



# 清 華 學 報

第 六 卷 第 三 期

社 會 科 學 號

國 立 清 華 大 學 發 行

中 華 民 國 二 十 年 十 月

# 清 華 學 報

## 第 六 卷 第 三 期 目 錄

中 華 民 國 二 十 年 十 月

琦善與鴉片戰爭.....蔣廷黻

天津之針織工業.....方顯庭

中國家庭現存的複雜性的研究.....傅尙霖

盧梭的政治思想.....浦薛鳳

Ethnological and Linguistical Aspects of the  
Ural-Altai Hypothesis..... Prof. Shirokogoroff

# 本期撰述人略歷

---

蔣廷黻 美國哥倫比亞大學博士本校歷史系主任

方顯庭 美國耶魯大學博士南開大學經濟教授

傅尙霖 本校社會人類學系教授

浦薛鳳 美國哈佛大學碩士本校政治學系教授

Prof. Shirakogoroff 本校社會人類學系教授

# 琦善與鴉片戰爭

1

蔣廷黻

鴉片戰爭的終止之日當然就是道光二十二年七月二十四日中英兩國代表簽訂南京條約之日。至于起始之日爲何日，則不易定。因爲中英雙方均未發表宣戰正式公文，並且忽戰忽和，或戰于此處而和于彼處。此種畸形的原由，大概有二。一則彼時中國不明國際公法及國際關係的慣例。不但不明，簡直不承認有所謂國際者存在。中英的戰爭，在中國方面，不過是「勦夷」「討逆」。就此一點，我們就能窺測當時國人的心理和世界知識。第二個原由是彼時中英二國均未預抱一個必戰之心。中國當初的目的全在禁煙。宣宗屢次的上諭明言不可輕啟邊釁。在道光十八年各省疆吏覆議黃爵滋嚴禁鴉片的奏摺之時，激烈派與和緩派同等的無一人預料禁煙會引起戰爭。(註一)不過激烈派以爲倘因達到禁煙目的而必須用兵以迫「外夷順服」則亦所不惜。在英國方面，自從律勞卑 (註二) (Lord Napier) 以商業監督 (Superintendent of Trade) 的資格于道光十四年來華而遭拒絕後，英政府的態度就趨消極。繼任的監督雖屢次請訓，政府置之不理。原來英國在華的目的全在通商。作買賣者，不分中外古今，均盼時局的安定。我們敢斷定：鴉片戰爭以前，英國全無處心積慮以謀中國的事情。英政府

---

(註一) 道光朝籌辦夷務始末 (故宮博物院影印本) 卷二卷三卷四 (以下簡稱始末)

(註二) 本文譯名皆從官書



的行動就是我們所謂將就了事，敷衍過去，英人所謂“Muddle along”。英國政府及人民固然重視在華的商業，而且爲通商中英已起了好幾次的衝突，不過英國人的守舊性甚重，不好紛事更張，因爲恐怕愈改愈壞。及林則徐于道光十九年春禁煙，英商與英領以迫其繳煙的信息傳到英京之時，適當巴麥尊爵士 (Lord Palmerston) 主持英國的外交。此人是以提倡積極政策而在當時負盛名的。他即派遣艦隊來華，但仍抱一線和平的希望，且英國贊成和平者亦大有人在。倘和議不成而必出于一戰，巴麥尊亦所不惜。故鴉片戰爭的發生，非中英兩國所預料，更非兩國所預謀。戰爭雖非偶然的，無歷史背景的，然初不過因禁煙而起衝突，繼則因衝突而起報復，(reprisal) 終乃流爲戰爭。

鴉片戰爭，當作一段國際關係史看，雖是如此畸形混沌，然單就中國一方面研究，則顯可分爲三期。第一期是林則徐主政時期，起自道光十九年正月二十五日，即林以欽差大臣的資格行抵廣東之日。第二期是琦善主政時期，起自道光二十年七月十四日，即琦善與英國全權代表懿律 (Admiral George Elliot) 及義律 (Captain Charles Elliot) 在大沽起始交涉之日。第三期是宣宗親自主政時期，起自道光二十一年二月六日，即琦善革職拿問之日，而止于二十二年七月二十四日的南京條約。在專制政體之下，最後決斷權，依法律，當然屬于皇帝；然事實上，常常有大臣得君主的信任，言聽計從。此地所謂林則徐及琦善主政時期即本此意而言。緣此林的革職雖在二十年九月八日，然自七月中以後，宣宗所信任的已非林而爲琦善，故琦善主政時期實起自七月中。自琦

善革職以後，直到英兵破鎮江，宣宗一意主戰。所用人員如奕山，奕經，裕謙，牛鑑等不過遵旨力行而已。雖有違旨者，然皆實違而名遵，故第三期稱爲宣宗主政時期，似不爲無當。

三期中，第一期與第三期爲時約相等，各佔一年半。第二期一琦善主政時期一爲最短，半年零數日而已。在第一期內，嚴格說，實無外交可言。因爲林則徐的目的在禁煙，而禁煙林視爲內政一本係內政一不必事先與外人交涉，所採步驟亦無須外人的同意。中英往來文件，在林方面，只有「諭示」：在英領義律方面，迫于時勢，亦間「具稟」。此時義律既未得政府訓令，又無充分的武力後援，他的交涉，不過圖臨時的相安，他的軍事行動不過報復及保護在華英人的生命和財產。到第三期，更無外交可言。雙方均認交涉無望，一意決戰。後來英兵抵南京，中國于是屈服。在此三年半內，惟獨琦善主政的半年曾有過外交相對的局勢。在此期之初，英國全權代表雖手握重兵，然英政府的訓令是教他們先交涉而後戰爭，而二代表亦以速和以復商業爲上策。訓令所載的要求雖頗詳細，然非完全確定，尙有相當伸縮的可能。在中國一方面琦善的態度是外交家的態度。他的奏摺內，雖有「諭嘆夷」，「嘆夷不遵勸戒」字樣，但他與英人移文往來，亦知用「貴國」「貴統帥」的稱呼。且他與英人面議的時候，完全以平等相待。至于他的目的，更不待言，是圖以交涉了案。故琦善可說是中國近九十年大變局中的第一任外交總長。

這個第一任外交總長的名譽，在當時，在後代，就是個「奸臣」和「賣國賊」的名譽。不幸，琦善在廣東，除任交涉以外，且署理兩廣總督，有節制水陸軍的權利和責任。攻擊他的有些

注重他的外交,有些注意他的軍事。那末,琦善外交的出發點就是他的軍事觀念。所以我們先研究琦善與鴉片戰爭的軍事關係。

道光二十一年二月初間虎門失守以後,欽差大臣江蘇巡撫裕謙上了一封彈劾琦善的奏摺。他說「乃聞琦善到粵後,散遣壯勇,不啻爲淵驅魚,以致轉爲該夷勾去,遂有大角沙角之陷」。(註三) 裕靖節是主戰派首領之一,也是疆吏中最露頭角的人。他攻擊琦善的意思不外林則徐督粵的時候,編收本省壯丁爲團勇。琦善到粵即反林所爲而遣散之。這班被撤的壯丁就變爲「漢奸」,英人反得收爲己用。此說的虛實,姑不討論;倘中國人民不爲中國打外國,就必反助外國打中國,民心亦可見一斑了。

靖節的奏摺上了不滿二月,御史駱秉章又上了一封,措詞更激烈:「竊惟逆夷在粵,滋擾幾及一年。前督臣琦善到粵查辦,將招集之水勇,防備之守具,全行撤去。迨大角沙角失事,提鎮專弁赴省求援,僅發兵數百名,遣之夜渡,惟恐逆夷知覺,以致提督關天培,總兵李廷鈺在礮台遙望而泣」。(註四)這樣說來,琦善的罪更大了:除遣散壯勇之外,還有撤防具陷忠臣的大罪。駱文忠原籍廣東花縣。摺內所言,大概得自同鄉。他爲人頗正直。道光二十一年以前,因查庫不受賄已得盛名。故所發言詞,不但足以左右當時的清議,且值得我們今日的研究。

此類的參奏不必盡引,因爲所說的皆大同小異。但道

(註三) 始末卷二十四頁三十五下,

(註四) 始末卷二十八頁二十三,

光二十一年六月王大臣等會審的判詞是當時政府最後的評定，也是反琦善派的最後勝利，不能不引。「此案琦善以欽差大臣查辦廣東夷務，宜如何慎重周詳，計出萬全。該夷既不遵照曉諭，辦理已形猖獗，即當奏請調兵迅速勦除。乃妄冀羈縻，暫以香港地方許給，俾得有所藉口。于一切防守事宜，並不預爲設備，以致該夷疊將礮臺攻陷，要隘失守，實屬有誤機宜。自應按律問擬。琦善合依守備不設失陷城塞者斬監候律，擬斬監候，秋後處決」。(註五) 這個判詞實代表當時的清議。所可注意者，政府雖多方搜羅琦善受賄的證據，判詞內無受賄的罪名。

但是當時的人不明瞭琦善爲什麼要「開門揖盜」，以爲必是受了英人的賄賂。戰爭的時候，左宗棠——同光時代的恪靖侯左宗棠——正在湖南安化陶文毅家授課。道光二十一年他致其師賀蔗農的信有一段極動人的文章：「去冬果勇楊侯奉詔北行。有人自侯所來云，「侯言琦善得西人金巨萬，遂堅主和議。將恐國計遂壞伊手」。昨見林制府謝罪疏，末云並恐彼族別生秘計云云，是殆指此。誠如是，其愚亦大可哀矣。照壁之詩及渠欲即斬生夷滅口各節情狀昭著。礮臺失陷時，渠駟疏謂二礮臺孤懸海外，粵東武備懈弛，寡不敵衆，且云彼族火器爲向來所未見，此次以後，軍情益餒。無非欺君罔上，以和要主。張賊勢而慢軍心，見之令人切齒」。(註六) 左的信息得自「自侯所來」者。果勇侯楊芳原任湖南提督，于道光二十一年正月八日放參贊大臣，馳驛前

(註五) 始末卷三十頁四十一。

(註六) 左文襄公書牘卷一。

往廣東，剿擒逆夷」。他於正月二十一日接到了這道上諭，二月十三日行抵廣東省城。（註七）他在起程赴任之初即奏云：「現在大局或須一面收復定海，一面准其于偏岸小港屯集貨物」。換言之，浙江應與英人戰，廣東則應與英人通商以求和。自然宣宗以爲不妥。抵廣東後他就報告「預備分段援應共保無虞」。但是他所帶的湖南兵爲害於英人者少，爲害於沿途及廣東人民者反多。三月初，果勇侯又有「布置攻守機宜」的奏摺，說：「城廂內外民心大定，遷者漸復，閉者漸開，軍民鼓勇，可期無虞」。（註八）宣宗當然欣悅之至：「客兵不滿三千，危城立保無虞。若非朕之參贊大臣果勇侯楊芳，其孰能之？可嘉之處，筆難宣述。功成之日，佇膺懋賞。此卿之第一功也。厥後尤當奮勉」。（註九）後來的奮勉或者有之；至於第二功則無可報了。雖然，敗仗仍可報勝仗，自己求和仍可報外夷懇求皇帝施恩，准予止戰通商。皇帝遠在北京，何從知道？這就是楊芳日後顧全面子的方法。（註十）左宗棠的信息既間接得自果勇侯，就不足信；何況果勇侯傳出這信息的時候，既在途中，亦必間接得自自廣東來者？至于琦善「欲即斬生夷滅口」之說，遍查中外在場人員的記載均未發現。獨在湖南安化鄉中教書的左先生知有其事，且認爲「情狀昭著」，豈不是甚奇了！

同時廣東按察使王庭蘭反說他屢次勸琦善殺義律而

（註七）始末卷二十頁三十二下；卷二十三頁一；卷二十四，頁二十四。

（註八）始末卷二十五頁九下。

（註九）始末卷二十五頁十一下。

（註十）始末二十五頁二十五下至二十七，頁三十九下至四十二。

琦善不許。他寫給福建道員曾望顏的信述此事甚詳：「義律住洋行十餘日。省河中夷船杉板數隻而已。不難擒也。伊亦毫無準備。有時義律乘轎買物，往來於市廛間。此時如遣敢死之士數十人控之，直囊中取物耳。乃屢次進言於當路，輒以現在講和，未可輕動。是可謂宋襄仁義之師矣」。

(註十一) 琦善倘得了「西人金巨萬」，授之者必是義律；「欲即斬生夷滅口」，莫若斬義律。琦善反欲效「宋襄仁義之師」，豈不更奇了！王庭蘭的這封信又形容了琦善如何節節後退：「賊到門而門不關可乎？開門揖盜，百喙難辭」。王庭蘭既是廣東的按察使，他的信既由閩浙總督顏伯彞送呈御覽，好像應該是最好的史料。不幸琦善在廣東的時候，義律不但未「住洋行十餘日」，簡直沒有入廣州。這封信在顯明的事實上有此大錯，其史料的價值可想而知了。

琦善倘若撤了廣州的防具，撤防的原動力不是英國的賄賂，這是我們可斷定的。但是到底琦善撤了防沒有？這是當時及後代攻擊琦善的共同點，也是琦善與鴉片戰爭的軍事關係之中心問題。道光二十年的秋末冬初——宣宗最信任琦善的時候——撤防誠有其事，然撤防的責任及撤防的程度則大有問題在。

宣宗是個極尚節儉的皇帝。林則徐在廣東的時候，大修軍備，但是宣宗曾未一次許他撥用庫款。林的軍費概來自行商及鹽商的捐款。二十年六月七日，英軍佔了定海。於是宣宗脚慌手忙的飭令沿海七省整頓海防。北自奉天，南至廣東，各省調兵，募勇，修礮臺，請軍費的奏摺陸續到了北

(註十一) 夏燮中西紀事卷六頁十七下。

京。宣宗仍是不願疆吏扣留庫款以作軍費。當時兵部尚書祁嚮藻和刑部右侍郎黃爵滋正在福建查辦事件。他們同閩浙總督鄭廷楨及福建巡撫吳文鎔會銜建議浙江福建廣東三省應添造大船六十隻，每隻配大小礮位三四十門。[通計船礮工費約須銀數百萬兩]。他們說：「當此逆夷猖獗之際，思衛民弭患之方，詎可苟且補苴，致他日轉增糜費」。宣宗不以爲然。他以爲海防全在平日認真操練，認真修理，「正不在紛紛添造也」。(註十二)此是道光二十年七月中的情形。

八月中，琦善報告懿律及義律已自大沽帶船回南，並相約沿途不相攻擊，靜候新派欽差大臣到廣東與他們交涉。宣宗接了此摺就下一道上諭，一面派琦善爲欽差大臣，一面教他「將應撤應留各兵分別覈辨」。(註十三)琦善遵旨將大沽的防兵分別撤留了。

九月初四，山東巡撫托渾布的奏摺到了北京，報告英國兵船八隻果於八月二十二三路過登州，向南行駛。托渾布買了些牛羊菜蔬酌量賞給。因此「夷衆數百人一齊出艙，向岸羅拜。旋即開帆南駛。一時文武官弁及軍吏士民萬目環觀，咸謂夷人如此恭順，實出意料之外」。(註十四)宣宗以爲和議確有把握，於是連下了二道諭旨，一道「著托渾布體察情形，將前調防守各官兵酌量撤退歸伍，以節糜費」；一道寄給盛京將軍耆英，署兩江總督裕謙及廣東巡撫怡良，「著詳加

(註十二) 始末 卷十二 頁十二至十四。

(註十三) 始末 卷十四 頁三十九。

(註十四) 始末 卷十五 頁十三至十四。

酌覈，將前調防守各官兵分別應撤應留，妥爲辦理」。適同日閩浙總督鄭廷楨奏摺到京，報告從福建調水勇八百名來浙江。宣宗就告訴他，現在已議和，福建的水勇團練應分別撤留，「以節糜費」。是則道光二十年九月初，琦善尙在直隸總督任內，宣宗爲「節省糜費」起見，已令沿海七省裁撤軍隊。

(註十五)

琦善于十一月六日始抵廣東。他尙在途中的時候沿海七省的撤防已經實行了。奉天，直隸，山東與戰爭無關係，可不必論。南四省中首先撤防者卽江蘇。裕謙于十月三日到京的摺內報告共撤兵五千一百八十名，並且「各處所雇水陸鄉勇亦卽妥爲遣散」。十月十七的報告說接續又撤了些：「統計撤兵九千一百四十名」。(註十六)廣東及浙江撤兵的奏摺同于十一月一日到京。怡良說：「查虎門內外各隘口，兵勇共有萬人。督臣林則徐前次奉到諭旨，當即會同臣將次要口隘各兵陸續撤減二千餘名。臣復移咨水陸各提鎮，將各路中可以撤減者再爲酌覈情勢，分別撤減以節糜費」。

(註十七) 撤兵的上諭是九月初四發的；罷免林則徐的上諭是九月初八發的。怡良所說廣東初次撤兵是由林與他二人定奪；此說是可能的。怡良署理總督以後又擬再撤但未說明撤多少。伊里布在浙江所撤的兵更多。照他的報告共撤六千八百名，共留鎮海等處防堵者五千四百名。(註十八)

(註十五) 始末卷十五至十六。

(註十六) 始末卷十六頁二十二至二十三，頁三十至三十七。

(註十七) 始末卷十七頁一。

(註十八) 始末卷十七頁二至三。



南四省之中，惟福建無撤兵的報告。

總結來說，與雅片戰爭有關係的四省，除福建不明外，餘三省——江蘇，浙江，廣東——均在琦善未到廣東以前，已遵照皇帝的諭旨，實行撤兵。江蘇所撤者最多，浙江次之，廣東最少。廣東在虎門一帶至少撤了二千兵勇，至多留了八千兵勇。道光二十年秋冬之間，撤防誠有其事，並且是沿海七省共有的，但撤防的責任不能歸諸琦善，更不能歸諸他一人。

琦善未到任以前的撤防雖不能歸咎于他。他到任以後的行動是否「開門揖盜」？二十年十二月和二十一年二月的軍事失敗是由于琦善到任以後的撤防嗎？散漫軍心嗎？陷害忠臣嗎？

琦善初到廣東的時候，中英已發生軍事衝突，因為中國守礮台的兵士攻擊了義律派進虎門送信而掛白旗的船隻。這不但犯了國際公法，且違了朝廷的諭旨，因為宣宗撤兵的上諭已經明言除非外人起釁，沿海各處不得開火。琦善本可懲辦，但他的奏摺內不過說：「先未迎詢來由，輒行開礮攻打，亦不免失之孟浪。接連又說：「惟現在正值夷兵雲集諸務未定之時，方將激勵士氣，藉資震懾而壯聲威。若經明白參奏，竊恐寒我軍將士之心，且益張夷衆驚駭之膽。」（註十九）同時他一面咨行沿海文武官吏在未攻擊之先須詢明來由，「一面仍以夷情叵測，虎門係近省要隘，未便漫無隄防，隨飭委署廣州府知府余保純，副將慶宇，遊擊多隆武等前往該處，妥為密防」。是則琦善不但不願散漫軍心，且思「激勵士氣」；不單未撤防具，且派員前往虎門「妥為密防」。

（註十九） 始末卷十八頁一至五。

十二月初，和議暫趨決裂。琦善遂酌調肇慶協兵五百名，令其馳赴虎門，並派委潮州鎮總兵李廷鈺，帶弁前往幫辦。又酌調督標兵五百名，順德協兵三百名，增城營兵二百名，水師提標後營兵二百名，水師提標前營兵一百五十名，永靜營兵一百名，撥赴距省六十里之總路口，大濠頭，沙尾，獵德一帶，分別密防，並于大濠頭水口，填石沉船，藉以虛張聲勢，俾該夷知我有備。總共增兵一千九百五十名，不能算多，且廣州第一道防線的虎門只五百名，虎門以內大濠頭諸地反增一千四百餘名。于此我們就可窺測琦善對軍事的態度及其所處地位的困難。他在大沽與英人交涉的時候，就力言中國萬非英國之敵。到了廣東，他的奏摺講軍備進行者甚少，講廣東軍備不可靠者反多。如在十二月初四所的具摺內，他說不但虎門舊有的各礮台佈置不好，「即前督臣鄭廷楨林則徐所奏鐵鍊，一經大船碰撞，亦即斷折，未足抵禦。蓋緣歷任率皆文臣，筆下雖佳，武備未諳。現在水陸將士中，又絕少曾經戰陣之人。即水師提臣關天培亦情面太軟，未足稱爲饒將。而奴才才識尤劣，到此未及一月，不但經費無出，且欲置造器械，訓練技藝，遴選人才，處處棘手，緩不濟急。」（註二十）琦善對軍事既如此悲觀，故不得不和；然和議又難成，不得不有軍備，「藉以虛張聲勢」，「俾該夷知我有備」；且身爲總督，倘失地責不容辭。但軍備不但「緩不濟急」，且易招外人之忌，和議更易決裂，故只能「妥爲密防」，且只能在虎門內多增軍隊。所以他猶疑不決，結果國內主戰派攻其「開門揖盜」，英人則責其無議和的誠心，不過遷延時日，以便軍備的完竣。

（註二十）始末卷十九頁十二至十三。

他們說：「此種軍備進行甚速」(Were going on with the utmost expedition) (註二十一) 英人採先發制人的策略，遂于十二月十五早晨攻擊大角沙角兩礮台。

結果中國大失敗。二個礮台均失守；水師船隻幾全覆沒；兵士死者約五百，傷者較少；礮位被奪被毀者共一百七十三尊。英人方面受傷者約四十；死亡者無人。防守大角沙角者約二千人，英兵登陸來攻者共一千四百六十一人，內白人與印度人約各半。(註二十二) 此役中國雖失敗，然兵士死亡之多足証軍心尙未散漫。礮位損失有一百七十三尊，內二十五尊在大角，七十二尊在沙角，除屬師船足証防具並未撤。我們還須記得：在虎門十台之中，大角沙角的地位不過次要。道光十五年整理虎門防務的時候，關天培和署理粵督祁墳就說過：「大角沙角兩台在大洋之中，東西對峙，惟中隔海面一千數百丈，相距較遠，兩邊礮火不能得力，只可作為信礮望台」。(註二十三) 平時沙角防兵只三十名，大角只五十名；二月十五之役，二台共有兵士二千名，不能算少。至于軍官及兵丁

(註二十一) Lieutenant John Ouchterlony, *The Chinese War* (London 1844) p. 95.

(註二十二) 此處數目根據下列三書：Ouchterlony, *op. cit.*, chap. IX. W. D. Bernard, *Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis* (London, 1844) Vol. I, pp. 257—280. *Chinese Repository*, Vol. X, pp. 37—43. 三書所載中國兵士傷亡數目與琦善的報告不符。他說：陸路軍官亡者六名，傷者十九名，兵丁亡者二百名，傷者二百五十三名；水師軍官亡者三名，傷者十六名，兵丁亡者七十九名，傷者一百六十二名。參看始末卷二十三頁十八至二十二。

(註二十三) 關天培籌海初集卷三頁七十六

的精神外人衆口一詞的稱贊。(註二十四) 雖然,戰爭不滿二時而礮台已失守,似無稱贊的可能。歐洲的軍士對於敗敵,素尚豪俠;他們的稱贊不能不打折扣。但是我們至少不應說琦善「開門揖盜」。

此役以後,琦善主和的心志更堅決,遂于十二月二十七與義律訂了草約四條。他雖然費盡了心力求朝廷承認草約,宣宗一意拒絕。愈到後來,朝廷催戰的諭旨愈急愈嚴。琦善于無可如何之中,一面交涉,一面進行軍備。他的奏摺內當然有調兵增防的報告,(註二十五)但我們可利用英人的調查以評他的軍備。正月二十三,義律派輪船 Nemesis 到虎門去候簽訂正式條約日期的信息。此船在虎門逗留了四天,看見威遠鎮遠及橫檔三礮台增加沙袋礮台(Sandbag batteries),並說三台兵士甚多。別的調查的船隻發現穿鼻的後面正建設礮台,武山的後面正填石按樁以塞夾道。二月一日義律親自到橫檔,查明自 Nemesis 報告以後,又加了十七尊礮。二月二日英人截留了中國信船一隻,內有當局致關天培的信,囑他從速填塞武山後的交通。于是英人確知琦善已定計決戰(註二十六)遂于二月五日下午第二次的攻擊令。

道光二十一年二月五日六日的戰役是琦善的致命之傷,也是廣東的致命之傷。戰場的中心就是威遠鎮遠橫檔三礮台,所謂虎門的天險。劇烈的戰事在六日的正午。到午後二點,三台全失守。兵士被俘虜者約一千三百名,陣亡者約五百名。提督關天培亦殉難。礮位被奪被毀者,威遠

(註二十四) Chinese Repository Vol. X, pp. 41—42. Bernard, loc. cit., pp. 264.

(註二十五) 始末卷二十三頁十五,頁三十三;卷二十四頁一至二,頁八。

(註二十六) Bernard, loc. cit., pp. 312—318, 327—329.

百零七尊，臨時沙袋礮台三十尊，鎮遠四十尊，橫檔百六十一尊，鞏固四十尊。此役的軍心不及十二月十五。橫檔的官佐在開戰之初即下台乘船而逃，且鎖台門以防兵士的出走。然亦有死抗者。失敗的理由不在撤防，因為礮台上的兵實在甚多，礮位亦甚多，而在兵士缺乏訓練及礮的製造與安置不合法。失敗之速則由于關天培忽略了下橫檔。此島在橫檔的南面，鎮遠的西面。關天培以為橫檔及威遠鎮遠已足以制敵，下橫檔無關緊要，故在道光十五年整理虎門防備的時候就未注意。不料英人于二月五日首先佔領下橫檔，並乘夜安大礮于山頂。中國的策畧只圖以台攻船，而二月六日英人實先以台攻台。（註二十七）戰爭的失敗琦善或須負一部分的責任，但是說他戰前不設備，戰中節節後退，不但與事實相反，且與人情相反。英人 Davis 甚至說琦善的軍備已盡人事天時的可能。（註二十八）時人及以後的歷史家當然不信中國反不能與「島夷」敵。他們說中國所以敗全由宣宗能免林則徐而用琦善。他們以為林是百戰百勝的主帥，英人畏之，故必去林而後始得逞其志。英人在大沽的交涉不過行反間之計。時人持此論最力者要算裕謙。江上蹇叟（夏燮）根據他的話就下了一段斷語，說：「英人所憾在粵而棄疾于浙者，粵堅而浙瑕也。兵法攻其瑕而堅者亦瑕。觀于天津遞書，林鄧被議，琦相入粵，虎門撤防，則其視粵也如探囊而取物矣。義律本無就撫之心，特藉琦相以破粵東之局。」

（註二十七） Bernard, loc. cit., pp. 324—344. Ouchterlony, op. cit., Chap. XI.

（註二十八） Sir John Francis Davis, China during the War and Since the Peace, (London, 1872) Vol. I, pp. 99-110.

(註二十九) 魏源的論斷比較公允,然亦曰欲行林的激烈政策,

「必沿海守臣皆林公而後可,必當軸秉鈞皆林公而後可」。

(註三十) 不說「沿海守臣」及「當軸秉鈞」,即全國文武官吏盡是如林則徐,中國亦不能與英國對敵。在九龍及穿鼻與林則徐戰者不過一隻配二十八尊礮的 Volage 及一隻配二十尊礮的 Hyacinth。後與琦善戰者有陸軍三千,兵船二十餘隻,其大者如 Wellesley, Blenheim, Melville 皆配七十四尊礮。然而九龍及穿鼻的戰役仍是中國失敗;且虎門失守的時候,林則徐尚在廣州,且有襄辦軍務的責任! 英國大軍抵華以後,不即攻粵而先攻定海者,因為英政府以為廣東,在中國皇帝的眼光裏,不過邊陲之地,勝負無關大局,並不是怕林則徐。當時在粵的外人多主張先攻虎門,惟獨 Chinese Repository 月報反對此舉,但亦說,倘開戰,虎門礮台的掃平不過一小時的事而已。(註三十一)至于去林為英國的陰謀,更是無稽之談。英人屢次向中國聲明,林之去留與英國無關係。實則林文忠的被罷是他的終身大幸事,而中國國運的大不幸。林不去,則必戰,戰則必敗,敗則他的聲名或將與葉名琛相等。(註三十二)但林敗則中國會速和,速和則損失可減少,且中國的維新或可提早二十年。鴉片戰爭以後中國毫無革新運動;主要原因在時人不明失敗的理由。林自信能戰,時人亦信其能戰,而無主持軍事的機會,何怪當時國人不服輸!

(註二十九) 中西紀事卷五頁十三

(註三十) 聖武記(石印本)卷十頁二十九。

(註三十一) Vol. IX, P. 220 Aug. 1840)

(註三十二) 他日當撰專論說明林之衣鉢如何一傳至徐廣縉,再傳至葉名琛。

戰爭失敗的結果就是南京條約：這是無可疑問的。但戰爭最後的勝負並不決在虎門，而決在長江。南京條約的簽字距虎門失守尚有一年半的功夫。到了道光二十二年的夏天，英國軍隊連下了吳淞、上海並佔了鎮江，而南京危在旦夕，這時候朝廷始承認英國的條件而與訂約。正像咸豐末年，英法雖佔了廣州省城，清廷仍不講和，直到聯軍入京然後定盟。琦善在廣東的敗仗遠不如牛鑑在長江的敗仗那樣要緊。

總結來說，琦善與鴉片戰爭的軍事關係無可稱贊，亦無可責備。敗是敗了，但致敗的原由不在琦善的撤防，而在當時中國戰鬥力之遠不及英國。琦善並未撤防，或「開門揖盜」，不過他對戰爭是抱悲觀的。時人說這是他的罪，我們應該承認這是他的超人處。他知道中國不能戰，故努力于外交。那末，他的外交有時人的通病，也有他的獨到處。現在請論琦善與鴉片戰爭的外交關係。

懿律及義律率艦隊抵大沽的時候，琦善以世襲一等侯文淵閣大學士任直隸總督。他是滿洲正黃旗人。嘉慶十一年，他初次就外省官職，任河南按察使，後轉江寧布政使，續調任山東、兩江、四川各省的督撫。道光十一年，補直隸總督。鴉片戰爭以前，中國的外交全在廣東。故琦善在官場的年歲雖久，但于外交是絕無經驗的。

道光二十年七月十四，懿律等到了大沽。琦善遵旨派遊擊羅應龍前往詢問。羅回來報告說：英人「祇謂疊遭廣東攻擊，負屈之由，無從上達天聽，懇求轉奏」。（註三十三）此種訴屈

（註三十三） 始末卷十二頁十七。

伸冤的態度是琦善對付英人的出發點，是極關緊要的。這態度當然不是英政府的態度。那末，誤會是從何來的？或者是義律故意採此態度以圖交涉的開始，所謂不顧形式只求實際的辦法。或者是翻譯官馬禮遜未加審慎而採用中國官場的文字。或者是琦善的誤會。三種解釋都是可能的，都曾實現過的，但斷斷不是琦善欺君的飾詞，因為他以後給英人的文書就把他們當作伸冤者對待。琦善一面請旨，一面令英人候至二十日聽回信。十七日，諭旨下了。十八日琦善即派千總白含章往英船接收正式公文。

此封公文就是英國外部大臣巴麥尊爵士(Viscount Palmerston)致大清國皇帝欽命宰相的照會。此文是全鴉片戰爭最緊要的外交文案。研究此戰爭者必須細審此照會的原文與譯文。(註三十四)譯者遵照巴麥尊的訓令只求信，不求雅。結果不但不雅，且不甚達。但除一句外，全文的翻譯，確極守信。這一句原文是“to demand from the Emperor satisfaction and redress”譯文變為「求討皇帝昭雪伸冤」。(註三十五)難怪宣宗和琦善把這個外交案當作屬下告狀的訟案辦！

這照會前大半說明英國不滿意中國的地處，後小半講英國的要求。中國禁煙的法子錯了。煙禁的法律久成具文，何得全無聲明忽然加嚴？就是要加嚴，亦當先辦中國的官吏，後辦外人，因為官吏「相助運進，額受規銀任縱」。中國反首先嚴辦外人寬赦官吏，豈不是「開一眼而鑒外人犯罪，閉

(註三十四) 原文見 Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. I,

(1910) pp. 621—626. 譯文見始末卷十二頁三十至三十八。

(註三十五) 此點的注意我得自羅志希先生的談話。



一眼不得容官憲犯罪乎？就是要辦外人，亦應分別良莠，不應一概禁錮，「盡絕食物，所備內地工人，見驅不准相助」。如外人不繳煙土，即「嚇呼使之餓死」。不但英國商人是如此虐待，即「大英國家特委管理領事」亦行強迫凌辱。這是「褻瀆大英國威儀」。因此層層理由，英國第一要求賠償煙價。第二要求割讓一島或數島，作為英商居住之地，「以免(日後)其身子磨難而保其貨貨妥當」。第三要求中國政府賠償廣州行商的積欠。第四要求以後中英官吏平等相待。第五要求賠償戰費及使費。倘中國「不妥善昭雪定事，仍必相戰不息矣」。照會內雖未提及林則徐的名字，只說「某官憲」，中外皆知英國所不滿意的禁煙辦法，皆是林的行動。照會的口氣雖是很強硬，但全文的方式實在是控告林的方式。

巴麥尊爵士給懿律及義律的訓令(註三十六)有一段是為他們交涉時留伸縮地步的。他說倘中國不願割地，那末可與中國訂通商條約，包括(一)加開通商口岸，(二)在口岸外人應有居留的自由及生命財產的保護，(三)中國須有公佈的 (publicly known) 及一定的 (fixed) 海關稅則，(四)英國可派領事來華(五)治外法權。除治外法權一項，餘皆為國際的慣例，並無不平等的性質，且並不有害于的中國。訂商約或割地：這二者中國可擇其一。這點選擇的自由就是當時中國外交的機會。要評斷琦善外交的優劣就在這一點。

琦善接到了巴麥尊的照會，一面轉送北京請旨，一面與懿律約定十天內回答。廷臣如何計議，我們不能知其詳細。

(註三十六) Morse, loc. cit., pp. 626—630.

計議的結果就是七月二十四的二道諭旨。(註三十七)一道說：「大皇帝統馭寰瀛，薄海內外，無不一視同仁。凡外藩之來中國貿易者，稍有冤抑，立即查明懲辦。上年林則徐查禁煙土，未能仰體大公至正之意，以致受人欺朦，措置失當。茲所求昭雪之冤，大皇帝早有所聞。必當逐細查明，重治其罪。現已派欽差大臣，馳至廣東，秉公查辦，定能代伸冤抑。該統帥懿律等，著即返棹南還，聽候辦理可也。此道上諭可說是中國給英國的正式答覆。其他一道是給琦善的詳細訓令。『所求昭雪冤抑一節，自應逐加訪察，處處得實，方足以折其心。……俾該夷等咸知天朝大公至正，無稍回護，庶不敢籍口伸冤，狡焉思逞也』。至于割讓海島，『斷不能另闢一境，致壞成規』。所謂『成規』就是廣東一口通商。行商的積欠，『亦應自為清理，朝廷何能過問』。換言之，廣東行商所欠英人的債，英人應該向行商追討，何得向朝廷索賠？『儻欲催討煙價，著諭以當日呈繳之煙，原係違禁之件，早經眼同燒燬，既已呈繳于前，即不得索價于後』。這種自大的態度何等可笑！英國所要求者一概拒絕，惟圖重治林則徐的罪以了案，這豈不是兒戲！但在當時，這是極自然，極正大的辦法。『薄海內外無不一視同仁』：這豈不是中國傳統的王道？英國既以控告林則徐來，中國即以查辦林則徐回答：這豈不是皇帝『大公至正之意』？」

八月二日，琦善即遵旨回答了英國代表。他們不滿意，要求與琦善面議。琦善以『體制攸關不應該上英國船』，遂請義律登岸。八月初四初五，他們二人在大沽海岸面議了兩

(註三十七) 始末卷十三頁至三。

次。義律重申要求，琦善照諭旨答覆。交涉不得要領。最困難的問題是煙價的賠償。八月十八十九琦善復與懿律移文交涉。他最後所許者，除查辦林則徐外，還有恢復通商及賠煙價的一部分二條。「如能照常恭順，俟欽差大臣到彼查辦，或貴國乞恩通商，據清具奏，迎邀恩准，亦未可定」。「如貴統帥欽遵諭旨，返棹南還，聽欽差大臣馳往辦理，雖明知煙價所值無多，要必能使貴統帥（懿律）有以登覆貴國王，而貴領事（義律）亦可伸雪前抑。果如所言，將有利于商賈，有益於兵民，使彼此相安如初，則貴統帥回國時，必顏面增光，可稱爲貴國王能事之臣矣」。英國代表于是「遵循皇帝的意旨」（in compliance with the pleasure of the Emperor）開船往廣東並約定兩國停止軍事行動。（註三十八）

英國政府所以教懿律及義律帶兵船來大沽者，就是要他們以武力強迫中國承認英國的要求。懿律等在大沽雖手握重兵，然交涉未達目的即起旋回南，且說回南是遵循中國皇帝的意旨。難怪巴麥尊幾乎氣死了。難怪中國以爲「撫夷成功了」。宣宗因此飭令撤防，「以節糜費」，且即罷免林則徐以表示中國的正大。大沽的勝利是琦善得志的階梯，也是他日後失敗的根由。懿律等的舉動不但不利于英國，且不利于中國，因爲從此舉動發生了無窮的誤會。但他們也有幾種理由。彼時英兵生病者多，且已到秋初不宜在華北起始軍事行動。琦善態度和平，倘與林則徐相比，實有天壤之別。他們想在廣東與他交涉，不難成功。他們在大沽

（註三十八）琦善在大沽給英國代表照會見始末卷十二頁三十八至

三十九；卷十四頁三十四至三十九，參看 Morse, loc. cit., pp. 632-640.

不過遷就，並不放棄他們的要求。

琦善在大沽除交涉外，同時切實調查了敵人的軍備。他的報告和朝廷改變林則徐的強硬政策當然有密切的關係。英國軍艦的高大，這是顯而易見的。「又各設有大礮，約重七八千斤。礮位之下，設有石磨盤，中具機軸，祇須轉移磨盤，礮即隨其所向」。此外還有「火箴船」，「內外俱有風輪，中設火池，火乘風起，煙氣上熏，輪盤即激水自轉，無風無潮，順水逆水，皆能飛渡」。(註三十九)當時的人如林則徐所擬破夷之法，琦善以為皆不足恃。倘攻夷船的下層，「夷船出水處所亦經設有礮位，是其意在回擊也」。若欲穿其船底，則外人水兵「能于深五六丈處，持械投入海中，逾時則又跳躍登舟，直至顛頂，是意在抵禦也」。此外還有縱火焚燒的法子，「今則該夷泊船，各自相離數里，不肯銜尾寄碇，……是意在卻避延燒也」。「泥恆言以圖之，執成法以禦之，或反中其詭計，未必足以決勝」。(註四十)這是琦善「知彼」的工夫。

對於這樣的強敵，中國有足以抵抗嗎？琦善說中國毫無足恃。「該夷所恃者為大礮，其所畏者亦惟大礮」。那末，中國正缺乏大礮。譬如在「山海關一帶本無存礮，現飭委員等在于報部廢棄礮位內，檢得數尊，尚係前明之物，業已蒸洗備用」。華北如此，華南亦難操勝算。「即如江浙等省，所恃為外衛者，原止長江大海。今海道已被該夷遊奕，長江又所在可通，是險要已為該夷所據，水師轉不能入海窮追」。(註四十一)假

(註三十九) 始末 卷十二 頁二十九。

(註四十) 始末 卷十五 頁六。

(註四十一) 始末 卷十四 頁三十二至三十三。

設中國能于一處得勝，英國必轉攻別處；假使我們能于今年得勝，英國必于明年再來。「欲求處處得勝，時時常勝，臣實不免隱存意外之虞！」邊釐一開，兵結莫釋。我皇上日理萬幾，更不值加以此等小醜跳梁，時殷宸廬。而頻年防守，亦不免費餉勞師。這是琦善「知己」的工夫。

外交的元素不外「理」與「勢」。鴉片戰爭的時候，中英各執其理，各是其是。故中英的問題，論審勢，論知己知彼的工夫，琦善無疑的遠在時人之上。琦善仍是半知半解，但時人簡直是無知無解。所以琦善大聲疾呼的主和，而時人斥為媚外，或甚至疑其受英人的賄賂。

不幸，十一月六日琦善到廣東的時候，國內的空氣及中英間的感情均不利於和議。伊里布在浙江曾要求英國退還定海，英人不允。朝野因之以為英國求和非出于至誠。在英國方面，因中國在浙江搶奪了二十多個英國人，且給以不堪的待遇，決戰之心亦復增加。十一月內，浙撫劉韻珂，(註四十二)欽差大臣祁寯藻黃爵滋，(註四十三)御史蔡家珩 (註四十四)相繼上奏，說英人有久據定海的陰謀。朝廷主和的心志為之搖動。同時義律在廣東多年，偏重廣州通商的利益，主張在廣州先決勝負。所以他在廣東的態度，比在大沽，強硬多了。中國對他送信的船開了砲，他就派兵船來報復。所以琦善到廣東後的第一次奏稿就義律的詞氣「較前更加傲慢」。適此時懿律忽稱病，交涉由義律一人負責。琦善莫明

(註四十二) 始末 卷十七頁二十六至二十九。

(註四十三) 始末 卷十七頁三十五至三十七。

(註四十四) 始末 卷十七頁四十四。

其妙。〔初六日(委員)接見懿律時,雖其面色稍黃,並無病容,然則何至一日之間,遽爾病劇欲回〕:那末此中必有狡計:「今懿律猝然而行,或就此間別作隱謀,或其意見與義律另有參差,抑或竟係折回浙江,欲圖占據,均難逆料」(註四十五)所以琦善就飛咨伊里布,教他在浙江嚴防英人的襲攻。

這樣的環境絕非議和的環境,但廣東的軍備狀況,更使琦善堅持和議。他說廣東「水師營務,倣特船不敵夷人之堅,礮不敵夷人之利,而兵丁膽氣怯弱,每遇夷師船少人稀之頃,輒喜貪功,迨見來勢強橫,則皆望而生懼」。他第一步工作當然是聯絡感情和緩空氣。他教水師參將致信懿律,「聲明未詢原委,擅先開礮,係由兵丁錯誤,現在嚴查懲辦」。如此衝突免了而雙方的面子都顧到了。同時他又釋放了吡叻噸(Vincent Staunton)。此不過在澳門外人的一個教書先生。因至海岸游水,民人乘機擄之而獻于林則徐以圖賞資。英人已屢求釋放而林不許。琦善此舉,雖得罪了林派,尤為英人所感激。空氣為大變,交涉得以進行。

義律交涉的出發點就是前在大沽所要求的條件。(1)他要求賠償煙價,首先要二千萬元,後減至一千六百萬;又減到一千二百萬。琦善先許三百萬,續加至四百萬,又加至五百萬。這是市場講價式的外交。(2)兵費一條,琦善堅決拒絕,「答以此係伊等自取虛糜。我軍增兵防守,亦曾多餉銀,又將從何取索」。(3)行商的欠款應由行商賠補。(4)義律允退還定海,但要求在粵閩浙沿海地方另給一處。琦善以為萬萬不可:「假以偏偶尺土,恐其結黨成羣,建台設礮,久之漸

(註四十五) 始末卷十八頁一至三。

成占據，貽患將來，不得不先爲之慮。且其地亦甚難擇，無論江浙等處，均屬腹地，斷難容留夷人，即福建之廈門一帶，亦與台灣壤地相連，……無要可扼，防守尤難。〔5〕中英官吏平等一節，琦善當即許可。這是十一月二十一以前交涉的經過。〔註四十六〕十二月初七的上諭不許琦善割尺寸地，賠分毫錢，只教他「乘機攻勦，毋得示弱」。於是全國復積極調兵遣將了。

這道上諭，十二月二十左右始到廣東。未到之先，琦善的交涉又有進展。煙價的賠償定六百萬元，分五年交付。交涉的焦點在割地。義律要求香港。琦善堅持不可：「即香港亦寬至七八十里，環處衆山之中，可避風濤。如或給予，必致屯兵聚糧，建台設礮。久之必覬覦廣東，流弊不可勝言」。香港既不能得，義律遂要求添開口岸二處。琦善以爲「添給貿易馬頭，較之給予地方，似爲得體」。他本意願添二處，但爲講價計，先只許廈門一處，且只許在船上交易，不許登岸。〔註四十七〕義律頗討厭這種講價式的交涉，遂以戰爭脅之。琦善雖一面備戰，他的實心在求和。他十二月初四所具的摺力求朝廷許添通商口岸。粵東防守如何不可靠，他在摺內又說了一遍：「蓋緣歷任率皆文臣，筆下雖佳，武備未諳，即前督臣林則徐鄭廷楨所奏鐵鍊一經大船碰撞，亦即斷折，未足抵禦」。初六日，義律請他到澳門去面議。他以爲「無此體制」，並恐「狼子野心」「中懷叵測」，只許移文往來。十四日義律聲明交涉決裂，定于明日攻擊。琦善的覆信尙未發去，中英已開始戰爭了。

〔註四十六〕 始末 卷十八頁九至十七。

〔註四十七〕 始末 卷十八頁二十五至三十三。

十二月十五日大角沙角失守了，琦善的交涉就讓步。二十七日遂于義律定了穿鼻草約（註四十八）（1）中國割讓香港與英國，但中國得在香港設關收稅，如在黃浦一樣。（2）賠款六百萬元，五年交清。（3）中英官吏平等（4）廣州于道光二十一年正月初旬復市。在英國方面，即時退還定海。此約是琦善外交的結晶。最重要的就是割讓香港。在定約的時候，琦善已經接到了不許割地不許賠款的諭旨。照法律他當然有違旨的罪。但從政治看來，琦善的草約是當時時勢所可許的最優的條件，最少的損失。我們倘與南京條約相較，就能斷定穿鼻草約是琦善外交的大勝利。南京條約完全割香港；穿鼻草約倘保留中國在香港收稅的權利。南京條約開五口通商；穿鼻草約仍是廣東一口通商。南京條約賠款二千一百萬元；穿鼻草約賠款只六百萬元。我們倘又記得義律因訂穿鼻草約大受了巴麥尊的斥責（註四十九）我們更能佩服琦善外交了。

定了此約以後琦善苦口婆心的求朝廷批准。二十一年正月二十五到京的奏摺可說是他最後的努力。他說戰爭是萬不可能，因為地勢無要可扼，軍械無利可恃，兵力不固，民心不堅。「奴才再四思維，一身之所繫猶小，而國計民生之同關休戚者甚重且遠。蓋奴才獲咎于打仗之未能取勝，與獲咎于辦理之未合宸謨，同一待罪，餘生何所顧惜。然奴才獲咎于辦理之未合宸謨，而廣東之疆地民生猶得仰賴聖主鴻福，藉保乂安。如奴才獲咎于打仗之未能取勝，則損天威

（註四十八） Chinese Repository Vol. X, P. 63.

（註四十九） Morse, loc. cit., pp. 641—642.



而害民生，而辦理更無從措手」。宣宗的硃批說：「朕斷不似汝之甘受逆夷欺侮戲弄，迷而不返。膽敢背朕諭旨，仍然接遞逆書，代逆懇求。實出情理之外，是何肺腑，無能不堪之至。」琦善著革去大學士，拔去花翎，仍交部嚴加議處」。(註五十)部議尚未定奪，怡良報告英人佔據香港的奏摺已于二月初六到了北京。宣宗即降旨：「琦善著即革職鎖拿，……家產即行查抄入官」。北京審判的不公，已于上文說明。

琦善與鴉片戰爭的關係，在軍事方面，無可稱贊，亦無可責備。在外交方面，他實在是遠超時人，因為他審察中外強弱的形勢和權衡利害的輕重，遠在時人之上。雖然，琦善在中國歷史上的地位不能算重要。宣宗以後又赦免了他，使他作了一任陝甘總督，一任雲貴總督。他既知中國不如英國之強，他應該提倡自強，如同治時代的奕訢，文祥及曾左李諸人，但他對於國家的自強，竟不提及。林則徐雖同有此病，但林于中外的形勢實不及琦善那樣的明白。

(註五十) 全段根據始末卷二十二頁十二至十八。

## 方顯廷

## 工業組織

工業組織之進化，在歐西各國，由家庭制，而行會制，而商人僱主制 (Merchant Employer System)，而工廠制，均已完成；而在今日之中國，工業中最盛行最佔勢之組織，尚多為行會制。然工業組織之逐起變革，已到處可見，惟其演進之程序則稍緩耳。如棉紡織業，繅絲業，榨油業，精鹽業，礦業，鋼鐵業，莫不一一採用工廠制度；不過其範圍僅以工業中心之城鎮為限，未免失之過狹。如上海，無錫，通崇海，武漢，天津，唐山，青島，大連，瀋陽，廣州等處，工廠制度之引用，均甚發達。商人僱主制度，形式不一，有成立於昔日而至今日猶存者，亦有成立於現在或數年前者。現在絲織業，織襪業，刺繡業，製帶業，紙花業，以及火柴盒製造等業中，無處不見此制之應用。至其他工業中，均可見此制之過渡變態；天津之地毯業，為一顯明之實例。其組織之方式，既非商人僱主制，亦非工廠制，而為一種由商人僱主制進至工廠制過渡中之變態組織。此種過渡式之變態組織，為數種不同組織或數種制度之混合產物。其特質在富有伸縮性，使之易於由商人僱主制進至工廠制。吾人為現在分析與將來研究之便利計，於各種工業制度及其分類，不得不為簡要之討論。

德國學者對於工業制度之分類，方法不一（註一），其中以

註一 關於各重要作者之短評，包括 Schaeffle, Schwarz, Marx, Thun, Held, Buecher, Schmoller, 見 Sombart, Die gewerbliche Arbeit und ihre Organization, in Archiv fuer soziale Gesetzgebung und statistik, 1899, NIV, pp. 316--20.

碧克爾 Buecher 最爲著名。但碧克爾之分類法(註二),並非出其一人之力;其先輩學者之工作於彼亦有莫大之貢獻,尤以雪目勒爾 Schmoller 之工作爲最要(註三)。英國一八八七年以前,尚無有系統的工業組織制度之分類。一八八七年亞雪來教授 Professor Ashley, 始以其有系統之分類公諸世(註四)。亞氏之分類,以吐因 Thun 之分類爲基礎。吐因分類之完成,在碧克爾分類十年之前(即西歷一八七九年)(註五)。

碧克爾分工業組織爲五種制度與五個時期,其分類法甚爲後學所推崇,採用之者尤多。其所分之五種制度,即家庭制(Housework),工資制(Wagework),手藝制(Handicraft),散活制(Commission),與工廠制(註六)。碧氏之分類,長處固多,予工業制

註二 見 Buecher 之 "Gewerbe" 篇 in Conrad (ed.), *Handwoerterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, 1st ed., 1890—1894, 6 vols., III, pp. 922—50; 或 4th ed., 1923—27, 8 vols., IV, pp. 966—99; *ibid*, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, Tuebingen, 1893 (tr. fr 3rd German ed., 1900, by S. M. Wickett, as "Industrial Evolution," New York, 1901), ch. IV, pp. 150—184.

註三 Schmoller, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Unternehmung*, in 12 pts., pts. 4—5, in *Jahrbuch fuer gesetzgebung*, 1890, XIV, pp. 1043—76; *Grundriss der allgemeinen volkswirtschaftslehre*, 1st ed., Leipzig, 1900, 2 vols., I, pp. 417—34.

註四 Ashley, *Early History of the English Woolen Industry*, in *American Economic Association Publication*, 1887, pp. 72—3; *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Vol. I, pt. II: *The end of the Middle Ages*, 1892, p. 219; *Economic Organization of England*, 1914, pp. 35—6.

註五 Thun, *Industrie am Niederrhein*, Leipzig, 1879, 2 vols., II, p. 242 et seq.

註六 這些英文名詞,均由 Wickett 自德文逐譯。

度之進化以透脫之解釋；但從其他方面論之，亦有不少缺點。最大者碧氏謂依時間之順序，工資制之實行，在手藝制之前。但與由仔細研究而得之中古史實，有顯然不符之處（註七）。工資制與手藝制在中古斷乎不能分離存在，因依當時之市場與技術之情形論，二制並存乃為必然之現象，碧氏竟完全忽略之。其次碧氏謂在手工制下之生產方式為“主顧生產，”其生產僅為“範圍狹小，限於一地之主顧”之需；即謂“主顧直接從生產者手中購貨，生產者售其貨於消費者”（註八）。此說即在中世紀已證明與事實顯然不符（註九）。一八四〇年時，英國有數種工業屬於手藝制度，其生產之目的，均求供給市場之需求，並非直接供給於消費者。碧氏於散活制度之分析，亦有明顯之錯誤。在當時各種經濟情況之下，商人僱主與其“散處工人”（Outworker）之間，多須有中間人；而碧氏論散活制，未能注意及之，亦一缺點也。

德國經濟學者自桑巴特 Sombart 以下（註十），對於工業制度分類之方法，尙有其他各種建議；但其中大多數方法，不徒不能使人對工業制度格外明瞭，且益使讀者混擾不清。桑巴特分工業制度為個人工業制，過渡工業制，及社會工業制（Betriebe）三種，亦可名為小工業制，中工業制，與大工業制

註七 Below, *Territorium und Stadt*, Muenchen und Leipzig, 1900, pp. 321 ff.

註八 Buecher, *Industrial Evolution*, op. cit., pp. 151, 170.

註九 Gerlich, *Geschichte und Theorie des Kapitalismus*, Muenchen und Leipzig, pp. 319, ff.

註十 Sombart, *Die gewerbliche Arbeit*, op. cit.; *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, 1st ed., Leipzig, 1902, 2 vols., I, pp. 3—49.

(註十一) 桑氏分類僅以協作工人 (Arbeitsgemeinschaft) 之多寡為基礎,不免單弱。此等分類法,從玄學家如桑氏者之觀點上着想尚無前後矛盾之弊;若竟以之為各種工業制度特質之博洽解釋,則難免不引人趨入迷津也。其餘經濟學家之工業制度分類,亦不盡同;有以生產規模之大小為分類之標準者(註十二),有以工藝之異同為分類之標準者(註十三),又有以工業收入之性質為標準者(註十四)。然彼等之成績,往往較諸桑氏為尤劣。英國甘甯漢教授 Professor Cunningham 分工業制度為“資本的”與“家庭的”(Domestic)二種,其分類雖不免失之空洞(註十五),然在英國是時以前之經濟史家中,甘教授實為工業制度分類之第一人。

註十一 Id, *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, I, p. 26.

註十二 就工業組織之大小而分類,為許多德國作者之所習好,見 Thun, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242; Hasbach, *Zur charakteristik der englischen Industrie*, in *Jahrbuch fuer Gesetzgebung, etc.*, 1902, XXVI, p. 1018.

註十三 馬克斯圖分技術為“手工製造”(Manufacture)與“機械製造”二種,見 Marx, *Capital*, in 3 vols., American edition (Kerr), Chicago, 1912—13 (Original date of publication in German under the title “Das Kapital,” I, 1867, II, 1885, III, 1894), I, pp.369—70. 嗣後作者如 Riekes, 關於分類,仍馬氏之舊;但增加一種為手藝技術(handicraft)。見 Riekes, *Der Fabrikegriff und die Handwerksorganisation*, in *Jahrbuch fuer Nationaloekonomie*, 1902, LXVIX, p. 204.

註十四 Hasbach, *op. cit.*, p. 1018.

註十五 *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 3 vols., 1882, II, pp. 496, 516; *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects*, Cambridge, 1900, 2 vols., II, p. 235 note,

總之，碧克爾之分類方法比之其他，實較完善，故吾人可採之以為分類之骨幹。然為分析現時中國之工業組織計，內容與名辭方面，均須有相當之變更。作者於研究一八四〇年之英國工業組織時（註十六），曾用此法。按此法之分類，其異於碧氏者有二：（一）以市場生產之現象為手藝制度之一特質；（二）以中間人之任用，為散活制度之一特質。在吾人之分類中，所用之名辭與普通所用者有異。於每一工業制度中，取其最顯明之特質，以為命題之用，以便識別，而利記憶。依此，工業制度可分為四種：一曰家庭制（Household System）；二曰匠人制（Craftsman System）或名手藝制；三曰商人僱主制，或名散活制；四曰工廠制。

在家庭制之下，生產之進行，完全在一家之中；所需之原料，為其家所供給，生產之貨物，亦為其家之消費。家庭制為工業組織進化之最初制度，無交易之必要。此制在工業不發達之中國固觸目皆是，即在工業化素著之英國，迄今亦仍未盡廢。英人日常所著之衣服，其中至少有一部分為家庭所製，惟此部分，已逐漸減少矣。家庭織襪及縫做襯衣與孩童之便衣等，雖於大城市中不多見，然在各鄉野中，尚數見不鮮。工人階級之家庭，仍多自己裁縫衣服，修理皮鞋。即在倫敦，亦不為稀。然分工愈進愈細，以上所列舉之家庭工業，其地位均逐漸為作坊及工廠所取。其餘之家庭工業，如製麵包，蒸釀，保藏食物等，亦莫不有同一趨向（註十七）。現在之

註十六 English industrial organization about 1840, Nankai University Committee on Social and Economic Research, Tientsin, 1930, *passim*.

註十七 Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, 1904, p. 1.

片段的家庭工業，即可視為原始村莊社會家庭經濟之遺跡。中國之家庭工業，比較英國更為盛行。在英國可以視為原始村莊社會家庭經濟之遺跡者，在中國之內部，現在尚為日常習見之事。交通利器之缺乏，物質文明之不進步，為中國家庭工業繼續存在之主要原因。今日中國之農人，不徒其食品衣料皆係其自己之生產，即其所居之房屋，亦多由其親手自造。

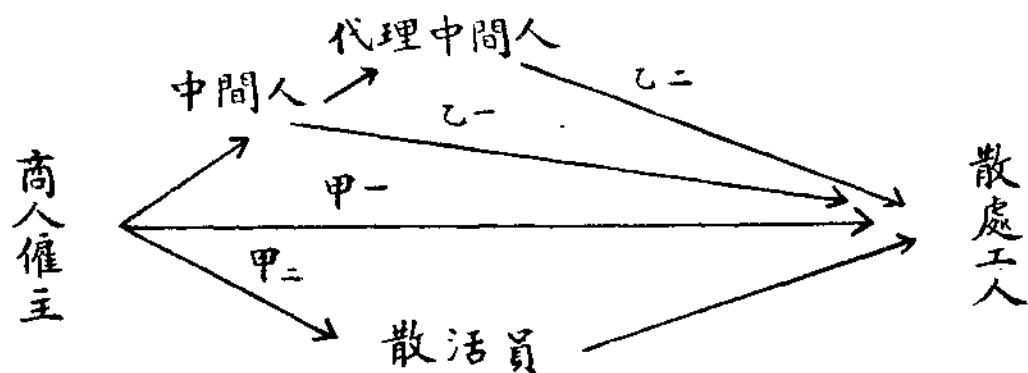
在匠人制之下，匠人以其自己之工具在自己作坊中，或為其主顧工作，或自購原料，造成貨品，以售於消費者或商人。依此定義，匠人制又可細別為二種，即“主人匠人制”(Master Craftsman System)與“家庭匠人制”(Family Craftsman System)。從下列之表中，可以詳見二種制度區別之所在。

工業制 之區別	匠人之區別		技術之區別		出售之區別
	甲,性質	乙,工作	甲,技巧	乙,工作 廠所	
家庭匠 人制	妻,子,母,助,之,有,可,無	副,業,工,人,監,商,人,	簡,單,無,須,先,受,學,徒,制,訓	家,庭	售,貨,於,商,人
主人匠 人制	主,人,學,徒,與,手,藝,有,可,無	主,業,工,人,監,主,商,人,僱,人(老,板)	復,雜,普,通,須,先,受,學,徒,制,訓	家,庭,與,作,坊	售,貨,於,消,費,者,或,商,人

二種工業制度不同之處固多，然相同之點，亦復不少，如工作之原料及工具均為己有，與均直接售其製成如於消費者或商人等是也。二者之中，以主人匠人制(即通稱手工制或行會制)較為普通。實際上此種工業制，在中國最為盛行。家庭匠人制則見之於鄉農之家庭中。數種附帶工業如帽辦工業，均由家庭匠人制下之婦女任之；盈虧由彼等自己負

責,貨品製成之後,則售之於市場,但多半售與遊行商人。

在商人僱主制之下,商人僱主自己購買原料,在自己辦事所內發給散處工人,或由自己及其所僱之散活員將原料送至散處工人家中;俟散處工人將其所領來或送來之原料造成製成品或半製成品後,或逕自送至商人僱主之辦事所,或由商人僱主及其散活員親往散處工人家中收集之,而售之於消費者或其他商人。然商人僱主依契約法,可以任用中間人。商人僱主將其原料交與中間人,而約定交貨日期,屆時商人僱主即向中間人取貨。中間人自商人僱主處取得原料後,再分給之於散處工人,約期交貨,屆期由中間人收集散處工人所造之製成品或半製成品,交之商人僱主。依商人僱主與中間人之工作契約論,中間人事實上為商人僱主之一僱員;但有再與其他代理中間人或散處工人定工作契約之自由,有時亦可招集散處工人於其所設之作坊,從事製造(註十八)。從任用中間人一點言,商人僱主制亦可名曰中人制。其間彼此之關係,可於下圖見之。



註十八 關於商人僱主制之名著,見 Liefmann, Ueber Wesen und Formen des Verlags (der Hausindustrie), Freiburg i. B., 1899, Passim.



在上圖之中,依(甲一)與(甲二)二線所代表之關係言,可名之曰商人僱主制;依(乙一)與(乙二)二線所代表之關係言,則可名之曰中人制。

在中國工業中,吾人欲擇一實例以爲研究中人制之用者,蘇州之刺繡工業最爲適當。蘇州各願繡工廠之錦繡工作,經過戶內工人剪裁,整理,綴成各種物品之後,再分送於散處女工。女工均在自己家中,從事刺繡。分送工作之事,往往由另一種商號任之所爲代繡者是也。代繡商號包攬願繡工廠之工作,再分配之於技能適當之散處女工。代繡商號對於某婦孺於何等工作,以及各女工有無暇時之情形,知之甚悉,一俟各種貨品製成之後,即由代繡商號,交予願繡商號,以便出售(註十九)。中人制或商人僱主制,除蘇州之刺繡工業外,採用之者尙夥。如絲織業,織袜業,花邊業,紙花業,等是,不勝枚舉。

在工廠制之下,工人群居於製造家所設之工廠中;用製造家之原料與機器或其他種固定生產之工具,以從事工作。且工人之工作,須受廠主或其代理人之監督。依此定義則工人集中而受廠主之監督,與使用固定生產工具二點,實爲工廠制所必具之要件。前者較諸後者尤爲重要。凡工人集中一處而其工作又受廠主監督之製造廠所,均可名曰工廠。同時具有機器或其他固定之生產工具者,則名之曰‘成熟工廠;’無之者則名之曰‘幼稚工廠。’

中國之工業,已採行工廠制度者,有棉紡織業,繅絲業,麪粉業,榨油業,火柴業,鋼鐵業,及電燈與電力。在上述各工業

註十九 Soochow Embroidery, in Chinese Economic Journal, Feb., 1928, p. 163.

之中，工廠制度，已甚發達；其表現特點，亦甚明顯。棉紡織業採用工廠制，在鋼鐵業之後；然今日中國最大之工廠工業，首推棉紡織業。棉紡織業起始於1890年，李鴻章氏首建一廠於上海，時僅有紗錠65,000，布機600耳。現此項工業，已發達至120工廠之多，共有資本銀297,400,000兩，紗錠3,850,016，布機29,583，工人241,559。每年出產之量，計有紗2,202,966包，布10,658,788疋。第此一二〇紗廠之中，有非獨立營業者；其中有五八廠，為14公司所有，共有資本銀91,200,000兩，2,102,110錠，17,717布機，141,064工人。(註二十)

### 天津針織業之組織

在天津之主要小工業，如地毯業(註二十一)，提花業，針織業中，其工業組織足為各業工業組織之代表者，首推針織業。針織業之工業組織，富於伸縮性。多數小針織作坊，其組織之改變，多不隨時間為轉移，而以市場之盛衰消長為標準。主匠可於平時自備作坊，自置機器，自購原料，以便從事於針織；當銷路暢盛之時，又可添僱工人，增加出產，一變昔日之作坊，而為規模狹小之工廠，蓋針織機價既廉，招僱短期織工與學徒，亦甚易易。成品之出售，又不需多費時日，資本之周轉甚靈。故當市場需要增加之時，主匠僅需稍加資本，或向親

註二十 Ho, Franklin L., and Fong, H. D. : *Extent and Effects of Industrialization in China*. Nankai University Committee on Social and Economic Research, Tientsin, 1929, pp. 16, 17.

註二十一 參見 Fong, H. D. : *Tientsin Carpet Industry*. Nankai University Committee on Social and Economic Research, Tientsin, 1929, Chapter II.

友告貸，或借轉子錢（註二十二），即可擴張其營業矣。反之商業一入衰落時期，主匠又立可辭去短期工人，僅留學徒，縮小其營業範圍；並可向其他大作坊領取原料，代為織造，以便利用閒置之機器。同時，主匠家屬又可分出一部或全部時間，代其他作坊從事縫襪工作。換言之，昔之主匠，現已降為散處工人及中間人矣。所以謂之中間人者，以其代表商人僱主，分散工作於其家屬及學徒故也。自主匠變為散處工人或中間人，及自散處工人或中間人變為主匠，不過天津針織業改變組織之一例而已。此外如作坊營業發達，主匠又可在數年之內擴張其營業範圍，一躍而為正式工廠主人。簡言之，一人在不同之經濟狀況下，可以為作坊之主匠，可以為商人僱主之中間人，可以為工廠之廠主，施行三種工業制度。至機織縫襪部及手工編織部則不然，僅有商人僱主及中間人之制度。二部約有一千工人，大都皆為女工。編織部之散處工人，自商人僱主處廣貨店或帽鋪領取絨繩棉線，織為商人僱主所指定之各種針織物品，論件計資。然因距商號過遠，或其他關係不能直接自商人僱主處領取原料時，又可在中間人處領取；縫工亦然。惟縫工所領取者，不為絨繩棉線，而為針織作坊未縫之襪耳。

註二十二 所謂轉子錢者，例如向債主處借洋五元，立約分六月償清本息，每月一元。第一次償本付息，起自借債三十日之後。一月之後，復感經濟困難，不能按月付款，乃更向債主貸款，數目仍為五元，扣除尚未清償之四元，借債人實得一元。然借據則載明分六月償清本息，每月一元，第一次付息，起自第二次借款三十日之後。餘可依此類推。

天津針織業之組織，略如上述。據本會之調查，民國十八年天津共有針織作坊一百五十四家，僱用工人一千六百一十人；其中有一百二十家，創辦於十八年前。本會之調查，固不免有遺漏之虞；然至少亦可以代表天津針織業百分之八十。

天津一百五十四家針織作坊，僅有五家未僱工人；其他一百四十九家所僱用之工人，人數不等，列表如下。

第一表： 民國十八年天津針織作坊  
工人人數之分配

每坊人數	作坊數	工人總數
1—5	41	144
6—10	55	429
11—15	27	359
16—20	12	225
21—25	6	137
26—30	3	88
31—35	2	70
36—40		
41—45	1	43
46—50		
50以上	2	115
總計	149	1,610

觀上表可知天津針織作坊規模甚小，大都每坊不過三十人。三十人或三十人以下之作坊工人，佔針織業工人總數百分之八十六，計為一千三百八十二人。其工人人數在

三十人以上者,僅有五家,共計僱用二百二十八人,雖然,工人人數實不足代表作坊之大小;因較大之針織作坊不但從事織造,又往往兼營銷售。第二表中資本在二千元以上之作坊,多屬此類。

第二表： 民國十八年天津針織作坊  
投資額之分配

每坊資本 (元)	作坊數	資本總額 (元)
100及100以下	22	2,030
101— 200	21	4,060
201— 300	21	6,250
301— 400	6	2,400
401— 500	33	16,500
501— 1,000	20	19,200
1,001— 2,000	13	23,700
2,001— 5,000	8	32,000
5,001—10,000	3	19,000
10,000 以上	3	55,000
總 計	150	180,140

據上表可知一百五十家針織作坊中,有十四家佔一百五十家投資總額百分之五十九;八家在二千零一元與五千元之間,三家在五千零一元與一萬元之間,三家在一萬元以上。又有一百零三家資本在五百元或五百元以下。此一百零三家作坊,其數雖佔針織業百分之五十以上,而其資本額,則不過佔針織業百分之十二而已。

針織業之固定投資，在於機器，不在於坊所。除五家作坊外，其餘一百四十九家之坊所，皆由租賃而來。大都空氣不甚流通，房屋極其狹隘。多數小作坊僅租每間可容五六人之小屋兩間，工作室，辦公室，貨棧，廚房，飯廳，臥室均在其地。作者曾親至一小家作坊中參觀，見坊主之妻，方坐於土炕之上勤作；土炕之下，則為二三學徒，或立而織襪，或繞線紗。室約八尺見方，室中氣味觸鼻，泥污滿地，所賴以流通空氣者，僅一小窗及一旁門。復因冬日嚴寒，常時關閉。室中土炕乃坊主夫婦之臥榻，其他工人，泰半為學徒，則臥於後間中。後間亦為工作室，大小與前間相同。臥榻之旁為廚房，有磚造小爐竈一，竈上置鐵鍋一。室之中央懸一木板，滿堆已織成之襪及線球，為一貨棧。兩間工作室之外，為一小天井，滿曬已染之襪。此小作坊可為小規模針織作坊之寫照，非作者張大其詞，過事形容者也。此類小作坊多集中於天津貧民區域。房租甚低，每年不過三百元左右；房租在三百元以上者，則一百四十九作坊中，僅三十家而已。

第三表：民國十八年天津針織作坊每年房租額之分配

每坊房租 (元)	作坊數	房租合計 (元)
100 以下	22	1,416
101— 200	50	7,202
201— 300	74	11,790
301— 400	9	3,252
401— 500	8	3,596
501— 600	4	2,340
601— 700	1	700
701— 800	3	2,160
801— 900	2	1,730
901—1,000	2	1,960
1,000 以上	1	1,550
總計	149	37,696

在較大之作坊中,其辦公室,貨棧,染房,繞紗室,織造室,及工人臥室等,各有定所;惟工人臥室多以工作室爲之。

針織機無論爲自動機,抑爲笨機,皆以手工轉動。爲針織業主要之固定投資。在吾人所研究之一百五十四家作坊中共有針織機一千二百六十五架,分配如下。

針織機之種類	機器架數	
甬機		
自動織襪機	396	
織襪笨機	707	
未列名織襪機	<u>32</u>	1,135
橫機	<u>130</u>	<u>130</u>
		1,265

僅有一架至五架機器之作坊,爲數最多,共有七十八家;有六架至十架機器者次之,共計四十四家;餘三十二家作坊,每家之機器,自十一架至五十架不等,其分配如下。

第四表： 民國十八年天津針織作坊機器數之分配

每坊機器架數	作坊數	機器架數
1—5	78	252
6—10	44	354
11—15	11	129
16—20	12	214
21—25	2	49
26—30	2	58
31—35	1	34
36—40	2	76
41—45		
46—50	2	99
總計	154	1,265

上列機數,僅包有本會調查時用以織造之機器。調查時適值針織業衰落之期,苟將所有未用機器一併列入,則一千二百六十五架,約可代表所有針織機總數百分之八十。簡言之,一百五十四家作坊之機器總數,應為一千五百八十一架。以每架機器平均價值三十元計算,則一千五百八十一架針織機,總計值四萬七千四百三十元。機器之外,又有機器零件如針熨斗熨板,紗管,紗軸,及染鍋等,約值機器價值十分之一,即四千七百四十三元是也。故機器及機器零件,總計約達五萬二千一百七十三元。

資本房租機器及工人人數,雖有簡略之統計,而出產之數量價值及所用之原料,苟不論列,仍不得謂為全豹。據本會調查,民國十八年天津一百五十四家作坊,共計消費價值九十六萬三千六百七十四元之原料,其中以紗線及毛線為最要;共出產針織品四十九萬五千七百七十八打,其中四十六萬一千五百十二打為絨棉等襪。下列三表為天津針織作坊原料消費額出產量及出產價值之分配。其出產量僅以襪之打數為根據,其他針織品如襯衣袴等數量甚小,又無共同之單位不易比較,故概不列入。

第五表： 民國十八年天津針織作坊  
原料消費額之分配

每坊價值 (元)	作坊數	價值總數 (元)
500 以下	20	6,146
501—1,000	21	16,769



1,001— 2,000	26	38,691
2,001— 3,000	17	41,441
3,001— 4,000	11	39,450
4,001— 5,000	8	36,011
5,001— 6,000	12	66,813
6,001— 7,000	4	25,642
7,001— 8,000	4	29,718
8,001— 9,000	1	8,810
9,001—10,000	3	28,228
10,001—20,000	14	179,763
20,001—30,000	9	212,858
30,001—40,000	1	38,850
40,001—50,000	1	45,960
50,000 以 上	2	148,524
總 計	154	963,674

第六表： 民國十八年天津針織作坊出產襪數之分配

每坊出產 (打)	作坊數	出產總額 (打)
500 以下	29	9,614
501— 1,000	27	21,510
1,001— 2,000	28	43,622
2,001— 3,000	21	53,850
3,001— 4,000	14	50,490
4,001— 5,000	9	41,820
5,001— 6,000	6	34,760
6,001— 7,000	5	33,500
7,001— 8,000	4	31,130
8,001— 9,000	1	8,550
9,001—10,000	1	10,000
10,000 以 上	5	115,340
總 計	150	454,186

第七表：民國十八年天津針織作坊出產價值之分配

每坊價值 <sup>甲</sup> (元)	作坊數	價值總數 (元)
500 以下	5	1,115
501—1,000	15	11,004
1,001—2,000	23	34,066
2,001—3,000	15	37,238
3,001—4,000	16	58,377
4,001—5,000	8	34,831
5,001—6,000	5	27,490
6,001—7,000	8	52,102
7,001—8,000	2	14,260
8,001—9,000	5	43,342
9,001—10,000	6	56,508
10,001—20,000	20	262,778
20,001—30,000	7	185,546
30,001—40,000	11	396,803
40,001—50,000	1	41,228
50,000 以上	7	556,872
總計	154	1,813,650

## 甲 按市價計算

觀上列三表，可知一百五十四家作坊中，每坊所消費之原料，以價值在三千元或三千元以下者為最多，計有八十四家；其消費原料總值合計十萬三千零四十七元，佔針織業原料消費總額百分之十一弱。至於出產量，則八十四家作坊，

各產襪二千打或二千打以下,合計產襪七萬四千七百四十六打佔產襪總額百分之十六。至出產價值有八十二家作坊,每坊皆在五千元或五千元以下,合計十七萬六千六百三十一元,佔一百五十四家作坊出產總值百分之九·七。然出產價值皆以市價計算。據針織業習慣,約須有百分之十五折扣。折扣後之實價,計達一百五十四萬一千六百零三元;而成本總額僅為一百三十七萬四千四百六十五元,占實價百分之八九·二。故其純利為百分之一零·八。一百五十四家作坊成本之分配及成本之分析,見第八及第九兩表。

第八表：民國十八年天津針織作坊成本額之分配

每坊成本額 (元)	作坊數	成本總額 (元)
500 以下	10	3,090
501—1,000	21	15,295
1,001—2,000	21	32,757
2,001—3,000	14	33,733
3,001—4,000	17	58,613
4,001—5,000	6	30,880
5,001—6,000	9	51,284
6,001—7,000	2	19,190
7,001—8,000	6	45,346
8,001—9,000	5	42,180
9,001—10,000	5	47,705
10,001—20,000	15	281,969
20,001—30,000	14	345,486
30,001—40,000	5	173,770
40,001—50,000	3	135,867
50,000 以上	1	57,300
總 計	154	1,374,465

第九表：民國十八年天津一百五十四家針織  
作坊之成本總額之分析

項 目	數 額 (元)	百分率
原料	963,674	70.1
工資	248,379	18.1
管理人員	3,850	
織工等	193,200	
縫工	34,064	
染工	7,046	
熨工	10,219	
利息	18,014	1.3
房租	37,696	2.7
消 蝕	11,479	0.8
機器及零件	10,435	
生財用具	1,044	
稅	3,770	0.3
燈水	3,770	0.3
雜支	87,683	6.4
總 計	1,374,465	100.0

觀上表,可知原料工資等,佔成本總額百分之八八·二,而利息,房租,消蝕,捐稅,燈水及雜支等則僅佔成本總額百分之一一·八。

#### 中間人制度

僱用中間人分散縫織工作，為天津針織業之特徵。雖有小數作坊僱用女工在坊內從事縫織工作，但多數作坊，則皆以此種工作委諸散處工人，以減輕坊內之設備。手工編織品如圍巾披巾手套鞋帽及襪衣等，在天津及其他各處相同，皆由散處工人在家中編織。無論僱主為針織作坊抑為廣貨店，或帽鋪散處工人之工作，皆由中間人分散。天津約有中間人一百五十人。本會採用取樣法，調查其中二十三人之狀況。其營業範圍見下表。

第十表：民國十八年天津針織業二十三中間人按散襪打數之分配

每 人 散 襪 打 數	中 間 人 數
2,001— 2,500	2
2,501— 3,000	1
3,001— 3,500	3
3,501— 4,000	3
4,001— 4,500	5
4,501— 5,000	3
5,001— 6,000	3
6,001— 7,000	1
7,001— 8,000	0
8,001— 9,000	0
9,001—10,000	2
總 計	23

此二十三人在十八年共散襪十萬六千零七十六打，平均每人散四千六百十二打。是年一百五十四家作坊之出產總額爲四十五萬四千一百八十六打，故二十三人分散之襪數僅佔產襪總額百分之二三·四。其餘百分之七六·六，約有二分之一由其他中間人分散，餘者則或在坊內縫紉或由作坊直接交付縫工。

二十三中間人中，有二十一人爲河北省人。吾人所研究者爲天津針織作坊，故河北各縣中以天津人爲最多，共計十一人。二十三人之中僅有二人爲女子，餘二十一人皆爲男子，爲他國工業組織中罕有之現象。例如英國在同樣之組織下，女子之爲中間人者皆超過於男子，而在中國社會中則女子多不求謀利之職業，故有此奇特之現象。至於中間人年齡之分配，則自二十六歲至三十歲者一人，自三十一歲至三十五歲者三人，自三十六歲至四十歲者六人，自四十一歲至四十五歲者三人，自四十六歲至五十歲者六人，自五十一歲至五十五歲者三人，自五十六歲至六十歲者一人，故中間人年齡大都皆在中年以上。其爲中間人之年數，自三年年不等；起自民國九年者一人，起自十年者四人，起自十一年至十者二人，起自十二年十三年十四年十五年者各三人，起自十六年者二人。二十三中間人非均全年從事於散襪工作，蓋散襪工作每隨季候而變遷，故其中有十人除散襪外，兼營副業。以針織爲副業者四人，以經紀及小販爲副業者各二人，以木工及農工爲副業者各一人。其自散襪工作所獲之收入，則因人而異；除一人外，每人年入皆不過二百元。其在五十元以下者三人，在一百元以下者七人，在一百五十元

以下者九人,在二百元以下者三人,在二百五十元以下者一人。二十三人之進款總額為二千五百五十一元,平均每人一百一十一元。一百一十一元之進款甚微,故二十三人中有十人必需兼營副業,藉資補助。然二千五百五十一元,已代表針織作坊交付中間人縫襪工資額百分之三十二矣。換言之,散處縫工僅得百分之六十八,即八千零五十七元是也。

每一中間人所僱用之縫工,人數不等,最少者四人,最多者十三人,其分配見下表。

第十一表： 民國十八年天津針織業二十三中間人  
僱用縫工人數之分配

每人僱用之縫工	中間人數	縫工人數
4	2	8
5	2	10
6	7	42
7		
8	5	40
9		
10	4	40
11		
12	2	24
13	1	13
總 計	23	177

據上表二十三中間人共僱用縫工一百七十七人,平均每人僱用七·七人。

散襪工作之方法,因人而異。一百七十七人中有一百三十四人,由中間人將襪綫等物送至縫工家中,而餘四十三人,則自往中間人家領取。領襪次數亦不一律,最普通者為每月十次十五次或二十次。大多數縫工皆於向中間人領襪時,交還已縫之襪,領取工資。支付工資方法,亦復不同,因縫工之經濟狀況而各異。除交襪領資外,又有每半月一領或每月一領者。縫工交還已縫之襪時,中間人必詳細檢查,如縫紙不佳或遇有損壞,則多由工資中直接扣除賠償費。至中間人向作坊領取工資之時期,則比較工人為長。有照舊歷每月朔望結算者,亦有分端午中秋及新年三節結算者,然交襪領資亦甚普通也。

中間人所僱用之縫工,有短工與長工之別。長工多為貧民終年皆從事縫襪工作,倚縫襪以為生,不復視為副業。而短工則於縫襪工作忙迫時,暫時為之,可以隨時輟業;縫襪收入,亦不以為生活費用,但儲為一己私蓄或另用而已。下表民國十八年縫襪工人每月縫襪之平均數。縫襪最多與縫襪最少者,相差甚遠,其每月縫襪在三十打以下者,殆皆為短期工人。

第十二表： 民國十八年天津針織業一百七十七縫襪工人縫襪數之分配

每月縫襪打數	縫工人數
1—10	18



11— 20	19
21— 30	18
31— 40	15
41— 50	29
51— 60	41
61— 70	24
71— 80	4
81— 90	4
91—100	3
100 以上	2
合 計	177

天津針織業縫襪部之中間人制度畧如上述。其利弊如何,要不可不稍加論列。僱用中間人之便利,在能以營業之盛衰爲標準,隨時解僱工人;不如作坊職員之必有相當限制,無自由解僱之餘地也。近年以來,戰禍頻仍,針織業之盛衰消長,變遷甚劇,隨時解僱權之施行,實爲採用中間人制度之主因。然中間人制度往往發生弊端,即中間人多以極低工資,榨取工人。結果工人工作怠緩,製造時期延長,因而影響於作坊資本之周轉是也。

天津一百五十四家針織作坊中,有數家不用中間人。或招僱女工至坊中縫襪,或直接僱用散處工人。直接僱用散處工人,惟小規模之作坊可行。即小規模之作坊,與其直接與多數縫工交涉,無寧僱用中間人之爲得也。

## 散處工人

天津手工編織業及機械針織業縫襪部之工人，以散處工人爲大多數。散處工人多數居城內及近郊各處。而工人人數又隨季候而變遷，故雖經調查，亦難得其確數；不得不以他種統計材料爲估計之根據。關於縫工人數，可以每年產襪總額及每人縫襪之平均數估計之。民國十八年天津一百五十家針織作坊線襪絨襪及人造絲襪之產額達四十五萬四千一百八十六打。而每一散處工人縫襪之平均數，則可自上述二十三中間人之報告估計之。據上列報告，二十三人共僱用縫工一百七十七人，縫襪十萬六千零七十六打；平均每人縫襪五百九十九打。假定四十五萬四千一百八十六打襪，其中四分之一由坊內工人縫紉，餘四分之三即三十四萬零六百四十打襪，必需僱用散處工人。每一散處工人平均可縫襪五百九十九打，則三十四萬零六百四十打襪，必需僱用散處工人五百六十九人，此縫襪工人之約數也。然編織工人人數，不能以同樣方法估計。編織工人或代帽鋪及廣貨店織造，或自購絨綫編織，至少有百分之七十係代帽鋪及廣貨店織造者。其自購絨綫編織者，多以供家庭之用而不出售。據最近天津特別市社會局之調查，天津共有廣貨店四百五十三家，帽鋪一百一十三家（註二十三）。雖非所有廣貨店及帽鋪，皆僱用編織工人；然僱用織工者，其最低限度能常川僱用兩人，可無疑義。以廣貨店及帽鋪之半數，

註二十三 天津特別市社會局一周年工作總報告，民國十八年，第

每家僱用兩人計算,則天津編織工人之總數,最低限度為五百六十六人。五百六十六織工加五百六十九縫工,則天津針織業編織部及縫之部機散處工人,總計為一千一百三十五人。

於一千一百三十五縫織工人中,本會以取樣法調查二百人之工作及生活狀況。其中一百一十人為縫工,八十一人為織工,九人為縫織工人。二百縫織工人中,以天津人,佔大多數,共計一百三十八人。餘六十二人則來自河北各縣:來自文安者十一人,來自冀縣及南皮者各八人,來自靜海者七人,來自南宮者六人,來自武清及滄縣者各五人,其餘十二人則來自其他九縣。二百散處工人皆為女工。其中將近半數或九十八人皆在二十一歲以下,除兩人外皆為未婚女子。已婚者九十五人,其中三分之二或六十三人,皆在三十六歲與五十歲之間。三十六歲至五十歲及二十一歲以下之女工所以特多者,蓋以二十一歲以下之未婚女子,多富於餘暇,可以從事縫織。而三十六歲至五十歲之已婚女子,又已經過生產時期,故亦可以餘閑從事副業也。下表為二百散處工人年齡及婚姻之分配。

第十三表: 民國十八年天津針織業散處工人年齡及婚姻表之分配

年 齡	婚 姻			合 計
	已 婚	未 婚		
11—15		11		11

16—20	2	85	87
21—25	3	9	12
26—30	19		19
31—35	7		7
36—40	28		28
41—45	23		23
46—50	12		12
51—55	1		1
總計	95	105	200

散處工人之家庭,每家人數自二人至九人不等。最普通者在三人與五人之間。二百散處工人家庭,平均每家有四·四人

第十四表：民國十八年天津針織業散處工人家庭人口之分配

每家人數	家數	總人數
2	14	28
3	40	120
4	50	200
5	63	315
6	21	126
7	11	77
8		
9	1	9
共計	200	875

第十五表爲工人及其家屬年齡及性別之分配,因二百散處工人中有一百零五人爲二十五歲或二十五歲以下未婚少女(其中八十五人在十六歲與二十歲之間)是以此類家庭顯然獨成一組,女子超過於男子。

第十五表： 民國十八年散處工人及其家屬  
年齡及性別之分配

年 齡	性 別		合 計
	男	女	
1—5	4	2	6
6—10	17	12	29
11—15	54	68	122
16—20	52	170	222
21—25	34	22	56
26—30	22	27	49
31—35	16	14	30
36—40	48	58	106
41—45	49	53	102
46—50	39	46	85
51—55	12	12	24
56—60	4	8	12
61—65	5	11	16
66—70	4	12	16
總 計	360	515	875

二百散處工人中,除十四人外,餘皆家中另有從事其他正業之人。人數自一人至三人不等;家中另有一人從事相當正業者爲數最多,共計一百三十五家;另有二人從事相當正業者四十二家;另有三人從事相當正業者九家。總計一

百八十六家,共有二百四十六人從事下列各種正業。

第十六表： 民國十八年散處工人家屬正業之分配 (註二十四)

職 業	人 數	職 業	人 數
商業	133	染工	1
業主		印刷工人	3
攤販	5	刻字工人	2
商店	15	鐘表匠	1
小販		電匠	1
襪	2	陶匠	2
布	4	豬鬃匠	1
陶器	2	工廠工人	2
花	1	其他	18
家禽	3	交通	20
魚	9	電車司機	1
菜蔬	7	汽車夫	3
燒餅等	26	郵差	2
柴	3	鐵路工人	1
其他	3	洋車夫	12
經紀人	7	門房	1
店員	44	傭僕	15
書記	2	其他	14
工業	64	理髮匠	4
木匠	6	警察	4
泥瓦匠	3	教師	1
油漆匠	3	賣卜人	3
鐵匠	11	兵士	2
鞋匠	4		
帽工	1	總 計	246
織工	5		

註二十四 家屬無正業祇有副業者不計。

此二百四十六人，民國十八年共收入三萬七千四百八十元，平均每人年入一百五十二元三角。其中以年入一百元以上至一百五十元者為最多，共計一百人。餘則年入五十元或五十元以下者十六人；年入五十一元至百元者三十六人；年入一百五十一元至二百元者五十人；年入二百零一元至三百元者三十六人；年入三百元以上者五人。至於年齡之分配，則在十六歲至二十歲之間者二十七人，二十一歲至三十歲之間者五十六人，三十一歲至四十歲之間者六十三人，四十一歲至五十歲之間者八十二人。自十六歲以上人數逐漸增加，而自五十一歲以上，則人數驟降。其在五十一歲與六十歲之間者十四人，而六十歲以上者，則僅有四人。是故工人家屬每年進款甚少，毫無疑義。而其最能生利者，又常以年齡在四十一歲與五十歲之間者為首屈一指。第十七表為工人家屬年齡及每年進款之分配。

第十七表： 民國十八年散處工人家屬年齡  
及每年進款之分配

年 齡	16—20	21—30	31—40	41—50	51—60	60以上	合計
每年進款							
50 元以上	9	2	2	3			16
51 — 100	7	12	8	9	3		39
101— 150	10	24	27	32	5	2	100
151— 200	1	14	14	18	3		50
201— 300		2	10	20	2	2	36
300 以下		2	2		1		5
總 計	27	56	63	82	14	4	246

下列第十八至二十二五表,爲工人家庭收支總計。觀十八十九兩表,可知四組進款中,工資佔進款總額百分之九十·一至九十六·五。然針織散處工人之工資,則與庭家進款之多少爲反比例。家庭進款在二百或二百以下者,散處工人之工資佔百分之四十·三;家庭進款在二百另一元與三百元之間者,則僅佔百分之二五·八;家庭進款在三百另一元與四百元之間者,則佔百分之二三·七;而家庭進款在四百另一元與五百元之間者,則僅佔百分之一二·五。參看第二十二表之工人家庭預算盈虧表,可知家庭進款增加,則多盈餘;反之則多虧欠。家庭進款在二百元或二百元以下者,九家盈餘,五十五家虧欠;家庭進款在二百另一元與三百元之間者,二十五家盈餘,四十家虧欠;家庭進款在三百

註二十五 盎格爾家用比例分配表,轉載於 Streightoff, F. H.: The Standard of Living among the Industrial People of America, 1611, p. 12.

