V)} \text{ — } \text{i}$

(C)  $-\text{r} \rightarrow \phi / \text{ — } \#$

(2) (A) and (B) deal with the words with -jar, -jia and -jua finals of the Western Han *Ko* 歌 category, which became a part of the Eastern

Han *Chih* 支 category. In Western Han times, these words rimed with -ieĩ words of the *Chih* 支 category. Now, both of these groups were combined and formed a new category with identical vowel and ending.

(2) (C) must be applied to the Western Han *Ko* 歌 category after (2) (A) and (B), because this rule deletes the final -r after certain finals undergoing the change from -r to -i as indicated in (2) (A). The symbol # signifies the syllable boundary.

(3) -i → ∅ /  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r \\ ji \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  a \_\_\_\_\_

This rule is to account for the Ancient *Ma* 麻 rime words in the Western Han *Yü* 魚 category, which had shifted to the *Ko* 歌 category in Eastern Han times. The ending -i probably dropped out about the same time when the evolution represented by rule (2) (C) was in progress.

(4) -d → -i / C  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} (r) \\ j \end{smallmatrix} \right]$  (i)ə \_\_\_\_\_ [ $\#$  *p'ing*, *shang*]

This rule indicates that -d would change to -i under two conditions, either after *C(r)(i)ə*, i.e., in the case of the finals -əd, -rəd, -riəd, -iəd, or after *Cj(i)ə* when the syllable bears *p'ing-sheng* or *shang-sheng*, i.e., in the case of the *p'ing-sheng* and *shang-sheng* words with the finals -jəd or -jiəd.

This rule is to take care of those words in the Western Han *Chih* 脂 category, which had undergone the change from -d to -i. Only certain *ch'ü-sheng* words retained the final -d, and had contacts with the words of the *ju-sheng* categories.<sup>(10)</sup> The justification for reconstructing the -i for certain words in the Eastern Han *Chih* 脂 category is that these *Chih* 脂 words surprisingly had 34 contacts with *Chih* 支 words as stated under rule (1). Another support for this reconstruction is the sudden decrease of the contacts between the *Chih* 脂 category and the *Ko* 歌 category in the Eastern Han period. There were 28 contacts between these two categories in Western Han times, but only 1 contact in Eastern Han times. It is apparent that some drastic phonological changes had taken place by the Eastern Han period. We have proposed the -əi finals for *Chih* 脂 words and -a finals for *Ko* 歌 words as described above under rule (2) (C).

(5) a → e /  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r \\ ji \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  \_\_\_\_\_ ng

This rule illustrates the shift of the Ancient *Keng* 庚 rime words from the *Yang* 陽 category to the *Keng* 耕 category by the Eastern Han period.

The other words of the *Yang* 陽 category, i. e., those of the Ancient *T'ang* 唐 and *Yang* 陽 rimes, remain unchanged.

#### 5.4 From the Eastern Han Period to the Wei-Chin Period

In Chapter Four, we have reconstructed the finals of the Wei-Chin period. Some of the reconstructions partially supported by the phonological development will be brought up in this section. We shall give the rules and then discuss each one separately.

- (1) (A)  $\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{o} / \text{LABj} \_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{K}$
- (B)  $\text{ua} \rightarrow \text{o} / \text{C} \_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{g}$
- (C)  $-\text{g} \rightarrow -\text{u} / \text{o} \_\_\_\_\_\_$
- (D)  $-\text{gw} \rightarrow -\text{u} / \_\_\_\_\_\_ \#$
- (E)  $\text{o} \rightarrow \text{a} / \text{C} \left( \begin{smallmatrix} \text{r} \\ \text{i} \end{smallmatrix} \right) \_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{u}$
- (F)  $-\text{g} \rightarrow -\text{i} / \_\_\_\_\_\_ \#$
- (G)  $\text{ai} \rightarrow \text{o} / \_\_\_\_\_\_ \#$

This is a set of eight rules indicating the subsequent development of -g and -gw. (1) (A),  $\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{o} / \text{LABj} \_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{K}$ , is actually a rewritten form of rule (7) of the Archaic period. The only difference is that (1) (A) is more general than (7), because LAB includes KW-, and -K includes -g and -ng. All words which met the conditions of rule (7) but did not undergo change did undergo the vowel shift in this stage. To be exact, the words involved here are those of the *Chih* 之, *Cheng* 蒸 and *Chih* 職 categories with -j- and a labial or labio-velar initial, e. g., 謀, 右, 有; 夢, 弓, 穹; and 牧, 伏, 郁. These words correspondingly entered the *Yu* 幽, *Tung* 冬 and *Wo* 沃 categories in the Wei-Chin period.

(1) (B),  $\text{ua} \rightarrow \text{o} / \text{C} \_\_\_\_\_\_ \text{g}$ , is to take care of the Ancient *Hou* 侯 rime words of the Eastern Han *Yü* 魚 category. Unlike the other words of the *Yü* 魚 category, the *Hou* 侯 rime words completely shifted to the Wei-Chin *Yu* 幽 category. We are obliged to propose a different development for the Han finals -uag and -juag which were the Archaic -ug and -jug.

(1) (C),  $-\text{g} \rightarrow -\text{u} / \text{o} \_\_\_\_\_\_$ , applies after the above two rules affected the words concerned. In other words, after 謀, 右, 有 and 頭, 走, 候, etc., having the finals -jæg and -juag respectively, merged together as -jog, the -g changes to -u. We have been puzzled for some time that some words



which have not been changed by the previous rules. We have described in 4.2.1, that the reconstruction of  $-i$  is Li Fang-kuei's assumption. He says:

Such a vowel or glide ( $-i$ ) may be assumed to be the intermediate step between the Archaic  $-g$  and the later Ancient  $-i$ , as shown by some old Chinese loans into the Tai languages, such as 亥 *kâi* <  $*gəg$ , Dioi *kaeu* (= *kai*), Lü *kai*. — If we assume that the Archaic Chinese final  $-g$  and  $-d$  were vocalized respectively into  $-i$  and  $-i$ , by about the beginning of the Christian era, it would not only explain the Tai form  $-ai$  <  $-əi$  <  $*əg$ , but also the fact that in the poetry of the late Han period the rime category 之 *chih*,  $-əi$  <  $*əg$  is not generally confused with the rime category 微 *Wei*,  $-əi$  <  $*əd$ .<sup>(12)</sup>

We shall support and slightly modify his theory on the basis of our Wei-Chin materials.

In the Wei-Chin period, the words of the Ancient rimes, *Hai* 哈, *Hui* 灰 and *Chieh* 皆, were still kept apart in two rime categories, namely, *Hai* 哈 and *Chieh* 皆. (See 4.2.2 and 4.2.10). Of course, these two groups have the same ancient finals. At the same time, we can see that these two groups also have the same vowel  $ə$  in the Wei-Chin period as shown by their development. Then, the only possible difference is the endings which have evolved from the early  $-g$  and  $-d$ . Through inter-category contacts, we have demonstrated above that  $-d$  has been vocalized to  $-i$  in the Eastern Han period, and the  $-g$  is subject to change in the Wei-Chin period (5.2). We also discussed the fact that the  $-g$  could not have passed through the stage of  $-d$  (4.7). Therefore, to reconstruct an  $-i$  as the intermediate step from  $-g$  to  $-i$  seems inevitable. With this support, we accepted Li's theory in our reconstruction.

The slight modification which we would like to make is that the vocalization of  $-g$  occurred probably later than the beginning of the Christian era. Since there are 25 contacts between the *Chih* 之 and *Yu* 幽 categories in the Eastern Han period, as discussed under rule (1) (D), we are inclined to believe that the vocalization of  $-g$  to  $-i$  actually took place at the end of Eastern Han or the beginning of the Wei dynasty, i. e., about the beginning of the second century.

(1) (G),  $ai \rightarrow o / \_\_\_\#$ , applies to the Eastern Han *Yü* 魚 category immediately after (1) (F). As shown in the summary above, this category has three finals  $-ag$ ,  $-jag$  and  $-juag$ , which are reflexes of the Archaic  $-ag$ ,

-jag and -jug and become the Ancient -uo, -jwo and -ju. Since the final ending -g presumably changed by the Wei-Chin period, it is very likely that the vowel *o* of the words of the Ancient *Mo* 模, *Yü* 虞 and *Yü* 魚 rimes arose as a result of the changing of -g which affected the preceding vowel. For this reason and because of the internal evidence of the Wei-Chin *Yü* 魚 category, we have reconstructed a single vowel *o* for the words of this category (4.2.6).

$$(2) \begin{bmatrix} -kw \\ -ngw \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -k \\ -ng \end{bmatrix} / o \text{ ---}$$

This change occurred in the Eastern Han *Wo* 沃 and *Tung* 冬 categories. Under rule (1) in the Archaic period, we have pointed out that the inter-category contacts between *Wo* 沃 and *Wu* 屋, *Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東 considerably increased in the Wei-Chin period. Such a phenomenon strongly suggests a change from -kw to -k and -ngw to -ng.

$$(3) \text{ə} \rightarrow \text{a} / \text{C} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{r(i)} \\ \text{i} \end{Bmatrix} \text{ --- } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{n} \\ \text{t} \end{Bmatrix}$$

This rule applies to the Eastern Han *Chen* 眞 and *Chih* 質 categories. In the Wei-Chin period, the Ancient Division II and IV rime words of *Chen* 眞 shifted to the *Yüan* 元 category and those of *Chih* 質 shifted to the *Yüeh* 月 category. These parallel changes denote the connection of the *yin-sheng* and *yang-sheng* rime categories.

### 5.5 From the Wei-Chin Period to the Nan-Pei-ch'ao Period

Due to the lack of detailed study of the rime categories of the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period, we do not intend to write definite rules indicating the phonological developments. The reconstruction given above in the summary is only a provisional suggestion which is proposed in accordance with the rime classifications of Wang Li and Chou Tsu-mo's studies. We have cited their conclusions in Chapter One. However, there are several significant phenomena that we would like to discuss here.

(1) The Ancient Division II rimes had been established in the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period, e.g., *Chieh* 皆, *Hsiao* 肴, *Chiang* 江, *Shan* 山, *Chüeh* 覺, *Hsia* 黠, etc. These newly established rimes must have possessed vowels which differ from those of their corresponding Division I rimes. This fact signifies that the medial -r-, which persists from Archaic Chinese to the Wei-Chin period, has probably centralized the various following vowels and



begun to drop out.

(2) We have demonstrated above that Li Fang-kuei reconstructed his own labio-velar initials and the general labials to account for the Ancient *ho-k'ou* element in Archaic Chinese. He proposed the reconstruction of two categories as having *u* as their main vowel, and several other finals of the *Ko* 歌, *Chi* 祭 and *Yüan* 元 categories as having *ua* diphthongs. We have admitted that his theory is also valid in the Wei-Chin period, because we cannot find any trace of distinctions between the Ancient *k'ai-k'ou* and *ho-k'ou* words in the riming practice of the Wei-Chin poets. Therefore, we have also followed his reconstruction in discussing the development of the finals from Archaic Chinese to the Wei-Chin period. Since words like *t'a* and *hua*, as in Modern Mandarin, may usually rime together in spite of the *ho-k'ou* element -u-, our hypothesis that no *ho-k'ou* medial exists in the Wei-Chin rime system may raise doubts. But there are some proofs in support of our claim.

As we just mentioned, the Wei-Chin rime words do not show distinctions between *k'ai-k'ou* and *ho-k'ou*. But we do find such distinctions in the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period. For example, the Ancient *ho-k'ou* *Wen* 文 rime words used to rime with the Ancient *Chen* 眞, *Hen* 痕, *Hsin* 欣 rimes in the Archaic and Han periods, and still rimed with *Hsin* 欣 words in Wei-Chin times; but in the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period the *Wen* 文 words rimed exclusively with themselves. Likewise, the words of the Ancient *ho-k'ou* *Mo* 模 rime used to rime with the Ancient *Yü* 魚 rime words from Archaic to Wei-Chin times, but in the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period, suddenly changed and only rimed with the *ho-k'ou* *Yü* 虞 rime words. It is reasonable to assume that the *ho-k'ou* element arose at least by the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period.

(3) According to Wang Li's observation.<sup>(13)</sup> the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the Ancient *Chih* 支, *Chih* 脂, *Chih* 之, *Wei* 微, *Ch'i* 齊, *Chieh* 皆, *Hui* 灰 and *Hai* 哈 rimes and the *ch'ü-sheng* rimes *Chi* 祭 and *T'ai* 泰 all have occasional contacts with the *ju-sheng* rimes. But his examples of rime sequences are not sufficient and, hence, fail to illustrate such a connection between *ch'ü-sheng* and *ju-sheng* words. Especially, there are no single example to show a regular contact between *ju-sheng* words and the *ch'ü-sheng* words of the *Chih* 支, *Chih* 之, *Chieh* 皆, *Hui* 灰 and *Hai* 哈 rimes. Therefore, we only reconstructed some finals as having an ending -d, as

shown in the summary.

(4) Except for a few rimes like *Ch'ing* 青 and *Hsi* 錫, all the corresponding Division III and IV rimes are still grouped together in the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period, e.g., *Hsiao* 宵 and *Hsiao* 蕭, *Hsien* 仙 and *Hsien* 先, *Hsüeh* 薛 and *Hsieh* 屑.

## 5.6 From the Nan-Pei-ch'ao Period to Ancient Chinese

Because of the reconstruction of the finals of the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period is a provisional suggestion, again no rules will be given to demonstrate the development. The considerable changes in this stage are the vowel shifts, splits, and mergers. It would be fruitless to attempt to describe these changes in detail before the rimes of the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period have been clearly established.

### Notes to Chapter Five

- (1) Li Fang-kuei 1970, pp. 514-518; 1971a, pp. 7-16, 18-20.
- (2) Li Fang-kuei 1971a, pp. 4-5.
- (3) Lo and Chou 1958, p. 46.
- (4) Li Fang-kuei 1971c, p. 12.
- (5) The inter-category contacts among the Han categories, discussed here and hereafter, are cited from the tables of Lo and Chou's study. See their 1958, pp. 46-47, 56.
- (6) Li Fang-kuei op. cit., p. 8.
- (7) Lo and Chou op. cit., p. 47.
- (8) Ibid., pp. 47-48.
- (9) Ibid., p. 56.
- (10) In the Eastern Han period, the *ch'ü-sheng* words with -jəd and -jiəd finals had 9 contacts with the *Chih* 質 category and 1 contacts with *Yüeh* 月 category. See Lo and Chou op. cit., p. 56.
- (11) Li Fang-kuei has first pointed out that -g becomes -u because of the round feature -u precedes it. See Li 1971c, p. 13.
- (12) Li Fang-kuei 1971b, p. 6.
- (13) Wang Li 1936b, pp. 832-836.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

The riming system of the Wei-Chin period has been described in detail. In fact, the reconstruction proposed is the conclusion of our study. But we would like to present a general view of the Wei-Chin dialects in addition to the dialectal features which we have analyzed in the discussion of each rime category in Chapter Four. Furthermore, since we have reconstructed the Han finals and to some extent the Nan-Pei-ch'ao finals as well. We may discuss the periodization from Archaic Chinese to Ancient Chinese.

#### 6.1 The Wei-Chin Dialects

In the Wei-Chin period, there were altogether about 300 authors. Except for those for whom no information is available, each author has an official "native place"—which may or may not represent his mother tongue. This is because the Chinese records traditionally use the birthplace of an individual's ancestors as his official native place. Hence the official records often do not reflect the actual dialect spoken by the author. The ideal way to deal with this problem is to study the family record and the biography of each author in order to trace their life stories. Then, after determining the authors' possible mother tongues, we may collect their works, and having set up separate rime categories for supposed dialectal groups, we may reconstruct their particular finals. We do not intend to make such a study here, because, on the one hand, our main interest in this paper is not dialectology but the reconstruction of the finals of the common literary language in the Wei-Chin period; and, on the other hand, it would be beyond the scope of the present study to investigate the biographies of 300 authors. Therefore, as we have said, only a general view of the Wei-Chin dialects will be given.

With regard to the Wei-Chin dialectal areas, we are fortunate that the valuable works of the Tung-Chin scholar, Kuo P'u 郭璞, i. e., the commentaries to *Fang-yen* 方言, *Erh-ya* 爾雅 and *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經, are still

preserved. But, according to Serruys' analysis, Kuo's dialect material does not equally cover all the Chinese-speaking areas of Chin times.<sup>(1)</sup> In his commentaries, Kuo referred to only two important dialects with any degree of frequency, i.e., Chiang Tung 江東 and Kuan Hsi 關西. The other 34 areas mentioned by him are very cursorily treated.<sup>(2)</sup> However, in Kuo's commentary to *Erh-ya*, we found that there are five passages where Kuo expressed his notion of dialect groups by the opposition of one to the other.