盎格爾家用比例表

項 目	支出與進款之百分率		
	225—300元	450—600元	750—1,000元
食物	62	55	50
衣服	61	18	18
房租	12	12	12
燃料及燈	5	5	5
教育宗教等	2	3.5	5.5
法律保障	1	2.0	3.0
衛生	1	2.0	3.0
娛樂	1	2.5	3.5



元與四百元之間者,二十五家盈餘,十八家虧欠;家庭進款在四百另一元與五百元之間者,十七家盈餘,六家虧欠。

關於工人家用食物一項,如第二十及二十一表所載,與盎格爾定律(Engel's Law),頗相吻合(註二十五)。家庭進款在二百元或二百元以下,食物佔家用百分之六一·三;進款在二百另一元與三百元之間,其百分率降為五九·四;進款在三百另一元與四百元之間,食物佔家用百分之五·四七;進款在四百另一元與五百元之間,則其百分率更降為四七·六。故食物用費百分比,常隨家庭進款之增加而遞減。衣服用費百分率,較之盎格爾調查之家庭,約低二分之一。而四組家庭,約略相等。進款在二百元或二百元以下者,衣服費佔家用百分之七;進款在二百另一元與三百元之間,其百分率為七·四;在三百另一元與四百元之間,為百分之六·七;在四百另一元與五百元之間,為百分之八·四。至於房租,四組家庭,亦大概相同;然較盎格爾調查之家庭,其百分數高四點。燃料及燈,四組家庭亦無甚差異;惟較之盎格爾調查之家庭約低百分之一。雜支之百分率,隨家庭進款而增加;盎格爾調查之家庭亦然。進款在二百元或二百元以下之家庭,雜支佔家用百分之一·一二;進款在二百另一元與三百元之間,則漲為百分之一四·二;進款在三百另一元與四百元之間,復漲至百分之一八·七;進款在四百另一元與五百元之間,更增至百分之二四·六

第十八表：民國十八年二百散處工人家庭  
進款來源分組統計表(以元為單位)

收入分組 進款來源	200 或 200 以下	201—300	301—400	401—500
工資				
散處工人	4,363	4,256	3,687	1,474
家屬				
全工	5,698	11,474	11,162	9,146
散工	384	160	455	500
非工資				
房租等	146		170	340
利息		255		300
捐助	234	340	70	20

第十九表：民國十八年二百散處工人家庭  
進款來源分組統計表(百分率)

收入分組 進款來源	200 或 200 以下	201—300	301—400	401—500
工資	96.5	96.4	98.4	94.3
散處工人	40.3	25.8	23.7	12.5
家屬	56.2	70.6	74.7	81.8
非工資	3.5	3.6	1.6	5.7
房租等	1.3		1.1	2.9
利息		1.5		2.6
捐助	2.2	2.1	.5	.2

第二十表： 民國十八年散處工人一百九十九家之支出  
根據進款多寡之分類(以元爲單位)(註二十六)

支出項目	進 款 分 組			
	200 或 200 以下	201—300	301—400	401—500
食物	127.4	154.2	185.5	235.2
房租	34.6	40.3	56.8	75.1
衣服	14.5	19.1	22.7	41.5
燃料及燈	8.1	9.0	10.8	20.6
雜支	23.4	37.1	63.6	121.5
餽贈	7.0	10.3	16.6	30.4
化粧品	4.6	7.2	12.6	21.5
水	4.2	4.8	6.0	9.5
娛樂	3.5	6.0	10.0	14.6
教育	2.5	3.4	3.5	4.0
衛生	1.3	2.4	5.4	13.3
敬神		.3	.7	1.7
稅		.1	1.3	1.3
婚喪		.1		16.4
其他	.3	2.5	7.5	8.8
平均進款	\$ 169.1	246.0	345.4	512.2
平均支出	\$ 208.0	259.7	339.4	493.9
盈(+)或虧(-)	\$ -38.9	-13.7	+6.0	+18.3
每家平均人口 (成年男子)	3.1	3.7	4.0	4.8
家數	64	67	45	23

註二十六 一家無報告者不計。本表家庭人口化成成年男子時，  
係採用 Atwater 制。

第二十一表：民國十八年散處工人一百九十九家之支出根據進款多寡之分類(百分率)

支出項目	進款分類			
	200 或 200 以下	201—300	301—400	401—500
食物	61.3	59.4	54.7	47.6
房租	16.6	15.5	16.7	15.2
衣服	7.0	7.4	6.7	8.4
燃料及燈	3.9	3.5	3.2	4.2
雜支	11.2	14.2	18.7	24.6
餽贈	3.4	4.0	4.9	6.2
化粧品	2.2	2.8	3.7	4.4
水	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.9
娛樂	1.7	2.3	2.9	3.0
教育	1.2	1.3	1.0	.8
衛生	.6	.9	1.6	2.6
敬神		.1	.2	.3
稅			.4	.3
婚喪				3.3
其他	.1	1.0	2.2	1.8
平均進款	\$169.1	246.0	345.4	512.2
平均支出	\$208.0	259.7	339.4	493.9
支出總數對於收入總數之百分比	123%	105%	98%	96%
每家平均人口 (成年男子)	3.1	3.7	4.0	4.8
家數	64	67	45	23

第二十二表： 民國十八年散處工人一百九十五家盈虧  
根據進款多寡之分類(註二十七)

盈虧額 (以元為單位)	進 款		分		組			
	200 或 200 以下		201—300		301—400		401—500	
	家數		家數		家數		家數	
	盈	虧	盈	虧	盈	虧	盈	虧
20或20以下	5	17	12	13	10	8	4	2
21— 40	2	12	8	13	7	4	3	1
41— 60	2	6	3	8	4	4	1	1
61— 80		9	2	2	3	1	3	
81—100		7		1		1	1	1
100或100元 以上		4		3	1		5	1
總 計	9	55	25	40	25	18	17	6

關於工人之進款,已如上述。茲再論散處工人之工作性質。縫工之工作,為代針織作坊縫紉未完之襪,論件計資。其工資率隨襪之種類及所用原料針數與用途而異,又因工人技能之高下,與夫中間人榨取工人之程度而有不同。縫襪工資,普通皆論打計資,以銅元為單位。每一銅元,照現在市價,約合銀幣二釐半。下表即天津中間人所付縫紉線襪工資率也。

縫紉各種線襪之每打工資率(銅元)

針數	男襪	坤襪	童襪
72			23

註二十七 四家收支相抵而無盈虧者不計。

80		28
160	27	23
180	32	28
240	36	34

縫紉毛襪之工資率稍低，蓋以其針數較少，又易於縫紉故也。散處工人每日之縫襪額，因工作時間及技能而有不同。平均每人一日工作八小時，可縫男襪兩打，應得工資，將近兩角。縫襪工作，終年常有，故其所入，可以為工人之常期進款。

編織工作，既較縫襪為難，工資亦自較高。且工人不僅編織一種編織品，各種編織品如圍巾披巾襪，衣鞋帽手套等，皆在編織之列；且織物品，或花或素，是以工資之差異，亦較縫襪為甚。編織物品，多為絨織品，僅限於秋冬之際；故編織工人每於春夏從事縫襪工作，以補其缺。下表為天津各種編織品之工資率，以銅元或銀洋計算，視編織某種物品所用絨線之多少，論掛計資，每掛絨線等於一磅之十六分之一。

編織品之種類		工資率 (銅元或銀洋)
圍巾:	素	每掛銅元十四枚
	花紋	.. .. 二十枚
披巾		.. .. 十六枚
帽		.. .. 七、八枚
鞋		每雙三角至五角
襯衣:	素	每件二元一角
	花紋	每件二元五角

手套：	帶指	每掛銅元七枚
	不帶指	每掛銅元五枚

上列表中圍巾與帽佔天津編織品百分之七十，披巾手套佔百分之二十，襯衣及鞋，則僅佔百分之十。

關於工作時期，則二百縫織工人於工作月內每日皆從事縫織而不間斷者，共計一百四十九人。餘五十一人則每月工作十五日者二人；工作十八日一人；工作二十日者四十人；工作二十五日者八人。而縫織工人每年之工作時期，則自三月至十二月不等。其中半數以上，即一百一十人，全年皆有工作；而工作六月者次之，共有七十五人。餘則工作三月者一人，工作四月者五人，工作五月者三人，工作七月者二人，工作十月者四人。每日工作時間，亦常不一律。二百散處工人，皆有日工。其兼作夜工者，約有四分之三以上，共計一百六十五人。第二十三表即二百工人工時分配表也。

第二十三表： 民國十八年二百散處工人每日(或每日夜)工時之分配

工作時數	日工人數	夜工人數
2		49
3		80
4	19	34
5	44	2
6	52	
7	6	

8	26	
9	13	
10	29	
11	1	
12	8	
13		
14		
總計	200	165

第二十四表為二百散處工人每人每日工時總數,或僅計日工工時,或合計日工及夜工工時。

第二十四表： 民國十八年二百散處工人每日(或每日夜)工時之分配

工作時間	工人人數	工時合計
5	2	10
6	11	66
7	18	126
8	46	368
9	35	315
10	34	340
11	17	187
12	22	264
13	7	91
14	5	70
15	2	
16		30
17	1	17
總計	200	1,884



據上表每日最普通之工時,自八小時至十小時不等,與平均數九·四二小時相差無幾。然二百人中,又有八十六人必須分撥其日間之一部分時間,從事於家務。此八十六人中,有少女三人,已婚女子八十三人,每日縫織時間自六小時至十五小時不等,計縫織六小時者七人,七小時者八人,八小時者二十一人,九小時及十小時者各十五人,十一小時者八人,十二小時者七人,十三小時及十四小時者各二人,十五小時者一人。

二百工人每日工作之時間,每日工作之日數,及每年工作之月數既不一律,而工作性質,又復不同,故其每年工作所入,亦因而大異。據下表最普通者,每年縫織所入,約在三十一元與九十元之間,佔二百工人之四分之三。而此類工人,則平均每日工作九·四二小時。工資之低,可想而知。縫襪及編織工人,含有副業性質,此所以工資若是之低也。

第二十五表: 民國十八年二百散處工人全年工作月數及工資之分配

工資元數	工作月數							總計
	12	10	7	6	5	4	3	
11—20				2				2
21—30	2			5	1	1		9
31—40	4			11	1	1	1	18
41—50	22	1		13		1		37
51—60	19		1	17		1		38

61—70	12		1	3				16
71—80	15	1		11		1		28
81—90	8			3	1			12
91—100	7	1		1				9
101—110	5			5				10
111—120	6			3				9
121—130	2			1				3
131—140		1						1
141—150	2							2
151—160	2							2
161—170	1							1
171—180	2							2
181—190								
191—200	1							1
總計	110	4	2	75	3	5	1	200

縫織工人所入雖少,然二百工人,中其四分之三,即一百四十八人之工資,却各佔家庭進款百分之二十一至百分之四十。又有七人,其縫織所入,為家庭進款之唯一來源。

第二十六表: 民國十八年散處工人工資在家庭進款中所佔百分率之分配

家庭進款額 (元)	1—10	11—20	21—30	31—40	41—50	51—60	61—70	71—80	81—90	91—100	總計
	散處工人工資在家庭進款中所佔百分率										
200或以下		4	18	19	7	8	2			7	65
201—300	3	22	20	12	9	1					67
301—400	5	16	13	6	2	2	1				45
401—500	5	12	5	1							23
合計	13	54	56	38	18	11	3			7	200

工人縫織工資,多以供家用之資;亦有留以自購用品,或儲爲私蓄者。下表即工人工資按用途分配之百分率也。

第二十七表: 民國十八年散處工人工資按用途之分配(百分率)

用途 百分率	家 用	自 用	私 畜	合 計
10			3	30
20		3	6	180
30		6	3	270
40				
50	14	8	10	1,600
60				
70	1	1		140
80		1		80
90				
100	173	2	2	17,700
總 計	188	21	24	20,000

最後試略舉縫織業散居工人之舞弊伎倆。無論其方法如何,而其目的則一:即以非法之手段,貪求分外之利益是也。如中間人散貨過多,不暇詳細檢查,則縫織工每以劣貨代替上等之針織品。又常偷售織品,謊言被竊,縱中間人責令賠償,亦終不能償足成本全數。上述方法,縫襪及編織工人皆可採用。而編織工人,尤易竊取中間人所給予之絨線,

---

或噴水或藏匿泥砂及包紙煙錫紙於其內,以增加織品之重量。或減少針數以增加速率,且放髮密度,俾不影響於織品之大小長短。凡此種種弊端,即中間人亦不易覺察也。



## 傅尙霖 講

(在北平東城豫王府協和大禮堂學術演講會演稿  
時民國十九年十一月廿二日)

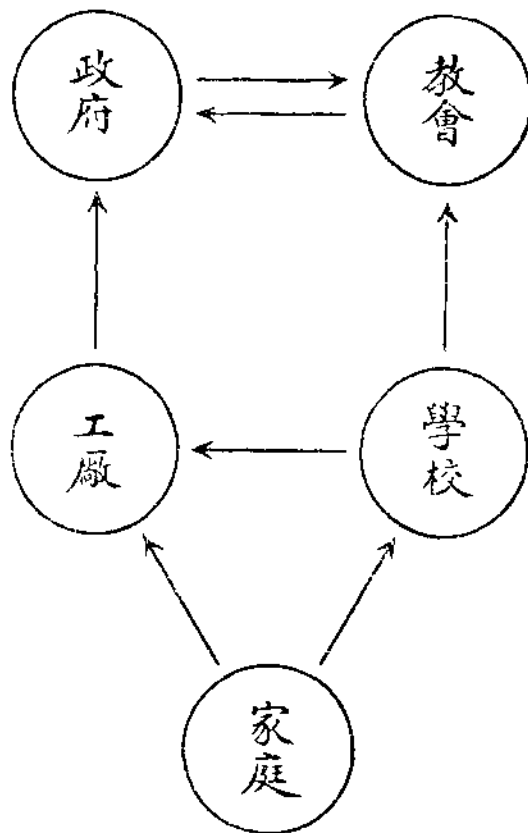
(甲)楔子

本題的原文是用英語寫成；是留英研究學術時代的作品；詳細的議論將在英文論文裏面披露出來。本年二月曾在上海滬江大學全國大學教授會議宣講一次，同時在中國社會學社成立大會，用本國語將大意宣講一次。因回國後，曾兼任大學教授行政等職，公務繁重，無暇把他寫成中文。幾天前承貴會幹事舒先生們的請，和陳振先博士等的厚意；時間匆促，無暇找新的題目，就把這題來塞責。說這到來，使我記得一樁笑話，前年是易卜生 Ibsen 一百週年紀念。英國各界請蕭伯訥 Bernard Shaw 主講。在倫敦方面，他答應了好幾個團體演講易卜生的生平和貢獻。第一次的演講是在倫敦大學經濟政治學院。他宣佈這幾次的演講，不允報紙記者到會，也不許聽者把他的演辭發表出來，好像是要講什麼神秘的話。按易卜生對婦女和婚姻的問題，很敢赤條條地說白出來，蕭伯訥算是現代易卜生的化身，那麼在這“戒嚴”境地之下，個個人盼望聽了什麼新奇的言論，爭先恐後地蜂擁去聽他。謝謝了研究院優先權利的辦法，能夠先領入場券，才免做門外漢！開會的時候，他聲明“戒嚴”的理由；因同時要在好幾處講同樣的題目，不得不“戒嚴”起來；並無肉麻或過激的言論；

大家才領會他的本意。可是，我並不是學蕭伯訥的技能，不過在海外宣講中國文化的時候，統統是用同一個題在好幾個地方演講；也許成做一個偷閒的習慣了！

### (乙)本題的性質

本題是社會組織學的問題，便是社會學的問題，家庭的組織是社會五大機關之一，如圖一



家庭是社會的單位，雖然現代的社會生活把個人做社會和法律的中心(參孟氏古代法律 Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 165)，但實際上，家庭是社會的搖床Cradle。種種生活的基本，是從這兒產生出來。那麼甘則氏膽敢這樣說：「社會是建在家庭的單位，並不是建在個人的基礎上」(Frank Ganger, *Historic Sociology*, p. 192)。老實說來，家庭是社會的基本組織，研究社

會學的，切不可輕視他。愛烏爾特的社會學和社會問題一書，大半是討論家庭的問題，夠足代表他的重要。（拙著（英文）家庭的形態和社會的組織一篇有述及）

#### （丙）本題的範圍

把家庭看做一個社會組織，這個組織是一個機體；從這個機體家庭生活和種種的效能能夠表現出來。就是要研究他的社會解剖學上的構造，和他社會生理學上的功用。反而言之，就是把家庭的骨格擺列起來；家庭的形態繪畫出來；分析家庭組織的原素；研究家庭裏互相關切的系統；和探討那些造成家庭做一個社會組織的效能。簡單說來，是把家庭看做一個靜止Static的機官，把他解剖出來，看看他的狀態是怎樣。這樣的研究法是屬“社會行為學”Social Behaviorism的範圍，也是屬法國派所稱爲“社會狀態學”的領域。（Social Morphology（以上錄拙著英文中國家庭組織的社會學研究裏面一段話）

#### （丁）本題的目的

由現存的家庭組織裏面，實實在在地找出一種社會組織的狀態，免得蹈了以前學家的覆轍，憑空立論，把片面的演化論，或籠籠統統的理由，食古不化，囫圇而吞的見解，來當做社會進化的事實。何好思氏 Hobhouse 是英國社會科學界和哲學界的泰斗，在他的道德進化論 *Morals in Evolution* 一書裏面說得好；他這部書是代表英國社會學派研究比較的社會組織學的著作 *Comparative Social Institutions*。

關他的貢獻，已經同孫本文吳景超先生們商定在中國社會學社的刊物中，出個專號，現刻不必多說了。他說：“這種



研究問題的方法,可省却進化原因的假定理論,連進化論本身的臆說也不必了。我們的目的,是要區別和分析倫理思想種種不同的狀態。一個倫理的狀態學和動植物身體上的狀態學是一樣的。若是有這比較研究學的結果,建在記實事體之上,雖然進化論是推翻,這些成績一定不倒的。同時無論在何地,區分的結果,用進化理論眼光看來,能夠獲一個完全新穎的意義和價值。他們(指區分的結果而言)給我們一個人類進化傾向的了解,這種傾向的了解並不是建在臆說上所假定的基本原由,乃是建在實事求是上比較他的成績,在各個時期中表現出來的。”就本這樣的目的來研究中國家庭現存的複雜性了。

(戊)什麼是叫做中國家庭的複雜性?

“複雜性”的名辭是由英文Complex的字眼譯出來的,根據心理學家宗史氏 Jones 的意思;一個“複雜性”是“一組帶感情色彩的思想,整個地或片面地被障住起來。

“A Group of emotionally tinged ideas partially or entirely repressed.” 照傅祿德氏 Freud 看來,一個“複雜性”是“那俱有偉大效力的價值的興趣和思想的圈圍” “Circles of thought and interests of strong effective value” (Introductory Lectures, p. 90).

中國的家庭組織不是平空掉下來的東西,是自有中國民族,未有書契到有史籍,傳到如今的產物。在這社會科學昌明的時代,應當用科學的眼光研究社會組織。不可含糊糊地說中國家庭是個大家族制度就完事;不是說贊成小家庭制度,反對大家族制度,便能夠創造一個新的社會單位;也

不是說中國的社會組織本來是家所組織成的，那麼從家族主義一變就能夠成民族主義；好像說“齊一變至於魯；魯一變至於道”一樣；說得多麼容易，那裏有變得這樣快？把這個複雜性分析起來，對家族的進化與社會的構造有充分的了解，才能夠洞識社會的情形。

#### (己)研究中國家庭複雜性的重要

歐西人士看中國的家庭做一個大宗族制度的模型；我們也是這樣的承認和自豪。到底中國家族制的本色是怎樣？應當問一問，和求個解答。比喻大家說在父權式的家庭裏面，父母有生殺的權；妻子像生畜一般；婚姻是買賣式的；制度是一夫多妻的 Polygamy；組織上是聚宗會族的；種種的話，到底是普遍麼？社會事實上是這樣麼？還是經典上的傳說呢？應當攷究一下才是。在海外留學的同志們，常常引起外國人的懷疑；在他們的視官神經系中，或想像裏，個個人是“藍鬍子” Blue Beard，或是三妻四妾的丈夫，因他們聽說中國人大都是早婚和實行一夫多妻制的。那麼他們相戒那要同華人結婚的女子道：‘恐怕你不是去充他的後陳，便是去做他的第五或第六的姨太太了！不如退罷！’這樣的謬解，代表許多誤會的事情。到底多妻的現象，是不是一個階級的制度；是不是“禮不下庶人”的物品；那聚宗會族的組織，豈不是農業文化的結晶，或封建式和經典上的遺物？不能夠看一斑就說是窺全豹的。克羅斯 Grosse 在他的 Die Formen der Wirtschaft und die Formen der Familie 一書，把家庭的組織分做三種：一

第一 兩代的小家庭制度 Sanderfamilie

第二 三至四代以上的家庭制度 Grossfamilie

第三 宗族式的家庭制以同個祖先做系統 Sippe 又分

(一) 父系的家族制度 Vater Sippe 和

(二) 母系的家族制度 Mutter Sippe

吉龍師式 Giddings 在他的 社會學原理 Principles of Sociology, pp. 157—168 一書,把家庭制度也分三種:—

第一 簡單的組織:—父母子女

第二 複式的組織:—二世以上及傍系親等,或父系或母系的

第三 較複雜的組織:—同祖宗的制度,如圖騰 Totem clans 或宗族制。

我們說中國的家庭制度是大家族主義的制度的時候,我們到底是指那一種制度;—第一式,第二式,或第三式,還是三式包在一起呢?許多學家一筆抹殺一切,籠籠統統地講,使我們認像森木的大宗族制度做像一株樹木的家庭;看個民族的組合做個大家庭的組織;或單看一個大家庭,把小的單位埋沒起來。馬霖娜師基氏 Malinowski 在他所著的澳洲土人的家庭一書“Family among the Australian Aborigines”批評許多學家的謬誤;指摘他們附會澳洲土人的組織統統是一個社團的形式,無家度的制度;切實研究起來,統統有個人的或自然的家庭 Individual or Natural Family。偉師特穆氏 Westermarck 在他的三大部人類婚姻史“History of Human Marriage”裏面,初版是四十年前的事,現已翻成許多國的文字;把六十年前摩根氏 Morgan 的古代社會“Ancient Society”的學說和愛文伯利伯爵 Lord Avebury 的文明的起源“Origins of Civilisation”的理論推翻了不少;否認亂倫或團

體結婚做人類婚姻的起源；證明小家庭制度是從古及今基本的社會單位。當然有許多家族的形式，和結婚的制度；但他們統統是進化程序中所呈殊特的現象，並不是基本的組織。本這樣的見解，我們就能够在一個複雜的家庭組織裏面，找出一個單純的家庭模型。

#### (庚)中國家庭複雜性的解剖

葛學溥氏在他所著南中國鄉村生活裏面 Kulp, "Country Life in South China", 把中國的家庭制度分做四種：—

- 第一 自然的家庭 Natural Family
- 第二 傳習的家庭 Conventional Family
- 第三 宗教的家庭 Religious Family
- 第四 經濟的家庭 Economic Family

他的分法很有道理，在研究中國家庭組織上算是別開生面的說法。可是，依我看來，有十種的格式；這十種架子便是中國家庭的軀殼；參看圖二：—

- 第一 姓氏的家庭
- 第二 封建的家庭
- 第三 親戚的家庭
- 第四 宗堂的家庭
- 第五 族屬的家庭
- 第六 門閥的家庭
- 第七 房室的家庭
- 第八 戶口的家庭
- 第九 世系的家庭
- 第十 兩性的家庭

以上十種組織是社會許多原動力所陶鑄而成的。自生物起源至社會演化,經種族的混合,文化的調劑,風俗的推移,歷史的變遷,地理的影響,法律的範圍,政治的作用,經濟的限制,宗教和道德的規定;種種具體的條文或抽象的成見;造成現存的家庭制度,許多已成歷史上的陳迹;但已往的孤魂或英文所稱做 *Dead Hand of the Past* 即往古已故者的威靈,尚纏繞在姓氏制度之上;許多已成官樣文章;五服九族等制,也成紙老虎了;但空架子依然存在。可是研究中國家庭的人,統在經典上和法律上認明有個很偉大的組織,傍的就不管了,在研究社會律例 *Social Law* 和社會事實上 *Social Fact* 未免有點疏忽罷。現在把十種原動力列左:—

- 第一 宗法社會的產物(帶民族式的色彩)
- 第二 經濟制度的結晶(含貴族和政治的意味)
- 第三 血統關係的團結(俱心理的作用)
- 第四 宗教崇奉的影響
- 第五 民族統系的範圍
- 第六 貴族專權的架子
- 第七 家族主義的聯絡
- 第八 法律政治的裁制
- 第九 歷史傳祚的脈絡(有經典上的系統)
- 第十 生物基本的吸引(和自然環境的影響)

以上十種動力,在演化程序中互相連接,和互相影響,是不能分開的。不過爲了解剖的緣故,假定他是靜止的,以便開刀來批卻導竅。本來是一個整個複雜物 *A Complex Whole*。

這樣看來,比美國的家庭制度複雜得多!柯鴻氏 *Calhoun*

在他所著三大部美國家庭的社會史裏面說：「美國的家庭制度是三個原動力所造成的：

第一 是中古世紀經典派的複雜性，合上古文明基礎上及半開化民族的傳說演化而成的；

第二 是由中古田主制度變成現代資本主義制度而成的。

第三 是由新大陸自然的環境所造成的。」

中國的家庭制度有較深長的歷史，自然加倍複雜了！

#### (甲)中國家庭內容的複雜

在大家族主義之下，中國的家庭制度是一個父權式的模型。內容好像羅馬式的 *Paterfamilias* 一樣。欽定古今圖書集成明倫典家範部的分法，可代表裏面的複雜組織和空泛的範圍。

- (一)祖孫 (二)父母 (三)父子 (四)母子 (五)教子
- (六)乳母 (七)嫡庶 (八)出繼 (九)養子 (十)女子
- (十一)姑媳 (十二)子孫 (十三)兄弟 (十四)姊妹
- (十五)嫂叔 (十六)妯娌 (十七)叔姪 (十八)姑姪
- (十九)夫婦 (二十)媵妾 (廿一)宗族 (廿二)外祖孫
- (廿三)甥舅 (廿四)母黨 (廿五)翁婿 (廿六)姻婭
- (廿七)妻族 (廿八)中表 (廿九)戚屬 (三十)奴婢

個個人有一定的身分，站在一定的地位，負一定的職任和義務。那麼他們像瓜葛的綿延，蠡斯的螿螿，交來連去，統統有些關係。據生相愛死相哀的恩義和情理推算起來，做一個複雜式的家庭的人物，一生一世，從少至老，除應付“紅白事”即冠婚喪祭等禮節之外，確實無時間做別的事。無

怪中國的社會不大進步；廢太多精力和時間在像蜘蛛網的家族組織裏。用別的話說來，有三種解釋這複雜的組織的條例：—

- 第一 據白虎通：一九族是父族四，母族三，妻族二
- 第二 據小學紺珠：一九族者外祖父外祖母；從母子；妻父妻母；姑之子；姊妹之子；女之子；己之同族屬內外姻戚而言
- 第三 據經典及法律：—尚書注解，喪服小記，明律，清律等自本宗高祖至玄孫，由己橫推至三從兄弟，即堂兄弟，兩從兄弟及族兄弟是也。

照大清律例五服圖表看來，已經複雜極了，再參本圖便了解複雜性的形態是怎樣。

#### (壬) 了解中國家庭現存複雜性的公式

本圖定名做“中國家庭組織現存複雜性的社會狀態學上一覽表”了解中國家庭現代複雜性方程式如左：—

$$I + II \times III + IV = V$$

I 即“姓”；加 II 即氏；乘 III 即包括“氏，親，宗，族，”（定為 III<sub>a</sub> III<sub>b</sub> III<sub>c</sub> III<sub>d</sub>）；加 IV 即包括“門，戶，房，世”，定為 IV<sub>a</sub> IV<sub>b</sub> IV<sub>c</sub> IV<sub>d</sub>）；等於 V 即“家”。這個家就是中國家庭基本的組織，易經說卦傳說得好：—

“乾天也，故稱乎父；坤地也，故稱乎母；震一索而得男，故謂之長男；巽一索而得女，故謂之長女；坎再索而得男，故謂之中男；離再索而得女，故謂之中女；艮三索而得男，故謂之少男；兌三索而得女，故謂之少女”

（參御纂周易述義（乾隆二十年夏四月）卷十廿四頁下面）

把他卜筮的辭分開，那一對父母和三男三女，八口之家，便是普遍的家庭組織。I和II是代表兩個民族或姓氏，或兩家的兩個男女性，這兩個男女性結合起來就成一個“性的團體或結婚團體 Sex Group or Marriage Group。”I和II是夫妻在“結婚的境地 Marriage State；V是有了兒女，他們倆個成了父母，就有一個自然的家庭。因歷史上，血系上，宗教上，經典上，經濟上，文化上，土地上，法律上等等關係，無論那兩個統統有他們的氏族 Tribus or Totem；他們古式的大家族 Sib, Sept or Sippe；他們的親戚 Kin, Kith or Kindred；他們的宗祠堂從 Gens；他們的族屬 Clan, tu or tuah or phratry；他們的舊門閥世家 Caste or Moiety；他們在法律下的戶口 Household；他們的房頭派別 Home or chamber；和他們的世嗣系統 Generation；有密切或較疏的交連；有直接或間接的影響。說到民族起來，家家或個個人都認黃帝做漢族的祖宗；百家姓裏四百八十左右姓氏本來是一家人。這種看起來，無怪我們常常說“國家”，“國家”了！孫總理在民族主義上根據這個理由來發揮他的主義，便是這個意思。那麼擴大起來就像民族一樣，縮小起來便是一個基本社會單位。依圖解釋可把複雜性“迎刃而解”了。

#### (癸)結論

總結起來，有四個觀點：一

第一 在這個複雜的大家庭組織裏面，分分明明地有一個基本的家庭組織；我們不可把森林做樹木看。不可說以前是亂倫；後來是大宗族制度；現刻是無聊的一夫一妻制；將來不必有家庭。無論家庭和結婚的制度變到無論什麼地步是複雜，是



簡單,是長久,是短漸?這基本的兩性結合,從生物進化到社會進化,已及未來的演化,是推不翻的。

- 第二 從家族主義變到民族主義,建設一個以“王道”而興的新國家,從中國家庭進化程序看來是可能的。舊的原動力,在這個新的潮流裏面,已經失了勢力;那大家族主義不外是個古董;那複雜的組織也不外是個“草人” Scarcecrow。但要倒新酒入舊皮囊,當這過渡的時代不免發生難題。許多青年男女,腳不站實地,空談自由戀愛,在新組織未成制度,新道德未成標準之前,對個人家庭和社會有許多的防礙。要解決中國結婚和家庭問題,應該先研究他的本身上的組織才配談改良。不然是盲人引盲人,同陷入坑罷!
- 第三 對摩根氏一派的著作,不可盡看做經典。他一八七一年所寫的古代社會的理論,六十年來許多應該推翻和修改。但剛翻做漢文,在市上推銷,已有許多人用他的臆說或推論來研究中國社會的起源或進化的程序。不過不要太偏執一見,用社會科學的眼光來探討問題才可。
- 第四 要了解中國社會情形,非了解他的複雜性不可,不然有以一斑代表窺全豹的短處。

(以上是一篇演講的文字,詳細的討論將在英文論文上發表)

作者附識

(浦 薛 鳳)

“(在法國大革命前之歐洲,)普遍濃厚之輕浮習氣,使人不復察見其熱鬧歡樂之底面隱伏着社會之危機。忽然軍號一聲轟地響起,一位無名漢,頭帶盔帽,手持盾牌,跳入戰場向世間所有的一切權力,毅然挑戰:向觀念,向虛榮,向根深蒂固的成見,且向權貴者,富有者,榮樂者,——不寧惟是,向教士階級,甚竟向君主政治,而其或為尤甚者,向文學家,藝術家,言論家,哲學家,向一切操縱輿論與意見之人挑戰。……盧梭實係一個新世界,新社會之預言者。……無論友好或仇敵均認彼為‘德謨克拉西’之理論宗師,且,更值注意者,社會主義與共產主義,正猶民主主義,均誇認盧梭。”

——亞密厄(Henri-Frederic Amiel,見所著盧梭,1878)

\*盧梭之政治思想可於其下列重要著作中求之:——

1. “Si les progrès des Sciences et des Arts a contribué à corrompre ou à épurer les Moeurs”  
——論科學藝術與風化之關係(嚴幾道譯為問文物禮樂之事,果所以進民德者乎?)1749作,1750得獎,1751出版。
2. “Sur l’origine et les fondements de l’inégalité parmi les hommes”論人間不平等之由起與基礎(嚴譯為人類等差原始)1753—4作,1755出版。
3. “Economie politique”政治經濟論,1755;載百科詞典卷五。一七五八年有單行本。
4. “Contrat Social, ou Principes du droit politique”民約論或政治權之原理, 1762。
5. “Émile, ou De l’Education”愛彌兒或教育論 1762。
6. “Lettres écrites de la Montagne”山中通信 1764。
7. “Projet de le Constitution pour la Corse”高錫加憲政籌議,約1765著;1861付印。
8. “Considérations sur le Gouvernement de Pologne”波蘭政制議,約 1771—2著;1782付印。

## 第一段 引論

### 壹：盧梭之重要

〔一〕在現代政治思想史中，仍佔高顯地位，仍放燦爛光明，好比殘月行天，清輝依舊，猶能使朗朗羣星相映而減色者，當推兼文學家，音樂家，哲學家，教育家，社會改造家，預言家於一身的，法國之盧梭。盧梭之政治思想，論其勢力之大，影響之深，恐除馬克斯外，罕與倫比。有人謂一部思想史即係一部人類史，殆非過語。<sup>1</sup> 姑無論法律制度是否全由觀念得來，<sup>2</sup> 而一部政治思想史半係寫照政治生活之舊現狀，半係陶冶政治生活之新方式，則求之歷史事實，在在信而有徵；——盧梭之政治哲學即是一絕好鐵證。拿破崙嘗謂：無盧梭則無法國革命；此種過甚之詞固不必待今日之新派歷史學家而始加否認；然試謂，惟有法國革命之將至故有盧梭思想之發生與流行，既有盧梭思想之內容，遂有法國革命某一部份之現象，或非失當。實則，彼之意義與影響何曾限於一時一地？今人有稱世界大戰後歐洲新興諸國之憲法中，猶有盧梭之

1. "The history of ideas is the history of man." 伊里工業社會之演化論叢

(B. T. Ely, Studies of the Evolution of Industrial Society) 頁 3。

2. 英儒巴刻在近著“族國的品性”中，有一段言論，似可代表過重思想與思想家之偏見：—

"But law and institutions are, in their ultimate nature, ideas; and ideas do not grow—they are made by human minds. The ideas which we call law and institutions can seldom be traced to their original springs, but they always proceed from the initiative of single and personal minds." E. Barker, National Character, (1927), p.

手工在內——猶有其學說理論之承受與實現。<sup>3</sup> 即此一端可以推見其聲勢。吾人須知思想本身之能否成立，是否錯誤，有無被礙矛盾，與其影響之大小，遠近，久暫，初不必有必然的正比例關係。故估計盧梭之勢力與評判其思想之內容，顯然兩事。今於敘述本文以前先將盧梭之所以重要者說明。

〔二〕第一，就政治思想論，盧梭可謂為嚴格地開闢近代之第一名人。所謂‘近代’究於何時起始，大抵為主觀見解，人異其說。十四世紀之丹第 (Dante 1265—1321) 尊政權，抑教會，尚統一，求和平，未始不可謂開近代之先聲。十六世紀之馬克維里 (Machiavelli 1469—1527) 劃分倫理與政治，崇拜權力，謳歌族國之一統，更具現代之端倪。至於十七世紀之霍布斯 (Hobbes 1588—1679) 以政治權力之根據自神命移諸於民意，以迄洛克 (1632—1704) 孟德斯鳩 (1689—1755) 等，吾人固可於此數人中，任選其一視為近代之創始者。然而丹第之言論終不過為‘曠野呼聲’，沉沒於當時將亡未衰，餘響如雷之中古主義中而無甚所聞；馬克維里則祇講‘治術’而無‘國家學’之貢獻；霍布斯不特辯護專制獨裁抑且含有神權政體之氣味；洛克雖提倡革命權利，但猶維持君主政體，保守社會現狀

3. 參閱赫德蘭摩黎，歐洲之新憲法 (1928) 第二章，‘新憲法中之政治思想。’ (Agnes Headlam-Morley, *The New Constitutions of Europe*). 英國當代基爾特社會主義者柯爾 (G. D. H. Cole) 在其所譯民約論之序文中亦云：“Rousseau's political influence, so far from being dead, is every day increasing; and as new generations and new classes of men come to the study of his work, his conceptions..... will assuredly form the basis of a new political philosophy.....” (Introduction p. xli.).

——一六八八年之英國革命，充其量，僅寫一頁變易政府之新方式，何若一七八九年之法國革命，乃開人類社會生活之新紀元；孟德斯鳩不過用歷史與比較方法，棄絕對而取相對觀念，餘亦殊鮮新異。獨盧梭則代表法國，亦即代表全世界，受壓過度，困苦過甚的一般民衆心理之發洩，企求打破現狀，另造天地；其思想言論猶之一盞探海巨燈，光芒四射，將社會中之醜惡禍害，盡情照露，而不使纖介逃遁。在積極方面彼爲民衆於理論上找一出路，覓一方法，求一根據。果其預言理論，整個或部份地實現，足使舉世人民之政治生活，因而社會之總集生活，隨之旋轉。謂盧梭爲近代民治理論之第一代表，庸豈無相當意義？

【三】第二，盧梭所自持以推敲詰難，求作圓滿答覆之問題，如國家何以由起，政府何以成立，人民胡爲服從，治者胡爲出令，強制有何根據，法律具何條件：皆爲政治思想中最基本，最中心，上自柏拉圖，亞里士多德<sup>5</sup>即求解決，而迄今尙未成功，恐亦永不能完全成功者。雖其所擬答案——本意志以解釋

4. 民耶，法國革命史，序文 (Mignet, History of the French Revolution)。但照拉斯基之見解，則洛克之於一六八八，與盧梭之於一七八九，直無差異，且後者之重要政論均可於前者著作中求之。照此，則洛克當爲近代政治思想之第一人。閱所著英國政治思想從洛克至邊沁第一、二兩章 (Laeki, Political Thought in England; From Locke to Bentham)。但柯爾則云：“In political thought, he (Rousseau) represents the passage from a traditional theory rooted in the Medieval Ages to the modern philosophy of the state”。(見同書，序文，頁 viii.)

5. 比較照漢，盧梭之政治著作卷二，尾聲 (Vaughan, The Political Writings of Rousseau)。

一切——困難甚多，且不合目前時髦之實在主義，要亦為偉大答案之一。吾人對此“日內瓦公民”之系統理論，抨擊易而替代難；彼縱未成功，亦未完全失敗。故研究政治思想史者不妨以盧梭為焦點；由此而尋求其來蹤去跡爬梳其枝節異同，則一部政治思想史之精華，約畧已入籠罩。

[四]第三，民主政治，已成現代普遍之局面，而民主政治，無論其為代議或直接，在理論上之根據似受動搖，在實行上之結果確係弊病百出；此殊非十八世紀民治論者夢想之所及。<sup>6</sup>雖然，政治的德謨克拉西勢必引起經濟的德謨克拉西；今日西方社會之癥結不在政治而在經濟，不在民權而在民生，不在祇求一人一票，而在求人人能有相當之生活。<sup>7</sup>祇有前者而無後者則譬如空頭支票，無裨實際。未得前者而企圖後者，恐積沙為牆不推自倒。是則民治雖係工具，抑亦不可或缺之工具；民治理論之重要不因經濟問題之迫切而稍泯滅。尤在暴動，階級，爭鬥，個別利益，……諸學說澎漲之時，盧梭之政治意志論，乃彌堪令人思索。

[五]第四，盧梭乃研究政治思想史之絕好題目。語其思想，有視為個人主義者，有指為團合主義者，並有斥為無政府主義者；<sup>8</sup>有認為助長族國主義 (Nationalism) 者，有指為提倡國

6. 可閱麥利穆等編，現代政治思想史第二章 (Merriam, Barnes etc; A History of Political Theories; Recent Times)。

7. 關於此層下列兩作者均有精警之言論：蓬，歐洲民治之危機，末章 (Bonn, The Crisis of European Democracy, 1925)；及拉斯基，服從之危險 (第八，十兩章) (Laski, The Dangers of Obedience, 1930)。

8. 後人之歧議固不必提，即當時英儒柏克因抨擊法國革命，曾先後詆毀盧梭之個人主義與集權主義。柏克，全集卷一頁389；頁462。(Burke, Works)。

家主義 (Étatisme) 者。<sup>9</sup> 語其影響,語其來源,亦係衆說紛紜,莫衷一是。實在著作俱在,史蹟可徵,非若古人之邈遠而不可得其詳實。此於求知盧梭之政治哲學者,大可發揮其個人之心得與見解。它若研究環境之如何激起理論,思想之如何影響事實,個人性格境遇之如何與觀念有關,更不必於盧梭外,另求他人爲例。

[六]第五,盧梭之影響至深且鉅,此指思想,制度,現象諸方面言;當於篇末詳論之,茲不贅及。<sup>10</sup>

### 貳: 盧梭之背景

[七]盧梭之政治思想,恰如其人,不啻爲歷史上之一大謎,不易了解,世人喜談其名字者甚多,而讀竟其著作者則絕少。然此非困難之惟一原因。盧梭在其前後著作,甚至同一著作中,往往有莫大之衝突出入,此則能使任何讀者,掩卷興歎。殊不知研究盧梭當從其背景入手。大凡歷史上挾具勢力,左右局面而影響羣衆生活之思想,無不有其深長厚博之背景。能揭開此層幕障,則思想本身之真相畢露。盧梭之所以爲盧梭,可從社會狀況,時代思潮,生活境遇,及個人性格諸方面推究。

[八](一)社會背景 設使盧梭學說誠爲法國一七八九年大革命之哲學,則大革命之背景(法國無異爲歐洲之代表),必爲盧梭之背景。盧梭辭世(1778)之日,路易十六世蓋已即位四

9. 見杜驥,法律與國家,載哈佛法律評論,卷三十一第一號頁27-39,

(Duguit, *The Law and the State*, in *Harvard Law Review*).

10 見後結論.第五段,貳。

年。故綜其一生，飽閱“舊政”(Ancien Régime)之醜惡(彼雖為瑞士之日內瓦人，但就居住、關係及種切言，無異為法人)。政治方面，國君昏庸，專制無道；大臣之進退全視一人之喜怒，臣民生命更無保障之可言；等級會議(États Genereaux)自一六一四年後迄<sup>17</sup>未召集。社會方面，其最顯著者，為階級之劃分，權利之懸殊，封建之餘制，處處露骨。經濟方面，賦稅繁重，尤以地稅、鹽稅、教稅為甚；而一切負擔，包括常兵修路，直全由平民負荷，特權階級(貴族與教士)<sup>11</sup>反在豁免之例。現狀若此，何能逃明眼深心人之注意？彼遊歷法境者尚不乏人，驚歎法民之痛苦，憂懼大難之將臨；況盧梭個性衷情，易受刺戟，其所以憤世嫉俗，呵罵一切制度文物者，自非偶然。某傳記者謂盧梭即是法國民衆，——彼以無產者、遊蕩者、飢餓者、懦弱者、之眼光觀察社會，故痛惡財富權勢之<sup>12</sup>不平等，誠不愧為名論。

【九】(二)思想潮流 盧梭之成名恐不盡在其學說之如何新穎。反抗現狀者，不獨彼一人，彼且非第一人。孟德斯鳩有波斯通信 (Lettres Persanes 1721)；福爾泰 (Voltaire) 亦有類似文章 (Lettres philosophiques sur les Anglais 1733)，餘若百科全書派，狄德羅 (Diderot) 輩，莫不譏誚教會，誹謗政治。特孟德斯鳩抱冷眼旁觀之態度，福爾泰懷笑世玩物之志趣；盧梭則具革命家之精神，備改造者之方案，加之以詩人之幻想，小說家之文章，故其思想能深入人心，風行一世。例如盧梭之“自

11. 關於一七八九年前法國社會狀況可閱 Louis Madelin, *The French Revolution*, vo. 1; 或, Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution*; chs. I—III.

12. 恩格曼, 政治哲學, 英譯本, 頁 253 (Engelmann, *Political Philosophy*, from *Plato to Bentham*, trans. and ed. by Geiser and Jászi, 1927).



然’論，實自當時思想界流行之空氣中得來。蓋經笛卡兒 (Descartes) 牛頓，洛克諸學者之理論先後相成，世界遂成一自然組織；自然法，自然人，自然政府，自然宗教，舉凡十八世紀之理性主義，由盧梭推進而完成者，固已先盧梭而存在。由此以觀，彼不過集十八世紀“時代精神”<sup>13</sup>之大成而為其總代表。政治觀念，如人民同意，治權範圍，主權性質，契約方式，均宗洛克或霍布斯；小國家，直接民治，詆斥政黨，推崇“立法者”之重要，此蓋淵源於希臘遺風；至於承認地理，氣候，歷史，民情與政治之關係，訓示緩進與調和之足取，則又根據孟德斯鳩。<sup>14</sup>時間先後，問題不同，其思想背景之重心亦因而隨變。

[十](三)個人身世 盧梭生於日內瓦，生平嘗引此為榮。其父業鐘表製造，至多屬小中產階級。盧梭生而其母死；其父旋亦離鄉流亡，此與盧梭之一生飄泊，若合符節，說者幾疑此為遺傳。彼之情性，喜變動安逸，不能刻苦耐勞。綜其生平，無職業之可言；而光怪陸離直如趣劇中一位惹人嬉笑之丑角：學藝徒不成，學牧師不成，倏而為律師之書記，倏而為貴冑之僮僕，自音樂教員，私塾教師，詩人，製曲者，編劇家，小說家，使館秘書，種種生涯無不親歷飽嘗；其為生計餬口所遺策歷

13. 德國學者稱之為“Zeitgeist”無論思想，言論，政黨，法律，制度皆受當時當地“時代精神”之支配。拉曾和斐在所著政治之方法與途徑中極重此點。(Ratzenhofer, Wesen und Zweck der Politik).

14. 摩黎盧梭卷一頁140(Morley, Rousseau);服漢，同書，卷一頁2-3；又，福得代議政治頁32(Ford, Representative Government)。第二篇應徵文本洛克之精神；民約論大部份含藏柏拉圖之理想最末。關於高錫加及波蘭兩文，則暴露孟德斯鳩之要旨。

迫者，彰明昭著。不寧惟是，彼因其言論受各地政府之取締，不得已遷徙流亡，計其一生之困苦顛沛，遠甚於片段瞬暫之歡安；加之性好疑忌，友好成仇（一七七六年彼應休謨 (Hume) 之邀赴英，卒亦不歡而歸）；晚年之心理尤似變態，竟以為舉世之人陰結私謀以圖其不利。彼之是否自殺而亡，迄今尚有人懷疑。由是言之，彼之不滿意於當時整個社會，恨不得一蹴而翻之，使恢復到簡單純樸之境域，如其政論中所發表者，可斷言為受其生平境遇之薰染戟刺而更甚。<sup>15A</sup>

[十一](四)浪漫性情 盧梭似患口乞，往往語無論次，尤不善於周旋應對，而其生性之傲謾怪僻，奇特，尤迥異常人；大約“浪漫”一詞始可形容盡致。<sup>15B</sup> 彼明知其種種戀愛經過為禮教所不許，良心所不容，而竟於懺悔錄中 (Les Confessions) 明白敘述，盡態極妍。<sup>16</sup> 此其任情恣意，放浪無拘，可以想見！彼繾綣最深，同居最久者，為巴黎一小旅店之女子；所奇者此女容貌粗惡，常識缺乏，竟至不能計一日之時刻不能算一宗款項之總數，<sup>17</sup>——以盧梭而與之合居垂三十年之久，寧不令人費解？既竊取其主婦之物（無論其為鑽石為綢帶）而誣陷一無

15A. 賴斯基云“*He was shaped by his life, not by what he read.*”見服從之危險 (The Dangers of Obedience, 1930) 頁 179。

15B. “A thing is romantic when it is strange, unexpected, intense, superlative, extreme, unique, etc.” 白璧德，盧梭與浪漫主義 頁四 (Babbitt, Rousseau and Romanticism)。

16 史梯芬 (Leslie Stephen) 謂 “No gentleman could have written the Confessions.” 實則盧梭類似彼之理想人物“偉大野人” (bon sauvage)。

17 女名德麗撒 (Thérèse Le Vasseur) 見摩黎，盧梭卷一頁 106 等。

知之女僕，雖追悔哭泣而終不肯毅然承認，其自治能力之薄弱更可推見。至於本奉新教，祇因所歡婦女之故，不惜改信舊教，後見絕於婦 (Madame De Warens) 卒又回守新教；提倡父母之應親自撫育其兒女與家庭教育之重要，而將先後所生之五孩一一送入私兒院；排斥特權階級而時時出入於貴顯之門；凡此種種足徵其文野雅俗，兼容並有；思想行爲，隨在矛盾。以性格稟賦之如此而欲求其前後政治著作中之學說觀念，一致貫徹，其何可能！——既不可能，則吾人正亦不必鉤心鬥角力爲掩飾。譚寧謂在政治思想史中求一人之觀念受其個性之所支配如盧梭然者，絕不可得。<sup>18</sup>

[十二]“山雨欲來風滿樓”。法國大革命前社會狀況既如彼；而生性放蕩，行爲不檢，感情甚於理智的思想家又如此；此外，對於實際政治彼又無密切經驗；明乎此，則吾人所求以了解盧梭之政治思想者，殆已過半。

## 第二段：初期著作—應徵文兩篇與政治經濟論

[十三]盧梭政治哲學之不易領會，前已暗示。人徒耳聞民約論一書而遺忘民約論前後之政治論著；西方且然，况在吾國。殊不知此篇結晶文字，雖使作者流傳，但決不概括，故

18. "It is rare in the history of political philosophy that the source of influential theory can be so precisely traced to individual personality as in the case of Rousseau." 政治思想史，卷三，頁2 (Dunning, A History of Political Theories, from Rousseau to Spencer)。

19. 服漢，同書，卷一頁1。

亦決不能完全代表其政治思想之全部。故吾人以民約論爲中心外，旁及其前後政治文章，庶幾於觀念之遞嬗，傾向之變更，極端之衝突，得瞭如指掌。

壹：論科學藝術與風化之關係(1750)

[十四]一七四九年法國第戎 (Dijon) 書院有徵文之舉；題爲“科學與藝術之進步究竟敗壞抑敦篤風化？”應徵者十有四名，盧梭之反面，偏鋒文字，榮獲首獎；一時聲譽鵲起，震動巴黎。在作者晚年之自述，乃彼於是歲暑夏，爲訪問繫囚獄中之狄德羅，從巴黎至芳森 (Vincennes)，途中小憩，偶見報紙上徵文啓事，忽覺思想潮湧不能自己。另一說(根據馬蒙忒爾 Marmontel) 則謂盧梭本擬作正面文章，頌揚禮教智識，但狄德羅在獄中勸其推陳翻新，與衆異趣，庶幾易得文名，<sup>20</sup>後說而果確，固發生理智忠實問題；然統觀盧梭所有著作之精神，此說未足深信。

[十五]今將此第一篇應徵文之梗概，畧述一過；蓋此對於彼之政治哲學不無闡明之補助：——

在昔文化未昌，人固粗野鄙陋；然而純厚樸質無假無僞，各表露其個性。今則爾詐吾虞，各戴文明禮貌之面具，外表無不溫良和善，而內則陰險疑忌，殘暴毒辣，“笑裏藏刀”莫可測度。此果何爲而然？證之歷史，則無一非起因於科學藝術之昌盛。埃及豈非爲哲學藝術之發源地？卒見亡於希臘羅馬土耳其諸民族。希臘自兩次征服亞洲而文藝大進後，風化頓衰，終爲馬其頓所

20. 摩黎盧梭與其時代 (Morley, Rousseau and his Era) 卷一第五章。

束縛。羅馬，中華，亦復如是。反之，如波斯人，日耳曼人等留傳迄今，以簡單，樸素，無知諸美德著。可見打破“無知”適足自掘墳墓，速召滅亡。且天文學胚胎於迷信，幾何學發軔於貪得，物理學產生於無謂的好奇，即道德倫理學亦起於人之虛驕。是則哲學科學不過動人聽聞之空洞文章。再進言之，何謂真理？孰果知之？即知之，亦孰能持作善用？知微蟲孳生之方法，物體吸引之比例……試問此種智識之有無，與社會之安寧，人類之生活，究有何等影響？不寧惟是，崇尚藝術即易引起奢侈；奢侈能消磨人民當兵，尚武，勤儉，忍勞諸美德。餘若令子弟誦習他國之古舊文字而於本國現行文字反無所長，勉吟詩詞而不求甚解；真假不辨而猶強辯逞詞；此皆導人同入岐途。考其致此之由，根本在輕美德而重才智；故人處今日祇求取巧伶俐而不知其它。總之，科學與藝術，至多可讓一二深思好德之士為之，萬不能容許一知半解之輩取作獵名眩世之具，且導羣衆於迷路。蓋“無知”有兩種，一為粗暴的，畜生似的；一為有理的，甜蜜的；前者宜增宜捨，後者可愛可取。<sup>21</sup>

〔十六〕上所云云無政治哲學之可言，然盧梭之基本觀念，如返乎自然，疾惡“人為”，輕視理智，固已昭示若揭；而其“自然境域”<sup>23</sup>，及初民固有美德之兩大假定，亦已隱伏。至於文中立論偏傾之得當與否，理由之是否充足，吾人可置不問。

21. 摩黎，盧梭與其時代，卷一，頁133-139，作者且曾評論私產制度，痛斥爾我，主奴之別，但未十分發揮。

22. 通常譯作“自然社會”；但欠妥善。

作者本人嘗自認此文之缺點，謂情感強而理論弱。<sup>23</sup> 全文要旨不過指明有智無德，轉不若以德無智；彼治科學藝術，盡畢生之力於一狹小問題而置社會公益於不顧，反自命對於人類之幸福有莫大之貢獻者，讀此當知所矯正。<sup>24</sup> 對於常人則此不啻為切勿迷信專家之大忠告。

### 貳：論人間不平等之由起與基礎

[十七] 一七五四年第戎書院又循例徵文，題為“問人間不平等之由起何在，且是否根據自然法？”此次盧梭雖未得獎，而其應徵文之意義與重要，遠非第一篇所可比擬。彼之聲名由是傳播全歐。全文頗長幾及民約論十分之七。茲先述其大意，再加以評論。

[十八](一)不平等之類別 不平等有兩種；一本自然，如體力，稟賦，智慧，之不同；一由人為，如產業之貧富，權利之多寡，榮譽之高下。在自然境域中，自然的不平等雖存在而人莫之覺，且無遺患。

[十九](二)自然境域 關於此點之討論幾占全文之半。世界本為森林所籠蓋，禽獸所雜居；初民處其中而與之韻頗，取得主宰之地位，滿足欲望而有節制，身體強健，遠在文化發達醫藥昌明時代之人之上；且不知愁苦，不懼死亡，故霍布斯所有人性本惡，人與人永永相爭之見解，基本錯誤；蓋原始之人不知何謂“善”何謂“惡”；而洛克心目中的“和平，好意，互助，互存”亦屬頌揚過分。在自然境域中，人各自顧；言語未起，

23. 懺悔錄 viii。

24. 摩黎，同書，卷一頁141—146。

相遠相離；即家庭猶未形成，男女之遇別會散，全出無心；子女長成，離母他去而不復相見。<sup>25</sup> 故原人社會既非黃金時代亦非恐怖時期，而其純厚真樸殊不能令人無羨。盧梭謂此種狀況之繼續，有數百年。

〔二十〕(三)初民性情 自然境域中之初民所以相處甚得者，因其具有一基本而自然的美德，此即為“憐”（易以今日之名詞則當為“同情”）；其它美德均由此發源。因其有“憐”，故雖無教育而不相殘害。今日號稱文明，有見殺人而鼓掌者，以為彼犯法有罪而死，不足憐惜；殊不知惟“文明人”乃有此抵抗天性強自掩飾之理論；野人則無此本領。即以“愛”論，太古之人初不過隨時激發，盡傳種之功用，非若文明社會發生變態，引起決鬥，暗殺，強姦等種種孽禍。

〔二十一〕(四)黃金時代 自然境域究竟由何而轉成文明社會？一言以蔽之，則因人有發展之能力。但人之痛苦快樂，均由“發展”而胎生。至於此中轉變之步驟階段，祇可付諸臆度；或者人口激增，或者生活推進，到達漁獵時期。大抵變遷之來，起於偶然者多：如地理，氣候，土壤之不同，形成生活之環境有異；如用火取暖，築土為棲穴。其後經驗漸富，知合作以禦強鄰。最微細薄弱之家族及財產之制度與觀念，即漸發生；於此際而自然的不平等，向所為衆人所不知覺者，今乃次第發現而彰明。例如人常聚處，則無論跳舞，歌唱，體力，姿色之出衆者，即予人以認識，判別；而疑忌，妬嫉，怨恨之風亦應運而起。然此猶為快樂時期——在人類脫離自然境域轉入政治社會之過渡時代中最快樂時期。此種黃金時代蓋

25. 論人間不平等，見服漢，同書，卷一，頁153—154。

又垂數百年之久。<sup>26</sup>

【二二】(五)私產制度 由第一期(自然境域)至第二期(黃金時代)爲進步之幸運;由第二期至第三期(政治社會)則爲退步之痛苦。人果胡爲而避樂就苦? 盧梭之解釋如此:“總之祇要人們各致其力於一己能作之事,而無需他人之助工,則就自然稟賦之可能範圍內,各過其自由,健全,優美,快樂的生活,且繼續享受其各自獨立而互相交接之愉快。但一旦而此人需他人之幫助,一旦而人們察覺一人兼得二人之所需爲有用,則立見平等消亡,私產起原,而勞工亦成爲必要。”<sup>27</sup>可見私產之起原與成立實爲人類生活演變之絕大關鍵而演變之原因又多基於偶然——如農業之發現與進步,如鐵類之使用。<sup>28</sup>

26. “Ce période du développement des facultés humaines tenant un juste milieu entre l'indolence de l'état primitive et la pétulante activité de notre amour-propre, dut être l'époque la plus heureuse et la plus durable.”論人間不平等,見服漢,同書,卷一,頁175。

27. 論人間不平等,見服漢,卷一頁175—176;摩黎,同書,卷一頁161等。  
一七五五年西班牙之里斯本(Lisbon)地震甚劇,人民死傷無算。福爾泰曾於次年作詩弔之以誌哀悼。盧梭聽書譏責,謂使在樸野時代何來此兩萬高房,何來此積聚之金錢與產業?——則臨難時將無復有貪戀私產而覆其身者。且謂人死歸土,同爲物化,大有斯多意派之哲學見解。足徵此時之盧梭根本攻擊私產;在政治經濟及民約論中,彼始認私產爲契約所訂以保護之一大基本權利。

28. 彼謂自然將鐵類埋藏地下顯係本不備人使用,大約火山爆發,人們偶然地發現其使用。



〔二 三〕(六)國家之由起 私產形成,國家隨起。蓋,

“第一個人首先圈劃土地,知倡‘此歸我有’之說,而見衆人愚純無比竟至信以爲真者,此實爲政治社會之創建人。使當時有人大聲疾呼,告其同類曰,‘審察此大欺騙者之言語;須知土地不屬誰何,其所出產,本備人類全體享受,汝苟忘此則將敗滅。’則人類多少罪惡,戰爭,暗殺,痛苦,慘暴,寧不可以避<sup>29</sup>免。”

是則盧梭在論人間不平等中,謂爲持經濟的國家起原觀,亦無不可。彼且謂私產一起,強者愈強,弱者愈弱,智者益得多,愚者益得少,故富者日富貧者日貧;舉凡在自然境域中已存在而未暴露,至少無甚實際影響者,至是乃深刻懸殊,盡情顯現;且進而爲法律之所承認,國家之所保障。究竟法律,國家,係富者抑貧者之所建設? 盧梭答覆:富者求鞏固其己身之利益乃假借爲貧者之利益起見,聯結織成;在貧者直不知自身之受人愚弄。故法律政治之起原,在形式,表面,理論上,固

29. 論人間不平等,同上,卷一頁168。拉甫追研究此文之結果,謂盧梭實將自然境域分作四期。第一期:最原始之初民與其它動物無甚差異;無家族,無定居,無爭戰,亦無社會生活,如是者數百年。第二期:原人漸知使用工具與武器惟至簡陋;且漸相聯絡,互相保護。第三期:鄉村生活與家長權威,漸次形成;初民剝皮爲衣,結草爲廬,拾羽毛爲裝飾,造漁舟,作樂器;此爲最快樂之黃金時代,又垂數百年。第四期爲私產發現。繼此則國家成立。閱拉甫追,盧梭不平等論中之臆想的原始狀況(Lovejoy, The Supposed Primitism of Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality)載現代語言學(Modern Philology)二十一卷,二期,頁165-186(一九二三年十一月)。

不由於武力之征服，而其結果，全世界自囚於羈絆之中。富者除外，人皆受“工作，奴隸，痛苦”之罪。貪多求得之欲，隨社會之墮落而滋長；外戰內爭遂為人類此後之歷史。<sup>30</sup>

〔二四〕(七)契約與革命 由私產成立之政治社會中，同時訂有一種契約。政府體式視各地環境及財產之分配而不同。迨基本規條有更換或破壞時，則人民返乎自然境域，而有另訂新契約之必要。第二篇應徵文之尾段，顯然與民約論之開始，頗有接氣。

〔二五〕吾人對於盧梭此文，應按其方法，態度，思想淵源，動機，用意，及在歷史上的貢獻，分別加以審察。

〔二六〕首論其態度精神，則通篇思想，純係主觀幻想，違背歷史方法，此固十八世紀流行之弊病；而其描寫自然境域，本畫人難而畫鬼易之祕訣，盡情暢意，體貼入微，使讀之者忘其為幻想為小說而誤以為事實，為歷史，——此亦即其動人力量能遠過洛克之處。然而無意中且含有演化(Evolutionary)觀念，蓋循序漸進，逐段變更，初非由自然境域憑空一躍而躋於政治社會；此誠為非歷史中的歷史見解。<sup>31</sup>若論其理論本身，無論整個或部份，大有千孔百洞，處處漏水之譏。例如黃金時代已否遠返自然？其與政治社會究竟僅程度之差異抑竟性質之不同？偶然之發現，究竟是否自然之一部份？若均基於人類之需要與心理，則猶之花開花謝，果熟果爛，前後皆屬自然，何能強分畛域？<sup>32</sup>

30. 論人間不平等，同上，頁170—179。

31. 摩黎，同書卷一，頁149, 165

32. 服漢，同書，卷一，頁123。

〔二七〕復次，請論其觀念之淵源。全篇意旨固爲盧梭所創作，但篇中包含之重要思想，未嘗不可追求其所自。此論之立場實爲加濃而變相的洛克之個人主義。彼抨擊霍布斯而不知其初視自然境域中人各離立，繼又將此各自離立之個人合成政治社會，其與霍布斯之中心理論（性惡爭戰除外）直爲五十步與百步之別。摩里歷（Morelly）之頌揚自然；詬病法律，呵斥私產，及以經濟解釋革命諸點，大約由狄德羅而間接影響盧梭；至於蒙旦（Montaigne）之仇視束縛，唾棄禮教，推崇本性，影響此篇者殊無疑義。<sup>33</sup>

〔二八〕最後，吾人須認明此第二次應徵文之非無若干貢獻。全篇精華在緊接第一篇中羨古傷今之個人主義，而發揮光大之，故讚美想像中之原始時代，彼此離立，不受拘牽之個人，而歎惜今日日受法律制度束縛壓迫之羣衆。所謂自然境域之一幅佳景，本不過空中樓閣；即盧梭本人，亦嘗反覆暗示，此種境域容或得未曾有。<sup>34</sup>必笑盧梭之以假作真，恐非得當。是則本文主旨或者不在國家之起原，治權之根據，更不在契約之研究；而在借理想中之自然，反映當時社會，政治，經濟中一切禍害人生之風俗，習慣，法律，制度而抨擊之，反抗之；易詞言之，即反抗當日存在之不平等。大凡理論根據，爲常人所不能，亦不遑判別者；惟其指斥現狀刺戟人心，暗示革命，則誠恐入耳而難忘。法國革命初期所崇拜，所模仿，所受賜之盧梭，恐非民約論中之盧梭而乃此論人間不平等及愛彌兒中之盧梭。此種貢獻，無庸抑揚，當爲歷史上之事實。

33. 摩黎，同書，頁150-152；服漢，同書，頁122。

34. 論人間不平等；服漢，同書，卷一頁136；141。

十八世紀雖懷疑現狀，然信仰人性可臻完善，社會進化無限，黃金時代總有實現之一日；盧梭則向後想望，謂黃金時代已一去不返，此亦異乎時尚之學說。再者，起自羅馬，盛於中古，復經呼克 (Hooker) 格老秀斯 (Grotius) 霍布斯，洛克輩充實之“自然法”觀念，今盧梭對之乃獨步斯賓挪莎 (Spinoza) 之後，加以摧陷廓清，亦未始非政治思想史上之貢獻。

### 叁：政治經濟論

[二九]兩篇應徵文中之盧梭，完全為個人主義之忠實信徒；在民約論之開卷，猶是同此音調；然而民約論全部之意旨與精神，則未嘗不如孫悟空之筋斗翻身，一轉而為團合主義<sup>35</sup>。介乎此兩端之間而輪廓傾向已近民約論者，有政治經濟一文。此文之著當在預備民約論初稿之最早部份。舉凡民約論中要點如“大我”(“Le moi commun”)，“全意志”(“Volonté générale”)，法律為全意志之表現，主權論，國家機體說，皆已提示於此。<sup>37</sup>論其內容枝節，誠多此有彼無，或竟牴牾出入，然就大體言，不啻為民約論之縮影預告，足徵根本觀念，在盧梭心中動搖縈繞，推敲斟酌者，甚久且詳。

[三十]關於國家之起原，論文中所提及者甚屬含糊，蓋題目所示，原不注意此點；惟否認家族擴大，寓有契約訂成，則殊明白堅決；彼且暗示國家乃人類全體社會中分別組成之團

35. “Collectivism”一詞，難得妥善之譯。有譯為團體主義者。

36. 政治經濟論中有兩段文字，一字不變，復見於民約論初稿；見原漢，同書，卷一頁229。

37. 政治經濟論，同書，卷一頁241—245。

38 體。對於國家之性質，彼則絕對比作有機體物，並以主權者，法律風俗，財政種種，以頭腦，細胞，血液等身體各部份相比擬。國家主權顯與政府治權不同；前者之行使能實現自由，平等，公道，後者本人民之意志訂施法律。人民之私產乃成立於國家未起之前，抑且為後來建設國家之基礎。<sup>39</sup>“財產權乃公民所有一切權利中最神聖不可侵犯者，且，有時看來，較之自由本身抑更重要。”<sup>40</sup>此則與民約論中財產確立於國家形成之後之學說相異。後者完全忽略財政，此文則三分之一探討此題。彼主張奢侈稅及按照能力及生活需要之所得稅；迨後波蘭政制議中，復有精細之討論。民約論所未提及之公民教育，此處，有一段文字，力言其使命之重要。

[三一]為此文之思想背景者，當推柏拉圖，亞里士多德，洛克及重農派 (The Physiocrats)。吾人認識盧梭之初期著作後，可進而研究民約論。

### 第三段：民約論\*

38. 同上；頁244。

39. "La propriété est le vrai fondement de la société civile, et le vrai garant des engagements des citoyens." 同上，頁259。

40. 同上。

\* 民約論有馬君武之漢譯；本段所引民約論文字原擬採用馬譯，卒因其譯法過重大意而未果。嚴幾道曾著專文，表示盧梭之學說不宜紹介於吾國。彼云；“雖然，吾意盧梭以貧士而著一書，其影響及於社會之大如此；一唱羣和，固亦其時之所為，而其意之所存，必有以深入於人心，而非即其文辭可以輒得者；故嘗平心靜氣，以察其所據依，庶幾為當於作者而無如其不可得也。”（嚴幾道，譯民約平議，見庸言報第二期，亦經載入上海進步書局出版之現代十大家文鈔章士釗嘗為文評駁之（讀嚴幾道氏約平議，見甲寅第一卷第一號）；大意謂嚴氏論點，泰半根據赫胥黎 (Huxley)。

## 壹：草正兩稿

[三二]‘民約論或政治權之原理’ (Du Contrat Social, ou Principes du Droit Politique) 當視作盧梭自述爲二十餘年來慘淡經營而終未成就的一鉅大計稿，‘政治制度’ (“Institutions Politiques”)<sup>41</sup>之一部份。視作如是，則吾人之能了解作者或更深切。民約論亦有先後兩稿。在一七六二年春季殺青而傳流世間者當爲其正稿；而目下日內瓦圖書館所藏之筆稿想係其草。兩稿內容，大體無異，而微有出入；艸稿之卷一，第二第五兩章，爲正稿所無，想必刪去。此固更證盧梭之反覆深思，不遺餘力；抑其意義更有過於此者。蓋一有一無，或增或損之間，其關係全文思想者不容漠視。如艸稿卷一第二章甚長，論“人類之全社會；”細味其含義，似謂世界諸國家，乃自一個人類全體社會個別分化而形成者；此其見解與由自然境域中彼此本不往還之個人份子忽而合訂契約者大有不同。又如艸稿中之契約，近乎一種想像或理想<sup>42</sup>；而正稿則似認此爲事實——祇少，不能令讀者無此印念。<sup>43</sup>除此而外無其它重要岐異。

[三三] 盧梭對於此篇文字之命名，顯有莫大之躊躇考慮。

41. 懺悔錄 ix。大約政治制度有若干已寫成之部份；經作者將民約論付印時自行焚毀；今流傳之“戰爭境域” (“l'État de la guerre”) 大約爲此原計劃之殘餘稿件。閱服漢，同書，卷一，頁438附註；及卷二，頁2。
42. 民約論草稿，服漢，同書，卷一，頁435—444。
43. 艸稿之完成，照服漢之研究，約在一七五四年左右。

艸稿上歷歷可尋者，最先作民約論，旋改爲論政治社會(De la société civile)，卒又恢復民約論；書之附名，本作論國家之憲法(Essai sur la constitution de l'État) 一改而爲論政治團體之形成(Essai sur la formation du corps politique) 再易數字而爲論國家之形成，終改爲論共和國體(Essai sur la forme de la République)：此未始不值吾人之注意。<sup>44</sup>

### 貳：方法與精神

【三四】民約論不能概括盧梭之政治哲學，但足以爲最佳之代表著作。今本此論著，佐證以其它文章，將其立論之方法，思想之精神，加以分析。

【三五】(一)最明顯者，爲其違反歷史的方法。民約論中之描寫契約，正猶兩篇應徵文中之敘述<sup>45</sup>自然境域，不問根據，專事舖張，以之入小說則可，以之入政治思想則不可。又如批評基督教，謂教徒不能成勇毅殺敵之兵士<sup>46</sup>；此種武斷，稍讀歷史者當爲解頤。然理論之符合史事與否，與其有無掀騰之勢力未必關連。<sup>47</sup>且盧梭於最後幾篇政論中頗用歷史方法。<sup>48</sup>

【三六】(二)次得而言者，爲偏重形式的辯證而忽略實質。

44. 服漢，同書，卷一，頁22。

45. 摩黎，同書，卷一，頁166。尚奈(Janet)以孟德斯鳩相反比，見政治學史(Histoire de la Science Politique) (三版)卷二，頁465-477。

46. 民約論，卷四，章八。

47. "We must recognize the historical effect of a speculation scientifically valueless."

摩黎，同書，卷二頁239。

48. 見下，第四段。參閱服漢，同書，卷一，頁72。

例如謂執政者有三種意志<sup>49</sup>；此其分類恐祇有邏輯上的存在，實質上寧有區別之可能？再如謂一萬國民之國，每人賦有萬分一之主權力量；較之十萬國民之國，每人僅賦有十萬分一之主權力量者為大；故小國國民較大國國民較多自由<sup>50</sup>，則其過事形式，強用數學，不辯自明。三如謂法律既係主權之表現，而主權屬之人民；則人民既萬無自加戕害之理，故法律無不達平等自由之目的<sup>51</sup>。試問西方實行普選國家之人民，誰果有此樂觀之結論？民約論中類此論辯，多不勝舉<sup>52</sup>。

[三七](三)再次，從其解釋政治之立場言，盧梭實代表理性主義或理智主義 (Rationalism, or Intellectualism)。作者情感之特殊發達，世所公認；彼曾一再自認為受情感之驅策而抑棄理性<sup>53</sup>；治史者亦多列之於情感派<sup>54</sup>。今謂盧梭為理性派，人

49. 民約論卷三，章二。

50. 同上，卷三章一。

51. 同上，卷一章七。主權之表現容或有誤，作者亦復承認。閱後

52. 摩黎詆盧梭之立論往往為“Verbal argument”（同書，卷二，頁186；又曰“To tell us that a man on entering a society exchanges his natural liberty for civil liberty which is limited by the general will (Cont. Soc., 1, viii) is to give us a phrase, where we need a solution.”（頁234）

53. 白璧德在所著民治與領袖中曾引譯盧梭一段，“I threw reason overboard and consulted nature, that is to say, the inner sentiment which directs my belief independently of my reason.” (Democracy and Leadership, p. 78)

54. 尉勒特(Willert)曾以“盧梭:情感派”為標題，並云，“Man cannot live on reason alone……J. J. Rousseau in asserting the claims of sentiment did but give expression to a widely felt feeling.”見劍橋大學現代史(Cambridge Modern History)卷捌，頁27。服漢亦謂，“From the First Discourse onwards it was manifest that he appealed from the intellect to the emotions; that he thrust aside the rationalist ideals of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists as one-sided and barren……This was to attack at its very foundation the philosophy of the eighteenth century.”同上，卷陸，頁825



必疑此說之無當。殊不知盧梭思想背後之原動力固為情感，其思想之方向色彩固亦受其情感之支配；然論其解釋政治之性質與運用，則完全過重人類之理性。（前後兩說各有所指，並不相悖。）今將國家之成立，不歸諸經濟，武力，血統，宗教，而基諸於考慮結果的契約；全意志之表現，謂由各國民純粹以公共福益為前提，謂無黨派，無宣傳，無運動，給每個公民以發表意志之絕對自由，則全意志自能實現；法律非無數私利私益互相衝突，爭競，調和妥協之結晶，而為此實現之全意志；<sup>55</sup>凡此種種關於政治之中心觀念，全基於理性主義。<sup>56</sup>

〔三八〕(四)盧梭固宗師孟德斯鳩，打破最優政體之迷夢；關於高錫加波蘭兩文，彼尤注意風土，人情，歷史；<sup>57</sup>即論全意志彼亦未嘗謂全體參加，多數決定，即可必得；然其政治見解仍不免含帶少許機械觀之偏狹。視國家為無數各自離立的份子之集合體；既予人民以立法權，而又恐人民之不能善用，於是添設“立法家”，而“立法家”不居任何職位；<sup>58</sup>每次國民全體大會，首應問政體之應否更易，再應問執政者之應否調換，則人民可永保其所有之主權；<sup>59</sup>陽奉國教而陰違者，當處以死罪，

55. 民約論，卷一，章六；卷二，章三，章六。

56. "The essence of these doctrines [指主權不能割棄，政府根據被治者之同意等] is that man should reject every institution and creed which cannot approve itself to pure reason, the reason of the individual." 劍橋大學現代史 卷捌頁2。

57. 民約論 卷二，章四。

58. 同上卷二，章七。

59. 同上，卷三，章十八。

以為法律如此可以保證人民之必守國教；政府篡權主權，則契約破壞，人民無復有服從義務——而如何為篡奪，誰得判定其是否篡奪，無服從義務如又何，則彼似未置慮。<sup>60</sup>一若政治猶之一部機器，政治學者猶之機械工程師。究其主因，實緣忽略政治上大小，輕重，明顯，幽穩之種切勢力。<sup>61</sup>

〔三九〕(五)盧梭之主意要旨可謂為常人所能了解——至少，常人所自以為能了解者。而其造句措辭，大有生龍活虎逼人注視之勢。彼盱衡時世，預測革命之遲早終必實現，<sup>62</sup>故其反抗現狀之精神，不期然而透溢於字裏行間，有着物與俱之力量。“L’homme est né libre, et partout il est dans les fers.”<sup>63</sup>〔“人本生而自由，然到處皆在羈縻之中”〕即此開卷一語，何等動人！格黎牧(Grimm)稱民約論為法國大革命之聖經，幾幾人手一書，家知戶曉；誠以主權永在人民，政府必經被治者之同意，人民有變更政體與其人選之權利等諸觀念，易為一知半解者之口頭禪。歷史上影響社會之文字（如馬丁路德〔Martin Luther〕之座談，馬克斯與恩格爾之宣言）往往不僅在思想本身而尤在文字品質。無怪一七六二年，六月十九日，日內瓦政府焚在毀民約論，並下隸捕之令中，有指其著作為“魯莽，暴烈，搖惑人心，危害基督教及一切存在之政府”一段：正與法國

60. 同上，卷四，章八。

61. 同上，卷三，章十。

62. 摩黎謂民約論自首至尾一若計擬一副機械；而如何有旋轉運行此機械之力量，則絕未提及。同書，卷二，頁233。

63. “Nous approchons de l’état de crise et du siècle des révolutions.” 愛彌兒，卷三

64. 民約論卷一章，一錄。

之取締此書，措辭如出一轍；而盧梭則反覆聲辯，謂書中思想皆為昔人所道過。<sup>65</sup>

### 叁：民約論中懸待解決之中心問題

〔四十〕民約論一篇究竟有無其總對象？易詞言之，彼所企求以理論學說，闡明解決之中心問題，果何所在？吾人誠能提綱挈領，指出全文之主旨，則其餘不難迎刃而解。

〔四一〕(一)問題 吾人殊可自答如下：民約論之題目，與其謂在“問，國家如何起原，係何性質？”無害謂在“問，吾人究竟曷故而服從政治上的強制力——如表現於政府與法律者？”<sup>66</sup>因政府乃國家之機關，故必進一步追問，吾人如何而有國家？國家有無理性的根據？因政府之強制力大抵假藉所謂法律而施行，故又必研究法律應如何訂立始合理性？——此即詢問，吾人服從政治上的強制力，有無理性？若事實上非服從強制力不可，則如何而使此服從合乎理性？盧梭目擊當日社會之苦痛，而又身受法律制度之束縛，一方面既覺政治上的強制力完全為事實，而不得不認其為事實（自然境域既不可得，而彼又不趨無政府主義之極端）；再方面，又深信政治為社會一切生活之總樞紐；故彼所檢討者，即為此中心問題，亦即為歷來政治哲學家嘔吐心血求以解決之中心問題。再易詞言之，盧梭不滿意於當時之政府法律，但非屏棄一切的政府法律；當時之政府法律為病態，為變相；但政府法律有其合乎理性之可能；倘皆根據彼之理想則彼可完全接

65. 見後，第四段。

66. 民約論神稿本名論政治社會。此較民約論勝過一籌。

受。由是以言，民約論中之立論甚抽象，其動機則至切實。

“予如研究之問題既如是重要，則人將詰予：汝既非君王又非立法者，何爲而著書論政治？然予論政治之故，即在於是。設予爲君王或立法者，則予所欲論著者，將現諸實行，否則可以沉默。<sup>67</sup>讀者當三覆此言之意義！”

[四二](二)答案 一篇民約論即上述中心問題之答案。去其糟粕而存其精華，則此答案無它：吾人所以服從政治上的強制力者，因其有理性的根據，——因國家之存在，政府之設立，法律之訂定，皆出於吾人自願與同意。而此自願與同意之最基本表現即在契約。試讀開卷一段，“人本生而自由然到處皆在羈縻之中。自命爲餘衆之主人者，實較餘衆爲更大之奴隸。此種變更果何由而來？予不置問。何者能使其合乎法義？予自信能解決此問題。”<sup>68</sup>當可恍然。

[四三]“予自信能解決此問題。”——以工具解釋政府，同意解釋法律，意志解釋服從，契約解釋國家：此爲盧梭之答案。然“自信能解決此問題”者甚多。盧梭欲發揮已說，必先推翻他人之理論。有國家而後有政府法律，故國家起原論爲最重要。

[四四](甲)國家起原是否由於家族？盧梭謂社會中最自然，最早之團體，誠係家族；但即就家族論，祇在子女幼稚非父母養育保護不能生存時，則其關係純爲自然；及其既長則兩不相顧；此際而猶結合，要賴默契與習慣。成人子女之服從父母尚非根據自然，又何況人民之服從政府？故國家由家

67. 同上，卷一，導言。

68. 同上，卷一，章一。

族擴大之說，不能成立。<sup>69</sup>

[四五](乙)是否憑藉暴力？“最強之人，非以權力變為權利，服從變為義務，不能永為人主。”<sup>70</sup>蓋屈服於力量，乃勉強，不得已；無正義權利之可言。否則甲強從甲，乙強從乙，勢將伊於胡底？故暴力非國家之起原，亦非吾人服從政府之原因。

[四六](丙)是否根據奴性？此蓋與格老秀斯，霍布斯之學說，針鋒相對。盧梭謂以一羣民衆而自願為君主之奴隸，生死予奪全受治者一人之支配，此乃萬不可能之事。試問自棄一切，倖身於人，所為何事？若云可得寧靜，則牢獄中未嘗無寧靜！人非喪心病狂，孰肯自甘為奴，絕對服從？今假定一民族為之，是不啻假定一民族之全體為喪心病狂；天下庸有是理？退一步言，即曰有之，則一代民衆，決不能代其後代子子孫孫，將一切自由與權利，放棄盡絕。何況“一人放棄其自由，等於放棄其所以為人之本質，”<sup>71</sup>“絕對為人性所不許。”是故單方面，無條件的奴性服從之為國家起原，不可信更不可取。盧梭既次第闢開諸說，自然圖窮匕見，貢獻其自信成功之契約論。

#### 肆：盧梭之基本答案——契約

[四七]自來談契約者有兩種：一為社會契約，即產生國家之契約（或稱國家契約）；<sup>72</sup>一為政治契約，即產生政府之契約（或

69. 同上，卷一，章二。

70. 同上，卷一，章三。

71. 同上，章四。

72. 學者亦有濫用“政治契約”（political contract）指產生國家者。參閱加涅政治學導言頁94等。（Garner, Introduction to Pol. Sc.）又服漢編輯之民約論（一九一八）頁liv—lxxiii。

稱政府契約)。盧梭認國家由於契約而政府則否。故其所論“民約”全指產生國家而言。特此說不無語病：蓋以形式的邏輯言之，政府為國家之一部份，固有國家而後有政府；然以實質言之，所謂國家因其具有政府，將如何而能產生無政府之國家？茲不具論，且述盧梭契約之動機。國家之起原，倘非根據家族，暴力，自棄，則或由契約；但契約又因何而起？

〔四八〕霍布斯與洛克之介紹契約，均謂自然境域之亟宜脫離；前者稱生活痛苦，初民不復能忍受；後者謂有種種不便利。盧梭於兩篇應徵文中，曾力誇自然境域之甜美圓滿，則初民又何必“自作孽”而與之道別？是則彼欲逼出契約，勢不得不作一百九十度之全向後轉：

“予料想人們已到此地步：凡危害他們在自然境域中生存之一切障礙，已由抗拒而勝過每一個人所能引用以圖存於此境域中的勢力。所以此原始狀況，自後不復能繼續存在；人類若不改變其生活方式，勢將全歸亡滅”<sup>73</sup>。

〔四九〕今既假定自然境域之亟應避去，自應尋求出路。脫離不難！難在脫離後何往而有較美滿之生存！依照霍布斯，人們因畏懼自然境域之殘暴，而倖身於專制君主為奴隸。在盧梭視之，此何異於逃沸火而跳深淵，相去無幾。故

73. 民約論，卷一，章六。作者在此篇文字中誇譽自然境域不止一處：“……avec plus de danger dans l'état de nature, lorsque, livrant des combats inévitables, ils défendraient au péril de leur vie……”卷二章四。“Dans l'état de nature, où tout est commun……je ne reconnais pour être à autrui que ce qui m'est inutile.”卷二，章六。

難題中又有難題：

“今欲尋求一種結合之方式，能以全體力量守禦與保護每份子之身體與財產，且能藉此結合，使每份子雖與全體相聯締，却仍即服從自己而留續自由如故，此即社會契約〔民約〕所予以解決之基本<sup>74</sup>問題。”

“留續自由如故”；“仍即服從自己”；在今日實在主義者，或實驗主義者視之，其不笑為滑稽或幻術者幾希。即不然，亦必詆為艱晦無當。然盧梭之引以自豪者即在於此。

〔五十〕(一)契約之內容 產生國家之基本契約，究有若干條文？作者未嘗明示，且謂不必窮詰；蓋棄其糟粕而取其精華，契約之條件如此：

“吾人各將其身體及一切能力，共同地委諸全意志之最高指揮之下，而後吾人接受每個份子為全體之不能分的一部。<sup>75</sup>”

盧梭又云，“此其諸項條文，若正確了解之，可節縮為一：此無它，即每個份子，同其一切權利，完全割讓於全羣。<sup>76a</sup>”然人何以肯舉其所有，完全放棄？祇因人人為此，爾我一律；且失於已

74. 同上，卷一，章六。

75. “Chacun de nous met en commun sa personne et toute sa puissance sous la supreme direction de la volonté générale; et nous recevons en corps chaque membre comme partie indivisible de tout.” 同上。

76a 此處指割讓所有的一切，殊與後文衝突。“每人由訂約而所割讓之力量，財產，與自由，予固承認，乃其總量之一部份而為全羣所必須掌握者。但吾人亦必承認祇主權者為何者必須之唯一裁判。”卷二，章四。

者得於人；予所放棄者甲，乙，丙，……壬，癸，等固接受之；然甲，乙，丙，……壬，癸等各所放棄者，予亦為接受之一份子。結果，<sup>76b</sup>“每人委棄一已於全體，實即未嘗委棄於任何人。不審惟是，在自然境域中吾祇恃吾一人之力量以自保禦而求生存；今則訂契約而產國家，雖曩日可留以自用者，茲有用以保存他人之義務；然而吾一已之生命，自由，財產，有其他一切人之力量相保障；此其保障力量之大，較之曩昔一已所有，得非十，百，千，萬倍？義務權利，兩相平衡，殊為得計。

【五一】此外，服從多數為契約中之一大重要條文。社會契約本身係全體一致同意而成立，國家既成後之法律，則多數可以決定。

【五二】(二)契約之形式 此項使初聽者以為“一本萬利”的契約，究竟是否成文？是否一件具體的歷史經過？抑僅為寓言式的想像，指點烏托邦之性質？後世往往斥盧梭狂妄，認假作真。殊不知盧梭固亦嘗躊躇疑慮，顯然有依違兩可之痕迹，而似有不肯明言之苦衷。草稿中有一段文字：

“使人們聚集之方法可以逾千，使人們結合之方法則祇一個。職此之故，予在此文中祇述一如何組織政治社會之方法；雖就現存而號稱國家之無數人羣而言，或竟無兩者同其組成之方法，且或竟無其一，合予所述之模範而組成者；但予所求者乃權利與道理，至於事實，可不過問。”<sup>77</sup>

76b. “La loi de la pluralité des suffrages est elle-même un établissement de convention, et suppose, au moins une fois, l’unanimité.” 同上，卷一，章五。

77. 民約論 神稿卷一，章五；服漢，同書，卷一，頁462，參閱同卷，頁434—445。



即在正稿中亦有懇切之暗示：

“此項契約之條文……雖或從未經過正式宣告，……却到處同一，到處受默許與承認，直至此社會契約一旦經人破壞則每人取回其原始權利，並恢復其固有的自由而喪失其曾捨棄固有自由以相易得之規約的自由。”<sup>78</sup>

可見視訂約爲史實，恐非盧梭之本意，最低限度，決非彼較高明之見解。草稿附名塗改多次，末爲“論共和國體”；正稿之附名爲“或政治權之原理”<sup>79</sup>亦可窺見其着重處不在契約而在用契約以解釋者。或者盧梭之契約起原，指點共和國體應有之起原，指理想而不指事實，不指過去而指將來？

【五三】雖然，民約論正稿中之契約，語其整個精神，綜其全篇論點，並味其描寫文字，固不免稍傾於歷史事實之解釋；至少，作者雖無此心意，讀者却皆有此印像。讀者所有之印像，盧梭固不能全不負責。故抨擊其契約說爲非歷史者，亦未嘗完全誣陷盧梭。

【五四】(三)契約之結果 在自然境域中之個人，自訂契約則已不復在自然境域。契約之積極結果可得而言者有二。一爲國家之產生。“由此項結合之行爲，產生一個道德的，集合的團體……而此團體，亦由是項結合之行爲，得到它的和一，它的‘大我’，它的生命與它的意志。”此種“公人”，昔名市府，今稱共和國或政治團體。國家，主權者，國民，人民等等名詞均由是而起。<sup>78</sup> 國家產生即永成立（除非契約破壞），蓋凡居

78. 民約論，卷一，章六。

79. 見前，第叁段，壹。

住境內而不遷徙者，即等於表示同意，<sup>80</sup>默認契約。

【五五】其次，為個人福利之增進。原初民之所以訂約者，本深思熟慮，預知設立國家後生活之優美。故此種結果本非意外。<sup>81</sup>統觀民約論全文，皆暗示國家成立後之和樂光明；而所提及之任何黑暗方面，甚為稀少。吾人倘回憶應徵文中之盧梭，不啻判若兩人。究竟個人之福利，依照作者之理論，是否促進或增加幾何，當俟下論。

#### 伍：契約論之批評

【五六】契約論具有悠久深長之歷史，自來精細宏博之思想家不乏為此論之信徒。自柏拉圖，亞里士多德在其名著中暗示與明辯契約以降，羅馬，中古，代有契約論者；近世則以呼克 (Hooker, 1594)，格老秀斯 (1625)，霍布斯 (1642)，洛克 (1690) 為最著。盧梭脫胎於洛克而集其大成，但同時此亦為契約論末日之鐘聲。自後雖有康德 (Kant) 與斐希特 (Fichte) 接受契約，然軀殼雖留，本魂已渺；名詞仍舊，意義已非。正統的契約觀念歷經休謨 (Hume)，柏克，邊沁 (Bentham)，哈勒 (von Haller) 利柏 (Lieber)，武爾息 (Woolsey) 緬因 (Maine) 樸洛克 (Pollock) 等評論炮火之迫擊，已足謂為潰散消亡；然其在歷史上之重要與其中一部份之真理，固不因此而完全磨滅；今本盧梭而推論契約。

【五七】(一)盧梭 洛克 霍布斯 三人之比較 巨靈，政府論 兩篇，及民約論之三著者，世稱為契約說之“三傑”。因背景不

80. 同上，卷四，章二。

81. 同上，卷二，章四。

同，故其見解結論，亦各差別。霍布斯身值英國一六四〇年之清教革命，爲正統君主辯護復辟，故其契約之結果爲專制獨裁。洛克則爲一六八八年之無血革命洗刷，爲新君威廉覓一倫理的根據，故其歸納爲君主立憲。盧梭則欲推翻現狀，伸張民權，故其理想爲直接民治；不啻開一七八九年大革命之先聲。謂霍布斯之對象爲君主，洛克爲政府，盧梭爲國家，非無意義。霍布斯之自然境域，殘暴恐怖，不可一日安居，故初民亟求解脫；各人遂以一切自然權利完全交付於不受契約拘束，獨高無上之第三者；而一度放棄之後，人民永不復能恢復其固有權利。洛克之自然境域，本甚可羨，惟人多事繁，漸感“不便”；原人因完成契約，放棄其自然權利之一部份而保留其餘；洛克雖未明言，却暗含兩重契約：即人民相互訂約，人民與政府又復設立條件。盧梭民約論中之自然境域，假定爲危害人類之生存；原人雖接讓其全部自然權利，但不接讓於任何人而接讓於人民全體；且政府不本契約，故革命權利永在人民。由是以觀，在霍布斯主張契約，原不過將絕對君權之根據，自神命移至於民意。特君權神授，較爲顛撲不破，而君權民授，則千孔百瘡，破綻過多。霍布斯欲以主權置之君主之手，而契約理論之底面顯係主權在民！洛克未曾明論主權，但細味其意，主權本在人民，和平時由政府行使，革命時復歸人民掌握。至盧梭則以政府爲公僕，主權永在人民；於是現代民主政治完全開始。思想與事實之往往携手同途，於此可見一斑。

82. 參考韋羅貝 國家之倫理的根據 (Willoughby, *The Ethical Basis of the State*, 1930) 第九 (“契約論”) 及第十三 (“霍布斯, 洛克, 盧梭三人之比較”) 兩章。

【五八】(二)契約論之動機與目的 無論視契約爲歷史,以解決國家之起原,或視作概念,以解釋國家之性質,大抵其動機所在,可得分析而言者恐不外下列諸端:—

其一,爲避免神命,或武力,或家族起原說。契約論全盛之日,正值君權神授論與絕對君權衰敗之時,此非偶然。

其二,爲以理智解釋政治。亞里士多德謂人本政治的動物,此種自然起原論,病在以不解解之。

其三,爲使國家成理性之產品,爲人民有意識的結合。

其四,爲使人民處主動地位,指揮政治,不受制於政治。

其五,爲解釋強制力與服從,均由己而不由人,由內心而不由外力,庶幾所謂個人自由得有意義。

其六,爲指陳國家與政府之權力均得自人民;政府之權威有限,人民之權威無窮。

其七,爲聲明政府應謀人民之福利,人民不供政府之犧牲。

其八,爲使革命權利永得成立。

其九,至少爲執政權者,求一倫理的根據。<sup>83</sup>

【五九】(三)契約論之批評 由上述諸點論,契約論之動機固可嘉佩,但其理論本身,究難成立。史稱飛將軍誤石爲虎,拔箭射之中而沒羽。假定傳說附會之可信,石之爲石,初不因一箭而變更。人類歷史中容或有因受契約論之影響,助成其舉行革命,訂立憲法,或採取契約論中之原則者;然而國

83. 上所云云,非指任何契約論者所必全具;但任何契約論者必有其幾。

家之究由何起，強制力之根據究何在，要不因之而改易。契約論之所以暴筋露骨，體無完膚者，因自有其根本缺點。

[六十](甲)就歷史言，契約全非事實。所謂“自然境域”乃無有之物；今日研究初民社會者之材料在存證明其為臆斷。或謂一六二〇年，十一月十一日，在大西洋上五月花船中一百零一位移民所訂之自治規約，<sup>84</sup>寧非一例？殊不知此一零一人何嘗脫離“自然境域”而驟然躍入政治社會；彼輩不過由英至美，易地而處，至於思想，習慣，風俗，制度，法律，固盡由祖國携之與俱；何所謂契約起原？美國獨立後，各邦製定邦憲亦有稱“本邦人民茲已彼此訂結一原始的，明文的與莊嚴的規約”者，此則更係受契約論影響之一種宣言表示，並非由“非政治”入“政治”之階段。再進一步，個別國家之起原，亦不能解釋整個國家之起原。<sup>85</sup>但契約論者絕少認定訂約為事實，即盧梭亦未嘗不知為假定。<sup>86</sup>

84. 訂約者自稱“Solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenanted and combined themselves together into a civil body politic for their better ordering and preservation.”

85. 伯倫知理在國家論中所舉，皆個別國家之起原。

86. 否則，盧梭評霍布斯之自然境域，至為得當，何以知人則明知己則暗：“霍布斯與他人之錯謬，在誤將自然人與他們眼前的人相混而將祇能存在於乙種境域之人強認為存在於甲種境域之中。”“名譽，自利，成見，仇怨一切驅人於危亡之情感遠非人們在自然境域中時所有。”見論戰爭之境域（約一七五〇年著）原文“L'État de la guerre”見服漢，同書，卷一，頁306;293。即“Hobbes was concerned not with history but with psychology and reason; he was interested in the states of mind which no more at the beginning than at all times give the state its firm seat in the saddle of human nature.”霍金，人與國，§92附註（Hocking, Man and the State）。

【六一】(乙)僅僅歷史的無稽猶不足爲此論垢病。就心理言,全體同時訂約,實不可能。試觀目前世界上教育最普及民智最開之國家,其人民之智識經驗,萬無站在同一水平線上;今乃想像原始社會之初民,竟能一旦全體豁然貫通,知自然境域之宜鄙棄,見國家成立後之光明燦爛;此寧非夢囈?蓋政治權之宜統一,人權之宜保障;此種認識必由“先知覺者”後逐漸普及。

【六二】(丙)就訂約者論,以個人爲份子單位恐係虛構。亞里士多德視國家爲無數家族與村市之聯合;除如十六世紀之布丹 (Bodin) 十七世紀之阿爾修雪斯 (Althusius) 即十八世紀之彌拉波 (Mirabeau), 亦均以國家爲團體所組成;近今之麥特蘭 (Maitland), 斐吉斯 (Figgis) 杜驥, 拉斯基輩,更復重視團體。獨十八世紀流行之觀念則視國家爲個人所直接組成。今謂原始社會中,個人已得獨立平等之地位,不受血統,宗教,經濟諸團體之束縛,恐殊違反今日大多數歷史家與社會學家之結論。

【六三】(丁)就法理言,契約亦無效力。契約乃國家,政府,法律成立後之名詞與制度,謂初民有此概念已屬滑稽。此即不論,試問判別此契約之是否成立,已否破壞之正式機關,究竟安在。訂約時已有此機關,則明明國家早存;無此機關,則所謂“契約”,殊無意義。若推上帝爲監督,則近縹緲。盧梭並排斥自然法,認人民在訂約以前尙無道德觀念,是則訂約者對此契約不特無法律義務,抑且無道德義務。<sup>87</sup>

87. 服漢,同書,卷一,頁43—44;443—。章羅貝則謂歷史事實與法律效力兩點不足推倒契約論。(同書,頁222—224)

[六四](戊)再進而言之,就政治本身論,以契約為國家之性質則國家之穩固性盡失。人民既可由意志產生政治社會,當亦可由意志取消之;循是以談,政治可有可無,國家可立可廢;此豈事實所容理論所許?<sup>88</sup>須知吾人對於政治生活,非能揮之使來驅之使去;國家之性質,誠如柏克所云,非若公司合夥可任意散合者。盧梭在論人間不平等及山中通信中,<sup>89</sup>曾暗示契約之非有不可;果誠如此則已非復契約。

[六五](己)契約之嚴格意義,包含提出與接受兩造。在國家契約論中,無論所謂人與人約,<sup>90</sup>或各個人與餘衆之全體約,<sup>91</sup>或各個人與己亦在內之全體約,<sup>92</sup>吾人祇能注重精神忽畧形迹,苟稍拘泥字義,將費解欠通。但其主要精神不過人民自

88. "Whatever is man-made may with advantage be otherwise made or even unmade."

洛克,同書 §88。無怪哈勒(Von Haller)以人與日光訂約相比擬。

89. 明漢謂盧梭在此兩文中, "represents the formation of civil society as being due not to individual caprice, but to the inevitable pressure of events determined by human nature, i. e. more or less as a natural process. In that case, however, the term 'contract' becomes manifestly inappropriate." 見所編訂民約論單行本,序言,頁129。

90. 霍布斯即謂人與人約: "As if every man should say to every man" [巨索, 章八]。"as if"兩字應值注意。

91. 盧梭謂己與己訂約——民法所不許者——和己與全體(己亦在內)訂約不同(民約論卷一章七)。恐亦未必。

92. 請言其詳。若謂人與人約,則設有甲,乙,丙,丁,戊,己,……壬,癸十人,勢必甲與乙約,甲與丙約,乙與丙約,乙與丁約,丙與丁約……共須四十五約;每約之效力祇及於訂約者(甲乙,或丙丁,……)兩造,而不能及全體。若謂人與餘衆之全體約則(甲)與(乙+丙+丁……+癸)約;(乙)與(甲+丙+丁……+癸)約;等等。然而餘衆之全體,即(乙+丙+丁……+癸)等究竟由何產生? 是否同持契約? 此契約又如何訂定? 此所謂全體——即(乙+丙+丁……+癸)寧非成 "moi commun" 之政治社會? 至於己與己亦在內之全體約——即(甲)與(甲+乙+丙+丁……+癸)約——其問題正復相同。政府契約亦難避免此項困難。

約易言之，提約者即接約者；此何異於己與己約，或左手與右手約；究有何種意義？

【六六】(庚)今姑拋開一切歷史與法理問題，契約說仍有其根本缺陷，無從彌縫。假定某時某地某羣個人，用可能想像的方法訂結契約，然其效力祇限於當代。試問此一代之人衆何以能束縛繼續未來之後一代與再後一代之子子孫孫。况今代與後代之遞嬗，誠如犬牙啣接，分割不明，非如有山水界石之可以割斷，每越若干載而另訂契約者。如云不離國境繼續居住者，即含寓同意，無異覆訂者；是又牽強文飾之空論。以經濟，心理，社會，言文諸點言，能自由離國他去者，世有幾人？且離國它去，亦不過由甲國入乙國；除效魯濱孫荒島獨居外，誰果能跳出政治社會，回返自然境域？<sup>93</sup>不寧惟是，幼稚無知，傷心病狂者之權利與義務，果係何若？訂約之後，何以多數之決定即能強使少數服從？此與同意論是否完全抵觸。<sup>94</sup>

【六七】(四)契約論之價值與影響 契約論之欠缺，誠如上述；然其在歷史上之影響，固有極光榮之一頁；且，吾人苟分析其含份，未始無具有永久價值之部份者。十七世紀中，英人之驅逐哲姆斯二世，以“破壞君主與人民間之原始契約”爲第一條罪狀。美洲十三州之獨立宣言，亦標榜政府之權“得自被治者之同意。”今日實行內閣制之國家，其實際政

93. 參考羅漢編訂民約論單本，註釋頁129-130

94. 休謨謂不同意者可離國它去，是猶言船在海中乘客之不同意者可自由它去。見論民約一文中。

95. 萊羅貝，同書，頁226-235。



府之起伏存亡，全視選民總投票之結果(如英)或視人民代表之向背(如法)；此其中不可謂絲毫無契約意味。即在總統制之國家，政府有任期，權力之限制，倘再採取創制覆決則其含義與內閣政體正相仿髣。可見略形原神，政府契約固非純粹空論。至於民治國家之有成文憲法，人民權利義務之日見明定，出國入國之漸趨自由，似亦暗示國家契約之說非全夢囈。<sup>96</sup>蓋國家為人民謀福利之工具，政府得人民之同意而統治，法律持民衆之公意而有強制力，此數原則應為理想國家之基礎者，均已包含在契約論中。

#### 陸：主權與主權者

【六八】主權在民之觀念，發現甚早，而開展甚漸；謂其不自盧梭始，<sup>97</sup>誠為精當。蓋亞里士多德即稱國家中有最高權力，由一人，少數，或多數掌握；羅馬則有君權（尤指立法權）本自民衆得來之見解；中古世紀，在教會大分裂後漸起教權不在教皇而在全體信徒之手之論調。代議制度與主權在民實先盛於教會，而後移用於國家。自馬栖畧（Marsiglio of Padua, 1270—1340），奧坎（William of Ockam, 1280—1347），至阿爾修雪斯（1557—1638），主權民有之論顯已成立。霍布斯暗合此義，洛克默認此說，是皆先於盧梭。但以政治思想史會合政治史而表裏同求，則主權在民之觀念確由盧梭而結晶而成信仰，而挾具莫大勢力。有謂盧梭之偉大，正在其思想之簡

96. 多元主權論者往往視國家為尋常會社結合之一；充其意，則國家契約不猶公司契約，可以實現？

97. 摩黎，同書，卷二，頁190—219

98  
單者；若然，則“主權在民”，當為一證。

今先述盧梭之主權觀念

[六九](甲)主權之所在 <sup>99</sup>盧梭謂主權必有所在；特不在政府，而在全體人民——全體人民係國家之主權者。<sup>101</sup>蓋契約既由人民自訂，並須全體參加及全體一致之同意，則最高最大最原始之權力，自應屬諸組成國家之團體。本此原則，無論為農，為工，為商，為士，為任何人，皆成掌握此主權之一份子。在專制鐵蹄下掙扎呻吟痛苦無告之民衆，一旦聞此理論，能不如沙漠黑夜，忽見一道光明，而奮喜疾趨，求得所在，猶之今日飢寒交迫之貧民，一聞產業公有之說安得不色舞眉飛目迷心醉？<sup>102a</sup>杜驥斥盧梭之絕對主權為現代專制暴政之祖，恐僅記其主權論而忘其主權在民論。<sup>102b</sup>盧梭在民治未盛行之日，以“主權”可在人民全體為理想；杜驥處民治已行之後認

98. 賡 (Taine) 謂 “What gives extraordinary power to the ideas of Rousseau is above all the simplicity of the conception. As a matter of fact, the political reasoning that it produces is as easy as the rule of three.” 見 自璧德，民治與領袖 頁 83。

99. 山中通信，服漢，同書，卷二，頁 217—219。

100. 民約論，卷三，章一。

101. 同上，卷一，章七。

102a 杜驥云：“J. J. Rousseau is the father of Jacobin despotism, of Caesarian distatorship, and, upon closer observation, the inspirer of the doctrines of absolutism of Kant and Hegel.” 杜驥，法律與國家，章二；載哈律法律評論卷卅壹，第一期（一九一七，十一月）。

102b. 高一涵，盧梭的民權論和國權論（東方，廿三卷三期頁 59—）牽涉此題。

“治權”有永集於少數執者之事實，以此評彼，自非盡當。

(乙)主權之性質

[七十]子)主權爲絕對最高，此正與霍布斯相同。因人民將其在自然境域中所有之全部自然權利付諸團體，涓滴無餘，則此團體(國家，主權者)之所有當然爲整個而最高無上。即契約本身亦不能限制主權：

“主權者[即全體人民]而以一項不能更改之法律自相束縛，此乃與政治團體[國家]之性質，相違背。……世無有，且不能有任何項能束縛人民之根本法律，即民約本身亦不能。”<sup>103</sup>

且主權之所以應爲完全絕對，更因主權之無誤——主權者之永不能誤：——

“主權者乃祇是其構成份子——無數個人，之所集成，既不有，且決不能有任何利益與其構成份子之利益相反；是以主權的力量無須予其庶民以保障，蓋以全體而願傷害其一切份子，實不可能。”<sup>104</sup>

此言之病，在假定人各知其真利益之所在，全體能知全體真利益之所在；並在假定確有全體能共享的利益之存在；較之日後迹沁派樂利論中最大多數最大量幸福之假定，此殆有過無不及。

103. 民約論，卷一，章七。“Il est contre la nature du corps politique que le souverain s'impose une loi qu'il ne puisse enfreindre.....Il n'y a ni ne peut y avoir nulle espèce de loi fondamentale obligatoire pour le corps du peuple, pas même le contrat social.”

104. 同上。

【七一】然而盧梭固仍認主權之有相當限制。最低限度可分兩層。其一，庶民[人民相對主權者之稱]應以全心全力服從主權者之任何命令；“但在主權者此方面不能以無益於社團之負擔桎梏，強加諸庶民之身。”<sup>105</sup>其二，對於庶民之一切行為法律，應公正平等，無絲毫偏倚。<sup>106</sup>大概盧梭之所以曾一則謂人民放棄自然權利之全部（似霍布斯）再則謂僅放棄一部份（似洛克），前後衝突者，吾人可以恍然。

“各個人為契約而所割棄之權力，財產，與自由，乃其總量之部份而其使用為社團所需要者；但吾人亦必承認，祇有主權者為何者為需要之唯一裁判。”<sup>107</sup>或者所謂絕對，最高，無限制，乃指法律上主權者可任意決定；所謂限制，指道德，倫理上之目的，動機而言。

【七二】丑)主權之第二特性，為整而不分。“今日言論家將主權者製成一離奇之怪物……【即分主權為立法，行政，對內，對外等】猶之一人而數身，此具眼目，彼具雙臂，另有具雙足然者。”<sup>108</sup>盧梭明白指示，出令權與立法權，政府官吏之權與國家人民全體之權，根本不同。今日主權與“治權”之分割，至是遂告完成。

【七三】雖然盧梭曾謂一萬公民之國，每人所有之自由較之十萬公民之國之個人所有者為少，此則暗含主權能分之<sup>109</sup>

105. 同上，卷二，章四。但何者為“無益”，又祇能由主權者決定！

106. 同上。

107. 同上。

108. 同上，卷二，章二。

109. 見前，註 50。

見解。否則猶之個人，吾人曾不能視其身體之大小，高矮，輕重，而定其意志之強弱（假定人有意志）。其為矛盾，殊無疑問。

〔七四〕寅)主權之為物，不能任人割棄。霍布斯之主旨，即認人民有割棄主權以與君主之可能；盧梭明知此而承認，則舉凡絕對，不分無誤諸論，益將教猱升木，為虎添翼；故斬釘絕鐵，斷定主權之永久在人民。譬如，人之身體不能自鬻，人格不能轉移；否則身體為牛馬，人格告破產。

“主權者誠然可云，‘予今以某人所已表現之意志為已之意志’……但絕不能云，‘某人明日所將表現之任何意志，予即以之為已之意志。’……倘人民竟允許相服從，則國家即因而解體，而其為一國人民之資格亦即喪失。<sup>110</sup>

〔七五〕卯)主權之表現不能由人代表。主權究為何物，有無具體之表現？盧梭謂主權非它，乃全意志之運用。<sup>111</sup>運用猶屬抽象，運用之形象為何？盧梭又謂全意志之表現為法律。是則主權即立法權，惟民約論中之所謂法律等於或近於吾人今日所稱之憲法。全意志不能委任或信托一個人，或多少人之代表；立法必由人民全體參加，故主權必由主權者表現。

〔七六〕辰)主權永久無誤。<sup>112</sup>主權而有誤即不成其為主權。繩以定義與邏輯，全意志既為主權之表現，全意志無誤，亦即主權不能有誤；此點容於討論意志時再詳及之。格林有言，

110. 同上，卷二，章一。

111. 同上。

112. 同上，卷二，章三。

盧梭所稱主權者形式上指人，實質上指大公無私之理；堪值  
 研究者之反覆玩味。<sup>113</sup>

【七七】(二)根據上述各點，則盧梭對於主權者行爲之結論，自有其意義。主權之行爲，一，係一種相互的協約，而非在上者與在下者，或全部與一部之規約；二，因有民約作根據，故爲合法；三，因其目的與效果，爲衆人之福利，故爲有用；四，因有公衆權力作後盾故爲穩定；五，因其對於全體之效力與影響均係一律，故爲公平。<sup>114</sup>

【七八】(三)格林之評論與銓解 盧梭政論中似爲美滿無疵之“主權”，果否與事實符合？現代國家中，多少具有，抑或甚且，能否具有此絕對，最高，整不能分，爲全意志之表現，而永久無誤之主權？此則吾人所亟欲明瞭之問題。今以格林之評論爲本，問附吾人一得之見，作此題之檢討。<sup>115</sup>

【七九】(甲)困難 以盧梭之尺寸，嚴格準繩，則現代國家中，除瑞士之“全民諸邦”(Landsgemeinde Cantons)與如英國舉行總選之雲娜時間外，直無主權之可言；即就瑞英兩例而言，是否有全意志之表示，亦大是疑問。苟起作者於地下，恐必搖首否認。充盧梭之說而盡之，其結果必有不能兩立，無一圓通之結論；或，現代皆係無主權之國家，或現代竟無一國之存在。<sup>116</sup>苟不然者，則其學說如何成立？作何解釋？或者盧

113. 格林，政治職責之原理講演(Green, Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation) §68.

114. 民約論，卷二，章四。

115. 格林，同書，§78—97。

116. 同上，§78。

梭所謂主權即，通常稱作“法本主權”(De jure Sovereignty)；而今日國家之主權僅係“事實主權”(De facto sovereignty)。然而“法本主權”一詞，雖經盧梭用過，但衡以其全部正統思想，此實不辭。<sup>117</sup>既曰主權，必須法本；徒有“事實”，何來主權！<sup>118</sup>試讀下列一段可知其主旨：一“一旦人君不復依照法律治理國家，而篡奪主權力量……則國家立即瓦解，民約立即破壞……一切平常國民依權恢復其自然的自由，且至多受迫而服從，實無復服從之義務。”<sup>119</sup>

〔八十〕(乙)奧斯丁 (Austin, 1790—1859) 與盧梭之主權論全異而尤為法家與律師所崇奉者，當推奧斯丁所代表之法律主權論。奧斯丁之有名定義為：

“設若一位可以明確指認的在上者，本身無服從另一同樣的在上者之習慣，却得到某社會中大部份之習慣服從；此位確定在上者即是該社會之主權者，而該社會（包括主權者）即是一政治的與獨立的社會。”<sup>120</sup>

是則無論在部落，市府，或民族，國家中，祇須有雛形政府之存在，事實上（一）有明確之在上者，與（二）有使多數服從之力量，即有主權與主權者之存在。此與盧梭相較，似大逕庭。實則兩種學說各趨極端，各得其半；合而求之，則相得益彰。

117. 民約論，卷三，章一。“De droit”

118. 同上；盧梭謂“事實主權”發生，則國家立亡，契約立破；可見“事實主權”不能存在。

119. 同上，卷三，章十。

120. 奧斯丁，法學講演 (Lectures on Jurisprudence)

【八一】(丙)調和 盧梭所持者為政治主權論，奧斯丁所指者為法律主權說。徒重法律主權而鄙棄政治主權，猶聞見登場傀儡之聲音容貌與舉動跳躍而遺忘其內幕牽線上下之主人。祇信政治主權而拒法律主權，是何異研究盧梭之思想，而必否認其黑白成文裝釘成冊之著作為其思想之所在。以長時期言之，政府（在上者）之所以能使用強制力而邀得人民之服從者，要因有多數之同意；否則反抗革命，何代蔑有？反之，人民之要求，祈望，意志無論若何迫切，不經執政者之採取毫無權力之可言。法律主權與政治主權固“一而二，二而一。”至於主權之是否存在，有無必要，不在此處範圍以內，可不贅論。

#### 柒：盧梭之政治意志論

【八二】在純粹觀念方面，盧梭政治思想中之比較最創造，最深刻，最有永久價值者，當推其意志論。彼之“全意志”幾幾婦孺皆知，但其本意與涵義，則談者各有不同之見解。要知盧梭之理論，雖多疏漏牽強之點，而今日之心理學已拋擲意志於不問；然意志在政治思想中之重要，未必因此而全滅。凡研究政治而不肯僅僅接受事實現象，不肯視人類行為完全為刺戟與反應之結果者，恐不能驅意志論於藩籬之外。<sup>121</sup>

【八三】(一)意志之類別 盧梭所論之意志，細分析之，可得

121. "As soon as a basis of right, and not of mere fact, is sought for human association,

there is no escape from invoking the principle of human will." 柯爾, 社會學理

(Cole, Social Theory) 頁 8.



四種，即“個別意志，”(Volonté particulière)，“團體意志”(Volonté de corps)，“總意志”，(Volonté de tous) 與“全意志”(Volonté générale) 是。知其一，即可知其三。

【八四】(甲)全意志 全意志乃國家成立後，其全體人民所有之主權之運用，故謂為國家意志，未始不可。全意志之表現，即為法律（盧梭，非吾人，之所謂法律）；故構成全意志者亦即所以構成法律。構成全意志之條件，缺一不可者有三：一

【八五】其一，參加發表而形成此全意志者必為國民之全體；否則無全意志之可言。全意志不必為全體一致絕無異議之意志，但不可不有全體之參加。<sup>122</sup> 因此，盧梭主張直接，或純粹民治（亦稱全民政治），而反對代議制度；誠以代議制度僅百千萬分之一能親自參加。代議既不可，委托與放棄，固亦不能。吾人應記憶者，全意志非全體一致之意志；多數意志不必即是全意志，但全意志至少當是多數意志。<sup>123</sup>

122. 民約論，卷二，章六。

123. 服漢謂全意志或竟為少數意志（見所編訂民約論單本，註釋，頁137.）。此言不甚精確。僅指意志之對象與動機言，則任何一人之意志，有為全意志之可能。但從制度言，全意志在睡眠狀態時無人能斷定其為全意志與否。黃之意志為甲，陸之意志為乙，兩人均可自信其所持之甲或乙為全意志。但全意志具體化時，必人人參加而形成法律——此則非多數莫能決定；全意志之必為多數意志，似無疑慮之餘地。所難答者，盧梭又謂多數意志不一定是全意志（見後）。

【八六】其二，全意志之對象必為全體，——申言之，必與全體有關係，而全體所受之影響又必一律。“全意志而有個別目的，則其性質已更變；全意志不能對於人物或事實作何決定。例如當雅典人民選舉或撤革其首領，頒給榮譽於此，判加罪刑於彼，且以無數政令，施行政府之職務時，彼輩舉動已不復處主權力量，而處官吏之地位。”“從此吾人可知凡所以使意志化為全者，不真在發意見者之數目，而在聯合彼輩的共同利益<sup>124</sup>。”再以例言，關於採取君主政體或產生特殊利益之存在，有表現全意志與法律之可能；但關於決定誰為君主，或何人享此特殊利益，則祇係政令，而非法律，必無全意志之可言。<sup>125</sup>

【八七】其三，參加者各個人於其決定與發表一己之意志時，必以全體之共同利益為動機，而不可以一己，一族，或一階級之利益為前提。易詞言之，形式上之全體參加，客觀上以全體為對象，猶不足保證其必產生全意志；務使每個公民主觀上各本天良，為國家之利益着想；不然，同床異夢，人自為謀，縱有多數或竟全體一致之決定，亦不足稱以全意志之美名。<sup>126</sup>

【八八】(乙)總意志 缺乏全意志之第三條件者為總意志；兩者之差別，其間誠不能容髮。“總意志與全意志之間往往有莫大分別，後者祇顧及共同利益而前者則顧及私人利益，且不過是許多個別意志之總數；但取去此許多意志之相互

124. 民約論，卷二，章四。

125. 同上，卷二，章六；

126. 同上，卷二，章四；卷一，章七；卷三，章二；卷四，章一及章二。

127

抵消的正負加減則留得其相差之總數爲全意志。<sup>127</sup> 民約論

127. 同上,卷二,章三。末段原文,“.....mais ôtez de ces mêmes volontés [particulières] les plus et les moins qui s'entre-détruisent, reste pour somme des différences, la volonté générale.”段難解釋。各國學者費盡心血,欲爲盧梭曲解者甚多,其所擬之說法亦夥,然卒無一圓滿。吾人之意見可分數點言之。第一,此指會議,討論,提案,通過之一切程序,而不指創制複決或僅僅投票。蓋投票祇對於已成之議案表示贊成或反對,投票者絕不能參加意見而使有增損。第二,此段文字祇能着重其大者遠者,——其精神本意,而加以解釋;吾人似不應拘泥字句,以詞害意;否則將成不解之謎。第三,所謂大者遠者,精神本意,蓋或在是:人人倘各本大我而爲全體之福利着想,則對於某一法律案之意見當近一致而無甚差異。但人往往爲小我所限制束縛,因之其所抱之意志(個別意志)較之彼應有者(全意志)大有出入,猶之本來近於同一之數目今則加有正負記號之不同。倘各人能將因小我而持之意志一律屏除;——倘在會議,討論之際,甲之一部份主張爲乙所反對,乙所主張之一部份爲甲拒絕,以此類推,其結果猶數目上之正負記號彼此恰相抵消,而成爲大我應有之意志。第四,苟非然者,吾人將無從得任何有意義之詮解。今若拘泥文字而謂:各人之個別意志可以  $A+B$ ,  $A+D$ ,  $A-D$ ,  $A-B$  等數目符號代表,所謂彼此抵消者即  $+D$  與  $-D$ ,  $+B$  與  $-B$  相抵,則  $A$  卽爲此四人之全意志。但此種曲解諸多困難。(甲)吾人何以能保證正負之定能彼此相抵? (爾托然 [Tozer] 所編,英譯民約論註解,七,頁 235) (乙)吾人更何所根據而假定每人之個別意志(或任何意志)中一定含有此  $A$  部份。盧梭並未謂每人之全意志必歸一律;祇須爲大我着想則少數者可退而自慰,自認錯誤。是故吾人對於此段文字,不能,且亦不必,強求曲解。

艸稿中亦有“全意志罕為總意志”之句。<sup>128</sup>所云“但取去……”一段決非盧梭之要旨，且無深奧意義之可言。盧梭之苦心孤詣，實在訓示全體參政，多數決定之不盡可恃，必人人有捨小己而為大我之精神始可以語國家意志。

【八九】(丙)個別意志 “每個人，處於其為人之地位，可有一個別意志與彼處於其為國民之地位而有的全意志，不同或相反。”<sup>129</sup>可見，依據盧梭，爾我個人所有之意志非即個別意志，或較嚴格言之，不即是個別意志。爾以全體之共同利益為前提則爾個人之意志為全意志——最低限度，為爾所認為之全意志；我以我一己，一族，一派之個別利益為動機則我之意志為個別意志。至是，則總意志為個別意志之總和一說，自大明顯。雖然，個別意志不僅指個人之所有，舉凡不以國家（即全體）福利為標準者如一階級，一社會，一團體之利益對於國家言皆為部份意志，或個別意志。故盧梭謂官吏階級<sup>130</sup>或政黨之意志各對其本身言可謂為全意志，對國家言則必稱為個別意志，亦稱“團體意志”。

【九十】(丁)團體意志 此蓋如上所述指國家中非一個人而係一部份個人，團體，會社，階級，黨派，所有之意志而與國家之全意志相抵牾者。然而吾人可“以子之矛，攻子之盾，”反詰盧梭：每個國家之全意志（今姑假定其存在）是否世界人類之個別，或團體，意志？狄德羅曾有人類之意志觀念，盧梭竟於

128. 原文，閱服漢同書，卷一，頁462

129. 民約論，卷一，章七。

130. 同上，卷三，章二。

131. 同上，卷二，章三。

艸稿中駁斥此說；且謂國家相互之關係，如人在自然境域中之關係。<sup>132</sup>就此點言，盧梭之理想較之狄德羅，似遜一籌而有餘。

【九一】各種意志之相較，團體意志較個別意志為弱小，較全意志為強盛。<sup>134</sup>

【九二】(二)全意志實現之保障 全意志既為國家必有而亦應能實現之意志，果如何而可保障實現的意志之為“全”意志？盧梭所揭示之方法有二。一為直接民治，即全體國民參與立法（女子當不在內），彼捨在彼眼前之瑞士諸邦，而遠溯之往古，良以時間久遠，真相模糊，人多記其長而忘其短。殊不知全意志之有意義與價值在質地而不在形式；今必着重方法，步驟，人數，因而詆斥代議制度之必與全意志抵牾，則其重心已由質而趨於形，——已由彼所好之全意志，傾而為彼所惡之總意志。較具體言之，今日創制覆決罷免諸制大盛，直接民治之精神日張；然而真為全體民衆圖謀福利之意志是否較嚴格的代議制度盛行時，必然容易實現，恐大是疑問。此類問題必非邏輯定義所能解決！

【九三】二為避免政黨。欲全意志之明確實現，“國家中應無偏黨組織，而每個國民應祇發表其一己之意見。”<sup>135</sup>盧梭之意，國民對於議題，固應有相當之智識，見解，但不可事前與人接洽，免受直接間接，明言暗示，有形無形，之運動。人人當

132. 民約論艸稿，第二章；閱服漢，同書，卷一，頁451-452。

133. 服漢，同書，卷一頁242。

134. 民約論，卷三，章二。

135. 同上，卷二，章三。

各本其所知，各本其認為全體福意之公意者表示之。萬一  
 黨派不能盡免，則愈多愈好，愈多則離全意志愈近。<sup>136</sup> 實則反  
 對政黨，視為紛烈禍亂之源者，可謂為昔人直覺上的成見。<sup>137</sup>  
 美國創憲諸公，假定政黨之可無，至少，抱無黨之理想；華盛頓，  
亞當斯，(Adams) 馬迪孫 (Madison) 哈密爾敦 (Hamilton) 諸  
 人均諷戒恐懼政黨之將發生，殊不知政黨之起即在此眉睫  
 之下，而彼輩猶不自覺。<sup>138</sup> 甚至政黨政治早已完成，而研究政  
 黨者至二十世紀而始發達。<sup>139</sup> 至於今日，鞏固認民治與政黨  
 相依為命，不能離婚。<sup>140</sup> 盧梭知一人之意志可私可公，可正可  
 謬，獨不知一黨之意志，猶復如是。假如全意志有存在與實

136. 同上。 "Mais quand il se fait des briques, des associations partielles aux dépens de la grande, la volonté de chacune de ces associations devient générale par rapport à ses membres, et particulière par rapport à l'état; on peut dire alors qu'il n'y a pas autant de votants que d'hommes, mais seulement autant que d'associations.....Enfin, [quand une de ces associations est si grande qu'elle l'emporte sur toutes les autres,.....il n'y a plus de volonté générale, et l'avis qui l'emporte n'est qu'un avis particulier."

137. 孟祿謂一七八七年以前英國名儒，除柏克外，無敢為政黨辯護者；此言甚確。(孟祿美國政府 Munro, Government of the United States 頁 312.)

138. 閱布魯克斯政黨與選制 (Brooks, Political Parties and Electoral Problems) 章四。

139. 參考奧斯特洛高斯啓，民治與政黨，卷一，白資士 (Bryce) 序文及作者自引。(Ostrogorski, Democracy and Political Parties)。

140. 馬略特，現代國家之機織 (Marriott, Mechanism of the Modern State) 卷二章三九。

現之可能，則代議制度，政黨政治，均無不可。且一黨或一團體之中，份子複雜，利益紛歧，意見亦絕難永久一致，謂為國家之縮影誠無謬誤。今盧梭假定一黨之意志對本身為“全”，對國家為“個別”得毋缺乏根據。至於民衆政治教育之重要，則民約論顯未提示。

[九四](三)全意志之功用與危機 盧梭民約論之中心觀念，與其謂為契約，無寧謂為全意志。契約僅係一種工具，使粒粒如散沙之個人，如經幻術，如起化學作用，一變而成團結的國家。然以有生機體相比擬，國家猶之人身軀殼，由無數互賴之細胞組成；政府則更不過如耳目口鼻手足，受指使而非能自主自動；惟此全意志則處運用此五官主宰此軀殼之地位，等於宗教家所稱之靈魂，道德者之人格，生理者之腦經；其重要當可推見。組成國家即生“大我”；全意志實即此“大我”之意志。

[九五]全意志之功用在此。盧梭用契約產生國家，答覆其難題求解之一半；但國家何以能繼續永存，人民何以能在國家中，繼續“仍即服從自己”，何以能“留續自由如故”？此則完全持賴此全意志。全意志之表現——法律之訂定，必有我一人之意志在內。服從法律，直接服從“大我”即間接服從小我；我之意志與全體之意志合而為一。<sup>141</sup>

[九六]然而萬一有不服從法律，——即不服從全意志者，將奈何？盧梭云：

“是以欲求民約之不僅為具文空式，其中默寓此項規定，亦即能使其餘條項發生效力之規定，——凡

141. 可以死刑作例；見民約論，卷二，章五。

拒絕服從全意志者，必常受全體之強制而服從；此  
無它義；即其人必當受強迫而為自由。<sup>142</sup>

“其人必當受強迫而為自由”！“受強迫”！“為自由”！吾人不能不欽佩盧梭之勇敢與其公式之驚人？無論誰何，其所持之意志與全體之決定有不符，甚或相背者，當退而自慰，謂己必謬誤；<sup>143</sup>萬一國家以暴力相強制，束縛我言論，身體，或性命，此俱能使我自由。循此而論，少數政敵，少數派別，少數教徒，少數民族之受摧殘屠戮者何一不可以盧梭此言為掩護解釋。須知捨形而言質，有時多數之專制，無異於一夫一姓之專制。<sup>144</sup>杜驥之詆斥盧梭不遺餘力，殆亦因是。<sup>145</sup>

[九七]雖然，盧梭固理直氣壯，振振有詞：“全意志是永久正當合理。”全意志既永不錯誤，則其用強制力，自有理性之根據。此蓋猶見飲鴆者強灌以藥劑；見童子之匍匐將入於井者，將強勉援之於手；有何遺譏不可之處？殊不知全意志永無錯誤之說，除形式的定義，字句的邏輯外，末由成立；有盧梭之“全意志”，則此意志自不有誤；意志而有誤，即非盧梭之所謂“全意志”。<sup>146</sup>今捨定義字句，而論現代民治國家中之法律決議，則上述之美景奇觀，將如海市蜃樓之頓然不見。

[九八]抑更有進者，

“全意志是永久正當合理而傾歸於公益；但此非謂

142. 同上，卷一，章七。

143. 同上，卷四，章二。

144. 拉斯基，服從之危險第一章。

145. 同註102。

146. 服漢謂此乃“a play of words.”同書，卷一，頁66。



人民之決議，常有同樣的公正。吾人常願望己身之福利，但不常認識福利之所在；人民固決不至腐敗，但往往易受欺弄，——人民之所以有時似願望己身之禍患者，在此。<sup>147</sup>

惟其人民之決議(法律)容有錯謬，則強制使自由之原則，根本成爲大謎。直言之，盧梭之所謂全意志，如指人民應有之意志，則第一，何爲應有之意志？固絕不可客觀地決定；第二，縱曰有之，如何可使人民實有此應有之意志？第三，全體參與此應有之意志有何必然的聯帶關係？反之，就可捉摸者論，全意志當指人民實有之意志，多數之意志；然多數不即無誤，‘實有’未必‘應有’。<sup>148</sup>

【九九】(四)盧梭意志論之批評 康德，與黑智兒政治思想之中心爲意志；此即盧梭學說之影響；而全意志之觀念，迄於今日，仍變相化名，而閃爍思想界。<sup>149</sup>故盧梭之整個的意志論，甚值吾人之仔細檢討。

【一百】(甲)全意志能否有具體之表現？假定國民有全意

147. 同上，卷二，章三。比較卷四，章一，“La volonté générale……est toujours constante inaltérable et pure.”

148. 吾人本盧梭之理論方法，可作下列之例比。吾人如爲婚姻下一定義，‘戀愛之結合’；又爲戀愛解釋，‘永久不變’；則結論當爲結婚者永久戀愛，有離婚者可強迫使之和好。但同時又云，婚姻爲戀合之結合，但男女間之訂約，嫁娶，同居，不常本於戀愛，此中究有多少意義？盧梭上述之立論，得毋類是！

149. 羅威爾之所謂‘公意’ (Public Opinion)，殆是盧梭‘全意志’之轉胎，化身。閱其所著‘公意與民治’ (Lowell, Public Opinion and Popular Government)。

志,此全意志能否有具體表現,能否使人明認無誤? 此爲第一問題。盧梭謂主權在民,國民須人人參政;加入立法;然所謂人人,充作何解? 婦女固未提及,嬰兒,罪犯,狂人是否包括在內? 若否,應否受法律之約束。<sup>150</sup> 再次,全意志之表現,是否必有表現之機關? 國民大會是否爲表現全意志之唯一機關? 無機關,則“一人一義,十人十義”有何全意志之可認識? 有機關,則捨多數(過半數,或三分二等)決定,別無辦法。國民大會若爲表現全意志之唯一機關,則其多數決定,必視爲全意志。今乃謂“全意志是永久正當合理而傾歸於公益,但此非謂人民之決議常有同樣的公正。”<sup>151a</sup> 試問,是否有同樣的公正一層,其權應在誰手? 若國民大會外,另產機關,是則此機關之權力,將遠過於“主權者”,全體人民!

【一〇一】盧梭固承認全意志最薄弱,團體意志次之,個別意志最強。<sup>151b</sup> 是固明示全意志之不易戰勝其它而實現。彼却又謂人之受賄投票,非真毀滅,不過滑失,其人之全意志;此言更乏意義。總之,以全意志爲理想,吾人自無間言,惟暗示此理想之終爲畫餅,水月,則此理想已失其所以爲理想之價值。

【一〇二】(乙)全意志能否別於總意志? 今姑退一步,假定全意志之可能實現,究竟與總意志有何分辨之方法?

150. 盧梭曾謂已未參與之法律對己不生效力。民約論卷三章十五。

151a. 同上,卷二,章三。

151b. 同上,卷三,章二。

152. 哲學的國家論 (The Philosophical Theory of the State) 頁 114。

【一〇三】子)傾向主張能分,或應分者,在近今尙不乏人;茲舉博山克與霍金爲代表。

【一〇四】A. 博山克 (Bosanquet) 云:“所以必要堅持‘真正’與‘顯似’間,‘普遍’與‘諸個別之總數’間,‘全意志’與‘總意志’間之區別者;祇因‘真正’利益,通常總需若干度之努力或勉勵,或竟犧牲;而純粹爲私或‘顯似’利益——吾人各各在其尋常慣例心境中之利益——乃即衆人往往受其支配,而全社團最容易受其引導,的利益。全意志之所以值得見別於總意志者,蓋在於是。”<sup>152</sup>易言之,爲私易而爲公難;爲己者衆而爲人者寡;以全意志相標榜者正是“取法乎上僅得乎中”之旨趣。博山克又謂盧梭認明兩種意志之應分,而其辨別則未成功;盧梭力求指出全意志之徵象,實則反爲總意志描寫。<sup>153</sup>

【一〇五】B. 霍金認盧梭意志論之枝節,容待商酌,而其本幹則立直不倒。彼堅持“然”與“應然”(“Sein”, “Sein Sollen”)之亟宜區別。彼謂人有自覺性(Self-consciousness)故能評判一己之行爲有無錯謬;人既能發現一己之錯謬,較之在未發現時必近真理一步,至少,可以避免錯謬之重複。此自評自判之我,當然勝過其所評所判之我;再次,自疑有誤而生畏懼的我,<sup>154</sup>優於剛愎,自信,武斷,肯定的我。

【一〇六】博山克與霍金之論誠有

高山仰止,景行行止,

雖不能至,然心嚮往之

之精神。但兩人對於總意志與全意志之應有區別,固言之

153. 同上,頁116-117。

154. 節述大意,霍金,人與國 §29) 頁437。

剴切誠摯，夫復何言；惟對於如何區別，則仍無指點，讀者不免仍在五里霧中。

【一〇七】丑)最近政治思想界之趨向，顯似否認“全”“總”兩種意志之分別。

【一〇八】A. 拉斯基之意，世無“真我”(Real Self)此物；“我”者即由我個人好，歹，不好不歹的種種行爲，而使他人對我發生之總印象。各人有各人之地位、利益、興趣，因此各有其希望、意見。對於某一事物，爾我可有同一目的；若謂爾、我、彼，同有一個“真我”，此“真我”對於一切事項必抱同一希望、意見、目的；則全屬虛構。“簡言之，國家之意志，乃由彼此爲求能主宰社會勢力而互相爭競的億萬意志之衝突中，經過採取的意志。國家之意志，並非熟籌審慮之結果，此即謂其並非永本合理的計慮而決定。國家之意志從來未能單一，此即謂就其所應用之人論，從未曾得到全體一致之合意。”<sup>155</sup>是則拉斯基祇認個別意志，與總意志，而不認全意志之存在。

【一〇九】B. 社會學家馬岐味 (MacIver) 亦覺此區別之不可能，且不必有。“人民之意志罕爲一個自然地由內發生的表示。既乏完備形體，又乏自動能力，欲其集中於一焦點而成立，勢必經過精細繁複的組織機關，而此種組織當然同時爲控馭與表示之機關。……[盧梭既不討論組織，則無表示意志之可言。] 意志之事實，而非意志之“純潔”，或大公無私，乃是民治之基礎。意志之純潔程度永非吾人所能計量。教育進步，智慧增長，則人民之意志較爲清明有力，此自無疑義。

155. 政治典範 (Grammar of Politics)。

意志之質地即人民之質地。<sup>156</sup>在馬岐味之主旨祇須國民有儘量發表其意志之自由，則不必苛求其意志之是否純潔。

[— — ○](丙)意志是否存在？吾人可完全諒解意志論者之苦心。用意志解釋，則政治爲人類智識理性之產品。然意志究否存在？倘根本無有意志，則全意志論失所憑依，爲鬼將亦弗靈。當代心理學家罕談意志，無論本能派，行爲派，均屏斥意志於門外；一切地理支配，生物支配，經濟支配，心理支配諸論甚囂塵上，據此，則人之所自誇爲意志者，實皆有物質背景之支配與決定，政治生活似不容吾人能有所上下左右於其間。<sup>157</sup>另自一方面觀之，則科學日昌，交通益便，生產愈繁，人之能戰勝外界自然者日加大，而人之能了解節制內心心理者亦漸多希望；即使生物，地理，經濟，心理等等，爲包圍人類行爲之經緯，然在此密網陣中，政治生活（猶其它方面的生活）之形式，方向，與實質，似亦未始不可受理智之指導與勸誘。自擇與意志，寧可一筆抹殺？此本易問不易答之點，且在政治思想者能力範圍以外。

[— — —](五)博山克之新解釋 博山克之辯護 盧梭最動

156. 馬岐味，現代國家 (The Modern State) 頁198。

"The will of the people rarely issues as a spontaneous expression. It is too inchoate, too inert. It must be focussed and established through an elaborate mechanism of organization and of course such organization is an agency of control as well as of expression..... The fact of will and not its 'purity' or control disinterestedness is the foundation of democracy. Its degree of purity can never be estimated."

157. 試閱蒲哈林，歷史的唯物觀 (Bukharin, Historical Materialism)。

聽而有力。彼以爲盧梭之意志論精神是而方式非，遂加以修正，希其能借屍還魂，延長生命。彼云，所謂“全意志”與“總意志”實即“真意志”(Real Will)與“實意志”(Actual Will)之區別；真意志爲吾人純真的企求，永久的目的，無誤的決定，而實意志乃吾人實有的企求，片暫的目的，有誤的決定。<sup>158</sup>一人如是，一國亦如是。今舉例言之。人或爲飢寒所迫，自賣其身，爲他人之奴；或因嗜好賭博，傾家蕩產，而流離乞食者；賣身與嗜賭皆爲“實意志”而非“真意志”。國家之舉措行爲亦往往與其真意志相左。

“試將一月或一年中吾人意志之所爲，前後較量，則其大足以暴露者：吾人當每次行爲時所概想之行爲目的，無一能使吾人意志之種切要求盡行包括而滿足者。即吾人所願望過活，而平均言，吾人實地過活的人生，亦永不能在任何個別的立志動機中，整個地呈現於吾人心目之前。如對於吾人意志之所在，欲得一完全記述，則吾人於任何一霎娜間所需望者，至少必經其餘一切霎娜間所需望者之糾改修正，而此亦不可不與他人所需要者糾改修正使相和諧而不抵觸。——至於他人所需要者當然須經過此同樣程序。但吾人之意志，經過若干度次糾改修正後，而再歸來，其形貌已改，直將使吾人不復能認識。……設若進而再加補充與整理，使此意志不特代表吾人大體上能努力實現的人生，而且代表一理想地無矛盾之人生，則必更將

158. 博山克，同書，頁 117—118。

遠異於吾人所知者。此種調和與整理程序，使一大堆材料，成合理形式即是所謂批評。而批評一經應用於吾人之實意志，即能顯露其為非真意志；更用最淺明之詞言之，凡吾人真需望者是廣於，且異於吾人在任何霎娜間所覺得企求者，雖吾人隨時覺得之種種需望在在皆歸結到吾人之真需望<sup>159</sup>〔真意志〕。”

本上所述，博山克不啻一位化裝的盧梭；其立論要義為：一，每人有彼之“真我”（即“真意志”）；二，“真我”乃今日之我，昨日之我，明日之我，再四反覆衝突修改而成良知之我；且須與他人之群“我”相調協和諧；三，“真我”即“應然”之我，常我即“然”之我；四，人人有其“真我”，人人有其“真意志”；而“真我”與“真意志”千萬同一；所以，五，我一人之“真我”，“小我”，即是全體，國家之“大我”；我一人之真意志，即國家之全意志。

〔一一三〕(六)和布豪斯 (Hobhouse) 之反攻 博山克 自信其易名稱改理論，一種改頭換面保留精神之學說，足以補救盧梭之不足。和布豪斯則認此新解釋仍無足取，辯詆甚烈。盧梭意志論之尚未成夏鼎商彝，於此可見。

〔一一三〕(甲)和布豪斯首反對此“真意志”之名詞。人所需望者誠有時與本人實際上無益而有害；“但彼既選擇目的，此選擇即是彼在當時之真意志——用“真”字之本意，即非假定而是實在”，此其一。“且彼施行選擇，而選擇有謬誤，此是彼意志之缺點(限制)；人之意志乃連此易誤在內，不能除此不計”。且吾人何能假定人能有完全合理之一霎娜意志，

159. 同上，頁 118—119。

此其二。“嚴格言之，整個的我中，無一部份較其它任何部份更‘真’”。倘“我”為“真”，則我之任何行為或願望，無論有無道理，是否久暫，均是“真”而非假，此其三。若謂真意志云云，原不過指深沉潛伏，固定永久之人性，以見別於其膚淺上層，遊移變幻之表現，則吾人亦不能不承認此點：固定人性中根本含有深刻博大的矛盾抵觸之可能性而無假定其為完全和諧之科學根據，則更何能假定人能實現一個自始至終，四面八方整個和諧的生活？此其四。故和布豪斯云，博山克之真意志，其意義為“理想意志”，或“合理意志”，“但此理想或合理意志，在常人中為不‘真’，即在最優秀份子中，亦不完<sup>160</sup>全”。

【一一四】(乙)捨真意志之存在問題而論其在政治上之含義，則和布豪斯認為更應排斥。“社會之前進由繼續不斷的嘗試與謬誤”；而

“此論之特殊流毒，在既指出某一種生活為個人之真意志之表現，則下項論辯已有根據：即謂強制任何人過度此種生活，並非干涉彼之真意志。吾人假定此任何人竟不能判斷決擇。若此，則(國家)所以加於個人之禁制束縛者，在原則上直無限制止境之可言；且無些微自由之中心，為國家行為所不能‘染指’者。而明顯莫甚者，所謂真意志者究竟為何，無一實在的人或衆人之結合能確知之”。<sup>161</sup>

【一一五】(丙)即再退三舍，假定每人之意志可化為理想或

160. 和布豪斯，玄學的國家論，頁45-48。

161. 同上，頁49。



合理，——假定每人有博山克所稱之真意志，究竟此是否即可成全意志？和布豪斯用心理與哲學論證，否認此說。今採述其要旨於此。人與人，爾與我間有和一 (Unity) 或同一 (Identity) 之可言者，厥為兩端。其一，為對象，外界，之可為絕對和一或單一。譬如爾我同讀一書，同究一題，同臭一玫瑰，同營一商業，同為一社會之份子。此書，此題，此玫瑰，此商業，此社會之對爾我，固為同一而無疑。其二，為人我間之“部份同一” (Partial Identity)；即玫瑰對爾我，同呈芬芳之氣，營業之發展同為爾我之目的；……然而由茲之相同，吾人斷不能一躍而達爾我完全同一之結論。蓋一人先先後後，大大小小之各種經驗，有繼續性及共同性，與另一人之一部份經驗至多相像而絕非同一。設若我聞玫瑰之芬芳而賞玩不釋，數日不忘，此與爾之經驗絕不能完全同一。進言之，以與對象之關係言，個人乃一位與衆殊異獨自成立的主體，乃一個知覺，感覺，思想，意志之中心。此知覺，感覺，思想，意志，與其所覺，所感，所思，所志之對象，絕非一物。甲之經驗，完全為甲所私有，而乙莫能得之。例如統治者甲，施刑罰於被治者乙；誠如博山克之“真意志”即“全意志”論，則乙所身受與心感之痛苦，甲亦將同樣感受，毫忽不爽；然而徵之事實，此不過一似是而非之理論。統治者惟其無被治者之經驗，故其施用強制力往往濫而重；故其謀劃為己身，為部份。事實如此，而猶以真意志，全意志之說，為治者之護符，則遺害將不堪設想。<sup>162</sup>

【一—六】博山克與和布豪斯之論戰，實即代表政治思想<sup>義</sup>中惟心論與實在論之一部份衝突，孰是孰非，全視吾人因

162. 同上，頁 49—60。

時代背景以及個人心理、哲學、教等而各有之傾向，爲定。今可折入本文，繼續陳述民約論中之其它重要觀念。

### 捌：盧梭之法律與立法家論

〔一—七〕關於法律之討論，盧梭暴露其思想中抽象與具體，絕對與相對，假定與歷史的衝突。何者爲法律？此猶基於其個人創造的正統思想。何者爲立法家？此答則另闢途徑。何者爲立法之要點？此則純係孟德斯鳩之方法與精神。

#### (一)關於法律者

〔一—八〕(甲)法律之性質 盧梭之法律與全意志，猶唇齒相輔之不可片刻離。“當全體人民爲全體本身之事，議決命令……此項行爲，即予所稱之法律”。而政府官吏，個別意志，之決定則爲法令(“décret”)而非法律。“規定法律時，不論個別的人某甲某乙，而論總合的庶民；不論個別的某某行爲而論抽象的行爲”。是以“法律能設立君主政府，及世襲繼承，但不能選定君主，指定王室”<sup>163</sup>。

〔一—九〕國家主權者之全意志，具體化則成法律；故吾人可不必問：誰賦有訂定法律之權？當然屬諸全體國民，而必須人人參加(故意放棄又如何，彼却未及)。亦不必問：君人者(即政府)是否在法律之上？蓋政府人員爲國民之份子，當然同受法律之制裁。且不必問：法律有無不合公道之可能？蓋個人既不願以不公道自加諸身，則全體安有自害之理。

163. 民約論，卷二，章六。即宣戰媾和亦非主權之應用，故亦非法律。

(同上，卷二，章二)是則宣戰媾和之權屬政府而不屬人民。

盧梭云，“所以任何國家祇須受治於法律，無論其政體爲何，予稱之爲共和國家。”又謂，凡合法政府皆係共和。<sup>164</sup>則民約論之受焚燒禁止於當世誠非怪事。

〔一〇〕(乙)法律之種類 法律可分四種：政法(或憲法)，即根本大法，規定全體與全體間之關係；民法，乃人與人或人與全體間之規定；刑法；及不成文之習慣法，如風化，習俗，輿論，公意是。<sup>165</sup>盧梭最推崇第四種法律之重要：<sup>166</sup>

“第四種[習慣法]爲各種法律中之最重要者，不刻寫於銅版石表之上，而雕鑄於國民心坎之中。此種法律創造國家真憲(指政體)且日日增長其新力量；再次，於別種法律轉成陳腐廢弛而歇絕時，此猶能使之復活，補充不足，保守人民於其固有制度之精神中；更於不知不覺中以習慣之勢力替代權威之勢力。予所言者蓋指風化，習俗，及最重要者，論見(l'opinion)——此爲一般政客所不知之境域而實爲其它法律成功之關鍵。自外表觀之，大立法家所注意者，爲諸個別規定，初不知其暗自操心積慮者在此(習慣法)而不在彼(成文法)；此個別規定實不過如圓穹之加蓋以頂；而風化——雖其發展較遲——實爲不可動移之‘拱心頂石’”<sup>167</sup>。

盧梭關於此風氣，習俗，時尚，精神之心理見解，透澈無匹，大不

164. 同上，卷二，章二及六。

165. 同上，卷二，章十二。

166. 彼於政治經濟論及波蘭政制中，亦曾反覆言之。

167. 同上，165。

類吾人平常心目中之民約論作者！以之與當代法學家之最精采學說，如杜驥，克刺伯，(Krabbe)磅特 (Pound) 諸人所代表者，甚為接近。準此以繩其歷史的契約起原論，即盧梭自身恐亦將啞然失笑。後世讀民約論者奈何將此段重要文章往往輕忽放過，誤解盧梭。古今中外之立法者往往捨本求末，以為法律之為法律全在手續形式；又何怪如毛法律盡成具文。

【一 二 一】雖然，盧梭謂法律為公正與自由之母<sup>168</sup>（此固與謂有國家始有道德之論若合符節<sup>169</sup>），此又隱含矛盾。茲之所稱法律，究係何種？若指不成文法，則其發展甚為遲緩，當與公正自由同時胚胎而成形。若指成文法律，則盧梭固明明宣言，成文法有賴於不成文法。且無公正與自由之人民，又何能一旦組成國家而頓能創造第一批法律以產生公正自由？意者彼亦慮及此點，故指出立法家以作彌縫。

【一 二 二】末，吾人可注意者，盧梭曾謂法律以少為貴，多則足徵其國政治之腐敗。<sup>170</sup>世之斥彼為容忍專制政治，持全意志旗幟之掩護而侵略進犯羣衆生活，漫無限制者，似可三復

168. "Car la loi est antérieure à la justice, et non pas la justice à la loi." 民約論草稿，服漢，卷一頁494。

169. C'est à la loi seule que les hommes doivent la justice et la liberté." 政治經濟論，服漢，卷一頁245；復見草稿，同上頁475。

169. Tout État où il y plus de lois que la mémoire de chaque citoyen n'en peut contenir est un État mal constitué..... Si l'on me demandait quel est le plus vicieux de tous les peuples, je répondrais sans hésiter que c'est celui qui a le plus de lois." 論法律殘稿，服漢，卷二頁330。

此言而相當地修正其過度的批評。

(二)關於立法家者

[一 二 三](甲)立法家之重要 立法家(Législateur; law-giver)乃希臘政治思想中之重要人物,不圖於十八世紀盧梭之學說中亦見推崇;此果曷故? 究竟國政之有賴於立法家者又安在?

“人民服從法律,應為法律之作者;猶之結合會社之條件,應祇由結合者自定。但法律將如何而訂成? 是否將由人民方面一旦豁然感悟而一致規定? 國家果有無表示其意志之機關? 誰將為初期之深謀遠慮,擬訂法律(草案)而刊佈之? 且遇非常緊急時期,國家又將如何宣佈法律? 一般愚盲的羣衆罕知何者為己身之福利,故往往不識其所願望者何在;則又如何而能成就此偉大艱難之事業,如有系統之立法者? 在人民本身,永求其自己之福利,但不能永永洞察其福利之何在。全意志固永久正當合理,但引導全意志之判斷,却非永久開明。吾人必使全意志能燭知事物之本相,或事物應呈之狀態再必昭示其所尋求之正途,而弗使受私別利益之引誘;又必使其察見種種時間與空間,及權衡近顯之利益與遠隱之禍患。個人常知其所屏拒者之福利何在;公衆則常不知其福利之所在而期望之。兩者均需嚮導。前者必強其意志依從道理,後者必教之使知所需。然後,由公衆開明結果而為知識與意志之合一;由各部份相互合作,全

體得至大最高之力量。立法家之需要端在於此”<sup>170</sup>。

【一二四】盧梭言國家之需要立法家，可謂動聽。但此與其前部，或全部思想，實多扞格。知自然境域之可棄，知自然權利之可寶貴，而訂約成國，此非有理智能明察之人不辦。奈何今又稱之為一般愚盲的羣衆。民衆能造國於前，何獨不能立法於後？昔何信仰民衆，今何藐視民衆？意者盧梭內心中視契約為虛構，而立法為不可逃避之事實，故暴露其不信任羣衆之潛在觀念。然而彼固自覺矛盾，力謀文飾，惟是冰炭水火，欲蓋彌章。

【一二五】彼之彌縫方法有三。一為人民與立法者之關係；立法者之獨到建議非經人民採決無效<sup>171</sup>，故主權似仍在人民。二為立法家與政府之關係，立法家號稱重要却手無治權（盧梭云，如造機器之工程師；運用此機器者則為官吏），以免趨向自私之病。三為借神靈之權威以誘導人民尊重接受立法家所建議之艸案，——殊不知此已回蹈君權神授論之故轍。<sup>172</sup>

【一二六】今姑無論上項方法能否補救其矛盾，另有一更基本的問題，不容漠視。盧梭之立法家，究係民約初成後暫期之需要？抑為人民永久依賴之導師？如係前者，果幾何時？如係後者，則主權在民與全意志兩觀念，完全成鏡花水月，虛幻不真。

【一二七】(乙)立法家之工作 “凡敢為一國人民從事籌訂

170. 民約論，卷二，章六。

171. 同上，卷二，章七。但此又與各人應自動地發表意志，不受任何人之鼓吹，宣傳，運動一說衝突。

172. 同上。

法制者，當自覺其有莫大才力，不啻能變更人性；能將本為一個完全與離立的全部之個人，變成一較大的全部之份子而從此得其生命與身體；能更革人之組織精神而使愈堅固；能以一個社會的與道德的生存，替代吾人得自自然之獨立的與物體的生存。一言以蔽之，必將人之自然的固有的權力剷除，而易以若干外來的而無他人協助則不能運用的權力。自然固有的權力，愈磨折消亡，則外來取得的權力，愈偉大而永久；而人民之法制亦愈堅固與完善。所以，設若每個國民，除與其餘全體聯合外，直等於零，且祇能等於零；再設若全體之取得權力，較之一切個人原有自然權力之總和為相等或超過；則吾人可言立法已臻其可達的最高完善點。<sup>173</sup>

【一二八】由是以觀，政治社會中之生活必以違反自然為第一義。立法家之才能，祇視其使人“不自然化”(denature)之程度為定；此與應徵文第二篇中之盧梭，豈非判若兩人？<sup>174</sup>“人本生而自由，然到處皆在羈絆之中”一語，至是全無意義。

【一二九】(丙)立法家之資格 所期望於立法家者既如是之重大，則立法家之必有拔世出俗之才智，非常人所能望項背者可知。第一，立法家須“洞知人們所有之一切情欲，而自己却不親歷其任何之一；絕不類似而能澈底了解吾常人之性情”。次，立法家之生活當有保障，庶不致受任何引誘以稍歧於大公正道。“其人之快樂不有賴於吾人，而其對於吾人之快樂却極關切”。再次，立法家必無急功好名之心，無欲速貪巧之志，必須肯“慘淡經營於一代而享受盛名於他年”。

173. 同上。

174. 故有人強作“人本為自由而生者……”(Man is born for freedom)解釋。

此猶不足，彼必洞知羣衆心理，以羣衆所能理會領悟之言語文字，宣傳其懷抱，否則對牛彈琴，空勞無補。<sup>175</sup>然而立法家之最應注意，亦即民約論中一部份觀念往往受讀者之忽視者，爲時間空間環境之重要。

### 玖：環境支配論

【一三〇】盧梭在探討立法家應知急務之數章中，顯然掙脫洛克影響之桎梏，而露示孟德斯鳩之精神；即不論抽象原則而尙實際利便；此則在民約論中，無異“異軍蒼頭”，獨樹一幟，又如曠野孤松，惹人注意。彼云：“猶之建築家，當營造大廈以前，必先攷察查驗地基土壤之是否能勝重任，聰慧立法家不先規劃本身優良之法律，而先攷量其所爲立法之人民能否受用此法律。”民族絕不類同；“此一民族從其起原可與爲治；它一民族卽千年之後無能爲力。”且“世間存在許多民族永不能有良好法律。”<sup>176</sup>循是以言一國之法律制度全視自然及人爲之環境所支配——地理，氣候，人口，疆域，民族性格，宗教，教育，文化，思想諸點。<sup>177</sup>環境支配政治之論，在今日已爲老生常談；在十八世紀之盧梭言之則大足注意；尤以彼日後爲高錫加波蘭籌商憲政時，曾發揮此環境重要論之故。

【一三一】盧梭以爲各民族有個性。凡幼稚之民族，易伸縮而易爲治；及其老大衰朽，則諸難更改；蓋成見習慣既深，人民不復願，且不復敢，革新；譬猶愚怯病夫見醫藥而戰慄，無復

175. 同 171.

176. 民約論，卷二，章八。

177. 同上，卷二，章八至十一；又卷三，章一，二，六至八。



嘗試希望之勇氣。劇烈變動如革命，有時或能起死人而肉白骨，恢復一民族生命之源，使流通而復活。然此非能一概而論。因內亂而速亡者正不在少。至於效顰鄰邦，步趨相同，如俄皇彼得之號稱維新然者，盧梭力肆攻訐；因其摧殘民族國家之本性。<sup>178</sup>

【一三二】次及國家之疆域，盧梭主張小國。國家大則弱，小則強。彼所持之理由為國大則經費繁，負擔重，執行法律亦不易，陰謀叛亂較難防止；且人民之風俗習慣往往互異；法律同一，固不宜，紛岐又太混複；官吏機關更必林立。彼之理想小國當以國民彼此認識，可直接交換意見不致有秦越之分為標準；但亦不宜過小，人民當能自給自足，不仰求鄰國之產品。<sup>179</sup>大約雅典，斯巴達，日內瓦為盧梭思想之背景；加之彼未能預見聯治之制度與效用，及地方自治與分治之可能而同時，又限於直接民治之理想，故勢必主張小國。

【一三三】至於國家之人口，亦不當漫無限制，疆域與人口應有一適中之比例。土地過小，生產不敷，則有侵略它邦引起戰爭之趨勢；土地太大，過於人口所需，則易啓強鄰之覬覦而有自衛戰爭之禍患。祇因地理，位置，氣候，土壤，出產生育之種種岐異，故人口與面積之適當比例，隨國而異，無絕對數目可言。<sup>180</sup>

【一三四】更有進者，立法有其適當時機。和平之世較擾攘時代為宜。而最為千載一時之立法良機者為：已團結之

178. 同上，卷二，章八。

179. 同上，卷二，章九。

180. 同上，卷二，章十。

人民而尙未受法制風俗與迷信之桎梏；無外患而能抵抗任何強鄰；國民能彼此認識；地小而能自給；不貧不富，衆人之負擔相同；有老大民族之穩固而加以新興民族易於聽制受教之特質。<sup>181</sup>此誠古今中外絕無僅有之國家。盧梭以此爲理想則可，若以此爲立法家用武之地，則又何異一位無病之碩壯少年又安用延請名醫爲其診視。

【一三五】立法家能有上述之資格與了解，始能操刀而割，遊刃有餘。但一切立法之目的何在？盧梭以自由平等兩大原則爲答。所謂平等，關於權力及財產，並非絕對一律，銖銖無差。富者以不富到能有購買他人之力量爲限，貧者以不貧至自鬻其身爲準。<sup>182</sup>此種平等世雖罕見，非不可能。盧梭之未暗示共產，於此可見。然而即此自由與平等兩原則，亦須其國之特殊環境（尤以地理爲甚）而各定法律，不可強納一爐如法泡製。<sup>183</sup>此則爲民約論中不可多得之至理；其值得有權者之攷慮，雖反覆不厭其詳。

### 拾：政府與政體

盧梭之政府論不甚新穎；其談政體，多本孟德斯鳩。

181. 同上。

182. 同上，卷二，章十一。“Ce qui suppose, du côté des grands, modération de biens et de crédit, et, du côté des petits modération d'avarice et de convoitise.”此誠名言不厭百讀。迷信僅僅制度可以改造社會而不信心理、觀念、教育、精神、風氣爲尤根本者其三復斯言！

183. “Il faut assigner à chaque peuple un système particulier d'institution, qui soit le meilleur, non, peut-être, en lui-même, mais pour l'État auquel il est destiné.”

同上。

〔一三六〕(一)政府之起原與性質 第一點,吾人曷爲而有政府? 彼云,凡事必包含意志與實行兩元素,缺一不成。譬如瘋癱者欲行而不得,健旺者能行而可靜。國家亦復如是。法律立而不行,等於無法;設行政而無法律,則又安用行政。立法權操諸全體人民,行政權則屬諸政府;政府非國家,全體人民勢不能皆爲官吏。第二點,政府果爲何物? 此乃庶民與主權者兩者間之媒介機關,負執行法律,遞傳消息及維持民政自由之責任。所謂'遞傳消息,即指政府受主權者之命令下諸庶民;故政府爲人民公僕。<sup>184</sup> 第三點,政府是否由契約訂成? 盧梭絕對否認。蓋無人能居主權者之上,而主權者無接受任何限制之可能。不審惟是,人民而與某某(政府)訂約,此舉即非法律。<sup>185</sup> 但關於政府非本契約一說,盧梭亦似有矛盾理論。<sup>186</sup> 第四點,然則政府經過何種程序而成立? 第一步,人民(即主權者)用法律規定政體;第二步,人民出法令指定人選:

184. 同上,卷三,章一。

185. 同上,卷三,章十六。

186. 何以言之? 彼謂政府執政者苟以其各別意志,替代人民應有之全意志,苟以全體權力強使人服從其個別意志,則顯有法本與事實兩主權者之存在;則"社會之結合瓦解,而政治團體消亡。"(民約論,卷三,章一。)易言之,即民約破壞。然而政府之方式,乃已訂民約,已成國家之人民,用立法探定者;而政府之人選,則人民僅以其行政權決定之,可隨時進退起伏,(卷三,章十七,十八)。是則政府而篡竊主權,祇政府獨倒,而民約尙存,國家尙在。安得謂約破國亡? 若視民約破而國家亡豈非將政府官吏作爲契約之一部份或係另一種契約?

“由前者，主權者決定應有某體式之統治機關；此項決定之爲一條法律，明顯無疑。

“由後者，人民推舉首領，負政府成立後統治之責任。此項推舉乃爲個別決定並非第二條法律，而祇上述第一條之結果；且實爲一種政府職務。<sup>187</sup>

再申言之，決定政體爲人民處主權者地位所訂之法律；推舉政府人選，爲人民處官吏地位所下之法令（故曰“一種政府職務”）。<sup>188</sup> 盧梭曾云“凡合法政府皆爲共和”<sup>188</sup>蓋即指此。

【一三七】吾人對此學說有兩評點。彼曾謂主權者祇立法而不行政；今則顯然承認人民可使用行政權，是直矛盾。<sup>189</sup>就理論言，或可云先國家而後有政府（例，亞里士多德）但就歷史程序言，若非先有政府而後有國家，祇少國家與政府必同時存在；有其一必有其二。<sup>190</sup>今本盧梭之立論，一若可有無政府之國家者，其爲玩弄字句，疏忽實質，自無待言。

【一三八】(二)政體之類別與原則 盧梭因襲前人，以政府治權所託之人類分別政體爲四：在全數或過半數爲民治政體；在少數爲貴族政體，在一人爲君主政體；雜兼上項者爲混合政體。

【一三九】政體無絕對優劣。“每一政體在某境地可以爲最優在它境地可以爲最劣”<sup>191</sup>。“不同政體不特對於不同人

187. 民約論，卷三，章十七。

188. 同註 164。

189. 閱服漢，民約論單本，序。

190. 事實上，必先有政府之現象數百年，始漸有政府之概念；必先有國家之事實而後始有國家之認識。

191. 民約論，卷三，章三。

民各有適宜，抑且對於同一人民，在不同時代而適宜有異。<sup>192</sup> 彼且云，自由非任何人民所能享受。<sup>193</sup> 此固承取孟德斯鳩之唾餘，彼亦親認而不諱。準此以論，則國體與政體絕對不同。然君主政體與主權在民果否能並行而不悖，彼殊無放懷之肯定。<sup>194</sup>

【一四〇】政體與環境之適宜問題，亦難詳定枝節。大體趨向可得而言者：論地理出產，則貧國宜民治，富國宜君主；<sup>195</sup> 論氣候，則熱帶多專制，溫帶多自由；論人口，則密集之地，政府愈難篡奪主權；其最重要者，為大國宜君主，小國宜民治，疆域適中者宜貴族。此何以故？彼謂政府人數與政府權力之關係，有一定律：政府之人數愈多則其權力愈薄弱，反之，人數愈少則權力愈厚大。蓋政府中人，各有三種意志——個別，團體，與全，意志。若政府祇一君主，則此人之個別意志亦即政府之團體意志；兩者無衝突之必要與可能。故其留為全意志之權力者最大。苟政府人多，則官吏間個別意志與政府全部之團體意志爭競甚烈，而為全意志之權力者反餘無幾。<sup>196</sup> 此種理論固多玄學色彩，然對於實際政治，謂無絲毫意義，恐

192. 同上，卷三，章二。

193. “La liberté n'étant pas un fruit de tous les climats, n'est par à la portée de tous les peuples.” 同上，卷三，章八。

194. 政治經濟論，服漢，卷一，頁254；263。

195. 白賚士謂民治政體最為靡費，非富裕之國不能支持；見現代民治政體 (Modern Democracies) 卷二，結論。

196. 均見民約論，卷三，章二。

197

亦過甚。

## (三)政體分論

【一四一】(甲)民治政體 國小事簡，爲民治政體之先決條件；否則人民不能常全體集合，行使其行政權。社會上之地位與經濟上之財產，均須有相當平等。此外，生活質樸，絕少奢侈，亦爲成功之輔助。誠以民治政體包含形式與精神；徒有其一，即不完全；欲兩者之吻合並存，其難固如登天。盧梭云，“世間若有神靈組成之國家，則可有民治。完善如斯之政體，殊不適合凡人”。<sup>198</sup>“以其名詞之最嚴格意義言之，從未有，且永不能有，民治政體之存在。”

【一四二】(乙)代議政體 今日普遍流行之間接民治，統稱代議政體者，盧梭目爲封建餘毒，攻斥不遺餘力。<sup>199</sup>因意志不能代表，故立法權不能代表，即行政權亦不能代表。其後在波蘭政制議中，彼之主張稍改，謂代表如完全聽命於各選區之民衆(所謂“Mandats impératifs”)而表決一切，則大國未始不

197. 今以淺近之商業言。個人經營者能集中貫注其精力與目的，營業之利即彼個人之利。若由合股以迄公司則資本者與經理者隔膜重重，往往股東虧損而經理却私囊飽滿。謂爲各種利益(“意志”)之衝突非無思索之價值。開明君主以天下一人之飢寒爲憂，意到令行，法政嚴飭。民治則爲“議治”(所謂“Government by discussion”)而議會尤近“話店”(“Talking Shop”)。地方，職業，團體，黨派種種爭競，衝突，牽制，合縱連橫，使立法行政之權力，不無減損。

198. 民約論，卷三，章四。

199. 同上，卷三，章十五。

可用代議。<sup>200</sup>此項論點，影響於法國革命者甚大。羅伯斯庇爾 (Robespierre) 曾力持一切法律須付人民總投票公決之說；<sup>201</sup>而其原則且採取於法國一七九三年之憲法中。無論如何“授命原則” (Principle of “Delegation”) 與“代表原則 (Principle of “Representation”) 猶為今日政論家一大爭辯問題。

【一四三】(丙)君主政體 依照盧梭，主權永在人民，故國體祇有一種——民治國體。是故茲之所謂君主政體，乃指限制的，立憲的君主政體。在君主政體中，政府之力量固最大(見前)，但個別意志之能戰勝全意志，此亦為最易。易言之，君主政體可為最優，亦可為最惡；其故在“君主總願望為絕對專制。”何況大臣多蠅營狗苟，奴隸性成；而其陰謀叵測，播弄是非，尤深禍患。至於君位選舉，則易惹爭端，君位世襲，則不啻排斥賢能而保障“兒童，怪物，愚夫”<sup>202</sup>之在位。

【一四四】(丁)貴族政體 貴族政體得分三類。一為自然貴族，即根據年齡，地位，能力，才智，而在事實上握有治權者。盧梭並暗示此或為最早之政體。二為世襲貴族，“一切政體中之最劣者。”三為民選貴族，此為貴族政體之正義，亦且為可能的最優政體。蓋人少則易集合，議事既精，決定亦復迅速。

“總之，以才智最強者治理民衆，而吾人倘有把握，彼等將為民衆而非為己身之福利以治理，則此乃最優最自然之制度。吾人不必徒增方法而一無效

200. 波蘭政制議，章七。

201. 服漢，民約論，單行本，頁152-154。

202. 民約論，卷三，章六。

用,更不必以一百選士較能勝任愉快者,付諸二萬  
人之手。<sup>203</sup>”

然彼對於民選貴族與代議制度之類似,似未認明。不然,若選舉貴族時,“無人願往”投票,且有謂“國事與我何干”者,<sup>204</sup>則其結果可以想見。吾人從此得知任何政體皆有形式與精神兩方面。

[一四五](四)統治成績 政體祇有相對適宜而無絕對優劣。今捨政體與環境而論政府之治績,有無客觀標準以覘其效率之高下? 盧梭獨闢衆說,謂一國政治之良窳有一“簡單徵象”即其“數目與人口。”

“統計學家? 此乃君等之職事——計算,度量,比較。<sup>205</sup>”  
意謂國家平治,則人口增加。此論之在今日尙有信徒。

#### 拾壹: 革命論

[一四六]民約論固指點與激起革命,但試細閱全書,彼並未明白地以革命爲標題而詳加討論;故關於革命之思想,乃文中暗含而寓有者。

[一四七]國家與政府絕然不同。國家而欲合法,祇有主權在民之一種。<sup>206</sup>循是而論,處不合法國家中之人民,而欲發揮同意原則,創設民治國體,實爲其本有與應有之權利。按

203. 同上,卷三,章五。

204. 同上,卷三,章十五。

205. 同上,卷三,章九。

206. J'appelle donc république tout État régi par des lois sous quelque forme d'administration que ce puisse être.”同上,卷二,章六。



諸當日歐洲之國家與政府，此說之暗示革命，富有炸性，可想而知。至於政府，除獨夫統治外，餘皆有合法之可能<sup>207</sup>；但無一能永存不亡者。“如斯巴達羅馬，尙歸亡滅，何國能希冀永存<sup>208</sup>？則吾人籌劃一經久政體，正可不必夢想其爲亘古不滅。”<sup>209</sup>此果何故？

【一四八】盧梭謂政府之墮落腐化，約有兩途。其一，爲政府之收縮；即由民治縮而爲貴族，或由貴族縮而爲君主。”此乃自然趨勢。”至於伸漲，即由君主而貴族而民治，則“不能。”<sup>209</sup>此種斷語之錯謬，歷史固已證明，毋待吾人置喙。其二，爲“國家之解體。”國家之解體不外兩方：(甲)國家之收縮，即主權由人民而移入政府之手，如是則民約破而國家亡；(乙)治權之收縮，即政府之全部治權爲政府中一部份人篡奪強握，以致法敗國覆，——總稱之，爲無政府，分稱之則民治成暴民，貴族成寡頭，君主成暴君。<sup>210</sup>“此蓋爲最優組織的國家之必然趨勢。”<sup>211</sup>味其含義，此頗近政體循環之論。吾人宜在此處注意者，即無論政府之收縮，或國家之解體，其間必有革命。盧梭雖未有如亞里士多德與馬克維里之明白探索如何防止革命，然其發揮如何保持主權<sup>212</sup>，及如何預防政府之篡奪<sup>213</sup>，其動機對象，與兩氏正復相同。

207. 見前，拾；三，丙。

208. 同上，卷三，章十一。

209. 同上，卷三，章十。

210. 同上。

211. 同上，卷三，章十一。

212. 同上，卷三，章十二至十四。

213. 同上，卷三，章十八。

【一四九】(一)主權之保持 盧梭云，

“人民在全體集合之大會中，不僅應以由批准一條法律而採決國家之政府(憲法)爲滿足，亦不僅應設立一個永久政府，或一勞永逸地規定此後永不變更的選舉官吏之方法。在預料不及非常事故所需要之臨時集會外，應有一種定期集會，任何事故不能將此廢止或停延，俾一到指定日期，人民不必<sup>214</sup>等待集會之正式通告而得合法地開會。”

但彼對於此定期自集之國民全體大會，頗抱疑懼與悲觀，蓋全體人民集合之日，即政府治權暫告停止之時；官吏至是乃如奴僕之面對主人；此輩能不事前畏懼，千端萬計，誘惑煽動反抗使人民漸生厭惡此大會之心理，而彼輩得篡竊立法大權。

【一五〇】吾人若回憶法國自一六一四年至一七八九年國會之久未召集，當時人讀此，當起何感想！再者，大戰後新憲法中(愛爾蘭即一例)多有規定國會如期自集，不必行政首領之召集者，不圖其制度精神，早爲盧梭所提倡。

【一五一】(二)治權之保障 在上述之定期集會中，有兩大先決問題應首付國民表決：

“第一，‘主權者願意保持現存之政體否？’

“第二，‘人民願意將行政權仍歸屬現下受托之官吏<sup>215</sup>否？’”

此種制度，在彼視之，一方面可保障主權之永在人民，再一方面可避免革命，而更易政體。倘求之事實方面，吾人不可不

214. 同上，卷三，章十三。

215. 同上，卷三，章十八。

謂英國之萬能國會，集造法立法兩權（除其為代議政體與盧梭學說根本不合外），按期開會，時時舉行總選，理論上可變更憲法之任何部份或全部，而事實上由政黨政治決定政府之人選；與盧梭之理想大有彷彿之處。然盧梭之悲觀曾不因此稍殺，謂此種制度（兩大先決問題）祇能延緩，而不能完全防止政府之篡奪。

【一五二】洛克稱革命為“訴諸於天”，視為鄭重。盧梭頗有此遺風，謂“諸此（政府）變更總甚危險；對於已成立而存在之政府苟非與公眾福利絕對不能兩立，永不應妄加更革。”<sup>216</sup>日後彼且警告波蘭民族，謂勿因改革心切，而將舊制之優點，長處，一概抹殺；政制非不宜改更，但必格外審慎。<sup>217</sup>彼致日內瓦人民書中，亦云：

“諸君若能，則恢復自由。但為奴隸，猶愈於自殺。

苟不可免……仇人之血可流；但同胞之血應視為神聖。”<sup>218</sup>

是則使盧梭而目擊一七八九年法國革命之流血恐怖，恐將趨起畏縮，難保不如馬丁路德之一見農民反叛而頓起反動。

## 拾貳：財產論

【一五三】盧梭之財產觀念，似先後四有更動。初則在第二篇應徵文中攻擊私產，既斥為莫大禍患之源泉，又斥為政治社會之所以由起，——私產乃攘奪之結果而非權利。次

216. 同上。

217. 見波蘭政制議。

218. 見服漢，卷一，頁78。

則在政治經濟論中，認國家之有勝於無，故亦承認私產爲不可侵犯之神聖權利，且寓示民約之起，即因於此；是則財產之成立，當在國家成立以前。大體上此爲極端的個人主義。再次則在民約論中持團合主義，(collectivism)；視個人之財產權，在國家中始確實成立。國家與個人對於財產共同享有，而充盡至極，國家之權較個人之權爲大。末則在高錫加憲政芻議中，顯然更進一步(或受摩里歷 (Morelly) 之影響)，主張財產國有；其爲一種社會主義，殆可無疑。此種觀念之變遷，係就大體精神而言，若仔細推求，則任何一著作中，常有矛盾相反之論調；故謂吾人絕對分割四期將爲誤解。

【一五四】民約論之財產觀念當可謂代表盧梭之主見。<sup>219</sup>

人民在自然境域中，或毫無私產之可言；<sup>220</sup>或即已有“優先佔用”之事實，特此爲財產權之胚胎，財產權尙未成立；及訂立契約人民將一切所有及一切權力，完全交諸全體，然後再由主權者加以承認，分配還諸個人。而個人除其所得之部份外不能過問其餘，並不得侵犯他人所有。至是，私有財產乃成合法，私產始成權利。<sup>221</sup>故照盧梭之見解，財產權不根據強者之暴力，而根據此“優先佔用”原則。苟非然者，弱者無而強者有，強者多而弱者少，勢必引引紛亂。“優先佔用”之原則含有三大條件：——

“第一，所指土地，必尙未爲任何人居住者。第二，每

219. 民約論，卷一，章九。

220. “此亦可能之經過：人民在主有任何財產以前，即開始結合；及後已佔用全體足用之土地，彼輩公有享用或分配各人——非平分即照主權者所定之比例。”同上。

221. 斐希特之財產觀念，頗類此點，見譚寧，卷三，頁141。

人所佔之面積，以祇能支持其生存爲限而莫能或逾。第三，彼收有此地不能以空洞儀式而必以勞力及耕耘——此即爲缺乏法律證據時之唯一的主有標幟。<sup>222</sup>”

然此“優先佔用”之原則本身，又何所根據？作者捨“每人對於爲彼所必需者，自然地有權〔佔用〕”外，似亦未進它解。

〔一五五〕盧梭此處所指之財產，似僅爲土地（卷一章九，標題爲“Du domain réel”），而未及其它。土地既根本盡爲國有，由國家分配個人而允許私產，則循理推論，主權者倘隨時重行分配，未始不可；否則所謂貧富不均之程度以不致此賣彼買人身爲限之境况又何從而維持或恢復？<sup>223</sup>在與民約論同年出版之愛彌兒中，彼曾明言，國家雖不能侵犯一人或數人之所有，却能——當然由主權者之全意志決定！——向全體公平地割取或竟收回國有。<sup>224</sup>

〔一五六〕此項社會主義的思想，至後而益顯：

“予雅不願國家貧乏；適得其反，予甚企願國家主有一切，而每人則僅按其工作服務分享公產。……予之企願並不在絕對地破滅私產，因爲此不可能；而在納私產於最小範圍之內；在給予私產一個標準，規則，一個藩籬，以節制之，引導之，克服之，而使之

222. 同註 219。

223. 民約論，卷二，章十一。

224. “Ainsi le souverain n'a nul droit de toucher au bien d'un particulier ni de plusieurs mais il peut légitimement s'emparer du biens de tous……”愛彌兒，章五。