江東—關西	江東—西方	江東—東齊
江東—荆巴	北燕—東齊	

In fact, only five areas are in contrast with each other, i.e., Kuan Hsi 關西, which has another name Hsi Fang 西方, Chiang Tung 江東, Tung Ch'i 東齊, Pei Yen 北燕, and Ching Pa 荆巴. Compared to the Han dialect areas set up by Serruys according to *Fang-yen*,<sup>(3)</sup> all the dialect groups roughly coincide with each other except for one.

Han	Chin
1. Western dialects (Kuan Hsi)	Kuan Hsi
2. Central dialects (Kuan Tung)	
3. Northern and Northeastern dialects	Pei Yen
4. Eastern dialects	Tung Ch'i
5. Southeastern dialects	Chiang Tung
6. Southern dialects	Ching Pa <sup>(4)</sup>

Of course, with only five passages, we cannot draw any conclusion here. It seems that in Kuo P'u's time, the dialectal areas were not very different from those of Han.

Another interesting phenomenon revealed in Kuo's commentary is the use of the following terms: 通語, 通呼, 通言, 通名, 四方通語, 中國之通語.

All these terms suggest that there was a common language in use in Kuo's time. This confirms our assumption that a kind of official or literary language existed in sophisticated political and literary circles throughout Chinese history.

A preliminary sketch of the Wei-Chin dialects is given as follows.

### 6.1.1 The Chiang Tung Dialect (Wu Dialect)

This dialect may also be called the Wu 吳 dialect which probably includes the area southeast of the Yang-tzu river. The capital of the Wu

and Tung Chin dynasties is the center of this dialect. It was called Chien K'ang 建康 or Chien Yeh 建業 in that time, and was on the site of modern Nanking.

The special features of this dialect are mainly found in the works of Lu Chi 陸機 and his brother Lu Yün 陸雲, both of Wu Chün 吳郡. The other authors were Wei Chao 韋昭, Chang Ch'un 張純, Sun Hao 孫皓, all of Wu Chün, and Yang Fang 楊方 of K'uai Chi 會稽, etc. These authors were of the Western Chin dynasty 西晉. According to Serruys (1962), their language is a dialect of the first immigration wave of Northern Chinese, mixed with and influenced by the original Wu dialect.<sup>(5)</sup> In the following, we will discuss the dialectal features in terms of our rime categories and reconstructions.

(1) The categories *Chih* 支, -ei, and *Chih* 脂, -əi, are very close. As far as the works of the Wu authors are concerned, it seems that these two categories are in fact merging together in the Wu dialect, because there are about 50 regular cases in the *Chih* 脂 category, and 8 contacts between *Chih* 脂 and *Chih* 支 but only about 6 regular cases in the *Chih* 支 category. (See Chapter Three, 8.2.3; 9.2.3.) In other words, our -ei final words shifted to -əi finals in the Wu dialect.

(2) As shown in 4.2.4, there are 11 contacts between the *Yu* 幽 and *Hsiao* 宵 categories. Among these 11 contacts, 4 are found in Wei literature indicating the residue of the preceding stage; the other 7 cases are all found in the works of the Wu authors. We have stated that the contacts between *Yu* 幽 -ou, and *Hsiao* 宵 -au, probably show a dialectal feature of the Wu 吳 dialect.

(3) Our *Yü* 魚 category includes the Ancient *Mo* 模, *Yü* 魚 and *Yü* 虞 rimes, because the majority of the rime sequences does not distinguish any further. But exactly as Lo Ch'ang-p'ei indicated in his study (1931), the Wu authors indeed rimed the *Mo* 模 and *Yü* 虞 words together as one group as against the *Yü* 魚 rime words. Maspero (1936) criticized Lo's research as unacceptable, because Lo's studies have led him to establish with exactitude the linguistic frontier of the pronunciation of the *Yü* 魚 and *Yü* 虞 rimes in about the 6th century and to delimit the area of the Wu dialect. Our materials do not provide enough data for us to comment on this point. But besides Lo's opinion of the linguistic frontier, his

observations about the classification of the Ancient *Yü* 魚 and *Yü* 虞 rimes are certainly correct.

(4) We have demonstrated in 4.7 that the Wu authors usually rime the *ch'ü-sheng* -d words with the other *ch'ü-sheng* words without a final -d, but rarely with the *ju-sheng* -t words. This suggests that there are no -d words at all in the Wu dialect. The -d had probably changed to -i in the Wei-Chin period. In other words, our -ad words of the *Chi* 祭 and *T'ai* 泰 categories, and -əd words of the *Chih* 脂 category were actually pronounced as -ai and -ei respectively in the Wu dialect.

(5) It seems that our -ong words of *Tung* 冬 and -ung words of *Tung* 東 are merged in the Wu dialect. There are 8 regular cases in the *Tung* 冬 category and 12 regular cases in the *Tung* 東 category, but 19 inter-category contacts between *Tung* 冬 and *Tung* 東. (See Chapter Three, 15.2,3; 16.2,3.) Of course, it is difficult to identify the direction of the shift, i.e., whether -ong becomes -ung or -ung becomes -ong.

Fortunately, the corresponding *ju-sheng* categories provide the decisive factor. We have illustrated in 4.7 that the relationship between the *yang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* categories is very close. And in Chapter Five, we also indicated that parallel development of *yang-sheng* words and *ju-sheng* words. Then, with regard to the problem of -ong and -ung, it is reasonable to expect a similar relationship between the -ok words of the *Wo* 沃 category and the -uk words of the *Wu* 屋 category. Interestingly enough, there are 3 regular cases in *Wo* 沃, and 20 regular cases in *Wu* 屋, but 10 contacts between these two categories. (See Chapter Three, 28.2,3; 29.2,3.) On the basis of this observation, we may say that the shifts are apparently from -ok to -uk, and possibly from -ong to -ung.

### 6.1.2 The Ch'in-Lung Dialect (Western Dialect)

This dialect may also be called the Western dialect and probably covers an area similar to that set up by Serruys for the Han period,<sup>(6)</sup> i.e., the Kuan Hsi 關西 area. The special features of this dialect are found in the works of Fu Hsüan 傅玄 and his son Fu Hsien 傅咸 of Pei Ti 北地 and Huang-fu Mi 皇甫謐 and Hsin K'uang 辛曠 of An ting 安定. Pei Ti is located in the Ch'in area, and An Ting in the Lung area.

We have found the following inter-category contacts:

(1) *Chen* 眞 and *Ch'in* 侵: (-ən: -əm)

皇甫謐: 莘濱秦屯神倫音仲 釋勸論 CW71.6

皇甫謐: 心鱗岑辰塵人臣倫臣 釋勸論 CW71.6

皇甫謐: 沈眞臣人鄰貧衾岑濱人 釋勸論 CW71.7

皇甫謐: 人賓眞塵身人沈深 釋勸論 CW71.8

傅 咸: 垠今民喜雨賦 CW51.1

傅 咸: 箴深心紳淫鏡賦 CW51.6

羊 曠: 心臨深鱗音欽 贈皇甫謐 CS414

(2) *Chen* 眞 and *Keng* 耕: (-ən: -eng)

傅 玄: 生淳經營京齡 任君墓銘 CW46.13

*Chen* 眞, *Keng* 耕 and *Wen* 文: (-ən: -eng: -ən)

傅 咸: 珍貞文新紙賦 CW51.5

*Yüan* 元 and *Keng* 耕: (-an: -eng)

傅 咸: 原情登芒賦 CW51.4

(3) *Keng* 耕 and *Ch'in* 侵: (-eng: -əm)

傅 咸: 任正令命 周官詩 CS307

Groups (1), (2) and (3) indicate the contacts between -n and -m, -n and -ng, -ng and -m respectively. Although the examples are not many, the changes or shifts of the final nasals are apparent. Since there are still quite a few regular cases in these *yang-sheng* categories, we are unable to decide which categories shifted to the others.