225. 高錫加憲政芻議，服漢，卷二，頁 337。

永以公衆福利爲前提。一言了之，予企願國家之財產儘量地強大，而個人之財產儘量地弱小。<sup>225</sup>”

今人喜問，盧梭是否一社會主義者？此殊不必問。但彼之意義固甚明顯，——即人在政治上有平等機會而經濟上仍無之則民治亦屬空虛。即在民約論中彼亦曾表示，國家之有利於人者正因人皆均有，而無人獨有過多。<sup>226</sup> 十八世紀之政治學者大抵過重政治，以爲政治解決一切將隨之而解決，故對於民生經濟，或缺而弗提，或提而弗詳。

#### 拾叁：國民宗教論

【一五七】民約論末章討論國民宗教，其精神與含義幾令人疑爲變態的，或另一盧梭所著。此章固引起當時各方之非難，沒世亦都譏其爲畫蛇添足。然惟其如是，吾人更可窺見作者之政治思想。

【一五八】(一)主旨要義 彼深信國家無宗教則不能久長，而國家所宜有者，爲法律所規定，人民共同信仰恪守之國民宗教。彼既抨擊歷史上與當時存在之宗教，遂發揮其一己之主張：——

“雖然，有一純粹國民的宗教信誓，此其條文之規定，乃主權者之職務，不必真作爲宗教信條但實視爲合羣性表示之情感，無之則人不足爲一個好的國民或忠的黎庶。主權者無強迫任何人信仰此條

226. “Il suit que l'état social n'est avantageux aux hommes qu'autant qu'ils ont tous quelque chose, et qu'aucun d'eux n'eux n'a rien de trop.” 民約論，卷一，章九，小註。

文之力量，却可將不信者放逐出國；不因其不肯虔敬上帝而驅逐之，而因其無合羣情性，不能誠實地愛護法律與公正，及不能於需要時為職務而犧牲生命。但任何人公開接受此種信條後，而其行事一若不信然者，應受死刑；蓋彼已犯最大罔極之罪，即已在法律面前欺誑。

“國民宗教之信條當為簡單，短少，精確明顯，無需解釋與註疏。上帝之存在，大力量，聰慧，慈善，先知及博施之上帝；來世；善人之得樂報；惡人之受苦刑；民約與法律之神聖；此皆為積極信條。至於消極教條予祇述一，即‘不容認’是……。

“今既無有且不能再有獨存的國教，故凡能容忍其它宗教之宗教，祇須其教義與國民職務絕不違背者，吾人皆當容忍之。但若有敢倡言‘在教會外無超渡得救之方’者，吾人應驅之國外——除非國家即教會，人君即教皇。<sup>227</sup>”

【一五九】(二)宗教之功用與類別 吾人讀民約論至此段者，就不昨舌驚訝，盧梭之違反自由抑何至是？以之與當日福爾泰相較，其間固奚啻天壤，即衡之以平素所知之盧梭，此言一何其不類！考國民宗教一章，本不在民約論原稿計劃<sup>228</sup>以內，乃稿已付印行將殺青之日，彼匆匆寫就添入者。究竟

227. 民約論，卷四，章八。

228. 草稿中亦有此章。參閱服漢，卷一頁87。然全章意境固非偶然急就。一七五六年致福爾泰書中已露示此要旨。“Il y a, je l'avoue, une sorte de profession de foi que les lois peuvent imposer.....un code moral, ou une espèce de profession de foi civile.” 同上，卷二頁163-165。

彼曷爲提倡國民宗教？據其自陳“人們一旦進民政社會而生活，必賴宗教維持。一個民族未曾能或可能無宗教而久長存在。”<sup>229</sup>

【一六〇】歷史上之宗教不外三種。其一，爲自然宗教，或精神宗教，(如原始，非今日的，基督教，)無寺院教堂，無神龕香案，無禮拜儀式，祇在內心中敬仰至大至高最尊無上之上帝。但此係個人之宗教，於民政國事不特無利，抑且有害，蓋此重個人而輕團體，重來世而輕今世，故對於暴政專制，寧肯忍受而無怨。其二，爲初民宗教，即一國一民族所獨有，視天上神靈爲人民之保佑者，有教義，儀式，且有法律規定之祈拜方式；對於其它異教絕端排斥，視它人爲野蠻，爲僞，爲異端邪說。此種宗教，合崇拜神靈與愛護法律於一爐而溶化之，其利甚多；然誘人迷信，過於狹小，且往往殘殺異教，仇視鄰邦。其三，爲僧侶教士之宗教，處人於兩派領袖，兩重法律，兩個國家，及兩層相背相反的職務之下(如喇嘛教，羅馬天主教等)。從政治立場上觀察，此爲最劣下之宗教，無需論辯。<sup>230</sup>盧梭以三者均有欠缺，乃獨開生面，建議一種自以爲於國家有百利而無一害之宗教；其意謂上述諸大信條乃任何國民所應有而不可或缺者，無論何種宗教能與此符合不背者，皆可容忍其存在。彼之以宗教爲國家附屬品，直與霍布斯一轍。

【一六一】(三)評論與解釋 然而盧梭之學說本身果有多少價值？信仰乃內心之事，道德行爲，心理趨向，絕不可強。強而信從，非必真信。今以放逐及死刑相恫嚇，有何意義？

229. 民約論草稿，服漢，卷一頁499。正稿中雖無此句仍留此意。

230. 民約論，卷四，章八。



——此與一手持刀一手持可蘭經之勸人仰信何異？且國民之職務，奚必信仰盧梭所列舉之信條全體而始能盡？不信上帝存在者，未見其必非良民。雖然，抨擊盧梭之荒謬甚易而推測其動機則難。

[一六二]或謂盧梭雖力求掙脫當代傳統制度思想之桎梏，然卒不能完全自拔，有時亦卒為其時代精神所羈絆。倡宗教容忍之說者固有其人；但視宗教與政治有密切不可分之關係者，則雖密爾頓 (Milton) 洛克，斯賓挪莎 (Spinoza) 輩，亦非例外。彼之談國民宗教，即深受中古主義之遺毒，不能預見宗教與政治之可“爾為爾我為我。”然，無論如何，此不能解釋盧梭之必在民約論中如是提倡。或又謂盧梭之動機，在欲挽當時唯物主義之狂瀾；或且謂此乃為民約另覓一重保障。

[一六三]以吾人觀之，或者盧梭以為認主權之所以在民者，貴在人民之有全意志；而全意志雖必由大多數機械式地表現，特其價值不在形式，在精神，在國民之能以“大我”為懷。惟人人能標“大我”為前提，則全意志始有實現之可能。試問此種捨小我(個別意志)而為“大我”(全意志)之精神，何由可得？——則決非形式，制度，法律，之所能為，而必在社會中潛存默在之精神，風氣，勢力，——一種非旦夕所可釀成，而瀰漫全國，深入人心之精神，風氣，與勢力；

“實在，第一條法律，亦惟一的真正基本法律……即  
每人遇一切事務均以全體最大之福利為前提。”<sup>231</sup>

231. “En effet, la première loi, la seule véritable loi fondamentale, qui découle immédiatement du pacte social, est que chacun préfère en toutes choses le plus grand bien de tous.” 民約論草稿，卷二，章四；服漢，卷二，頁498。

盧梭環顧當日之主權者，人民，當知其道德理智之程度(大半何莫非“劉阿斗”?)；它姑不論，即能了解政治責任者，果有若干人？故彼借此“上帝之存在……民約，法律之神聖”諸條簡約而易記者為其國民之信誓，俾理智所不及者以信仰替代之，思想所不逮者以情感補充之，則民衆服從政治或能如克林威爾之畏神 (God-fearing) 兵士；至於放逐，死刑之說，或係一時過度之辭。<sup>232</sup>

【一六四】(四)影響 及法國革命起，盧梭關於宗教之思想，遂亦呈其發生影響之痕迹。勺麥特 (Chaumette) 與克羅次 (Cloutz) 承襲福爾泰之觀念，崇拜“道理。”巴黎及其他城市有以“道理之女神”捧入教堂，以替代十字架者。羅伯斯庇爾等則承受盧梭國民宗教之學說，詆斥上述兩人為無神論者，為危害社會，搖動國家，遂送之上斷頭台；此中之影響，蛛絲馬跡，不無可尋。至於一九七〇年之教士之民憲其亦胚胎於盧梭者，更不待言。

【一六五】民約論中之要點，似已無餘；今將與民約論同時或其後之政治論著，簡略述評，庶幾吾人所知者非僅為民約論中之盧梭而為整個完全的盧梭。

#### 第四段： 其它著作中之政治思想

【一六七】與民約論同年問世者，有愛彌兒，即著名之教育

232. "In the New Heloisa (V. V, 117 n.) Rousseau expresses his opinion that "no true believer could be intolerent or a persecutor. If I were a magistrate and if the law pronounced the penalty of death against atheists, I would begin by burning as such whoever come to inform against another." 見摩黎，同書，卷二，頁223。  
然則盧梭豈主張“不容忍”？

論。據其自述，盧梭曾立決心，此後不再有關於社會政治問題之著作。<sup>232</sup>但一七六四年彼終以受人抨擊，不得不稍有剖白以自護，故有山中通信之作；此蓋純為民約論與愛彌兒辯誣。旋又應高錫加之請，於一七六五年完成其憲政芻議。末則有一七七二年之波蘭政制議。此數文中，無論直接，間接，發揮，補充，或修改，皆含重要之政治思想，類皆為常人僅讀民約論者所遺忘忽視。

#### 壹：愛彌兒

【一六八】在今日政治權威者，可視作平淡無奇毋庸過問之愛彌兒，在當時曾先後受巴黎及日內瓦當局之焚毀與禁締且經法國最高學府之正式聲討，斥為邪說危論，足以震撼政府之基礎。僅此一端，可證其文中思想，要不限於教育而已。此書避免通常論文之呆版格局，而採用小說體裁，活潑圓轉，繪影繪聲。內容係述一貴族少年，自初生以迄成人，所受教育之經過。教育理論本身不在吾人研究之範圍，可缺弗論；茲之所提為映襯補充盧梭之政治思想者。

【一六九】(一)個人主義 無論何人，初讀此教育論一過，必將驚訝失措，何以此與民約論同時出版，而著者却判若兩人。民約論基於“團合主義”，着重團體生活，標榜國家大權；愛彌兒則除卷初數段外，全文為極端個人主義之暴露，祇讚美個人生活，不容納集衆行為，且僅提社會而少提國家。盧梭謂

“凡百事物，其始出自自然，無不美善，一入人手便成惡化。”

又謂，

“開化的人，其生其死，均在奴隸境域之中。”

更謂，

“吾人對於自然與社會制度，既實逼處此地不得不反抗其一，則祇有在爲人與爲民兩者之中決擇一途；因爲人與爲民不能同時造就。”<sup>233</sup>

“爲人”與“爲民”直如鑿枘之不相入，冰炭之不相容者，必其一爲順應而一爲違反自然。彼之教育理想不外兩層：一爲返乎自然；去都市之繁華，趨林野之清靜，脫離傳統制度，思想，禮教之束縛，爭求原始野人之自由。二爲傾歸消極，即屏除欲速不達，速食不化之病，且滅絕外界人爲之影響，使兒童能自動，自覺，自長，自進。此其主旨，誠如盧梭自言，與最初兩篇應徵文，同流一氣，而與民約論相反者。蓋服漢之言甚爲精當：“其矛盾在此：在愛彌兒全文中，人之道德生活視爲——至少，初讀之印象如是——一個人一己之創造；在民約論中，則視爲國家之所賜。在愛彌兒中，個人生活可離國家而過度，在民約論中則在在受制於國家。”<sup>234</sup>

【一七〇】(二)矛盾與辯正 愛彌兒與民約論(刪去卷初數語而言)之抵觸，正猶愛彌兒本身前後之有逕庭，無可諱言。盧梭情感濃而幻想富，有時祇求妙語驚人誠不自知其有矛盾。若以邏輯嚴格準繩之，恐每頁將體無完膚。即舉愛彌

233. 愛彌兒，卷一。

234. 見一七六二年，正月十二日，致友人 (Malesherbes) 函。(服漢，卷二頁137。註。)

235. 同上，卷二，頁137—138。

兒之例言之。彼主張自然教育，至盡至極，然而教養此文中之主角兒童者，乃可謂為世界上“無此動物”最不自然之人；其所應用引誘兒童之方法，直人世間最人為最不自然最虛僞矯揉之方法。<sup>236</sup>然此種根本衝突——個人主義與團合主義之衝突果何為而發現？

〔一七一〕照漢之解釋，此項矛盾並無吾人所能想像之重大。吾人根據此意而擴充言之。此兩篇文章之出入亦正猶民約論首句與正文之不貫；大約前後所指實非一物。應徵文與愛彌兒中所指陳抨擊者，恐係社會而非國家。民約論破卷名語“人本生而自由，然到處皆在羈絆之中”；此之所指，為現存社會，即彼所目視而身經之社會。民約論本文中所謂予人以道德與正義之社會，國家，乃彼理想中應有之社會，國家。當時現存之政治社會為人類之牢獄，固宜力圖打破，此牢獄之銅門鐵壁，即制度，法律，思想，務必將其摧陷廓清掃地以去。至於理想中之政治社會能解放人之身體精神，增加人之能力與樂利，則吾人均應參加而惟恐不速。使盧梭捨棄契約或明言契約之僅為假定，則其矛盾或可化為烏有。無如彼躊躇徘徊於歧路之間，欲以民約為史實而不可能，欲視作幻想而又不肯。根本衝突或即因是而起；至少，因是而昭彰。蓋因現存社會之宜打破，故標幟個人主義；因

236. 例如欲童子操練腿力不肯明告其故而以餅餌獎給競走而勝

者；於是愛彌兒暗自思量，已亦有腿曷不能勝，由是遂奮發競賽。

又如欲童子領悟天文學之有功用乃引之入森林，伴作迷途忘返，使童子因腹饑思食亟亟求歸，其師可乘機以向所研究之天文學理指點提示，使其情急智生發現歸途之方向。（卷二等）

理想社會之應維護，故發揮團合主義。愛彌兒中全力進攻之目的，稱為社會、國民等等者，皆指現存而非指理想。“爲人”乃爲“應爲之人”；“爲民”乃指“已爲之民”前者爲盧梭之理想，後者乃當代之事實。準是以論，則“爲人”與“爲民”“不能同時造就”之說，或大有意義。<sup>237</sup>愛彌兒應先學爲盧梭理想中之人，而不必先學爲當世所謂之國民；惟其能成爲“應爲”之人則可爲盧梭理想中之國民。<sup>238</sup>或人謂“愛彌兒中之教育學說，乃附屬於彼之政治與社會思想；在彼心目中，社會與政府之改造，需要一種士女與實際存在者澈底不同。因欲造成此新士女，故所需之教育亦與當時存在者澈底不同。”<sup>239</sup>此不愧爲一針見血之至語。

【一七二】不然，何以愛彌兒末卷之內容與觀念，全與民約論吻合而無背謬？至少，盧梭本人似未悟見兩文之杆格不入。又例如在愛彌兒幼時，當即教以私產觀念，並使其了解“優先佔用”之原則必輔以勞力耕種。再又如彼之推崇民衆，與民約論中初無二致：

“人類乃平民組成。……一切等級皆同其爲人；故人數最多之等級最值尊敬。……倘將人世所有之君王與哲人一掃而空之，天下將依然無恙。”<sup>240</sup>

其它，如謂人人應學習職業，此明明以共同生活之社會爲前提。而愛彌兒所領略之自然宗教，尤爲民約論中國民宗教

237. 見上，本段，壹(一)。

238. 愛彌兒，卷一，及卷五。愛彌兒屆成人之期，當預備學爲國民。

239. 裴因 (W. H. Payne) 英譯愛彌兒，自序。

240. 愛彌兒。

說之補充。

【一七三】(三)關於自然之相反觀念 上項解釋,固本緩頰之精神,難免無曲解文飾之嫌疑。但另有一根本衝突好似始終縈繞於盧梭心中而卒未能解決,因此兩端迭見,彼此背馳者。此無它,即何者為自然,人類應否依照自然?——社會,制度,文物,禮教,國家,法律,政府,凡此種種顯似違反自然者,吾人應否頌揚而接受?抑應服從自然而生活? 盧梭對此左右模稜,依違兩可;此其矛盾或更遠過於個人主義與團合主義之南北懸殊。蓋彼對於個人主義與團合主義,至少在彼之主觀方面,似本無所容心,或可認為起點與終點而非水火之不相同處;獨此政治社會與自然境域之何去何從,則黑白混淆,無從窺見其真意所在。

【一七四】在第一篇,論科學藝術中,彼明明指認社會,文化,制度,法律,為絕對不合自然。第二篇,論人間不平等劃分不平等為人為與自然兩類;而人世之苦痛,禍患,戰爭,皆起於人為的不平等,其中尤以私產及因私產而起之國家政府為甚,可見盧梭視政治為違反自然。<sup>241</sup> 政治經濟論中之理論,以假

241. 見前,第二段,壹與貳。

“De quoi s’agit-il donc précisément dans ce Discours? De marquer dans le progrès des choses le moment où, le droit succédant à la violence, la nature fut soumise à la loi……”

“Telle fut, on dut être, l’origine de la société et des lois qui……détruisirent sans retour la liberté naturelle fixèrent pour jamais la loi de la propriété et de l’inégalité……et assujettirent désormais tout le genre humain au travail, à la servitude et à la misère.” 論人間不平等; 服漢, 卷一, 頁140; 181。

定的國家爲起點。在民約論中，彼顯然以自然爲亟宜離棄，而政治社會乃違反自然，至少根據人爲而不根據自然。<sup>242</sup>人惟脫離自然，乃能有美滿生活，道德生活。<sup>243</sup>且人必隨時節制自然，克服自然，易言之，違反自然，而後生活乃臻完美。<sup>244</sup>是則與應徵文兩篇之擁護自然，呵責人爲，絕無調協之餘地。今在愛彌兒中，彼又視自然爲大模特兒，吾人教育生活應一一以之爲宗師。吾人不妨覆引其代表全文之一語：“凡百事物其始出自自然，無不美善，一入人手便成惡化。”但語及民事政治彼又暗示爲之反面自然：

“自然的人，是就其自身而一切已完全；彼乃一整數的單位，一絕對的整個；祇與自己或個別的同類有關係。民政社會中的人，是祇靠分母的一個分子單位；其價值在與全體——社會組織——之關係中。美善的社會制度，即種種能使人‘不自然化’之制度，取去個人之絕對存在，而與之以相對存在。且將此小‘我’納諸於大我之內，使每人不復自覺其爲一個整個，而僅覺其爲一大單位中之纖小部份

242. “Mais l'ordre social est un droit sacré qui sert de base à tous les autres. Cependant ce droit ne vient, point de la nature; il est donc fondé sur des conventions.”

民約論，卷一，章一。

243. 同上，卷一，章七。

244. 如(同上，卷三，章二)謂：照自然而論，人之個別意志最強而全意志最弱。但國民應使其全意志最強，個別意志最弱或等於零；此非違反自然而何？再如(同上，卷二，章七)謂立法家當能改變人性，又何莫非違反法自然。



且除在全體之中，無復感覺之可言。<sup>245</sup>

“使人‘不自然化’。”故在民約論中受頌揚之立法家來喀古士 (Lycurgus) 今盧梭在愛彌兒中，稱其能使人違反自然。<sup>246</sup>

[一七五] 盧梭恐亦自知其有矛盾的自然觀念，曾自稱  
“搖蕩進退於自然及道理之間，予在永久的矛盾中  
過活而不為願為之事。”<sup>247</sup>

庸矩知自然一名詞，隨人之解釋而所指遂各異。充其極，自然中有美有醜，有善有惡，有足宗師，有足反抗者。盧梭或亦見及而未明言，致起矛盾而不可解之紛論。<sup>248</sup>

[一七六] 愛彌兒一書在當世有莫大影響。法國內外，受其鼓動而起所謂“返乎自然之運動”者甚多。在政治思想方面，使盧梭迄今日而以個人主義著名者，當推此篇與應徵文之力量。

## 貳：山中通信

[一七七] 愛彌兒於一七六二年五月出版。六月十一日，巴黎法院命將此書當眾焚毀並逮捕其著者；理由為不信上帝，侮辱基督教。盧梭於三日前提得此訊星夜登程，逃往瑞

245. 愛彌兒，卷一，此段文字應與民約論，卷二，第七章一段文字參較。

246. Platon n'a fait qu'épurer le coeur de l'homme; Lycurgue l'a dénaturé," 同上。

247. 致友人 (Troughin) 函。見墨累政治學史 (Murray, History of Political Science) 頁 248。即民約論卷二章四亦提及“道理之法律” (la loi de raison) 及“自然之法律” (la loi de nature) 之區別，似含對待之意。

248. 盧梭云，予承認一切權力由上帝得來，但任何病症亦來自上帝；則吾人是否不應延醫診視？民約論卷一章三。

士之百倫 (Berne)。初不料同月十九日，日內瓦 (彼所崇拜愛護之日內瓦!) 竟亦下令公焚民約論及愛彌兒兩書，且亦下著者入境立即拘捕之令。更甚者，百倫亦有將取同一步伐之風聞，彼於是偏促難安不得不即它去；從此飄泊來往，行蹤無定者蓋有八年。當日內瓦窘迫盧梭之時，彼固正式宣告，自動地拋棄其日內瓦國籍，此不啻為民約論中同意觀念之應用。而彼之友人，亦多予以聲援，攻擊當局處置之非當；國中輿論顯分壁壘。山中通信蓋盧梭為自己辯白之文字。<sup>249</sup>然此曾同受劫運，遭巴黎、海牙諸市之焚毀。

[一七八]計山中通信共有九篇，其大旨要趣可得而述者如下。盧梭稱民約論中思想，全本洛克 (大約此為掩護策略；否則彼決不肯埋沒其自信為創造之思想)，既非關於宗教之探討，又未牽涉時局；一篇研究原則之政治文章不應受執政者之忌諱與干涉。書中云云純粹為政府尋求理論根據，與所斥為推倒政府者絕對相反。何況作者乃敬仰日內瓦之政治制度者，日內瓦政府更不值加以壓迫。<sup>250</sup>至於愛彌兒一文，則闡明純潔最真之基督教教義，尤無可禁之理。即使不然，宗教問題應先由教會機關通過告發，始合法律手續；更應傳訊著作人，俾有剖白答辯之機會；奈之何斬此不予而遽判以罪名。再進一步，書既焚，令既下，則對於公民一再所上之請求書 (Représentations)，政府 (指 Petit Conseil) 無置之不理之權。

249. 命名如此者，含有答覆脫倫欽 (Tronchin) 鄉野通信 (攻擊盧梭) 之意。

250. "Quel le magistrat de Genève se fait le protecteur des autres gouvernements contre le sien même! Il punit son propre citoyen d'avoir préféré les lois de son pays à toutes les autres!" 第六信，服漢，卷二頁204。

“絕對否認權”(Droit négatif)僅限於立法方面之建議;此處則係法律之實施問題,當然不能應用。蓋主權在人民全體,而不在政府。<sup>251</sup> 彼又舉證歷史,引用法典,以示其所言之有憑依。

【一七九】吾人當着眼者恐在其論點或思想以外。其一,此為盧梭與實際政治初次發生密切的接觸;於短兵相接赤手肉搏之中彼當認識政治理論與政治事實之迥異;而其論辯非為空洞之原則而為切身之利害。其二,信中用歷史方法,而精神態度甚為從容,論文佈置,亦井然有條,決非如或人視為有瘋狂心理的盧梭所能寫就。其三,主權在民,政府與國家之別,治權根據被治者之同意,諸觀念,至是遂經應用而發現實際方面之意義。其四,彼之聲名因此而愈著,彼之思想更得意外的宣傳。從此吾人可悟壓迫箝制,適足以使受壓迫箝制之言論增加其不脛而走不翼而飛之速率與範圍。其五,與傳統觀念相異者往往不見容於流俗抑且見忌於握權位之當局;然而著作之內容終不能焚,思想之傳播永不能禁。

#### 叁: 高錫加憲政芻議

【一八〇】有系統思想之政論者莫不自信其理論之能實用而企求試驗。是以柏拉圖屢作馮婦而不灰心,邊沁再四受人之白眼而無怨慚。以誇獎立法家之盧梭,一旦而受一新興小國之請托,代為籌劃政制,其必於僅僅虛榮自大外,自覺其使命之重要而精心殫慮以副人我之期望者,當為至真之人情。

251. 同上,第七信。

【一八一】高錫加本受日內瓦之統治；奴制暴政，壓迫甚深。人民之圖謀獨立者屢起屢敗。後在武人帕奧利 (Paoli) 領袖之下，居然全島團結，宣告自由 (1755—1768)。民約論之作者曾頌揚高錫加人民之奮勉有為，前途無限。<sup>252</sup>大約因此讚美之詞及其聲名之大，而新權威者又有幾分好善求治之心，遂有遣人 (Buttafuoco) 與盧梭接洽之事 (一七六四年)。<sup>253</sup>彼本擬切實研究，三載而後始作報告；今之所知，大約在彼流奔後所作。但“好事多磨”，曾不轉瞬，而法國購買此島。一小民族之自由且告末日，何況一文人之心血自然盡付東流。然此篇雖為歷史陳述，於研究彼之政治思想，却不無補益。

【一八二】關於盧梭，有一極通常極普遍而包含錯謬之見解：即因視彼為法國革命之預言家與權威者，遂以為彼乃激烈偏狹絕對不懂調和，祇顧理論而不問事實，寧打破制度，擾亂現狀以求合其理想而不肯斟酌通融遷就環境。殊不知彼固亦富有調和精神與歷史觀念，彼固亦求按步之工作，依可能之曲徑；即在民約論中蓋已有類似孟德斯鳩之處。<sup>254</sup>若翻閱為高錫加撰擬之憲政芻議當益徵信。彼自受托之日，即從事搜集關於高錫加地理，人口，歷史，工商，財政，宗教，司法，組織，制度及其風化，習俗，民族性等等。<sup>255</sup>可見盧梭初未嘗假

252. 民約論，卷二，章十。摩黎 (同書，卷二，頁 99) 謂，後民約論七年而生於此島之拿破崙庶幾近此預言：“此區區小島或有震驚全歐之一日。”

253. 波茲衛爾在高錫加記述中 (Boswell, Accounts of Corsica)，則云帕奧利另有用心，惟求名人之頌諛，非有採取建議之誠意。

254. 見前，第三段，改。

255. 服漢，卷二，頁 298。

定政治中有包治一切病症之萬應靈丹，“俟諸百世而不惑”者。至對於教士之處置，教稅之保留，彼亦昭示保守調和之精神；明知其弊而不肯於時機未熟時輕易更動。此與民約論中所謂猶工程師之必須調查土壤地基者先後若合符節。

[一八三]重要觀念取自政治經濟論及民約論兩篇者頗多。國家之由於契約更有具體化之表示；凡島上人民自願加入高錫加國家者當於同日舉行壯嚴神聖之宣誓：

“上帝昭鑒！予茲以神聖不易之誓，將予一切——身體，財產，意志，與一切權力，呈顯諸高錫加國，俾予及一切倚賴予者，完全為國所有。予誓為國而生，為國而死，恪守一切法律及依法產生之主官與羣吏。上帝賜助，其宥予魂！自由，正義，高錫加共和國萬萬歲！阿門！”<sup>256</sup>

此種誓約之方式頗與今日入美國籍之誓約類似；而其內容則又似加入義勇軍或敢死隊之志願書。餘若主權在民，人類平等兩觀念，彼亦反覆申述。財產私有之權，非由天賦，乃經國家認可而賜予；故國家亦可隨時收回，惟應出相當之賠償。此處之社會主義較之政治經濟論中，更進一步。農業極受重視。“商業生產財富而農業保障自由。”其意謂農乃立國大本；“民以食為天，”此一解決，可無乞賴於鄰國之虞。<sup>252</sup>民族性格與政治制度有關，有則發揚光大，無則亟須培植。

256. 高錫加憲政籌議，服漢，頁297；350。

257. “La première règle que nous avons à suivre, c'est le caractère national: tout peuple a, ou doit avoir, un caractère national; s'il en manquait, il faudrait commencer par le lui donner.” 同上。

彼惟認民族性格之可受培植,指導,造就,故云,“如此情形之下,智者觀察相當關係,造成政府以適合民族。然另有一較善之辦法,即造成民族以適合政府。”<sup>258</sup>此其含意一若如是:倘必曲從民族之性格,則政治僅處被動,受制的地位;反之吾人若能改造民族性格採一標準政體,則政治已處主動,引導的地位。

#### 肆: 波蘭政制議

【一八四】(一)背景由起 經一七七二,一七九三與一七九五年前後三次瓜分而亡滅之波蘭卒能死灰復燃,於大戰後宣告復活。今日波蘭民衆倘翻開盧梭之波蘭政制議而與現下之波蘭憲法較讀之,當有無限感喟。當第一次瓜分以前,國內紛擾,內憂外患,束縛重重。一七六八年,二月,有邦聯派起事,反抗干涉內政之俄后;一時民氣激昂,聲勢甚盛。一七六九年之末,全國代表竟能集會於畢奧拉 (Biala)。就中通過議案之一,即為敦請法國名儒代擬政治制度,俾能於解脫外人之桎梏後,正式採用。主持此事者為維兒浩斯基 (Wielhorski), 而法儒之被聘者為馬不里 (Mably) 與盧梭。此足徵當日維新與革命領袖,未嘗以民約論之為空洞放誕。<sup>259</sup>盧梭此篇,大約在一七七一之冬季起草而於次歲春季完成。所惜者,波蘭此時之迴光返照恰如高錫加之曇花一現。

【一八五】(二)方法精神 波蘭之歷史悠久,背景複雜,非如一片白紙可以施朱則赤施墨則黑。盧梭認清此點,以之為

258. 關於此句之解釋,閱服漢,卷二,頁298—299。

259. 遺稿幾份之文字微有出入;參考服漢,卷二,頁373—375;395—409。

計劃之基礎；是以歷史方法，相對觀念，妥協精神，舉凡孟德斯鳩之影響，較在高錫加憲政芻議中為更甚；是以貴族政體，教會財產，農奴境遇，工商階級之無有政權，凡此違犯民約論中主張之舊制，依舊保留。或者民約論侈談理想與原則，此則解決事實與應用，故前後有涇渭之分。或者盧梭年已六旬，趨向守舊與反動，故一翻其壯年之學說。此其兩說均有若干真理。研究者當知思想觀念往往隨題，隨境，隨時而起更易；此乃人情之常無足怪者。必欲以矛盾衝突相譏評，殊非得當。

### (三)主要論點

【一八六】(甲)民族性格 彼頌揚波蘭人民，謂其賦有個性，勇敢英俊，不曲不撓，在內外夾擊國勢危亡之際，而猶不灰心失望；且謂歐洲各國外強中乾，末日不遠，惟

“波蘭則雖處盤根錯節之禍亂中，仍顯露其豪邁勇進之少年精神，……雖身已陷落羈絆之中，而猶爭辯其何以保持自由之道。波蘭蓋自覺其有一種力量，非任何暴政之一切強力所能束縛。”<sup>260</sup>

惟其有特殊之個性，故法律亦以適宜個性為準。最優法律非紙面之具文，乃鑲刻人心中之法律。彼力勸波蘭人民勿惑於一時之情感，盡棄其固有之美德，流風，善政。此與民約論中駁斥彼得之效鑿它國，正復貫徹。

【一八七】(乙)國民教育 教育，尤其是國民教育之重要，彼發揮無遺。但其立場見解與愛彌兒大異：昔重私立，今倡國辦，昔尚個性，今務統一；昔以陶冶理想中的個人為主要，今以

260. 波蘭政制議，章一。

訓練事實界之優良國民爲正鵠；故祖國之歷史，地理，語言，風化，文物，當自幼貫注於兒童之意識中，以保持及發揚祖國之民族性格；蓋

“此爲一切之本根。教育者當以民族性格鏤刻於國民心中，且指導其興趣與意見，俾其由傾向，熱情與必要，皆成愛國之志士仁人。”<sup>261</sup>

吾人於此不啻讀柏拉圖之共和篇或後來斐希特之致德意志人民書；前者重視教育，後者開現代族國主義之先聲。

【一八八】(丙)聯治 波蘭之禍患在不統一，當時之人，固盡能言之。盧梭之建議，不在單一政體而在聯治制度，謂波蘭可分作三十三個小邦，甚且謂瓜分之事對分去者爲禍，對分剩者爲福。

“總而言之，君等當擴充與完善此聯治政制——此係惟一政制，兼具大國與小國之利益，因此，爲貴國惟一適合之政制。君等若棄擲此計劃，則君等事業之能否完善，予蓋不能無疑。”<sup>262</sup>

吾人粗視之，必謂此乃遷就調和之結論，實則聯治固爲盧梭素抱之主張，且本爲政治制度一部份之計劃。<sup>263</sup>聯治有深淺

261. 同上，章四。又，“La loi doit régler la matière, l'ordre et la forme de leurs études.”

262. 同上，章五。美國一七七六年獨立後，卒能有今日者，正因遷就事實接步漸進；今則聯邦其名而國家民族之精神較之任何單一制之國家不稍減色。

263. 大約彼曾著有十六章，惟稿已不存；戰爭境域及聖卑爾永久和平節述 (Extrait du projet de Paix Perpétuelle de M. L'abbé de Saint-Pierre" 一七五六著一七六一印)亦曾提示聯治。



不同之方式，自同盟，協約，而邦聯，而聯邦；而地方自治(Municipal Home rule)，立法分卸(devolution)，行政分治(Decentralization)，皆含有聯治精神。盧梭所持乃近邦聯。彼在民約論中曾視國與國之關係，猶自然境域中人與人之關係，吾人前已述過；但在愛彌兒中則他曾暗示全世界，人類可用聯治方式組成一政治社會：

“吾人既已討論各種政治社會之本身，當進而相互比較，以求得其各種不同之關係：有大國，有小國，有強國，有弱國，彼此攻擊，相互破壞；而在此繼續不停之動與反動間，所結果痛苦之多與損失生命之大，較之倘人們仍保持其原始的自由時，實有超過。吾人可深自詰問：人之設立社會，是否有過或不及之處？以個人而服從法律及服從它人之權威，而同時各個國家仍以處自然境域之地位相對待，此是否使個人蒙兩重境遇之弊害而不得享受任何其一之福利？換言之，掃一切政治社會而去之，是否不猶愈於有幾個國家？……此種部份的，不完全的結合，豈非暴政與戰爭之原因？……”

“吾人最後將研究人們曾持以抵抗斯類禍害之補救方法，——即同盟與聯治。此蓋使每個國家仍為其自己之主人，而同時得增加其武裝，以對抗一切外來的無端侵犯。吾人將探討如何能設立一種良善的聯治結合；何者能賦以永久性；且聯治權究能擴大到何地步而同時不侵害主權。”<sup>264</sup>

由是以觀，盧梭對於國際關係，雖少詳論，然其酷愛和平，評黜戰爭，已可想見。<sup>265</sup>

[一八九](丁)漸進 關於人權與民權之擴張，及農奴之解放，彼主張鮮明，力勸緩進。欲速不達之譏，即在今日亦到處難免。有相信主義制度可用強力採取或募地變化者不妨三復斯言：

“自由是猶一滋補濃美之食品；但需強壯之消化；必有健旺之腸胃，始能享受。彼有自甘為陰謀家之試驗品，彼有絲毫不解其作何意義而口口聲聲呼喊自由者；且彼有心中裝滿奴隸性之惡習而夢想一起反叛，即可得到自由者，——我對於此輩墮落之人民，惟有一笑。至尊神聖的自由！倘若輩可憐人，祇要真認識汝之真相，祇要真能了解，得汝護汝之須有何種代價，祇要能領略汝之法律較暴君之束縛更倍其嚴刻；則彼等之將畏縮求避於汝者，將百倍於其求避於奴隸境况；彼等將視汝為垂危<sup>266</sup>欲壓之巨石而驚駭奔逃。”

可惜民約論中少此一段棒喝！

[一九〇]其餘提出之積極改革，如關於君主之應由選舉而不應世襲，上院全部或一部之應由下院選定而不應由君主指派；“自由否決”(Liberum Veto)之應加限制；賦稅負擔之

265. 彼在戰爭境域，中痛斥格老秀斯之國家起原論；謂戰爭乃國與國，非人與人間之關係，而戰爭之惟一正當目的為求國家之平等。 服漢，卷一，頁291。

266. 波蘭政治議，章六。

應歸諸土地出產；與官吏之應循級升任者，於彼之政治思想似不重要；茲不贅論。

### 第五段： 結論

〔一九一〕盧梭之爲人，情勝於理，放浪恣肆，恍如天馬行空，本不受人間羈勒，一旦落入塵世之槽檻，安得不呼吼奔騰，求所以咬斷絲繩，掀翻金鞍。試觀盧梭自少至壯之文字，何一非反抗社會？論科學藝術與風化之關係係反抗當時所稱譽之文明；論人間不平等之由起與基礎係反抗當時之社會；新亞羅伊茲 (Nouvelle Héloïse) 係反抗當時之家庭制度；民約論係反抗當時存在之國家；愛彌兒係反抗當時之宗教與學校；山中通信係反抗當時之法律與政府；而其懺悔錄則不啻反抗其一己之生活。盧梭曾自謂其“心”之與“腦”判若兩人；故其思想恰如其生活，包羅萬象，美惡衝突，無不俱備；惟其如是，各時代各個人，對於盧梭之見解因而大相懸殊。倘吾人將彼之心理，人格，生活，拳拳服膺，則認識盧梭，似或較易。<sup>267</sup>

〔一九二〕吾人以下之結論悉以民約論爲本，間或輔以其它著作；蓋不提綱挈領，直無着手總評之處，而盧梭對於政治思想之貢獻，確在此而不在彼。盧梭之所以影響偉大名垂不朽者亦以民約論爲主。况其重要觀念之衝突(如個人主義與團合主義，理性見解與歷史精神等)皆可於民約論中求之。

267. 同上，章八，七，九，十一，十三。

268. 見前，第一段，貳，(三)與(四)。可閱普洛盧梭之心理 (Louis Proal, La Psychologie de J. J. Rousseau) 章七；尙空，政治學史卷二頁 415-416。

## 壹：關於盧梭思想之總結與批評

【一九三】(一)民約論之目的果否達到？此之所問，即謂盧梭對於彼自己所擬難題求解之答覆是否成立？<sup>269</sup>吾人不能亦不必一一作肯定之評語，分擬數點以供研究者之思索：—

【一九四】(甲)契約能否解釋國家之起原？——可謂絕對不能。<sup>270</sup>自然境域，究屬幻想；而彼之主旨恐不在國之起原而在政治權之根據。

【一九五】(乙)盧梭之契約能否解釋國家之性質？——誠恐難能。柏克謂國家究非如烟草或胡椒，公司，合散由人，存廢隨意；伯倫知理 (Bluntschli) 亦謂如撮沙雕像，勢所難成。<sup>271</sup>

【一九六】(丙)全意志能否解釋人民之自治？此全在吾人之信仰與哲學如何。凡承認人有自由意志，或絕對信仰民衆之有無限政治能力者，當可接受此說。若以人之取捨，從<sup>272</sup>遠，左右，均受制於經濟，地理，心理等環境；或以民治中政權總在少數，<sup>273</sup>則全意志論不攻自破。

【一九七】(丁)今將問案略變形式，盧梭曾欲調和個人自由

269. 閱前，第三段，叁，肆，等。

270. 福爾泰曾致書譏誚盧梭，大意謂，讀君文字幾令人欲四肢伏地而效畜獸；君果決意‘嚼草爲生’可來鄙人之田地上實行。

271. 國家論 (Staatlehre) 章四。

272. 今之拉斯基，柯爾，杜驥，克刺伯，華頓斯 (Wallas) 輩均否認盧梭所謂之意志。

273. 白賚士，現代民治 卷二章七五；邁克兒斯，政黨論 (Michels, 英譯 Political Parties) 第三段，章五與八。

與國家權威，究否如願？——恐決不如彼一己之所想像。無論絕對無限之個人自由，或絕對無限之國家權威，同為概念中物，絕非事實所能證許；主張其一尚不勝任；何況堅執兩端，欲強使之接合成環，貫徹無痕，其將如何而可？彼因澈底主張個人自由，故謂法律不經我之同意對吾即無效力。<sup>274</sup>又謂政府侵奪主權，則國家亡；<sup>275</sup>如是，則國家之權威固猶一髮千鈞，幾何其不立即傾覆。但彼亦澈底主張國家權威，故一則謂人將所有一切交付全體，再則謂必要時為維持國家故，執政者得暫行停止法律；<sup>276</sup>三則謂個人可受強迫而自由；若然，則所謂個人自由又豈非履深淵而臨薄冰，時刻有滅頂之患。以云調和，殊恐未必。

【一九八】(戊)再退一步，盧梭之理論中果否為個人爭得最大量之自由？此亦難言。就強迫自由，國民宗教兩點言，已證多數暴政之可慮；即外交，戰爭之決定，在現代最能束縛，破滅個人自由者，彼竟付諸政府之手而不讓人民決定，因此非法律。<sup>277</sup>是則政府可將人民之生命財產擲之一試，而人民本身却無自決之權。且實際上人民自由之增減伸抑，在文字上之法律者少，而在執行與司法官吏之應用法律者多。盧梭對於後者，直未提及隻字。

【一九九】(二)盧梭係個人主義者抑團合主義者？民約論之包含兩極端之主義，無待贅言；服漢之解釋，縝密精當，吾人

274. 民約論，卷三，章十五。

275. 同上，卷三，章十。

276. 同上，卷四，章六（論遜克推多）。

277. 見註163。

亦難再加一詞。<sup>278</sup>第吾人不能已於言者：一，盧梭之出發點——無寧謂為焦點，恐係個人。彼之一切政治著作，均以個人為本，個人之福利即全體所求實現之福利；彼固未嘗倡“全體之福利異於全體份子之福利”之理論。個人為目的，團體為路由。<sup>279</sup>二，“仁者見仁，智者見智；”一七八九年與一七九三年法國革命首領所以前後借重盧梭之權威正因其能於民約論中各取所需，各竊一頁。

〔二〇〇〕(三)盧梭之矛盾何在？綜觀前後著作，其重要衝突，難解之觀念可得擇而舉例者如下：——

其一，個人主義與團合主義；

其二，自然之宜順應與宜違反；

其三，契約之為歷史與為假定；

其四，訂約時全部自然權利與部份自然權利之放棄；

其五，自然境域之個人能訂契約而合羣，但道德觀念，必於訂約立國後，始能發生；

278. 服漢，同書，卷一，節一至二。又服漢，民約論單行本，序文，頁XII—。

279. 參閱前註，八及一〇二。杜驥明明斥盧梭為絕對的團合主義者(註一〇二)，但同篇中有云“*That Rousseau is a convinced individualist we cannot deny.*”(頁27)；其所著之現代國家中之法律(拉斯基英譯 *The Law in the Modern State*)亦稱‘*Rousseau, the high priest of individualism*’(頁42)。是則杜驥所反覆申辯謂盧梭決不能為法國一七八九人權與民權宣言書之鼓動者寧非露出破綻？即服漢亦云：“*It was just because he set so high a value upon individual freedom that he found himself driven to bend the individual to the sovereignty of the State*”(服漢，民約論單行本，序文，頁XVI。)墨累謂盧梭“起於個人主義而終於團合主義”(政治學史章八)，信然。

其六,主權在民而需“立法家”之指導;人知訂約而不知立法;

其七,財產爲國家成立以前與爲國家成立以後之制度;  
其八,人民之多數意志,不即爲全意志;而全意志又至少是多數意志;

其九,全意志永不錯誤,但人民之決定往往不能合理;

其十,政府非由契約而成但政府篡權,國家隨亡;

其十一,個別國家成立以前,人類全體社會之似有與似無;

其十二,教育宗教爲“人”爲“民”;而爲“人”爲“民”,時則視爲背馳,時則視爲相輔;

其十三,一切合法政府必爲共和,而自由又非任何氣候之產品。<sup>280</sup>

〔二〇一〕上述矛盾,僅其犖犖大者。此固不足爲盧梭詬病,抑且爲其偉大之一因。吾人與其代爲彌縫,而捉襟露肘,欲蓋彌章,曷若本原其動機精神,而了解其所以矛盾之故。‘贊揚者與反對者往往冤屈盧梭——即將其後來之主義,強與其論人間不平等中粗淺發表之見解混雜,即將其實在無從調和的理論,強求其爲一整個純粹的,邏輯的系統。彼之矛盾衝突,正足表示其對於各問題有一較涵博之見解。’<sup>281</sup>

280. 散見本文前面各段: § 二八,二九,一六九;十六,一七〇,一七三;五二,五三;五〇,七一;五四;三八,一二四;二二;八七;九八;一三六及註186;三〇,一八八;一六九;一三〇。

281. 劍橋大學現代史第捌卷章一。亞密厄爾亦有是說(見所著盧梭章四)。

〔二〇二〕(四)盧梭之政治思想有何永久價值？盧梭所研究者，爲整個政治之最中心問題，亦即數千年來學者所求解而迄莫能圓滿解決者；無論吾人之信仰見解爲何，彼所擬答實爲出路之一，當無疑義。何況彼之思想在歷史上之影響至大且遠，談民治者不能不知盧梭，不能不攷量盧梭之學說。即此兩端，可謂爲其永久價值之鐵證。若論枝節，則民本政治，主權在民，政府工具，官吏公僕，法律同意，直接參政，“大我”意志，皆爲易批評而難替代之原則。<sup>282</sup>至於盧梭之精神與方法，固淵源於柏拉圖，洛克斯賓奴塞，孟德斯鳩諸人；讀其垂暮著作，如關於高錫加與波蘭兩文，則此言之有根據，當更爲昭著。

### 貳：關於盧梭影響之鳥瞰與尋求

〔二〇三〕最末，最困難，而亦最有興趣之要點，即爲民約論諸文對於當世及後代之影響問題。人莫不承認盧梭之影響重大，但重大之程度，與影響之所在，則幾幾衆口異詞。實則斷章取義，刻舟求劍，皆屬不可；有時一作家之思想其影響所及，可意會而難形容者；有時當求之於法律制度之外而尋之於“時代精神”與社會心理之中。盧梭之所以雖死猶生者，因其觀念單純，而理論能動人之情感；對於革命前法國及歐洲諸國受壓民衆之心理，又最適合。<sup>283</sup>但彼之影響，於當日

282. 參閱前文，第壹段，壹，第二點。又第三段，伍，四。柯爾謂盧梭所探討者“With ought rather than with is, with questions of right rather than of fact”。(見所著社會學理頁21)。

283. “吾人於民約論中所聽得者乃暴怒盛忌之平民，引吭高呼，以博愛之名煽動仇視與階級爭鬥。”白壁德民治與領袖頁77。尚奈亦稱之爲“Monsieur Tout-le-monde”尚奈，卷二，頁407。



重在情感，於今日則重在思想。

〔二〇四〕(一)對於法蘭西革命之影響 身經法國革命者多頌揚民約論，以之爲當時革命之聖經；但反對斯說者正復不少。治史者之評語，亦見紛歧。法儒尚奈無異復述拿破崙，法無盧梭則無革命之說；墨累則謂飢荒重稅，無盧梭無民約論革命亦不能免。<sup>284</sup>此南北懸殊之兩論代表已往及現在歷史家見解之傾向，實則執兩說之中，庶幾合符真相。非盧梭則雖有革命前之狀況，未必有民約論之產生；非一七八九年前之舊政，則雖有盧梭或不有激發反抗之民約論，即有之，亦安見其百戶爭傳，“洛陽紙貴。”民衆受痛苦，尙不足慮；惟使民衆能自知其所受痛苦，則一切迥異。至於將法國革命時期之好影響推諸盧梭之身，將其惡影響爲盧梭洗刷卸責，似又大可不必。<sup>285</sup>蓋爲善爲惡，本無絕對標準；即有之，任何人之影響決不能完全爲善，或完全爲惡。政治思想，無論何種，往往引起意外的影響，爲論者本身所不及料甚或非所願望者。例如路德馬丁與農民叛亂可爲一證。吾人不能謂此

284. "On peut le dire sans exagération c'est lui (Rousseau) qui a fait la révolution."

尚奈，政治學史（第三版）卷二，頁455。

285. 墨累政治學史章八。

286. 霜匹溫 (Champion) 著盧梭與法國革命一書 ("J. J. Rousseau et la Révolution Française") 專爲盧梭辯護，謂其不負恐怖時期慘怖之責。（閱其自序）。尚奈亦謂一七八九至一七九二年之經過不當歸諸孟德斯鳩之影響而應歸諸盧梭。（見所著政治學史卷二頁455-460）。摩黎亦然："The author of a theory is not answerable for the applications which may be read into it by the passions of men and the exigencies of a violent class." 摩黎，同書，卷二頁190)

非路德馬丁之本意故必非其影響。且人徒知法國革命時期,人民所受之苛暴與痛苦;獨不知法國革命以前無數平民所受之痛苦,恐質量有十百千倍於是者。是可爲力求辯護盧梭之惡影響者進一解。

[二〇五]今可引據若干史事爲後世認作盧梭思想之影響痕迹者以供推敲:——

一:在一七八九年法國等級會議以前,各地所呈遞之“訴願書”(Cahiers)中有已含民約論之原則者。

二:“何者爲第三級?”(Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?)顯係主權在民論之結晶;而作者西耶士(Sieyès)即於一七八九年,七月十七日,建議將第三級改爲國民會議者;而此國民會議之第一議決案,即宣告立法權之不可分割。<sup>287</sup>

三:一切階級,特殊權利,封建餘制,之廢止(一七八九年八月四日),甚合盧梭無平等則無自由之論。

四:一七八九年之人權與民權宣言雖有美國獨立宣言與維基尼阿(Virginia)邦人權宣言爲其先例,然謂絕無盧梭之影響於其間恐亦過猶不及。<sup>288</sup>其第一條爲“人們生而永自由,永平權。”其另條云,“法律乃全意志之表示。”<sup>289</sup>謂與民約論無關,究何根據?

287. 民耶,法國革命史頁31。

288. 德儒耶林芮克(Jellinek)謂法國之人權與民權宣言完全抄製美國之成例;法儒布忒梅(Boutmy)則力斥此說;幾令讀者疑民族主義竟牽連至學術問題。但法儒杜驥固亦謂盧梭之思想與精神決不能產生個人主義的人權宣言。(同,註九)

289. 可閱安德森,法國憲法與公文(Anderson, Constitutions and other Selective Documents of France).

- 五：一七九一，一七九三，一七九五等年之憲法，似有國家契約之含義。<sup>290</sup>
- 六：主權在民之原則，字句雖稍有出入，皆列入前後之憲法中。
- 七：除一七九九年之憲法外，行政機關之權力限制甚弱；此似應用盧梭之學理。
- 八：“教士階級之民憲”將教權完全隸屬政權，當與民約論末章，“國民宗教”並閱。<sup>291</sup>
- 九：羅伯斯庇爾與聖翰斯特 (Saint Just) 之反對夕麥特與克羅次而處之死刑，亦顯受民約論末章之影響。<sup>292</sup>
- 十：聖翰斯特指陳路易第十六之罪，謂破壞契約，分應處死，此其口吻全自民約論脫胎；即置之民約論中，恐莫能辨。
- 十一：一九七四年，四月二十日，公安委員會之通令中，謂解放人民必將其“完全改造——剷去其成見，更變其習慣，限制其所需，拔除其惡毒，純潔其欲望。”此與波蘭政制芻議第四章有淵源可尋。<sup>293</sup>
- 十二：革命各派領袖如西耶上，丹敦 (Danton)，馬拉 (Marat)，羅伯斯庇爾，聖翰斯特等等，皆自信為盧梭學說之門人無論如何，一七九四年（盧梭死後十六載），革命政府決定移葬盧梭於國塋 (Pantheon)；送者萬人而儀式

290. 閱服漢，民約論單行本，附錄 B。

291. La constitution civile du clergé, 安得森，同書。

292. 見前文，第三段，拾叁，四。

293. 摩黎，同書，卷二，頁 183。

中有人捧民約論一書爲前導；此種熱烈表示，最足證明當時朝野人士之自信其爲盧梭之信徒與實行者。

〔二〇六〕自信爲遵照盧梭即係盧梭思想發生之影響。

但自信爲一事，實際是否遵照，另是一事。否則，誠如或人所云，革命時期之行爲與盧梭反背者正復不一而足：盧梭謂憲法宜訂定於和平之世，此則草建於紛亂之時；彼謂大國宜採君主政體，此則廢止而試共和；彼承認聯邦，此則反對；彼謂國都可無定址，此則依舊以巴黎爲京城；彼主分權，此則不分；彼攻擊黨派，此則多設俱樂部與小團體；彼勸誡不宜暴動，此則組織恐怖。在在相反，何影響之足言？<sup>294</sup>

〔二〇七〕(二)對於其它國家之影響 論美國革命之哲學家羣推英國之洛克。誠然。蓋因民族、環境、及文字之關係，洛克之著作學說，自較普遍流行而有力。但“納稅而無代表”口號中之同意原則，一七七六年獨立宣言中之要旨，亦未始不可謂與盧梭通相當氣脈。<sup>295</sup> 英國方面，普來司 (Price) 普里斯特利 (Priestly) 佩因 (Paine) 葛德文 (Godwin) 之思想，均有根據盧梭者；其激烈處可謂間接從法國革命得來。至於日後格林、博山克之彈其遺音留調，自不待言。盧梭在德國之影響，至爲深大。唯心派以意志爲本，以自由爲目的之政治哲學，皆基於盧梭。康德稱之爲政治思想界中之牛頓，其推

294. 霜匹溫，同書，章十一。

295. 麥利穆 美國政治理論史 A History of American Political Theories, 頁 89—92。謂影響極少，因盧梭之觀念皆可於洛克求之。但摩黎之見解則反是(同書卷一頁 2—3)。波加達斯謂哲斐孫 (Jefferson) 獨立宣言時大受盧梭之影響(見所著社會思想史 (Bogardus, A History of Social Thought) 頁 184。

崇信仰可見。<sup>296</sup>若論今日，民約論與民約論者固尙留有相當<sup>297</sup>勢力。將來實在主義倘因過盛而有衰頹之一日，安見盧梭之不再爲衆星環拱之北斗；蓋政治思想，猶之服裝時尚各有其盈虛消長起伏盛衰之波動時期。

——(完)——

296. 斐希特謂使人採用正常政體，取得法律權利，皆可以強迫出之（墨累，同書，頁264）；黑智兒謂人人應擇屬一宗教（服漢，同書，卷一，頁95）；此皆絕似盧梭處。

297. 前文，第一段，壹；註三。

# **ETHNOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTICAL ASPECTS OF THE URAL-ALTAIC HYPOTHESIS**

**BY S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF**

---

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**INTRODUCTION: 1. Preliminary Remarks**

### **PART I**

**CHAPTER I. ETHNOS AND CULTURAL PHENOMENA: (2) The Human Unit; (3) Definition of "Ethnos"; (4) Process of Variations in Ethnoses; (5) Centrifugal and Centripetal Movements in Ethnoses and Formation of New Ethnoses; (6) Cultural Elements and Complexes; (7) Cultural Complexes as Functional Phenomenon; (8) Variations of Cultural Phenomena; (9) Impulses of Variations, Their Intensity and Tempo of Variation**

**CHAPTER II. LANGUAGE: (10) Language; (11) Sounding Starters; (12) The Language in Ethnoses; (13) Formation and Transmission of Linguistic Complexes; (14) Classification of Languages; (15) Centripetal and Centrifugal Movements in Languages; (16) Language as Ethnographical Phenomenon in the Process of Ethnical Variations; (17) The Problem of Common Words; (18) Particular Cases of Common Words; (19) Correlation Between Ethnoses and Languages**

**CHAPTER III. THEORY OF EVOLUTION AND LANGUAGE: (20) Theory of Evolution and Languages; (21) Logical Consequences of the Theory of Evolution Applied to Languages; (22) Phonetic and Morphological Consequences Implied by the Theory of Evolution; (23) Conception of "Progress"; (24) Element of Time; (25) Conception of "Primitive" Language; (26) Authors' Attitude and Theory of Evolution; (27) Linguistics as One of the Elements of the European Ethnographical Complex**

## PART II

## URAL-ALTAIC HYPOTHESIS

- CHAPTER IV. URAL-ALTAIC HYPOTHESIS AND TUNGUS MATERIAL: (28) The Theoretical Background of the Ural-Altai Hypothesis; (29) Consequences Resulting from the Fundamental Propositions; (30) Tungus Comparative Material; (31) Aspiration and Bilabialization of the Initial Vowels a Phonetic Fashion; (32) The Goldi Language Not a Typical Northern Tungus, Neither a Southern Tungus; (33) Mongol Aspiration and Bilabialization; (34) Linguistic Importance of a Correct Solution of the Problem of Aspiration and Bilabialization
- CHAPTER V. ANALYSIS OF PARALLELS: (35) The Scope of the Present Analysis; (36) Examples of Cases Rejected Without a Detailed Analysis; (37) Examples of Cases Rejected After a Minute Analysis; (38) Cases with Initial and Intervocalic Labial Consonants; (39) Cases with Initial and Intervocalic Dental Consonants; (40) Cases with Initial and Intervocalic Glottal Consonants; (41) Cases with the Initial and Intervocalic  $\eta$ ; (42) Conclusions
- CHAPTER VI. METHODS: (43) Influence of Theoretical Presumptions of Evolution; (44) Phonetic Laws and Their Application; (45) Restoration of Stems and Difficulties in Operating Them; (46) Semantic Parallelism and Its Application; (47) Operation with the Morphological Elements and the Using of Foreign Words; (48) Summary as to the Methods Used; (49) The Origin of Methodological Peculiarities Met with in the Discussion of the Ural-Altai Hypothesis
- CONCLUSION: (50) The Problem of Common Words; (51) The Tungus Language and the Ural-Altai Hypothesis

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Preliminary Remarks

Some three years ago I published a paper<sup>1</sup> devoted to a complex linguistic and ethnographic problem—the terms of orientation amongst the Tungus. This paper has illustrated my idea that the problem of common words in the so-called Altaic languages cannot be settled before we have a complete analysis of the complexes compared, both from the linguistical and the ethnographical point of view. My attitude was not in agreement with the current opinions as to this question—the paper was actually directed against the practice of the uncritical using of Tungus parallels with the intention of including the Tungus languages into the larger unit of the Altaic languages supposed to have originated from an ancestor-language. My publication has been noticed by P. Pelliot,<sup>2</sup> who was particularly concerned in the treatment of the Tungus terms of orientation, for he had previously tried to bring forth some Tungus parallels with a quite definite intention of supporting the hypothesis of the Altaic pra-language;<sup>3</sup> so, referring to my paper, he says: “De bonnes remarques, et d’autres contestables; p. 184, n. 45, M. Sh. veut que M. Rudnev n’ait pas commis une inadvertance que j’ai signalée incidemment; toute l’anthropologie ne peut prévaloir contre M. Rudnev lui-même qui m’a écrit autrefois qu’il avait bien commis cette inadvertance.” This note formally contains nothing offensive (the discovery of the special system of orientation amongst the Tungus as well as the analysis of terms is a minor thing, the mentioning of which can be omitted), but in the above quotation one may see that the emphasis is put on my suggestion as to the origin of a minor half-mistake made by A. D. Rudnev. Indeed, the latter could not formally deny it. P. Pelliot has made of it a case which has at the same time screened the fundamental problem discussed in my paper. Yet, in his remark, he has mentioned *anthropologie*, which is not so simple as that. I do not need to

<sup>1</sup>“Northern Tungus Terms of Orientation,” in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Vol. IV, Lwow, 1928.

<sup>2</sup>*T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXVI, 1929, pp. 411, 412.

<sup>3</sup>“Les Mots à h initiale aujourd’hui amnie dans le mongol des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles,” in *Journal Asiatique*, avril-juin, 1925.



explain that *anthropologie* has nothing to do with the case, for I have used an *ethnographical* explanation of A. D. Rudnev's half-mistake and not an anthropological one, so that there is some other purpose in mentioning *anthropologie*. This is a veiled form of protest against using neighbouring sciences for the analysis of phenomena which are supposed to be reserved for linguistics.<sup>1</sup> As an attitude it is rather characteristic, so I shall dwell on it a little longer. Who may say that any knowledge, be it anthropology or any other science, may not be useful for linguistical work? For instance, L. de Saussure's work on Chinese astronomy ("Les Origines de l'astronomie Chinoise") was possible only on condition of this author's familiarity with astronomy. Then may not anthropology be helpful too? I think that any knowledge, even without a direct bearing on the subject, is useful. It is particularly true of anthropology, familiarity with which greatly helps in avoiding a heated discussion about the origin of the "Chinese," the "Altaics," the "Aryans," and other linguistical groups directly concerned and even sometimes discussed by linguists without their being familiar with anthropology. Indeed, there is a serious objection as to including anthropology into the group of sciences with which the linguist must be familiar; namely, the difficulty of mastering two seemingly distinct fields. But this question is technical, and shall I say personal, so it has no theoretical interest.

I have dwelt on this topic, for in the present work I will occasionally refer to anthropology, and in the general setting of the problems I shall base myself on their ethnological aspects. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that linguistical phenomena have also their ethnographical features, and the Ural-Altaic hypothesis in its nature is an ethnological problem. I think, therefore, that anthropology, ethnography, and especially ethnology, may be very helpful, and for this reason the chief subject of the present paper—"The Ural-Altaic Hypothesis"—is preceded by a short discussion of the general problem of ethnos and language. As a matter of fact, it has been necessary, for the problem of ethnos and language has not yet been treated, so references to previous publications could not be

<sup>1</sup>The mentioning of anthropology may also be interpreted as an intention of discrediting my linguistical evidences, for the anthropological investigations constitute one of the items of my work. Indeed, it would not be a fair way of discrediting them, so for this reason I reject this supposition.

made. However, without such a preliminary introduction, the treatment of the Ural-Altaic hypothesis would even be impossible. On the other hand, I did not want to publish the general and special parts separately, for the former had been written *ad hoc* and could not be extensive enough to become an exhaustive treatment of the problem of ethnos and language—to this problem I shall return later in my other publications.

Since the problem here treated is approached from various points of view, I shall often refer to the facts and conclusions which have already become commonplace, almost truisms, for the specialists. However, they are not so for those who confine their work and interests to the restricted fields of scientific inquiry, and therefore they need to be pointed out. Yet I shall need them as a ground for approaching my chief goal. Besides the well-known facts and conclusions, I shall refer to various theories which have not yet been generally accepted; yet I shall offer some new facts and theories which have never been published. In this respect, the present work does not pretend to be uniform.

My point of view as to the methods and possibilities of discussing the problem of the common origin of the so-called Ural-Altaic languages in many a respect is different from that of other authors. The difference does not consist in the discussion of evidences proving or disproving a common origin, but the difference is due to my idea; namely, that the "origin" and "relationship" between the languages in this way cannot be discussed at all. This point of view ought to be supported by theoretical reasons, which have occupied a large portion of Part I. Another point to make clear is that of finding how such a difference in attitude exists, for without showing the process of formation of the opposite attitude my point of view might appear to be a mere "point of view," as good as any other, while the difference is much deeper than this. This has necessitated other sections in which the theory or evolution and its consequences are shortly discussed.

The difference in method and the original point of procedure for the investigation requires a revision of terms used. L. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards have shown in their work ("The Meaning of Meaning. A Study of Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism," London, 1923) how important symbolism is if one wants to be understood. However, the task

of revision of terms requires more than a mere substitution of the old meanings by new ones, but a "symbolization" of old symbols, for some of the "symbols" cannot be used any more. Naturally, I cannot undertake this task in reference to a foreign language, such as English is to me. I have, however, permitted myself to introduce a few new terms: such as "ethnos," which has already been used; and "starter," which is here explained: and some other old terms to which I give a slightly different "meaning." I deem it necessary to make these remarks in order to avoid a useless and tiresome "discussion about the words."

In the treatment of the problem of ethnos and language, I shall follow the shortest way of expounding some salient points of my theory. Their complete treatment would require a much greater space than may be allowed in discussing such a particular problem as the Ural-Altai hypothesis. So in many a case I shall confine myself only to the conclusions, omitting altogether the method of my investigation and the enumeration of facts. I must here point out that I, as well as many other authors, notice that some critics make an elementary error; namely, in their mind every work which is not supplied with "facts" is classed as a "speculative" one. It is a good word, indeed, but one must use it with a certain amount of caution and with correct reference. They refer, as a matter of fact, not to the essentials of the method, but to the technique of writing. For a genuine, speculative work, facts are not much needed, and they may be lacking altogether in the written form. However, when the current fashion requires "facts," a speculative work may be supplied with facts in any desirable quantity,—in fact, volumes of facts,—but the genuine speculative character as to method will remain as it is.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the bringing up of well-known facts from other publications may sometimes be absolutely unnecessary for the expounding of a new theory or hypothesis built upon these facts and based upon a purely inductive method. Such a work will not be overburdened by the repetition of facts already reproduced hundreds of times by those who want to avoid the reproach of speculation. In the present work (Part I),

<sup>1</sup>In the field of ethnography and linguistics, there are hundreds of publications in which facts occupy more space than the simple fundamental speculative proposition, but the critics do not notice the mosaic work of the authors in using facts as a shield to protect themselves from the critics.

## THE URAL-ALTAIC HYPOTHESIS

---

I do not cite facts in all the cases discussed, but this does not at all mean that my conclusions are not based upon facts, and that they are merely "speculative." All of them, with the exception of specially pointed-out cases, are based upon facts, and at any moment the technique of investigation may be shown and the conclusions illustrated. However, in most cases this seems to be useless, for the facts are already known. It is different with Part II, where I am dealing with the analysis of facts and bring up new facts. Here one has a case in which the difference of method is evident. The work of A. Sauvageot discussed here is based upon and inspired by a series of hypotheses, and only seemingly based upon facts, while the facts are actually used for supporting the hypotheses. My attitude is to have reliable facts first, so, for the time being, I am not worrying about the problem whether the pra-Ural-Altaiic language existed or not.

## PART I

### CHAPTER I. ETHNOS AND CULTURAL PHENOMENA

#### 2. The Human Unit

Any investigator into the problem of variations of cultural and physical phenomena in man will sooner or later come to the idea that these variations take place in certain human groups which exist as units. Several attempts have been made at finding such a unit. It was supposed, for instance, that these processes took place in "races," in "nations," in small or large political units, or in other groups. Yet, since the units suggested could not be accepted as concrete ones in which these processes are proceeding, it was suggested to regard them as going on in "mankind." However, all the processes under this investigation are concrete processes, while "mankind" is an abstraction which does not help at all in understanding the mechanism of variations. The approach to this problem is greatly handicapped by the fact that the units in which the processes are going on may not be formally marked by any signs of distinction and very often they are not recognized as existing and functioning units. Yet the latter are not static phenomena; they are themselves rather processes than sharply outlined units. However, the finding of such static units is required by statically behaving minds. On the other hand, great specialization amongst the investigators, or better, great limitations of interests and competence practised by the investigators, are partly responsible for omitting the facts which distinguish one group from another. A great misfortune for the students of cultural phenomena is also reasoning by analogy with biological investigations. Since in biology the investigation into the variations (evolution) of certain physical organs is one of usual and quite successful methods for tracing the sequence of animal forms, it was postulated that the same could be done with cultural phenomena and even with isolated cultural elements. This trend of ideas existed side by side with another movement which was always trying various ways in order to find the correct solution of the problem of the human unit.

The importance of cultural phenomena, in the classification of human groups, was realized long ago. Linneus introduced into

---

his classification of human "races" and "species," i. e., purely zoölogical conceptions, the cultural element side by side with psychomental distinctions. This trend of ideas led to a classification which was very successful, chiefly owing to its simplicity; namely, the famous linguistico-anthropological classification of Fr. Müller. Of course, in this form it was a pure absurdity, chiefly due to badly digested biological ideas and a series of erroneous postulates. We now know that such an approach to the problem is not correct, for the "races" do not exist as units and the cultural phenomena (including language) are not confined to such units. However, the idea of including cultural phenomena into the complex of "biological" phenomena and as an essential characteristic of human groups is quite correct. In fact, the essential element of adaptation of human groups (and individuals) is the cultural phenomena transmitted by tradition, which itself is a function of continuing units. The need of quick adaptation of human groups (and individuals) stimulates a further increase of the importance of cultural phenomena: *the faster the tempo of variations in human groups, the more important are cultural phenomena as a method of adaptation.* In fact, the adaptation of man to various climatic conditions is not only going on along the line of physical change, as is usual with the animals which do not practise cultural adaptation very much, but it is going on along the line of cultural invention. This is true not only of adaptation to climatic conditions, but it also holds good for the adaptation to the primary milieu in general, and particularly when the increase of population implies an increase of food supply by means of the technical perfection of food production, etc. It is also true of the adaptation of social organization, which must be well adjusted to the needs of economic activity. It is thus evident that cultural phenomena are nothing but a new and specific form of biological phenomenon of adaptation which is affecting chiefly the function, and perhaps the matter, of the brain in the process of adaptation, at the present time leaving only secondary importance to bodily changes. By these remarks it is not to be presumed that no physical change is involved in the process of human adaptation. In my work on the process of growth I have shown that the cultural adaptation resulted in the extension of the period of growth which involved a series of other physical changes, the latter being possible only as the condition of complex biological variations, including perhaps a change of chemical equilibrium.

So cultural adaptation is not so simple as it is sometimes pictured, and it does not go without affecting the physical features, especially the chemical functioning of the organism. All cultural, morphological, chemical, and psycho-mental variations are closely correlated and bound together, which points still more strongly to the "biological" character of cultural adaptation.

I shall not repeat here the history of the modifications of the idea of physical units in man as "races," "species," and "types,"—a question of great complexity,—for already I have recently dealt with it. I shall point out my conclusion; namely, that the process of physical variations in man is proceeding in units which are differentiated owing to the distinction of cultural complexes, at present the chief method of human adaptation. With such an approach to the problem the units of mankind long ago appeared as specific ones, but the nature of these units could not be defined at once. In fact, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, a term for the designation of such a unit was introduced. The term was not one similar to such current terms as "race," "nation," etc., but it was one which was borrowed from the Greek word *ethnos*, introduced into the compound terms of "ethnology" and "ethnography." In the hands of specialists who had confined their interests to cultural phenomena, particularly languages, or to physical phenomena, these terms have, however, been misused and even "translated" into different languages until their original meaning has escaped the attention of specialists, and as the conception of unit was not clearly formulated, they have almost been forgotten altogether.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In order to avoid a discussion concerning "words," I want to point out that the sciences dealing with various aspects of man and human beings must be distinguished on the principle of practical utility. I shall use "anthropology" as a branch of zoölogy; "ethnography" as a description of ethnical units chiefly from the cultural point of view; and "ethnology" as a science dealing with the general principles of processes observed in man whose unit, where the process of variation occurs, is "ethnos." Since cultural adaptation is only a particular form of human adaptation,—a purely biological phenomenon,—the science of ethnology is indeed one of the branches of general biology which is regarded as the science dealing with the principles of variations of "living" matter in its various forms. The place of archaeology, pre-history, history, also linguistics, etc., is evident. The controversy as to the terms is not yet settled. Recently, P. Rivet ("L'Anthropologie," in *Scientia*, Vol. XLVIII, 1930) has again discussed this question advocating the preservation of *anthropologie* for

The revival of the term is, however, badly needed. I made this attempt in published form nearly ten years ago, and at about the same time, the same or nearly the same idea arose from other quarters. Since the present work deals with the problem of language in further treatment of the problem, I must here detain myself on some aspects of human units.

### 3. Definition of "Ethnos"

I have defined a human unit as a group of individuals who are united by the same languages, origin, or, better, who have the same belief as to their common origin, and who possess a certain cultural complex distinct from that of other similar groups; such a group of people preferentially marry among themselves—they are preferentially endogamous. Such a unit may be numerous, often attaining several millions, and it may be very small, containing a few hundred individuals—the number has no great importance as a distinct character of unit. The process of variation of cultural phenomena is going on in these units, as well as the process of variations of all biological phenomena. So the most remarkable feature of ethnos is that it is a biological unit of man in which the reproduction of species is going on and in which the process of physical changes takes place. The line of demarcation between two units is not strictly defined, for there are always two forces at work; namely, those consolidating the units, and those differentiating the units into smaller ones. Since this aspect of the existence of ethnos has a special importance in the problem of languages, I shall return to it later on (*vide* Section 5). As in any other biological unit, e.g., in the regional varieties of other animals, the ethnos may happen to be in a state of growth, in a state of numerical increase, in a stationary

the science here designated as "ethnology" and reserving "*anthropologie S. S.*" (somatic) for "anthropology." I prefer the term "ethnology," for this science deals chiefly with "ethnoses," while "anthropology" deals with "anthropes." Yet it seems to me that, historically, "ethnography" and "ethnology" are just as good as "anthropology," and the scientific trend points to the need of a term with a constant form, such as "anthropology." This deviation of sense, as P. Rivet (*op. cit.*, p. 89) says, has deep reasons; namely, the accumulation of new facts and the specialization of methods. As a matter of fact, one may be a good anthropologist without being an ethnographer, and one may be a good ethnographer without being an anthropologist. Yet both of them may, as is actually observed amongst specialists, remain so without becoming ethnologists. Of course, ethnology cannot be identified with ethnography, nor with anthropology.



condition, or in a state of decline. As to potential activity, the ethnos may be strong or weak. Naturally, when the ethnos is in a state of growth, it may be suspected of being "strong."

Since the ethnos is a universal phenomenon, there must be certain reasons<sup>1</sup> which underlie its existence; but I shall not now go into these details and shall confine myself to pointing out how the ethnoses may be "formed." Two conditions are of importance; namely, the primary milieu and the interethnic pressure, which will be discussed later on. In fact, the similarity of ecological conditions—topography, climate, vegetation, and animals—in regions where man is living is usually confined to very limited areas. Within these areas, the best adapted unit is the one which lives the longer and becomes familiar with the local conditions. The point of importance is that the unit transmits its experience of adaptation to the local conditions through tradition, and its physical adaptation through the complex mechanism of inheritance, accumulating, in this way, the work of previous generations. Another condition—varied interethnic milieu—is not alike around the world, so every unit is surrounded by slightly different interethnic milieus, and thus the sources of influence are different.

Although the ethnos as a unit may be a concrete physical phenomenon, consisting of physical individuals, where the processes are going on it is not a static phenomenon, and thus it cannot be expressed in static terms. It must not be understood as a "tendency," for this point of view will appear defective at once when we touch the problem of physical variations, which must be located physically. The conception of this phenomenon must be as one of a process covering more or less numerous units and is thus dynamic and not static.

Referring to the preceding remarks regarding attempts at the finding of a new term for the human unit, it ought to be pointed out that, in so far as I know, two authors have already approached this question so closely that they have used the Greek word *ethnos* for the new conception of the human unit. However, there are some essential differences between their and my point of view. F. Regnault has proposed ("La Question des races devant l'anatomie et la

<sup>1</sup>Since these reasons are now more or less clear, and we do not need them for the treatment of the present problem, their discussion here requiring too much space, we shall not give them in this place.

linguistique," 1928) a new term—"ethnie"—as a linguistic unit opposite to that of "race." However, F. Regnault gives more than a simple linguistic definition of the "ethnie" which, according to what he says of this unit, seems to be the "ethnic unit" of my definition. In fact, he speaks of the "ethnies" as conqueror, conquered, civilized, migrating, losing their ethnographical complexes, etc. All these characters cannot be confined to the "linguistic unit" only. Moreover, the language may be changed, modified, lost, but the ethnic unit will survive. Therefore the language cannot be taken as the only basis for the differentiation of ethnoses. Moreover, F. Regnault understands his "ethnie" as a static conception, while the phenomenon of ethnos is a typically dynamic one. Here is the second essential distinction between "ethnie" and "ethnos." In so far as I can see from his paper, he proposed this term for the first time in 1920 (in *Revue de pathologie comparée*).

Another attempt has been made at finding a new term covering the unit of ethnos. F. de Saussure much earlier (in 1915, I think, for I don't know about the first edition of his book, but I have at hand the second edition of it, which, however, does not seem to differ very much from the first edition, for the editors say "cette seconde édition n'apporte aucun changement essentiel au texte de la première") made a definition of "ethnisme": "Il y a une autre unité [opposed to that of race] infiniment plus importante, la seule essentielle, celle qui est constituée par le lien social: nous l'appellerons 'ethnisme.' Entendons par là une unité reposant sur des rapports multiples de religion, de civilisation, de défense commune etc., qui peuvent s'établir même entre peuples de races différentes et en l'absence de tout lien politique. C'est entre l'ethnisme et la langue que s'établit ce rapport de réciprocité. . . . Le lien social tend à créer la communauté de langue."—"Cours de linguistique générale," Paris, 1922, p. 305. "La communauté de langue qui constitue, dans une certaine mesure, l'unité ethnique, . . . il y a eu un ethnisme roman reliant, sans lien politique, des peuples d'origine très diverses."—*Id.*, p. 306. Certainly this definition approaches that of ethnos, but the emphasis is put on ethnographical and linguistic complexes. Yet being conceived as a static one, it

meets with the phenomena, like the Roman inheritance, which is certainly a product of disintegration of a larger unit which did not complete its formation. Yet the political aspect of the ethnical unit, of course, ought not to be excluded, as any other ethnographical characteristic.

These two instances suffice to show that such a term was needed, but it ought to be given a more elastic, more definite, dynamic meaning, and it ought not to be confined to the language or ethnographic complex only. As an international term, "ethnie" is, of course, a French adaptation of a Greek word, and as such may not be clear linguistically for other linguistic groups; while "ethnos" preserves its original purity as a foreign word—a scientific term—agreeable to every one. It ought to be pointed out that it is not desirable to limit the content given by me to "ethnos"; and in this respect, as shown, "ethnie" and "ethnisme" cannot be regarded as the same conception as "ethnos." I defend this term because we need such a one, but if it is again modified and simplified, as has already happened with "race," then a few decades later the same need will occur again. It is not desirable to transfer this term into the linguistics, where it will be again adapted, but to leave it as an ethnological (biological) conception and term.<sup>1</sup>

Another attempt at the analysis of the phenomenon of the ethnical unit should be mentioned; namely, that made by A. Van Gennep, who very closely approached this problem in his analysis of the *nationalité*.<sup>2</sup> In so far as I know, this important contribution to the problem has not yet been completed. In the first volume, published in 1922, he approached the problem of *nationalité* from the ethnographical and linguistical point of view, treating the variations

<sup>1</sup>During the publishing of the present work there came to my knowledge a new publication by Sir Arthur Keith, entitled "Ethnos, or the Problem of Race Considered from a New Point of View" (London, 1931), in which I see, with great pleasure, that the problem of the formation of races is discussed as going on in ethnoses. However, no definition of "ethnos" is given and great emphasis is put on the problem of "nation." Since the nation in its relation to the ethnos is already discussed above, I shall not dwell now on the problem as it seems to appear from Sir Arthur Keith's publication.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "Traité comparatif des nationalités" (Paris, 1922). This work appeared during the period when the problem of "nation" and "nationality" attracted the attention of many authors in connexion with the breaking down of the interethnic equilibrium in Europe. Cf. also an increase of interest in the linguistical problems during the same period, *infra*, Chap. III, Sec. 27.

of cultural (including language) complexes and elements observed in regional units. He should inevitably come to the same conception as other authors who approached the problem of human unit.<sup>1</sup> Since this term has quite a definite function it must not be used in the sense of ethnos nor ethnical unit.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. Process of Variations in Ethnoses

The mode of the existence of units is defined by a multitude of conditions. There are, on the one hand, inherited conditions, resulting from the adaptation previously created during thousands of years, not only in one of the genetic units, but in all the genetic units which entered into the process of crossing within the given unit; and on the other hand, present conditions of milieu, in which the unit is living. The milieu is not a simple one: it consists of conditions beyond the control of man, which may be called *primary milieu*; conditions created by man, which are essentially a product of culture, or *secondary milieu*; and conditions which are formed by other ethnical units in the midst of which the unit is living, called here *tertiary*, or *interethnical, milieu*. Every ethnos adapts itself to the complex of milieus with its aptitudes resulting from the accumulation of physical peculiarities and experience transmitted through tradition. Yet the ethnos itself forms one of the elements of the milieu, and it is partly responsible for the existence of the interethnical milieu—it is a part of a system. The ethnos is thus a result of equilibrium which exists between the phenomena. Therefore the ethnos, regarded as an isolated phenomenon, is a mere and dangerous abstraction.

From the observation of facts one comes to the idea that the existence of ethnoses is conditioned and regulated by a system of

<sup>1</sup>As to the term *nationalité*, it is good for the phenomenon of nationality, which is a reality; but this term may have limited application, namely, in reference to this phenomenon only. This term is closely connected with another term "nation." The *nationalité* may be defined as "belonging to a nation" and as a "potential nation"; while the latter, as will be shown later, is an ethnos (or group of ethnoses) which has a political organization and is recognized by other similar units as a unit of a larger ethnical complex bound by the direct effects of interethnical pressure (equilibrium). Owing to this, the term *nationalité* ought to be reserved for this particular phenomenon, which has a great importance in the process of perception of the ethnical value of ethnical units, and which is one of the conditions of stabilization of the interethnical equilibrium.

<sup>2</sup>Some attempts have already been made at using this term and its equivalents in other languages in the sense of "ethnical unit."

equilibrium. The internal equilibrium of the ethnos is defined by its number (population), its degree of adaptation expressed in its culture, and the physical adaptation and territory occupied. When symbolized, it is  $\omega = \frac{q}{TS}$ , where  $\omega$  is the *constant of ethnical equilibrium*.  $q$  is the number of the population (with corrections as to the age and sex),  $S$  is the biological adaptation in the form of culture and functional power,  $T$  is the territory (with the corrections as to the utility, latitude, altitude, climate, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

The unit may exist only on condition of the preservation of equilibrium—the constant of ethnical equilibrium. If there is any change in the elements forming this equilibrium, the *impulse of variation* of other elements will appear. Positive and negative impulses may also naturally appear, for the elements may increase and decrease. For instance, the decrease of territory may produce either a positive increase of  $S$  or a decrease of population; the decrease of population may result in a decrease of territory, and a decrease of culture, or one of them, and so on; so that the preservation of ethnical equilibrium is a source of permanent variations of elements. I say permanent, for there are at least two conditions which are permanent sources of variations of one of the

<sup>1</sup>In spite of the great simplicity of the nature of this equilibrium in ethnoses, and in spite of the simplicity of a series of logical consequences resulting therefrom, it has never been systematically analysed. Early work on the problem of population and correlation of cultural and other phenomena characteristic of the ethnos in 1912 led me to the idea of binding this relationship into the simple formula shown above. It may here be noted that the idea of such a relationship was formulated during my first travelling in Siberia when I saw a series of ethnical groups showing the same kind of equilibrium, but existing under different conditions. The field observation of other groups during following expeditions (1913–1915) has strengthened the impression of actuality of such a relationship, which was naturally supported by well-known facts from historic records, and by observations of other travellers. In the courses of lectures delivered in the University of Vladivostok (1918–1922, with an interruption) I applied the theory of ethnoses for the analysis of ethnical relations. In 1922 I formulated it in a published form ("Place of Ethnography Amongst the Sciences and Classification of Ethnoses," Vladivostok, 1922, in Russian), and in the same year expounded it in a special work devoted to the variations of ethnical and ethnographical phenomena ("Ethnos. Fundamental Principles of Variations of Ethnical and Ethnographical Phenomena," Shanghai, 1923, actually published at the end of 1922). Two chapters of this work were translated into English and published in 1924 ("Ethnical Unit and Milieu," Edward Evans & Sons, Shanghai, 1924), which received a certain circulation and was reviewed in several leading periodicals (e. g., in *Nature*, London, *La Géographie*, Paris, and others). This theory has also been developed from the biological point of view in my new work "The Process of Physical Growth," which

elements of equilibrium. These conditions are: a prompt change of climatic conditions and their periodical fluctuations, to which the unit must adapt itself; and there is an interethnic and inter-species pressure coming out of the neighbouring ethnoses and other animals. In fact, the interethnic milieu also forms a system of equilibrium. I will now give a rough instance. Let us suppose that an ethnos is in the process of numerical increase. It thus needs some new territory for the surplus of population. The spreading of the population is met with the opposition on the part of other ethnoses, so it may take the form of war, which requires a certain technique for defense which again implies a certain complication of the economical and social organization. The pressure on the part of neighbours also takes a form of cultural influence in its various aspects.

The opposition to the pressure must be equal to the pressure felt by the ethnos, if the latter wants to preserve its existence and territory; and it must be higher than the pressure, if it tends to spread over the territories occupied by neighbours or wants to

will soon be published. My hope that the criticism might help me in my further work has not yet been realized. By way of some encouraging reviews, one of my critics has, I think *bona fide*, declared my theory to be a kind of "mysticism"; and another, who happened to be still less prepared for accepting it, styled it as "une farce." On the other hand, I find that in 1924 R. Pearl ("Studies in Human Biology," Baltimore, p. 567, *et seq.*) put as the basis of his theory the relationship between the density and culture as a postulate, and A. Lotka ("Elements of Physical Biology," Baltimore) in 1925 touched upon this idea in his study of equilibria. Unfortunately, these two authors did not develop further consequences. In the same order of ideas are Schmoller's calculations of the density of population in its correlation with the economic system. F. Boas, in his recent work ("Anthropology," in "Encyclopædia of Social Sciences," New York, 1930), formulates thus: "The density of population is determined both by cultural achievements and by environment"; furthermore, a "correlation between density of population and diversity of cultural traits may be observed," and "political organization depends upon the size of social units and upon the density of population" (*id.*, pp. 99, 100). Indeed, in this deterministic form, which calls to mind the methods correlated with the old conceptions of "evolution" and "progress," economical determinism, etc., F. Boas's treatment of this equilibrium is extremely confusing and undesirable. As a matter of fact, social systems, and particularly political organizations, are functions of adaptation, and we have many examples of entirely different social systems and political organizations amongst the ethnoses who have the same density and the same political systems are found amongst the ethnoses possessing a different density of population. The question thus cannot be so simplified. From the above-quoted facts it may be seen that the idea of such an equilibrium is already "in the air."

imply the adoption of its own cultural elements or the whole complex. So an independent existence of an ethnos may be realized on the condition of maintaining a constant equilibrium formed by the opposing pressure of an ethnos to the pressure of all neighbouring ethnoses. However, since the changes which occur in one of the ethnoses result in the change of its internal equilibrium and ethnical value, the interethnic equilibrium will always vary, which implies adaptation and variations in ethnoses. In this way, the interethnic pressure forms an almost constantly acting impulse of variations of ethnical equilibrium, whence result variations of elements constituting this equilibrium. The interethnic pressure is one of the greatest sources of variations, as it is in other animal species competing and coöperating between themselves. Without interethnic pressure the ethnos is doomed to "vegetation." We know practically no ethnoses living beyond the interethnic pressure. The cases of extinct Tasmanians and living Eskimos are instances of isolated groups observed by travellers, but there is no little doubt that prior to their discovery they lived under the pressure of their former neighbours. Here it may be noted that, although the ethnos always tends to avoid interethnic pressure, it cannot successfully survive without this pressure, when meeting other ethnoses which are under interethnic pressure.

The cultural variations, as implied by internal causes (e. g., increase or decrease of population), or external causes (e. g., interethnic pressure), appear either slowly or promptly. They may be maintained during a shorter or longer period with equal or varying intensity. These reactions on the change of ethnical and interethnic equilibrium depend on the ability of the ethnos to react on milieu. Yet, in the process of adaptation, the ethnos may accept various ways of self-defence; e. g., it may change its physical features, its culture, or it may increase its number, or reject by force any pressure, etc. All depends on the way and degree of adaptability and self-consciousness of the unit.

The changes require a certain effort, psychic and mental, which is proportional to the impulses of variation. Yet the tension felt by the ethnos depends upon the period in which the changes occur and the ability of reacting. With the increase of interethnic pressure, and with the increase of impulses of variations, the tempo of changes increases. It is thus natural that *the shorter the period in*

*which changes occur, the higher the tension.* As a matter of observation, the tempo of variations is always increasing, for the impulses of variations and interethnic pressure are always increasing. It is sufficient to remember that the powerful factor of interethnic pressure—population pressure—is always increasing. If at a certain moment it attains such a velocity that the possible tempo of variations cannot be sufficient for assuring the maintenance of equilibrium, the interethnic clash occurs and the equilibrium breaks down. The increase of tempo of variations is one of the most characteristic features of the present phenomena, but it does not go parallel with the increase of the possibilities of reactions amongst the ethnoses, so that it menaces the existence of the ethnoses more than ever before. In fact, the dissolution, absorption, re-dissolution, and re-absorption of the ethnoses is so common that the new changes sometimes may be observed during a man's life.

##### **5. Centrifugal and Centripetal Movements in Ethnoses and Formation of New Ethnoses**

The nature of ethnoses as shown cannot be understood from the static point of view. Although the present work is not devoted to the theory of ethnoses, yet more details are necessary in order to give the idea of the dynamic character of ethnoses. The analysis of the mechanism of the formation of ethnoses is one of the good ways of doing it.