	<i>Chen</i> 眞	<i>Wen</i> 文	<i>Yüan</i> 元	<i>Keng</i> 耕	<i>Ch'in</i> 侵
傅 玄	19	8	16	55	11
傅 咸	5	0	0	27	4
皇甫謐	0	0	0	4	0

It is difficult to say whether the nasals had dropped out and nasalized the main vowel or one of the nasal endings simply shifted and merged with the others. However, these kinds of contacts are no doubt a special feature of the Ch'in-Lung dialect.

Serruys has suggested that the Chin 晉, Shu Han 蜀漢, and Liang Yi 梁益 dialects belong to the Western group in Han times.<sup>(7)</sup> Interestingly enough, in the Wei-Chin period, we found that the dialectal features of Ch'in-Lung also existed in the works of authors from Chin 晉, Shu 蜀 and Yi 益. For examples,

- (1) *Chen* 眞 and *Ch'in* 侵: (-ən: -əm)  
 卻正: 羣林殷 釋議 CW70.8  
 楊戲: 眞文林 糜子仲贊 WW62.8  
 楊戲: 人侵云 魏文長贊 WW62.9  
*Yuan* 元 and *T'an* 談: (-an: -am)  
 卻正: 面艷見練 釋議 CW70.7  
 (2) *Yuan* 元 and *Keng* 耕: (-an: -eng)  
 楊戲: 命境亂性 贊李正方 WW62.9  
 (3) *Cheng* 蒸 and *Ch'in* 侵: (-əng: -əm)  
 楊戲: 音興 季漢輔臣贊 WW62.7  
 孫楚: 林今興 雪賦 CW60.1

Sun Ch'u 孫楚 was from T'ai Yuān 太原 in the Chin area. Yang Hsi 楊戲 was a native of Chien Wei 犍爲 in the Shu area. Hsi Cheng 卻正 was from Ho Nan 河南, but his family had moved to Yi Chou 益州 in his grandfather's time. These contacts extend the Ch'in-Lung dialect to Chin, Shu and Yi on the one hand; and serve as a late support to Serruys' theory of Han linguistic areas on the other.

In addition, we also found contacts between -n and -m endings in some works of the other authors, e. g.,

- Chen* 眞 and *Ch'in* 侵: (-ən: -əm)  
 阮瑀: 塵身心 怨詩 WS190  
 阮籍: 陳純心 秦眞鄰 彌猴賦 WW44.9  
 薛綜: 振音麟臻 鳳頌 WW66.6  
 左九嬪: 親塵尋 因巾 離思賦 CW13.1  
*Chen* 眞, *T'an* 談 and *Ch'in* 侵: (-ən: -əm: -əm)  
 阮籍: 侵岳尋吟林心矜<sup>(8)</sup>神 彌猴賦 WW44.10  
*Wen* 文 and *Ch'in* 侵: (-ən: -əm)  
 何晏: 林分 景福殿賦 WW39.7

Juan Yü 阮瑀 and his son Juan Chi 阮籍 were from Ch'en Liu 陳留. Ho Yen 何晏 was from Nan Yang 南陽. Hsüeh Tsung 薛綜 was from P'ei Ti 沛地. Tso Chiu-pin 左九嬪 was from Ch'i 齊. These places may be considered as the area which was under the influence of the Ch'in-Lung dialect.

Naturally, we would expect to find similar contacts between the *ju-sheng* categories, such as -ət and -əp, in the works of the above-mentioned Ch'in-Lung authors. But the *ju-sheng* words are rarely used as rime words.



Except for certain individual cases, we found only the following interesting examples:

*Yueh* 月, *Teh* 德 and *Yeh* 葉: (-at: -ək: -ap)

楊戲: 烈惑業 贊鄧孔山 WW62.8

*Yueh* 月 and *Teh* 德: (-at: -ək)

楊戲: 克烈 贊趙子龍等 WW62.9

*Yueh* 月, *Chi* 祭 and *Yeh* 葉: (-at: -ad: -ap)

楊戲: 世烈發業 贊關雲長等 WW62.7

*Chih* 職, *Teh* 德 and *Yeh* 葉: (-ək: -ək: -ap)

楊戲: 曄臆德 贊龐士元 WW62.8

Yang Hsi 楊戲 was a native of the Shu area. These contacts denote either the particular feature of the Shu dialect or the idiosyncrasy of the author himself.

### 6.1.3 The Other Dialects

Unlike the poets of the Chiang Tung and Ch'in-Lung area, the other poets of that time do not show special dialectal features in the inter-category contacts. In other words, they are close to the standard literary language. All the common inter-category contacts, as shown in Chapters Three and Four, are probably shared by several dialects. Since these contacts are found in the works of many authors, it is extremely difficult to classify the authors into groups unless we investigate the biography of each of them. For instance, there are altogether 125 contacts between the *Chen* 眞 — *Wen* 文 — *Hun* 魂 and *Yuan* 元 categories. We have noticed in 4.3.10 that, among these contacts, 58 cases are found in the works of Wu authors, and the other 67 cases are scattered among the works of 34 authors. Although the 34 authors may be generally grouped together as of the Northern area, we would rather consider the contacts between -ən and -an as common features of various dialects of the north. We believe that there were several Northern dialects which existed by the Wei-Chin period as revealed in Kuo P'u's commentary, such as his references to Pei Yen 北燕 and Tung Ch'i 東齊. In the meantime we are unable to do further analysis due to the lack of information on the Wei-Chin authors.

The most peculiar dialects in our observation, namely, Wu dialect and Ch'in-Lung dialect, are those often mentioned by Kuo. This indicates that

the northern dialects might have been unified to a certain degree through the Wei and Western Chin dynasties. Therefore, we have reason to believe that the Northern dialects were not very diverse and may well have provided the basis of the literary language of the Wei-Chin period.

Since there were neither official rime books in the Wei-Chin period nor strict rules of using rime words, the authors usually had their own standards and peculiarities of rimings. Our analysis is actually on the basis of the majority of the rime sequences. We did not pay special attention to the idiosyncratic discrepancy of individual authors. But we realize that such idiosyncracies definitely existed. For example:

*Chih* 之, *Chih* 支, *Hai* 哈, *Yu* 幽 and *Yü* 魚: (-əi: -ei: -əi: -ou: -o)

韋昭: 帝異思代治圀字記事意賚喜裕從歷數 SW232

*Chih* 職, *Teh* 德, *Wu* 屋, *Chih* 質 and *Wo* 沃: (-ək: -ək: -uk: -ət: -ok)

曹操: 則極息域獄贖職律力國斲俗德曲戚度關山 WS117

Certainly we cannot depend on these extreme rime sequences to conjoin different rime categories.

## 6.2 Periodization of Chinese Phonology

Language is like a stream. It evolves continuously through centuries. It is not always possible to clearly delimit the sequential periods by sharp marked time boundaries. But, generally speaking, we can establish several periods according to the phonological characteristics. We are here dealing only with the periodization of Chinese phonology; grammatical evolution is another issue. Since our study in this paper is about the Wei-Chin rimes and the reconstructions of the finals of the Han, Wei-Chin, and Nan-Pei-ch'ao periods, our scope will be limited to that from *Shih-ching* and *Hsieh-sheng* times to *Ch'ieh-yün* times.

Chinese phonologists have discussed the problem of periodization and proposed different schemes.<sup>(9)</sup> Due to the lack of studies on the phonology of the Han, Wei, Chin, and Nan-Pei-ch'ao literature, the previous theories have been established either by neglecting these dynasties or by treating them cursorily. For example, Tung T'ung-ho indicated that *Shang-ku Yin* 上古音 refers to the pre-Ch'in Chinese; and *Chung-ku Yin* 中古音 is the language presented by *Ch'ieh-yün*. He did not mention the language between these two periods.<sup>(10)</sup> Wang Li considered the language before

the third century as of the *Shang-ku* 上古 period, and from the fourth to twelfth century as of the *Chung-ku* 中古 period.<sup>(11)</sup> As he did not know the phonological system of the Han and Wei-Chin periods, his theory is not to be taken as the final word on the subject. Of course, Wang Li also took grammatical features as criteria of periodization, but, as we have mentioned, only Chinese phonology and particularly the finals will be dealt with here.

Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (1956) suggested that Chou-Ch'in, Han, Wei-Chin-Nan-Pei-ch'ao, and Sui-T'ang-Sung are different periods.<sup>(12)</sup> Later, in the preface to Lo and Chou's book, he divided the approximate 800 years between Archaic Chinese and Ancient Chinese into three stages, namely, Western and Eastern Han, Wei-Chin-Sung, and Ch'i-Liang-Ch'en-Sui.<sup>(13)</sup> Although he did not review his theory of periodization, his opinion here seems to be different from his earlier idea.