Many authors have observed that within the existing nations and powers, even within "primitive" groups, there are in action two forces; namely, those which "consolidate" the unit and those which "disintegrate" it. Since these terms—"consolidation" and "disintegration"—refer to a certain definite unit from the point of view of which the forces are classed, and they have already been used in reference to the phenomena that have no ethnological contents, I prefer to use different terms; namely, "centrifugal" and "centripetal" movements. Let us first define these terms and illustrate our definitions with some examples.

We shall call "centrifugal" movement such actions and behaviour of individuals and groups of individuals which result in the creation of greater cohesion between the individuals and groups of individuals observed who belong to a certain group. We shall call "centripetal" movement such actions and behaviour of individuals and groups



of individuals which result in the loss of cohesion between the individuals and groups of individuals observed who belong to a certain group. These definitions may be illustrated thus: An individual may belong at the same time to a regional group and to a "nation," and yet to a club, to a clan, and to a large family. His activity as a member of these groups may have thus different effects. If such an individual is very active, he may influence the local group in the sense of preserving local useful customs, of elaboration of new and practical ways of local adaptation (e. g., a new method of agriculture), of an increase of vocabulary, etc. For the local group, this activity may be very beneficial, for the preservation of old and useful customs, inventions, and the further enrichment of the language assure the existence of the local population. On the other hand, if the local adaptation and further elaboration of new dialectal distinctions advance too far, the local group may become so distinct from other groups of the same "nation" that the individuals who belong to it will act as a body opposing themselves to the "nation." Every such action on the part of our individual will thus have a centrifugal effect upon the "nation" and a centripetal effect upon the local group. If the sum of all the local centrifugal actions is greater than that of the actions directed for maintaining the existence of the "nation," the larger unit—the "nation"—will sooner or later desintegrate into smaller local units. On the other hand, if the centripetal movement is stronger than the centrifugal movement, the local adaptation and individual adaptation (including all local and individual inventions) may lose their ability and thus the "nation" will not be able to use the adaptive power of local groups and individuals for the general benefit of the unit. On the whole, such a "nation" will become weaker as compared with its neighbours, which may sometimes put it in a difficult position. So the *most beneficial condition* (from the point of view of the survival of the unit) *is that in which the centrifugal and centripetal movements are equal and strong.*

The conditions of the primary milieu, which, on the surface of this planet, form thousands of distinct regions, as stated, imply a special local adaptation. The better the unit is adapted, the more distinct it is, as compared with other neighbouring groups living in different conditions of milieu. Let us now suppose that such a well-adapted unit has a great increase of population and needs either a new

---

specialized form of adaptation or new territory. If there is no more free territory which may be occupied immediately or after a short war for it, the only way is to arrange with the neighbours in such a way that the different units involved will become specialized in certain economical branches so that they may supply other units with their respective products. Such, for instance, are the relations among agriculturists, cattle breeders, industrial groups, hunters, etc. Certainly the degree of interdependence is variable. Specialization opens a new possibility for a further increase of population; for, along with the establishment of close relations, intercourse becomes frequent, the individuals who belong to the distinct ethnoses have no more negative reactions when meeting each other, and cultural phenomena are freely borrowed. The same is true of the language, which becomes familiar to the neighbours, who borrow "words" for new phenomena, fashions of speech, and particularly phonetic fashions. At last, when the great distinction of customs and language does not hinder consolidation of relations between distinct groups, they will begin to intermarry, and formerly distinct units will be fused into one culturally homogenous unit, a new ethnos.

In the instance given above the chief cause of fusion is an economical one. It may be of a different nature too. So, for instance, an ethnos which multiplies at a great ratio may attain such a power that it will spread over the territories occupied by the neighbouring ethnoses without destroying the population. The conquered population first opposes the alien control; but, owing to strong pressure, it is compelled to adapt itself to the new situation and thus gradually accepts the new cultural complex of the conquerors. The next step is the adaptation of the language, intermarriage, and finally complete fusion. Yet a purely cultural pressure may produce similar effects. The language is a powerful means of carrying on the centripetal movement.

It may be pointed out that when the process is going on, the possibility of further strengthening the new unit becomes harmful to the neighbouring units who still preserve their consciousness of existence. The opposition to such a process is one of the forms of interethnic pressure which again acts as a factor in consolidating the unity of the formerly distinct ethnoses, so that the interethnic pressure in general is a factor activating the processes of the centripetal movement. It is also activating the process of the centrifugal

movements.<sup>1</sup> The ways are different, but the end is the same. The process is naturally greatly confused by the fact that all phenomena must be *perceived* and *adapted* to the existing psycho-mental complex and at last expressed in "symbols," which must be correctly referred to the referents. Now let us take another process; namely, that of the further possible fate of the large, new ethnos. With the decrease of interethnic pressure, the decrease of a further increase of population, the arrest of a further adaptation of the whole unit, etc., the large unit shows all signs of decrease of the centripetal movement. The centrifugal movement, in the form of local readaptation, individualism, regional differentiation, etc., becomes greater than the centripetal movement, and the unit splits into new ethnoses. The process of formation of new ethnoses will be especially successful if the larger unit happens to be beyond the strong interethnic pressure, as is common in very large territorial units formed of numerous neighbouring units. When the existence of the newly formed units is known, they will receive "recognition" from their neighbours as independent units, and this will activate the process of consolidation of the newly formed units. At the same time, the formation of a new interethnic milieu and a new interethnic pressure takes place. The formation of new languages (dialects, etc.), marriage restrictions, elaboration of specific culture, etc., follow this process and complete it.

One cannot naturally say when the existence of a new ethnos begins and when the old ethnos as a unit dies. This is a continuous process. So if one takes a picture of the existing relations statically one cannot definitely say where the limits of ethnoses are, for the ethnoses may occupy the same territory as well, and the ethnoses may happen to be in the process of formation even within the unit of the socially (professionally) distinct groups.<sup>2</sup> The ethnoses in the process of their formation, life, and decline receive different recognition on the part of other ethnoses. Yet the definitions

<sup>1</sup>As a matter of fact, the nature of interethnic pressure is not always understood, and it is often thought to be *responsible* for these movements. It shows once more how little the ethnoses understand the essential processes undergone by them.

<sup>2</sup>Although the formation of socially distinct groups is also one of the processes of the centrifugal movement which may result in the formation of distinct ethnoses, it is usually strongly checked and arrested altogether, in rare cases going so far as resulting in an open clash among the groups. It may happen at the moment of the strong process of adaptation of the social units and at the period of great changes in culture

and terms, such as "tribe" (preferred by some authors; e.g., O. Jespersen, C. Wissler, and many others) in reference to "primitive" peoples, "nation" in reference to "civilized" peoples, "nationality," even "state," "power," etc., refer to the same processes. Indeed, when they are "recognized," which is connected with a complex "rite of passage" (A. Van Gennep's term) from one state (sometimes supposed to be an "amorphic" state) to another state of purely ethnographical value, they receive general recognition in spite of the fact that as distinct "ethnoses" with all their characteristic features, they might exist for a very long time, calculated in generations.

The difficulty in finding out the limits of ethnoses consists in the fact that the characteristics comprise various elements, some of which are not particular to the given groups, but they have wide distribution amongst other ethnoses. Even such a character as language, being itself a complex, may show different boundaries in various characters (elements). Since the process of formation of ethnoses is a continuous one, the geographical limits of dialects and languages as they are established are sometimes a mere abstraction.<sup>1</sup>

(called "progress," "development," etc.). It is remarkable that such distinction of social groups becomes greater beyond the interethnic pressure; e.g., amongst the potential ethnoses widely spreading over a large area. In all respects the formation of distinct classes corresponds to the formation of ethnoses (e.g., special dialects, endogamy, complexes of customs, "class consciousness," etc.), which may result in the formation of castes (indeed, the formation of castes may have another origin; namely, the adaptation of ethnical units for special social functions in larger units). However, under a strong interethnic pressure, these processes are usually arrested. In case of the disintegration of large units, the process may follow along both these lines: the formation of classes with fierce struggle between them and the formation of regional ethnoses. In fact, this is characteristic of the collapse of large units. On the other hand, if the interethnic pressure is increased, the social differentiation loses (especially for the unit) its harmful effects. Yet if the interethnic pressure is suddenly reduced, the large units which undergo intensive process of changes ("progress," etc.) are very likely to collapse, owing to the centrifugal movement—in the case of sparse population and small regional cohesion, owing to the formation of ethnoses, and in the case of highly differentiated and well-organized numerous groups, owing to the formation of social groups struggling among themselves. The process is usually quickly completed, the interethnic equilibrium being restored and the unit or units returning to the internal equilibrium of the centripetal and centrifugal movements. I shall not go further now, for we shall let these details suffice for the problem of language.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the recent investigation into the geographical distribution of dialects, also the theoretical treatment as found, e.g., in F. de Saussure's "Cours de linguistique générale," *op. cit.*, Part IV, and special works on French and German dialectology.

The same is also true of the other cultural elements and anthropological features. Yet, in a great degree it holds good for the elements of perception—ethnic consciousness, etc.

The centrifugal and centripetal movements as shown is the mechanism of the formation, consolidation, and disintegration of ethnoses, the occurrence of which chiefly depends on the equilibrium of the system of these movements. As shown, the variations of interethnic milieu have also a great influence upon the intensity of these movements. In the case of sudden change, e. g., due to the fall or increase of pressure, the equilibrium of the internal ethnic movements may be shaken. In this condition, the unit may lose altogether either its centripetal or its centrifugal movement and thus it may lose its "vitality" as a unit.

Now we may come back to the problem of the number of population contained in the ethnos. I do not need to repeat that the number, whether large or small, is not a criterion for a definition whether a group of individuals is an ethnos or not. Theoretically, a new ethnos may originate from a single family, and we have some large groups comprising several millions of a relatively homogenous population which shows all typical characters of an ethnos. Thus the ethnos may practically cover a few hundred individuals, or several millions as well. As to the correlation between the degree of complexity of culture and number of population of an ethnos, for the time being it may be stated that a certain correlation exists, but it is conditioned by so many factors that it is not high. Naturally, since density of population and culture (adaptation) is a constant, it is evident that the ethnos with a simple cultural complex as a rule is smaller than the ethnos with a complex culture, the reason being that the ethnos possessing a simple cultural complex does not need a great division of work, specialization, etc., so that the small unit may survive without being at all numerous.

There are, however, some conditions which must be pointed out: The unit must be large enough in order to avoid the harmful effects of inheritance confined to limited groups, and in order to survive in the case of accidental loss of lives, e. g., owing to epidemics, wars, etc. The second condition is that of interethnic pressure. The interethnic milieu, consisting of numerous units (not always in possession of a complex culture), is dangerous for small units, which may easily be swallowed by larger ones. When in a certain

---

limited region the units are small, practically all of them are of small size; as, for example, in some regions of central Africa, the north-western regions of North America, in New Guinea, and in other similar regions.

There is one more condition to be mentioned; namely, the character of the geographical region. It has been pointed out that the variety of primary milieu is very great, so thousands of regions may be distinguished. In the conditions of the simple cultural complex the adaptation to the local conditions also implies the formation of small units. As it is often observed in mountainous regions near the sea, especially in low latitudes, the combination of topography, the variety of temperature, and the conditions of the sea form a great diversity of regions. On the other hand, the large territory, with uniform climatic conditions, identic flora and fauna, etc., is not favourable for the formation of small units. It does not, of course, mean that small units cannot survive, if the interethnic milieu does not require large units. Within the large units that are in the process of centrifugal movement, there may be very small potential units formed, which, in the case of the collapse of the large unit, may begin their existence as very small, independent units. Still, it is true in a greater degree of the ethnoses formed within social strata of larger units, which, from their very beginning, may be typical ethnoses, although numerically very small. It is different with the units that receive "recognition"; i. e., when their existence is perceived and the necessary ethnographical complex of "rites of passage" is performed. This is a case of the recognized "nations" and the unrecognized "nationalities." Here it must be pointed out that it is a common mistake that nations are taken as units corresponding to "tribes" of "savages." A nation may be a simple "colony" of ethnoses formed for their own safety, in view of or owing to interethnic pressure. It is quite true that such a unit *may* become an ethnos. The same is also true of groups of ethnoses controlled by one of them ("political control"), but in this case it is usual that the existence of a "nation" is denied altogether. In this case one must be very careful in using the statements of observers, for the problem whether a certain group of ethnoses is a "nation" or not, and whether a certain "nation" consists of different ethnoses or not, may have great practical importance for the regulation of interethnic relations and for controlling the centrifugal and

centripetal movements—the practical aim of every good government, and at the same time the weak point attacked by neighbouring ethnoses and ethnical colonies.

#### 6. Cultural Elements and Complexes

In view of the further linguistical discussion, we now have to put emphasis on the process of assimilation of the cultural elements and the loss of original complexes. I shall call the cultural or ethnographical element a phenomenon which cannot be dissected into its component parts. So the term is a relative one, for all depends upon the observer's attitude—from which point of view one looks at the phenomenon. Let us take some instances. The cart is an ethnographical phenomenon which may be dissected as follows: the wheel, the axle, the frame, and the accessories for using draught animals. There may also be other elements used besides these. From the point of view of the economic organization of transportation, the cart will also be an element, besides the motor force used, the roads, etc. The same may be stated in reference to any phenomenon. These groups of elements constitute the complexes. So, for instance, the cart, the motor power, the roads, etc., form the complex of transportation. It is natural that in a complex like transportation the elements must be adjusted in such a way that the whole complex may be adapted to its function; e.g., the type of cart, which is also a complex, must be adapted to the existing motor power, and it must be adapted to the existing roads, etc. At the same time, the method of transportation enters as an element into the complex of economical organization. There is no need of a transport organization if there is nothing to be transported, and so on. In this way, the elements are grouped into complexes and the complexes are again grouped into larger complexes. The whole system forming the complex results from the adaptation of the ethnos to the existing conditions of milieu and its own inherited morphological and physiological complex. To establish where the inherited morphology with its functions conditions the elaboration of the system of adaptation of the cultural complex, and where the cultural complex implies a change of physical and functional peculiarity of ethnos, is sometimes impossible, for all of them are bound in the system of equilibrium. We have already pointed out that all cultural phenomena are a product of adaptation, as well as all physical features

---

of man, but the character of cultural phenomena needs some supplementary analysis.

### **7. Cultural Complexes as Functional Phenomenon**

Referring to the living organisms, we may say that the anatomical structure and its chemical organization are physical, material phenomena; while, for instance, the movement of the given organism is its function. This function is one of the results or effects of the processes going on in the organism, and not the process itself. This function responds to the needs of the organism and as a process in highly organized animals it is regulated by the sequence of combined interactions between the central and peripheral nervous systems. The sequence of actions is co-ordinated, and, within certain limits of variations, tends to attain its maximum productivity dictated by the need of survival and naturally formed as a result of adaptation and selection of species and individuals; and thus, to a certain degree, it may produce an impression of being "inherited," i.e., the function as a sequence of actions responding to certain stimuli may appear to be a condition "inherited" together with the physical condition.

The limits of "inheritance" of functions are still under discussion, for the mechanism of transmission, by inheritance, of the complex functions is not yet clear. However, theoretically speaking, no objection can be brought forth against such a possibility. Indeed, the function as such is not inherited; but the possibility, probably chemical in its nature, of the sequence of processes resulting in the effect of certain functions may be inherited.

Let us now illustrate our idea with some examples. The self-reproduction of the species, generally speaking, is a very complex process, which involves, even in the simplest cases of monocellular organisms, a sequence of processes. In pluricellular and highly organized animals, it is still more complex than in monocellular organisms, for besides a purely physico-chemical phase of the process there comes into action the nervous system. This biological function in man, living in an organized society, is still more complex, for the individual actions are controlled by society, directly or through the complex mechanism of the social institutions reflected through the individual mind in the form of a moral complex, sometimes even in a religious form. A relatively



simple sequence of actions of the process of self-reproduction of the species in man has thus taken the form of an extremely long, complex process, in which an individual chemo-physical function is interacting with the functions which are a product of the long living together of numerous human groups. Still, formally we cannot regard them as distinct functions—the ways and the sequence of actions are different, but the function is the same. In the case of man the actions which precede the act of self-reproduction occupy the largest part of the elements constituting the function. In this function we may distinguish a strictly material aspect and an immaterial aspect as resulting from the complex psycho-mental interaction of human beings. The last instance of self-reproduction permits us to see that in some cases a purely biological function takes a very complex form, the effectiveness of which is conditioned by the interaction of various elements entirely veiling the original form of the function. In fact, the complex psycho-mental behaviour of the partners is conditioned, not only by the individual characters, but also by a complex of actions and attitudes implied by the ethnical milieu in which the individuals are or were living. Moreover, the control of the unit in which the process of self-reproduction is going on greatly interferes with the act. The complexity of this act is due to the complexity of individuals directly concerned and the complexity of the conditions in which the ethnical unit may survive. The conditions of the unit are different as to their nature. They may be social, i. e., comprising elements of the social organization; they may be economical, religious, and sometimes ethnical, as when the partners belong to different ethnical groups. Owing to this, we cannot regard the phenomenon as solely psychic, physiological, social, economic, and so forth, for all the above-enumerated elements are in play. The phenomenon is evidently a resultant from a long adjustment of all elements involved, and as such it is a complex form of adaptation of a certain biological function to the given conditions; the latter, however, do not change the biological nature of this function. For this reason, a one-sided analysis of the phenomenon inevitably leads to an incomplete understanding of its nature and function.

The above-described case is not intentionally selected. Any phenomenon of human activity may be reduced to its simplest form, in which it has to be dealt with by the biologist in a narrow sense of

---

the word. As a matter of fact, all human activity which results in the complex cultural phenomena is nothing but a complex form of biological adaptation. In different living organisms the ways are different, but their nature remains the same—it is a functional adaptation of the individual organism to the existing outer world.

We can now proceed to the question of variations of the forms of adaptation. I intentionally use the expression "variation," for the latter does not presume any particular or predetermined form of change. The variation is a mere change in form or function. If we suppose that the process of cell fusion, which is a chemo-physical process, and thus a material one, in the case of self-reproduction changes, two cases may be expected—one in which the old form of self-production does not hinder the new form of cell fusion, and thus may be preserved intact; and another one in which the old form comes into conflict with the new form of fusion. In this case the physical condition of the cell will be responsible for the further changes in the function of self-reproduction. Yet there may be another case in which the physical conditions of successful fertilization are not affected, but the conditions of milieu require a new form of adaptation; and if it is made without affecting the process of cell fusion, the species does not bear any harmful consequence. But it is not so when the change of the functioning system is of such a nature as to affect the self-reproduction process. The existence of the individuals who form a self-reproducing unit is then threatened by extinction. It is evident that in all cases we have a well-balanced and well-adapted system, and if it were not so the unit could not survive.

The maintaining of the equilibrium is achieved by the process of minor changes in which some elements are affected by changes, while some other elements may not. There is naturally a great number of elements constituting the phenomenon taken by us as an instance, but all of them are not necessarily subject to changes if one of them is so. This may be called "partial change." Let us illustrate this condition. In the system of self-reproduction the wedding ceremony plays a very important part, for it gives social sanction to the marriage, and thus opens possibility of self-reproduction. Self-reproduction is possible, however, without any wedding ceremony and marriage; but in the given ethnical unit, in so far as the integrity of the unit must be preserved, including its

cultural complex, the possibility of smooth functioning; etc., the process of self-reproduction may be carried out only on the condition of performing all the rites and customs connected with the act. Let us now suppose that in the wedding customs new elements are introduced—for instance, the smoking of tobacco, which was recently<sup>1</sup> introduced into the given group. The innovation will complicate the old complex customs of the wedding, unless it is substituted by some other practice; but it will produce no essential effect on the physiology of self-reproduction. If the introduction of tobacco smoking during the wedding ceremony substitutes some other custom, there may be a shortening of the wedding ceremony and a loss of some older customs (elements) which may have a certain bearing upon the function of self-reproduction. Here I have in view, for instance, the difference in the cultural complex which very often hinders the crossing of distinct ethnical groups, and thus may have a certain influence on the process of crossing with alien groups which present some physical peculiarities.<sup>2</sup> The chain of connected elements is sometimes very long and in some cases it is short. So the importance of elements in so far as they affect the whole complex ought to be weighed with great caution and only after a minute analysis.

#### 8. Variations of Cultural Phenomena

Let us now take some ethnographical complex, for example, the wheeled vehicle, and follow its variations. The wheeled vehicle made its appearance in prehistoric time. At the beginning of the historic period it was found to be very simply constructed, but already well adapted for the needs of transportation and carried on by oxen and horses. We may suppose that it did not appear before man had learnt the skillful use of implements for working wood and before the draught animal had been domesticated. The vehicle, during the long time of its existence, was adapted for various needs and particularly for war as a chariot. The art of manufacturing chariots at a certain period attained its highest skill; but, with the

<sup>1</sup>This is the case in most of the Asiatic groups.

<sup>2</sup>The introduction of the tobacco-smoking rite may serve as a method of approach between two alien groups. As a matter of fact, sometimes a minor change in the habits and customs, e. g., the change in the shape of the clothing, opens the possibility of approach of males and females belonging to different ethnical, and even "racial," groups

---

change of methods of warfare, the chariot disappeared altogether. During the mediæval period the wheeled vehicle went through a series of variations. At the end of the eighteenth century it attained its most complex and artful forms, which were possible because of the introduction of new material, such as iron, leather, painting, etc. The external forms, ornamentation and material, were used in accordance with prevailing tastes and technical possibilities. So different styles were created. The type *dormeuse* was gradually introduced in different countries, and everywhere it received some new elements in accordance with the local tastes for ornamentation and practical needs conditioned by distances, the state of the roads, the wealth of the owners, etc. Then different local types originated. No *dormeuse* was possible in the regions where there were no horses or where there were no roads, so these conditions put a limit to its spreading. In the nineteenth century, together with the extension of railways, the practical need of the *dormeuse* began to diminish, but it survived for a little while in some regions where the railway did not yet exist. At last it died out altogether, and is now preserved in the museums and in very rich families who keep their relics. When the horse began to give place to another motor power,—gasolene,—the material used for the vehicles adapted for a new motor power must be different—metals, leather, rubber, and very little wood. First, there was no spacious room for seats, but afterwards, with the reduction of the engine, the type of a spacious, comfortable vehicle again made its appearance and has received such great popularity that at the present time it may compete with the railway, at least for travelling at short distances. It has not yet received such a great variety of styles and types as with the *dormeuse*, but this may come later if the diversity of local ethnographical complexes requires it.

This is an instance of a varying ethnographical phenomenon which spread over the world during a relatively short period, gave hundreds of varieties adapted to the local ethnographical complexes, and died out before the new motor power was applied. However, the *dormeuse* could not make its appearance without the smith's skill, the skill of various other artisans, and without well-trained drivers, and also without the owner who needed a conveyance for long and comfortable travelling. So that the *dormeuse* was in a certain ethnographical complex in which not only the conditions of

industry must not hinder the construction of it, but in which the social conditions must be as they were, including the idea of "lady," who could not give herself the trouble of such uncomfortable vehicles as used by the farmers. However, the whole complex of the *dormeuse* was not migrating from one region to another, but only some of its elements, while other elements of an entirely different origin might be in simple agreement with the former ones. From a direct observation of ethnographical facts, we know that any element may be borrowed if it does not require the complete reconstruction of the whole complex, and that when there is need of some new element, it may be either invented or borrowed from the neighbours and even left with no modifications if it suits the complex. On the other hand, practical inutility, the need of a great readaptation of the element or the complex, and lastly a lack of familiarity with a new element may become a hindrance to the adoption of new elements. Yet we also know that the elements are always adapted to the complex; and since there are continuous changes in the complex, the elements may also go through the changes if their preservation in all forms comes into conflict with the complex. If it does not, the element may be preserved for thousands of years without change. The elements may also be borrowed without any evident practical impulse; as, for instance, a new form of dress, tie, etc. The only reason is that the other people who are worthy of imitation use a different form and the latter may be imitated. Yet it may lose its seeming utility and still be preserved, for it does no harm to the people and occupies a certain place in the complex, making a conventional distinction between the given element or the whole complex and other similar phenomena. We have seen that the wheeled vehicle was used as a war chariot and changed later into the *dormeuse*. So the elements may change their function as well. If we analyse any existing ethnographical complex, we may find that it consists of different elements and complexes well adjusted one to another. So, too, the social organization must respond to the needs of economical organization and function, the psycho-mental complex must satisfy the needs of technology, and functions of the social organization. If there are maladjustments of complexes, or if certain elements show overgrowth, e. g., owing to the temporary psycho-mental attitude (perhaps too great attention is paid to them), running over the limits of

practical utility, or if some elements show an insufficient adaptation and a deficient quantitative value, the whole complex may begin to suffer from the lack of equilibrium, which may result in a harmful reduction of resistance on the part of the bearers of the given cultural complex. When the complex shows such a disequilibrium, it loses its value as a function of adaptation of the unit, and the latter will not care any more for its preservation as a whole or as elements. The cultural complex is thus a product of long adaptation of the unit. It consists of elements preserved from time immemorial, of elements borrowed from the neighbours and adapted with modifications or without modifications, and of elements created by the unit in the process of adaptation. Some of these elements may be of vital importance, some of them may be easily substituted at any moment, and, last of all, some of them may have only a secondary importance as an "ornamentation," a completion of the complex. But, as a matter of fact, there is no element which is absolutely functionless in the system of equilibrium.<sup>1</sup> During the history of ethnical units, the complex is always in the process of change. At one period a group of elements and whole complexes may be numerous and important in the system of equilibrium, as it was, for instance, with sheep breeding in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, which was implied by the growing manufactures; while later it may give place to another manner of adaptation, and may disappear altogether, yet reappear again and again. So that although the complex shows its "continuity," it is not the same at any subsequent moment.

#### 9. Impulses of Variations, Their Intensity and Tempo of Variation

The change of cultural complexes and their elements as shown is stimulated by the need of adaptation of the ethnical units. But this broad statement can be dissected. First of all, there are permanently acting sources of impulses, i. e., the adaptation to the seasonal variation of weather, the periodical variations of climate,

<sup>1</sup>When one applies a "rationalistic" point of view, one falls into an elementary methodological error; namely, one implies one's own ethnographic complex (the complex of rationalization is more or less characteristic, and in various degrees, of all ethnical groups, and it is especially common in the European complex) to an alien complex. The effect is not an analytical penetration into the mechanism of the investigated complex, but the effect is the unveiling of one's own reactions.

the consummation of food, and the wearing out of utensils, clothing, dwellings, etc. However, the adaptation in the given conditions, including variations of weather and climate, may be so perfect and flexible that there will be no need of changing anything in the system. Yet the system of the supply of food, utensils, clothing, and dwellings may also be so perfect and regular that no impulse of change will appear. But there is an important factor of unavoidable change; namely, increase of population. The increase, even at a small rate, requires the readaptation of the unit, for a need of a new territory or that of a new way of division of work appears which would allow the maintaining of the existence of an increasing number of members forming the unit. The pressure of population is a permanently functioning stimulus if the unit is in the process of growth. Since the change of the economical organization or the simple regrouping of the elements is implied by this factor, the other elements of the ethnographical complex must also be readapted. Then a series of continuous changes follows.

Yet there is one more important source of variation; namely, the change of primary milieu, which may take place either as a result of a sudden change of climate, periodically occurring, or owing to the migration of the unit, total or partial, which is a common case with growing units. The readaptation in these cases is implied by the need of survival and it must proceed immediately. This process is very often correlated with the change of the physical adaptation of the ethnical groups.

At last a great source of change is the interethnical milieu; i. e., the surrounding ethnical groups. The necessity of change is implied by the pressure on the part of the neighbours who in the process of numerical increase tend to occupy new territory. In order to oppose this pressure, which often takes on a military form, the unit has to produce effort for a certain increase of its population or for the perfection of the military and other technique. Another way of pressure operates through the imitation of cultural complexes and elements found amongst the neighbours. The importance of this source of change may be realized if we remember that there is no one ethnical group which would be beyond the interethnical pressure.

The effect of the interethnical pressure may be better seen when the difference of the ethnical value of the units is considered. The

ethnoses are found under the pressure of all other units. So if the ethnical value of the ethnos is defined as shown,  $f = \frac{I}{\omega} q^2$ , and its *interethnical actual value* is increased, owing to the impulsive pressure of all neighbouring ethnical units, i. e.,  $\epsilon = \frac{I}{\omega} q^2 \Sigma i$ , where  $\Sigma i$  is the sum of all impulses of variations active amongst these units, then the intensity of the interethnical pressure and its effectiveness may be realized.

The possible forms and sources of impulses of variations may be classed into three groups conditioned by the quantitative change, either of population, or culture (and in general adaptation), or territory, which imply the change of other elements forming the ethnical equilibrium of the unit. The impulses of this type I have called "impulses of variations," from the formula of the constant of ethnical equilibrium  $\omega = \frac{q}{ST}$ , whence the impulses of variations may be understood as proportional to the relative increase of some of the elements for  $\frac{\Delta q}{\Delta S \Delta T} = \omega$ . The impulses of variations considered as shown hold good so long as the ethnos is isolated and where physical changes do not affect the unit. However, as we have already seen, the ethnos cannot be regarded as an isolated unit—this is a mere abstraction—and thus the processes cannot be observed as they actually are.

The impulses of variation may originate owing to the pressure of interethnical equilibrium, so the ethnos may be compelled to change, for instance, its cultural adaptation, the positive outcome of which may be totally consumed by the needs of opposing the increase of the interethnical pressure (for maintaining the equilibrium); or if the reaction of implied change may show an excess, the latter will produce further impulsive variations of other elements of ethnical equilibrium as it goes on in the isolated ethnoses. The same effects may be observed in the case of the change of population implied by the interethnical pressure.

It is evident that we meet with the same situation when the source of the impulse of variation is the pressure of change of the primary milieu. However, the situation is different when there are involved changes of the physical (particularly physiological) adaptation. In



fact, the latter as shown is the element to which are adapted all elements of the secondary milieu (culture). If the variations of milieu, both primary and interethnic, imply a change of physical characters in the process of adaptation of the ethnos, the whole system of ethnical equilibrium must be rearranged. In the process of rearrangement the unit may lose its ethnical equilibrium and naturally collapse or slowly disintegrate under the interethnic pressure.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to enumerate here all the cases of impulses of variations and their combinations; yet for our purpose—as an introduction to the processes of variations in language—it is also not necessary. What is stated in the above lines may suffice to show how these processes are complex and how they may be analysed.

Now we may proceed to the problem of intensity and tempo of variations of cultural complexes and elements. We have already seen that in the ethnoses the variations may have a different intensity, tension, and tempo, which depend on a great number of various conditions. Let us suppose that there are no impulses of variations, which certainly would be an ideal case, then there will be naturally no variations. If the impulses appear, and if the ethnos wants to survive in its former integrity, it has to produce certain changes, which it does proportionally to the impulses of variations.

<sup>1</sup>It should be here pointed out that the pressure of population has its own peculiarities; namely, in ethnoses, in other animals and plants as well, the potential increase of population greatly exceeds the practical possibility of change of cultural adaptation and extension of the area occupied. This calls to life a complex mechanism checking the growth of population beyond the limits put by the given equilibrium. In man this must pass through the process of adaptation of the psychomental complex. If the ethnos loses its ability of maintaining its equilibrium, there may occur an uncontrolled increase of population which cannot be followed by the variation of the secondary milieu (culture), and thus the only way of adaptation will be the change of physical characters. Practically, it takes the form of pauperism and physical "degeneration." It is evident that in this process the interethnic value of the ethnos is reduced, and it is doomed to perish under the interethnic pressure. On the other hand, the overgrowth of the secondary milieu, which is not followed by a balanced increase of population, and which is not implied by the interethnic pressure, may also result in the loss of equilibrium and physical changes. Practically, however, the interethnic milieu does not leave, for the completion of the process of decline and ethnos as an independent unit perishes much earlier, very often through the process of anthropological substitution. Furthermore, the loss of elasticity in the regulation of the self-reproductive function, balanced with the growth of *S*, may also result in the inability of adaptation to the growing interethnic pressure (e. g., the case of ethnoses practising for a long time artificial methods of birth control), and thus loss of interethnic value, a further disintegration, and the death of the unit.

---

Naturally, *the greater the impulses of variations, the greater the intensity of implied variations.*

Since the impulses of variations are permanently acting, and since some of them are permanently increasing, the intensity of variations increases with them. True, there is a limit of increase; namely, when the change requires the effort which does not compensate the results achieved by the change, then the change not only becomes useless, but becomes harmful for the existence of the unit. However, the change as such means very little, for the essential condition is the tempo of changes, or changes occurring at the unit of time. This is very important, for every change must pass through the mechanism of a psychomental complex, which has to reflect the process and adapt itself for the act of change, *ante* or *post factum*. From the observation of facts, we know that the psycho-mental ability of ethnoses in tension, which must be proportional to the tempo of variations, is different. Yet there is also a certain limit of tension that cannot be passed over. In fact, the existence of cultural elements is possible only on the condition of their being recognized by the ethnical unit which underlies the mechanism of their transmission to the succeeding generations. If there is a negative reaction on the cultural element the latter cannot be included into the complex. On the other hand, the attachment to the existing elements and complexes may also obstruct the changes up to the degree when the unit may suffer from the lack of adaptiveness. In case there is no reaction on the elements and complexes the tension will be very weak, for it will require only the mental effort of logical reasoning to bring the unit to the idea that a certain change must be produced; but at the same time it will not be stabilized and economically used in the old complex. But if there is an absolute refusal to carry out a change, the changes implied may produce a dangerous effect; namely, a kind of psychic disequilibrium of the unit in which the minor changes may absorb the attention and creative power of the unit too much, in this way depriving it of the economical use of its faculties for further adaptation. So the tension cannot pass over the limit when it begins to threaten the psychic equilibrium of the unit.

From this analysis of the process of changes, we may see that some elements may be changed without producing harmful effects upon the equilibrium and the functional productivity of the

complexes. On the other hand, we have seen that the adoption of certain elements brings immediate variations and are promptly recognized, while some other elements can be accomplished only after a long process of assimilation and adaptation. Yet, in some cases, no tension is required for producing a change, while in some other cases a tension is required to pass over the limit of ethnical ability to the tension itself. Moreover, we have seen that the elements to be introduced are almost always found ready in the complexes of their neighbours, or they may be created within the unit itself if they are greatly needed.<sup>1</sup>

So that we may now conclude: the mechanism of the preservation and introduction, creation included, of new elements and complexes is such that it may be favourable or unfavourable for the continuity of elements regardless of complexes, and it may be favourable or unfavourable to the preservation of complexes, regardless of elements, the chief reason of which is that culture comprising elements and their complexes is *functional adaptation*. In this aspect, it is included as one of the elements of the constant of ethnical equilibrium and thus it is subject to variations, as any other elements constituting ethnical equilibrium.

The only reason for the existence of elements and complexes is that they are needed as a method of adaptation and the ethnoses do not hesitate to choose the way to receive and introduce them if they can be adapted to the complexes, and they are not rejected till they threaten the existing equilibrium.

<sup>1</sup>As a matter of fact, most of the new, promptly needed elements are usually discovered by one of thousands of existing units, whence they spread over other units which need such an element. However, investigators usually pay great attention to those units which are in the process of great creative adaptation. This function is observed chiefly in leading ethnical units. The mechanism of adaptation by the creation of new elements is very complex, so it will not be discussed here; for it would require too extensive a treatment, while a great majority of units never use it, for they can borrow needed elements from their neighbours, so that the ethnical unit merely draws elements from the interethnical milieu and creates only in cases of a great need of adaptation. Of course, I am far away from the idea of minimizing the importance of the creative ability of ethnoses, but it has practically a relatively minor importance in the history of adaptation of individual units. It begins to work only when borrowing is more difficult than creation, or when borrowing is impossible. In my further works I shall devote more attention to the mechanism of creation in leading ethnoses which may survive only on the condition of the creation of new elements and new complexes. I shall also show why investigators are so much interested in this problem. This is one of the curious ethnographical phenomena.

## CHAPTER II. LANGUAGE

## 10. Language

Language is one of the most complex ethnographical phenomena. Since the existing definitions of language show great variety, I shall point out the views which form the basis of my present work.<sup>1</sup> First of all, I presume, as the most probable conception, that the processes emotionally perceived by individuals as "thought" are chemo-physical in their nature which form a chain of absolute and conditioned reflexes,<sup>2</sup> and the origin and location of which are not confined to the central nervous system only. Language, in a broad sense of the word, may be thus defined as a complex of various methods by means of which an individual may produce in another individual, and in himself, a chain of emotionally perceived chemo-physical processes—the thought. Since the aim of the acting individual is to start in another individual a certain reflex, or a chain

<sup>1</sup>To clear up the field of our discussion, let us first point out that the organs used for speech throughout all human groups do not present any hindrance for producing any sound met with in different languages. Yet the organs that are now used for speech might have existed at the period when the ancestor of the present man could hardly be regarded as an animal of the same species as the present man. Investigations into the evolution of the human brain have already led anthropologists to the idea that even the earliest precursors of man, such as the *Pithecanthropus erectus*, possessed the necessary physical conditions for certain speech, in so far as one may infer from the structure of the brain. The anatomical characters of the facial, nasal, palatal, and jaw-bones in quaternary Neanderthal man (i.e., a hundred thousand years ago) were of the nature to permit their possessor of having soft parts adapted enough for producing various sounds needed for speech (cf. the works of M. Boule and Elliot Smith). Thus, from this point of view, the conditions of the physical factor is nearly constant for all human groups and practically unvariable during the period when the variations of language may be observed. Since this is true, the individual physical adaptation of the organs used for speech is the only aspect directly connected with physical fitness and unfitness, which thus cannot be held responsible for the peculiarities of phonetics of particular languages. In other words, the anatomical point of view cannot help us in finding the differences in existing languages. Thus there remain for consideration only the functional, also psychological and social aspects of the problem.

<sup>2</sup>J. Pavlov has not yet published his final conclusions as to the human "thought," but he leaves us to understand that such is the nature of all simple and complex phenomena of animal behaviour.

of reflexes, I shall use the term "starter" for all the methods used for the realization of the aim of the acting individual.<sup>1</sup>

In this complex we may include all the methods used without giving preference to any one of them and call this complex *language*. The narrow sense of "language" is that confined to a selected group of elements constituting a language.

The technical methods of language chiefly comprise two groups; namely, optical and auditory starters.<sup>2</sup> In the first group we have (1) images; (2) symbols (e. g., written languages, including those approaching the image, but used as "symbols"); and (3) gestures (e. g., those of the hands, the arms, and the legs, together with the feet, and especially of the whole body, and particularly mimics), which may have direct and symbolic functions. As a matter of fact, conversation in certain cases may be successfully carried out only by means of the optical starters of the third type. The written language may be effective without ever being "read" with the voice and even without being expressed in corresponding sounds (sounding starters), as, for example, in mathematical symbolism; yet it may give origin to a spoken language when the symbols are "named," i. e., when the symbols are "read" in sounding starters. In the second group we have combinations of sounds. The latter are built up by sounds produced by a combination of physical organs,<sup>3</sup> by the pitch of musical tone and its complexes, and by a variable length and degree of air pressure.

A spoken language may consist not only of sounds, but it may also include elements of the first group; e. g., gestures, particularly

<sup>1</sup>The starters, as well as the processes implied by them, have received various names; e. g., "sign," "image," "word," etc., and particularly "symbol." I avoid the use of the term "symbol" in this sense, for it has already been used by L. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards for covering only a certain group of starters. According to them, a "word may function as a symbol and as an emotive sign" (*op. cit.*, pp. 228, 257, and Chap. X). Indeed, "symbol" as it is used by these authors must be reserved for a special study into the "meaning of meaning" and "symbolism." Whether the starter acts like a "symbol" or like an "emotive sign," in either case the process implied is perceived conditionally. Degrees of participation of various organs in this perception are naturally different, which is again connected with the complex of conditioned reflexes, and which sometimes is strongly felt by the individual (emotion).

<sup>2</sup>I say "chiefly," for there are other groups of starters--olfactory, touch, etc., but they do not play a very great part in the language.

<sup>3</sup>According to all linguists, there are no special organs of speech, but various organs are adapted for this function.

mimics.<sup>1</sup> The using of gestures is subject to great variations in different languages and individuals. Some languages cannot be spoken in the dark, while some others may. The language of the latter group cannot be considered as "better developed or richer" than the language of the first group, but it may be regarded as more specialized in choosing "starters."<sup>2</sup> From this point of view, specialization is only a way of adaptation, and is as good as any other in responding to the needs. Naturally, the choice of starters and their grouping into complexes is a long process, originating first in individuals who are actual inventors (conscious or unconscious) of starters. Besides the starters originating in a given milieu (transmitted by tradition—imitated or invented by other members of the same group), there are starters introduced by individuals for their own personal use as well as for starters of processes in other persons, and the number may be restricted to one more person or spread over hundreds of millions. Individuals and groups of individuals may have a distinct complex of starters. We may distinguish (1) the individual language (used in monologues that are usually not pronounced, and, as a rule, unknown to other persons);<sup>3</sup> (2) the language of a small group (e.g., the family language, the lovers' language, various argos and slang, the club language, etc.); (3) the language of a larger group, containing the more or less stabilized complex of a great number of starters; and (4) the inter-species language (particularly for domesticated animals), containing a small series of conditioned and absolute starters. The use of methods in producing starters is naturally subject to great variations in these four types of language.

The question when and how language was begun we must answer in the sense that the language is not a particular phenomenon confined to man, for the ancestors of man, other and distinct animals,

<sup>1</sup>It is a well-known fact that the speeches of some famous speakers lose their beauty, even their sense, when they are reproduced without gestures and especially when they are reproduced in written form. In the last form they sometimes become "meaningless" and flat.

<sup>2</sup>It may be pointed out that the specialization of a language along the line of its approach to a symbolic written form is an evident impoverishing in the sense of limiting the means of producing starters.

<sup>3</sup>The reason for the existence of an individual language (the complex of starters!) is that individuals also need special starters for their own use when "thinking" or "monologuing."

possessed their own languages, just as other animals now living possess their own languages as a complex of sounding and non-sounding starters. From this point of view, there is no dividing line between "human" and "animal" languages, and historically the "origin" of language cannot be established. From the "human" point of view, it ever existed as a function.

It is different when one excludes certain elements forming a language or if one puts a special limit (e.g., only "articulated") or emphasis on certain elements of a language. So, in dependence upon the choice of elements, there are many distinct definitions of language. For illustration, I shall now quote some of the latest definitions. E. Sapir gives the definition of language as an acquired, cultural function which may be accepted if we extend "cultural" to the meaning of "adaptive"; but he puts an essential limitation when he considers the language as a "system of voluntary produced symbols" ("Language," p. 7.), for the language contains also "absolute starters" and the limitation is still extended when he introduces another definition—"language is primarily an auditory system of symbols," where all optical elements and all "emotive signs" are excluded. Such a definition of language practically reflects the idea of modern linguists on the *spoken* languages which may be easily viewed and with which they are dealing. The definition given by O. Jespersen ("The Philosophy of Grammar," p. 17) is different, namely: "The essence of language is human activity—activity on the part of one individual to make himself understood by another, and activity on the part of that other to understand what was in the mind of the first"; but the language is actually confined to the "human" species and to spoken language, for in reference to written language O. Jespersen says, "A written word is mummified until some one imparts life to it by transposing it mentally into corresponding spoken word," which, as a matter of fact, is not always necessary. Another definition is that "the language of a nation is the set of habits by which members of the nation are accustomed to communicate with one another" (cf. "Mankind, Nation, and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View," p. 23). Here we may point out the conception of the nation as a unit. J. Vendryes ("Le Langage. Introduction linguistique à l'histoire") agrees with the definition of language as "un système de signes" given by B. Leroy ("Le Langage," 1905) in which all starters are included. However,

"*signe*" he identifies with "symbol capable de servir à la communication entre les hommes." He confines himself to "le langage auditif, appelé aussi langage parlé ou langage articulé" (*id.*, pp. 8, 9). However, F. de Saussure (*op. cit.*, p. 26) comes to the conclusion that a language is "un système de signes distincts correspondant à des idées distinctes"; but he has previously formulated that "il ne se laisse pas classer dans aucune catégorie des faits humains parce qu'on ne sait comment dégager son unité" (*id.*, p. 25).

One may see that these definitions are not absolutely alike. These differences are due chiefly to the character of language itself. The existence of specialists, such as "grammarians," "philologists," "linguists," etc., who attack the language from various points and give different definitions of language, shows how great is the complexity of the phenomenon. At which moment this form of human adaptation may be called "language" totally depends upon the author's point of view.

#### 11. Sounding Starters

The methods of producing starters as stated are numerous. In man, at certain moments, human or prehuman, the sounding starter has received special application. However, so far as the operation with the sounds is concerned, it presents rather limited possibilities; namely, production of sounds by the lips, the tongue, the nose, the teeth, the soft and hard palate, the glottal complex, and rarely the cheeks, also all physically possible combinations of these organs. The combinations are not very numerous. For producing new varieties of fundamental sounds these may be increased by length, by tones, by sequence of tones, and by distinct degrees of stress; and lastly, by the combination of various sounds into new complex sounds. The subsequent addition of sounding starters permits a variation of complex reactions (in hearer and speaker) and gradually directs a series of subsequent reactions. The direction may be produced by various means; as, for instance, special starters, the order of different starters, etc.

The formation of stable, conditioned reflexes responding to the starters and their observation is the way to find a practical value (meaning) of various sounding starters and their practical use, as



"engrams."<sup>1</sup> It is naturally a long process and it is not particularly "human." So the sounding starters, by the side of other methods, have become a powerful means of social intercourse, owing to which sounding starters might be greatly increased up to the point of forming stable complexes. The differentiation of sounding starters into that used for the phenomena directly perceived, that directing the process of connecting conditioned reflexes in new combinations, and that producing starters only in the complex combinations is a long process, in which the sounding starters (also their written symbols and, generally, their optical starters) went through the variations which at different moments might correspond to what is called "sentence," "word," and "particle."<sup>2</sup> However, these variations are not one-sided, i. e., the sounding starter may first correspond to a "sentence," and afterwards to a "word"; and a simple conditioned reflex perceived as "thought" may be produced by a simple starter first, but afterwards it may require a complex starter. Yet the starters may be preserved for thousands of years without any changes.

In so far as the reactions of hearers are concerned, the increase of combinations of starters produces new effects. They may become very complex. Beginning from a simple sound and going through a gradual increase and changes, the complex starter may attain the length of a process lasting for several seconds. A simple complex

<sup>1</sup>This is the term used by Semon, defined by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards (*op. cit.*, p. 140),—"to call upon excitation similar to that caused by the original stimulus." The engrams may be dissected into elements.

<sup>2</sup>The distinction of "sentences," "words," and "particles" is conventional, indeed. It is sometimes impossible to distinguish these formal elements. E. Sapir asserts that words exist as an entity somewhat independent of the sentence, for proving which he brings some facts of his experience with the American natives. I can support this statement by similar instances of the Tungus, whom I taught to use a phonetic transcription for recording their own language. However, these facts must not be overestimated,—in some languages, the words are entirely fused together to form the "sentence," which becomes a complex starter beyond which words do not exist; yet in some languages, the "meaningless" particles used only for directing the connexion of conditioned reflexes are consciously used separately as "words." The starter may be as small as a single sound and it may be as long as a long sentence. Children often perceive sentences (J. Piaget's observations in "The Language and Thought of the Child") as single starters which may be easily "explained" by starters of various length. But it does not mean that the unit is a "sentence," and not a "word" or a "particle." The sentence may be a single starter in which words cannot be abstracted, and a compound sentence may form a compound starter in which single words may be separated. It all depends upon the character of the starters.

sounding starter isolated from a compound starter sometimes loses its functional value altogether. Thus the discrimination of nouns, verbs, words, sentences, etc., is, when made, sometimes absolutely impossible and artificial. Such a proceeding with the languages is a mere adaptation of one ethnographical complex for another. In the choice of ways for finding new starters and their combination, individuals are often led in the line of least resistance, as it is characteristic of all other phenomena of human adaptation. If a new starter appropriates its function as a useful starter, it is adopted and comes into use. If the method invented for rearranging starters for producing complex starters is practicable, and a directing starter is effective, they may receive general recognition. Their nature is, indeed, a functional one. It may thus be stated that *all methods are good in so far as they have a practical functional value and the methods are different.*<sup>1</sup>

## 12. The Language in Ethnoses

Indeed, it is a plain truth that language does not exist beyond society, in a broad sense of the word. However, the process of stabilization of a language, i. e., when starters become effective instruments in the hands of individuals, may take place only in the case of a certain stability and continuity of the organized unit. The new starters receive their functional value, gradually spreading over larger groups of individuals, so that their spreading is conditioned by the existence of interrelations between the units. The language as a complex of starters has thus certain limits for its variations and spreading. As shown, such units are ethnoses, so we may now proceed to the fate of language when it is used in ethnoses.

When an ethnical unit needs a new starter, it uses the known elementary sounds of the unit. However, since the number of combinations is limited, all possible sounds are soon exhausted, and the unit may choose one of certain ways for producing new sounds. These ways may be of purely phonetic order, as, e. g., a change of quantity of the elementary sounds, a change of sounds through

<sup>1</sup>The history of the Indo-European languages shows instances of loss of tones as an ancient element of the formation of starters, while the Chinese languages show a phenomenon of their probable increase. The old special starters (flexions and suffixes) of the Indo-European languages were lost, after which new methods were introduced (prefixes), while "flexion" and "suffixes" continue to survive. As these facts are well known, there is no need to repeat them here.

palatalization, aspiration, labialization, voicing, regulation of explosion, etc. If these methods do not suffice, there is one more means; namely, the increase of sounds with varied musical content, pitch of tone, etc. Lastly, the method of a change of the type of sound may be used; e. g., when a bilabial consonant is altered into a glottal.

The phonetic change may be substituted by other methods of production of new sounding starters, so that the original simple starter may be increased with other sounding elements. This method receives a prevailing application in the formation of new starters. The latter may be produced by the repetition of an old complex, its increase with another handy complex, or an increase with special starters leading the process of the hearer in a certain definite direction by means of various suffixes, prefixes, or infixes. As stated, this group of starters does not differ from any other group of starters. The most common case is the preservation of the old phonetic complex and its combinations with some other old complexes. A new combination receives the function of a distinct starter. It is evident that the ethnical unit may use any of the above-indicated methods with a preference to some of them, or without any particular choice of methods. The latter may depend on various conditions in which the habit of using certain methods may become responsible for a further application of the same method, till it becomes the only one used. Yet the accidental discovery of new possibilities also occurs, as it does in special sounds, like the lateral spirant *tenuis* of the Tibeto-Burman and the Palæasiatic-American *L*, or the famous sounds of the Hottentot and Bushman languages, as is also true with the using of tones, the musical accentuation of complex starters, etc. The same is true of the methods of phonetic changes and specified starters such as affixes, or the rearrangement of the word order, etc.<sup>1</sup> Since in the possession of an ethnos there is a certain amount of various starters, they may be used for thousands of years without any essential change or with

<sup>1</sup>I think P. Rivet (*op. cit.*, p. 162) is incorrect when he says that for linguists "l'intérêt réside surtout dans l'étude des variations internes d'une même langue au cours des âges et des phénomènes généraux d'évolution," while an anthropologist (according to my terminology "ethnologist") "s'intéresse, au contraire, beaucoup plus aux mots qu'aux formes, au vocabulaire qu'à la grammaire. Les deux conceptions diffèrent exactement comme diffèrent en sciences naturelles celles du biologiste et du systématicien." The importance of the structure of a language and its phonetic

only slight variations. However, there are two permanently acting factors of changes; namely, the need of having new starters for new phenomena (variations of milieus) and the imitation of neighbours (varying interethnic milieus).<sup>1</sup> We have already seen that these conditions of existence of the ethnic unit are also responsible for the change of other elements of the secondary milieu. So, all that has been stated in this reference may also be applied to language. However, language forms only one of the elements of the secondary milieu, so that the first adaptation of language is that to this milieu. Since the secondary milieu usually changes, the amount of starters also changes in so far as new starters are needed for new elements about to be included into the old complex. Here it ought to be pointed out that the change of the secondary milieu is more likely to occur amongst ethnoses which are under the influence of a varying primary milieu, so that the greatest stability of the complex is observed only amongst the groups living in isolation and under very even climatic conditions.<sup>2</sup> The greatest influence on the changes has a particular adaptation in small groups of limited, or geographically and ethnically isolated, areas. This tendency has been indicated as one of the effects of the centripetal movements in the ethnoses. On the other hand, the adoption of new habits by a small group is easier than by a large group, especially when the latter has not created great cohesion, so that the effect of the centrifugal movement is also stronger. The new elements of the secondary milieu

variations is very great, indeed, for both structure and phonetics may directly affect the "lexic" contents of a language, and if the investigator confines himself to the idea of "words" (*mois*) [the latter as a phenomenon which may be regarded independently on other elements (and starters) forming a language], the essential sides of the linguistic complex may escape his attention, and bring him to a wrong conception as to the relationship between the languages; at least, that is what usually happens.

<sup>1</sup>It may be pointed out, for example, that the influence of changes due to children (emphasized by O. Jespersen) who imperfectly imitate adults is not a permanently acting *factor* of changes, although it may serve as a *source* of production of new or modified starters. Indeed, when a language is found in the process of readaptation all sources of changes are used. However, there are instances of preservation and sudden change of languages as well (cf., e.g., A. Meillet, "La Méthode comparative en linguistique historique," Chap. IV, where numerous instances are given), which facts point to the potential character of this source. The same is true of other sources of variations which must not be regarded as *factors* of changes.

<sup>2</sup>Perhaps this is the case in Polynesian groups.

are either created by the unit in the process of their adaptation or are borrowed from their neighbours. The same is true of the starters. As to the second permanent factor of change,—inter-ethnical pressure,—it is produced in different ways; e.g., the need of terms for interethnical relations, the perception of phenomena of interethnical milieu, which is gradually becoming more and more complex; and lastly, an adaptation to the periodically occurring lack of equilibrium between the centripetal and centrifugal movements. As to the sources of new starters, the unit may choose any source, in any way suitable to it;<sup>1</sup> but as to borrowing from their neighbours, there are great limitations; namely, the element, especially the phonetic one, must suit the existing complex. What is actually observed amongst the living ethnoses and in their languages is that usually the unit elaborates its particular habits and complex sounds, adapting themselves and adapted by the existing “*artikulationbasis*” which are not alike amongst the ethnical units. So that a new, unknown sound has a certain chance of being adopted if it may be reproduced without great effort and without a change of the basis of articulation (*artikulationbasis*). If it requires a readaptation of the organs used for speech, it is more likely to be modified, owing to its adaptation to the existing basis of articulation. Thus the adoption of the new sounds is not an easy task. This does not occur when the basis of articulation of two groups are more or less alike—the borrowing is then easy; yet, through the borrowing of starters, the new sounds are also assimilated. Under this condition, the whole phonetic system may gradually be substituted and thus affect an original stock of starters. However, it does not mean that if the basis of articulation of two languages is different from each other no mutual or unilateral influence may occur. The whole system of adaptation for articulation may be changed. Owing to this, one may observe geographical areas covered by different languages, but possessing nearly the same phonetic system, side by side with cases where, in the midst of certain phonetic areas, islands

<sup>1</sup>The sources of new starters found within the units are numerous; e.g., sounds found in nature (primary milieu), in the phenomena of the secondary milieu, in individual invention, in children's imperfectness and new starters, accidental *lapsus linguae*, etc., the enumeration of which is not now important to us.

of special phonetic complexes<sup>1</sup> are preserved. The starters are also easily borrowed when phonetic differences are not great, and if the morphological characters of the languages are not too distinct. But in some cases the borrowing is altogether impossible. For instance, a long German "word" cannot be borrowed by the Chinese without being entirely modified and adapted. The long Tungus words cannot be adopted by the Chinese, as well as the long "sentence-like" Chukchi words cannot be borrowed by the Tungus, and so on. Yet the borrowing of Chinese starters with their characteristic musical content presents such great difficulties that the words borrowed by foreigners often remain unrecognized by the Chinese. The German borrowings of French starters are modified, as is true of most of the European languages, but in a much lesser degree than it is with the Chinese words. Yet the Mongol borrowings in some Tungus dialects,

<sup>1</sup>A. Meillet has always maintained the hypothesis that the phonetic elements are not borrowed, which idea is chiefly based upon the facts observed when loaned "words" are modified according to the local phonetic complex. He has explained it by another hypothesis; namely, that the acquired habits (*habitudes*) are transmitted through heredity ("*La Méthode*," *op. cit.*, p. 80). Both hypotheses, however, seem to be unnecessary, for in this case we have a simple phenomenon of adaptation of one complex to another, in which process some elements are better preserved than the others. Indeed, the mechanism of phonetic articulation of various organs is a physical phenomenon, for it is a function of the physical organs and the nervous system. The organs, and thus their potential functioning, are inherited, but the function as such is not transmitted through the mechanism of inheritance. Another question, whether the individual adaptation of organs (including the nervous system) is transmitted or not [A. Meillet postulates that they do not, for he understands "organs" as large anatomical units without taking into consideration a simple fact—the complex structure (even beyond the reach of the microscope) of certain organs which may change without affecting the morphology of large anatomical units, but which may essentially change various functions], is still discussed, but it cannot be treated here even superficially, for it will bring us too far. However, the "*habitudes*" are functional phenomena, and as such they cannot be inherited. This reference to biology is not incidental, for he sees something predestinated in language and particularly in phonetics. In showing that "*les habitudes linguistiques acquises se transmettent de génération en génération*," he makes observation that "*les enfants de parents connaissant bien plusieurs langues ou des enfants des parents bilingues seraient plus aptes à bien apprendre eux-mêmes des langues diverses que des enfants de parents parlant l'un et l'autre une seule langue et la même*" (*id.*, p. 110). Without speaking of the possibility of a simple case of selection, which in such a condition is common we may now refer to the remarks mentioned above regarding inheritance. It seems to me that when linguistic phenomena can be interpreted from the *linguistical* (and *ethnological*) point of view, it is much safer to remain on this ground. This hypothesis is needed by A. Meillet as a support for other hypotheses; namely, his supposition of the existing stability of phonetic elements, one of the backbones of the theory of common languages.

especially Manchu, can easily be recognized, for they are but slightly modified. A great difference in the phonetic system and structure of language may result in a complete isolation of language which will not influence nor be influenced by other languages. Indeed, the borrowing of starters will meet with great hindrance.

Special emphasis has been put on the difference between the grammatical forms of language and the vocabulary. The former ones, phonemes and morphological particles, as well as the order of "words," were supposed to be stable elements of the language which could not be easily borrowed, while the vocabulary was supposed to be a moving element of language. Such was A. Meillet's idea, especially in his earlier works (cf. "Linguistique historique et linguistique générale"), still maintained with a lesser emphasis. Other linguists, as, for example, J. Vendryes, bring forth a series of facts showing that, under the influence of what I call interethnic milieu, the "morphological" elements and order of "words" may change as well ("Le Langage," *op. cit.*, p. 341, *et seq.*). A number of analogous facts may be brought from the Asiatic languages too. Here we have a rather complex case, for the frequency of borrowing is not only proportional to the elements to be borrowed (the "morphological" elements as compared with the lexic elements are not numerous), but it is also conditioned by the fact of the existence of complexes which were postulated by A. Meillet as having almost absolute stability. Indeed, if there are two grammatical complexes entirely different, the chance of borrowing is greatly reduced; but if the difference is not great, the borrowing will go on very easily. In such a way, theoretically speaking, a certain grammatical complex may be gradually substituted by another one. As to the phonemes, their geographical distribution, for example, in Asia, is such that they seem to have their own areas, more or less independent on the languages spoken,— "Chaque fait linguistique a ses limites propres," as A. Meillet says in reference to the dialectal vocabulary and which should be extended over other elements of language.

It may thus be generalized: *If the difference between the existing phonetic system, the method of producing new starters, the method of producing complex starters on the one hand, and those used by the neighbours on the other, is not great, the imitation and incorporation of alien elements into the existing complex will not meet with the opposition on the part of the unit; but if the difference is great, the complete*

---

*isolation of the language may be produced.* So that if the effort required for the adoption of new elements from their neighbours is higher than that required for the invention of needed equivalents, borrowing does not take place; but if they are equal, the chance of invention and borrowing is equal. As to the effort required, it is defined by numerous conditions, amongst which there may be mentioned, not only the physical condition of the adapted organs for the definite phonetic system, but also the degree of ethnical cohesion; that is, the equilibrium between centripetal and centrifugal movements within the given unit. It is thus evident that the problem of possibilities of borrowing is rather complex. There are some cases where borrowing is going on very easily, notwithstanding the physical difficulties; and there are even cases of complete self-isolation of the language. These phenomena sometimes cannot be understood from the linguistic point of view only, for their mechanism lies out of the range of the elements directly responsible for the existence of language.

Together with the quantitative growth of population, the change of the secondary milieu and the interethnical milieu, which are also in the process of increase, the language as a function is in the process of a continuous adaptation. During this process all available means are used, for this is essentially a function of adaptation along the line of least resistance. The complexes are built up gradually from various elements, regardless of their "origin"; so that in the large geographical areas, where the relations between the units are not physically restricted, where the interethnical pressure is intensive, and if, in addition to this, the area was several times covered by distinct migratory waves, the geographical distribution of elements (e. g., "words") seems to be independent on that of languages, just as it is often seen in other cultural phenomena.

If we now compare what has been formulated in reference to the cultural phenomena (the secondary milieu) in general with the characteristics of languages and their variations, we may see that the language is a direct product of the cultural complex. From this point of view, the nature of language does not differ from that of other cultural phenomena—it is a function.



### 13. Formation and Transmission of Linguistic Complexes

From a review of languages we may see that various methods of producing starters are used in different degrees. In some languages the phonetic methods receive greater application than the recombinations of existing starters; in some other languages the formation of accessory starters receives prevailing importance; and in some other languages the order of the starters appropriates the importance of the preferential method. But most of the existing languages use all methods; e. g., in the Chinese spoken language there are many starters which are used in accessory functions, like "affixes"; in the Mongol language A. D. Rudnev ("Material for the Dialects of Eastern Mongolia") has shown that the change of phonetic complex ("flexion") is practised; the method of the "word order" is used by nearly all languages, etc. Since we know from the history of some languages that in the course of time various methods may receive greater or smaller practical application, we cannot say what the "original" language was as to its preferential method. In fact, there are some languages which are changing their preferential method under the observation of linguists; yet there are some other languages which preserve the original method for centuries with no essential change. The condition which is implied by the study of facts is that it is impossible to say that there existed in former times<sup>1</sup> a single-sided adaptation in certain groups of languages unknown in other languages.

Indeed, the present character of existing languages is a result of the long adaptation lasting for thousands of years, and in most cases we have no evidences for suggesting what they originally were.

<sup>1</sup>To assert or even to suppose it is a dangerous hypothesis, for it implies other logical inferences without being itself an established fact. Yet, all the above-outlined methods are so simple that their existence in the languages of human predecessors is admissible as well. Then, the problem of their origin and sequence has to be brought from the field of facts to that of hypotheses. We do not know the needs of the ancestors of the early "unhuman" man, and we do not know what were their physical conditions for the production of sounds. However, we know that the man of the middle quaternary, who was not "man," did possess the complex idea of a soul (the practice of burial) and a well-developed brain. The lack of facts regarding his predecessors is not a reason for denying the possibility of a still earlier appearance of the need of a complex language. The attempts at the restoration of this complex in its "primitive form" is a mere speculation, satisfying a mind worried about the "unknown." Yet the reconstruction of the gradual discovery and prevailing methods in the formation of starters is also artificial and dangerous in its nature.

The preference for phonetic changes, or the using of accessory sounding starters, may originate, develop, and die out within short or long periods. Yet it may be preserved forever as a prevailing character. The same is true of the existing sounding starters. If there is no impulse of change, they may be preserved for hundreds or thousands of years; as, for instance, certain "gestures" which are known to big apes, monkeys,<sup>1</sup> and all human groups in the same "meaning" as typical starters. Since the appearance of the physical possibility of producing elementary varied sounds, certain combinations might receive general recognition and use, just the same as *coups de poing*, or fire making, and they may persist up to our day as well. It is impossible to have any hope of restoring them, for we know nothing as to the physical possibilities of sound production in the early ancestors of man. In the course of time they might change thousands of times. These reconstructions are not less artificial and dangerous than the reconstruction of the linguistical types.

There are starters preserved from "prehuman" ancestors, there are starters invented on various occasions and for various needs, there are starters borrowed from various sources: from the primary milieu—various sounds of "nature" and animals—and from the interethnic milieu. They are modified according to the easiest manner of their reproduction, or they are adopted as they are perceived. This complex is again modified under the influence of changing phonetic systems. The latter sometimes spread their elements over certain territory as any other ethnographical element which can be easily adopted when needed or desired. Sometimes the whole phonetic system is gained, little by little, by new-spreading fashions. Yet the methods of producing complex starters ("phrases," "sentences") may also change under the influence of neighbours who show a change of prevailing method. So the languages may also be composed of various phonetic and constructive methods, the origin of which may be traced back to different periods and sources. As an entity, it may persist for a very long time with no change at all, and it may also change any day. It may be borrowed as an entity and in its particular elements, and it may disappear altogether.

The fact that there are different ways of adaptation and preferential methods for the formation of starters is in agreement with

<sup>1</sup>Recent investigations on gorillas (Yerkes) and chimpanzees. I have my own observations on monkeys.

the phenomenon of internal equilibrium of a once well-adapted ethnographical complex. Such a complex, owing to its utility, has a certain definite function in the whole cultural complex, so that, together with other complexes, it is transmitted to the succeeding generations again as a complex of elements, i. e., element by element, till the complex is ready for its function, as it is with other complexes of the secondary milieu. During the transmission, various conditions making the transmission of the complex more or less difficult are involved. Practical ways of learning and of teaching a language is one of the important features of the process of transmission of the complex. On the other hand, imitation by children and their ability of observation and reproduction is another important feature of the same function.

However, during the process of transmission, the complex may be slightly modified. The modifications constitute the history of language. But it is different when the complex is adapted by an ethnical unit which has previously lost the adopted complex. In such a case, the whole entity may be modified. The language is not thus the same, for it is modified; and it is not of indigenous origin, for it has been borrowed from another ethnical unit. When it is transmitted through a series of generations and a new generation comes into contact with the ethnical unit from whom the language has been borrowed, it may produce its influence, which will be an "alien" one, on the continuing language, and so on. Indeed, we may imagine an ideal case where a language has spread over a certain territory, together with the bearers; as, for instance, where a language spreads over territory with an ethnical unit which multiplies itself with great rapidity and occupies new territories, at the same time destroying other ethnical groups and gradually changing the phonetic system, structure, and basic elements of the language. But practically such cases are extremely rare. Yet the first question will be about the bearers of this language.

#### 14. Classification of Languages

The relationship between different languages in the eyes of observers is defined by their similarity. The latter is defined by the quantity of similar elements, not all of which produce an equal impression of importance. So, for instance, the similar structure of languages may be omitted from one's sight by the fact of the

phonetically different sounding starters, and the similarity of the phonetic system may be omitted from one's sight by the same dissimilarity. On the other hand, the similarity of starters, even with the condition of a different "structure" of language and a different phonetic system, may produce a greater impression than the differences. So, in this respect, the personal impression received by the observer, his personal ability of perception of sounds, etc., may be responsible for the intensity of impression of similarity. Yet the variety of impressions also depends upon the ideas of the observer. One may pay attention to the "verbs"; another, to the terms for "numerals"; and a third, to "cultural phenomena"; etc. But in all cases the chief idea is to find "similarity" and "dissimilarity."

However, an absolutely erroneous inference is often made from the facts of similarities; namely, that similarity indicates a "common origin." First of all, the similarity may be due to the convergence, as it is, for instance, with the phonetics, where the choice of possible elementary sounds is limited, and where, since the basis of articulation is the same (the variety of articulations is very limited, indeed), the similarity of elementary sounds is quite natural. The same may be stated in reference to the prevailing type of "structure" of language. In a lesser degree it may be referred to the "common" starters. Second, the similarity may be due to the spreading over of a certain territory of certain phonetic fashions, or the "structure of language," and especially starters. The number of common elements of these origins may cover from zero to the totality of the language. In the last case, two similar languages may produce the impression of being originally the same language, although both of them may arrive at a certain similarity by a gradual accumulation of elements from a third source. Such a common origin may exist, and it does exist, as the transmission of one complex from one to another ethnical unit or from one to another generation.

The classification of languages into groups is simply a method of grouping facts—complexes of language—into larger headings for better memorizing, and it must not imply conclusions as to the "origin" of these languages, for the similarity of languages as ethnographical complexes is not correlated with the origin of the complex as a whole. It is a function, and as such it can have no origin. Indeed, we can and must speak about the origin of a people as a physical body, but we cannot treat it in the same sense as the

origin of a language, which is actually a simple metaphor. But what has happened with the classification of languages according to their similarity is that an inference by analogy has been made: since they are similar, they have originated from a pra-language-ancestor.

The elements into which a language is divided may be analyzed and the "origin" of some of the elements may indeed be established. So the whole complex of language may be dissected into its elements and there will always remain some elements which cannot be connected with any of the other existing linguistic complexes. In the process of analysis one may find, in a group of languages, the elements *A*, which are connected with a known ethnographical and ethnical complex; the elements *B*, which may be connected with another complex; the elements *C*, which may be connected with a third complex; and finally there will remain elements *D*, which can be connected with no one of the existing nor the extinct languages. Will they be the original language?—Not at all. They will be merely unknown elements hypothetically referred to a certain ethnical unit, also hypothetical, and in hypothetical form. These elements *D* may be of the same various origin as are elements *A*, *B*, and *C*. Here, naturally, limits are put upon us by our knowledge of the "history" of language and the history of its bearers. At which moment shall we refer to the language as connected with a definite ethnical and ethnographical complex? It is an absolutely arbitrary choice, which, practically, is conditioned by other theoretical presumptions.

#### 15. Centripetal and Centrifugal Movements in Languages

Referring to the centripetal and centrifugal movements in ethnoses discussed in Chapter I, we may now state that these movements may have a direct influence on the language. Yet, since the language itself is one of varying elements, it may also have its bearing upon the intensity of movements. O. Jespersen, as linguist, has pointed out certain conditions which are essential to the change of languages. Some of his observations I shall now quote.

He points out that the splitting of languages amongst "primitive tribes" is greater than it is in "civilized countries," which is quite true in some cases, but the difference is not due to the "civilization" or the "primitiveness." As shown, the size of the units, whence

that of the linguistical units, is a function of the cohesion between the populations occupying a certain territory and the methods of adaptation. The instances of very "primitive" groups whose language is not "split" do exist; e.g., the Polynesian dialects are distributed over an enormous territory. Then there are, besides, a great diversity of languages; for example, as reported by travellers in reference to New Guinea, where nearly every few miles one finds a new language. For such diverse conditions various reasons may exist. One of them is the geographical position; another one may be the interrelations between the ethnoses, etc., without taking into account the historic formation of the ethnoses and other conditions which have nothing to do with the cultural state "civilized" and "savage," of common classification. A great "splitting" of languages is found in the most "civilized" western Europe, where ethnoses, although numerous, occupy very small territories.

With good reason and a near approach to the conception of ethnos, O. Jespersen points to "human geography, which is a decisive factor in the formation of dialects" ("Mankind," *op. cit.*, p. 42). In "human geography" he includes, for example, the differentiation of local groups due to the former administrative church divisions (in France).<sup>1</sup> In the same group of phenomena, one must include all distinct elements resulting from the centrifugal movement, a study of special importance which, being underestimated, is left without further discussion. He points out (*id.*, p. 43) the existence of "two opposing tendencies, the one in the direction of splitting, the other in the direction of larger and larger units." The discussion regarding the question of which tendency is stronger and which is weaker is rather interesting from the ethnographical point of view, for it reflects the behaviour of the authors, some of whom *do see* the centripetal movement

<sup>1</sup>A. Meillet ("La Méthode," *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 56), in reference to the ecclesiastic administrative divisions, points out that they were a continuation of the Roman administrative units, which in their turn had not been incidental to, but based upon, the consideration of existing relations amongst the people. Yet, in general, he does not give great importance to the political divisions as a factor influencing languages, but he sees deeper reasons for the existence of political divisions. No doubt, he is absolutely right in principle; however, there are cases when absolutely arbitrary divisions (like that between some states in North America) at last may produce their political effects upon the population in the sense of directing and enforcing centrifugal movement. Indeed, a political division as such is not an important factor, but still it is one of the elements having some weight in the system of centrifugal movement. Cf., also, J. Vendryes, *op. cit.*, p. 307, on influence of political division.

and some of whom do *not see* it, for some of them *approve* of it, while some of them *disapprove* of it. O. Jespersen finds that what I call here the centripetal movement as to the language is gaining a larger population (the formation of larger units) ("Mankind," *op. cit.*, p. 45).<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, a great overestimation of the geographical factor where O. Jespersen uses such an expression as "the local dialects purely conditioned by geographical factors" (*id.*, pp. 45, 46). As shown and pointed out by O. Jespersen himself, it is also characteristic of groups in which the geographical condition cannot be taken to be responsible.<sup>2</sup> As to the factors of the centripetal movement, to which

<sup>1</sup>This conclusion is one of those conclusions which are laid down as the theory of a future international and unique language for all mankind—an old and well-known theory, inspired by the desire of growing ethnoses who want to assimilate all "mankind," at least "civilized." But it is remarkable that this behaviour is also characteristic of ethnical units which are in the process of disintegration and whose leaders realize the impossibility of further keeping the old *modus vivendi*. Yet the same idea originates amongst the ethnical units which by this means may defend themselves against the assimilative movement. In fact, the adoption of an alien language does not yet mean a complete loss of ethnical independence, especially in the case where the differentiation of units operates in non-linguistical elements, e.g., "religious," "physical," "social," etc. So the same idea may be conditioned by various causes. A. Meillet, in reference to the European countries (*pays*), says: "Il y a là un état de choses nouveau et qui n'est pas susceptible de durer à la longue: la multiplication des 'langues communes' dans l'Europe d'aujourd'hui, en un temps où il y a au fond unité de civilisation matérielle et intellectuelle, est une anomalie" ("La Méthode," p. 20). Here we may note (1) the idea of unity of civilization, and (2) the conception of anomaly. The idea of unity is an organical conception, for we are allowed to speak only of the "seeming similarity." The idea of anomaly is rather interesting, for it reveals a new complex. In fact, either the state of things is in conflict with the observation of a great number of similar facts (e.g., the anomaly of embryological development), which is not the case, for the present situation in Europe is unique, having never occurred before, or it is in conflict with certain theoretical presumptions, which is just the case. A third supposition may be made; namely, that of the desire of a certain definite achievement, but it must not be, I believe, discussed in the case of A. Meillet. There is a simple rule that, if there are anomalies of such a type, the attention must be drawn to the revision of premises—in this case, the establishment of "norms," which ought to be scrutinized. As a matter of fact, what is now seen in Europe is well understood as absolutely "normal" effects of strong centripetal and centrifugal movements under intensively varying interethnical pressure. The case of O. Jespersen is different, for he wants to introduce an international language, which operation naturally must be "rationalized." Cf. also N. Marr's theory of pyramidal unification of language which is also a rationalization of a credo, but in this case, one may guess, professed *ex officio*.

<sup>2</sup>Reference to the geographical conditions is very often made when the other reasons of existence of phenomena cannot be easily understood. Indeed, it is a very soothing hypothesis: since geography is a responsible factor, the analyses and investigations may at least be postponed.

O. Jespersen pays special attention on expense of factors of the centrifugal movement, he points out (1) the war, which produces a mingling of population; (2) the annual market; (3) intermarriage;<sup>1</sup> (4) religion; (5) literature and the theatre, (6) political divisions; and (7) the formation of great towns. It is difficult to say why these factors have been selected from hundreds of other manifestations of the centripetal movement. Since there are mixed-up factors such as "war" (mobilization), which has but very small importance in particular cases of not yet completely formed ethnos, and "political division," which alone may be responsible for both "splitting" and the formation of a "larger unit," one may see that the importance of these two movements escapes his attention. However, under O. Jespersen's penetrating analysis, the importance of the centripetal movement comes out quite clearly. Indeed, this has been done from the linguistical point of view. If one turns the problem around, i.e., what influence has language on the above-quoted seven factors, one may also see that without a previous ethnical total or partial fusion, they may have no place. In other words, language is an important factor in the process of ethnical differentiation (the formation of smaller ethnoses) and integration (the formation of larger ethnoses), but it cannot be taken alone to be responsible, and it cannot be isolated from the cultural complex and even supplied with magic power over all other manifestations of ethnical adaptation. Thousands of investigations may be written with the consideration of various influences over certain isolated phenomenon, the variations of which actually are conditioned by that of the nature of the ethnoses and particularly by the equilibrium of the centripetal and centrifugal movements. When the mechanism of these changes is not clear, the explanation of variations of certain isolated phenomena cannot be successful. Hence we have psychological, sociological, geographical, economical, mathematical, historical, and other approaches<sup>2</sup> to the minor problems, while the attention must be directed to the mechanism of changes. The description of all cases of gravitation is naturally impossible, just as the description of all

<sup>1</sup>It is interesting that this particular case has attracted the attention of many authors.

<sup>2</sup>I omit all cases of "socialistic," "communistic," "religious," "moral," and other ways of attacking the problems, which as such have naturally nothing to do with the science.



cases of cultural variations is also impossible, for we do not know what existed before, except a very short period of reliable records, and what new cases of variations will exist later.

Referring once more to the centrifugal movement, it may be pointed out that the language in this respect is an extremely sensitive phenomenon. In fact, the formation of new sounds is an individual invention, the formation of new complexes of starters is a very common phenomenon in particularized groups, as, for instance, specialized social groups. When the centripetal movement is not strong enough to oppose particularization, then the new dialect comes into existence. Since a new dialect is in the process of formation, it accumulates round itself new elements of the psychomental complex and the whole group of individuals may form a particularized group which limits its communications with other groups. In this way dialects and, further, other new ethnoses may be formed. Since this process of specialization of smaller units is one of vital importance for the existence of larger units, and since this process sometimes varies fast, the classification of dialects and ethnoses presents difficulties which cannot be overcome. As a matter of fact, the limits between the existing dialects and ethnoses sometimes cannot be detected at all—the old limits disappear, the new limits appear. This is a continuous process and its representation in a static form may bring the investigator to commit further mistakes. For instance, the limits between the dialects may happen to be in the process of disappearance, while other new limits are in the process of appearance. In the static treatment both will appear of equal value, while they are not so actually. It is naturally true, not only of dialects, but of all existing phenomena in ethnoses, cultural and biological in a narrow sense of the word.

#### **16. Language as Ethnographical Phenomenon in the Process of Ethnical Variations**

The language as an ethnographical element of the ethnographical complex has the greatest importance in the process of the establishment of the ethnical and the interethnical equilibrium. We have seen that the centripetal and centrifugal movements and their equilibrium in the ethnos define either the process of consolidation

---

of the unit or its further disintegration into smaller ones. The mechanism of this process is rather complex, so it requires some additional remarks.

Let us take the instance of a well-adapted ethnos which multiplies very rapidly. It may spread over the territory if the latter is free; but it meets with opposition, if the territory is occupied. Under the pressure of ethnoses, the ethnos pressed may react in different manners. It may oppose the aggression of the neighbour by force, or it may come to a certain agreement which facilitates the existence of its numerous neighbours. So, for instance, it may come into close contact with other ethnoses through the establishment of economic co-operation, or to accept certain functions in a larger economic unit. Such is the case, for instance, when agricultural groups are co-operating with groups living on specialized industries. In certain geographical regions several ethnoses may be involved into such a co-operative system in which the interest of the survival of the ethnoses will be better assured than in an isolated existence. However, this situation bears elements of disappearance of ethnoses, for this is practically the first step for the extension of the former limits of one of the ethnoses involved. In fact, owing to the regular relations, a close contact is soon established and a great impediment for the relations—the language—becomes familiar to the co-operating ethnoses. Then a gradual substitution of one language by another may take place. When the language does not obstruct the influx of other ethnographical elements transmitted through the language, the ethnographical complexes blend together, or some better adapted elements of one complex substitute the elements of another complex. When the difference in language and ethnographical complex does not obstruct the approach of sexes, the process blending the two ethnoses is completed by the establishment of unregulated intermarriage between formerly distinct ethnoses. In this way the limits of biological process, and cultural, as well as linguistical, adaptation are extended, and a large, new ethnos is formed by the process of complete fusion. Naturally, the ethnos, physically better adapted to the given conditions, and being more numerous than the others, may gradually substitute its former rivals. This is one of the most common cases. The process of fusion of ethnoses and the loss of cultural independence is the most frequent occurrence. So the change of language is so frequent a

phenomenon that, for instance, A. Meillet, referring to the languages of the Mediterranean circle, says: "Il n'y a presque pas un peuple qui n'ait changé de langue au moins une fois, et généralement plus d'une fois" ("La Méthode," *op. cit.*, p. 72). Yet the same opinion is shared by most of the linguists who have been interested in the problem. It is quite natural, for the migrations of ethnoses are going on during the whole known history of mankind, and the change of cultural complexes<sup>1</sup> is also a fact which is closely correlated with the change of language, for the spread of large, powerful ethnoses and their new form of adaptation—"civilization"—involves neighbouring ethnoses.

From the analysis of correlation between language and anthropological types, we know that these aspects of ethnoses cannot be connected at all. Yet we also know that the change of the cultural complex may occur without any essential change of language except the increase of vocabulary. So if, in ethnoses, there are occurrences of coexistence of the same anthropological types, cultural phenomena, and languages, they are not indicative of a casual correlation between these phenomena. Such coincidences may be used as good historic evidences, but one cannot infer the common origin of populations from the fact of identic culture, and particularly language, and one cannot postulate the existence of a similar language and culture in general in the past amongst the ethnoses which at present are more or less alike from the physical point of view.

We have already seen that the change of language sometimes occurs partially, as it is with other cultural complexes, and the process of mixing and substitution of different anthropological types is also a common phenomenon. So the formation of ethnoses, also their agglomeration and disintegration, is such that the preservation of language, and generally the cultural complex, and an intact population in one and the same continuing ethnos may have only a theoretical interest, for such occurrences are practically unknown. From three different quarters—linguistical, ethnographical, and anthropological—we have the same ideas; namely,

<sup>1</sup>The connexion between the language and the cultural complex in general for some authors is so evident that they postulate it as a leading idea for further researches. A. Meillet ("La Méthode," *op. cit.*, p. 20) formulates it in reference to the common languages as follows: "Chacune des grandes 'langues communes' du passé doit exprimer un type de civilisation"; and, furthermore, "ce sera l'une des tâches de l'étude de l'homme dans l'avenir que de relier les langues communes aux aires de civilisation" (*ibid.*, p. 21)—an attempt which has already been made.

unreliability of all these evidences taken alone for showing the origin and the history of ethnoses.<sup>1</sup> It is now evident that it cannot be otherwise, for culture and particularly language are *functions* and *ethnos* is a process, also one of the functional phenomena, so that the actual relations which exist between these functions may not be discovered before we know the material substrata of all these functions, if such differentiated substrata exist. At the present time, we know practically very little about it and probably for this reason the functions are usually considered as evolving matter. Indeed, the ethnoses are concrete units—ethnic units—in so far as they are built up of populations, but as a unit they are functions, while the cultural elements have not even this appearance.

#### 17. The Problem of Common Words

In reviewing the conditions of the existence of linguistical and other cultural phenomena, we have seen that the elements are grouped into complexes. The linguistical complexes, just as the economical, technical, and social ones, in the different ethnical groups may have a certain similarity. In a mind which is not armed with a knowledge of the nature of the complexes, the similarity is often mistaken for an indication of a common origin of complexes and even bearers. Referring to the language, we find that the evidences of "common origin" are found in "common words"; so that this problem is quite important, especially in view of the second part of this work where we shall deal with "common words."

I might confine myself in referring to the recent works on language, quoted here, also to many others which have not been quoted, and where the problem of common words and limitations in using them as evidences are perfectly well shown; but since, in the second part of this work, I shall have to refer to the various aspects of the problem of common words, I shall now point out some facts and conclusions. It is rather surprising (later on, we shall see that it is not so) that the analysis of the nature of common words and possibilities in using them as evidences do not reach many investigators who practically ignore what is known as to the nature of "common words." These general linguistical works remain a "pure theory," somewhat impractical.

<sup>1</sup>Still in a lesser degree, they are reliable for the problem of "nations," etc.

The common words met with in two and several languages may be grouped into two sets; namely, common words recognized as "common" and common words which are classed sometimes as loan-words, convergence, etc. So there is a very definite distinction between two groups, for "common" is very often referred to as "genetically common, of the same origin," an idea of which will be better understood when we analyse the complex of evolution and the idea of the organic character of language. However, since a "common" word may happen to be a "loan-word" for the given language, and since the "ancestor-language" is very often absolutely unknown, the labelling of "common" and "not-common" words becomes arbitrary. In a mind which postulates the common origin of languages as organical, evolving entities, the distinction of "common" and "loan-words" is of primary importance, so I shall start from the last type, that of common loan-words. However, since our chief goal is a discussion of the Ural-Altai hypothesis, we must point out that we have no history of these languages (*vide infra*, Chapter IV) and we have no isoglosses, nor even sufficiently extensive dialectological works for all existing dialects.

It is not easy to give a short definition of a loan-word, because all words are to a certain moment "loaned" by the coming generations. But if we take it in a narrow sense, how may a "loan-word" be recognized actually as one? *A loan-word is one which has not been created by the given ethnos speaking a certain language, but which has been borrowed from another ethnos speaking a different language.* Naturally one always meets with the difficulty of definition, whether the word is a "loan-word" or not, for the starters are borrowed in great number, but the language which loans them disappears, so that if we do not know the history of the language in all its details we cannot say whether the given word is "loaned" or "created" or "received" from ancestors during the existence of the given language. Since historic documentation is lacking, yet the idea of distinction of loan-words from genuine ones is essential, other methods are brought forth for proving this distinction. I shall now point out some of these corroborative evidences. It is said that "the loan-word is one which in all details resembles that found in the other language." But here one needs a series of corroborative evidences, including the presence of a series of words "loaned" from the same language and historic data of that loan. These evidences are often lacking

altogether. It has been suggested that we must consider as genuine (not-loan) words all those which are found for a long time in the language. A. Meillet ("Linguistique," *op. cit.*, p. 103) gives the definition thus: "Les emprunts sont les éléments, pris à des parlers quelconques, et qui ne reposent pas sur une tradition continue." But how may it be recognized when we know no history of the language? This definition is supported by the following: "The loan-word is not one which is assimilated by the language in such a manner that it gives a series of derivatives." But we know foreign words which, during a short period,—less than one generation,—produce a series of derivatives and some other words which in this sense remain "loan-words" for ever, so that this evidence may become entirely misleading. And lastly, "the loan-words cannot be those which designate primary, elementary phenomena." This negative characteristic cannot hold good, for we need an exact definition of "primary" and "elementary," which is often impossible, and we know that such starters are sometimes loaned. Another negative characteristic, rarely used, is that "a word met with in several dialects cannot be a loan-word."<sup>1</sup> But in this case it must be shown that it was not loaned, for the lack of evidence is not indicative that the word was not borrowed by a group of languages from a common source, and in different times, and one language from another. A. Meillet, in his discussion with Schuchardt, points out that the psychological condition is essential in the problem. So he says: "Les sujets qui ont transmis les éléments indigènes ont eu constamment, d'une manière *plus ou moins* [italics are mine] nette, le sentiment et la volonté de parler leur langue traditionnelle" (*id.*, p. 104). He concludes that without this consideration "la doctrine classique me paraît . . . théoriquement insoutenable" (*loc. cit.*). This pessimistic conclusion is the last protection of the "doctrine classique." Further investigations into the psychological complexes have shown that they cannot be used as evidences—they are mere functional mechanisms. The processes and elements may be perceived and reactions may be produced by ethnoses (made of individuals), but they are not always correctly referred to, and the reactions are not always effective enough to be observed.

<sup>1</sup> In fact, it may not be so, for the loan might take place prior to the differentiation of languages in which it is found.

It is thus evident that the operation with "common" and "loan-words" is extremely dangerous, for "loan-words" may easily happen to be included into the misleading series of "common" words. The idea of "loan-word" is simple, however, if one does not give to it particular contents implied by the idea of organic evolution. The words are of different origin and those whose origin may be connected (not arbitrarily, of course) with corresponding words in other languages, yet those whose migration cannot be surely established, must not be included in the series of "common" words; and till the establishing of their history, they may be *conventionally* designated as words of so-and-so origin.

Such a treatment of "loan-words" certainly greatly affects the length of the list of "common" words, and still the actual loan-words may happen to have no traces of having been borrowed, and thus these series of common words may become misleading.

The common words may be different in origin; namely, they may originate from (1) a statistical phenomenon of convergence; (2) spreading in the territory of the certain phenomenon together with the term; (3) terms referred to the local phenomena, i. e., confined to certain territory; (4) words resulting from the imitation of various sounds (onomatopoeic); (5) words transmitted through the mechanism of imitation from one to another ethnical group; (6) words transmitted from one to another generation by the tradition and spreading over the territory together with the bearers. The quantitative side of the problem is also of importance, especially from the point of view of the origin of the commonness of words.