Because there is no study on the Wei-Chin initials available yet, our criteria of periodization will be only the rime categories and reconstructed finals. According to our study in Chapter Five, we propose the following periods of Chinese phonology:

- I. 1. Early Archaic Chinese—the *hsieh-sheng* period
  2. Archaic Chinese—Chou, Ch'in (?-205 B.C.)
  3. Late Archaic Chinese—Western Han, Eastern Han (206 B.C.-207 A.D.)
- II. Old Chinese—Wei, Chin, Sung (?) (208 A.D.-478 A.D.)
- III. 1. Early Ancient Chinese—Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en (479 A.D.-589 A.D.)
  2. Ancient Chinese—Sui, T'ang (590 A.D.-?)

As we have stated that there is no clear boundary between any two periods, the limits of years in the parentheses are for reference only. In the following, we shall discuss the phonological characteristics of each period which have served as the criteria for dividing the periods.

### I. Archaic Chinese

We have borrowed Karlgren's terminology to designate this period. This period includes three stages. Generally speaking, the final consonant endings, -g, -gw, -r and -d, of the *yin-sheng* words are preserved in the whole period. The rime categories generally conform to the 22 categories as established by the Ching phonologists. If *Hsieh-sheng* times and *Shih-*

*ching* times have to be distinguished, we may call the former stage Early Archaic Chinese when the change -b to -d took place. The reason we also discriminate Archaic Chinese and Late Archaic Chinese is owing to the characteristics of the Han stage as shown below.

(A) The *Chih* 脂 (-id) category merged with the *Wei* 微 (-əd) category; and likewise, *Chen* 眞 (-in) with *Wen* 文 (-ən).

(B) Except for *ju-sheng* words, the *Hou* 侯 (-ug) category merged with the *Yü* 魚 (-ag) category, but their corresponding *yang-sheng* categories still kept apart. We realize that those *yin-sheng* and *ju-sheng* words grouped in one category were actually rimed in the first stage. But in the second stage these words had shown a tendency of branching.

(C) The Ancient *Ma* 麻 rime words of the Archaic *Yü* 魚 category, i. e., -rag and -jiag, shifted to the *Ko* 歌 (-ar— -a) category.

(D) The Ancient *Chih* 支 rime words of the Archaic *Ko* 歌 category, i. e., -jar, -jiar and -juar, shifted to the *Chih* 支 (-ig → iei → ieī) category.

## II. Old Chinese

We have used the term, "Old Chinese" to designate this period, i. e., the Wei-Chin-Sung period. Since we have not investigated the riming system of the Nan-Pei-ch'ao period, we are not sure about the situation of the Liu-Sung rimes, and simply follow Lo and Chou's analysis here<sup>(14)</sup> Therefore, we place a question mark after "Sung".

The special characteristics of this period are as follows:

(A) Except for the final -d preserved in the *chü-sheng* words of the *Chih* 脂, *Chi* 祭 and *T'ai* 泰 categories, all the final consonant endings of *yin-sheng* words had dropped out or changed.

(B) The Ancient Division III rimes, such as *Chih* 之, *Chih* 支, *Chih* 脂, *Chi* 祭, *Chih* 職, *Chih* 質, *Cheng* 蒸, *Chen* 眞, etc., tended to establish single rime categories.

(C) The Ancient *Hou* 侯 rime words of the Archaic *Hou* 侯 category and the Late Archaic *Yü* 魚 category shifted to *Yu* 幽 category in the Wei-Chin period.

(D) The Ancient *Hau* 豪, *Hsiao* 肴 and *Hsiao* 宵 rime words of the Archaic *Yu* 幽 category shifted to the *Hsiao* 宵 category.

### III. Ancient Chinese

We have also used Karlgren's term for this period, although it includes two stages. Roughly speaking, vowels had undergone various changes in this period. The relationships between the corresponding *yang-sheng* and *ju-sheng* rimes were becoming stable. The rimes of the four Divisions had developed into independent rimes. The difference between the two stages can be illustrated by the special features of Early Ancient Chinese as follows:

(A) *Chih* 之 and *Chih* 脂 formed one group.

(B) *Yu* 尤, *Hou* 侯 and *Yu* 幽 formed one group.

(C) *Yü* 虞 and *Mo* 模 formed one group as against *Yü* 魚.

(D) *Keng* 庚, *Keng* 耕 and *Ch'ing* 清 formed one group, while their corresponding *ju-sheng* rimes *Mo* 陌, *Mai* 麥 and *Hsi* 昔 also formed one group.

(E) *Tung* 冬 and *Chung* 鍾 formed one group, while their corresponding *ju-sheng* rimes *Wo* 沃 and *Chu* 燭 also formed one group.

(F) *Hsien* 仙 and *Hsien* 先 formed one group, while their corresponding *ju-sheng* rimes *Hsüeh* 薛 and *Hsieh* 屑 also formed one group.

All the above-mentioned rimes of these groups became independent in Ancient Chinese.

### Notes to Chapter Six

(1) Serruys 1962, p. 325.

(2) Ibid., pp. 325-326.

(3) Serruys 1959 pp. 98-99; 1960, pp. 42-43; 1962, p. 323.

(4) As reflected by the term, this area is not identical with the area of the Han Southern dialects. It is probably a mixture of Ching and Pa.

(5) Serruys 1962, p. 327.

(6) See note 3.

(7) Serruys 1959, p. 86.

(8) The word 矜 belonged to the *Ch'in* 侵 category in Han times, but shifted to the *Cheng* 蒸 category during the Wei-Chin period. Here, it seems that 矜 still rimed with Ch'in 侵 words. However, Professor Serruys pointed out to me in private discussion that the word 矜 may form a separate rime sequence with the word 神, since 矜 already had an -n reading in Archaic Chinese. I personally believe that this idea is very likely to be true, since these two words occur in the last two lines of this rimed composition. The

## 6.2 Periodization of Chinese Phonology

author Juan Chi may have changed the rime from -m to -n in order to indicate the end of his composition. Then, the -n reading of 吟 may have preserved an early pronunciation of the *Shih-ching* period, parallel to the -ng reading of the Wei-Chin period.

- (9) Cheng Tsai-fa (1966) has a short review on various theories of the periodization of Chinese phonology. But his article mainly concerns the phonological periods from the tenth century to the seventeenth century. See Cheng Tsai-fa 1966, pp. 635-637.
- (10) Tung T'ung-ho 1954, pp. 6-7.
- (11) Wang Li 1957-8, p. 35.
- (12) Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 1956, pp. 25-30.
- (13) Lo and Chou 1958, p. ii.
- (14) Ibid., pp. ii, 8.

## APPENDIX

### The Biographical Summary of the Wei-Chin Authors

	Name	Native Place	Year of Birth (A. D.)	Year of Death (A. D.)
Wei	孔 融	魯 國	153	208
	阮 瑀	陳 留		212
	崔 琰	清 河	159	216
	王 粲	山 陽	177	217
	劉 楨	東 平		217
	陳 琳	廣 陵		217
	徐 幹	北 海		217
	應 瑒	汝 南		217
	繁 欽	潁 川	170	218
	楊 修	弘 農	175	219
	曹 操	沛 國	155	220
	邯鄲 淳	潁 川	132	
	曹 丕	沛 國	187	226
	丁 儀			
	丁 廙	沛 郡		
	丁 廙妻			
	秦 宓	廣 漢		226
	傅 巽	北 地		
	吳 質	濟 陰	177	230
	曹 植	沛 國	192	232
	衛 覬	河 東		
	諸葛 亮	瑯 瑯	181	234
	卞 蘭	瑯 瑯		
	曹 叡	沛 國	206	239
	薛 綜	沛 郡		243
	胡 綜	汝 南	183	243
	劉 劭	汝 南		
	繆 襲	廣 平	186	245