#### 18. Particular Cases of Common Words

Statistical phenomenon of convergence is common. In order to show this, let us suppose that we have stems consisting of one consonant and one vowel, and for producing a new starter, for a new conception, there is a choice of thirty consonants and ten vowels. The combination of these elements and their permutation offer six hundred different cases; so in this condition, the six hundred first case must be the same as one of the previous. However, the occurrence of similar syllables will take place much earlier, for certain combinations are not convenient for the given complex of articulation. Furthermore, the alternation of consonants is so frequent a phenomenon that they are usually compared by groups.

If we take the instance of the so-called Ural-Altai language, the vowels, being uncertain, are omitted, and the consonants are actually grouped into labials, dentals, glottals, and also liquids and nasals. So the chance of occurrence of the same initial in the monosyllabic words used for the same "ideas" in two "genetically" distinct languages will be as one against five. The comparison of three languages reduces the chance of coincidence, but it will still be high. The combination of two syllables naturally will be more numerous than monosyllabic ones when compared in two "genetically" distinct languages. However, since, in the combination, there are only five elements, the chance of coincidence will be high, for there will be only twenty-five combinations. The chance of coincidence may be increased by the extending of the "meanings" of the stems—the larger the meaning, the greater the chance. When one gives a broad definition of the "meaning of stems" in a group of languages, there is no chance but to find phonetically similar words. Yet, even the fundamental five consonants and vowels are sometimes still reduced, as in the case, for instance, of G. Ramstedt's "law," treated in Part II of the present work, which formulates the alteration in different languages of labials→glottals→zero. The operation with monosyllabic stems in these conditions implies a meeting of similar words with an extended meaning in almost every case, at least in two of the several groups compared. Although the theory of probability and the theory of combinations and permutations might give a good warning against the comparison of monosyllabic words of distant languages, yet the experiments in finding them were very often made and are still practised in spite of the fact that the positive result, i.e., the finding of "common" words, proves nothing as to the common origin. Indeed, the same is true in reference to di-syllabic ones.

The spreading of ethnographical phenomena, together with the names over a certain territory, is quite a common phenomenon. They may belong to the so-called cultural phenomena; e.g., *araq* and its modifications are known from the Atlantic Ocean in Africa up to the Okhotsk Sea. It designates different kinds of alcoholic drinks made of various raw products. It is impossible to establish whether or not the element was originally migrating as in the case of "tea," or only the method of manufacturing the alcoholic drink was migrating. The word in question spread over different groups living in different



conditions, e.g., the agricultural groups of Asia Minor and the reindeer hunters of Siberia. The age of this word and its exact origin cannot be established. It is different with the binding of the phenomenon "tobacco," which spread over an enormous territory, together with its name (B. Laufer, "Tobacco and Its Use in Asia"). The number of such words is naturally numerous, for the elements of culture very often are spread from the centre of their invention; and if there is no great phonetic difficulties in adopting the name, it is adopted. In case the word is modified under the influence of particular phonetic conditions, it sometimes cannot be recognized at all. One cannot naturally say how many words have been modified and lost, and how numerous are the words the origin of which cannot be established, owing to their great age. Naturally, the finding of similar words proves nothing as to the origin of the different languages in which they are found.

There are large groups of words denoting local phenomena, such, for instance, as "tundra," "taiga," names for local winds and storms, names of local plants and animals, and also special methods and implements of hunting and fishing used for local animals in the given territory. These common words belong rather to the ethnographical complexes of geographical areas than to the ethnographical complexes of ethnical groups. The overlapping of these complexes is a well-known fact. In certain favourable conditions, the complex of the local terms may persist in spite of the changes in culture and even ethnical groups (bearers) and languages. As an indication of the genetic connexion of languages, these words show nothing.

The class of words of onomatopoeic origin is not, perhaps, as numerous as it was sometimes thought, but some cases are evident, as, for instance, the name "coocoo" and the like. Some languages are particularly inclined to produce words of this type. The Manchu language is very rich in different expressions (cf. I. Zaxarov, "Grammar of the Manchu Language") which in many cases are responsible for the origin of derivatives not found in other Tungus languages. However, sometimes the onomatopoeic interjection is not borrowed by the Northern Tungus, but the derivative (verbs and nouns) is borrowed. So in Tungus their origin is very confused. The same external sounding phenomena may produce similar sound-

expressions, yet they may be absolutely misleading as to an indication of "common origin."

The class of words transmitted through imitation is too well known to be discussed here in detail. If there is no great phonetic difficulty, any word which belongs to the influential ethnical unit may spread over other units substituting the old equivalents. The mechanism of their transmission is subject to a great variety, and different reasons for it may be found; e. g., simple fashions, imitation of "superiors," etc., not to speak of the needs of transactions. The imitation of single words may proceed from one group to another, so that the source of the origin may be altogether lost. This fact may be easily established in the case of neighbouring groups and the adoption of the voluminous complexes of words (e. g., anatomical terms in Latin) in some European languages; but in the case of single words it is sometimes very risky, even in the case where the origin is known but the transmitting links are lost. This class of words is not indicative of the "common origin," so these words may also become misleading.

The only group of words which can be called "common words" in the sense of the origin from a common language are words directly transmitted from one to another generation within the same group of people. How difficult it is to establish the common words and the operation with them is shown by A. Meillet (cf. "La Méthode," *op. cit.*, pp. 33-42), who says: "Le risque qu'un mot soit emprunté est toujours grand, et l'étymologiste, d'une langue ancienne ou récente, qui raisonne comme si les mots à expliquer avaient a priori toutes chances d'être indigènes s'expose à des erreurs fréquentes" (*id.*, p. 35). The situation with the Ural-Altai languages is handicapped by another difficulty—the appearance of short stems and a lack of flexion, which "excluent, par leur structure, les démonstrations étymologiques rigoureuses. Il y aura là une méthode nouvelle à trouver si l'on veut parvenir à de véritables démonstrations" (*id.*, p. 39). Indeed, in the Indo-European languages the position of the linguist is rather simple, for he has the history of several "languages" (as complex) and the detailed history of populations; while, for most of the Ural-Altai languages, the only linguistical corroborative evidence is a not-yet-completed dialectology and other cultural and anthropological evidences, the value of which is doubtful from a strict linguistical point of view, as that of A. Meillet and other theoreticians.

### 19. Correlation Between Ethnoses and Languages

When corroborative evidences are practically defective, one turns on 's eyes to the hypotheses of a very general character. In fact, when the word or language is spoken of as "common," it is presumed that the word is transmitted by the mechanism of direct transmission, and it is presumed that the people and the language are intimately connected. For this reason, the linguists are often looking for people, and when linguistical evidences are supported by other cultural evidences, and especially anthropological evidences, then the former are regarded as definite solids. However, this approach of the problem is erroneous in principle. First of all, the transmission of words from one generation to another is nothing but a form of "loan"; moreover, the language is not transmitted as a whole, but transmitted starter by starter, increased with the new elements or decreased, and very often changing from one generation to another. The complex is thus the same, so long as it is spoken without any change, i. e., perhaps less than during one generation. Second, the influx of alien elements through the adoption (inter-marriage with neighbouring groups, migration, etc.) may result in a complete substitution of one physical population by another genetically distinct, but the language may persist as well. The same is true with reference to the change of other elements of the cultural complex, which may be substituted by an alien complex, the language being preserved. It is, of course, easier when the ethnical unit, or a group of them, spreads over the territory and brings with it the linguistical complex transmitted from one generation to another. This is exactly the case which is before the eyes of most linguists when they speak about the common origin of words and languages. But this case is only one of the possibilities of "common words" and "common languages." This has been observed during the periods of great migrations of large masses, as happened in Europe and Asia during the centuries about the beginning of the present era, and as happened with the migrations of some groups, like the English-speaking people to North America, the Spanish- and Portugese-speaking people to South America, the Russian-speaking people to Asia, etc. The life of the ethnical units who transmit their languages from one generation to another is not always disturbed by migrations, but the languages, as more or less similar

---

complexes, may spread through the mechanism of a total or partial imitation by the neighbouring alien groups formerly speaking entirely different languages. So there is nothing which connects the language with the physical bearers, except, perhaps, a certain physical adaptation to the phonetics and a certain psycho-mental complex in which the language forms but an element.

When a group of words and a certain complex of phonetics and methods of showing relationship between the sounding symbols is called by a certain name of a people, it is mere convention, useful merely as a method of classification, but not implying any conclusion regarding "origin" and an actual connexion between the people and the language. On the other hand, the language considered as an entity is also a convention, for no language may be considered as an isolated phenomenon beyond the whole ethnographical and even ethnical complex; but if it is so, it becomes a mere abstraction. Even when the basic contents of a language is well established and it is cleared of the elements enumerated in the first five sources of common words and "loan-words" (a condition absolutely theoretical, for it cannot be practically achieved), it is evident that the projection of a language into the past is an adventurous enterprise which cannot go further than an abstraction, which is dangerous when used as a scientific tool. If another step is made, namely, to connect a hypothetic language with the physical bearers, the chance of mistake is still greater. The search for a language which had been spoken by a certain definite people is certainly easier; for in the equation, out of two unknown, there is at least one known element. It is not surprising, therefore, that if the attempt to establish the place, people, and epoch at which hypothetic pra-languages existed can ever be restored without error, it might never have existed as a phenomenon connected with some physical bearers located in a definite territory. These attempts may be understood as by-products of the theory of the organic character of language and its evolution in the sense known from a modern European complex.

This does not mean, however, that no classification of languages and no attempts at finding hypothetic stems should be made. The classification is needed for further simplification of studies and memorizing facts. Yet the restoration of stems is also helpful, especially when they are used as any other ethrographical elements and with the necessary caution.

### CHAPTER III. THEORY OF EVOLUTION AND LANGUAGE

#### 20. Theory of Evolution and Languages

The function of language as described in previous sections is such in its nature that it cannot be considered as a phenomenon independent of other conditions of ethnoses. Yet, in a lesser degree still, it is possible to consider it as an entity controlled by internal laws of changes characteristic of languages only. Indeed, so far as the language is a function of human adaptation, it does not differ in its process of variation from any other secondary adaptive function. In spite of the great simplicity of the problem, as it stands, the current ideas on languages, their relations, and the laws of variations are extremely complicated, owing to an artificial approach; namely, the consideration of language as an organic entity subject to its evolution. We must here be detained on the term "evolution," which is not always understood as it should be. As a matter of fact, there are different evolutions. The attempt made by A. Lotka has led him to formulate,—“evolution is the history of a system undergoing irreversible changes” (“Elements of Physical Biology,” *op. cit.*, p. 24),—identified with the second law of thermodynamics (*op. cit.*, p. 26).<sup>1</sup> However, K. Pearson’s definition of evolution is different: “A casual *description* of the appearance of successive stages in the history of a system forms a theory of the evolution of that system. If the theory be so satisfactory that it resumes in some simple statement the whole range of *organic change* [italics are mine], we term it the law of evolution.”<sup>2</sup> But even in this definition it is presumed that the system is of a physical nature. The older definitions, so far as they come from works of great biologists, lie within the same range of physical phenomena undergoing the process of irreversible transformations. The great misconception occurred when the idea of evolution was transferred to the functional phenomena. There is no doubt that when a physical system is in a process of transformation its functioning may also change; and, as a matter of fact, in some

<sup>1</sup>A. Lotka is not alone in thinking so. Nearly the same definition was given long ago by J. Chwolson (physicist), J. Perrin (chemist).

<sup>2</sup>K. Pearson, “Grammar of Science,” London, 1900, p. 375.

---

cases one may guess the process of evolution in looking at the change of function of the system. It cannot be stated, however, that the function will always and exactly reflect the changes which occurred. Without due attention to the nature of *evolution*, e.g., a succession of social changes may be mistaken for an evolutive process and developed (as, for instance, by H. Spencer), into a system of evolution of social (cultural) phenomena.

The theory of evolution has spread very intensively. It was first used as a simple metaphor, afterwards as a Spencerian theory, and later it was incorporated into the European ethnographical complex as an indispensable element. In this stage it has received such deep roots that no attempt at criticizing it has been tolerated in "scientific quarters." Indeed, in this stage of its influence on the average European mind it began to threaten the very existence of science.

In the process of further variations, the idea of evolution brought us to another conception; namely, the organic character of cultural phenomena—e.g., evolution of social phenomena; since the social phenomena evolve and since the evolution is an organic process (as observed in organisms), the social phenomena are organic phenomena. One had only to disclose where this organism was and what was its morphology and functions. As a matter of fact, this very elementary logical fallacy inspired a great number of students who soon discovered morphology and functions in all cultural phenomena. Another form of success of this idea was that the organic idea of cultural phenomena without hesitation was transferred to the special field of language. The idea was so natural, so in the air, that it was not even verified. In the hands of non-biologists the idea of evolution when applied to the functions has also been modified in the sense that evolution was referred to as any change which was going on to a certain approved or desired end. With the Spencerian addition of the idea of progress, which, according to Spencer, did not essentially differ from that of evolution, it received a pseudoscientific appearance, and the establishment of the fact of "progress" become sufficient to infer an evolutive process and, furthermore, as in an organic phenomenon. Since the definition of "progress" is essentially subjective and emotive, the biological theory did not become a scientific tool, but a justification of human behaviour. Naturally, the original idea of evolution has several times been substituted by other ideas. The symbol "evolution"

referred to new referents; or, in my terminology and conception of language, the sounding starter "evolution" began to function as a starter of an entirely distinct series of conditioned reflexes; probably, owing to the lack of reflexes originally started by "evolution," and in some cases probably because of the suppression of some conditioned reflexes formerly used. Yet semantically, this is a case of change of meaning occurring in different groups of the same ethnical unit in dependence upon the difference of psycho-mental complexes characteristic of the groups. However, what was actually distinct, as compared with older conceptions, was not only the general idea of ever-changing phenomena, but that every change must be conditioned by the laws proper to the living organism, as a complex physical phenomenon. So we may now see that many "evolutions" exist which are entirely distinct, and the starter "evolution" must be used with great caution.

The success of the "idea of evolution" was not of equal duration in various groups. The refutation has come from specialists who, after having scrutinized their respective fields, could not disclose what had been presumed by the "evolution." However, the substitution of old ideas by new ones is long. One of the important hindrances to it are the ideas widely spread and assimilated by the ethnographical complexes, and also the modeling of a special vocabulary which is the only one in general and practical use. At last a reaction came, and students of cultural phenomena, particularly social phenomena, started a search for the "law of evolution" characteristic of their own field. In this search different methods were applied. At last, after a series of failures, "evolution" was declared to be a great misfortune for the science dealing with the cultural phenomena.<sup>1</sup> This movement, especially during the last thirty

<sup>1</sup>It is remarkable that the opposition comes in a very strong form, but it does not affect the whole complex. So, for instance, W. F. Ogburn, who has broken with the old school, in 1922 said: "The significance" (of the biological ideas and naturally the theory of evolution) "was so overshadowing that it seemed to cast something like a hypnotic spell over others doing research. The biological terminology was borrowed quite widely; and it became almost a fad to refer to biological causes" ("Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature," p. 38). An analogous protest was formulated about the same period by R. Lowie ("Primitive Society," New York, 1923) and A. L. Kroeber ("Anthropology," New York, 1923), who denied the existence of "evolution." However the Spencerian organic and super-organic evolutions are developed (W. F. Ogburn), the "progress" figures (R. Lowie's works), and

years, also gained students of linguistics, but the change in the attitude of theoreticians did not at once reach specialists, so that the old conception of evolution still persists amongst some of them. It is especially true of the linguists who are specialized in different groups of languages. When one observes the contradictory attitude of theoreticians on the one hand, and the survival of old evolutionistic conceptions amongst the specialists on the other, the confusing picture of methodological instability appears in its actuality. The question as to why the theoreticians of linguistics are not immediately followed by the specialists in various branches may be answered by pointing to the fact of a very slow change of general ideas, especially those closely correlated with the existing ethnographical complexes. As a matter of fact, the idea of evolution and the organic point of view on language is one which has already long ago received general recognition. The terminology has already been modelled to suit this point of view and it is accepted long before the modern meaning of terms used in the circle of theoreticians becomes familiar to the student. However, the revision of terminology, which is practically much more difficult than a simple acceptance of a new theory, requires great effort and also a certain amount of imagination on the part of the reviser, and can be done only by the theoreticians themselves. It has not yet been done, so

the culture is sometimes regarded as an entity with certain internal mechanisms. (A. Kroeber's idea is to establish a "genetic classification" of linguistic "families.") The same is true of many great opponents of the old evolutionistic school. In one of his latest works, F. Boas, who is greatly responsible for the anti-evolutionistic movement (regarding cultural phenomena) in America, has formulated his attitude in this question, but still he wants to maintain the idea of progress as an addition to previous knowledge and as a phenomenon of social organization, so he says that "progress in social organization refers generally to a better adaptation to economic conditions and ethnical requirements as understood according to the general state of knowledge" (*op. cit.*, p. 103). Indeed, the "general state of knowledge," which itself is a very flexible ethnographical phenomenon and a "better adaptation," reduce the whole construction of a new ethnocentric point of view, which does not differ, methodologically, from the old conception of "progress." By the side of this opposition there are still fervent adepts of the theory of evolution who from time to time try to survive the old conception (e.g., H. A. Ellwood, "Cultural Evolution, etc.," London, 1927). Besides the fact of the persistence of this idea, a great source of difficulties in spreading new conceptions is the terminology itself, which is accepted with the whole existing complex, and implies the acceptance of ideas. Yet I think that before a new system satisfying modern minds is worked out in detail, the reversion to the old ideas is inevitable; for, as stated, they are in the air, i.e., in the European ethnographical complex.



the old terminology still persists in recent linguistical works. The terminology comprising *starters*, such as "family of languages," "evolution of sounds," "progress," etc., may be absolutely misleading, for most of these linguists do not recognize the organic and evolutive nature of languages, but use these "symbols" in referring to entirely different referents. In other words, they are sometimes merely misunderstood. On the other hand, the old ideas are still effective, even amongst theoreticians—linguists. Owing to this, the specialists of the particular linguistical groups usually operate with the old conceptions of organic evolution transplanted to the languages. Although formally they refer to the modern conceptions of language, they follow the old path in their investigations, the "theory" being used only on great occasions as a formal adhesion to the up-to-date movement.

#### 21. Logical Consequences of the Theory of Evolution Applied to Languages

One of the inevitable consequences of the theory of evolution applied to languages is the recognition of the existence of a relationship between the languages as there is between the progeny and ancestors of living organisms. Although the absurdity of such an absolute analogy with the organisms is evident for every one who is familiar with the languages, yet it is silently admitted that the relationship of the same type does exist. The reason is that no other theory exists sufficiently well developed, and especially there is no terminology generally adopted, to take the place of the old conception; while the latter is, so to say, unconsciously adopted by the youth in the schools, together with the present cultural complex of the so-called "civilized nations." It is already so deeply rooted in this complex that in public opinion those who do not agree with the "theory of evolution" are merely backward and uneducated persons.<sup>1</sup> The phenomena disturbing the scheme of linguistic relationship are looked upon as accidental conditions. The list of

<sup>1</sup>A. Meillet gives ("Linguistique," *op. cit.*, p. 102) an ethnographically interesting reason: "L'expression [parenté] est trop établie pour qu'on y renonce; il suffit de la définir pour n'en être pas dupe." His definition is that one must not understand *parenté* as a relationship between mother and daughter, but as that of a "transformation" of one language. This definition is only a paraphrase of an old idea chiefly in its psychological and historical aspects. So A. Meillet again says (*id.*, p. 81), "Ainsi la parenté de langues résulte *uniquement* de la continuité du sentiment de l'unité linguistique."

these disturbing factors, as, e.g., borrowing, phonetic "degeneration," the loss and mixture of language, etc., together with the increase of knowledge of facts, is becoming longer and longer. At last they come into conflict with the theory of relationship between the languages. The specialists have then either to abstain from undertaking any attempts at a further investigation of the problem of relationship—the attitude characteristic of several groups of linguists—and confine themselves to the minor problems, or to revise the fundamental problem of the nature of language, and thus they come to the same problem—the revision of the theory of evolution in its application to language.

The idea of the organic evolution of languages results in another important element; namely, the *recognition of the existence of a certain pra-language* which was the ancestor of a group of languages. Although the hypothesis as to the existence of such a language in some cases may practically be absolutely useless from the point of view of establishing a relationship between the languages and impossible to ever be shown, yet the search for a pra-language constitutes one of the important items of the linguists' work. If the facts disagree with this presumption, then they must be either unconsciously overlooked or discredited under any handy pretext which does not come into conflict with the given complex. The attempts at the construction of hypothetic pra-languages have been made for all linguistic groups, or "families." Indeed, the controversy between the reconstructors is inevitable, for the existence of such a pra-language itself is only a hypothesis. The connexion between a certain language and culture is one of fundamental postulates adopted by all who practise<sup>1</sup> the application of the organic evolutive principle in linguistics. Owing to this, the search for such a culture (civilization) constitutes one of the important items of reconstruction as made from the languages themselves.<sup>2</sup> Methodological fallacy is indeed evident.

<sup>1</sup>I say "practise," for in some instances the theory denying the connexion of language as organical entities is proved but not applied.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *supra*, Chap. II, Sec. 16. A. Meillet in this respect goes very far, but he bases himself on combined data,—linguistical and historico-cultural.

Since the existence of pra-languages is presumed, there must also be the existence of some people who spoke it. This forms another inevitable consequence of the original conception. The search for the bearers of language naturally constitutes an important problem of the origin of language. The conflict between the creators of theories is also inevitable, for the existence of a pra-language itself is only a hypothesis. Here the reconstructor and the creator of theory as to the bearers of a pra-language bring forth a new series of facts, namely, other cultural elements and physical characteristics of hypothetical people. Both the ethnographical elements and the anthropological characters of the bearers of a pra-language are a mere hypothesis, for, as shown, the ethnographical elements and the anthropological features are subject to changes in the ethnical units owing to the complex processes of variation and substitution. The hypothesis of a pra-language is thus supported by the hypothesis of the bearers of the language and the hypothesis of the bearers is supported by the hypothesis of the continuity of the ethnographical complex and a presumption (again a hypothesis) of physical characters.

But this is not all. The hypothesis of the bearers of the language results in another consequence; namely, the location of the bearers. Here the vicious circle is closed, for the geographical area is again reconstructed from the reconstruction of a pra-language.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>From the above remarks it must not be inferred that my idea is that no people, no culture, no territory, existed with which a certain language *in its elements continuing in other languages* was connected, but I want to point out that it ought to be first shown that such a language, people, culture, and territory did exist. The same holds good for the reconstruction of cultural complexes, which may not always be connected with definite languages. In the case of the Latin language, which is well known, as well as the history of the Roman nation, the anthropological characters of populations, and cultural variations, the problem of continuity in "Romanic culture" is relatively simple. It is more difficult with the Chinese *written* language (characters), for here we have a limited language complex confined to the written symbols and the historic anthropological data are not yet complete enough. However, such easy cases as to their documental material are rare, and they are not sufficient for building up a general theory regarding laws of correlation, which may have a reverse force.

## 22. Phonetic and Morphological Consequences Implied by the Theory of Evolution

The recognition of the theory of evolution also results in a series of consequences regarding the "laws of evolution of phonetics and morphology," which, according to some current opinions, proceeds along certain definite directions conditioned by the laws which are good for any language, just as with the biological laws which are good for any animal or plant. Again, the establishing of such rigid laws comes very often into conflict with the facts, and the creators of laws have either to revise their fundamental conception of language or to reject the facts. In the soil of the European complex the idea was created that all languages have to go from a complex morphology to a simple one, e. g., from Latin to French or from old German to English. The Chinese language was thus supposed in former days to have had morphological elements which in the course of "evolution" have disappeared. The search for the supposedly lost morphological elements naturally constituted one of the puzzling problems, although their existence in written language was not at all necessary. This has raised up a great discussion which has no great importance if one does not presume the evolution along this line from complex to simple.<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that another possibility, i. e., the complication of morphology—the fact observed—is often overlooked. Yet the conception of the evolution of language has recently brought to life a numerous group of linguists who restore the old theory with a new phraseology. Here I have in view the theory of evolution of language as professed by N. Marr. According to him, the stages of morphological evolution correspond exactly to the evolutive stages of the economical and social organization of society. In spite of the new phraseology and the seeming modernity,

<sup>1</sup>Although B. Karlgren recognizes that Chinese is a "monosyllabic" and "isolating" language (this is, of course, a theory which is not at the present time shared by all linguists), he points out the facts showing that this language formerly used and still uses the morphological elements. So he begins his paper ("Le Proto-chinois, langue flexionnelle," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1920) by the statement that "cette 'muraille' commence à être sérieusement ébranlée"; i. e., the Chinese language possessed a better developed morphology which has been lost and thus it was not so much different as compared with other languages. As a matter of fact, the "monosyllabic" and "isolating" character of the Chinese language as a theory is in crying contradiction with the facts known from the spoken language. (I do not here have in view the written Chinese language.)

this theory is as old as the earliest scheme of evolution of mankind proposed by L. Morgan.<sup>1</sup> This is a great step back in spite of its revolutionary appearance.<sup>2</sup>

The same kind of instance is found in the theories of phonetic changes. It was often supposed that the movement from *tenuēs* to *mediæ lenes* and the complete disappearance of consonants is one of the stable phenomena characteristic of the "evolution" of languages. The explanation of the existence of *tenuēs* in the German language was even looked upon as of "Asiatic" influence, for other European languages do not have this phenomenon developed to such a degree. The terminology itself sometimes has a certain influence on linguists, as, for example, the association of the *tenuēs* with "strong," "stark," "fortis," etc., in opposition to "weak," "schwach," etc.,<sup>3</sup> produces a complex of ideas regarding "degeneration" from "strength" to "weakness" deeply rooted in the mind of ethnical units.<sup>4</sup> Here is just one step to the theory of the deterioration of the phonetic system as a law; e. g., from *tenuēs* to *mediæ lenes* and from "roughness" to "refinement." The fact is, however, that the conceptions of

<sup>1</sup>This theory was picked up for political propaganda some forty years ago and has now reached large masses of population in western Europe. Yet lately it has been adopted for justification of the process undergone by Russia. The fate of L. Morgan's theory is particularly interesting, for it shows how long a time—more than two generations—is required for a scientific theory to reach the mass of population, and in this particular case through the political channel. On the other hand, this fact is interesting, for it shows how an old scientific theory, as that of L. Morgan, when incorporated into the ethnographical complex (folk-lore) and accepted by a government as its credo (together with the political theory) may survive in another scientific field—the linguistics, as shown in the above-mentioned case of N. Marr.

<sup>2</sup>Naturally, here I do not have in view the restoration of a group of languages, which by itself is a great scientific achievement, even in the case where some of the restorations will not appear valid in the future, but I have in view only the "philosophical background" of the japhetidology, which, moreover, is not shared by all japhetidologists.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. O. Jespersen ("Mankind," *op. cit.*, p. 211), where he discusses "la loi du plus fort," formulated by M. Grammont.

<sup>4</sup>The idea that the previous generation is better than the present one is characteristic of ethnical units in a state of slow variations. The leaders of the units and the creators of folk-lore, who are not usually the coming generation, but the passing generation, come into conflict with the younger generation and always maintain the idea that the older generations were stronger, more valiant, etc. This is one of the psychic elements serving to keep the complex and the high spirit of the units—the good example of the older generations ought to be imitated by the younger ones.

"strength" and "weakness," "roughness" and "refinement," are ethnographical conceptions closely correlated with the other elements of the ethnographical complexes and as such are subject to the variations.<sup>1</sup> The idea of a general phonetic "refinement" and simplification of "primitive methods" of morphology finds good support from the facts of semantics and vocabularies. The differentiation and the increase of the lexic complex are phenomena observed in all languages. It is often taken for granted that this is by itself a character of the language as a phenomenon. However, the semantic variations and the increase of vocabulary are mere functions of a quantitative growth of culture and perhaps in the end are accounted for by increase of population, so that their universality is not a character of language as a phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> However, the movement from paucity to richness of vocabulary is a process which may go on without affecting the system of phonetics and morphology.

### 23. Conception of "Progress"

The theory of evolution also implies another attitude on the part of searchers—the language, being considered as an organic<sup>3</sup> entity, must proceed in its evolution according to a certain definite way in which the increase of vocabulary is correlated with the "progress" in the phonetic and morphological systems. The "progress" is naturally understood according to the prevailing conceptions of "progress" in the given ethnographical milieu. It may be here noted that the analogy of the language with the organism and the

<sup>1</sup>E.g., the palatalization of consonants and the loss of a strong emission of air in one complex may be considered as a sign of "weakening" of the people; while in another case they may be regarded as a sign of "will power" and "self-control" of the people who are strong enough to show a "mild, pleasant pronunciation" and a strong implication of will when necessary. Generally, the ethnical units living under the pressure of the process of increase and positive impulses of variations give the interpretations of their peculiarities (characteristics) in the sense of strengthening the ethnical unity through the increase of love for the complex and consciousness of ethnical cohesion.

<sup>2</sup>The need of new starters in the case of the "wearing out" of the old ones is one of the conditions of producing new starters and semantic changes, but it occupies a very modest place by the side of the powerful impulse of lexic increase under pressure of a need of new terms for the cultural elements.

<sup>3</sup>Although the old theory is not recognized by linguists as their official credo, yet the idea is still living in the mind, for there is no other comprehensive conception of language, and as shown the idea of evolution is one which belongs to the ethnographical complex of European ethnical units.

analogy of the variation of the language with the evolution of living organisms are not referred to as the modern scientific conceptions of organism and the evolution of organism, but to these conceptions as they are understood amongst the laymen, as they are now reflected in the European ethnographical complex, i. e., in an extremely simplified manner. In fact, the treatment of the evolution of linguistical phenomena by analogy with the modern conception of evolution of living organisms might give a very distinct picture of the "development" of languages. But what is characteristic of the prevailing ideas is their correlation with the existing ethnographical complexes, whence the theory of "progress."

#### 24. Element of T m:

There is one more point to be noted; namely, the idea that the differentiation of languages takes place in relatively recent time. The idea of time is naturally connected with the general advance of knowledge as to human history. First, the linguist had to place the process of evolution within a short period from the Tower of Babel to his own days. Later, the period was extended over a longer period, but still covering a very short period, and the linguist practically never attempted to extend it past historical times. The sight of linguists of the eighteenth century and of the beginning of the last century was limited by a period of a few thousand years. In the meantime, successful archæological investigations have shown that mankind is at least several tens of thousands of years old. This fact has been usually omitted, for the chance of observing primitive languages has been greatly reduced. Yet the question was put and sometimes answered in the sense that man of the quaternary geological period did not speak at all. This was a hypothesis good only for soothing the mind and thus it discards the inconvenient facts of a possible great age of human speech. Further discoveries along the same line, of which the essential one is a further increase of man's age,—this time to hundreds of thousands of years,—were left unnoticed, better to say, ignored. The avenue of escape was again found in the suggestion that only the species *Homo sapiens* must be considered in the problem of language. However, anthropologists, such as M. Boule, have recognized that the man of the old Palæolithic might have speech, and since it has already been suggested, for example, by E. Smith, that the human ancestors,

---

such as the *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and other species of man might have a certain ability of speech, the problem of the "origin" of languages ought to be brought perhaps to the tertiary period and even to other animals, for these predecessors of *Homo sapiens* without having been "human" at all, were not, perhaps, speechless. Such a historic remoteness for the origin of language and such hoplessness in finding reliable documents as to "primitive" language were sufficient to discourage the linguists in finding scientific documentation of their theories, so the facts regarding the physical history of man have lost their interest in the eyes of linguists. On the other hand, owing to the shortness of the periods of seizable documents, the period left for "evolution" was thus limited and not by the lack of other documents, but by the lack of historic perspective.<sup>1</sup> In this respect, as in the case of the theory of evolution, most linguists have limited themselves by omitting facts of greatest importance for their own studies.

#### 25. Conception of "Primitive" Language

This idea is based upon the imaginary primitive state of our ancestors, but this conception is more an ethnographical phenomenon than a scientific fact. This idea was quite logical when it was not known how old mankind was or how old might the language be. The highest imagination supplied it with "primitive" consonants and "primitive" vowels, but still containing a very limited number of words for designating the most elementary conceptions. Yet attempts have been made at the reconstruction of primitive mentality, which, according to these reconstructions, looked rather like pure imagination, a distorted image of their creators and not actually existing realities. In fact, no one people may survive in the conditions of "savage" life with the philosophical conceptions and theories regarding the outer world with which "savages" are supplied. Linguists did not want to be behind these pseudo-scientific achievements and did their best to put in the mouth of hypothetic ancestors their own ideas about the primitivity of these ancestors. However, the accumulation of facts regarding non-European languages and facts regarding the history of the Indo-European languages have

<sup>1</sup>Cases like that of P. Rivet, who has a very broad view as to the historic remoteness of some linguistical and ethnical groups, are rather exceptional.



greatly changed the point of view of general linguists.<sup>1</sup> To the great disappointment of the protagonists of primitive languages, it has been found that the most "primitive" people, who do not know the use of metals, may have an extremely complex phonetic system and even a more developed dictionary in terms of vital importance, as, e.g., terms for hunting animals, topography, social institutions, etc. Then, when they retreated to the last rampart, it was suggested that abstract terms must be lacking. However, further investigations have shown that even this suggestion cannot be supported by facts,—the primitive people do possess terms for abstract conceptions, as well as a developed system of phonetics, structure, and a dictionary. The earliest Indo-European languages possessed no less a complexity than some of the most modern languages. However, the idea of finding some primitivity in the people who culturally differed did not leave the searchers, and their attention was turned to the fact that some supposedly primitive groups have languages morphologically highly differentiated, while some other groups of old civilization have languages with a relatively simple and, historically speaking, simplified morphology. It was easy to infer that primitive languages are "complex" and civilized languages are "simple." Other instances of the persistence of the idea of finding characteristics of "primitive" ideal languages may be seen in general linguistic treatises on the history of these theories. With these theoretical presumptions attempts have also been made at the restoration of languages, including the Altaic.

But how lexically simple and phonetically poor, and how complex morphologically might it be if it ever did exist? Of course, it could be as rich as any modern language, except for a special modern terminology which might be richer in some other respects, and it could be more simple from a morphological point of view than modern Turk, Mongol, or Tungus; yet the phonetic system might be something entirely different, for the sounds of a language are subject to variations, and we have no evidence for going further than mediæval Turk, Mongol, and Manchu, which did not differ very much in this respect from the languages spoken nowadays. One thing is evident—the looking for primitive conceptions in Altaic languages is a tribute to an ethnographical European conception

<sup>1</sup>This has been very definitely expressed by J. Vendryes.

---

regarding the people as a distinct complex and not a logical outcome of scientific inquiry.

#### 26. Authors' Attitude and the Theory of Evolution

As I have already pointed out, the study of languages and generalizations drawn by the students of linguistics bring the facts into conflict with the prevailing theories, and especially with what may be called the spirit of epoch or the present ethnographical European complex. This conflict, as reflected by the reactions of investigators, may result (1) in the rejection of facts and their artificial adaptation to the theories; (2) in the discredit of old theories, particularly the theory of evolution; and even (3) in the total rejection of the pressure of the given ethnographical complex. All these reactions are commonly observed but not with the same frequency. First of all, the reaction of investigators depends upon complex conditions; namely, an accumulation of facts contradictory to the existing theories and contradictory to the given ethnographical complex; an individual susceptibility to the reactions; and lastly, an individual way of solving the problems. The fact of the quantitative increase of contradictory facts is naturally a function of knowledge quantitatively considered, so that it does not require a special interpretation, but the individual susceptibility to the reactions and individual ways of solution ought to be treated in a more detailed manner. There is no doubt that amongst investigators types of behaviour are very distinct. Roughly speaking, one may distinguish types of slow and prompt reactions; types inclined to adoption of new ideas, possessing a certain degree of flexibility, and types sticking to the existing ideas, showing a rigidity of the individual complex; types of aggressive complex and types of recessive complex; types of organizers and systematizers and types of critics and destructors; types blindly following the leaders and types with a strong critical spirit; types giving themselves over to the studies under the spirit of simple inquisitiveness and types giving themselves in view of certain benefits resulting from their profession; types of great vanity and types indifferent to it. One may distinguish some other types, but the above-outlined types will suffice to show how variable the reactions may be. In addition to this, it ought to be pointed out that the conditions of social organization in which the investigators are living and the degree of interethnic pressure

ought also to be taken into account. In some cases the individual reaction is checked up by the milieu in such a degree that it cannot be manifested at all. Here the degree of individual independence has the greatest importance. However, this side of the problem, owing to its great delicacy, cannot be discussed now, although in many a case it suffices for understanding the individual reactions, especially in milieus of high pressure, both ethnical and interethnical.

### **27. Linguistics as One of the Elements of the European Ethnographical Complex**

In the history of all other sciences we may observe the same situation. It is not thus characteristic of linguists alone. Conflicts are naturally more frequent in sciences which deal with phenomena, the laws of variation of which are not yet discovered. Particularly, the study of languages is in a special position, for as to the nature of language, that is, the material dealt with, linguists have not yet completely agreed. The success of the search for origin, evolution, and even relationship between the languages, cannot naturally be assured until the fundamental problems are solved. In spite of this, the interest in these problems does exist and the attempts at the solution of these problems are made and probably will be made, for which there are serious reasons. The reasons lie outside of the scientific researches and they cannot thus be checked up by the linguists themselves. First of all, the phenomenon of language attracts the attention of every one who meets with the difference of his own language as compared with that of other people; second, the language attracts the attention of people who realize the value of this cultural achievement; third, the difference in language is one of the fundamental conditions of differentiation of human groups, and thus it is an instrument of attraction and repulsion between the persons; fourth, the language has great political importance in the interethnical relations. With the growth of interethnical pressure and ethnical consciousness, the interest in the language naturally greatly increases. So that besides the general impulse of knowledge,—inquisitiveness,—there are many other impulses for linguistical studies. It may be noted, for instance, that after the last Great War the linguistical and general publications dealing with the problem of

language greatly increased in number.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the ethnical groups which are in the process of consolidation or in the process of extension as a rule pay great attention to their own language. For illustration, I will give some instances. Linguistical studies in Germany preceded the national unification in the nineteenth century. The great effort made in Finland and Hungary for study of the Finno-Ugrian group during the last quarter of the same century was stimulated by the national movement. The great interest in the language in China after the downfall of the empire is connected with the increase of ethnical consciousness and further efforts for the strengthening of the ethnical cohesion. Such instances may be multiplied *ad libitum*, but one of them is especially demonstrative. This is that of Russia. Prior to the Great War, the interest in the languages was cultivated by the government and scientific circles, so the studies progressed rapidly. However, after the collapse of the old government and the partial disintegration of the nation, the interest in the languages as a distinct ethnical character has enormously increased: hundreds of persons have shown their interest in research work along this particular line. This interest is still more stimulated, owing to the practical importance of linguistical studies in dealing with different ethnical groups whose "autonomy" is now recognized as a result of the partial disintegration of the former unit.<sup>2</sup> It is thus natural, whether the scientists are interested in the problems which cannot yet be solved or not, that the public attention to these problems cannot diminish, and if they refuse to discuss these problems, the same problems will be discussed by still less competent persons. So this movement is actually beyond control.

We have already seen that the linguistical researches are closely bound with the existing ethnographical complexes and the extension and deepening of knowledge is hindered by manifold difficulties of social, ethnical, and in a still greater degree of individual, personal

<sup>1</sup>Naturally their quality is not equal, for most of them were written for the special purpose of proving a certain proposition inspired by the political tastes and interests of the authors. Yet the professional linguists have also contributed to this political movement, e. g., A. Meillet in "Les Langues dans l'Europe nouvelle" (Paris, 1928), and under his and M. Cohen's edition "Les Langues du monde par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de . . ." (Paris, 1924).

<sup>2</sup>Here we are naturally concerned with the increase of interest and stimuli and not with the actual success in the studies.

character. In spite of all these hindrances, studies into the problem of language and languages are going on as in other sciences which touch too closely the essential problems of the ethnical existence of units.

Our opinion as to what is "good" and what is "bad" in this process is of no importance, for we are now concerned only with the situation that is under our observation. It may be supposed that in the given conditions of science its organization probably requires not only new ideas and new works revealing the mechanisms of phenomena observed, but also a class of linguists contributing little to the actual knowledge of language and languages and slightly arresting, perhaps, a too rapid advance of studies. As a matter of fact, before the next step can be done, the most backward members of [the large family must digest what leaders have done. Naturally, popularization, the adaptation to the average mentality, takes a great part of the energy and time left at the disposal of actual creators of science. This seems to be a general phenomenon characteristic of the process of variation of ethnographical elements. Perhaps too rapid an accumulation of knowledge and too deep a penetration into the phenomena may result in the disrupture between the leaders and their large group of followers.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the curious mechanisms of the equilibrium of ethnographical complexes closely connected with the problem of tempo of variations and ethnical tension.

The psycho-mental state, as pictured in the lines above, is not, of course, characteristic of all linguists. The opposition to this complex is coming, as stated, from different quarters, but the prevailing ideas are still the same, for they are what is called "in the air"; they are still an essential part of the whole modern European complex in which the place of the individual will was occupied at a certain moment by the complex of evolution. So in order to understand the working mechanism of some scientific theories, one must go first into the problem of the ethnographical complex underlying these theories.

<sup>1</sup>However, the instances of disconnexion between the leaders and their followers are common in the history of science; e.g., the case of Mendel's theory is one which could be recently observed, but there are those which are too far from the existing mentality that they cannot even be detected, especially when the leader does not publish the results achieved and sometimes confines himself to oral communications with his nearest friends and colleagues.

## PART II

### THE URAL-ALTAIC HYPOTHESIS

#### CHAPTER IV. THE URAL-ALTAIC HYPOTHESIS AND TUNGUS MATERIAL

##### 28. The Theoretical Background of the Ural-Altalic Hypothesis

The hypothesis of common origin of the Altaic languages, and even the Ural-Altalic languages, dates from the first half of the last century. It has found many defenders and opponents. So the question in the opinion of outsiders is not settled at all. In fact, every one who tries to conciliate contradictory opinions and evidences, and to find a moderate, middle solution, is misled, for in this problem there is only one correct solution, while all other solutions will be proved sooner or later to be erroneous. We do not want to enter into discussion as to which group is wrong and which is right, for, as shown in Part I, the question of such a relationship between the languages cannot even be put to an answer, so that the evidences brought forth to prove or disprove, both limited in number and numerous, cannot be convincing either. So my approach of the problem is essentially different. The present part, devoted to the analysis of positive evidences supporting the idea of existence of a common origin of these languages, does not have in view the disproving of such an existence, but it has in view the showing of the process by which these evidences are produced and which linguistic value may have the parallels found.

I have taken the latest and most complete work by A. Sauvageot, who has used in his work a large number of previous publications dealing with the positive evidences for showing the "genetic" relationship between the Ural-Altalic languages. The controversy between the comparatists is great, indeed. There remain very few parallels which are not contested by one of them. I will not use this controversy for discrediting the idea and work—such a

discrediting as will be later seen has little interest even from the linguistical point of view.<sup>1</sup>

Although the work of A. Sauvageot, from the point of view of technique, as will be later demonstrated also, is not perhaps the best one, yet it has been approved and assisted by such authorities as Z. Gombocz and A. Meillet.<sup>2</sup> This may be considered as guarantee that the ideas developed are not discarded by these authorities and that A. Sauvageot is not alone in his position. Indeed, in principle his position does not differ from that of all recent contributors to the hypothesis of common Ural-Altai languages, as, for example, P. Pelliot, P. P. Schmidt, and a large group of linguists headed by G. Ramstedt. Yet, historically, this idea began nearly a century ago with the works of M. A. Castrén, followed by a brilliant group of linguists of the same century, so that A. Sauvageot's study ought to be regarded as a collective work.

Let us now restore the process of building up this theory in so far as one may see from this and some other works previously published.

A. Sauvageot begins his credo by putting emphasis on the weak points of the theory, which are: (1) the paucity of documents as to the history of languages; (2) the impossibility of basing one's self on the vocalic harmony formerly supposed to be one of the fundamental characteristics of the Ural-Altai languages; (3) the regularity and the simplicity of the structure of all these languages, which is not characteristic of these languages only; (4) the insufficiency of evidence of pronouns. These objections, however, fall down in the front of the new considerations; namely, (1) these languages are spoken and were spoken in a geographical area sharply defined, (2) the present grouping of these languages is not different from that of

<sup>1</sup>I do not want to miss this occasion for pointing out that discrediting criticism of each other's work and parallels produces an impression that one's work lacks a serious method. Why this is so will be better seen when the work of A. Sauvageot is analysed. It is inevitable, for it is the goal which implies the choice and treatment of the material and parallels.

<sup>2</sup>I believe that A. Meillet, who is also quoted in the preface by A. Sauvageot, is not directly responsible for the final form of the work here analysed. If one compares the last publications of this very cautious comparatist and general linguist (it is sufficient to remember the cases where his ideas have been quoted in the previous part) with the ideas and methods used by A. Sauvageot, one may see at once that these two authors occupy quite opposite wings of linguistical movement, perhaps it would be better to say different places in the marching column, at the head of which A. Meillet occupies one of the leading positions.

the most ancient time, (3) to the closeness in territory corresponds unity of structure of language, so he asserts that these considerations "portent à conclure qu'il y a eu unité de filiation dans le temps. Les ressemblances de structure interne qui caractérisent les langues ouralo-altaïques forment donc une présomption en faveur de leur unité généalogique" (*op. cit.*, p. xxi); and later on, after having reviewed contradictory data as to the vocalic harmony, the latter is stated to be present: "dans la plupart des langues de la Sibérie et de l'Europe orientale" and "ceci constitue une présomption des plus graves en faveur de leur parenté" (*op. cit.*, p. xxvi). Another reason is the alternation of consonants and vowels definitely established for some languages. (Here he has in view, amongst others, "la loi de Ramstedt," the loss of consonant  $\phi$  [ $\varphi$ ] in Turk, Mongol, and Tungus, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4). At last, the only really reliable method of establishing the relationship between these languages, according to him, is the finding of common stems,—more exactly, the consonants for the vowels are not definite,—and the semantic value of words are considered (*op. cit.*, p. xxxvi). A. Sauvageot brings forth the significance of his labour in comparing a great number of words and he pretends "à mettre un peu d'ordre et de cohésion" and to look for "solutions précises," so he hopes that "son effort produira au moins ce résultat que la question de la parenté ouralo-altaïque ne fera plus désormais l'objet d'une polémique purement verbale, comme il arrive depuis plus de soixante dix ans. Les arguments précis que cet ouvrage présente au public réclament des critiques précises" (*op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii *et seq.*). After having examined two hundred and fourteen cases of parallels in the conclusion, he supposes that "des recherches ultérieures rendront certainement caduque la majeure partie de ces concordances. N'en subsisterait-il qu'une poignée, cela suffirait à prouver que les langues considérées ne sont pas étrangères les unes aux autres" (*op. cit.*, p. 139). The "laws" of alternations are shown, but in his eyes they have only a "statistical" meaning. Furthermore, since the usual way of refuting the common origin of words is their consideration as loan-words, he refers to the opinion of P. Pelliot ("Les Mots," *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 261) who discredits Altaic parallels from Chinese by P. P. Schmidt and G. Ramstedt (*op. cit.*, p. 255), and who believes that there is no reason for supposing the loan of words for common terms, as, for example, *bouillir*. A. Sauvageot supports him by his own remark, "Nous



nous refusons à croire qu'un peuple emprunte les mots qui expriment l'ensemble des notions primordiales" (*op. cit.*, p. 141). The definition of "loan" has been given in the Introduction; namely, "Quand un mot se trouve dans la plupart des dialectes ouraliens, turk, mongol, etc. . . . il est difficile de croire à un emprunt, ou s'il y a eu emprunt, cet emprunt a toutes les chances de s'être produit à une époque si ancienne que nous sommes en droit de considérer un mot de ce genre comme un vocable indigène" (*op. cit.*, pp. xxxi, xxxii).

With an evident satisfaction as to the results achieved, the author concludes by a remark concerning his senior colleagues: "Nous exprimerons donc en terminant le regret sincère que nous gardons de ne pas voir cette tâche menée à meilleure fin par un de nos éminents confrères en linguistique ouralo-altaïque" (*op. cit.*, p. 142).

#### 29. Consequences Resulting from the Fundamental Propositions

From these quotations the whole system of work may be seen quite clearly. Referring to the previous general remarks and A. Sauvageot's direct indications, it may be formulated in the following propositions:

1. The languages may be grouped into the families (filiation, genetic unity) in which the relationship is defined by the fact of their having at a certain time a common ancestor—*pra-language*.

As shown from this presumption, logical consequences follow, which are:

2. There must be bearer-ancestors, which is naturally presumed. In the European complex they are usually called "Mongoloids," or something like that, although their existence has never been shown, and anthropological investigations point to a great variety of types and probably races in Asia.
3. There must be territory, which is already known. (Reference is made to the authority of K. Donner, p. xxi). Hence the value of identic structure, which is not convincing without other evidences, appropriates its full significance.
4. There is a unity of filiation in the Ural-Altai languages and thus a genetic unity.

These propositions form the backbone of the hypothesis, which is supported by the following reasons:

5. Alternations of consonants and vowels regularly observed in some languages in the same words (stems) and particularly "la loi de Ramstedt."
6. Vocalic harmony, which is far from being a general phenomenon.
7. The parallels which are not numerous according to him and some of which may be rejected altogether.

The method is based upon:

8. Semantic and phonetic parallels.
9. The belief that the people do not loan words for expressing primary notions.
10. The presumption that the same words (stems) found in different languages are not loan-words (*emprunt*).
11. The presumption that if the source of the loan is not established the stem belongs to the given "language," either as an original word or as an old loan which becomes *indigène*. This is not formulated on any particular occasion, but it is a logical conclusion from the previous (9) and (10), and it is practically applied.

There are some other elements of secondary importance which form the same complex. Some of them will be occasionally mentioned in this part.<sup>1</sup>

The comparison of the above characteristics of A. Sauvageot's complex with those discussed in the previous chapter shows that the former do not essentially differ from the latter, the chief reason of which is the recognition of language as an evolving entity. The other three elements are logical consequences of the first one, and hypothetical, too, in their nature. However, all four hypotheses are supposed to support one another, which, from the methodological point of view, cannot be accepted. In fact, the bearers of the

<sup>1</sup>One of these elements is, for instance, the common civilization which follows as a consequence of the fundamental postulate: "'Langue commune' suppose civilisation commune," as A. Meillet says ("La Méthode," *op. cit.*, p. 17), and "chacune des grandes 'langues communes' du passé doit exprimer un type de civilisation" (*id.*, p. 20), whence a geographical location and physical bearers of civilization and language are nothing but further logical conclusions.

pra-language, if it is a reality, are not found even hypothetically. These might be any of the groups, nowadays existing, or, even more than that, there might be a group now extinct. The anthropological evidences are not in favour of any of these hypotheses, for the population of Asia is mixed. The finding of bearers is hopeless, as has already shown to be the fact in the case of the pra-Indo-Europeans,—any one of existing "races"; i. e., Nordics, Mediterraneans, Alpines, or Dinarics might be the ancestors who spoke the hypothetic Indo-European pra-language.

The finding of territory is based upon lexic evidences. But every one may understand that, in the language of a people living in a certain area, one has a much greater chance to find common words for notions of local milieu and adaptation, especially if the migrations took place prior to the settlement of the people in the given geographical area. The chance of common words is still greater when different groups live for a long time side by side. Since this is so, this proposition must be supported by other evidences. The evidences are of a negative character,—recent (historic) migrations nor clear, definite historic documents pointing to this have not been found, so it is supposed that the groups lived from time immemorial in the same area, and nearly in the same distribution of groups. This is naturally mere guesswork adapted to the main hypothesis, for that there were great migrations in Asia is a fact now established. These hypotheses are supported by evidences of phonetics and again by common words which are hypothetic, and which need a detailed treatment.

### 30. Tungus Comparative Material

Since we are chiefly concerned with Tungus parallels, it will be useful to dwell here on the question of existing Tungus material. Some remarks are needed for showing what the character of the Tungus material is and how far it can be used. The Manchu language, which has attracted the attention of a great number of philologists and linguists, is the best-studied Tungus language. However, A. Sauvageot does not use all the material known—he uses H. G. von der Gabelentz's dictionary. His choice is not motivated. However, the existing Manchu dictionaries are not always reliable, and this is even so with I. Zaxarov's dictionary. The reason is very simple—all Manchurists used to study Manchu through the

medium of the Chinese language, or with the help of Manchus who did not possess this language as their native one. Thus it is seen that the "meaning" of words was not usually received in the Manchu complex, but through the Chinese complex, so that these linguistic materials ought to be regarded as reflecting Chinese complexes which are translated into Russian (Zaxarov), German (Gabelentz), and French (Amiot) in terms corresponding to the Chinese complex, and thus they are greatly distorted. The whole complexes, as, for example, the terminology of social organization, the terminology of shamanism, etc., are represented very often in their Chinese adaptation. As a matter of fact, none of these authors could do it otherwise, for they did not deal with the Manchus who spoke Manchu and thought in Manchu terms. I can illustrate it with hundreds of examples. Any one who will make a new attempt at remodelling these dictionaries without studying the Manchu ethnographical complex will be in the same position. So when the terms refer to the Manchu specific conceptions, one cannot rely upon the dictionaries known.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately, we have good material for the restoration of the Nuichen language by W. Grube ("Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen"), who has transcribed Nuichen words from the Chinese transcriptions. The possible defects are evident—the Chinese complex has produced its effect upon the phonetic system and "meaning." The same is true of A. Wylie's list of Nuichen words ("Translation of the Ts'ing Wan K'e Mung, etc.")

The other Tungus material is much poorer. W. Grube has made a heroic attempt at compiling a Goldi dictionary ("Goldisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis") from various materials, both published and unpublished. The material is extremely heterogeneous. Besides the Goldi words, there are also included some words given

<sup>1</sup>I have felt it myself fairly strong when I was translating Manchu epic poems, shamanistic and other "religious" texts, i. e., the material essentially Manchu. It is easier, of course, with the Manchu translations from Chinese, where the meaning of Manchu words may be found from the Chinese text, but these "meanings" will be Chinese and not Manchu. The chance of correcting these dictionaries is decreasing every year, for the Manchu language is becoming a "dead language," even in the remote regions where it was spoken some twenty years ago. True, it is still preserved amongst some Northern Tungus and Dahurs, but one must remember when it passes through the Northern Tungus or Dahur complex, it is subject to modifications. So, practically, one must be very careful in using Manchu material.

in Manchu. Moreover, several dialects are also given. Since the material was not originally gathered by specialist-linguists, it is not always properly recorded from the phonetic point of view. Individual or occasional emphatic pronunciations are often mistaken for usual ones. In many instances the phonetic complex is greatly affected by being represented as reflected in the Russian phonetic system. The translations in W. Grube's dictionary have passed through two semantic complexes; namely, once through the Russian complex and the second time through the German. There are many instances of misunderstandings which have originated from this source. The translations into Russian even are not always exact when they are taken from the texts representing translations into Goldi from Russian (as shown in Protodiakonov's material); they are very often a mere adaptation of the nearest known words to the Russian complex. In many cases the translations of the original Goldi texts are entirely erroneous. W. Grube has very often shown parallels from other Tungus dialects, as well as Manchu. However, these parallels are very often defective, owing to the erroneous translations and erroneous transcriptions. The chief source of the Manchu comparative material was H. G. von der Gabelentz's dictionary. Moreover, the Goldi material covers only a small part of the existing lexic complex, so it is not at all complete. P. P. Schmidt, in his dictionaries, has used the Goldi material in a more or less corrected form. However, the corrections cannot always be regarded as sure records, for they are hypothetical in their nature. The Goldi language in its Olcha dialect has been studied by P. P. Schmidt, who has published a short dictionary. The using of the Goldi material requires, first of all, great caution and a thorough knowledge of published material and possible ways of distorting Tungus words.

Amongst the earlier publications, there are two publications of importance—a dictionary made by M. A. Castrén on the Urulga and Mankova dialects of Transbaikalia. These small dictionaries were recorded a few decades prior to the extinction of the Urulga dialect, at which time it was already saturated with Buriat words used parallel with the Tungus ones or already incorporated into the Urulga dialect. The records of M. A. Castrén are generally good, but in some instances the Tungus phonetic system is adjusted to the Buriat phonetic complex, as shown, for instance, in M. A. Castrén's preference for *ä*, etc. Another publication is that by A. Schiefner,

who presented the material gathered by A. Czekanowsky. This dictionary is not very extensive and naturally suffers from its incidental character and uncertain translations.

Some other collections of Tungus words of different dialects exist, gathered amongst various Tungus groups by T. von Middendorff, R. Maack, A. O. Ivanovskii, Baron Maydell, and others. These collections hardly cover a few hundred words.

In recent years there was a series of four small Tungus dictionaries published by P. P. Schmidt resulting from his own records and those made by incidental travellers and also completed from corrected and revised records previously published. There are presented: (1) the above-mentioned Olcha dialect; (2) the Oroči (with at least two dialects); (3) the Samagir and Samar (one of the Goldi groups); and (4) the Negidal (four dialects, according to P. P. Schmidt) altogether containing about five thousand words. The words are not always free of the suffixes that are not found with the translations; the translations in some cases are not exact which depends chiefly on the persons who gathered the material. Generally speaking, these dictionaries present an important source for Tungus comparative studies. Two more valuable publications, by E. I. Titov ("The Tungus-Russian Dictionary") and N. N. Poppe ("Material for the Study of the Tungus Language. The Dialect of the Barguzin Tungus"), are known. E. I. Titov has published an extensive collection of words (in many cases illustrated with texts) of the Tungus of Transbaikalia and the Irkutsk Government. It contains about thirty-two hundred and fifty words of four or five dialects, unequally represented. Apart from the technical defects, such as transcription and wrong translations, the great defect of this dictionary is that the author himself was affected by a strong influence of the non-Tungus complex, so that many translations reflects his own complex and not the Tungus complex.<sup>1</sup> So this dictionary in some cases may involve into involuntary mistakes and thus it cannot be used before being carefully revised.

<sup>1</sup>I have already pointed out this curious case (cf. "Social Organization of the Northern Tungus"), illustrating in which degree the author's complex if uncontrolled by criticism may affect the outcome of his work. It may be stated without exaggeration that this dictionary may suffice to restore the author's complex. Of course, to do so one must operate with the Tungus words translated with specific meanings or interpretations.

N. N. Poppe has published a collection of about twelve hundred words of the Nomad Tungus of Transbaikalia (Barguzin), which are well transcribed and usually well translated.

From the enumeration of the above-quoted publications one may see that the Tungus material is not numerous nor extensive. However, A. Sauvageot did not use all at his disposal, and in most cases confined himself to quoting parallels from W. Grube's Goldi dictionary.

Since I am going to quote various Tungus dialects not mentioned in the previous lines I must refer to my own and others' unpublished material. Besides about thirty thousand Northern Tungus "words" gathered by myself I have also some unpublished material from other persons and my extensive material regarding the Manchu spoken in the Aigun district. These data are under analysis and will be published, I hope, in due time. The enumeration of dialects and abbreviations are given at the end of this section.

The material published and unpublished which I have at my disposal is not yet sufficient for an exhaustive treatment of the Tungus lexic wealth. There are some dialects so little investigated that it is very hazardous to operate with them. Yet, as stated, the records are not always absolutely reliable. Is it not really premature to use such material for comparative purposes of great scientific responsibility?

In my work on the social organization of the Northern Tungus and others I have shown how ethnical units are formed amongst the Tungus. The distribution of dialects does not exactly correspond to that of the existing ethnical units (ethnoses). So, for instance, amongst the Birarčēn, who are opposed to the Kumarčēn, one may observe two dialects, one of which is so similar to that of the Kumarčēn that it ought not to be regarded as a distinct dialect. Yet the dialect RTM does not differ very much from that spoken in the southern part of the Yakutsk Government. On the other hand, the Goldi language contains at least four dialects. There is no doubt that formerly the language spoken by the Kumarčēn and the Khingan Tungus was the same; but the Khingan Tungus, under Mongol influence, have greatly changed their language, so that, compared with that of the Kumarčēn, they regard it as their own and a different dialect. The Kumarčēn agree with this distinction. The similarity between the Tungus dialects of certain regions, for

---

instance, northern Transbaikalia and western Manchuria (except RTM), is so great that the groups speaking them can easily understand one another; but the difference, for instance, between the Barguzin dialect and the Khingan dialect is so great that the groups speaking them can hardly understand one another. The dissimilarity between the dialects is still greater when one compares the Anadyr dialects recorded by Baron Maydell (in A. Schiefner's publication) or the Lam. and Tum. dialects with the Transbaikalian Mankova dialect. Yet some Northern Tungus dialects have been so greatly influenced by other languages that, for instance, the Oroči and especially the Goldi, they preserve only traces of their Northern Tungus characters; yet we know that many Tungus groups have changed their languages and have adopted the Yakut, Russian, Mongol, Chinese, and other languages. In spite of this situation, by eliminating the various foreign elements, one may trace a large group of dialects back to their original linguistical complex, which appears to be that of the Northern Tungus, who, with rare exceptions, call themselves *evenki*; and another group of dialects may be traced back to the Southern Tungus as their original linguistical complex. Yet the similarity between the Northern and the Southern groups is so great that after the elimination of the elements characteristic of these two groups, there remains a large number of common elements which may be regarded as pra-Tungus; i. e., as existing prior to the appearance of the Northern and Southern modifications. As to which elements have been lost by one of these two groups, and which elements have been appropriated (e. g., the system of suffixes) by them after the separation, is difficult to say, for we have no evidences as to the pra-Tungus language. The process in the formation of new dialects may now be observed amongst the Northern Tungus groups. This process at the present time is chiefly due to the various non-Tungus influences. If the group is isolated from other Tungus groups, and if it is in contact with some non-Tungus groups, it is very likely to be opposed to other groups under other and distinct influences. Under this condition, the formation of a new dialect is very likely, but it is not certain, for the language is sometimes preserved in spite of the essential changes in the cultural complex, as, for example, the economical system, "religion," etc. This is the case, for instance, with the settled groups of Birarčen and the hunter-horse-breeder Kumarčen.



Cases in which the complex is not changed, but the language is changed, are also known, as amongst the Mankova Tungus, who preserve their original language, and the Mongolized Tungus of Urulga, who now speak a "Mongol" dialect, but all of them preserve the same cultural complex. Thus, in the case of the Tungus the language and other ethnographical characteristics do not always correlate, as is also true of the anthropological types and various elements of culture. The latter may be more or less preserved, while the language may be lost altogether, and vice versa. The process of formation of dialects, ethnical units, cultural complexes, and anthropological amalgamations and crossed groups may proceed more or less independently one from another. I say more or less, for there is a certain, although very slight, correlation between the elements forming an ethnical complex.

For the convenience of my readers I shall now give a list of abbreviations which I shall use throughout the following pages:

A. THE NORTHERN TUNGUS DIALECTS ACCORDING TO THE PRESENT AUTHOR

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| Amur. | —the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus living in the eastern part of the Amur Government, also spoken by a Tungus group in Sakhalin Island              |
| Barg. | —the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia living in the Barguzin <i>taiga</i>   |
| Bir.  | —the dialect of the Tungus of Manchuria living in the regions lying between the Amur, the Sungari, and the left tributaries of the Nonni (Biararčën) |
| Borz. | —the dialect spoken by the Nomad Tungus living in south-eastern Transbaikalia, in the basin of the Borza   |
| Khin. | —the dialect of the Tungus of Manchuria (Mongolia) living in the Khingan Mountains, chiefly in Hulun Buir  |
| Kum.  | —the dialect of the Tungus of Manchuria living in the basin of the Kumara, Panga, Albazixa, and Upper Nonni (Kumarčën)                               |
| Mank. | —the dialect of the Nomad Tungus living in   |

- south-eastern Transbaikalia, in the Mankova region (*volost*)
- Ner. —the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus (partly settled) living in the Nerchinsk *taiga*
- RTM. —the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria living in the basin of the Bystraia and Albazixa, and also the Upper Kumara

B. THE NORTHERN TUNGUS DIALECTS, ACCORDING TO UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL GATHERED BY OTHER INVESTIGATORS

- Enis. —the dialects of the Enissy Tungus gathered by the missionaries, brought by I. P. Tolmačev, and put at the author's disposal by W. L. Kotwicz
- Lam. —the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of the Yakutsk Government included into *Lamunxinskiï rod* (cf. S. K. Patkanov, "Essay on the Geographical and Statistical Distribution of the Tungus"), gathered and put at the author's disposal by P. V. Olenin
- Tum. —the dialect of the group mentioned above included in the *Tumunxanskiï rod*; see Lam.

C. THE NORTHERN TUNGUS DIALECTS KNOWN FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- Ang. *Tit.* —the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus of the Angara region in northern Transbaikalia, according to E. I. Titov
- Irk. *Tit.* —the dialect of the Tungus of Irkutsk Government, according to E. I. Titov
- Kal. *Tit.* —the dialect of the Reindeer Tungus living in the basin of the Kalar and Kalakan rivers, according to E. I. Titov
- Mank. *Castr.* —see Mank. above, according to M. A. Castrén
- Neg. *Sch.* —the dialect of the Negidals living in the basin of the Amgun, according to P. P. Schmidt
- Nomad Barg. *Pop.* —the dialect of the Nomad Tungus of the Barguzin district, according to N. N. Poppe

- Oroči —the dialect of the Oroči living in the Maritime Government, according to S. Leontovič, V. P. Margaritov, and P. P. Schmidt
- Solon (*Ivan.*) —the dialect spoken by the Solons of Manchuria, according to A. O. Ivanovskii

#### D. THE SOUTHERN TUNGUS LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

- Manchu Sp. —the Manchu language as it is spoken by the Manchus of the Aigun district in Manchuria, partly in Peiping and in Sinkiang province, according to the author
- Manchu —writ. according to I. Zaxarov and partly according to the author
- Nuichen —according to W. Grube
- Goldi (*Grube*) (*Sch.*) —according to W. Grube and P. P. Schmidt

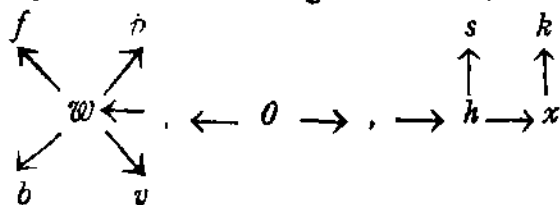
#### E. THE NON-TUNGUS LANGUAGES

- Mongol (*Podg.*) (*Rud.*)—according to I. A. Podgorbunskii and A. D. Rudnev
- Buriat (*Podg.*) (*Rud.*)—according to P. A. Podgorbunskii and A. D. Rudnev
- Dahur (*Ivan.*) —according to A. O. Ivanovskii
- Dahur —according to the author
- Yakut (*Pek.*) —according to E. K. Pekarskii
- Gilak —according to W. Grube
- Various abbreviations as they are found in A. Sauvageot's work.

#### 31. Aspiration and Bilabialization of the Initial Vowels a Phonetic Fashion

In the work of A. Sauvageot, one of the most important evidences in favour of the common origin of the Ural-Altai languages is the phenomenon of the occurrence of initial bilabial consonants by the side of aspirated and non-aspirated vowels, also by side of glottal consonants. Similar facts have been observed in many linguistical groups, so this phenomenon is not characteristic of the languages called Ural-Altai. So, for instance, N. Matsumoto, in his parallels, has shown a great number of instances where *θ*, *h*, *x*, *f*, and *p* are met with in the same words (stems) of different dialects of the Austro-Asiatic group. The Chinese dialects reveal the same picture.

Yet the Indo-European languages know this phenomenon as well. In the Tungus languages this phenomenon was noticed by A. Schiefner, L. Adam, and W. Grube, and was extended to the Mongol and the Turk by P. P. Schmidt;<sup>1</sup> but all of them did not go so far as G. Ramstedt, who supposed this phenomenon to have been a consequence of the transition from the bilabial spirant to the aspiration and zero, as  $\varphi > h > 0$ . A. Sauvageot has called this hypothesis "la loi de Ramstedt." Further considerations have made P. Pelliot suggest, instead of a spirant bilabial, a bilabial occlusive \**p*.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is only hypothesis backed by the presumption of the common origin of the Ural-Altai languages, and in this respect it may be regarded as its by-product. In its formulation by G. Ramstedt, we have, perhaps, a case of mere "reasoning by analogy," implied by this hypothesis.<sup>3</sup> Although in the Indo-European languages the loss of the initial labial *tenuis* spirant has been recognized as an important moment in the formation of Armenian



and Celtic, however, there has also been, for instance, in Latin, the "consonantic reinforcement" of  $u > v$ , which is included by A. Meillet in the class of "accidents particuliers"<sup>4</sup> as being in conflict with the above-mentioned "loss." I do not know whether the "loss" is a fact or a hypothesis, but the Latin "accident" is very instructive - I have made<sup>5</sup> a different approach to the same problem in Tungus by pointing out the existence of certain phonetic fashions which I have designated as the "aspiration" and the "bilabialization" of the initial vowels. The increase of incursion and emphasis may result, as they actually do in living dialects, in the formation of bilabial, labio-dental, and glottal consonants, both *tenuis* and *mediæ lenes*, also both spirant and occlusive. So the scheme of variations is of the type shown in the accompanying table. Here the original sounds subject to variations are vowels and not consonants. Since

<sup>1</sup>In reference to the Mongol in his paper "Der Lautwandel im Mandschu und Mongolischen" (*Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, Vol. IV, Peking, 1898) and in reference to the Olcha in a later publication on the Olcha language.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "Les Mots, etc.," *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup>He defines it as "bekanten allgemeinen lautentwicklungsgesetz" (*op. cit.*, p. 10).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. "La Méthode, etc.," *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup>In my papers published in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Vols. IV and VII.

these variations of sound may now be observed in working, as I have observed them in different Tungus dialects, I think the hypothesis of G. Ramstedt is quite unnecessary for the interpretation of the occurrence of *θ*, *h*, *x*, *p*, and *f* in Tungus and Mongol. The situation is complicated by the fact that similar variations are not universal; that is, there are cases when the parallelism is not complete at all. Another fact is that similar variations are known in other languages in which these variations may be due to different causes, including actual loss; also, as is observed in the Tungus, they may be due to the increase through the aspiration and the bilabialization of vowels. Owing to this, I cannot agree with A. Sauvageot's definition of G. Ramstedt's hypothesis as a well-established historic-phonetic law.<sup>1</sup>

Since the above-discussed hypothesis has already been promoted to the grade of law and put at the basis of the hypothesis of common origin of the Altaic languages and, furthermore, the Ural-Altaic languages, I shall, in addition to my former papers, bring

<sup>1</sup>One takes on one's self a great responsibility when one formulates new "laws" of science. First of all, the idea of "law" must be clear; for otherwise, if a certain tendency or a statistically frequent occurrence be taken for a "law," this would merely show how small is one's respect for scientific laws. I believe that G. Ramstedt did not for a moment suppose his hypothesis was a scientific law. Second, the persuasiveness of a hypothesis when the latter is called a "law" can increase only in the eyes of persons who are not familiar with the subject. In this way, such an abuse of scientific terms may become, for them, misleading. Not in a lesser degree one must disagree with A. Sauvageot, who styles his observations, on the regularity of certain linguistic phenomena, "les lois statistiques." That such an inaccuracy exists in the ideas of laymen and their language is a fact, but no one who is familiar with the terminology and scientific meaning of "statistics" and "statistical" would allow himself such an inaccuracy in a serious publication. It is far from me to take on myself a defense of purism, but such an abuse of terminology reveals the methodological side of the work discussed here, and as such it is worthy of attention. In fact, in A. Sauvageot's work one may observe some little (statistically) material which, when checked and recognized as reliable, may perhaps be used as good material for statistical analysis, but in his work there is no minor trace of statistical analysis. How can one speak of "statistical laws"? I point out this detail, for if the abuse of terminology continues it will bring further confusion into the simple problem of the Ural-Altaic languages. It is especially serious in the given case, for the work of A. Sauvageot is not an outcome of his own efforts only, but also that of his senior colleagues, so the abuse of terminology is not a mere *lapsus linguae*. Some authors suppose that the "linguistic laws" are not like other scientific laws—they cannot be accurate. But this is no reason why the term "law" should be applied to mere hypotheses and tendencies observed. What term, then, will be used when the actual laws are discovered?

forth some new facts and considerations, first in the field of Tungus languages.

In Tungus languages I have distinguished two phonetic movements and I have shown that the Southern Tungus, as represented by Manchu, is inclined to bilabialization, while the Northern Tungus is inclined, at least in some dialects, to aspiration. These are two distinct characters of two phonetic complexes correlated, shall I add by the way, with a complex of other phonetic peculiarities, as, for instance, the different behaviour in the palatalization of consonants, the transition to alveo-dental spirants, etc. Besides these two groups, we know several dialects which possess neither aspiration nor bilabialization of vowels. This phenomenon affects different stems too. I shall now give some instances.

1. Aspiration is found in the Goldi, while zero is found in the Northern Tungus and Manchu Writ.; and slight bilabialization in Manchu Sp.

a. *xagdu*, *hagdu* (Goldi, *Grube*), *agdun* (Bir.), *ukdun* (Manchu Writ.), *wugdun* (Manchu Sp.)—"the pit dwelling";<sup>1</sup> cf. *agdun* (RTM, Bir.)—"the bear's haunt"; corr. *avdun* (Khin., Ner.) (Irk. *Tit.*) in the same sense.

b. *hoškta* (Goldi, *Grube*), *ōšekta* (Bir.), *ōšikta* (Mank.), *ōšikta* (Ner.), *usixa* (Manchu Writ.), *wužiya* (Manchu Sp.)—"the star."

c. *xujun* (Goldi, *Grube*), *ujun* (Tum., Lam.), *ujun* (Manchu Writ.), *wujun* (Manchu Sp.)—"nine."<sup>2</sup>

2. Aspiration is found in Goldi and some Northern Tungus dialects; zero, in Manchu Writ. and Manchu Sp.

a. *ximana* (Goldi, *Grube*), *hemanda* (Tum.), *imanda* (Khin.), *emanda* (Barg., Ner.), *emana* (Bir., Kum.), etc. *nimani* (Manchu Writ.) [*yih-mâ-kîh* (Nuich. *Grube*)]—"the snow."

b. *xupi* (Goldi, *Grube*), *ovi* (Bir., Khin., Ner., Barg., RTM),

<sup>1</sup>Amongst the Manchus, as well as amongst the Birarčēn, and Goldi this kind of dwelling is now built up in the form of a semi-underground house of Chinese type. Amongst the Northern Tungus living on hunting it is never used. According to tradition, this kind of dwelling was not originally of Chinese type. It seems to belong to the Palæasiatic complex.

<sup>2</sup>In most of the Northern Tungus dialects it is *jejin* (Barg., Ner., Bir., Kum., Khin., RTM, Mank.), *johin*, *jahin*, *jehin* (Irk., Ang. *Tit.*), *jegin* (Neg. *Sch.*), *jagin* (Ur. *Castr.*) (cf. *juyen*, etc. [Buriat, *Podg.*], *jisun*, etc. [Mongol *Rud.*]).

- ōvi* (Neg., *Sch.*), *efimbi* (Manchu Writ.) *èvimbe* (Manchu Sp.)—"to play."
- c. xyrré* (Goldi, *Grube*), *èrèki* (Bir.), etc., *erxi* (Manchu Writ.), *èryè* (Manchu Sp.)—"the frog."
3. Aspiration is found in Goldi; aspiration and zero, in Northern Tungus; bilabialization, in Manchu.  
*xukte* (Goldi, *Grube*), *ikta* (Bir., Kum., Khin., Ner., Barg., Mank.), *veixe* (Manchu Writ.), *vèyè* (Manchu Sp.)—"the tooth."
4. Zero is found in Goldi, Northern Tungus, and Manchu Writ.; bilabialization, in Manchu Sp.  
*olg'é* (Goldi, *Grube*), *ulg'an* (Bir.), *ulg'an* (Manchu Writ.), *wulgjan* (Manchu Sp.) [cf. wúh-lì-yên (Nuich. *Grube*)]—"the pig."
5. Zero is found in Goldi and Northern Tungus; bilabialization, in Manchu.  
*igá* (Goldi, *Grube*), *irga* (Ner., Barg., Bir., Kum., Mank., RTM), *fexi* (Manchu Writ.)<sup>1</sup>—"the brain."
6. Zero is found in Goldi; aspiration, in Northern Tungus; zero, in Manchu.  
*ōri* (Ol. *Sch.*), *xèuri* (Tum.), *ergembi* (Manchu Writ.)—"to take a breath."

The instances of these six combinations may be increased, almost ad libitum, especially in the cases where Goldi has aspiration. The conclusions which may be safely drawn from these facts are—(1) Goldi is a language where the aspiration is known; (2) the words bilabialized in Manchu do not always have the initial *p* in Goldi, and they can be both aspirated and non-aspirated; (3) the words not bilabialized in Manchu may be found to be aspirated in Goldi; (4) the words aspirated in Goldi may be found aspirated and non-aspirated in Northern Tungus and bilabialized and non-bilabialized in Manchu.

Let us now proceed to the initial *p* and other labial consonants in Goldi and other languages. Since these examples are known from other publications I will not give instances here.

<sup>1</sup>That Manchu *-xi* corresponds to Tungus *-rgi* and Goldi *-ga* can be supported by other evidences. These are not suffixes. In Manchu Sp. we may expect to have *lèye*, or even *vèyè*. I have not happened to find this word in my records.

1. Goldi *p* may correspond to the Manchu *f* in words unknown in Northern Tungus and refer chiefly to the Manchu cultural phenomena (about one third).
2. Goldi *p* may correspond to the Manchu *f* in words known in Northern Tungus with the initial aspiration or zero (more than one third).
3. Goldi *p* may correspond to the aspiration in Northern Tungus (only five cases known by me).
4. Goldi *p* may correspond to the Manchu *b* (I have noticed only two cases).
5. Goldi *f* sometimes corresponds to the Manchu *f* and usually to Goldi doublets with *p* and the same meaning (very rare cases).
6. Goldi *w* and *v* may correspond in rare cases to the Manchu *v* and *f*, to the Goldi *u* (in doublets) and different sounds in Northern Tungus dialects, e.g., *ŋ*, *b*, especially in words unknown in Northern Tungus and designating local terms.
7. Goldi *b* may correspond to the Manchu and Northern Tungus *b*; it occurs frequently so that there are only a few exceptions corresponding to other sounds in Manchu and other Tungus dialects; in Manchu the initial *b* is almost voiceless.

These series of facts allow us to generalize: (1) the Goldi language shows a definite inclination to *tenuis* bilabial occlusive (*p*) occurring in cases where it is met in Manchu with spirant *f* and in rare cases *b* corresponding to the Manchu Sp. *p*; (2) the Goldi *p* in a limited number of cases corresponds to the aspiration and zero in the Northern Tungus dialects; (3) the Goldi *p* in a great number of cases corresponds to the Manchu *f* and to the Northern Tungus aspiration and zero; (4) the Goldi *f* is rare and is never met with in words common only to the Northern Tungus, but it is met with in words in Manchu found with *f*, and sometimes in Goldi with *p* (doublets); (5) the Goldi *w* and *v* are rare and correspond to the Manchu *w*, *v*, and *f*, also the Goldi *u* (bilabialization in doublets); (6) the Goldi *b* is met with as frequently as in other Northern Tungus dialects and in Manchu Writ.

The reaction of the Northern Tungus dialects is such that they alter the initial *f* of foreign words into *p*, for the initial *f* does not exist in the Northern Tungus dialects with the exception of cases like that of the Birarčēn dialect where I find three words, all borrowed from Manchu, with the initial *f*. However, in this form



they are used only by persons familiar with the Manchu phonetic peculiarities.

It should be pointed out that the process of bilabialization of the initial vowels is a phenomenon observed in foreign words with the initial vowels borrowed by the Manchus. By the bilabialization are affected first the words with the labialized vowels. Yet the Manchu Sp. is more bilabialized than the Manchu Writ. In fact, all *u*'s and the greatest part of the *o*'s of the Manchu Writ. in Manchu spoken are strongly "bilabialized." That the process of bilabialization is not a very recent phenomenon one may see from the instances of Nuichen and several evidences of formation of new labial and bilabial consonants from the labialized and even non-labialized vowels. Of course, one may reject the last series of facts by explaining them as a result of the loss of consonants, but the fact of recent bilabialization (Manchu Writ. and Sp.) of foreign words and the fact of the process of further bilabialization in Manchu are reasons to incline us to see in the former process a positive movement of increase of consonants and not their loss.

As to the aspiration and further formation of glottal consonants in Northern Tungus, we may observe this phenomenon in the case of "loan-words." So we have, *xuto* (Ang. *Tit.*), *hutō* (Nomad Barg., *Pop.*)—"the tinder," cf. *uta* of the Buriats; *hek* (Transb. *Tit.*)—"ex!" from Russian; *hikin* (Tum.)—"the caw," "ox"; cf. *ixan* of Manchu; (it may be noted that in Nuichen the *i* is bilabialized—*wei-han* (*Grube*) (restored by P. Pelliot [*op. cit.*, p. 240] as *vihan*), I might also quote the case of *xorin* (Goldi) corresponding to *orin* (Manchu and Mongol), but I do not want to do it, for in Mongol it is sometimes met with as *xorin* (cf. Dahur, *Ivan.*; Mongol, *Rud.*), and in this form it might be received by the Goldi direct from these sources. However, in Nuichen it is *wo-lin* (*Grube*) (i.e., \**worin*). Indeed, the number of foreign words with the initial vowels aspirated in the Tungus dialects is limited: for (1) not all words "need" to be aspirated; (2) the Tungus usually become familiar with the foreign phonetic systems (cf. the above-quoted case of the Birarčen *f*), especially in the case of the "non-aspiration" of vowels. The aspiration affects different words in different dialects. This has already been shown in the instances of Goldi aspiration. I have already suggested in my previous publication that the aspiration is correlated with the existence of expiratory and musical accents and length of vowels.

So that the aspiration may be regarded as an unconscious process of "preservation" of vowels, which method functionally corresponds to the accentuation of vowels. I may here give an interesting instance from the Goldi, where we find *xi* (Goldi, *Grube*) corr. to *usi*, *uhi*, *uxi* (of various Tungus dialects), *uše* (Manchu Writ.), *wuže* (Manchu Sp.)—"the thong." The variations of Goldi *xi* may be supposed to be as *usi*→*usi*→*uhi*→*uxi*→perhaps *wxi*→*xi*. This instance shows what may happen if the initial vowel is not "protected" by the aspiration and another vowel is accentuated, as it is in some Northern Tungus dialects.

### 32. The Goldi Language Not a Typical Northern Tungus, Neither a Southern Tungus

I have taken the instance of the Goldi language as a basis for the discussion of the phenomenon of aspiration and bilabialization for two reasons; namely, the Goldi language shows a series of both aspiration and bilabialization of vowels and the Goldi language is always quoted as one in which the hypothetical \**p* is preserved. The aspiration and the bilabialization are so common in Goldi that they are observed in the same words; e. g., *pálga*~*halga*—"the foot"; *pému*~*ximma*—"the lip"; *porro*~*xárrake*—"auerhahn"; *polo*~*xolo*—"the trembling poplar." Particularly in the Ussuri Goldi dialect, the aspiration seems to be stabilized and has *x* instead of *p*. The stabilization of the aspiration is characteristic of Goldi in general. It may be here noted that in good agreement with other Tungus languages affected by the aspiration, the practice of alteration of *s* into *h* and even *x* is very common in Goldi. On the other hand, the presence of the labio-dental *lenis* spirant *f* and the bilabial *media lenis* spirant *w* is more frequent than in any other Northern Tungus dialect besides the occlusive *p*. These facts point to the meeting of some strong current of words with the initial vowels bilabialized and not altered into *p* with another current of alteration of the initial *f* into *p* in foreign words. Thus, from the phonetic point of view, this language is a mixed one. I say intentionally "mixed," for two phonetic currents of different origin are met with which are clear from the conclusions regarding the Goldi, Manchu, and Northern Tungus languages.

The analysis of the vocabulary reveals the same picture. By the side of the typical Northern Tungus elements there is a large number of typical Southern Tungus elements (Manchu and perhaps Nuichen)

used parallel with the Northern Tungus words, but already modified according to the type of "aspirating" dialects. Besides these modified Southern Tungus elements, there are many "loan-words" which have not yet been modified. Furthermore, this language includes a great number of words which are neither Southern nor Northern Tungus. Some of them, but not all, may be connected with the Gilak words. It ought to be noted that most of these mysterious words designate local phenomena, local animals and plants, special methods of fishing, etc.

The morphology of these dialects is also sometimes mixed with two systems—the Southern and Northern Tungus. In fact, the specimens gathered amongst the Sungari Goldi reveals a parallelism in using, for example, the Manchu suffix *-xa* (part. perf.) along with the Northern Tungus *-če*; accumulation of several suffixes for expressing complex relations (complex starters), as, e.g., *jatka + -či + -du + i*, which is typical of the Northern Tungus dialects; the verbal pronominal suffixes are partly preserved; the Northern Tungus suffix *-du* (*locativus* and *dativus*) is used instead of the Southern Tungus *-de*; *wō* (*accusativus*) instead of *be*, etc.; the pronominal declension is preserved.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Olcha dialect<sup>2</sup> has no such typical Northern Tungus elements and generally morphologically it is much poorer than the Sungari dialect. Some differences are also seen when the Ussuri and Amur dialects are compared with the above-mentioned two other dialects.

The facts given above may suffice for stating that (1) the Goldi language cannot be considered as an entity; (2) it is a group of dialects in various degrees containing Southern and Northern Tungus elements, phonetic, lexic, and morphological; (3) it must be classified as a "mixed" language.<sup>3</sup> The history of the formation of the Goldi as an ethnical group may greatly help us in the understanding of the process of "mixing." As I have already shown,<sup>4</sup> the formation of the Goldi has taken a long time. They were originally a Northern Tungus group, or, even better to say, groups, speaking the Northern

<sup>1</sup>The above-quoted facts are taken from the material published by W. L. Kotwicz (cf. "Material for the Study of the Tungus Dialects").

<sup>2</sup>According to the material published by P. P. Schmidt, cf. Olcha.

<sup>3</sup>The idea of the existence of "mixed languages" has been severely criticized, but the above-quoted facts seem to support it in full sense.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. my "Northern Tungus Migrations," and "Social Organization of the Northern Tungus."

Tungus dialects affected by aspiration. In fact, words common for the Goldi, Manchu, and Northern Tungus met with the initial *p*, *f*, and *0~h~x* denote such elements like "soul" "lip," "palm of the hand," "thumb," "forehead," "wound," "trousers," "hammer," "to follow," "downwards," etc., while the words met with in Goldi with the initial *p* and in Manchu with the initial *f*, but unknown in the Northern Tungus, denote either local phenomena (e. g., animals and plants) or special phenomena unknown amongst the Northern Tungus. On the other hand, we meet with words with the initial consonants *f*, *p*, *w*, *v* in Goldi and Manchu which sometimes correspond with the different Northern Tungus words. Besides these cases, there are a few cases where the initial *p* of the Goldi corresponds to *0~h~x* of the Northern Tungus dialects. This class of facts may be understood as due to the loss of the old Manchu words, or even in some cases to the formation by analogy through the spreading of the bilabial *tenuis* occlusive over the words with the aspirated initial vowels. This was a secondary phenomenon which might have occurred during the period when Goldi was already under a strong Manchu influence. From the above-mentioned facts, the origin of the initial *p* in Goldi may be better understood as a case of Northern Tungus dialects which have come into contact with the Manchu (also Nuichen) linguistical complex and partly borrowed it, first altering their original phonetic characters (the period when the Manchu-Nuichen *f* became the *p* of the Goldi) and afterwards, the change of the old phonetic complex without any essential change of the Manchu words (the period when Manchu *f* was preserved).<sup>1</sup> The behaviour of the Goldi towards the Northern Tungus phonetic characters has also changed, for, at the present time, it treats the Northern Tungus phonetic peculiarities as foreign, although the old "aspirating" type is still preserved in many words of a probably early origin. In this respect, it is very interesting to know that they now reproduce very well the Northern Tungus words received without aspiration, although the same words in an "aspirating" dialect must be aspirated. It shows that the influx of the second non-aspirated

<sup>1</sup>This is a process which is now observed in some Northern Tungus dialects in Manchuria. Some of them are under Manchu influence and some of them are under Mongol influence. Little by little they become familiar with the foreign phonetic system and do not alter the original (foreign) pronunciation.

Northern Tungus element does not meet with the phonetic modifications characteristic of the "aspirating" dialects.

As to the Northern Tungus dialects, they do possess the initial *p* in rare cases of words for which we have no evidences for showing that these words are loaned from the Manchu, Mongol, and Russian languages, also from some Palæasiatic dialects. These facts seem to show that the Northern Tungus is not hostile to the initial *p*, as it is hostile, for example, to the corresponding labio-dental *tenuis* spirant *f*. On the other hand, the phenomenon of transition from *mediæ lenes* to *tenuis* is not observed in the Northern Tungus dialects, but in Manchu Sp., which, in so far as the present problem is concerned, particularly affects the initial bilabial *media lenis* occlusive *b*, but no tendency as to the transition from spirants to occlusives in bilabials and labio-dentals is observed. The process of transition from *mediæ lenes* to *tenuis* is observed in Goldi, which makes a very great difference when Goldi is compared with Manchu Sp.

Considering all the facts and conclusions to which we have come, it may be formulated thus: (1) The Goldi language being a mixed one, it is not a typical representative of either the Northern Tungus or the Southern Tungus, and, in addition to this, it is greatly affected by some third elements, which, apart from Mongol, might be various Palæasiatic languages now extinct; (2) the frequent occurrence of the initial *p* in Goldi is not due to the preservation of this consonant, but to the phonetic reaction on an alien (Southern Tungus) phonetic system characteristic of the Northern Tungus dialects. Therefore the reference to the Goldi language as one preserving the original initial labial (bilabial) *tenuis* sound is foundless, for it is of a secondary origin.

These inferences are important for our analysis of the problem of the original initial sounds of many Tungus and alien words. Since the process of aspiration and bilabialization is going on in several Tungus dialects forming two distinct phonetic currents of fashion, and since there are no evidences for showing the loss of the *tenuis* bilabial initial consonants, but, just the contrary, reveals their consolidation and spreading, the Tungus languages cannot be taken as evidence of a loss of the above-discussed initial consonants. What has been shown in the previous section and what may be supported by other evidences quoted from the Tungus is that, in a great number of cases, the appearance of the initial consonants—bilabial,

labio-dental and glottal, spirant and occlusive, *tenuis* and *mediae lenes*—is a relatively recent phenomenon, due to the processes of aspiration and bilabialization, conditioned, perhaps, by the increase of accentuation of other vowels of the words. This conclusion does not imply the hypothesis of the non-existence of the initial *p* in Tungus, as initial *p*'s are known at the present time and so might have been also in previous periods of formation of the dialects. Yet this conclusion does not imply that all words with the initial *f*, *p*, *h*, *x*, *w*, and *v* must formerly have been words with initial vowels.

### 33. Mongol Aspiration and Bilabialization

Such is the situation with the variations of the initial consonants connected with the process of aspiration and bilabialization in Tungus, so that in reference to this language the hypothesis of G. Ramstedt of the initial \**φ* and that of P. Pelliot of the initial \**p* cannot be accepted. In other languages the similar processes might have a place too. The fact of aspiration in the Mongol language is particularly interesting. With all possible reserves as to my competence in Mongol I will now point out some facts.

The present Mongol languages and Mongol written language bear some traces of formerly aspirated initial vowels. Yet the mediæval dialects recorded possessed well-developed aspiration, which is also met with in some living dialects.<sup>1</sup> Some words with stabilized glottals, e.g., *k*, *g*, etc., seem to have come out of the previously

<sup>1</sup>The existence of aspiration in Mongol is a well-known fact. So A. Bobrovnikov ("Grammar of the Mongolo-Kalmuk Language") and A. Pozdneev (Introduction, p. viii) pointed out that the initial vowels as a rule are aspirated. G. Ramstedt ("Comparative Phonetics of the Mongol Written and Xalxa-Urga Dialect," Sec. 46, p. 44) treats this phenomenon in the Urgan dialect as a "gradual glottid" (cf. Sievers, *Grundzüge*, etc., fifth ed., 1901, Sec. 339), and N. N. Poppe ("Mongol Names of the Animals in X. Kasvini's Work," p. 205) repeats it in reference to the mediæval Mongol words. However, this "gradual glottid" is so strong in some Western groups and in Dahur that in the records it appears as *x*. G. Ramstedt, in his later publication ("Ein anlautender, etc.," *op. cit.*), supposes that the *h* of the mediæval Mongol languages, according to Yuan Chao Mi Shi (A.D. 1241) and as recorded by Guiragos, must be "eine damalige entwicklungsstufe des ehemaligen *p* od. *f*-lautes" (*id.*, p. 8). W. L. Kotwicz treats it (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 247) as an aspiration met with in the mediæval Mongol groups, of which groups speaking the Amdo dialect and their neighbours have been produced. He compares it with the aspiration met with in Dahur. P. Pelliot ("Les Mots, etc.," *op. cit.*) designates it in the mediæval Mongol as an aspiration *h* which is lacking in the present Mongol.

practised aspiration. For safety's sake, it will perhaps be better to say that the "aspiration" and "gradual glottid" also *h* and *x* exist in Mongol dialects just as they exist in the Northern Tungus dialects, but they are unknown in the Mongol written language and in most of the living dialects. If we suppose, then, that the process of aspiration existed during the mediæval ages, it might be confined only to a certain group of Mongol dialects about which we have some information, but the other dialects might have had no aspiration. Indeed, the number of groups speaking an aspirated or a nonaspirated dialect might vary greatly. At the present time, most of the Mongol groups know no strong aspiration which may be perceived as *h* and *x*, but the groups using the aspiration might have been more numerous than the nonaspirating during the Middle Ages. Therefore I think that it is perhaps mere anticipation to consider the initial *h* of the mediæval Mongol as lost nowadays. The dialect laid down as the basis of the Mongol Writ., as well as some modern dialects, might have no aspiration at all, while other dialects might be affected by this phenomenon. If this is so, then the idea that the consonant has been lost is erroneous, and "genetically" *h* has nothing to do with the hypothetic initial bilabial *tenuis*.

Besides the occurrence of the initial *b*, corresponding to the aspiration or zero treated by P. Pelliot as doublets, there are some other facts which point to the existence of bilabialization in Mongol. In fact, P. Pelliot ("Les Mots, etc.," *op. cit.*, p. 236) quotes the following three parallels from a Chinese document, a short dictionary recorded in the sixteenth century: *fünägä~hünägän* (mediæval)~*ünägän*—"the fox"; *füni~hüni* (mediæval)~*ünin* (Buriat)—"smoke"; and *fula'an~hula'an* (mediæval) *uta'an*—"red." These parallels are not very convincing, perhaps, for the Chinese author might percept *h* as *f*. However, we have another series of facts; namely, the Shirongol dialect, which gives *xunisi* by the side of *funisi*—"the ash," "*fulyan*," etc. Thus these dialects possess *f* in the words with initial *h* and zero. P. Pelliot (*id.*, p. 251) considers it, in view of maintaining G. Ramstedt's hypothesis, as a secondary phenomenon due to the alteration *h*→*f*, analogous to the Chinese dialects. Yet he points out that the initial *f* is met with in the words with the labialized vowels, i.e., let us add, as it is in the Southern Tungus language. If this is so, then it is probably not a secondary phenomenon in the sense of *h*→*f*, but it is a secondary phenomenon

in the sense of the "bilabialization of vowels," and in first-hand labialized ones. Indeed, *f* treated as a secondary phenomenon of the *h*→*f* type does not help in establishing the original initial labial *tenuis*.<sup>1</sup>

After the present work had already been handed over to the printers I received two publications concerning Mongol dialects which makes it necessary to insert this additional paragraph. A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt ("Le Dialecte Monguor, etc.") this time treat of the phonetic system of the Monguor dialect of Kansu,<sup>2</sup> in which one may observe both an aspiration and a bilabialization of vowels. In agreement with G. Ramstedt and P. Pelliot, these authors connect the phenomenon of "aspiration" disclosed in this dialect as a preservation of an archaic character of the Kansu dialect (*op. cit.*, p. 146) and as a result of the alteration of the original "labiale fricative dure, ou, plus probablement l'occlusive dure \**p*" (*op. cit.*, p. 804). The facts observed have inclined to make them recognize that *f* and *x* might have originated from "renforcement" and "assimilation" (*op. cit.*, p. 805). It is interesting to note that side by side with this phenomenon one also meets with the initial *š* in cases where we might expect to find glottal and labial consonants (*ibid.*). The series under discussion may be thus represented according to A. Mostaert as shown

in the scheme (\**φ* or \**p*) → *h*  $\begin{cases} \nearrow x \text{ (through reinforcement)} \\ \searrow f, \text{ } \text{š}, s \text{ (through assimilation)} \end{cases}$   
[hypothetic]

One may also observe the loss of the initial vowel when it is not aspirated or bilabialized (*op. cit.*, p. 807, §21). Yet, in a great number of cases the initial voiced bilabial *b* is found voiceless and even an aspirated *ph*.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there is a great number of cases when the initial *x* corresponds to the aspiration in mediæval Mongol and zero in Mongol Writ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>P. Pelliot seems to believe that the only way to prove the appearance of the initial *h* is to show its derivation from a labial, for he says that otherwise its origin would be mysterious. As shown, its origin is not mysterious at all, at least in the Tungus. The fashion of bilabialization might affect both the Tungus (Southern) and the Mongol.

<sup>2</sup>A. Mostaert previously published his investigation of the Urdu (South) Mongol dialect, which is free from the aspiration and the bilabialization of the initial vowels.

<sup>3</sup>E. g., in Mongol Writ, *ličig*, *burhan*, *burgiraku*, *bökeiku*, *luřčag*, *betege*, and *büküli* are found in Monguor with the initial *ph*. This is not a general phenomenon, however, as it is also observed in Manchu Sp.

<sup>4</sup>Most of the cases where the initial vowels are aspirated correspond to the words with the initial *a* and *e* of the Mongol Writ. However, there are also cases where the initial *o* and *u* are aspirated, e. g., *oriyaku*, *ombaku*, *okor*, and *urum*, are aspirated in Monguor.



Cases in which the initial vowels are bilabialized are numerous. In most of them the initial *f* corresponds to *h* of the mediæval and zero of the written Mongol, so that the tendency may be regarded as well established.<sup>1</sup> However, there are some cases where Monguor possesses at the same time parallel forms with zero and bilabialization, with aspiration and bilabialization, as, for instance, in Goldi. In this respect, the analogy with Manchu (especially Manchu Sp.) is going so far that there are cases of parallelism of *b* and *w*, e.g., *baḏzar*~*wadzar* || *basar* (Writ.)—"the city"; *bargu*~*wargu* || *bariku* (Writ.)—"to take up"; and alternation *w*~*j*, e.g., *wīthan*~*y'ūthan* || *uitan* (Writ.) || *hiutan* (mediæval)—"narrow." These cases are found parallel with zero in Monguor and aspiration in mediæval, e.g., *ači* (Monguor) (Writ.) || *hači* (mediæval—"the grandson." It may thus be pointed out that not only labialized vowels are increased with a consonant, but also the non-labialized vowels as well.<sup>2</sup> Another point of interest is one in the case of nonbilabialization where the initial vowel sometimes may disappear altogether; e.g., *wesē*~*besē*~*jesē* || *ebüsün* (Writ.), *ōwōšu* (Urdu Sp.)—"grass." This is a phenomenon which has been observed in the Tungus language.<sup>3</sup> The comparison of these phenomena as they are observed in the Mongol and the Tungus language leads us to the conclusion that the analogy is rather complete. It may be thus supposed that in Mongol the occurrence of bilabialization and aspiration is not due to the presence and degeneration of the initial labial consonant, but to the phonetic fashions of bilabialization and aspiration, which some time ago affected the southern Mongol.

<sup>1</sup>Some of these cases are particularly interesting. There are some monosyllabic words, e. g., *fan* (Monguor)—*on* (Writ.)—*hon* (mediæval)—"the year" (*op. cit.*, p. 151) *fē* (Monguor)—*oi* (Writ.)—*hoi* (mediæval)—"the forest" (*op. cit.*, p. 155). Some of them have already been treated in the present work, e. g., *fōr* (Monguor)—*egūr* (Writ.—*he'ūr* (mediæval)—"the nest" (*op. cit.*, p. 810) (cf. 'ūr of the Urdu S. and *infra*, Chapter V); *f'ūda* (Monguor)—*uguta* (Writ.)—*huguta* (mediæval)—"the bag," "sack" (cf. *infra*, Chapter V). A. Mostaert's transcription here and further is given in slightly simplified form.

<sup>2</sup>The above quoted *wīthan* may be regarded as a case of the loss of the vowel *u*. The situation is complicated, however, by the fact that sometimes the vowels, like *o* and *ō*, are not labialized at all (cf. A. D. Rudnev, "Xori-Buriat Dialect," *op. cit.*, p. 11). What kind of vowels were originally found in the words where the initial vowels are now found to be "bilabialized" is not always ascertainable.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *supra*, Section 31; also "Notes on the Bilabialization and Aspiration in the Tungus Languages."

Another publication is that by N. N. Poppe on the Dahur language, Xailar dialect. This dialect seems to show certain characters which support my thesis as well. N. N. Poppe has found the phenomenon of increase of the initial vowels with bilabialization (*vide* pp. 72, 73 of his vocabulary), and some traces of aspiration which he has not reproduced in his work. Another Dahur dialect, recorded by A. O. Ivanovskii, is strongly affected by aspiration, while bilabialization is little known.<sup>1</sup> N. N. Poppe makes a suggestion that the Dahur *w* and the Manchu *v* might originate from vowels (*op. cit.*, p. 112),<sup>2</sup> yet he also suggests that *w* and *v* might have been preserved from the hypothetical initial \**w*, by analogy with the hypothetical initial \**p*. The phenomenon of bilabialization in the Dahur language seems to be quite recent,<sup>3</sup> as it is also shown in Manchu Sp., where most of the labialized vowels and all the *w*'s are supplied with *w*. Thus, in Dahur, as well as in Monguor, this process is still alive. The difference between the two languages is that the Monguor language also bears traces of an old process of bilabialization, while in the Dahur language it seems to be only of recent fashion.

If one does not presume the process of the loss of \**p* in the Mongol language, perhaps the whole situation would appear as simple as it

<sup>1</sup>In the series of "bilabialized" cases may be included the following words given by A. O. Ivanovskii *vantabei* || *untxu* (Writ.)—"to sleep"; *vaire* || *ova* (Writ.)—"near"; *wakar* || *oxor* (Writ.), *axar* (Kalm.)—"short": also perhaps some more cases may be classed in this group. However, these cases are not so numerous as they are in the Manchu and the Monguor dialect.

<sup>2</sup>Indeed, the word *vas* (Dahur), *vasa* (Manchu), as shown, is Chinese (*cf. infra*, Section 47). The same is perhaps true of another instance which he gives; namely, *woa* (Dahur), *va* (Manchu)—"the smell" (*cf. "Notes on the Bilabialization and Aspiration in the Tungus Languages"*). In "Notes on the Bilabialization and Aspiration in the Tungus Languages," I gave several other instances which show that *w* and *v* are merely particular cases of bilabialization.

<sup>3</sup>The recentness of this phenomenon in the Dahur language (in the Xailar dialect and also in the dialect recorded by A. O. Ivanovskii) is especially evident, for this language still behaves like nonbilabializing in the case of foreign words with the initial *f*. In fact, the latter is not always correctly reproduced, being altered into *p*. So two cases are reproduced in N. N. Poppe's vocabulary [*faiida* (Manchu) and *fan-se* (Chinese)], and a case in A. O. Ivanovskii's [*f* (Manchu)=*bi* (Chinese)]. However, the initial *f* is sometimes correctly reproduced by the Dahurs [e.g., Manchu, *fančambi*, *f*, *fulxu*; Chinese, *fučen*, according to A. O. Ivanovskii; Manchu, *fajula*, *furdan*, according to N. N. Poppe]. This phenomenon is analogous to what I have observed in the Bir. dialect, including the fact that both the Tungus and the Dahurs pronounce correctly when familiar with Manchu. The behaviour of some Goldi dialects is the same.

is in Tungus; namely, that there existed, and still exists in some dialects, a tendency of bilabialization and in other dialects a tendency of aspiration, while some third dialects remained beyond these phonetic "fashions." The southern Tungus (the Nuichen) and the southern Mongol (perhaps the Toba, and as preserved in Kansu) were long ago affected by bilabialization, while some Northern Tungus and some northern Mongol dialects were affected by aspiration (prior to the first records of the mediæval Mongol; cf., also, variations of these phenomena in Tungus connected with the migratory waves, which, under a certain probability, may be connected with definite historic moments). Both phenomena might or might not be synchronous, and there might be no connexion between them. As I have already supposed, the fashion of bilabialization might originate under Chinese influence, or even under the influences coming from Central Asia. This fashion still persists in Dahur and Manchu Sp. supported chiefly by Chinese influence.

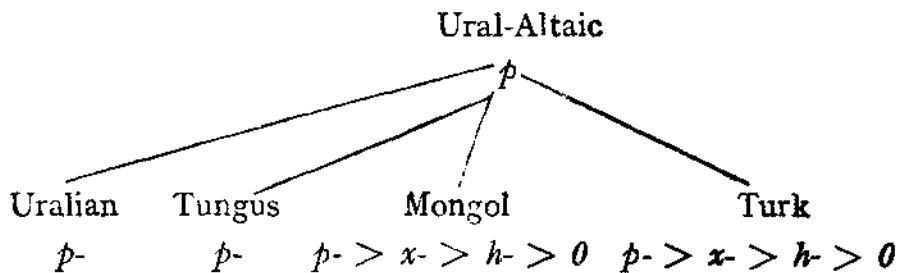
The Dahur language, considered in the light of this interpretation, appears to be recently affected by bilabialization and formerly to have been strongly affected by aspiration, while the Monguor dialect was strongly affected by both; yet the dialects which led to the basis of the Mongol written language were not affected by these phonetic fashions.

In my earlier paper ("Notes on the Bilabialization and Aspiration in the Tungus Languages," written in 1927) I hesitated more than at present as to the possibility of generalizing my hypothesis concerning the phenomenon of bilabialization and aspiration in Mongol. The new facts expounded above dissipate my hesitation as to spreading my hypothesis, which I am now inclined to consider as a theory.

#### **34. Linguistic Importance of a Correct Solution of the Problem of Aspiration and Bilabialization**

Still greater difficulty in solving this problem is met with in Turk where no *h* or *x* are found. However, some words of the supposedly common origin are found with the initial *b*. These occurrences are explained as due to the preservation of the original initial bilabial of the Altaic pra-language. However, what the actual origin of this consonant in these words is is not yet established. The process of bilabialization in Turk might have the same place as it is in Mongol or as it is in Tungus. And lastly, the group of languages known

under the name of Uralian has been brought by A. Sauvageot to join the Mongol, Turk, and Tungus under the same idea of the hypothetical loss of the initial labial *tenuis* in the "Altaic" languages. In the work of this author, the history of the occlusive *tenuis* is represented in an absolutely definite manner, as he says that "l'histoire de l'occlusive sourde en position initiale a été la suivante" (*op. cit.*, p. 62), as shown in the table below. I quote it in full as the most completely and definitely formulated statement based upon the work of several predecessors and his own, and also as a case of a consonant which in the "Ural-Altaiic" languages, according to this hypothesis (promoted to the grade of "law") had a very complex history



The analysis of the phenomenon of aspiration and bilabialization in Tungus has already brought us to the conclusion that the phenomenon of occurrence of the initial *f*, *p*, *v*, *w*, *h*, *x*, and zero in the words of the same meaning does not require the hypothesis that there was such a complex history of the loss of the initial bilabial *tenuis*. On the other hand, we have also seen that the similar phenomenon of aspiration in Mongol is quite possible. Perhaps the case of bilabials in Turk may also be connected with the process of bilabialization, if it is shown that the words are really of common origin. Indeed, my generalization is not spread over Turk, for I am not familiar with this language in the same degree as with the Tungus language, and the material that may be compared is rather limited. This may be due to two conditions; namely, the remoteness of similar processes in this language, or perhaps an insufficient development of any of them in the Turk. Here it must be pointed out that the remoteness must be understood, not only absolutely, in terms of centuries, but also in the relative sense; namely, how many phonetic changes had occurred since these phenomena, if any, had taken place.

Besides the fact that the phenomena of aspiration and bilabialization may nowadays be observed in Tungus, we are in an extremely good position, owing to the existence of Goldi-Oлча, where, as shown, owing to the transplantation of bilabialized elements to an alien soil, the character of bilabialization has received a very strong and sharp expression through the modification of even a slight bilabialization into a stable element like *p*. It is curious to note that this language has been greatly responsible for the hypothesis of the loss of this consonant. As a matter of fact, without the accidental preservation of Goldi, it would be difficult if not impossible to build up this hypothesis. In Mongol and Turk it is applied by the simple method of analogy.<sup>1</sup> Yet with the loss of Manchu the hypothesis would be absolutely impossible. However, the preservation of Manchu is also a mere historic accident. The Goldi and Manchu languages are fortunately preserved, but how many other languages are lost for ever? How many phonetic processes have escaped the attention of now living observers? But the facts which are lost might perhaps bring the observers to entirely different conceptions. The hypothesis of the loss of the initial *p* is based, not upon the facts, but chiefly upon certain theoretical reasoning for illustration of which the facts are picked up here and there. One of the presumptions which is usually left without discussion is that the languages under discussion were formed from a common ancestor in rather recent time, and this moment is referred to the historic period. The fact that there are little changes in Turk as seen in Uigur, in Mongol as seen in the mediæval language, and in Southern Tungus as seen in Nuichen produces a certain disappointment, for one has to remove the moment of hypothetical separation to the periods when there were no documents. This is a reasoning by analogy with the present Indo-European languages, most of which were formed in historic time witnessed by numerous written documents. Another important presumption is that the languages lose their phonetic elements implied by the transition from *tenuis* to *medice lenes* and zero. Indeed, these phenomena do exist in some

<sup>1</sup> My approach to this problem in Mongol is also made by the analogy with Tungus, so I do not insist upon my theory in Mongol as a "law" but as a simple working hypothesis. In reference to Turk I cannot classify it even as a suggestion. The processes of loss are not rare, indeed. What is good for a particular case of Tungus may happen to be invalid for Turk.

particular languages which supplied facts for this conclusion, but the generalization of this conclusion cannot be supported by the contrary facts; namely, the alteration of *mediæ lenes* into *tenues*, which also exists in some other languages. However, the former alteration is in good agreement with the ethnographical complex of the gradual "weakening and deterioration of human species." Such terms as "fortis," "stark," and "strong" as opposed to "weak" support the idea of "weakening." This conception remains effective even in the case of a change of terminology. The third important presumption is that the changes in languages always take definite direction conditioned by the factors appearing in the language as an organic entity. This is also a reasoning by analogy with the organisms conceived in a simplified manner.

If we now summarize what has been previously stated, we may see that the formation of this hypothesis is in some way independent on the facts and the latter originally were used not as facts needed for conclusions but as illustration, just as the artist in mosaic work uses differently coloured materials for combining them in such a way as to express his own idea. Such is the work of G. Ramstedt in which this idea was illustrated with a series of incidentally picked-up facts. The choice of facts was not always fortunate, so the mosaic work appeared but as a simple essay. The same methodology is seen in other works. G. Ramstedt has started his work with forty-two parallels from "Altaic" languages, P. P. Schmidt has added some more, P. Pelliot has also added some, and A. Sauvageot, who has included the "Uralian" languages, has brought forth eighty-five parallels (cases) to illustrate G. Ramstedt's hypothesis. In this form the hypothesis seems to come out of facts and its origin is unintentionally camouflaged from the eyes of laymen. In its present form it has a new function; namely, to prove in the most daring form the existence of an ancestor language—Ural-Altai. So that *volens nolens*, we have now to proceed together with these authors to the analysis of evidences.

CHAPTER V  
ANALYSIS OF PARALLELS

**35. The Scope of the Present Analysis**

From the previous chapter we have seen that in the analysis of parallels we must be ready to meet with several difficulties due to the acceptance of a series of hypotheses. Yet, as has been shown, A. Sauvageot is not alone in accepting them. In fact, a large portion of parallels is taken by this author from previously published works. I will confine the analysis of these parallels to the Tungus language only. Yet since the problem of the aspiration and the bilabialization of vowels in Tungus is a phenomenon disconnected with that of the Ural-Altaiic hypothetic language, I will not mix it with the hypothesis of the Tungus connexion with this hypothetic language. The specialists in Mongol and Turk will perhaps show some day what the relationship is between the process of aspiration and bilabialization, if they ever existed in these languages, and the hypothetic pra-language. So the problem which I have before me is this: How far do the evidences shown by A. Sauvageot and his predecessors prove the existence of a pra-language from which the Tungus language is supposed to have originated? I will use the evidences from other languages only in connexion with the Tungus parallels. So I will leave out of the discussion the problem, warmly discussed, as to the existence of a special Altaic group of languages. The latter is a point in which there is a serious discrepancy of opinions of different authors. As will be seen later, this controversy has no bearing upon the problem of relationship between the Tungus and other languages.

In the following analysis of the parallels I shall go according to the order of parallels given by A. Sauvageot, and I shall preserve his numeration of "cases." He has classed his parallels into nine groups according to the initial and intervocalic consonants, as shown:

<i>p</i> initial . . . . .	41 cases
<i>p</i> intervocalic . . . . .	22 cases
<i>b</i> initial . . . . .	21 cases
<i>t</i> initial . . . . .	20 cases

---

<i>t</i> intervocalic . . . . .	8 cases
<i>k</i> initial . . . . .	53 cases
<i>h</i> intervocalic . . . . .	23 cases
<i>ŋ</i> initial . . . . .	8 cases
<i>ŋ</i> intervocalic . . . . .	16 cases

The initial and intervocalic consonants are practically understood as a series of actual and hypothetic sounds of labial, dental, glottal, and nasal types. Yet, since the series of  $f \sim p \sim h \sim x \sim \theta$  is postulated, the parallels of the labial type are extended over the words with the initial glottal and vowels. The same extension is seen in the case of the nasal group, in which the words with the initial glottal and also *n* and *m* are included. This series is not yet complete, and A. Sauvageot promises to give another series with the initial and intervocalic frontal alveolar affricates and spirants, the parallels with which, according to him, are more complex and difficult than the one discussed here. I must agree with him, for the alternations of these consonants with dental, also labial and glottal, are very common.

Unfortunately, these two hundred and fourteen cases, as material good for comparison and conclusions, are not equal from the point of view of Tungus parallels. In fact, there are some cases of Tungus parallels lacking, and some cases lack all parallels except Samoyed and Tungus. Yet in some cases the Tungus words are misinterpreted, or wrongly used as Tungus ones. And lastly, in some cases the semantic limits are so wide that the Tungus words cannot be accepted as reliable material for comparative purposes. In analysing the Tungus parallels, I have found a certain number of them out of use, which may be clear for every one who is a little familiar with Tungus; a certain number of cases which cannot be admitted for comparison; and a certain number of cases which are worthy of analysis. I will here give only cases of the last group, for a discussion of all the cases would take too much space and is of no practical use for my present purpose. However, I feel that I must give the idea of how the cases have been rejected. For this purpose,



I will analyse three cases of the first group and six cases of the second group in order of their appearance in A. Sauvageot's work.<sup>1</sup>

### 36. Examples of Cases Rejected Without a Detailed Analysis

The following three cases have been marked by me as unworthy of a detailed analysis:

Case 3. G. Ramstedt's hypothetic Altaic stem \**pʁrʁ*, the same stem for Finno-Ugrian and the following sense,—in Altaic “*fond*,” “*base*,” “*sol*” and in Finno-Ugrian,—“*kopf*,” “*haupt*,” “*hinterteil*,” “*zurück*,” “*schwanz*,” “*arrière*,” “*derrière*,” etc., while in Tungus all of them are correlated with the idea of “bottom.” If one clears up the problem of Tungus parallels a little, then it may be seen that *rV* is a suffix which may be replaced by other suffixes in other words of the same stem. The latter is “down,” found as a certain vowel in different Tungus dialects (it may be found as *a*, *o*, *e*, *u*, *i*) and may be designated as *V*. In some dialects it is aspirated, while in some other dialects it is bilabialized.<sup>2</sup> Of course it may be supposed that the stem with the suffix was received from a Tungus language inclined to bilabialization (Southern Tungus), but this supposition would make of it a “loan-word” in all other languages, while it is supposed to be one of important facts of uralaltaicology, if I am allowed so to style the theory of the Ural-Altaic common language. In order to save this important word for other languages, it will be advisable to exclude the Tungus word from the series. Indeed, this case is rather complex.

Case 6. The idea of “wheel,” “circle,” “round,” from the idea of “turn,” etc., according to A. Sauvageot is expressed by

<sup>1</sup>These cases are not the most striking ones in A. Sauvageot's work. I might have selected some cases of a really startling type, but I think they will not give the correct idea of the reasons of rejection. Therefore I will follow A. Sauvageot's order of cases mechanically.

<sup>2</sup>Some details are given in my paper “Tungus Terms,” *op. cit.*, p. 178 *et seq.* (p. 12 *et seq.* of the reprints).

the stem \**pɣrɣ* (i. e., just the same as the previous one); in Altaic, it is even *pɣrɣ* and has about the same meaning,<sup>1</sup> but the Tungus words quoted are *pyrrxa* (Goldi) and *urgoptun* (Man. *Ivan.*), which means exactly "the ring put on the thumb." The origin of the word is very simple. *pyrrxa* (I think it is *pɣrxe*)=*ferxe* (Manchu Writ.)—"the thumb," which has already been indicated by W. Grube; and *urgoptun* is a derivative of *urugun*<sup>2</sup>—"the thumb," increased with the suffixes + *Vp* + *tun* widely used in most of the Northern Tungus dialects for the formation of "nouns." The "thumb" can thus be easily dismissed. However, the Tungus dialects possess some words which may help, e. g., *urga* (Khin.)—"the lasso"; *urka* (Bir.)—"to make a running knot," "lasso." Unfortunately, they are not bilabialized and are recently borrowed from the Mongols (together with the horse-breeding complex). There are, of course, some other words which may be included, as, e. g., the network for the door (the cover for the entrance) made of a system of loops (the "idea of circle," etc.) and which is *urkaptun* (several dialects), but it has derived from *urka* ("the entrance," "door," and not "round") and the suffix *-ptun*, already discussed (*vide* Case 6). In so far as I know, there is no such stem with such a meaning in Tungus.

- Case 7. The stem is \**pɣrɣ* and means "the bark." The Tungus parallels are *feri* (Manchu Writ.), which is translated as "sk n," but which actually means the "excoriation," particularly "saddle gall" (in horses), and which is connected, for example, with *irči* (Bir.)—"to excoriate," "to produce collosities," etc. The stem is probably *ir*, and *-či* is a suffix. These words may be connected perhaps, with the stem *ir*—"to rub," "to make even," also, perhaps, found in Mongol.

<sup>1</sup>Although I disagree with the use of such terms as "meaning," "word," etc., as they are here used, and in spite of the fact that I have pointed out the great undesirability of confounding "starter," "symbol," "meaning," etc., I continue to use them in this part in the conventional "meanings" as practised in most of the special linguistical publications. The reason is that I fear that a new misunderstanding in the technical matter of the analysis of parallels will occur, for the reading of Part One will be omitted by many a reader.

<sup>2</sup>Details regarding *urugun* may be found in my paper on "Bilabialization and Aspiration," *op. cit.*, p. 256.

The parallel has evidently nothing to do with "bark." Another word compared by A. Sauvageot is the Goldi *xyrrekta* (*xirekta*, S. Sh.) and *erikta* translated by W. Grube as "haut" and compared with Manchu *feri*. I have some hesitation as to the correctness of translation given by W. Grube. I think it is merely "bark of the larch-tree," for in other Tungus dialects we have *irakta*, *hirakta* (Bir., Kum., Khin., Mank., Barg.), and even *īrikta* (Ner.) is exactly the "bark of the larch-tree," and "larch-tree." The Goldi language for the name of tree uses terms unknown in other Tungus dialects; namely, *sése*, *xese*, *issi*, *sisi*, connected with the Manchu Writ. *isi*, whence it may be supposed that *erikta*, *xirakta*, have been preserved in the sense of the "bark of the larch-tree" and thus connected with "tree" and not with the "bark." All known Tungus dialects possess a special stem for "skin"; namely, *nanda*, with modifications, while the stem *irakta* is not met with in any word connected with "skin."

In these three cases the reasons for rejection are different. So in Case 3 the chief reason is the impossibility of reducing the Tungus words to the hypothetic stem without speaking of too broad semantic limits. In Case 6 the reason is the wrong etymology of Tungus words. In Case 7 the reason is an artificial interpretation of Tungus words, a wrong analysis of stems, and a wrong translation. In other rejected cases, the same reasons are met with as well as other serious reasons, but it will be of no interest here to give an enumeration of the types of reasons.

### 37. Examples of Cases Rejected After a Minute Analysis

In this group of cases the corresponding words are found in Tungus, but for various reasons they cannot be maintained for the parallels.

Case 1. G. Ramstedt's parallels and hypothetic stem  $*p\delta$  or  $*p\delta$  in Finno-Ugrian means "tree," in Tungus "birch-tree," etc. The equation seems to confirm the existence of the same stem in Goldi and Manchu  $\beta a$ ,  $\beta \grave{a}$  (Goldi) which is  $f a$  (Manchu). Theoretically, if we suppose this stem to be a Tungus one, it may be reduced to  $ja$ , and even  $a$ ,  $\grave{a}$ , unless

it is borrowed by the Manchu in the form *f'a* from some other language; e. g., Palæasiatic.<sup>1</sup> However, such a stem with the meaning of "birch" and "tree" is unknown in Northern Tungus. The "birch" is *čatban* (Bir., Kum., Khin., RTM, Ner., Barg., Tum., Lam.), etc.; cf. also *čalfa* (Manchu Writ.) with a special meaning—"the raw birch-bark." The other parallels are inconsistent; namely, *hijika* (*W*)—"wald," and *hijela* (*W*)—"im dickicht."<sup>2</sup> Both of them are well-known words in this particular dialect being modified, namely, *siyi* (RTM, Khin., Ner.), *sigi* (Neg., Sch.), *hegi* (Tum.) and even *egi* (Lam.), whence *siji* with the alteration *s*→*h* *hiji* (*W*). The suffixes are *-ka* and *-la*, the first one perhaps *diminutivus*<sup>3</sup> and the second one *directivus*. These words are invariably used for "dense, thick forest," "thickness in forest," etc., occupying a usually limited area and consisting usually of young larch and cedar ("spreading") trees. This cannot refer to the birch-tree forest, for the birch-tree never forms such a thick forest, yet it cannot refer to the "forest" in general. Being different as to the meaning (thickness) and stem (*sigi*), it cannot be connected with *ḫḫ* and *ḫḫ*. The only possible connexion is Manchu *fa*, which is not perhaps a Tungus word at all, for it is confined to the Manchu Writ. only, whence borrowed by the Goldi.

- Case 4. G. Ramstedt's stem \**ḫḫiḫḫ* \**ḫḫliḫḫ*, which is compared with the Finno-Ugrian stem \**ḫḫḫ*—"the palm of the hand." The Tungus parallels are *falaḳo* (Manchu Writ.) (the spelling is rather complex), *ḫaina*, *xana*, *hana* quoted by

<sup>1</sup>With certain imagination it may perhaps be connected with Gilak "birch-bark" *xiv*, *xip* (Gilak, *W*, *Grube*), cf. *kivo* (Ner.) *kuva* (Lam.), *kiwä* (Tum.), *kiva* (Ur., Mank., *Castr*)—"the birch-bark" (*k* appears instead of Gilak *x* according to the phonetic character of the Northern Tungus and in Gilak the final vowel very often disappears). Besides this stem there is another stem in Tungus; namely, *talū* (Bir., Kum., RTM, Mank.) (Goldi, Orcchi, *Sch.*), *talo* (Khin.) (Neg. *Sch.*), cf. Manchu Writ. *tolxon*. However, it must be first shown that *xiv*, *xip* may be brought to *ja*, *a*, or *ä*. Indeed, it is absolutely uncertain and I do not naturally propose it. The fact is that we have two stems in Tungus.

<sup>2</sup>These parallels are brought forth probably owing to the Manchu orthography, which renders *f'a* as *ḫya* (or *ḫja*).

<sup>3</sup>It is possible that in *hijika* *-ka* means something else, e. g., "shrubs," as is met with in some other dialects. However, in the given case it is not essential for us.

A. Sauvageot and compared with Mongol *halaqan* (P. Pelliot), *alaya*, etc. However, the situation is not so simple as that. Other Tungus dialects give us two series; namely, *ongan*, *angačan* (Bir.), *anga* (Neg., Sch.), by the side of *xanga* (Neg., Sch.), *xanji* (Tum.), which can be reduced to the stem *aŋV* or even *aŋ*—in some dialects aspirated, in some other dialects bilabialized. Another series is *aliya* (Mank.), *aliga* (Mank., *Castr.*), probably Manchu *falaŋo* (cf. *aliy* of Buriat, *Castr.*), which ought to be compared with the Mongol stem *alay*, etc. So that if we leave aside the hypothesis of the loss of *p*, which is a mere hypothesis, then we have to deal with two stems *aŋV* and *alVg*. To identify these two stems as one and the same, it would mean a building up of a new hypothesis; namely, *n~l*, or *l~ŋ*, etc. Of course, it is not impossible, but it must be supported by solid evidences. On the other hand, the Finno-Ugrian series has words with the initial *p* forming the first syllable with *i* or *e*, and the second syllable varying between *v* and *ŋ* reduced to the stem *pšrš*. Owing to the fact that this reconstruction and connexion is possible only on the condition of adopting several hypotheses, I think that the common stem, if it ever existed, is not definitely shown.

Case 5. A. Sauvageot produces the stem *\*pšrš*, i. e., always the same as in Cases 3 and 6, this time with a broad meaning "*toute armature de bois.*" Naturally, the finding of words is not difficult at all and so they are found in all possible languages (e. g., in the sense "*grenier,*" "*combles d'une maison,*" "*schwimmende insel,*" "*runder kasten,*" "*floss am netz,*" "*sledge,*" "*island,*" "*archipelago,*" "*steppeninsel,*" "*groove,*" etc.). In this series are found *fara* (Manchu Writ.), *para* (Goldi, *W. Grube*) (Tungus, *Gerstf.*), the latter being naturally borrowed from Manchu. This case is rather analogous to Case I, for in various Tungus languages different words are found, e. g., *tołgoki* (Ner., Mank.) (Irk., *Tit.*), *tołgoki* (Neg., Sch.) [*tuki* (Or., Sch.), *u.či* (Olcha, Sch.), *toki* (Goldi, Sch.), which P. P. Schmidt compares with Gilak *tu*]. Yet there are several other words for

designating the reindeer sledge; e.g., *nolima* (Lam.), *sirga* (Tum.) (cf. Yakut *syrga*, *syarya*, Pek. compared with *sor*, *sorga*, *čarga*, and *čirga*, some of Turk groups and some of Mongol groups). If the Gilak word *tu* is a contracted form of *tuki*, etc., and the latter is a contracted form of *tolgoki*, etc., it is not perhaps a Tungus stem, but a Palæasiatic (Gilak) one. Some other suggestions can be made, but since they are not sure I will leave the question where it is. Let us remark that the sledge is an element confined to the geographical areas where there is good snow and draught animals. Not all Tungus use the sledge, and amongst some of them the method of harness is the same as that used for dogs. Yet the words compared, *fara~para*, are found only in Manchu and in dialects influenced by Manchu, so the Goldi possesses two terms. Since the Manchu word is connected through a series of extremely extensive semantic operations, and since no such word is known in other Tungus languages and the parallels may be accepted only on the agreement with G. Ramstedt's hypothesis, I consider that these parallels are not convincingly shown.

- Case 10. The stem \**pšr-* means "black" in Samoyed. The Tungus parallels quoted are *farxun* (Manchu Writ.)—"dark," and a series of words of the stem *akt*—"twilight," well known in most of the Northern Tungus dialects. The comparison of *farxun* and *akt* is reached by advancing another hypothesis: namely, *r* before *k* is lost in Tungus and the original stem must be *pšrk*. What *t* is, and where it is, is not shown, but it is merely dismissed. However, *farxun* may be understood as *far* + suffix *-xun* (cf. I. Zaxarov, "Grammar," *op. cit.*, p. 83, Sec. 53), and in the original form it might be *ar*. In this form it may be compared with the Mongol *härü* (proposed by P. Pelliot, "Les Mots, etc." *op. cit.*, p. 216), while the Northern Tungus stem *akt* will remain as it is. Since this stem is found only in Samoyed, cannot be connected with the Tungus Northern Tungus stem, and the Manchu stem may perhaps be connected with the Mongol stem, I cannot accept A. Sauvageot's parallels as valid ones.

Case 12. The same stem \**pδr*—this time with the new meaning “tranchant,” “coupant.” Only one Tungus word is found—*furu* (Manchu Writ.)—“to reduce to pieces,” e. g., “meat,” “noodles,” “tissue into small pieces of thread,” etc., i. e., “to mince,” etc., and compared with Mongol *hüridsun* (P. Pelliot), *örtäsän*—“chiffons,” “*morceaux d'étoffe de soie coupés en fragments*,” whence *urtahun* (Ur., Castr.), *urtasun* (Mank., Castr.), evidently borrowed from Mongol in the sense of “patch,” “piece.” Since no words are found in other Tungus dialects and the Manchu word has rather a different meaning, the Ural-Altai value of the Manchu word seems to be very little if none.

Case 13. A new stem \**pδl* for rendering the idea of “*touffu*,” “*dru*”; if the hypothesis of the loss of the initial *p* is accepted, then the Tungus and Mongol parallels are valid. However, in the Northern Tungus and Southern Tungus dialects it seems to be somewhat confined to a limited number of words and dialects, in which it looks to be of Mongol origin when met in the form *utek*, and of Manchu origin when it has the form of *fuli*, *pule*, etc. It is difficult to show whether all of them may be brought to one and the same source or not. I. Zaxarov, I think wrongly, compared Manchu *fulu* with a Chinese word, but even in European languages it is met with as containing about the same consonants, as, e. g., “full,” “*plenus*,” “*potnyĩ*,” etc. However, if the Manchu stem and the Northern Tungus stem are borrowed from the Mongol, then it is very likely that the actual stem is *ul* and thus the whole discussion is confined to the consonant *l*. In addition to this, it ought to be pointed out that in the Tungus language there are other stems (e. g., *žat*) with the meaning “full,” etc.; while the stem *ul* figures in the words with the general idea of “exceeding.”

The above-demonstrated six cases may suffice to show the reasons why the class of these cases is not analysed in the coming sections. My intention does not consist in correcting, from the point of view of Tungus languages, the authors who have proposed various parallels, and therefore I do not need to go through all the cases.

For the time being, I need only those cases which may be suspected of being common for the Tungus and some other languages. Yet they will suffice for penetrating the analytical methods of theoreticians of uralaltaicology.

### 38. Cases with Initial and Intervocalic Labial Consonants

A. Sauvageot starts an analysis of the series of words and parallels found in other authors' publications and he increases them with his own parallels. The first three series (*vide supra*, p. 123), containing eighty-five cases, are closely connected with the problem of aspiration and bilabialization in Tungus. Since this problem in Tungus has nothing to do with the loss of the initial bilabial *tenuis*, the whole series might be dismissed from the analysis; but I will not do it, for parallels are brought forth to prove the common origin of words, a problem of certain interest by itself. Yet if we leave out of the discussion the problem of the loss of this consonant in all other languages except the Tungus language and temporarily agree with the creators of this hypothesis, then in the Tungus language, even the pra-Tungus language, these words might be received already without the initial consonant and afterwards pass through the process of aspiration and bilabialization.<sup>1</sup> Therefore I shall compare these series too.

After a minute analysis of the first eighty-five cases I have found that there are nineteen cases of Tungus parallels lacking; in six cases there are parallels only from Tungus and Samoyed, so that they have little value as evidence for the Ural-Altai hypothesis; in twenty-three cases it was impossible to agree with the validity of the Tungus parallels; in twenty-four cases the parallels are present, but for various reasons are found to be invalid; and in thirteen cases the parallels are found to be worthy of further analysis and use.

So that, in so far as the Tungus language is concerned, in the problem of the Ural-Altai hypothesis the outcome of the work done is not great. However, the cases rejected, perhaps, in some instances, may be saved when the parallels are completed from Tungus and other materials. In the cases to be discussed there are some met with which have been discussed twice under different numbers, so that the actual number of stems is below eighty-four.

<sup>1</sup>Indeed, such a hypothesis is not needed if we do not postulate the common origin of the Ural-Altai languages.



The thirteen cases here analysed may be regarded as actually common words, but what their origin is and why they are common need special investigation which cannot be successful in all cases. Yet, when the common character of the words is established, I give some additional remarks when it seems to me desirable.

**Case 2.** G. Ramstedt's stem \**pδjδ*, \**pδsδ*, which means "the nest." In fact, the Manchu *feje* has corresponding words in the Northern Tungus; e. g., *wyi*, *ujin* (Bir.), which in Tungus might be derived from the stem *VjV* or *VgV*; but whether *wyi* and *feje* is the same stem or not cannot be asserted, for *wyi* may be explained in a different manner. Yet the difficulty of this case is also that several other Tungus dialects possess other stems; namely, as shown below: (1) *ur* (Ur., *Castr.*) and *or* (Mank.) are borrowed from Buriat (Ur., *Castr.*); (2) *omuk*, *omunin*, *xamun* (Neg., *Sch.*), *unuk* (Ner.), *omokon*, *omok* (Tungus quoted by P. P. Schmidt), *omo* (Goldi, *W. Grube*); (3) (several other words found in more than one dialect, also "nest" of special description.) *Omuk* cannot be connected with *feje* nor *pδjδ*, but it is the most numerous in Tungus. After all, can we assert that the Tungus language ought to be connected through Manchu *feje* with other languages? On the other hand, the Uralian languages have, instead of *j*, different sounds, as *s*, *z*, *t*, *d*, etc., so that the comparison is confined to the first initial *p*, which itself is a hypothesis.

**Case 6.** The stem \**pδrδ* expresses the idea of "wheel," "circle," "round," "turn," etc.<sup>1</sup> *Forombi* (Manchu Writ.)—"to turn," is found, as well as a series of words like *foron*—"the turn," etc., *forgon*—"the rotation," "cycle," etc., and various Northern Tungus words, as *orol* (Ner., Bir.), *orul*, *arul* (Bir.), *orolko* (Ner.)—"to turn oneself"; *oroli* (Khin.) (Ur., *Castr.*), *horoli* (Ur., *Castr.*)—"the circle." This may be regarded as an established fact, but the stem is *oro*, and not *poro*, so that what is actually compared is *VrV*

<sup>1</sup>This case has already been rejected (*vide* Sec. 36). As a matter of fact, it contains more than one stem to be discussed and for this reason I have dissected it into two parts, one of which has been rejected and another here analysed as good for comparison.

or *r*. However, the Mongol stem *urb* has a different meaning.<sup>1</sup>

Case 9. The stem includes the initial labial consonant and *r* with a broad meaning "das obere," "die höhe," "kopf," "spitze," "ende" in Samoyed and there are compared *foron* (Manchu Writ.)—"the top," e.g., "the top of the head," also "the top of a mountain" (P. P. Schmidt), etc. This is connected with *horon*, *oron*, of various Northern Tungus dialects, namely. *oron* (Bir., Kum., Khin., RTM, Ner., Barg., Mank.), *horon* (RTM) (Ur., *Castr.*), *oro* (Khin.) also *poro* (Olcha, *Sch.*) compared by all authors with Mongol *oroi* and *horoi* (P. Pelliot). Thus the stem is *oro*. However, further steps are made and Mongol *oroi* is compared with *orgil*, etc., of the same meaning. Moreover, in Tungus there is another stem, namely, *ojo* (Manchu Writ.) (Bir., Kum., RTM, Ner.) (Mank. *Castr.*), *pojo* (Olcha, *Sch.*), which has its parallels in Bargut *ojjo* (*Rudnev*). The case is not simple if we do not regard *oro* and *ojo* as one and the same stem. Such a possibility does exist, but the equation must be proved. A. Sauvageot concludes his parallels by a remark,—“L'absence de toute étymologie fgr. sûre ne permet pas de décider si les mots considérés remontent à une origine ouralo-altaïque, d'autant plus qu'en turk, il ne nous a pas été possible d'établir une équation équivalente” (*op. cit.*, p. 14). As compared with other conclusions, this one is unusually wise.

Case 20. The stem \**p8j8* (Uralian) and \**p8l8* (Mongol and Tungus) means "trembling poplar." The Tungus words which may be compared are *fulxa* (Manchu Writ.), *ulan* (Ner.), *uloka*

<sup>1</sup>It means "to change oneself," etc., and *hurta* (P. Pelliot)—"retourner," "renverser." Semantically, it may be compared with *ubal* (Manchu Writ.), *obal*, *obol* (Kum. Bir.)—"to transform oneself." The latter is perhaps found in Buriat (*Podg.*) in an "aspirated" form *xubila*, borrowed in Ner. as *kuvil* (*ga*), also known with the stabilized glottal *k* in Mongol and Turk. In this modification it is found in Manchu Writ. *kudulimbi* by the side of the bilabialized form *uubalambe* of Manchu Sp. with a slightly different shade of meaning. This case is interesting, for it shows the traces of diffusion of the idea of transformation practised by the shamans, amongst the Tungus. In this connexion it may be pointed out that the Tungus of Manchuria have *obal*, etc., from Manchu Writ. *ubal*, and the Tungus of Transbaikalia have *kuvil* from Buriat -*xubila*.

(Bir.), *huldan* (Neg., Sch.), *hulugdan* (RTM), *xulu* (Oroc., Sch.), *polo* (Goldi, W. Grube), *oleson* (Ur., Castr.). The latter may be compared with the Mongol series—*utaso* (Buriat, Castr.), *uljasun*, *ulisun*, *ulasu*, etc. (Mongol). Since *-xa*, *-n*, *-dan*, *-gdan*, also *-so*, *-sun*, *-son* are probably suffixes, the stem is *ulV*, or even *VIV* in Tungus and Mongol. The question as to what the relationship between *pɣjɣ* and *VIV* is answered in a positive sense by A. Sauvageot in the reason of the two hypotheses; namely, the original one of the loss of *p* and the new one of *l = j*. Indeed, as to the last one in principle there is nothing impossible in it, for, as is well known, *j* may appear in any combination as one of the moments of palatalization. A. Sauvageot gives another similar instance in Case 21, where the Uralian *j* is supposed to correspond to the Tungus *d*, which is not also a fact but a hypothesis.<sup>1</sup>

Case 32. The stem is *\*pɣɣ* and means "souffler." In the Uralian languages *ɣ* alternates with *b*, *v*, *w*, *u*, and zero. Amongst the Tungus parallels are found *fuka* (Manchu Writ.) and *fukanambi* (Manchu Writ.), which semantically seem to be connected with the idea of "round," "circle" and as, perhaps a secondary meaning, "bubble," also perhaps "protrude" and not "to blow." The Northern Tungus is also figured in the form *wvu*, already discussed by me.<sup>2</sup> A. Sauvageot has omitted the inconvenient parallel brought forth by P. P. Schmidt—*fulgjembi* (Manchu Writ.)—"to blow," connected by me with another stem *pul*, even perhaps *ul*. The Tungus words have the intervocalic

<sup>1</sup>The question is about *fodo*, *fodoxo* (Manchu Writ.) = *uda*, *udu*, etc. (Mongol dial.)—"the willow," "salix," which, in so far as I know, is not known in the Northern Tungus dialects using different words for the same plant. In Manchu, *fodoxo* refers to a specified kind of salix unknown in the territory of the Northern Tungus. Furthermore, A. Sauvageot agrees with the parallels given by P. Pelliot; namely, Mongol and Buriat *hičäsün*, *ižähän*, etc.—"the willow," through Turk *usak*, etc.—"the poplar." Leaving aside the question whether *ud* and *iž*, *iž* are of the same origin, as well as the question of semantic generalization (the willow and poplar are certainly plants), I want to point out that A. Sauvageot admits the possibility of *d = ž = ɥ*, so that the series of alternations is extended ad infinitum *ž*, *ž*, *h*, *x*, *h*, etc. What remains as a fact is *d* in Zyrian and Votjak and Mongol, for Manchu *fodoxo* seems to be a non-Tungus stem and the initial *p* is a hypothesis.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. "Notes on the Bilabialization and Aspiration in the Tungus Languages."

*v*, which does not alternate with *γ* and *l*, if the stem *ul* is also a Tungus stem, so that here we again have two hypotheses—the loss of *p* and *v*. But the Turk words do not seem to be convincing to A. Sauvageot. On this occasion he expresses his opinion as to the grammarians who have a tendency to overestimate the importance of onomatopoeic origin of words. This time, however, to every one's mind comes the idea of such an origin of many European words. This idea does not seem to be so repugnant, as it is to A. Sauvageot, that the parallels from the so-called Ural-Altai languages come to the same line.

Case 46. The stem is supposed to be *jVpV* and means "wet" followed by a series of other equivalents like "macerate," "to wash," "le lavoir," "marshy place," etc. Since, as shown by A. Sauvageot, *j~v* and *j~l*, also *j~d*, the parallels are easily found. From Tungus are given only two parallels, namely, *cekpa* (Goldi, which needs to be checked up, for it is not found in other Tungus dialects) and *deptom* (Ur. *Castr.*), which is borrowed from Mongol, so that this case could be easily dismissed. However, in Tungus there is a stem which would not be omitted by A. Sauvageot, so I will use it too. It is *ulapkun* (Bir., Kum., Khin.) (W. T. C. Schiefner), *utapkun* (Ner., Khin.), *ulapča* (as part. perf. from *ulap*) (Ner., Bir., Kum., Khin.). The serious objection is the initial *u*, but it may be easily dismissed under some pretext and under similar circumstances. In fact, the case is not so simple as that. We have *ula* (Ang., Samog. *Tit.*)—"to make wet"; *ulikča* (Tum.)—"wet"; and *ulgambi* (Manchu Writ.), *wulgambe* (Manchu Sp.)—"to wet," "to soak." In the first series containing *p*, we have it as a suffix of transitive "verbal" forms, which in some dialects is not needed, for the "transitiveness" is understood without a special suffix.<sup>1</sup> Yet *-kun*, *-ča*, and probably the Manchu *-ga* are suffixes too. So the stem is *ulV* and it has nothing to do with *jVpV*. The stem *dept*

<sup>1</sup>The suffix of the transitive form of verbs is *va* (*e*, *i*) (V), which changes into a *tenuis* occlusive bilabial through the assimilation *c*. It is a very common suffix, indeed.

I dismiss as one recently borrowed from Mongol. The Goldi word *cekpa* must be first checked up.<sup>1</sup>

- Case 48. The stem is \**kɔp* with the meaning "l'écorce," "la croûte," and afterwards "la peau." A. Sauvageot has lost the good opportunity of comparing Tungus *kiwa*, etc., already discussed by me on the occasion of Case I (*vide supra*, p. 126) and which in all Tungus dialects and Gilak means "birch-bark." However, it looks like a local phenomenon naturally correlated with the geographical area of *betula alba*.
- Case 54. The stem is \**kɔp*, with the meaning "plat" and with the further extension of "handfläche," "fussblatt," "niedrig," etc. The Tungus *hapse* (Olcha), *hapse* (Goldi), about which one must have a certain caution, for *h* is a mere aspiration, are also found; they are translated (W. Grube)—"flach ansteigend." It is not mentioned by P. P. Schmidt. In several Tungus dialects we have *afsa*, *hafsa*, etc.—"the low standing box" (cf. Mongol *apsa*). There is another word in Tungus which comes near to *kɔp* and the idea of "plat"; namely, *kaptaka* (Bir.)—"the low flat box," but *kaptaka* is made of wooden planks which are in the Tungus dialects *kaptasun* (Bir., Khin.) (Khin. is from Bargut), *kaptayon* (Bir., cf. Dahur *kaptayon*), *kaptayin* (RTM from Yakut *xaptasyn*), *kaptagun* (Neg., Sch.), etc., which is not perhaps Tungus but probably Mongol, where it receives a great variety of derivatives from the stem *xabta* (cf. also Yakut derivatives), while in Tungus they are limited. However, there is one more stem in Tungus which might serve A. Sauvageot; namely, *kapaxun* (Manchu Writ.)—"flat," e.g., "nose"; *kaparambi* (Manchu Writ.)—"to become flat"; also *kapahi* (Oroči, Sch.) *kapasu* (Goldi, Sch.)—"the plank," "the board." With these additions it may be recognized that we have the stem *kVp*; but whether the Tungus stem is of Tungus origin or Mongol, and whether *kapa*, met with in Manchu, Goldi, and Oroči, is the same stem as *kapta* or not, are questions to be answered by further investigations. However, the Tungus dialects possess other stems for "flat." In this case,

<sup>1</sup>In *cekpa* if it is a Tungus correctly recorded word; -*pa* may also be a suffix.

as in other similar cases, the parallelism of different stems with the same meaning is an extremely complex matter.

Case 58. The stem is \**tšp*, which means "clou." In Tungus a stem *tipk*, which originally meant "the nail," and probably "wooden nail" is met with. So we have *tipka* (Bir., Khin.)—"to fasten" (e.g., the cover of a box with the nails); *tipkasun* (Khin.), *tipkön* (Neg., Sch.), *typkon* (Goldi, Sch.), *tipa* (Olcha, Sch.)—"the nail"; *tipkočün* (Lam.)—"the wooden nail" (for fastening the tent).<sup>1</sup> Besides this series there is another series, still more numerous than the former one, of words designating "nail," but it should be connected with Mongol. These are: *kadasin* (Ner.), *kadasun* (Khin.), *kadahun* (Mank., Ur., Castr.), corresponding to *kadahan* (Buriat, Castr.), *kadasun* (Xalxa, Podg.), *xadayan* (Buriat, Podg.), connected with *gada*, *kada* || *kadayasun* (Mongol, Rudnev), whence *kada* (Manchu Writ.)—"the nail"; *kadambi* (Manchu Writ.)—"to fasten with the nail." There is one more word in RTM which is interesting—*toyohol* (RTM)—"wooden nails" (for fastening the board of the birch-bark canoe) connected with *toyoso* (Yakut, Pek.)—"the nail," "the wooden nail," "stake," etc. These three series of words are interesting, for all of them originally meant "the wooden nail," "stake," "pile," etc. All three are now met with in Tungus. A. Sauvageot has compared his series with Mongol *tab*—"tête d'un clou." A. D. Rudnev gives nearly the same meaning *tap* (Gorlos) || *tab*. However, various meanings of *tap* may exist; e.g., with the semantic emphasis on "head" and not "nail." Anyhow, in Tungus *tipk k* cannot be dismissed and the Mongol vowel is *a* and not *i*.

Case 65. The stem is \**pšrš* || *βšrš*, with a wide meaning; namely, "gravier," "sable," "argile," "poussière," "suillure," "cendre," etc. The Tungus parallels shown are *burahi* (Manchu

<sup>1</sup>The Goldi parallels from W. Grube's work, as *tukpa*, *tukpe*, perhaps need some correcting, as seems to be done by P. P. Schmidt.

Writ.)—"the dust"; *berten* (Manchu Writ.)—"the stain,"<sup>1</sup> none of which have corresponding words in other Tungus dialects. A. Sauvageot also gives *buru*—"flint." In fact, *buru* (Ur. *Castr.*) (W. Okhot.) (Barg., Ner.), *bur* (Bir., Kum.)—"flint," perhaps, in general, "stone which may be used for production of sparks," but its connexion with "*poussière*," etc., is rather artificial. *Buraki* being isolated in Tungus finds, perhaps, its best etymology in Mongol. In Tungus the words for the above-indicated semantic groups ("*poussière*," etc.) have nothing to do with \**pörö* and *βörö*.

Case 66. The stem is \**pör* (and *bör*), which is given a number of semantic equivalents, e.g., "storm," "steam," "fog," "rain," "snow," etc. There are good parallels from Manchu Writ. e.g., *burga*, *burgan*—"dunst," "*dampf*,"<sup>2</sup> and *burgašambi*—"to drift"; e.g., "dust," "clouds," "smoke," etc., and some other words of the same stem. However, in other Tungus dialects I do not know it. A. Sauvageot points out that the words for the designation of these phenomena were subject to borrowing from one group to another. For those who want to find "common words" with European languages, one may quote a long series of Russian words like "*bur'a*," "*buran*," "*purga*," "*uragan*," etc., which are of various origin, also "*bourrasque*," "*brouillard*," "hurricane," and many others. It is evident that here the question is more complex than the simple case of "common words."

Case 72. The stem is \**pöŋ* and \**bök*, which means "*excroissance*," "*noeud*." As to the Tungus words quoted, we have different initial words; namely, in Manchu Writ. stem *bukŋ* with the meaning of "curved," "bent," "hunch," etc., with other derivatives like *mukč*, well known in several other Tungus dialects, and "the wart," "spunk"—*boyono* (Kum., Khin.), *boyoto* (Bir.), *moyo* (Bir.); while *bokoto* (RTM), (Neg., Sch.),

<sup>1</sup>There ought also to be added *borton*, *bortonombi*—"dirt," to dirt which probably must not be connected with *buraki*, but perhaps compared with *boršin* (Mongol, *Rudnev*)—"dirt," "dust."

<sup>2</sup>This word is lacking in I. Zaxarov's dictionary. The translation does not seem to be absolutely exact; cf. *burgašambi*. This word looks like that well known in Asia for "snowstrom" and "dust storm."

*bogoto* (Neg., Sch.), *boxto* (Goldi), *bokto* (Ner.), etc.—“the cone” (of a coniferous tree). Yet there is a series of words, like *bukačan* (Bir., Kum.)—“a small island,” *bukačan* (Ner.)—“a small hill,” “hillock,” “heap”; *bukčan* (Lam.)—“a small island”; in all these words we have thus the idea of something protruding, coming out. It ought to be noted that the “spunk,” “cone,” and even “hillock” in their translations into the local (Siberian) Russian spoken by the natives is usually rendered as *šiška*. I do admit that such a misunderstanding was possible in many a case. One may close one’s eyes to the phonetic differences and semantic discrepancies only when one leaves oneself to the charm of finding common words. They do, indeed, need careful and accurate analysis.

- Case 83. The hypothetic Tungus stem *\*bšlk*, *lk* of which is admitted to be Samoyed *l*, means “*gosier*.” In Tungus the usual form is *bitga*, *bitya*, whence Goldi *bilša*. The Manchu Writ. *bilxa* (*bitya* of Manchu Sp.). However, in Samoyed the stem is *fal*.
- Case 84. The stems are *\*βštš*, *βštš*, with the meaning “*conduire*,” “*mener*.” The case is said to be “*le plus singulier*.” The Tungus parallels are *fude* (Manchu Writ.) (let us remark that they are accepted by G. Ramstedt and P. Pelliot), which have a very special meaning connected with the customs of meeting persons, sending presents, dowry, etc., also expedition of official documents, etc., all of which, with a certain effort, may be brought to the idea of “*conduire*.” Another word is *udā* (Ur. *Castr.*)—“to escort,” already connected by M. A. Castrén with Buriat *udenep*, and compared by P. Pelliot with *hüda* (mediæv. Mongol). The Manchu word seems to be a Mongol word used for ceremonial and office occasions which is frequently met with in Manchu. Whether the Mongol stem *udV* or *ud* may be brought to the hypothetic stem *βštš* or not will be shown by further investigations in Mongol; but before it is



shown, the stem must be considered as *ud(V)* and not *βδtδ*. The parallels from Turk are lacking. It may also be noted that specialists in the Uralian languages have already connected this stem with the Indo-European \**wedh*. Theoretically speaking, such instances must be rather frequent.

The analysis of the above-mentioned cases with the initial and intervocalic labial consonants has shown that out of thirteen cases which could be analysed as instances where the possibility, both from the phonetic and semantic points of view, of common origin or at least common character may be suspected. However, in Cases 2, 6, 9, 20, 32, and 84 the hypothesis of the loss of the initial *p* greatly reduces the validity of parallels from Tungus. Some other hypotheses as to the alternation of consonants still more reduce the validity of these parallels. In some cases, as, for instance, Cases 6 and 9, the semantic extension is so broad that the value of parallels becomes very doubtful. Practically speaking, in all cases except Case 84, there are at least two hypotheses brought forth. However, even under these conditions A. Sauvageot could not find parallels for all "Ural-Altai" languages; e. g., in Case 9 the Turk and Finn parallels are lacking, in Case 32 the Mongol parallels are lacking, and in Case 84 the Turk parallels are lacking.

If we agree with A. Sauvageot as to the validity of his hypotheses and ignore the fact of data in some cases, then we may have the following series:

- Case 2, Manchu word *feje*—"the nest"
- Case 6, Tungus *oro*—"the idea of circle"
- Case 9, Tungus *oro*—"the top," "summit"; Turk and Finn parallels lacking
- Case 20, Tungus *ula*—the name of a tree
- Case 32, probably onomatopoeic; Mongol parallels lacking
- Case 84, Mongol *uda*; Tungus parallels lacking

Cases 46, 48, 54, 65, 72, 58, and 83 are free from the hypothesis of the loss of the initial *p*, but hypothetically established alternations are met with in Cases 46, 72, and 83; the semantic hypotheses are met with in Cases 46, 65, and 66; in the following cases the parallels

are lacking: 72 (Turk), 58, and 83 (where only Tungus and Samoyed are found); in Cases 48 and 54 the Tungus is given by me. If we agree with all the hypotheses proposed by A. Sauvageot, we shall have:

- Case 46, Mongol *dep*—"to wet"
- Case 48, Tungus *kiva*—"birch-bark"
- Case 54, uncertain Tungus *kaptā*—"the plank"
- Case 65, uncertain Manchu *buraki*—"dust"
- Case 66, Manchu *burga*, considered by A. Sauvageot as a loan-word
- Case 72, Tungus *boko*—"the idea of protruding"
- Case 58, Tungus *tipk*—"the (wooden) nail"; only Samoyed parallels
- Case 83, Tungus *bilg*—"the œsophagus"; only Samoyed (doubtful) parallels

So if we agree with all A. Sauvageot's hypotheses, but exclude all cases which are not Tungus and met with only "like Tungus" words (stems) and all cases where there are no parallels in other languages, we shall receive a short list of five stems for the following words and ideas,—“circle,” “top,” “name of a tree,” “birch-bark,” and “protruding” which may be regarded as “common” with the Ural-Altai languages. The conclusion which may be drawn from these facts, in so far as the Tungus language is concerned, is evident, on which I could drop the analysis, but since these eighty-five cases represent only a part of all the cases I shall here analyse other cases too.

### 39. Cases with Initial and Intervocalic Dental Consonants

As shown, this series in A. Sauvageot's work is represented by twenty-eight cases. Out of these cases there are six cases in which there are no Tungus parallels; four cases which are out of discussion; twelve cases which have been analysed but were found untenable for further analysis, and six cases worthy of being discussed here.

Case 87. The stem is \**l̥r̥δ*, which means “appui,” “soutien.” However, the semantic limits are extremely wide; e. g., “stark,” “kraftig,” “hart,” “vis,” “robur,” “stutzen,” “sich gründen,” “pfeiler,” “ursache,” “grund,” etc. The Tungus words quoted are *ture* (Goldi, *W. Grube*) (translated as “sich

*gründen*," "*fussen auf*") and which has been derived from Manchu Writ. *tura*—"the pillar." Other Tungus dialects possess this word too, so we have it in the sense of "post," "pillar," etc., used in shamanism for the spirits called on to descend or climb on the "post"<sup>1</sup> and in general when the spirits are called—*turu* (Barg., Ner., Kum.), *toro* (Bir.), *toru* (Mank.), which also give a series of verbs. In this sense it is also used in Manchu Sp. It is very likely, however, that this word is not of Tungus origin at all but Mongol. In fact, the particular "religious" complex connected with *tura* is not Tungus, but almost surely Mongol-Buriat. In Buriat we have *toron* used in the same sense.<sup>2</sup> The other words quoted by A. Sauvageot from W. Grube's work seems to be of Mongol origin, namely, *turgun* (Goldi)—"*ursache*," "*grund*," connected with *türu* || *terigun* (Mongol, *Rudnev*), compared, shall I add, by A. Sauvageot on another occasion ("*extrémité*," "*visage*," *vide* Case 88). Tungus *tura*, etc., is used as a technical term and in Manchu also as a "support for the beam" in the Chinese-type house and in the tent. The Turk parallels are lacking.

Case 88. The stem is *tVr* with an extensive meaning; namely, "*extrémité*," "*visage*," "*lèvre*," "*museau*," and even "*origine*," "*baumgipfel*," and "*épi*." In spite of this, in Tungus there is only one stem *dere* (*dèrè*, *därä*, *dara*), etc. (Manchu Writ. Sp.) (Bir., Kum., Khin., RTM, Ner., Barg., Mank.) (Ur., *Castr.*) (Neg., *Sch.*), etc.—"the face," which cannot be connected with Mongol *terigun*, but which may, perhaps, be with *čira* (Manchu, Writ.)—"the face." The latter may be connected

<sup>1</sup>Sometimes two posts with a cross-beam are fixed, as is done amongst the Tungus of Nerchinsk and Mankova and also other groups, which practice is still more common amongst the Buriats. Amongst the above-mentioned and other groups only one post or two posts without a cross-beam are erected.

<sup>2</sup>However, the question is complicated by the fact of Manchu *turun*—"the banner," which may also be a post with a top head, tuft, etc., i. e., like that used in Tungus shamanism. Cf. also expressions *turun veien*, *turun veicembi* (Manchu Writ). As may be seen, two different words of different stems and origin may be suspected.

with Mongol *čirai* (Xalxa, *Podg.*). However, which of them is Tungus and which is Mongol is difficult to say.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, *dere* does not seem to be originally a Tungus stem. If one desires, one may find some Tungus words under some of the above-shown semantic equivalents corresponding to *tVr*. Since it cannot be very promising from a linguistical point of view, I shall abstain from it.

Case 97. The stem is \**tšjš*, for "Altaic" is given *tšlš* with the meaning "*écorce de bouleau*" (cf. Case 48, where the stem *kšp* is given). In Northern Tungus and Southern Tungus the stem seems to be *tVl*. The Mongol and Turk parallels and also Finn parallels are lacking, so that the question is about the comparison of the Tungus and Ugrian groups. Let us remark that both groups are living in the regions where birch-bark is a characteristic tree, and that there is another Tungus word for birch-bark, as shown in Case 48.

Case 98. The stem is \**tšlš* and *tšg* in which *l, g, v, w, u*, alternate and which means "feu" and many other phenomena (chiefly

<sup>1</sup> I will stop here on this question just to show its complexity. In Tungus we have a series of words for designating "the face"; namely, besides *dere*, we have *bada* (Ner., Barg.) (Ang. *Tit.*), etc.—"the face"; *bada* (Khin.)—"the handsome face"; *badi* (Bir.), *bada* (Ner.)—the placing for spirits in the form of a face (made of wood and sometimes of iron) (one must not mistake it for masks, as some ethnographers do, for besides "placing," masks are also sometimes used), i. e.—"the face." On the other hand, we have *derboki* (Bir., RTM), *dərboki* (Khin.)—"the cover for the forehead" (woman's dress) (widely known in China and amongst all Tungus including the Manchus), *dərbikin* (Ner., Barg.)—"the reindeer bridle put on the forehead." No doubt we have here the stem *dVrb* with the meaning "forehead" or even perhaps "head." In some dialects we find *derebu* (Bir., Kum.)—"the pillow for the head," which is Mongol *der* || *dere* (Mongol, *Rudnei*) with the same sense. However, the Tungus words for "pillow" are different; namely, *tiru* (in most of the dialects), besides *širu* Manchu Writ.), *širiptu*, *šiptu* (Goldi, *W. Grube*). There is a certain connexion between "face," "head," and "pillow." So in Tungus for "face" we now have *dere*, which seems to be a later stem; *bada*, which seems to be an old stem, and *čira*. The latter may also be compared with *čirai* (Mongol), *šyrai*, *čyrai*, etc., of Turk. Perhaps the Tungus stem for pillow *tiru* may be connected with this series, which is not Tungus. It may also be pointed out that into the Tungus dialects now penetrate another term for pillow—*dere*, *derebu* (from Mongol), and *dere* for "face," besides the stem *dVrb* with a remote meaning "head." For "head" the Tungus dialects have *diti* and the Manchu *ušū* (*u.šū*—Manchu Sp.) (in Goldi the Northern Tungus is preserved in the form *dili*, *šle*, etc.). Let us also point out that the Mongol stem *nur* is used for "face," besides *čira*. These facts are sufficient to demonstrate that the question is not so simple as it is shown to be by A. Sauvaget.

verbs) including "flint." There are Tungus words varying *togo~tuwa*—"the fire," and another stem *dul* with the meaning "warm" (cf. Mongol *dulayakan*—"warm"), however in Manchu *dulembi* (Writ.), *tulembe* (Sp.) is "to burn," "to set fire to," "to make a fire," etc., which may be connected with the Mongol stem *dVIV* (*Rudnev*). The latter is met with in Turk; e.g., *tülä* and in Yakut *tölön*—"the flame" (E. K. Pekarskiĭ, p. 2768). The Mongol and the Tungus possess a great number of other stems for fire-burn idea; e.g., *gaĭ*, *dörö*, *žorg*, *kul*, *žan*, *niŋ*, *il*. The problem to decide is which of the above-indicated stems are Mongol and Tungus, and in which other languages they are found, also which of them are borrowed and which of them are not.

**Case 104.** The stem is not shown, but it seems to be *tVnV*, with the semantic extension—"campus runcatus," "sarritus," "inhabitus," "contrée," "humus firmior," "erde," "stelle," "tundra." In Tungus there are at least two stems near *tVnV*; namely, *dunda* (compared by M. A. Castrén with Buriat *dunda*), met with, for example, in the forms *dunda* (Ner. Mank.) [*dunda* (Mank., *Castr.*)], *dunna* (RTM) (WT), and *dundra* (*Spassky.*), etc.,<sup>1</sup> and *tur* (Bir., Kum., Khin.), *turu* (Borz.), *tui* (Neg., *Sch.*), which correspond to two different complexes at least; namely, the earth is the *middle* world and opposed to the sea (*dunda* of the Mongols) and *tur*, *turu*—"the world in general" and "earth." The Goldi-Oлча parallels ought to be dismissed from the discussion, for the meaning of *dúenta* is not established.<sup>2</sup> The comparison with *dett* (*Czek. Schiefner*)—"the tundra," ought also to be dismissed, for we do not know the origin and exact meaning of *dett*.

**Case 110.** Only Tungus and Samoyed words are quoted. The question is only about the intervocalic *t*,<sup>3</sup> for the initial consonants are variable, being  $\beta$ , *b*, *k*, in Samoyed, and

<sup>1</sup>The consonant *r* is probably of secondary origin, as it is characteristic of this dialect in other similar cases.

<sup>2</sup>Perhaps it is merely *taiga*, forest, for *dúenta na* (Goldi, *W. Grube*), *dúenta anuo* (*id.*), and *dúenta* is associated with various animals (in shamanism, cf. I. Lopatin's and Šimkevič's publications).

<sup>3</sup>As a matter of fact, in Samoyed *t* also alternates with *r*.

zero, *w*, and *b* in Tungus. Of course, such alternations are possible, so I shall analyse Tungus parallels. A. Sauvageot quotes Manchu *atan* (Writ.) (bilabialized *watan*)—"the hook in general," particularly "trident" in "fish-hook," "harpoon," "fish-spear," etc., while the "fish-hook" is called *dexe* (Manchu Writ.); *buta* (Manchu Writ.)—"to hunt," "to carry on the industry of hunting," which may be referred to fishing as well (cf. *butxa*), *buta*, *bota*, *bata* (Bir.)—"to fish with the harpoon"; *butan* (Olcha, Sch.), *botori* (Goldi, Sch.)—"to chase," "to fish." The Bir. word is borrowed from the Goldi-Manchu in the sense of "hunting fish" (the only way to hunt is to take 't with the harpoon); for other methods of fishing Bir. possesses different words.<sup>1</sup> This word, so far as I know, is lacking in other Tungus dialects. Its original meaning is certainly "hunting" and not "fishing with the harpoon." The connexion of *atan*~*watan* with *buta* is thus doubtful. Yet the Tungus word *boitten* (Czek. Schiefner)—"jagt," must first be made free of suffixes, which may be *-t+ten=ren*. As to the stem, it is probably *boju* when "worn out"—*boi*, in the emphatic pronunciation *boji*. Here another hunting term, however, interferes; namely, *boïngo* (e.g., Ner.)—"to hunt *boïnga*" (some cervines). The term *boju* looks like one connected with *boju(n)*—the name for cervines, which constitute the greatest part of the hunting spoil amongst the Tungus who may be called "reindeer hunters." Besides *boju*, *boi*, there are some other words connected with other kinds of animals and other methods of hunting. As to the methods, they are sometimes expressed with various suffixes, e.g. *-s*, *-as*, etc., which give a new meaning—"hunting on short distance." One must know exactly the functions of these suffixes. What suffix *-t* means in the above-quoted *boitten* I do not know exactly. There is one more fact to be considered. There is a word *boji* (Bir.), which means "to steal up to" the game, people, etc.; i.e., it designates one of the methods of hunting. From the remarks given above it is evident that the comparison

<sup>1</sup>In the Khin. dialect *boju*, "to hunt with the rifle," is used for "hunting the fish" when the hunter uses the rifle. Indeed, it is a rare occurrence in their practice.

may be confined to Samoyed and Manchu, and practically to the intervocalic *t*, yet with the semantic supposition of identity between "harpoon" and "indent," etc.

If we agree with all the hypotheses proposed by A. Sauvageot, the analysis of the cases with the initial and intervocalic dental may be summarized as shown.

- Case 87, only Manchu *tura*—"the pillar" and perhaps *turu*; Turk parallels lacking
- Case 88, indefinitely Tungus *dere*—"the face"
- Case 97, Tungus *talo*—"the birch-bark"; the Turk and Mongol parallels lacking
- Case 98, Tungus *togo*—the fire; Turk is lacking (according to A. Sauvageot)
- Case 104, Mongol in different meanings; Manchu, Finn, and Turk are lacking
- Case 110, Manchu *ata*—with a different meaning; all lacking except Samoyed

From the series of twenty-eight cases, it has been possible to save two cases; namely, *talo*—"the birch-bark" and *togo*—"the fire,"—which are defective as to the parallels with other "Altaic" languages.

#### 40. Cases with Initial and Intervocalic Glottal Consonants

The series with the initial and intervocalic glottal are numerous—seventy-six cases—the Tungus parallels of which are lacking in eighteen cases, twenty cases are dismissed after a brief analysis, twenty cases are dismissed after a detailed analysis, two cases are regarded by A. Sauvageot as loan-words, and fifteen cases must be analysed here. In three cases there are parallels only with Samoyed.

- Case 116. The stem is \**k8r8*, which means "instrument contondant," "l'action de couper," "de raser." In Tungus parallels three words are figured; namely, *kargimbi* (Manchu Writ.), *girim* (Ur., *Castr.*), and *girko* (Manchu Writ.). However, there is one more parallel omitted by A. Sauvageot, *girimbi* (Manchu Writ.)—to make an even line by cutting. So we have thus *giri* and *kargi*, both with a particular meaning of "cutting." The fact is that none of them is met with

in other Tungus dialects. Considering a very limited dialectal distribution of the stem *giri*, its special meaning (*girko* is a special knife for cutting paper, tissues, etc.), one naturally turns one's eyes to other languages. Perhaps this stem may be connected with the Mongol and Turk quoted by A. Sauvageot. [Perhaps *hirki* (Tum.)—the *iron* knife is of the same origin?] Two stems *giri* and *kargi*, are perhaps of different origin too. Owing to the reason shown above, these words cannot be regarded as original Tungus words, but as words borrowed, I think rather recently, from Turk and Mongol.

- Case 117. The stem is \**kδrδ*, which means "cortex," "linderinde," "kruste," "korb aus lindenbast," "schorf," "schinden," etc. The Tungus words on this occasion are wrongly interpreted. First of all, *xorrakta* and *xoromsa* are merely aspirated; second, they have particular meaning of bark from certain trees, i. e., these are names of trees. So this case might be easily dismissed, but I want to save it by bringing another stem—*kora* (Khin.), *kara* (Bir., Kum.)—the bark in general. I do not know this stem in other Tungus dialects as well as its origin. Perhaps it means "cover," "protective layer," etc., for in an epic poem I find it in the sense of walls surrounding a city.<sup>1</sup> However, considering the fact of its limited use (only two dialects), it will be much safer to look for its affinities in other languages.
- Case 119. The stem seems to be *kVr*, which means "l'idée de tresser," very enlarged (Cases 118, 119, and 120 deal with the same stems and semantic groups); e. g., "coudre," "fishing nest," "spindel," "rouler," "tourner," "faire un détour," "éviter," "rôder," even "wheel" and "circle," and finally (Cases 119 and 120) "schief," "krumm," "courber les doigts," "plier," "retourner," etc. On this condition one may guess no one language of the world may escape being included in the "Ural-Altai family." The European languages are very rich in such parallels. In Tungus one may find many words which can be ranged under such a wide meaning of

<sup>1</sup>The city walls cannot be considered as an element of the Tungus complex.



the stem *kVr*, but A. Sauvageot gives only Goldi *xeriligu* (*Grube*)—"um etwas herumgehen,"<sup>1</sup> and two Manchu Writ. words,—*kurbabmi* and *karkambi*, which must be carefully analysed; *kurbabmi*—"to turn from one side to another in the bed in sleeplessness"; it may also be referred to the horse when it rolls, for example, in the grass after being unsaddled; it is known in the latter sense in Mongol,—*xurbū- xurgu* || *koryo-*, *kürbe* (*Rudnev*) (cf. Buriat *xulbu*, *xulbe*, *Podg.*) and Bir. and Khin. when it is referred to the drunken people rolling down the earth. The idea is clear—the rolling from one side to another. In Northern Tungus and Manchu it has a very limited use. *Karkambi-sich winden* is differently translated by I. Zaxarov and in a sense which has nothing to do with *kurbumbi* and even the idea of "tresser." Thus the only word is *kurbu*, which looks like a Mongol word used in a limited group of dialects and in a particular sense.<sup>2</sup>

**Case 121.** The stem seems to be *kVr*, which means *bord, rive, berge*. The Tungus words given are Goldi *kerá*, *Kerá* (*W. Grube*) [*kira*, *kerá* (*Sch.*)]—"ufer," "küste," "rand" (the latter seems to be an extension of meaning), corresponding to *gere*, *geren*—"steiles," "unterwachstenes ufer" (this has not been compared by P. P. Schmidt). The latter is met with in other dialects; e. g., *giri* (*Neg., Sch.*), *geri* (*Bir.*)—"the shore," "coast," "bank." Another word is met with too; namely, *kerá* (*RTM*)—"the side," "by the side of," etc., probably borrowed from Yakut *kyry* (*Pek.*)—"side," "board," perhaps corresponding to *kira* (*Bir.*)—"the side," "slope." A. Sauvageot also quotes *girdan* (*Manchu Writ.*)—"raum," "saum," etc., which evidently has an entirely different meaning and probably origin. It can be connected with the above-discussed (*Case 116*) *girimbi*, for *girdan* is referred to the pieces of meat, tissue, etc. Cf. also *girsamda* (*Ner.*)—"long pieces of tissue, attached to

<sup>1</sup>From the text given by W. Grabe it is evident that "herumgehen" is referred to *pulsi* ("to go") and not only to "heriligum." The latter is the "gerundial" form, I think, of a certain aspirated stem (*erili*) which has nothing to do with the stem *kVr*.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *Case 6*, p. 133. The stem *urb* seems to go together with *kurbn*, as it has been shown in the case of *ubal-kubil*; cf. also *hurba* (*Mediæv. Mongol*).

the placings for spirits" (shamanistic), etc.—"the ribbon," if it is not a recent loan-word.

Case 122. The stem is \*kʷrʷ, which means "brûler," "roussir." The Tungus parallels are not well selected, so *kirumbi* (Manchu Writ.) is translated "*in der Brunst sein.*" Indeed, in the European complex and in a metaphoric expressions "*Brunst*" presumes "hot," "burning" desire, while in the Tungus complex it is not so, and it has a simple meaning; namely, "to chase a female" or what a male is doing with a female (the *kirume baiṃbi* expression in Manchu is clear) and just owing to this Manchu Writ. in the dictionaries is poor in derivatives, while it is not so with the Manchu Sp. The verb is isolated. At any rate it has nothing to do with "brûler" and "roussir." The Tungus complex must not be looked at through the prism of the European complex. The Goldi *xuru* and its derivatives are well known in other Tungus dialects, as formed with the stem *ur*, in aspirated (*hur*, *xur*) and bilabialized (*fur*) forms (also known in Turk and Mongol) connected with the idea of growth of plants and animals and their maturation. So this word must be dismissed for the reasons of its phonetic character and meaning.<sup>1</sup> Some other parallels from Manchu Writ. are also found, namely, *xarimbi* and *xarkasi*. The first one may be supported by *xariku*—"the iron" (for ironing). Its meaning is not "brûler," which is rather a secondary meaning, as the effect of an application of a hot iron, but "hot," as it is perhaps in *xarkasi*—"a kind of fever." In Bir. it is met with as *kariv* (*v* is suffix)—"to make warm" (not "brûler"), but it is borrowed from Manchu. Yet, in so far as I know, it is not met with in other Northern Tungus dialects. Some parallels perhaps may be brought forth from other languages, but I like better to abstain from introducing them in order to avoid mistakes.

<sup>1</sup>Indeed, only some and not all fruits when ripe become red and brown-coloured. Many of them, and especially green plants and animals, do ripen without "roussir." The Goldi use the stem *ur* (*xur*) in the sense of "ripe." By the way, the European idea of "ripe," also, is not so closely connected with the idea of "roussir" and "brûler."

Case 125. The stem is \**kʂrʂ*, which means "*insectes volants.*"<sup>1</sup> What is actually seen from the parallels is that in the Finno-Ugrian languages the stem is *kār* for "the fly" and in Tungus the stem *garm* is used for "the mosquito." The series given by A. Sauvageot must be completed by *galma* (Manchu)—"the mosquito," also a series of words,—*monmaktá* (Ner.), *manmakta* (Bir.), *nánmakta* (Ner.), *nganmakta* (Neg., Sch.). In this series it is possible to see the original stem *ḡanma*, for the series with *r* or omission of *l* seems to be a further modification of a certain original stem in which the second consonant was alternating (*r*~*l*~zero). The initial *ḡ*, so frequently met with in languages of this part of Asia,<sup>1</sup> where the Tungus are living, might easily give the forms with the initial *g*, *n*, and *m*. Indeed, on my part it is a mere hypothesis. Although the fly and the mosquito are both insects, yet the difference between them is very essential, especially for people living in the forest. The stems *kār* and *ḡanm* seem to be different too. Yet the Turk and Mongol parallels are lacking.

Case 127. The stem seems to be *kVr*, which means "*la notion de ceindre.*" The Tungus evidences are represented by *korre*, *korreča* (Goldi), and *kurča* (Olcha)—"wand." Other Northern Tungus dialects and Manchu evidences, also, their connexion with Mongol, are shown in my other work ("*Social Organization of the Northern Tungus,*" *op. cit.*, p. 34, footnote). The term in Tungus and Manchu is connected with the cattle-breeding complex, so it has not possibly originated on the Tungus soil. It may here be added that the European languages possess a great number of words which may be attached to the same stem. Some of them may be regarded as simple borrowings; but for most of them we have no evidences, so they are often regarded as "Indo-European."

Case 129. The stem seems to be *kVr*, which means "*la grue.*" Tungus words may be classed into two groups; namely, *karaf* and

<sup>1</sup>The initial *ḡ* has been supposed by some authors to be a Palæasiatic consonant. Personally, I cannot share this opinion, for the reasons given in Part One of this study.

*kurčan* (Manchu Writ.) Although both of them contain *k* and *r*, it is not clear whether they have originated from the same stem or not, especially in the presence of Mongol parallels. The Turk parallels are lacking.

Case 135. The stem seems to be *kVI*, which means *larus*. The Tungus parallels given by A. Sauvageot may be increased to four instances; namely, *kilerka* (Lam.)—"the sea lark"; *kular* (Lam.)—"the gull"; *köllökan* (Neg., Sch.), *käldäski* (Tung. Sch.)—"Gulo borealis." However, in other dialects the words are produced from other and numerous stems. The Turk parallels are lacking.

Case 139. The stem seems to be *kVi*, and *kVI*, the meaning of which is very wide; e.g., "*stria lucis*," "*morgenröte*," "*aurora*," "*sonne*," "*hell*," "*clar*," "*hitze*," "*wärmen*," "*abgekocht*," "*rein*," "*er glänzt*," "*lumière*," "*demain*," "*matin*," "*sauber*," "*heiter*," "*blenden*," "*weiss*," "*rayonner*," "*reflect*," etc. The Tungus parallels are not all well selected. (1) *xulžu*, *xulžuxa* (Goldi, *W. Grube*)—"wärmen," "abgekocht," requires several remarks. The Tungus stem is *ulV* (in Goldi sometimes reduced from *xul* to *ul*, cf. *ulsi*, *ulsire*—"kochen"); e.g., *uło* (Mank.), *ulo* (Ner., Bir.) (Neg., Sch.), *ula* (Ur., *Castr.*), *ulo* (Ur., *Castr.*), *olo* (Khin.), *ulo* (Barg., *Poppe*), etc., used in a narrow sense of "warming" for cooking. Another series is *holičen* (Neg., Sch.)—"to warm"; *xuliči* (Orochi, Sch.)—"to warm"; *xulu* (Tit.)—"to melt" (e.g., lead) with derivative *xulužin*—"warmed," "warm," etc., where the stem is *hol~xul*. The Goldi words when made free of (verbal) suffixes may be reduced to the stem *xul* with the above-given meaning "to warm." Here the stem and meaning are the same.<sup>1</sup> I now assert that the words of the second series have originated from the first one, *ulV*, through the process of aspiration. To show it, we have the following evidences: (1) The Tungus dialects

<sup>1</sup>I have not mentioned here another Goldi variation which is found in P. P. Schmidt's vocabulary; namely, *puči* (Olcha), *poli* (Goldi)—"to warm." Such a parallelism of aspiration and bilabialization in Goldi has already been discussed. If we agree with A. Sauvageot's parallels and hypotheses, then the stem would be *puł* and not *kul*, and for this reason alone the parallels should be dismissed.

which do not practise aspiration of the initial vowels for the idea of "warming" (without specification of "cooking") use different words, e.g., of the stems *oku*, etc., *nama*, and others; (2) these dialects might have the stem *xul* in the form of *kul* (when borrowed). However, they have no such words in the sense of "warm";<sup>1</sup> (3) the initial *h*, besides *x* and even *p*, which evidently point to the process of aspiration and bilabialization are also met with. The history of the stem may be restored as shown—*xul* has appeared in the "aspirating" dialects with the meaning "warm" (and not "cook"); the old stem *ulV* persisted in all dialects in the sense of "warming for cooking," or "to cook"; i.e., this is a case of "doublets" through the "aspiration" in the "aspirating" dialects. Therefore the Tungus stem *xul* cannot be compared with *kVj*.