Wei	左延年				
	何晏	南陽		190	249
	焦先	河東			249
	應璩	汝南		190	252
	應璩	汝南			
	韋誕	京兆		179	253
	夏侯惠	沛國			
	夏侯玄	沛國		209	254
	傅嘏	北地		209	255
	毋丘儉	河東			255
	杜摯	河東			255
	王肅	河東		195	256
	高貴鄉公	沛國			259
	楊戲	犍爲			261
	孫該	任城			261
	呂安	東平			
	嵇康	譙郡		223	262
	郭遐周				
	郭遐叔				
	阮德如	陳留			
	阮籍	陳留		210	263
	鍾會	長社		225	264
	韋昭	吳郡		204	273
	卻正	河南			278
	孫皓	吳郡		240	281
	嵇喜	譙郡		220	285
	閔鴻	廣陵			
	楊泉	吳郡			
	張純	吳郡			
	張儼	吳郡			
	朱異	吳郡			
	王傑				
	萬震				
	嵇叔良				
	賈岱宗				



Chin	司馬懿	河東	內郡	179	251
	程曉	太	原	220	264
	王沈	汝	南		266
	應貞	沛	國		269
	劉伶	潁	川	210	270
	鍾琰	聞	喜	224	271
	裴秀	東	郡	231	273
	成公綏	潁	川		273
	庾峻	北	川		
	庾儵	泰	地	217	278
	傅玄	沛	山	221	278
	羊祐	安	郡		282
	薛瑩	平	定	215	282
	皇甫謐	弘	陽	217	282
	賈充	潁	農	206	285
	王濬	潁	川		289
	賈據	犍	爲	223	289
	荀密	河	內		
	李秀	譙	國	243	291
	夏侯湛	太	原		293
	孫楚	北	地	239	294
	傅咸	河	南	239	294
	郭泰	安	定	239	294
	辛曠	太	原		
	王濟	陽	羨	240	299
	周處	范	陽	232	300
	張華	榮	陽	247	300
	潘岳	渤	海	249	300
	石崇	齊	國		300
	陳總				300
	左嬪				300
	綠珠				
	翽風				
	歐陽建	渤	海		

Chin	程	猗				
	江	偉	陳	留		
	東	皙	陽	平		
	裴	顧	河	東	267	300
	張	林	常	山		301
	何	劭	陳	國		301
	木	華	廣	川		
	索	靖	敦	煌	239	303
	陸	機	吳	郡	261	303
	陸	雲	吳	郡	262	303
	鄭	豐	沛	國		
	夏	靖				
	孫	拯	吳	郡		303
	嵇	紹	譙	國	253	304
	左	思	齊	國		305
	牽	秀	武	邑		
	嵇	含	譙	國	262	306
	司	馬 彪	河	內		306
	曹	攄	譙	國		308
	阮	瞻	陳	留	281	310
	江	統	陳	留		310
	阮	修	陳	留	270	311
	杜	育	襄	城		311
	潘	尼	榮	陽		311
	摯	虞	京	兆		311
	閻	丘 冲	高	平		
	棗	嵩	穎	川		
	王	讚	義	陽		
	庾	敬	鄆	陵	263	312
	張	敏	太	原		
	王	浚	太	原	252	314
	殷	巨	雲	陽		
	夏	侯 淳	譙	國		
	劉	琨	中	山	270	317
	孫	惠	吳	國		

Chin	王	鑒	堂	邑	278	318
	蔡	洪	吳	郡		
	曹	嘉	譙	國		
	咸	祭				
	盧	忌	范	陽	276	322
	王	廙	瑯	瑀	276	324
	郭	璞	河	東		
	張	翰	吳	郡		325
	司	紹	河	內	288	329
	溫	嶠	太	原		
	盧	播	陳	留		
	胡	濟			259	334
	陶	侃	潯	陽		
	熊	甫				
	葛	洪	丹	陽		
	楊	方	會	稽	286	339
	庾	闡	鄢	陵		
	李	興	雋	爲		
	張	載	安	平		
	張	協	安	平		
	范	堅	南	陽		
	棗	腆	穎	川		
	千	寶	新	蔡		
	魯	衰	南	陽		
	習	嘏	襄	陽	307	346
	張	駿	安	定		
	裴	邈	河	東		
	李	充	江	夏		
	裴	聲	范	陽	284	350
	盧	誼	譙	國		
	曹	毗				
	梅	陶				
	馬	岌	湘	州		
	谷	儉				
	傅	純	陳	國	308	357
	謝	尙				

Chin	江	迨	陳	留	303	360
	劉	悛	沛	國		
	孫	嗣	太	原		362
	謝	萬	陳	國		363
	支	遁	陳	留	314	366
	王	胡之	瑯	瑯		371
	桓	溫	謙	國	312	373
	卞	裕				
	袁	宏	陽	夏	328	376
	王	彪之	瑯	瑯	305	377
	孫	統	太	原		
	孫	綽	太	原	320	377
	鄒	超	高	平	337	377
	王	羲之	瑯	瑯	303	379
	王	玄之	瑯	瑯		
	習	鑿齒	襄	陽		384
	王	虔	太	原		
	謝	安	陳	國	320	385
	史	援				
	王	獻之	瑯	瑯	344	386
	王	徽之	瑯	瑯		386
	梅	葉				
	庾	肅之	穎	川		
	許	詢	高	陽		
	李	頤	江	夏		
	王	彬之				
	王	蘊之				
	王	豐之				
	華	茂之	廣	陵		
	曹	茂之	彭	城		
	郝	雲	高	平		
	庾	友	穎	川		
	庾	蘊				
	徐	豐之				
	謝	繹				

Chin	魏	滂				
	虞	說				
	曹	華				
	王	嘉	隴	西		
	謝芳	姿				
	苻	朗	略	陽		389
	伏	滔	平	昌		
	楊	宣				
	戴	達	謙	國		
	陳	玢				
	袁	矯				396
	王	凝	瑯	玦		399
	王	渙	瑯	玦		
	王	肅	瑯	玦		
	殷	仲	陳	郡		399
	王	珣	瑯	玦	350	401
	袁	崧	陳	郡		401
	顧	愷	無	錫	341	402
	桓	偉	謙	國		403
	桓	玄	謙	國	369	404
	卞	範	濟	陰		
	殷	仲	陳	郡		407
	鳩	摩羅	天	竺		409
	僧	肇	京	兆		
	支	曇	吳	興		
	謝	混	陽	夏		412
	王	誕	臨	沂	375	413
	褚	爽	河	南		
	吳	隱	濮	陽		413
	慧(惠)	遠	雁	門	334	416
	李	暘	隴	西	351	417
	趙	整	略	陽		
	韓	延	南	陽		
	徐	廣	東	莞	352	425
	赫連	勃勃				

Chin	陶	潛	潯	陽	365	427
	殷	允	陳	郡		
	蘇	彥				
	謝	道	陳	國		
	祖	台	范	陽		
	劉	瑾				
	羊	孚	泰	山		
	宗	炳	南	陽	375	443
	羊	徽	泰	山		
	周	祇	陳	郡		
	殷	闡				
	卞	承				
	胡	義	安	定		
	董	周				
	張	京				
	郭	望				
	賈	元				
	王	彬				
	王	劭				
	王	康				
	王	齊				
	孫	瓊				
	張	奴				
	黃	章	魯	國		
	張	浚				
	應	碩				
	陸	善				
	孔	法				
	竺	僧	東	莞		
	楊	苔	東	莞		
	湛	方				
	孫	承				
	史	宗				
	辛	蕭				
	王	慶				
	李	秀				

Chin

劉 謐 之  
陳 窈  
劉 恢  
王 沈  
王 道 猷  
陳 珍  
康 泓  
楊 父  
范 康 泉  
陸 冲  
賈 彪  
庾 統  
何 瑾  
仲 長 敖  
劉 和 妻  
蘇伯玉妻  
陳新塗妻  
廬山諸道人  
廬山諸沙彌

高 平  
山 陰

汝 南

## Abbreviations of Titles

AM	Asia Major, A British Journal of Far Eastern Studies, London.
BIHP	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.
BMFEA	Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
CHHP	Ch'ing-hua Hsüeh-pao 清華學報, The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, Peking-Taipei.
CTWYYK	Kuo-li Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh Wen-shih-hsüeh Yen-chiu-so Yüeh-k'an 國立中山大學文史學研究所月刊 Monthly of Institute of History and Language, National Sun Yatsen University, Canton.
CYYY Mon.	Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan Li-shih Yü-yen Yen-chiu-so Chuan k'an 中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊 Monographs of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
JICCHK	The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.
KHCK	Kuo-hsüeh Chi-k'an 國學季刊, A Journal of Sinological Studies, Peking.
MS	Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies, Los Angeles.
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Berlin.
OJKK	Ochanomizu Joshidaigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kiyo お茶の水女子大學人文科學紀要 Ochanomizu University Studies in Arts and Culture, Tōkyō.
TP	T'oung Pao, Archives concernant L'Histoire, Les Langues, La Géographie, L'ethnographie et Les Arts de L'Asie Orientale, Leiden.



- TSGH Tōkyō Shina Gakkaihō 東京支那學會報 Bulletin of Tōkyō  
Sinological Society, Tōkyō.
- TYGH Tōyō Gakuhō 東洋學報, Reports of the Oriental Society,  
Tōkyō.
- YYHTS Yin-yün-hsüeh Ts'ung-shu 音韻學叢書, Taipei.

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Chiang Yung 江 永 (1681-1762 A.D.)

*Ku-yün Piao-chun* 古韻標準, YYHTS.

*Szu-sheng Ch'ieh-yün Piao* 四聲切韻表, YYHTS.

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## 中文摘要

本書利用于海晏的漢魏六朝韻譜爲根據，仔細把魏晉兩代文學中有韻的部分查對一過，歸納韻字成爲若干魏晉韻部，根據各韻部中韻字的類別並參照目前對周秦上古音及隋唐中古音已有的擬音知識擬測魏晉音的韻母系統，上探兩漢，下窺六朝，希望在上古音到中古音之間建起一道溝通的橋梁。全書共分六章，現在分述如下，並隨文注明在書中討論的頁碼。

### 第一章 緒論

介紹自宋至清有關上古音研究的總成績，把幾位古韻學家對上古韻部分部的結果列表比照。(頁 2-3)。由於前人把聲韻學歸入小學的範圍，用作解經的工具，與後代的比較也大致限於“唐韻”，所以對於自上古到中古約略八百年間的音韻情形不注意。只有王念孫對於漢代的語音做過一些鉤稽分韻的工作。直到近代才有王越，于海晏及王力等人注意自漢至隋的語音情形。其中王越的三篇文章貢獻不大(頁 4)；王力研究南北朝四十九位詩人的用韻，方法正確，可惜受材料的限制，無法討論許多問題。(頁 4-5)。于海晏的“漢魏六朝韻譜”是全面性的工作，但是結果並不理想，除去材料處理方法上需要改正以外，在分析上也有許多問題未能顧及。

近人著作中，方法謹嚴，結果最有價值的是羅常培及周祖謨合著的“漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究”的第一分冊——兩漢部分。他們原來預計寫四個分冊；(1) 兩漢，(2) 魏晉宋，(3) 齊梁陳隋，(4) 結論。一九五八年九月第一分冊出版後，羅先生在同年十二月逝世，十五年來第二分冊一直沒有問世。兩漢部分分析詳密，書評一致推許(頁五~六)。本書主要的工作除去繼兩漢之後從事魏晉韻部的分部工作以外，並擬測魏晉的韻母系統。

從羅周兩氏的工作我們知道兩漢的音韻與上古音的分別不大(頁 6-7)；據王力的結論又知道南北朝的音韻與中古音的不同也很有限(頁 8-10)。那麼從上古音到中古音之間音韻演變的轉捩點究竟何在？是不是從魏晉兩代的音韻正可以看出音變的種種跡象？

從事魏晉音韻研究的王越及于海晏兩氏的作品都各有缺點。王氏“漢魏南北朝之脂支三部及東中二部之演變”一文發表於1933年，只是一個簡單的說明。那時對於上古音的許多觀念尙未釐清，王氏的說法在當時可說很有價值，但現在看來頗有可議之處。(頁 10-11)。于海晏的書材料相當完備，他主要的缺點在於分析的方法，他把一起押韻的字歸納在一部裏，不管何者爲正則，何者爲例外。從他的韻字表上既看不出各部分類的界線，也無法找到音韻演變的路向，更談不上與切韻音系的比較。羅周兩氏曾經提出好些問題，例如：“同一個時期內有哪些作家用韻特殊？同一個字在前後

不同的時期內有甚麼聲音的轉變？廣韻一韻的字是否歸類一樣？有沒有值得注意的現象？特殊的合韻例子應當怎樣去解釋？”（頁 11-12）。這些問題都不是于氏的研究所能解答的。

本書研究的材料以嚴可均“全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文”及丁福保“全漢三國晉南北朝詩”兩書中詩文韻字為限，用系聯韻字的辦法歸納為若干韻部。各部正規的韻例及異部通押的例外都從韻字押韻次數的統計來立論。有少數的字因為跟兩部字押韻的次數都接近，只好兩歸，可能有方言的影響及漸變的過渡情形。

由方言的影響引起一個重要的問題，即：在魏晉衆多的材料之中明知有方言的不同，何以還能歸納在一起分別韻部，擬測韻母呢？這個問題牽涉到全書研究的基本假設，我是根據以下的幾點來進行研究的（頁 14-15）。

第一、相信在魏晉時代文壇、政壇之中有一種通行的文學語言，或讀書音，正如詩經時代的雅言、切韻時代的文學語言一樣，是當時一般文人作詩作文據以押韻的根據。從韻字歸納出來的韻母系統正是代表當時的讀書音。在大的間架以內，容或仍有方言的痕跡，經過詳細的分析放在第六章討論。

第二、韻文或詩歌只需要相同的韻母就可以押韻，即使有方言的不同也不致影響韻部的歸類。例如甲方言讀 -ung 及 -jung 的兩種字可以押韻，因而歸為一部，即使乙方言把這些字讀 -ong 及 -jong，但並不影響它們的歸類問題，這些字彼此仍然是很調協的韻字。

第三、如果任何一個或一羣詩人有他或他們獨特的押韻風格，那麼在整體性的韻部之中仍不泯滅其個別性，因為有異部通押的例子容納這些例外。我按照王力的辦法，是把每一個詩人作為一個單位來看待的。

## 第二章 諸家上古韻母系統述評

本書討論魏晉的韻母，同時也給漢代的韻母系統作了初步的擬測，因此不得不對諸家上古的韻母系統作選擇性的接受。選擇之前先有述評。本章中共評介高本漢（頁 17-21），董同龢（頁 21-24），陸志韋（頁 24-26），王力（頁 26-30），浦立本（頁 30-33），周法高（頁 33-35）及李方桂（頁 35-38）等七家之說。一方面介紹他們的擬音系統，一方面從一般語言學，押韻關係及諧聲關係上討論各家的是非。如高氏系統中有十四個元音（頁19），董氏系統中有二十個元音（頁22），陸氏系統中有十三個元音（頁25），不僅元音多，而且都沒有前高元音“i”，實在是相當奇怪的系統；又如浦立本擬測五種不同的鼻音尾 -m, -n, -ng<sup>j</sup>, -ng, -ng<sup>w</sup>, 六種不同的塞音尾 -p, -t, -k<sup>j</sup>, -k, -k<sup>w</sup>, -ʔ 等（頁 31），周法高擬測十三種不同的介音 -w-, -r-, -rw-, -ri-, -riw-, -ji-, -jiw-, -i-, -iw-, -j-, -jw-, -e-, -ew-（頁35）。從一般語言學的眼光來看，都不易使人信服。其次高本漢、董同龢、陸志韋在同一部中有時擬測不同的元音，並允許具有不同元音的字自由押韻，在押韻關係上實在不是好的理論。王力把陰聲韻尾完全去除，

但陰聲韻與入聲韻在上古關係密切，他必須承認 ə 與 ək, a 與 at 可以自由諧聲，押韻，換句話說，只要元音相同即可，那麼問題是何以 ə 只與 ək 諧押，而不能與 ət, ən, əp, əm 諧押？（頁 28）。總之，各家之說都有相當嚴重的缺點，只有李方桂先生的系統最令人信服，所以本書就採用他的系統作為討論上古音的根據。

在韻母系統以外，對上古的聲調系統也作澈底的檢討（頁 38-44），認為詩經時代大概還是四個聲調，其早期來源或者起於韻尾輔音，在目前仍無法論定。

### 第三章 魏晉韻部

魏晉時代共有三十七個韻部（頁 46-47），本章之中把各部韻譜詳細列出，這一部分是全書立論的根據。各部之中包括三部分：（1）韻字表，（2）韻譜，（3）異部通押（等於合韻譜），有時再加上第四部分（4）異調通押。

韻字表按廣韻四聲及韻目分類，每韻之中再把具有同一諧聲聲符的字放在一起。韻譜先按聲調分開，各調之內按作者年代先後排列韻例。（關於作者年代的先後另作考證，見於附錄。）每一韻例列出同一首詩或同一段韻文所用的韻字，後面加上小字注明出處及頁碼（頁 48）。

關於用韻的格式特別有一節來討論（頁 49-53），通常在詩文中對偶的平行現象最為清晰，總是偶句的末字入韻，最常見的押韻格式就是 OAOA，也就是通篇的偶句入韻，奇句不入韻，有時在一段開始時有一句話領起全段，這一句話可說是獨立的成分，然後接下去就是隔句一韻的情形了。

三十七部韻譜總目如下：

1. 之 頁 53-60	13. 蒸 頁 112-113	26. 職 頁 173-175
2. 哈 頁 61-62	14. 登 頁 113-114	27. 德 頁 175-177
3. 幽 頁 63-69	15. 冬 頁 114-117	28. 沃 頁 177-178
	16. 東 頁 117-121	29. 屋 頁 178-181
4. 宵 頁 69-72		
5. 豪 頁 72-75		
6. 魚 頁 75-85	17. 陽 頁 121-130	30. 藥 頁 181-184
7. 歌 頁 85-90		
8. 支 頁 90-95	18. 耕 頁 130-140	31. 錫 頁 184-185
9. 脂 頁 95-103	19. 真 頁 141-150	32. 質 頁 185-188
	20. 文 頁 150-152	
10. 皆 頁 103-107	21. 魂 頁 153-154	33. 沒 頁 188-188
11. 祭 頁 107-109	22. 元 頁 154-163	34. 月 頁 188-191
12. 泰 頁 110-112	23. 寒 頁 163-167	35. 曷 頁 191-192
	24. 侵 頁 168-172	36. 緝 頁 192-193
	25. 談 頁 172-173	37. 葉 頁 193-194

#### 第四章 魏晉韻部內容及擬音

根據上一章的韻譜，在這一章中仔細分析各部的內容。察看每一部中包含哪些字，這些字屬於上古音、兩漢音哪一部或哪幾部，到廣韻中見於什麼韻。除去本部的內容以外，同時也注意異部通押的例子，這些異部通押的情形常常顯示音韻上的特點，使人窺見各部韻母音值的大概。

在擬音工作上訂立三個原則（頁200）：

（一）同一韻部中每一個字都擬定為同一元音，我相信元音的一致是各字押韻的基本條件。

（二）同一韻部中每一個字通常都擬定為同一韻尾，除非找到充分的證據證明在某種條件之下必須擬測一個以上的韻尾。

（三）在同一個韻部中，如果有好些字歸屬於廣韻不同的韻，而我們已經擬定這些字具有相同的元音及韻尾，就用不同的介音來顯示它們的區別。

韻部分成陰聲韻、陽聲韻及入聲韻三類來討論，每一類都先畫一個韻組出現統計表，統計各部之中正規的韻組有多少，例外押韻的有多少，是哪一部跟哪一部有例外押韻。（頁201, 213, 224）。然後就各部的情形分別擬音，擬音的總結果見於頁233。

韻母擬音以外，有兩節分別討論魏晉聲調系統及聲母問題。魏晉聲調有平、上、去、入四種，在大約七千條韻組之中，平、上、去三聲異調通押的只有六十一條。可見聲調在押韻上的意義。去入通押的有八十六條，只出現在有限的幾個韻部之中，已經給一部分去聲字擬測一個 -d 尾來解釋這些通押的情形。

#### 第五章 從上古音到中古音的音韻演變

本章先用表的形式說明自上古到中古的韻母演變情形（頁238-247）。然後分五個階段解釋各代的語音變化。現在把前三個階段的規則簡列如下：

一、從上古到西漢（頁 248-253）：

(1) (A) -gw → -g / KWj\_\_

(B) ə → o / \_\_KW

(2) u → ua / \_\_g

(3) (A) i → ie / \_\_K

(B) -g → -i / e\_\_

(4) i → iə / \_\_T

(5) ə → a / \_\_r

(6) -g → -i / {<sub>ji</sub><sup>r</sup>} a\_\_

(7) ə → o / KWj\_\_ {<sub>ng</sub><sup>g</sup>}

## 二、從西漢到東漢 (頁253-255)

- (1)  $-i \rightarrow -i / ie \_$
- (2) (A)  $-r \rightarrow -i / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} Kj \\ jv \end{smallmatrix} \right\} V \_$   
 (B)  $a \rightarrow e / j(V) \_i$   
 (C)  $-r \rightarrow \phi / \_ \#$
- (3)  $-i \rightarrow \phi / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r \\ ji \end{smallmatrix} \right\} a \_$
- (4)  $-d \rightarrow -i / C \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} (r) \\ j \end{smallmatrix} \right] (i) \phi \_ \left[ \# \text{ 平、上} \right]$
- (5)  $a \rightarrow e / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r \\ ji \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \_ng$

## 三、從東漢到魏晉 (頁 255-258)

- (1) (A)  $\phi \rightarrow o / LABj \_K$   
 (B)  $ua \rightarrow o / C \_g$   
 (C)  $-g \rightarrow -u / o \_$   
 (D)  $-gw \rightarrow -u / \_ \#$   
 (E)  $o \rightarrow a / C \left( \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r \\ i \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \right) \_u$   
 (F)  $-g \rightarrow -i / \_ \#$   
 (G)  $ai \rightarrow o / \_ \#$
- (2)  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} -kw \\ -ngw \end{smallmatrix} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{smallmatrix} -k \\ -ng \end{smallmatrix} \right] / o \_$
- (3)  $\phi \rightarrow a / C \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r(i) \\ i \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \_ \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ t \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$

這些規則中 (1)、(2)、(3) 沒有次序的關係，(A)、(B)、(C) 則有先後的次序，這種次序代表時代發生的先後。

後兩個階段因為南北朝的情形不清楚，所以無法用規則來表示，只能就大致的趨向略作說明。從魏晉到南北朝有幾點現象是很突出的：

- (1) 二等韻開始獨立，(2) 後起合口字產生，(3) 魏晉的陰聲尾  $-d$  完全消失，(4) 除青錫兩韻的例外，其他三四等韻宵蕭、仙先、薛屑等仍舊不分。(頁258-260)

南北朝到中古音的演變因為材料不足暫不討論。

## 第六章 結 論

其實前兩章的結果已經是全書的結論，在這一章裏另提出方言的問題及漢語語音史自上古到中古的分期問題來說。

魏晉的方言已經在各韻部擬音時零碎地討論到，現在作一個總的說明。晉人郭璞、

在他的方言注、爾雅注、山海經注裏常常提到當時的方言區，最顯明的是“江東”與“關西”，其他三十四個不同的地區只是偶一提及。在爾雅注裏我找到五處方言對比的記載，即：江東～關西，江東～西方，江東～東齊，江東～荆巴，北齊～北燕。這五個地區大致與司仁義神父（Paul L-M Serruys）根據揚雄方言所分割的六個漢代方言區相應（頁261-262）。從本書的材料來看，魏晉方言有以下兩區是特徵最清楚的。

（一）江東方言（頁262-264），特點為：支脂不分、幽宵通押、虞模與魚分韻、陰聲韻全無塞音尾、東冬不分。

（二）秦隴方言（頁264-267），特點為：鼻音尾 -n 與 -m 有相混的現象，眞與耕、耕與侵偶有通押，秦隴與晉、蜀、益的方言現象接近。蜀犍爲群的楊戲有把入聲 -p, -t, -k 尾通押的情形。

除上述兩個方言區的作者以外，其他作者看不出清楚的方言跡象。但部分材料顯示，大約當時北方話已經趨向於一致。

關於從上古音到中古音的分期問題，按照本書第五章的研究可以將這一段音韻史分爲三期（頁269）：

- 一、上古音：1. 上古前期——諧聲時代
- 2. 上古中期——周、秦
- 3. 上古晚期——兩漢

二、古音：魏晉宋（？）

- 三、中古音：1. 中古前期——齊、梁、陳
- 2. 中古中期——隋、唐

每期之間並沒有截然的分界，只是用音韻特點作爲大分的根據。（頁269-271）

## 附 錄

魏晉作家籍貫生卒年表（頁273-281），以卒年爲編排次序的根據，凡無顯明卒年記載者，則從本傳中尋繹其一生事蹟而加以決定。

中央研究院  
歷史語言研究所  
專刊之六十五

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