(II) The Tungus parallels *xajëma*—"rein," and *xajakatten*—"er glänzt" (Czek., Schiefner) are mere misunderstandings. Both of them have originated from the well-known Tungus stem *aja* (aspirated *haja*, *xaja*)—"good." In the first case, the suffix *-ma* may be compared with the "verbal" adjective; *ajama* referred to weather that was good. In the second case, *aja* served as a "verbal" stem in the sense "it is (weather) keeping good," the sign of which was "er glänzt." Indeed, these Tungus expressions are heard every day when the weather is good, and such misunderstandings are also known from the records of persons who are not very familiar with the language.

(III) *Galga*, *galgan* (Manchu Writ.), *gal-gal* (Goldi, Grube)—"rein," "sauber," "hell," "heiter," "heiteres wetter"—is merely "good weather"; *galga* (Khin.)—*id.*; *galambi* (Manchu Writ.), *gala* (Kum.)—"to become good weather." These words cannot be interpreted as originated from "stria

<sup>1</sup>In an aspirating dialect, RTM, I find a word *kulu*, *kulli*—"the soil mixed with the ashes after the forest fire." This stem is also met with in the Ner. dialect in the word *kulorošo*, evidently from the verb *kuloro*—"to burn," so the stem is *kulV*. In fact, *kuli* (RTM) (Tum)—"to burn," "to strike a spark from the flint," etc. In order to clear up some possible misunderstandings I shall now bring another Tungus word of the stem *kul* and idea of "warm," *kulan* (Bir.)—"the warmed stove-bed" (cf. Chinese *kan*, Manchu *nayan*) from *xulan* (Manchu Writ.)—"the chimney," "smoke-pipe," cf. *kulan* (Mongol). The "stove-bed" is warmed by a system of smoke-pipes.

*lucis*," etc., for good weather is called *galga* during the night-time as well. (IV) *Gilxa* (Manchu Writ.)—"the clear, good weather"; perhaps this word is formed by analogy with *galga* from *giltaxa* (*vide infra*), or it is of the type of double words, as is common in Asiatic languages. However *gilta* (Manchu Writ.), with all its derivatives, definitely means the idea of "glitter," "shine," "gleam," etc. The same stem, and with the same meaning, is met with in other Tungus dialects, e.g., *gilta* (Khin., Ner., Bir.), *kelta* (Neg., Sch.)—"to gleam," "to shine" (perhaps, *kelurin* of RTM is connected with it), *giltas* (Barg. Poppe)—"shine," "glitter." All these words are connected with Mongol *gille*, *gilbel*, Buriat *gelelet*, *gilbel*, etc.<sup>1</sup> It may also be added that in Yakut *kilbiän* (Pek.) is "glitter" "shine," etc. Besides the words shown above, the Tungus dialects possess some other words of different stems; e.g., *ila*, *ɲari*, *ʒasana*, and others with the meaning of "shine," "glitter," etc. Yet there are also many other words of different stems for designating special kinds of shining, gleaming, etc. Considering the geographical distribution of the Tungus dialects which use *gilt*, *kelt*, *gilb*, as stems, the meaning and partial parallelism in Tungus, also the fact that this stem is met with in Mongol, Buriat, and Yakut, I think in Tungus it has been rather recently introduced from the Mongol language, direct or through the Manchus. It may be here added that the translations given by A. Sauvageot and myself are numerous enough for choosing some of them which may suit the stem *kVi*. Yet attempts have already been made at the comparison of the Finno-Ugrian words with the Indo-European words.

- Case 146. The stem is not shown, but it is supposed that the Finno-Ugrian *y*, *j*, *i*, *g*, correspond to Tungus *l*. The Tungus words are *kolla*, *kulin*, *kulikan*—"the snake." *Kolla* is an emphatic pronunciation of *kuli*, *koli*, also used in other Tungus dialects when the speaker is surprised, or wants to impress the hearer. *Kuli* is "snake" and other crawling

<sup>1</sup>*Gilbal* is known in the Tungus dialects neighbouring the Mongol-speaking groups in the sense of *gill*.

creatures like the snake; e. g., large worms. It is met with in all Tungus dialects, *-a*, *-n*, and *-kan*, sometimes *-kačan*, *katkan*, *-mna*, etc., are suffixes. Indeed, the comparison of Finno-Ugrian with Tungus is doubtful. Why not compare, for example, the coluber?

**Case 147.** The stem is *\*kδmδ*, which means "voûte," "position renversée, sans dessus dessous," etc. In Tungus too many words may be found with nearly the same meaning and nearly with the same stem, but it would take too much space here to enumerate them. In the parallels given by A. Sauvageot, some of them have originated from different stems. This is the case of the stem (1) *kumt* in which *t~č~s* and *m~n* may alternate, with the meaning "to cover" (Bir.) (Czek., Schiefner); (2) *kumč*—"bunch baked" (Manchu Writ. and several other dialects which have this stem from Manchu); (3) *kumd* (Manchu Writ.)—"hollow," but, according to I. Zaxarov, of Chinese origin and is not met with in other dialects. So at least two stems in Tungus seem to exist with a different meaning, and only one of them has received certain popularity. The question is still complicated by the presence of *t*, which cannot be dismissed from the stem *kumt*, which was originally perhaps *kut* and meant "to cover," without interfering with the idea of "voûte" and "renverser."

**Case 182** The stem is *\*jδkδ*, which means "sapin." However, in Samoyed it is *je*, *küe*, *tüe*, *čwe*, which are treated as the result of the loss of *k*. Yet it must be remembered that the stem *\*jδkδ* was found from a broad semantic series comprising "pine-tree," "fuel-tree," "forest," etc., and the variations in Finno-Ugrian and Turk are not insignificant. In Tungus the stem is *žagd*, in all dialects and in the same sense—"the pine-tree"—except Tum., where it is *žald* (as to the record, I am not sure of it). So the identification of *žagd* with *\*jδkδ* presumes a series of hypotheses, but since *ž* is not met with in other languages and it is not shown that it *must* correspond to other various sounds, also since *gd* is an essential element of the Tungus stem,

it will be much safer to leave *žagd* with the Tungus languages.

Case 186. In Samoyed and Manchu (whence in Goldi, Olcha, Orochi), "black" is expressed by the stem *sax* (Tungus) = *sag* (Samoyed). It ought to be noted that in almost all other Tungus dialects we have the stem *koŋo* (with modifications).<sup>1</sup>

Case 190. In Samoyed and Tungus, *IVkV* is found as "arrow." However, the Turk words compared have no initial consonant.

If we agree with all phonetic and semantic hypotheses proposed by A. Sauvageot in reference to the Tungus parallels, the analysis of the cases shown above brings us to the following results:

Case 116, Mongol or Turk *giri*—"to cut"

Case 117, doubtful Tungus *kVra*—"the birch-bark"; Mongol and Manchu parallels lacking

Case 119, doubtful Tungus *kurbu*—"to roll from one to another side"; Turk lacking

Case 121, Tungus *k(g)VrV*—"the side," "board," "shore"

Case 122, Manchu *xar*—"hot," to "burn"; Mongol lacking

Case 125, to be dismissed; Mongol and Turk lacking

Case 127, doubtful Tungus *kVrV*—"the fence"

Case 129, Tungus *kara*—"the krane"; Turk lacking

Case 135, Tungus *kVlV*—"the lark," "the gull"; Turk lacking

Case 139, doubtful Tungus *gVlt*—"to shine," "to gleam"

Case 146, Tungus *kVlV*—"the snake," "snake-like"

Case 147, doubtful Tungus *kVmt*—"to cover"

Case 182, Tungus *žagd*—"the pine-tree"; Mongol lacking

Case 186, Manchu *saxa*—"black"; rare in Northern Tungus; only Samoyed

Case 190, Tungus *IVkV*—"the arrow"; only Samoyed

<sup>1</sup>In Northern Tungus dialects the stem *sax* seems to be preserved and used in the sense of "dirty," "muddy" (e.g., water), so we have *sāki* (Ner.), *s'oki* (Khin.), *soku* (Bir.), *siki* (Ur., Castr.). The stem *koŋo* was not perhaps originally a Tungus stem. I will abstain now from other interesting parallels and suggestions.



There are thus found five Tungus stems which are common with other languages; namely,  $k(g)VrV$ —"the side," "shore";  $kara$ —"the crane";  $kVlV$ —"the lark," "the gull";  $kVlV$ —"the snake";  $\check{z}agd$ —"the pine-tree."

#### 41. Cases with the Initial and Intervocalic $\eta$

A. Sauvageot has given twenty-four cases of stems with the initial and intervocalic  $\eta$ . Six cases have been found with Tungus parallels lacking, four cases which ought to be dismissed from further analysis without detailed analysis, eleven cases which ought to be dismissed after a minute analysis, and four cases as worthy of further discussion.

Case 196. The stem is like  $\eta V l V$ , which means "to be frightened," "to fear." On this occasion G. Ramstedt has formulated that Samoyed  $w \sim$  Tungus  $\eta \sim$  Mongol  $g \sim$  Turk  $k$ . However, it ought to be pointed out that in Tungus the alternation of the type  $n \sim g \sim w$  is known too,<sup>1</sup> so that the parallels must be taken with great caution. This time, as a semantic link between the languages "wolf" and its particular name  $\eta aluki$  is used. In fact, some dialects may use it in reference to the wolf— $nokuli$  (Goldi),  $n\acute{e}teku$  (Tum). However, its meaning is not "wolf," but "coward," "poltroon," "fearful," "faint-hearted." In Ner. and Barg. we have  $\eta oloki$ —"the coward." Indeed, this is a very common case of the formation of "nouns" with the help of the suffix  $-ki$ . During hunting and in children's stories the animals are very often called by such a "name."<sup>2</sup> The wolf is also called  $am\check{y}a\check{c}in$  (Bir.)—"one who has a mouth"—also other "names," including "robber," and other humiliating expressions. For example, the bear is called  $sop\check{t}aran$  (RTM)—"one who goes to stool with berries";  $kon\check{g}norjo$  (Mank.)—"heavy-blacky," and by other names of the same

<sup>1</sup>Cf. my "Bilabialization and Aspiration," *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup>These terms may have nothing to do with the "religious" complex "fear," etc., as it is often pictured by ethnographers little familiar with the actual life and mentality of these groups, and who build up theories and give descriptions of groups adapted to their general conceptions by mere misinterpretation of fragments of facts known.

type. The use of the term based upon the stem *ηale* (*gele*) is accidental, indeed.<sup>1</sup> The whole reasoning about the derivation of the word "wolf" from the verb "to fear" has a very learned appearance, but actually it is a mere misunderstanding. Many other names for "wolf" may be found. Even Goldi *ηöla* may have an entirely different origin and a particularly local use. The Samoyed name for wolf, *ηulada*, may only artificially be connected with *ηale*, *gale*, etc.,—"to fear"—and for safety sake it would be much better to leave it alone, as A. Sauvageot proposes to G. Ramstedt when discussing in Samoyed soil *ηulada* and *wuenoltau*. As a matter of fact, in all languages there are special terms for all existing animals, including "wolf." These names are often borrowed, lost, and changed. The names for animals sometimes exist for a very short time, like a kind of temporary fashion.

Cases 199 and 200. I have put them together, for the stems are postulated and the meanings are the same in these two cases. The stem is \**8η8* which means "*la bouche ou les parties voisines de la bouche*" and "*ouverture*." The series comprises a wide range of words, e. g., "cheeks," "lips," "jaw," "hollow of the handle," "*porte*," "anus," "*béant*," "*ouvert*," "*avoir faim*," "*bailler*," "*mâcher*," etc. A great variety of sounds corresponds to the great variety of meanings. The analysis of all of them would bring us to the analysis of the anatomical terminology in Tungus, the problem not less complex than in some European languages (especially if the Latin language is unknown), so I shall point out only that the Tungus language possesses several words used as anatomical terms

<sup>1</sup>However, this stem in its "verbal" form is used for a hunting term; namely, *gaiegda*, *ηalegda*. They call by this word things and arms touched or destroyed by bears and tigers when they attack the hunter. The latter is also called by the same term. According to the custom, if a man fails to kill the animal, he must not hunt these animals and must not use the things touched by them during the hunting. These things are "unlucky" and the hunter is merely a "coward" and being so he is advised to avoid these animals. Some Tungus say that the animals smell the things they have touched and therefore they are not afraid to attack the second time.

and containing in their stems the intervocalic  $\eta$ . The question whether the intervocalic  $\eta$  was or was not in the original stem is a question of conviction or faith, for the history of Tungus is not yet known and no general laws of variations of these sounds exist. Let us take an instance discussed by A. Sauvageot; e. g., Tungus *amya*, *amna*, *amma*, *anma*, *anga*—"the mouth," may be produced by the process of formation from a certain hypothetic stem, as well as from different words (stems), e. g., *aman* (Mongol)—"the mouth," perhaps already engaged as *omun* (Tung.)—"the lips," also *amt*~*ams*—"to taste" ("to take into the mouth"), and lastly *anar* (Mongol)—"the hole," "opening," etc. (in Mongol a "descriptive" term for "anus," has been given, while in most of the Northern Tungus dialects *amun* is "the excrement," "to go to stool," etc.), probably connected with Tungus *sanar*, whence in joking and "descriptive" language any opening in the human body may be called so. But *sanar* is not the only word used in anatomical terminology for "opening." In fact, for example, the nostrils are called *ulteka* (Bir.)—"the hole when something is broken"; *tupuktá* (Mank.)—"the hole due to the perforation." Moreover, the words used for anatomical parts are found very often to be under prohibition, or mere avoidance, which is true not only of the sexual organs, but also of the anus and urinary organs, and not only among the "civilized" people, but also true of other organs and "barbarians." With the living dialects, it is difficult to establish at which moment a "polite" "nice," "descriptive," and "joking" term becomes a stable substitute of an older word. The semantic migration of terms from one to another organ is quite a common phenomenon, indeed. If we presume *ama* to be a modification of *ana*, perhaps it will be too risky to lose the original stem *ama*. Yet the words for "nose" from the stem *ono* (e. g., *onokto*—"the nose"; *onolo*—"the beck," "neb"), identified, perhaps absolutely wrongly, with

*oforo* (Manchu) (whence Goldi, etc.),<sup>1</sup> may be connected with *ongol* (Goldi)—“the hole,” etc. Of course, it must be shown, for “the hole” in Northern Tungus is *sanar*, but *ongol* is met with in the sense of “spacious,” “hollow,” “empty,” etc.,<sup>2</sup> while *ongol*, *ungu*, *no*, etc., is “the smell” (cf. my “Bilabialization and Aspiration,” *op. cit.*). The latter etymology is more credible, but I do not propose it. The question whether *ana* (“entrenchment”~“mouth”) is the same as *ongol* (“smell”~“nose”) or not cannot be perhaps decided. I will not now go into further details, which are unnecessary for insisting upon the semantic and phonetic differences of the words quoted by A. Sauvageot. It is evident that these parallels cannot be used without being carefully checked up.

- Case 202. The stem is not shown, but it is supposed to be an intervocalic *ŋ* varying as *m*, *n*, and zero. It means “to forget.” The Tungus stem may be brought to *omgo* in its variations analogous to *amga* (*vide* Cases 199 and 200)
- Case 209. The stem is \*šŋŋr, which means *souris*, and may be regarded as similar to the Tungus stem used for designation of the same animal.

From the analysis of these four cases given above it may be seen that with the agreement as to the hypotheses proposed by A. Sauvageot we have—

Case 196, Tungus *ŋVIV* (*gVIV*)—“to fear”; Turk lacking

Cases 199 and 200, doubtful Tungus *anga*~*amga*—“the mouth,” “opening”

Case 202, Tungus *omgo*—“to forget”

Case 209, Tungus *siŋir*—“the rat,” “mouse”; Mongol and Turk lacking

<sup>1</sup>Let us remark that in some Northern Tungus dialects the word for “nose” is found in an aspirated form, namely, *hoŋo*, whence, according to A. Sauvageot's theory, the original (before the loss of the initial *p*) form must be *poŋo*, which is indeed not so.

<sup>2</sup>*Ungala* (Manchu Writ.)—“the ear hole,” is disconnected with the idea of “hole,” but it seems to be connected with the idea of “hollow”; e. g., “gun,” “empty wood.”

So there are three Tungus stems left,—*VIV*—"to fear"; *omgo*—"to forget"; and *siŋiv*—"the rat," "the mouse."

#### 42. Conclusions

From the inspection of the above-given lists of words which conventionally may be recognized as being Tungus words, it may be seen that the outcome is not so great as the work that has been required for such an elaborate and large construction which greatly satisfied A. Sauvageot when he refers to a great number of parallels. One must not expect me to reproach A. Sauvageot for his lack of familiarity with the Tungus material and knowledge of dialects, which is evident from the previous sections, for this phase of his failure is a minor phase as compared with other phases. Yet the question whether A. Sauvageot is in full possession of the language or not has even no importance from the point of view of further investigations along this line, for to study one more language, even as a group of dialects, for a person devoting himself to this class of work is only a question of time. My idea is that even with a perfect knowledge of dialects one cannot accomplish the task put forward by A. Sauvageot by himself. The task itself would also be of little interest if proposed by A. Sauvageot alone, for theoretically it is hopeless; yet the interest in this task cannot increase owing to a great number of other contributors; but there is another side of the task which attracts my attention; namely, the mechanism that is responsible for giving life to the idea of such a task—an ethnographical subject—and the positive results obtained, i. e., correctly established common words in a group of languages, which throw light on the problem of the formation of ethnographical complexes and the history of ethnical groups and units. Owing to this, I shall proceed with my further analysis of the case discussed.

In the Introduction A. Sauvageot has addressed his reproach to the opponents of the Ural-Altaic hypothesis who, according to him, confine themselves to the *polémique verbale*. However, in his conclusion he goes further. True, he admits and expects that the majority of his parallels will not be valid; but, according to him, even a small number of them (*une poignée*) will be sufficient "à

prouver que les langues considérées ne sont pas étrangères les unes aux autres" (*op. cit.*, p. 139). Later he becomes aggressive towards his imaginary opponents and requests that the theoreticians must give a more satisfactory explanation of facts than that proposed by himself. Yet he admits that they may be successful even in this task, but he covers himself with a new warning to them "qu'ils n'oublient pas que c'est la totalité de nos rapprochements qu'ils devront interpréter d'une autre manière" (*op. cit.*, p. 141); i.e., he practically refers to "the great number of parallels" and his phonetic "laws." He says: "Nous ne croyons pas qu'il soit possible de trouver entre deux ou plusieurs groupes d'idiomes totalement étrangers les uns aux autres un ensemble de 'coïncidences' aussi considérable et aussi développé que l'ensemble des rapports lexicaux présentés ici" (*op. cit.*, p. 141).

In this statement of the problem there is nothing new in so far as argumentation is concerned. If there is any difference, it is that of quantity of cases. However, as shown, *polémique verbale* has a certain reason too. Under this name is evidently figured the general theoretical treatment of the problem which for A. Sauvageot is as clear as it may be to a believer. However, just from this point of view his position is not safe, and I shall touch this point once more. The above-given analysis of his parallels was not a *polémique verbale* and it has shown that the fundamental idea of A. Sauvageot as to the *parenté des langues* ought to be taken under suspicion more than it has ever been taken before, at least in reference to the Tungus languages.

From the very beginning of the present work, I have kept before myself the aim of defining the relationship between the Tungus languages and other languages in basing my work on the parallels brought forth by A. Sauvageot. This relation is confined to a few words which are common. From the series presented by A. Sauvageot we are facing fifteen words which are common for Tungus and other languages, but, let us add, which have been admitted to be so on the condition of agreeing with the hypotheses of A. Sauvageot. If the latter are not so, then the number of common words will be still smaller. In fact, I have shown that

G. Ramstedt's hypothesis in reference to the Tungus languages cannot be admitted as valid, so that five cases out of the fifteen must be excluded. Some other cases where the phonetic alterations are only hypothetical and where the semantic variations are too wide must also be dismissed. Yet, in most cases (nine out of fifteen) the parallels from Turk are lacking. In a third of the cases the Mongol parallels are lacking. After all, there remain two words; namely, "side" and "snake," which are met with in all compared languages and which do not need any preliminary hypotheses to be admitted.

Such a small result is not surprising at all if we remember what has been formulated in reference to the common words in different languages. These two common words (there may be twenty and even fifty, as well) may have their common origin not only from the direct transmission through the mechanism of tradition from the populations spreading over the territory, but they may be a result of a mere chance of combinations and permutations, without speaking of migrations of words, etc. So that as a proof of "common origin" of languages compared they are not only too scanty (they may be much more numerous without having any value as evidences showing common origin of languages); but they cannot be convincing, for their history is unknown. It is evident that there will be many more "common words" if the Finno-Ugrian languages are eliminated; yet their number will be still greater if the Turk languages are eliminated. Their number will still increase if the Mongol language is eliminated, yet again increase if the Southern Tungus and the Northern Tungus are considered separately.

An impartial analysis of the parallels brought forth by A. Sauvageot leads us to the conclusion that the Tungus languages, in so far as the lexic analysis goes, must not be included into the "Ural-Altai family" on the ground of existence of common words.

## CHAPTER VI. METHODS

## 43. Influence of Theoretical Presumptions of Evolution

The conclusion shown above is in a crying contradiction with the theory of A. Sauvageot and many other contributors to the hypothesis of common origin of the Ural-Altai languages, so I have now to show what mechanism produces this theory.

We have already seen that the idea of the common origin of these languages did not result from the comparative analysis of the material, but it did come out of a general conception of language and prevailing ideas on evolution of cultural and biological (in a narrow sense) phenomena which were used as scientific guide. In this respect, the history of the Ural-Altai hypothesis is very instructive, indeed. We will not go into the details of this history, which is known from works of other writers on this subject. It will suffice to point out that during the last and the present century there were several groups of evidences proposed and rejected. So, for instance, the original proof of common origin—the vocalic harmony—could not stand the criticism and appeared at last as a particular case of phonetic fashion in different degree affecting the languages here discussed without being a general phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> Another serious attempt was made by using the morphological elements as evidence of common origin, but after a minute analysis of facts, it had to give place to the evidences of lexic complex of these languages. What is typical of this situation is *the persistence of a tendency to find proofs* in spite of previous attempts which subsequently failed. This may be understood as due to the *desire of finding* conditioned by certain factors lying beyond the linguistic facts. Such a factor was the idea of an organic evolution of cultural phenomena as one opposite to the ideas prevailing during the previous period. So the linguistic facts were brought forth as evidence or even a simple illustration for proving a preëxisting idea,

<sup>1</sup>This problem is not yet cleared up and the phenomenon is not yet thoroughly investigated. The lack of historic data is one of the great hindrances for making up the picture of the process.



a theory. When the facts appeared to have been insufficient or inconsistent, other facts were brought forth maintaining the same idea and with the same success. The failure of these attempts and change of kinds of proofs result from two sets of conditions; namely, an impartial scientific analysis of evidences based chiefly upon the general theory of linguistics in front of which the evidences brought forth cannot be regarded as valid ones, and a critical attitude, which is not limited by the prevailing ideas as to the evolution of cultural phenomena. Both of them belong to the mechanism of "growth" of science and knowledge in general without which the science could not exist as a cultural phenomenon well adapted to the needs of ever-changing ethnical units (societies). In this respect, the "conservative" minds (the minds that simply stick to the existing ethnographical complexes and particular conceptions show a very typical attitude) are particularly hostile to the methodological and theoretical criticism and treatment of the problems and make, as, for instance, A. Sauvageot does, an appeal against *polémique verbale*, call for the facts and insist upon receiving other explanations if his own are rejected. As a *modus operandi* it calls to mind the old discussion of the evolutionists with the protagonists of the old theories of whom the latter requested the first ones "to deal with the facts" and "to explain."

#### 44. Phonetic Laws and Their Application

In the course of the analysis we have seen that there are two methods used which greatly help the selection of facts; namely, the phonetic "laws," which leave a free hand in choosing comparative material, and semantic extensions, which permit the inclusion of related ideas. Indeed, both methods are powerful tools when properly used, but the question is as to the method of their application,—How far may they be applied? Of course, the limits of practical application of the phonetic "laws" are strictly outlined in general treatises, but it is very often forgotten, so we shall remember them.

We shall use the instances of the languages here discussed. The correspondence of the initial Manchu *f*, to Goldi *p*, to some Northern Tungus *x*, *h*, and zero, found out of the observation of facts,

is beyond any doubt. However, as shown, there are many "exceptions" in which Manchu words with the initial bilabial correspond to Goldi words with the initial  $x$ ,  $h$ , and zero; also the Manchu words without the initial bilabial correspond to Goldi words with the initial  $p$ . The number of facts disturbing the "ideal" correspondence is so great that one cannot consider it as a "law," as a law is understood in science. The facts cannot thus be explained and predicted by the reference to this "law," for the simple reason that it does not exist as a "law." Furthermore, when the facts are explained by these types of occurrences in addition to being increased with other hypotheses, the explanation may happen to be absolutely erroneous and misleading, as it actually happens with all cases when Tungus  $h$  is explained as the loss of the initial  $p$ . When such a "law" is practically applied to the establishment of parallels, it results in the production of an absolutely artificial picture of actually non-existing relations. Let us take another instance—the frequent correspondence, in Tungus, of  $\eta$ ,  $\eta g$ ,  $g$ ,  $w$ ,  $u$ , etc., which also greatly facilitates the finding of common words. The initial  $g$  of Manchu in many instances corresponds to  $\eta$  of some Northern Tungus dialects, but not all Manchu  $g$ 's correspond to the  $\eta$  of the same Northern Tungus dialects. Owing to this, one cannot postulate that the word found in the Northern Tungus with the initial  $\eta$  will be found in Manchu with the initial  $g$ , and vice versa. This type of alternation does exist, but it is not a law, which may have force when one goes from law to the particular cases for establishing original sounds. Some Tungus dialects have developed another peculiarity; namely, the alteration of the initial  $s$  into  $h$  and  $x$ , but some other dialects have jealously preserved the original  $s$ . However, some dialects are not so particular about these sounds and use both of them in parallel. Let us take a "sibilating" dialect and compare it with a "glottaling" one. When we need to find parallels, we can go straight by comparing the words with the initial  $s$  with that of the other dialect with the initial  $x$  or  $h$  and thus practically to expect such an occurrence in all cases. However, this regularity has no reverse power,— $s$  will not correspond in all cases to  $x$ ,  $x \sim h$ , for there may be a different origin of  $x \sim h$ , e.g., through

“aspiration.” Yet if one compares a “sibilating” dialect with another one which is not definitely “sibilating” nor definitely “glottaling,” the principle of regularity observed cannot be applied. It is evident that every such correspondence of sounds may have scientific value when applied to the well-studied dialects, and it cannot be applied to the dialects where the alternation of sounds is not yet carefully studied. Of course, one may expect to find such a correspondence, but one cannot postulate it and hypothetically restore the stems for their further application as proof of anything. With the extension of principles of variations over other pairs of dialects, one may naturally come to some general tendencies characteristic of groups of dialects. However, they do not become valid for other groups of dialects. Let us suppose that we have such a well-established alternation of sounds, and we meet with another alternating series—for example  $s \rightarrow \text{ʃ}$ , where every  $s$  of one dialect becomes  $\text{ʃ}$  in another dialect; but if we compare the latter with a “glottaling” dialect not all  $\text{ʃ}$ 's will correspond to  $x \sim h$ . What is practically observed is that the alternation of consonants affects almost all consonants, but every group of dialects have certain phonetic peculiarities. In so far as one confines oneself to the groups of the same type of phonetic variations, the “law” may have value; but when one goes from known to unknown languages, the “law” loses its value altogether and in still greater degree than in the case of a single pair of alternating sounds, for the chance of error is greater as more numerous are the alternating sounds. Without speaking of principles regulating “laws” of phonetic changes, which at the present time are hypothetic and as such can never be used for “proving” anything, we have to state that we meet with a great variety of sound alteration. In the case of aspiration and bilabialization, a long list of sounds are involved in the process. Yet the same sounds are also found to be subject to other alterations under the influence, for example, of palatalization, voicing, etc. The process of alteration of almost all consonants into  $j$  and a further alteration of  $j$  into other sounds makes it theoretically true that every consonant in certain conditions may change into any other consonant. So that if we extend the validity of “laws” good for one

---

pair of languages (or dialects) over other languages, and if we extend the "law," the latter will lose its scientific value altogether. *The more numerous the dialects compared, the less sure the practical value of such "laws,"* for what is practically observed in languages is that if we generalize "laws," then the series of alternating sounds may be connected between themselves in such a manner that any consonant may change into any other consonant. Thus the practical application of phonetic regular changes may be admitted as valid only for the group of languages (or dialects) in which they have been found. So that the nature of phonetic changes is such that *the narrower the application of the phonetic "laws," the higher their practical value.*

What is done by A. Sauvageot has nothing to do with the strict scientific method of using empiric principles of sound variations. First of all, he promotes cases of simply frequent occurrences into "laws" which methodologically cannot be justified; second, he uses his "laws" in a reverse sense, i. e., going from the "laws" to the facts, he "restores" the facts, collects them to suit the "laws"; third, he extends "laws" over the languages for which these "laws" have not been established. Such a methodology nowadays is never used in the studies into the Indo-European language. Why should it be applied to the "Ural-Altai" languages?

#### 45. Restoration of Stems and Difficulties in Operating Them

I am not competent to discuss how far the stems may be actually restored in the Finno-Ugrian languages; but since they are put at the basis of comparison, we must give ourselves a clear idea of their nature. First of all, a stem restored is a certain hypothesis which ought to be based upon strict phonetic variations characteristic of a group of languages supposed to have been issued from one and the same language. The introduction of such a hypothesis as a pralanguage makes the whole reconstruction of stems little reliable. Yet it cannot be practically applied for further research and comparison of the languages where the historic variations of sounds are not established. Again, the elementary requirement is that

the hypothesis may have no reverse force.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this, A. Sauvageot does it all the time and "stems" are put as a basis of comparison. Let us illustrate our proposition. The variations of sounds may go into different directions; e.g.,  $s \rightarrow s' \rightarrow s'' \rightarrow h \rightarrow x \rightarrow k$  and  $k \rightarrow k \rightarrow c \rightarrow ts \rightarrow s$ , both phenomena observed in the "Altaic" languages, so that the change of consonants  $s$  and  $k$  cannot be presumed as one going in one and the same definite direction. If this is so, then the restoration of stems extending over a long period of time (in ages, centuries, perhaps millenniums), where the historic variations are not established, cannot be considered as reliable. In fact, we have already seen that the restoration of Tungus  $p$  is a mere misunderstanding. There are no facts to show that such an initial consonant ever existed in pra-Tungus. Let us now suppose that in the Finno-Ugrian pra-language  $k$  is restored as the initial consonant of some stem. We may be allowed to compare this stem with the Tungus words with the initial  $k$  only on the condition that this  $k$  is preserved from the hypothetic Tungus pra-language. However, we have seen that  $k$  may appear as an alteration of the original  $x$ , which in its turn may appear from the alteration of  $h$  and the latter may exist as a simple aspiration of the vowel. So that the initial  $k$  in Tungus may happen to be of a secondary origin and the original consonant might be zero. As shown, it might also be  $s$ , and  $t$  with their variations. Since the finding of a stem is the finding of a complex transmitted, for scientific safety one must have synchronous data (stems) for all groups compared.

Again, I am not competent to discuss the question of how reliable are Finno-Ugrian stems restored, but from the point of view of their comparison with the Tungus material it should be pointed out that

<sup>1</sup>Such was, for example, the case with J. Németh, who postulated that the alteration  $s \rightarrow x$  in Tungus may have a reverse force in the sense of  $k \rightarrow s$  which has permitted the restoration of  $ham \sim sam$  to prove that *saman* has originated from the Turk *ham*. To be more exact, the unfortunate *saman*  $\sim$  *ham* had to prove the phonetic law  $k \sim s$ . Such an elementary lapsus on the part of J. Németh has led B. Laufer to further aberration with the problem of the word *saman*. This fact shows how dangerous it is to operate with the restorations and further using of hypotheses. (Cf. "Śramana-Shaman," pp. 111-113.) On the other hand, this fact also shows that A. Sauvageot's methodology is not accidental, for J. Németh is stated to be also responsible for A. Sauvageot's work (*vide* his "Avant-Propos").

the stems compared include only four groups of consonants; namely, labial, dental, glottal, and nasal,<sup>1</sup> which are shown to be alternate. As a matter of fact, such a generalization is not yet complete, for labials alternate with the glottals and glottals alternate with the dentals which might take place in the hypothetic pra-languages. In the instance of the lateral spirant *tenuis* *L* in the Lolo languages, I have shown that *l* may alternate with a series of consonants including *r*, dental, guttural, etc.<sup>2</sup> So if one wants to have an ideal generalization and a really scientific one, it must be restored merely as a consonant and a vowel. Indeed, such a generalization brings to an absurdity the whole construction and for this reason one has to stop at a certain moment of generalization. However, whether one stops earlier or later, the scientific value of the hypothesis does not change. Such a grouping of stems according to the consonants, like labials, dentals, and glottals, is certainly artificial, for these groups of consonants alternate. Yet, to distinguish voiced and non-voiced, occlusive and spirant, etc., is also impossible for the practical achievement of proving the existence of common words. Therefore the generalization is arrested at a certain point where it may still have a scientific appearance and not keep comparatists very restricted by the rigidity of the system.

In this position it is not noticed that another theoretical objection comes from a different side; namely, since the stems are actually reduced to five types and two syllables, and since the number of groups of languages compared is not numerous (Finno-Ugrian, Turk, Mongol, and Tungus), the chance of finding common words is greatly increased because the number of combinations in these conditions is very limited. In order to demonstrate the common words, one must bring a very large number of cases exceeding at least two or even three times the number of probable coincidences mathematically calculated and predicted. Indeed, this is an elementary scientific requirement which must be observed by any one who is looking for reliable conclusions. This side of the problem is not

<sup>1</sup>A. Sauvageot has promised to bring forth another series of parallelisms with the initials of other groups.

<sup>2</sup>"Phonetic Notes on a Lolo Dialect and Consonant L," 1930.

discussed nor probably foreseen by A. Sauvageot. It is merely rejected without discussion.

#### 46. Semantic Parallelism and Its Application

In the case of operation with the stems, we may see the same methodological process as in the case of the phonetic variations, which is made with the intention of extending pseudo-scientific possibility of comparing a great number of words from different languages. With the same view the semantic parallels are extremely extended. In fact, if one confines the comparison of the words with the restricted meaning, e. g., the pine-tree, leg, cloud, etc., the number of possible words will not be very great. For this there is a semantic reason. The fact is well established that the words (sounding starters) change their meaning (complex of conditioned reflexes) and vice versa in the most capricious manner—from part to total and vice versa, from one to another complex, etc. If a certain semantic complex is well established for a certain group of dialects (language) in its historic aspect, and if it may hold for a series of languages, it may be and must be used in the analysis, but the same complex cannot be transferred into another language without being checked up. From this point of view, the analogy with the phonetic variations is very close. The semantic connexions may have no reverse force. It does not mean that one must not try, for instance, to find a common word in one of the semantic modifications, but it means that the finding not supported by other evidences, e. g., historic, is not convincing at all, and when largely used it may bring one to an absolutely erroneous inference. So we may say that *the closer the meaning, the surer the result of comparison*. It is true that such a limitation results in a great limitation of material which may be compared, but at the same time it makes the comparison reliable. These elementary rules are ignored by A. Sauvageot, who freely transplants the semantic complexes from one language to another in a great number of his cases.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, *hundreds* of notions, verbs, nouns, and adjectives are covered, and they are supposed

<sup>1</sup>At the basis of this methodology is the same theory of evolution which recognizes a similarity of semantic variations as one of the fundamental characters of the psychomental complex organically conceived.

to be alike in all languages. Of course, without such a methodological liberty, the number of cases would be greatly reduced.

#### 47. Operation with the Morphological Elements and the Using of Foreign Words

A. Sauvageot also uses other methods for increasing the number of parallels. They are very doubtful when he operates with the morphological elements. In order to show this, I will quote two instances which do not exhaust all types of his proceedings, but which may give an idea of the method used.<sup>1</sup>

Case 34. The word *pikta* (Go'di)—“the son,” has been shown to originate from *pita←ita*, etc.<sup>2</sup> In order to show that the Tungus stem is *pɤ* A. Sauvageot cuts off *-kta* as a suffix. In fact, in Tungus there is such a suffix (even two suffixes of the same phonetic complex *-kta*), but it has an entirely different function in the formation of “nouns” and cannot be used in the terms of relationship. On which ground has *-kta* been considered as a suffix? The reason is very simple,—A. Sauvageot did not know the origin of *k* and the syllable *ta* did not suit the hypothesis *pɤ*, so he decided to suppress it.

<sup>1</sup>It is true that the using of the Tungus published material meets with great difficulties, owing to the fact that the records are not always ready for comparative analysis. In fact, the Tungus languages, and especially the Northern Tungus dialects, are very rich in suffixes. This is well known from the earlier publications (M. A. Castrèn, L. Adam, A. Schiefner, I. Zaxarov, and others). Yet some of the suffixes have already been fused with the stems to form new “starters,” as occurs, for instance, with some terms of orientation which have been formed from a certain stem containing one vowel (*V*) (cf. “Northern Tungus Terms” *op. cit.*, p. 180). In such cases the isolation of stems requires great caution and sometimes is even impossible if the lexic material is limited. On the other hand, in the material published one may often see stems together with the suffixes of relation, time, space, etc., which *must* be separated when they do not form the new starters. The most complex cases are those in which the suffixes have a double function,—semantic and morphological. I point out these difficulties here, for even experienced comparatists who are familiar with the Tungus published material often become victims of prematureness of these attempts.

<sup>2</sup>The case is not a simple one. Cf. my “Bilabialization and Aspiration,” *op. cit.*, also “Social Organization of the Northern Tungus,” *op. cit.*, pp. 177–179.



Case 156. The word *iča* (Solon, *Ivan*)—"the elbow," which is well known in Tungus [*ičan* (Bir., Kum.) (Neg., *Sch.*), *iča* (Khin.) (Neg., *Sch.*), *ičo* (Oroči, *Sch.*), *ičon* (Ner.), *iičan* (Tum.), *uče* (Olcha, *Grube*), *xuča* (Goldi)—"the elbow"]. However, A. Sauvageot wants to connect a certain stem (*kV?V*) with *iča* through the aspirated Goldi form (this form is not perhaps an original form) *xuča*, so he does not want *č* to be in the stem and he dismisses it under the pretext that *-ča, -čan*, are met with in Tungus as suffixes. Such suffixes do exist—*-ča* as suffix of "part. perf." and *-čan* as "diminutivus" (the same phonetic complexes may also have other functions as suffixes), both of which have nothing to do with *iča*—"the elbow."

When A. Sauvageot needs new parallels, he sometimes uses curious etymological suggestions. I will illustrate it with a case which is rather serious—Case 27. A. Sauvageot is now looking for a Tungus initial *p* in the semantic complex of "brûler," etc., and *faute de mieux* brings forth "to boil" (*kochen*), etc. This is the well-known Tungus *uju*—"to spout," "to bubble," whence "to boil" but never *kochen*, for the water may "boil" (bubble), e.g., the sources, without being *gekocht* and the Tungus use *uju* in reference to the water in sources and in the kettle.<sup>1</sup> The Manchu word is *fujembi* (in which W. Grube has wrongly printed or read *š* instead of *j*; however, A. Sauvageot could see it from both I. Zaxarov's and P. P. Schmidt's dictionaries). In some Tungus dialects the initial vowel is aspirated, in some other dialects it is bilabialized, and in some of them it is left intact. e.g., *uju*, *huju*, *xuju*, *fuje*, but A. Sauvageot considered it opportune to reproduce an instance quoted by W. Grube; namely, *muju ujuren*, which has only one possible translation—"the water (he or she) is boiling," or, in English, "he (or she) is boiling water" (*-ju* in *muju* is a suffix of *accusativus*, the stem is *mu*—"the water," well known in all Tungus dialects). However, A. Sauvageot is not satisfied with

<sup>1</sup>This *kochen* is one of the unfortunate translations from Russian into German, due to the difference in the semantic complexes,—in German *kochen* and in Russian *кипеть*.

W. Grube's translation (W. Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 116) and he gives his own interpretation here reproduced *in extenso*—*muju-(m- < \*p)*, *ujurén*—"faire bouillir de l'eau."<sup>1</sup> So *mu* (water) is transformed into *puju*, whence only one step to make of it *pšd*. It is remarkable that even a new "law" is formulated on this good occasion,—“Paasonen et K. Donner posent \*-š- en ouralien. On aurait donc ural. \*-š-~ tong. i (ma. -dž-)" (*id.*, p. 24).

The loan-words also occur in their quality of connexion between Tungus and other languages, two instances of which I shall give.

Case 162. The Goldi word *alú* ("schuh") and Tungus *unta* ("winterstiefel, bas") is compared with Dahur *uádza* ("bas") and Tchouv. *aDš* ("stiefel") and it is supposed that *-nt* of *unta* corresponds to *t* of Ural-Altai. Of course, the words are different. Dahur *uádza* is Chinese *wa3è*—"the stockings," in the form of *vasa* known in Manchu, whence *vasa* (Bir.), *wasa* (Khin.)—"the stockings," of Chinese type (cf. Mongol, *Rudnev*).

Case 159. The Goldi word *xuse* is translated *mann, männchen*, and connected with *kisi* (Turk, Osmanli)—"person," "*mensch*." However, *xuse* is not "man" and is not Goldi, even not Altaic, but "beard" in Chinese *-xu3è*. This Chinese word is used in Manchu, in a slightly joking sense, in reference to the adult men who have a beard *-xuse* (*xuseta* -plur.) as *xu3è* may be used in Chinese intimate family language.

<sup>1</sup>The original source (A. O. Ivanovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 20) gives "(*múju*) *ujurén*. S<sup>9</sup>. *Kipalit' vodu*. Sr. Cast. *hujum* kochen." Indeed, *ujurén* cannot be translated as *infinitivus* (of a trans. verb), for the suffixes *re* and *n* definitely indicate "is boiling" without presuming its transitive meaning. The latter may be given either by addition of the suffix of the *accusativus* to the object (*mu+ju* where *ju ~ \*V ~ vV*) or its insertion into the verb (e.g., *ujuv* (*V*) *ren ~ ujuvren*) if there is no object to be increased with this suffix. Yet when the phonetic character of the verbal stem permits, some Tungus would prefer to give, along with the suffixes, both the object and the verb. In this particular case, it is likely that *uju* in its transitive function will appear without the suffix if the latter may be agglutinated to the object. Anyhow, *ujurén*, taken alone, is understood by the Tungus as intransitive "is boiling." A. O. Ivanovskii's sentence presumes that there was a person who was boiling water, for *mu* is supplied with the suffix indicative of the function of *mu* as an object. W. Grube has suppressed brackets and separated words with a full stop. A. Sauvageot has changed it into a comma, whence his equation. This case shows how dangerous it is to "correct" the original material and that the operation with the Tungus published material requires great caution and a certain knowledge of language. The problem is still complicated by the fact that there are, in the dialects, two series of words with seemingly different stems; namely, *uš* and *uju*, the origin of which would require too long a discussion.

The class of instances with the defects as to the morphological operations, etymologies, and loan-words is rather large, but it is impossible to quote all of them,—the corrections of errors take much more time than in the doing of them, for in every case one must bring evidences and reasons where and how the error might have crept into A. Sauvageot's text. Most of these errors and mistakes have been made because of a great need of linguistic evidences, for what has been called "la cause commune"—the Ural-Altai hypothesis. It may be supposed that A. Sauvageot did not have any intention of adapting unreliable and doubtful material, but he is affected by a kind of blindness when the material may help his great cause of proving the existence of the Ural-Altai reality.

#### 48. Summary as to the Methods Used

Owing to the violation of elementary principles of practical application of phonetic parallelisms, owing to the abuse of generalizations in reconstruction of stems and their reverse application, owing to the extension of semantic complexes and their reverse application, and lastly owing to the liberty in dealing with the material (Section 47), the chance of finding common words is very great. It is now evident how A. Sauvageot could find as many as 214 cases in which over 170 cases contain Tungus parallels.<sup>1</sup>

Many particular cases of A. Sauvageot's methodology can be seen from the cases analysed. We may now summarize what has been observed. In the Tungus parallels A. Sauvageot did not use all available material and sources, as, for example, I. Zaxarov's and E. Titov's dictionaries and several minor collections of lexic material. In using old published material, he is not critical enough and accepts translations which are sometimes not close to the actual meaning of Tungus words. From a series of known meanings, he often makes a selection of meanings suitable for his purpose, and even violates the meaning of words given by the authors. He extends semantic complexes into the Tungus language where they are unknown. He postulates that the Tungus initial glottal and dental are preserved from the hypothetic pra-language. He takes for granted that the Tungus language has lost the initial *p*. He

<sup>1</sup>It ought to be pointed out that under these conditions it would be possible to bring still more—this is a question of leisure—but they would be useless as a new support of A. Sauvageot's position.

admits alternations of sounds in Tungus which cannot be justified by the facts. In some cases he does not pay attention to the presence of consonants in the Tungus stems. In some cases he arbitrarily cuts words into supposed stems and suffixes without being familiar with the Tungus etymology and morphology. In most of his cases he does not trouble himself with the task of finding whether the words found in the Tungus vocabularies are Tungus words or recent "loan-words" from other languages. He does not pay attention to the fact of the spreading of Mongol influence over Manchu and Northern Tungus dialects.<sup>1</sup> He takes no notice as to the position of the Goldi in the group of Tungus ethnical units.<sup>2</sup> He considers words found in dialects as belonging to the language where they have been recorded. He does not question himself as to the cultural complexes in which the linguistical complexes might or might not exist.

The enumeration of peculiar conditions of work which have been created by A. Sauvageot may be still extended over that above mentioned, but it will be perhaps too much for what I want to show, namely, why the finding of parallels is not satisfactory, and why after the analysis there are only two words left which are undoubtedly common to all languages here discussed. The "ensemble" of facts about which A. Sauvageot is speaking in reference to the Tungus language is a product of an artificial selection of badly chosen facts.<sup>3</sup>

Now another question may be asked,—What was the reason of carrying out such a work, which, after a slight touch from the critics, goes to pieces and even compromises parallels which are

<sup>1</sup>He frequently quotes a dialect (Ur., *Castr.*) which soon after having been recorded lost its Tungus lexic complex and was substituted by a Mongol dialect. Indeed, in the time of M. Castrén, a great part of the words was already substituted by the Mongol elements without speaking of the ethnographical complex, which naturally, together with the terms, was already borrowed from the Buriats.

<sup>2</sup>E. g., in 1926 already represented by me (cf. "Northern Tungus Migrations, Goldi and Their Ethnical Affinities," *op. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup>As to other facts forming the "ensemble" of facts, namely, vocalic harmony, morphological similarities, etc., with the present advanced study into these phenomena, they cannot be considered as a proof of common origin of the Ural-Altai languages which is also felt by A. Sauvageot.

not perhaps wrong at all? Yet how does it happen that such experienced linguists, as Z. Gombocz and J. Németh,<sup>1</sup> have omitted the most evident blunders and A. Meillet has omitted to notice the crying contradiction between the theories maintained by himself and the theoretical deficiency of A. Sauvageot's work? A. Meillet shows a great cautiousness in the matter of etymologies, semasiology, and phonetics when the question is about the Indo-European languages, but in the case of Tungus parallels A. Sauvageot allows himself such liberty that the dangerous effects may be foreseen by any general linguist who even might know no Tungus.

These questions may be answered by the supposition as to the existence of a general cause for such an attitude on the part of the persons responsible for the final form of the work published by A. Sauvageot,—they wanted to prove a certain proposition, and this desire was so great that it put secondary the problem of choice of technical ways for reaching the goal.

#### 49. The Origin of Methodological Peculiarities Met with in the Discussion of the Ural-Altai Hypothesis

A. Sauvageot's methods of analysis of the linguistical material and particularly etymologies as they appear after the critical analysis are such that one naturally turns one's eyes to the problem of how he came to such a result. So, for instance, some etymologies and parallels in terms of J. Piaget should be defined as "spontaneous etymology, i. e., the imaginative interpretation of imperfectly understood words,"<sup>2</sup> characteristic, according to this author, of children's practice. The bringing of uncertain evidences seemingly supporting the main idea (as we have seen with numberless hypotheses) is also characteristic of the child and the maniacal state.<sup>3</sup> Yet the scaffolding of hypotheses supposed to support the fundamental hypothesis which we have observed throughout the whole of A. Sauvageot's work is characteristic of the same mental

<sup>1</sup>I have already had occasion of dealing with the etymology of *saman* proposed by J. Németh.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. J. Piaget, "The Language and Thought of the Child," *op. cit.*, p. 149 (I use the English translation here).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. G. Dromard's definition of *délire d'interprétation*, quoted by J. Piaget.

---

state. The imaginary reasoning "in which every possibility becomes a probability or a certainty"<sup>1</sup> has been pointed out on several occasions. The diagnosis of a psychiatrist would be that we have a case of "interpretative mania," the diagnosis of a psychologist would be that we have a case of child's behaviour, and the diagnosis of a fervent student of primitive mentality would be that we have a case of the survival of primitive mentality. None of these is good, although formally such diagnoses cannot be rejected. The etiology of the case is different. In fact, first of all the limits between "normal" and "abnormal" thinking and "childish" and "adult" thinking as well cannot be formally established. Second, the case here treated is not characteristic of one person, but in various degrees it is typical of a large group of persons to the work of which in a greater or lesser degree the above-given characteristics may be applied. Third, no one would agree that the survival of a primitive mentality may affect the leading group of linguists. And lastly, if the persons in question are not children, then perhaps is the conception of child's mentality defective? If this is so, then the whole phenomenon cannot be interpreted in one of the above-indicated ways and the problem is more complex than it first appears. What comes to mind is that such a behaviour is not particularly characteristic of childish, abnormal, and "primitive" man, but in certain conditions it is characteristic of all human adult beings. I will permit myself to be detained on this side of the problem in order to show how far I am from the idea of giving insulting labels and diagnoses to the work with the methods of which I disagree, and how one must be careful with the similar allusions in critical references to others' works.

A "wrong reference" or a "wrong conclusion" may be conditioned by various causes, but the first place belongs to "lack of experience" in the matter referred to. In fact, the child acquires the ability of doing correct references and conclusions only after certain experience, which results in the stabilization of "meanings" and corresponding "starters" for personal and social use. The larger the field of milieu, the longer the process of adaptation, and thus the

<sup>1</sup>J. Piaget, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

longer the period of occurrence of "wrong references and inferences." Indeed, this process is closely correlated with the duration of the process of growth which in different human and animal groups is variable. However, the tempo of acquirement of the experience is conditioned, not only by the quantity of the elements to be known, but also by their relative value in reference to the security of the growing and self-reproducing organism. Some of the elements of milieu are not indispensable for the survival, while some other elements may threaten the very existence of the growing organism which must know them as soon as it is left without constant help from the society, be it represented even by the mother alone. The amount of the experience needed for survival and self-reproduction is subject to great variations, which depend upon a number of conditions; e.g., the size of the animal, its position in the inter-species milieu, the degree of secondary adaptation (particularly the secondary milieu in man), the degree of ethnical and interethnical cohesion, etc. The quantity of elements of a milieu of the complexly adapted groups is much larger than that of groups simply adapted. Amongst the elements constituting the milieu, there are some which are transmitted from the experience of previous generations through the mechanism of tradition and there are some other elements which are only scarcely known. Yet since there is a constant increase of the elements due to the adaptation of the secondary milieu to the ethnical and interethnical milieus, there are always some new elements of the preceding generations unknown and which must be perceived and investigated by the living generation. Amongst these elements there are some of vital importance and some other elements of secondary importance from the point of view of security of individuals and the unit to which they belong. By which way the process of perception of new elements is going on is not essential for the moment, but it is essential that it should be correctly done, for in many a case it becomes *condicio sine qua non* of survival.

Indeed, a child may have a "childish" method of thinking and communicating with the outer world, so long as it is protected by society. This period is shorter in animals and probably it is shorter in simply organized ethnical units. In reference to the elements which do not seem to be indispensable for the survival of the unit and individuals, the childish and "primitive" attitude may persist throughout life, and in reference to various elements and complexes

of the milieu. The difference between the "childish" and "adult" method of thinking is that which is seen when one refers to the unknown and the known. The same is true of the "primitive" mind. The difference is that of the quantity of elements and complexes of the milieu to be "meant." Let us suppose for a moment that the individual throughout his life preserves the "childish" or "primitive" mind and is unable to make correct references and inferences to and from the elements and complexes indispensable for life. It is evident that such a theoretical individual would perish very soon. We may go further and suppose that the other animals, in so far as their central and peripheral nervous systems are involved into the process of adaptation, must have the ability of forming the correct "meaning" of milieu in so far as it conditions the survival. The difference in all cases is that of the quantity to be meant, the quality of method of thinking being in all cases the same.

Now if we remember the history of different sciences (branches of knowledge), we may see that at a certain moment all of them were built upon the principle of a "childish" and "primitive" method of thinking. The child and the "savage" will never do "wrong" in reference to the elements indispensable for their life, but they will do it in reference to the elements unknown to them. Although in the eighteenth century the Western mind was not "primitive" nor "childish" in reference to mathematics, yet the science of society and language of that time very often showed all typical characters of "primitive" and "childish" production. From this point of view, there is no difference between the mentality of children, adult, "primitive," and "civilized" men.

It may be here noted that the extension of the field of observation and approach greatly helps in avoiding methodological errors at the early stages of science. It is so, particularly speaking, in the field of language, where the individual conditions, as seen from psychology, and social conditions, as seen from ethnology, yet the physical conditions of the formation of sounds as seen from anatomy, physiology, and the theory of sound, are helpful in avoiding elementary cases of spontaneous etymologies, imaginary reasoning, etc. On the other hand, the inoffensive character of the "wrong references and inferences" concerning linguistical phenomena which are not yet threatening (in the given conditions) individuals and which are not



yet very harmful for the ethnical units,<sup>1</sup> are favourable conditions for uncontrolled application of the above-described methods.

I have already shown how and in which conditions the idea of the evolution of languages has made its appearance. In some ways it remains beyond control, for it forms one of the essential elements of the present psycho-mental complex of the European cultural cycle. In the particular case of the Ural-Altai languages, the idea of an organically evolving phenomenon has been developed in a manner too artlessly carried out and presented in a too naïve form. This was greatly due to the fact that A. Sauvageot was not alone in such an approach to the problem and he was preceded by a brilliant group of old linguists and a not less brilliant group of living linguists who joined their efforts for a "cause commune"—to prove the existence of the Ural-Altai family and the parenthood of a certain pra-language. Under these conditions, it is very difficult for a new author to keep his own path of investigation. However, at the present time the choice of a new path is rather easy, for the neighbouring sciences have already solved many a problem which could not have been solved through the linguistical ground. The theory of complexes and their variations is fairly well advanced. The theory of evolution has already given place to other methods in ethnography and ethnology. The facts, linguistical facts, are now much more numerous than they were some fifty years ago. The only difficulty, which is not the least one, is the ethnographical complex in which the linguists are living and which they must leave if they want to keep their pace with the neighbouring sciences.

There are many things to be thought over before the coming generation of linguists may successfully choose their path.

<sup>1</sup>The inoffensive character of linguistics (without speaking of ethnography, ethnology, and also anthropology) will very soon be a thing of the past. During the last war and during the Peace Conference, the linguistical problems had a certain importance in finding a correct solution to the problems created by the collapse of the former interethnical equilibrium. This will be shown still better in the near future.

## CONCLUSION

**50. The Problem of Common Words**

Since A. Sauvageot has requested his critics to give their explanation of "coincidence," and since I am responsible for the dismissal of some of these coincidences, I will touch once more on this side of the problem. As a matter of fact, I am not competent to give an answer in reference to all languages discussed; but as to the Tungus language, the coincidences are not numerous enough to occupy the attention of A. Sauvageot. Practically two "coincidences" are not a serious evidence for showing the common origin of the Tungus language with the Ural-Altai languages. However, this question can be discussed even without establishing Tungus parallels.

There is a great number of words in Tungus met with also more than in two different languages, such as Mongol, Turk, Ugrian, Indo-European, and Chinese, without speaking of the Palæasiatic languages. The number of common words is so great, that it will constitute an ungrateful task for the one who will attempt to establish the original linguistical complexes for different Asiatic languages, and particularly the Tungus language. But what is interesting for us is the linguistic meaning of the common words and the relation between the common words and the common origin of languages. In this way, A. Sauvageot's warning to the critics in charging them with the duty of explaining to him the fact of the existence of common words otherwise than through the common origin of languages will lose its seeming roughness and gravity for the future of comparative linguistics.

In one of the previous sections, I have already pointed out that there are different sources of origin of common words, so that one has to find out with reference to each word discussed by which way the word has happened to be similar in two or more languages. The number of common words due to statistical convergence is very great in case one deals with monosyllabic stems. It is much less in

the case of disyllabic stems. A coincidence of similar words in two languages is greater than in three; in three languages, greater than in four; and so on. However, it is possible to calculate, as I have shown, the percentage of possible coincidences in two, three, and more languages if the stems are grouped according to the types of consonants; e.g., labial, dental, glottal, and others. The point of difficulty in this case will be the establishment of the fact whether it is a statistical phenomenon or not. In some cases it is absolutely impossible to establish it, indeed; for the source of borrowing may be lost altogether. The only way is mathematically, to establish the probable frequency of occurrences and to compare the number of cases showing similarity and at the same time not bearing any traces or documents of their alien origin. In case the number of such words greatly exceeds the number expected by calculation of probability, then two things may be suggested: (1) the words were received from a source which is now unknown; and (2) the words were preserved from the time of the existence of a common language from which other languages originated by differentiation. The last suggestion is one which can be done only after a minute analysis of word origin. If one postulates the existence of such a pra-language and explains the common words through their common origin,—the transmission from a pra-language,—one may easily be misled by the statistical convergence. Although A. Sauvageot or his colleagues have never calculated these probabilities, for they do not want to face the problem and reject this possibility, owing to their conviction that the languages have originated from common ancestors; yet the issue of investigation is already known, for the answer already resides in the question.

The difficulty of understanding the origin of the similarity of languages otherwise than through the direct origin from the parent language is not that residing in the nature of language, but in the fact of accepting the original axioms of origin from the ancestor language, just as the difficulty of non-Euclidean geometry for a person unfamiliar with some other systems resides not in the difficulty of other systems, but in the fact that the original Euclidean axioms are not postulated.

Other sources of common words, as cultural phenomena, local phenomena, and imitation, are productive of a great number of common words. Unfortunately, only a minor part can be traced back to their sources, for the spreading of words might have taken place in such a remote time that there may be no question as to the finding of sources. There has been a great inclination amongst some authors for finding common words originating from certain centers, so that even a slight phonetic similarity was considered to be sufficient evidence for establishing the source of origin. In this case a great source of the mistakes made resides in the method too. First of all, it is presumed that such and such a class of phenomena are "cultural phenomena" and as such they ought to come from a certain definite source. Let us take instances. Of course, it is evident that the Greek word *κῦβερνάω* [originally "to stir," whence *κῦβερνήτης*], as P. P. Schmidt shows, is responsible for the existence of various European terms, and it may be established when this word made its appearance amongst different groups, and in what particular "meaning." It has even reached the Yakuts in the form of *krimidätäl* (and *kübärnätär*) adapted from Russian *gubernátor* to the Yakut phonetic complex, in which form it could not be connected with the Greek original word without the competence of E. K. Pekarskiĭ, who knew how it could happen to change in the Yakut soil. But a word such as "war" may be accepted as cultural phenomenon connected with Chinese only on the acceptance of several hypotheses, the principal of which is that "enemy," "war," etc., are cultural phenomena of Chinese origin, supported by linguistical hypotheses.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is not improbable that this word is of Chinese origin, but there is a methodological danger, namely, a reasoning by analogy and reference to the cultural character of "war," which is a universal ethnographical phenomenon, the term for which may also be borrowed. The question is thus confined to the phonetic evidences only. We have seen that *xuse* and *vase* are now used by the Manchus

<sup>1</sup>The Chinese etymology of the Manchu word *dain* was originally proposed by I. Zaxarov. P. P. Schmidt has maintained the Chinese etymology by the help of the hypothetical restoration of old Chinese (cf. the discussion between P. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 256, and P. P. Schmidt, "The Language of the Samagirs," p. 4) and supported with reference to an analogy with other "cultural phenomena."

in forms very close to their Chinese equivalents, besides other Manchu words, so the supposition of borrowing is confirmed by the facts, while in the case of *dain* it is supported by the hypotheses. It is true that the terms for "war" in Tungus are borrowed; e.g., *bulon* (Ner. Barg.), *bulen* (Bir., war amongst the shamans), *bulän* (Ur., Castr.), which can be compared with *bulija* (Mong., Rud.)—"to rob," "to take by force," etc., also *carik* (Mank.) *čirik* (Khin.) which are connected with *čerig* (Mong., Rud.)—"the troops," "soldier," "military"; also *siri* (Tum.) connected with *säri* (Yakut, Pek.)—"the war." From the stem discussed above there has originated only *dajan* (Bir.) in the sense of war (cf. the previously particularized meaning of an older term *bulen*), recently borrowed. However, all Tungus dialects know the verb *va*—"to kill," and *valdi*—"to kill one another," "to fight a war," *valdinki*—"the battlefield," etc. The danger resides in the fact that this method may become of common practice and simple statistical convergences may be mistaken for borrowings. In my "Social Organization of the Northern Tungus," I have made an attempt to show how the borrowing of such an elementary term as "son" might have happened and what was the reason of such a borrowing. It has required, not only phonetic parallels, but also a thorough analysis of social institutions and their possible variations. These instances show us that the grouping of phenomena into "cultural" and "non-cultural" phenomena may become a source of mistakes. It is easier to operate with the complexes. For instance, in the complex of local institutions covering the marriage and wedding, we have seen that most of the terms are Mongol, Manchu, and Yakut. This may be understood from the fact of the change of these institutions at a certain historic moment. On the other hand, there are cases which are more difficult than this one. Here I have in view, for instance, the complex of the reindeer breeding unknown amongst the present Mongols and Manchus. The term for reindeer in Tungus is *oro*~*oron*, but in Chukchi it is *horana*, and in Finn *poro* (cf. P. P. Schmidt, "Etymologische Beiträge"; although P. P. Schmidt supposes it to be Western Palæasiatic *poro* it may also be Tungus *oro*, aspirated and bilabialized), the origin of which is unknown. But the Tungus terms connected with breeding are very

often borrowed from the Mongols; e. g., *kure*, etc., for the reindeer fences. So the complex of reindeer breeding, although one of the most characteristic elements of the Northern Tungus complex, is built up of phenomena borrowed with the terms from various sources. It is simple with the complex of horse and cattle breeding which is recently borrowed by the Tungus from Mongol- (Buriat-) speaking people together with the terms, so no doubt may be raised up as to the origin of words. It is thus evident that in every particular case of borrowing or hypotheses as to borrowing, the complexes and the possibility of their total or partial borrowing must be shown. Yet if the borrowing of the most "elementary" complexes is a fact which has been established, we cannot reject such a possibility for any phenomenon whether it appears to the European mind to be a "primitive" or a "cultural" one.

On different occasions we have already seen that there are some local phenomena, e. g., *buran*, *purga*, which are characteristic of the regions with snowstorms and these stems are met with in various languages with nearly the same sense. It is quite natural that every new comer meeting with a new phenomenon, when possible, borrows the name for it from the antecedent experience of the local people, so that if we do not postulate that the people were always living in the same region (the history of human migration does not allow us for a moment to soothe our mind with this idea), the borrowing of these terms is very likely. However, it is difficult in some cases to show documentary evidences for it. The names of local animals, plants, meteorological and other local phenomena ought to be included in this class.

It is evident that the class of words of onomatopoeic origin is also a source of common words, but they are not very numerous. It may be noted that the onomatopoeic words may become subject to borrowing as well. This is perhaps the case of the word "cuckoo," which might have been invented through the imitation of the bird's cry only once or twice, and afterwards it might receive a greater geographical distribution. Some languages, as pointed out (for example, the Manchu), show a quite definite tendency to form words from these sources, while others may borrow these

stems as stems and not as onomatopoeic complexes. In this way a local reference to an onomatopoeic origin of some words is neither convincing nor historically correct. The Tungus words for some birds, as, for example, *gaki* (Bir.) (Neg. Sch.) (Gold., Oroči Sch.), *gaxa* (Manchu Writ.)—"the crow," is explained by the Birarčen as an imitation of *gak! gak!* supposed to be produced by this bird; *saksaxa* (Manchu Writ.) *sažiga, sažia* (Bir.)—"the magpie," is explained by the Birarčen as an imitation(?) of *sak! sak!* etc. However, there are also other words in other dialects for the same birds.

It is evident that to use common words as an evidence of the common origin of languages requires the most careful analysis, which is well known from the previous experience of comparatists. In spite of it all, possible considerations are rejected and the only one is adopted: the common origin of words due to the common origin of language. There is thus something in the idea of language which implies this attitude. This is the idea that the language is an organical entity existing in time and transmitted as such.

A. Sauvageot charges his critics who would not accept his idea that common words quoted by him are of Ural-Altai origin to show a great number of coincidences between Uralian and Keshua or Algonquian, and he says that they "veillent bien se donner la peine d'en déterminer un aussi grand nombre, et de la même qualité," as that presented by himself. Nobody can accept this challenge, for if the comparative material is of the same quality as his Tungus material, the work will not be convincing—it must be better done. Second, before we proceed to such an experiment, the probability of meeting common words must be calculated, which has not been naturally done by A. Sauvageot, who does not know how great the chance of meeting common words is. Third, the experiment must be carried out with two languages, the phonetic systems of which do not differ very much; so, for instance, the presence of some rare consonants may greatly reduce the chance of finding coincidences. I do not know Keshua and Algonquian and I have no dictionaries at hand, but if the phonetic difference is not very great and if the experimentator allows himself to have the same liberty of comparing phonetic and semantic groups, it may be

---

supposed that the number of common words will be also great. In the course of our analysis of cases taken from A. Sauvageot's work we have seen many instances of coincidence with various Indo-European languages. Such a work, at least in reference to the Finno-Ugrian languages, has already been undertaken by several authors and the attempts at comparing Chinese and Indo-European is still fresh, and we have some other recent instances of this kind.

#### **51. The Tungus Language and the Uralo-Altai Hypothesis**

In order to understand the "relationship" between the Tungus and other languages we have to accept the idea that this language, as any other, is a cultural complex which consists of elements of various origin. We do not need the hypothesis of the Ural-Altai language for understanding the process of formation of the Tungus language and the Tungus as a group of ethnical units.

In our analysis of Tungus complexes, as, for instance, the terms of social organization and breeding of some domesticated animals, we find that some terms are borrowed, together with the cultural elements, from the Buriats, the Mongols, and the Yakuts. Yet some elements are borrowed from the Russians, and yet other elements are borrowed from the Chinese. We know that the Russian terms could not have been borrowed before the seventeenth century, for prior to this time the Tungus did not meet with the Russians, and there is no evidence for showing that Russian terms might have been received from other sources. It is more complex with the Chinese elements. Some of them have been recently received from the Chinese whom the Tungus groups met with in Manchuria and Mongolia and these terms are unknown amongst the Tungus groups living beyond contact with the Chinese. But there are other Chinese elements which have been received through the intermediary of the Manchus and the Mongols. However, there are some Tungus words which sound like Chinese ones, but the fact of their borrowing from the Chinese cannot be shown. Are they common owing to the fact that the ancestors of the Tungus and Chinese did speak the same language? Or are they borrowed at such a remote time that the intermediary groups have disappeared



altogether or have forgotten these words? Both hypotheses are good. With the Yakut words it may be a relatively simple position, just as with the Russian words, for we know more or less exactly at which moment the Yakuts made their appearance in the Tungus territory; but some of the Yakut words themselves may be traced back to either Mongol or Turk languages, while a certain part of them will remain of unknown origin. If we now consider the Manchu language, it will be found that the amount of Mongol words is still greater than that in the Northern Tungus dialects spoken by the groups living at a certain distance from the Mongol-speaking groups, yet the amount of Chinese words is also much greater. Still there will be a certain amount of words which can be connected neither with Chinese nor with Mongol words, but which are found in most of the Tungus dialects. The latter are sometimes also found in various Palæasiatic languages. Are they "pra-Tungus" or "Palæasiatic"? The same situation is found in Mongol—a certain amount of words is easily traced back to the Chinese sources, where they are found together with the ethnographical elements of Chinese ethnographical complex. There is also a small amount of Manchu (not "Tungus") and even Russian elements easily seen together with the ethnographic specific elements. Yet there is also a large amount of terms which are of Turk "origin," which is shown by the connexion with definite ethnographical elements and moments of appearance of terms in Mongol. The Turk elements in their turn may be in some cases connected with Iranian, Ugrian, etc., sources. Still there will remain a certain amount of words which will be common in Mongol and Tungus, in Mongol and Turk, but which will not be common for Tungus, Mongol, and Turk. And finally there will be a certain group of common words for Tungus, Mongol, and Turk, which are not met with in Chinese, Palæasiatic, Iranian, or Ugrian. Will they be considered Altaic? On which ground then? If they are not met with in other languages, it does not mean that they have originated from a common language—they may happen to be so for several reasons; e. g., a word might be borrowed by the Turks, say, at the beginning of the present era, transmitted through borrowing to the Mongols and from the Mongols to the Tungus and the original source might disappear altogether. Or it might start its travelling from the Tungus or the Mongols. More than this, there must be a certain amount of words, the phonetic similarity of which is nearly the

---

same, for the number of combinations is limited and there *must* be some coincidences. Which of these common words can be proved to be Altaic, due to the migration and due to the chance of coincidence? These cases cannot be scientifically distinguished, so that their adoption as "Altaic" is a hypothesis which cannot prove the existence of an Altaic pra-language. Indeed, other corroborative evidences are needed. These "evidences" are produced too, but they are not facts, new hypotheses, and shall I say hypotheses of no scientific value. First of all, it is postulated that the Altaic ancestors must have lived under certain definite conditions, e.g., in the steppe region, so that the common words concerning cattle-breeding are supposed to be of Altaic origin, and the terms relating to steppe conditions are explained in the same way. Methodologically, this idea is erroneous, for the terms designating the cattle complex and the steppe complex might actually have originated in the midst of the people living by cattle breeding in the steppes, but such a people might speak, not the common Altaic language but some other language which disappeared at a certain moment, transmitting the local terminology to the new-comers of the region, who might be ancestors of non-Turk- and non-Mongol-speaking peoples. Yet these terms might have been invented by a small group of people starting cattle-breeding and interested in having a "steppe terminology." These people might later on have been included into the body of the Mongols and Turks. In all these cases the explanation of origin of these terms does not, indeed, require an Altaic language hypothesis.

The second idea is that the common words must designate "elementary" conceptions and simple phenomena. We have already seen that this hypothesis is a mere extension of the hypothesis of the "evolution of languages" which cannot be supported by scientifically checked facts. The most "primitive" languages possess complex ideas as well. The ideas are of different type, as compared with the European complexes, but they are not elementary at all. Yet in a greater degree it is true of the phonetics and structure of languages.

Attempts have been made in published form for connecting populations, "races," and hypothetic Altaic languages. Of course, all are doomed to fail, for we have no means for localizing either the populations or the hypothetic Altaic language. In this respect, the

theoreticians of the Altaic hypothesis must have before their eyes the sad history of the "Aryan problem." The most "Germanic" race, as the Nordics are often pictured, is supposed by some anthropologists to have issued from either depigmented Negro stock, or from European troglodytes of Quaternary, while the Germanic language is now sometimes regarded as a result of the blending of Finn or Japhetic with Celtic or Slavonic, and the Indo-European pra-language is sometimes now treated as a kind of business language spoken by the Western Asiatic traders (G. Slater).<sup>1</sup> Of course, all the above-indicated theories are very suggestive hypotheses, but they are only hypotheses. Their most characteristic features consist in the fact that after over a century of work of thousands of searchers for pra-languages, pra-people, and the original birth-place of Indo-Europeans, the hypotheses come into conflict between themselves and with the facts. This blue-bird perhaps has never existed, being a mere product of methodological fallacy of conception of language as organic phenomenon and not as a function of adaptation.

Attempts at the reconstruction of the Altaic, and even the Ural-Altaic, languages<sup>2</sup> made by a group of Orientalists has not been successful and as it is shown before the public by A. Sauvageot it becomes ridiculous. Of the two hundred and fourteen cases analysed we have found that only two Tungus stems are met with in all the languages of the four groups. We have analysed how one

<sup>1</sup>Cf. review of some recent hypotheses in Pizzagali, A. M., "La Questione dell' origine," etc., in *Scientia*, Vol. XLVIII, 1930.

<sup>2</sup>There is even a definite tendency to include into this group other languages as well. Such is the case of the Japanese and Korean languages. As I have pointed out, there are two sides to this question; namely, the classification of these languages without a presumption of their "genetic" relationship, and their classification as a method of establishing their "genetic" connexions. As a pure and simple classification, such an including of these two languages is not needed by practical considerations, for these languages are well known; as a "genetic" classification, it is absolutely undesirable, for it will lead investigators along the wrong path in their research. As a matter of fact, the attempts at a "genetic" classification of these languages have already resulted in rather extensive treatises and owing to the fact that the issue of these investigations in many an instance had been anticipated, the facts brought forth have been selected, and as such they have only relative value. The hypothesis of connexion between Japanese, Korean, and the so-called Ural-Altaic languages was proposed by several authors beginning from Fr. von Siebold, and further developed by H. Winkler, and recently supported,

could arrive at such a thin result and we have found that several, we have supposed unintentional, mistakes and misuse of scientific methods were committed. We did not stop our analysis and we proceeded to find out how such an idea might appear. We found that the idea of such an investigation is conditioned by the desire of finding proofs of the common origin of certain groups of languages and when we pushed forward our inquiry we found that this desire is a logical consequence of the idea of the evolution of language, which in its turn is one of the essential elements of the European ethnographical complex.

We may now take another step and say that generally, in so far as the function of ethnographical complexes is known and the European complex is investigated, the reaction on the present critical attitude as to the inflated desire of finding an Altaic and Ural-Altaic pra-language, and on the critical attitude towards the European ethnographical complex, will meet with opposition, the reasons for which will be varied, but the essential element will be the same. Yet we may also add that this opposition will later diminish down to giving place to the modern conceptions of ethnographical phenomena as functions in a certain system of

e. g., by W. Pröhle, G. Ramstedt, and E. D. Polivanov. The latter supposes that the Korean language may be connected with the Altaic, while the Japanese language ought to be regarded as a complex "amalgama" comprising Austro-Asiatic and Altaic elements. The hypothesis of "genetic" relationship has not been adopted by all linguists, for a part have remained sceptical. Amongst the Japanese linguists this methodological confusion has also produced its retarding effect, being in addition intensified by the conditions peculiar to the linguistic problem in its political aspect. Some cases reflecting these attitudes may be quoted. K. Shiratori, in his earlier period, maintained the idea of affinity between Japanese and the Ural-Altaic group, R. Torii connected it with Mongol ("Populations préhistoriques de la Mandchourie meridionale," p. 38, footnote); S. Yoshitake ("Etymology of the Japanese Word *jude*") recently supported the Altaic origin of Japanese, admitting, however, a possibility of Austro-Asiatic elements. On the other hand, in the eyes of Kanazawa (paper published in 1910) Korean is a Japanese dialect, while A. Matsumoto (*op. cit.*) brings forth a long list of parallels from Austro-Asiatic languages which leads him to the idea of "parenté." However, the whole discussion as to the affinities and genetic relations between these languages is not needed for establishing common elements in the languages compared. It is remarkable that the attention of linguists has for so long been diverted from another source of Japanese lexic complex; namely, the Chinese language (cf. S. Yoshitake, *op. cit.*). [In connexion with this problem cf. W. Schmidt's paper just published: "Die Beziehungen der austrischen Sprachen zum Japanischen."]

equilibrium. Yet it must give place, for it is already in conflict with the results obtained from ethnography and anthropology, both of which point to the great antiquity of the human species, human culture, and naturally, languages.

Indeed, my point of view on this question may meet with the criticism on the part of those who continue to keep the old path. This criticism may easily be foreseen. A. Sauvageot has already put forward a protective wall—a long series of hypotheses and propositions which can be neither proved nor disproved, since they are conditioned by a greater belief in evolution. If A. Sauvageot is not isolated with his work, assistance may be expected in the form of new hypotheses illustrated with mosaic work, and so the discussion will continue till the last epigones of the creators of old theories give up the old conception of language. Such discussions were frequent during the brilliant period when the school of evolutionists (in cultural phenomena!) was gaining ground over their predecessors. Of course, at that time the science of language was not so advanced as it now is, so the discussion was not so artful as it must be nowadays, but the ethnographical significance of the discussion will be the same, indeed.

The positive result of our critical point of view in regard to the work of theoreticians of Ural-Altaic and other hypotheses is that one's attention is drawn to problems the work on which may result in an accumulation of new facts instead of spending one's energy on the problems which are hopeless. In fact, referring to the Tungus languages, it may be much more useful to find out the Mongol and Turk elements in Manchu<sup>1</sup> and some Tungus dialects (I have published material,<sup>2</sup> in view) to find Chinese elements in Manchu (a

<sup>1</sup>In so far as I know from the title of G. D. Sanžeev's paper, the latter is dealing with the Mongol-Manchu parallels.

<sup>2</sup>During the printing of the present work a new important publication has reached me. W. L. Kotwicz ("Contributions aux études altaïques," *op. cit.*) gives the analysis of the Altaic numerals and names of principal colours. Owing to lack of space, I shall now confine myself to the quotation of the conclusion that W. L. Kotwicz has come to; namely, "Les résultats de mes recherches—du moins en tant qu'ils concernent le tongous—témoignent plutôt en faveur des adversaires de la théorie de parenté. Cela n'a rien qui doive surprendre. Je n'ai fait que glisser sur la surface de deux sections d'un champ immense. Je n'ai presque pas touché à la glèbe, et c'est elle qui recèle la solution du problème" (*op. cit.*, p. 234, p. 105 of the reprint).

---

work which I think is ready for publication by P. P. Schmidt), to find out whether there are Tungus elements in Yakut, to do a similar work with the languages spoken in adjacent territories of Palæasiatics, and finally to collect more material and to publish it. Even small contributions along these lines may result in great achievements, while the work like that of A. Sauvageot is a mere wasting of time and energy. A list of Mongol words with the initial *h* in Mongol is immeasurably more valuable than G. Ramstedt's theories regarding the initial  $\varphi$ , because *h* in Mongol is a fact and the initial Altaic  $\varphi$  is imaginary, involving other investigators into further fallacious researches. First, the phonetic laws must be settled upon in every group of language, and the dictionary, as far as possible, ought to be brought to etymological clearness. Then the problem of the existence of an Altaic pralanguage will perhaps never come out. If one wishes to travel, one must not put the cart before the horse,—an old but good rule for successful travelling.

## LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO

- Adam, L.: "Grammaire de la langue tongouse," in *Revue de linguistique et de Philologie comparée*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2 and 3, 1873
- Amyot, M. A.: "Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou françois, etc.," Paris, 1789-1790
- Boas, F.: "Anthropology," in "Encyclopædia of Social Sciences," New York, 1930
- Bobrovnikov, A.: "Grammar of the Mongol-Kalmuk Language," Kazan, 1849 (in Russian)
- Boule, M.: "Les Hommes fossils," Paris, 1921
- Castrén, M. A.: "Grundzüge einer tungusischen Sprachlehre, herausgegeben von A. Schiefner," St. Petersburg, 1856
- Czekanowski, A.: *vide* A. Schiefner.
- Ellwood, H. A.: "Cultural Evolution. A Study of Social Origins and Development," New York and London, 1927
- Gabelentz, H. G. von der: "Mandschu-deutsches Wörterbuch," Leipzig, 1864
- Gennep, A. van: "Les Rites de passage," Paris, 1909
- "Traité comparatif des nationalités," Vol. I, Paris, 1922
- Grube, W.: "Giljakisches Wörterverzeichnis . . . mit grammatischen Bemerkungen versehen von . . ." in the series L. von Schrenck's "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande," Anhang zum III Bande, St. Petersburg, 1892
- "Goldisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis mit vergleichender Berücksichtigung der übrigen tungusischen Dialekte," *ibid.*, St. Petersburg, 1900
- "Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen," Leipzig, 1896
- Ivanovskii, A. O.: "Mandjurica. I. Specimens of the Solon and Dahur Languages," St. Petersburg, 1894 (in Russian)
- Jespersen, O.: "Language; Its Nature, Development and Origin," London, 1922
- "Mankind, Nation, and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View," Oslo, 1925
- "The Philosophy of Grammar," London, 1924

- Karlgren, B.: "Le Proto-chinois, langue flexionnelle," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1920 (avril-juin, pp. 205-232)
- Keith, Sir Arthur: "Ethnos, or the Problem of Race Considered from a New Point of View," London, 1931
- Kotwicz, W. L.: "Contributions aux études altaïques," in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Vol. VII, pp. 130-234, Lwów, 1930
- "Material for the Study of the Tungus Dialects," in *Živaja Starina*, St. Petersburg, 1909 (in Russian)
- "Quelques données nouvelles sur les relations entre les Mongols et les Ouïgours," in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Vol. II, Lwów, 1925
- Kroeber, A. L.: "Anthropology," New York, 1923
- Laufer, B.: "Tobacco and Its Use in Asia," Chicago, 1924
- Leroy, B.: "Le Langage," Paris, 1905
- Lotka, A.: "Elements of Physical Biology," Baltimore, 1925
- Lowie, R. H.: "Primitive Society," New York, 1923
- Marr, N.: "Linguistically Marked Stages of Development of Mankind and Their Correlation with the History of Material Culture," in *Bulletin of the Academy of Material Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 37-70, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), 1926 (in Russian)
- Matsumoto, N.: "Le Japonais et les langues austroasiatiques," Paris, 1928
- Meillet, A.: "Les Langues dans l'Europe nouvelle" (first edition, Paris, 1918), Paris, 1928
- "Linguistique historique et linguistique générale," Paris, 1926
- "La Méthode comparative en linguistique historique," Oslo, 1925
- Meillet, A., et Cohen, M.: "Les Langues du monde par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de . . .," Paris, 1924
- Mironov, N. D., and Shirokogoroff, S. M.: "Śramana-Shaman, Etymology of the Word 'Shaman,'" in *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LV, Shanghai, 1924
- Mostaert, A.: "Le Dialecte des Mongols Urdus (Sud)," in *Anthropos*, Vol. XXII, Wien, 1927
- Mostaert, A., et Smedt, A. de.: "Le Dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu occidental," in *Anthropos*, Vol. XXV, Wien, 1930
- Ogden, W. F.: "Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature," New York, 1922
- Ogden, C. K., and Richards, I. A.: "The Meaning of Meaning. A Study of Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism," London, 1923



- Patkānov, S. K.: "Essay on the Geographical and Statistical Distribution of the Tungus," St. Petersburg, 1911 (in Russian)
- Pavlov, I. P.: "Twenty-Five Years' Experience, etc. Conditioned Reflexes," Leningrad-Moskow, 1925 (in Russian)
- Pearl, R.: "Studies in Human Biology," Baltimore, 1924
- Pearson, K.: "Grammar of Science," London, 1900
- Pekarškii, E. K.: "Dictionary of the Yakut Language" (twelve fasc.; not yet completed), St. Petersburg, 1907-1929 (in Russian)
- "The Russo-Yakut Dictionary," St. Petersburg, 1916
- Pelliot, P.: "Les Mots à *h* initiale aujourd'hui amuie dans le mongol des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles," in *Journal Asiatique*, avril-juin, 1925
- Note in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 411, 412, 1929
- Piaget, J.: "The Language and Thought of the Child," London, 1926
- Pizzagalli, A. M.: "La Questione dell'origine degli Indo-Europei e le recenti scoperte della linguistica," in *Scientia*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 222, -10, 1930
- Podgorbunskii, I. A.: "Russo-Mongol-Buriat Dictionary," Irkutsk, 1909
- Polivanov, E. D.: "Sur les affinités de la langue coréenne avec les langues 'altaïques' (in Russian), in *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de U. R. S. S.*, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), Nos. 15-17, 1927
- Poppe, N. N.: "Critical review of P. Pelliot's publications, in *Zapiski of the Orientalists*, Vol. III, pp. 564-580, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), 1928 (in Russian)
- "Dahur Dialect," published by the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), 1930 (in Russian)
- "Material for the Study of the Tungus Language. The Dialect of the Barguzin Tungus," in "Material for Japhetism," Leningrad (St. Petersburg), 1927 (in Russian)
- "Mongol Names of the Animals in X. Kasvini's Work," in *Zapiski of the Orientalists*, Vol. I, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), 1925 (in Russian)
- Pozdneev, A.: "Mongol-Buriat Translator" (quoted by G.-J. Ramstedt in "Comparative Phonetics"), St. Petersburg, 1891
- Ramstedt, G.-J.: "Ein anlautender stimmloser Labial in der mongolisch-türkischen Ursprache," in *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, Vol. XXXII, Helsingfors, 1916-1920
- "Comparative Phonetics of the Mongol Written and Xalxa-Urga Dialect" (translated and revised, from "Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart," 1902), St. Petersburg, 1908 (in Russian)
- "A Comparison of the Altaic Languages with Japanese," in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. I, Tokyo, 1924
- Regnault, F.: "La Question des races devant l'anatomie et la

- linguistique," in *Troisième Session, Amsterdam, Institut International d'Anthropologie*, pp. 193, 197, Paris, 1928
- Richards, I. A.: *vide* Ogden, C. K., and
- Rivet, P.: "L'Anthropologie," in *Scientia*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 87-102, 153-166, 1930
- Rudnev, A. D.: "Material for the Dialects of Eastern Mongolia," St. Petersburg, 1911 (in Russian)
- "Xori-Buriat Dialect," St. Petersburg, 1913-1914 (in Russian)
- Sapir, E.: "Language," New York, 1921
- Saussure, F. de: "Cours de linguistique générale," Paris, 1922
- Saussure, L. de: "Les Origines de l'astronomie chinoise," Paris, 1930
- Sauvageot, A.: "Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques," Paris, 1930
- Schiefner, A.: Material gathered by Baron Maydell, A. Czekanowski, and others, analysed and published in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vols. III, VII, and VIII, St. Petersburg, 1859, 1874, 1877
- Schmidt, P. P.: "Etymologische Beiträge" (Reprint), pp. 1-5, 1929
- "The Language of the Negidals," in *Acta Universitatis Latviensis*, Vol. V, Riga, 1923
- "The Language of the Olchas," in *Acta Universitatis Latviensis*, Vol. VIII, Riga, 1923
- "The Language of the Oroches," in *Acta Universitatis Latviensis*, Vol. XVII, Riga, 1928
- "The Language of the Samagirs," in *Acta Universitatis Latviensis*, Vol. XIX, Riga, 1928
- "Der Lautwandel im Mandschu und Mongolischen," in *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, Vol. IV, Peking, 1898
- Schmidt, W.: "Die Beziehungen der austrischen Sprachen zum Japanischen," in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Vol. I, pp. 239-252, Wien, 1930
- Shirokogoroff, S. M.: "Ethnical Unit and Milieu," Shanghai, 1924
- "Ethnos. Fundamental Principles of Variations of Ethnical and Ethnographical Phenomena," Shanghai, 1923 (in Russian)
- "Northern Tungus Migrations. Goldi and Their Ethnical Affinities," in *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LVII, Shanghai, 1926
- "Northern Tungus Terms of Orientation," in *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, Vol. IV, Lwów, 1928
- "Notes on the Bilabialization and Aspiration in the Tungus Languages," in *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, Vol. VII, Lwów, 1930
- "Phonetic Notes on a Lolo Dialect and Consonant L," in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, Vol. II, pp. 183-227, Peiping, 1930
- "Place of Ethnography Amongst the Sciences and Classification of Ethnoses," Vladivostok, 1922 (in Russian)

- Shirokogoroff, "Social Organization of the Manchus. A Study of the Manchu Clan Organization," Extra Vol. III of the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Shanghai, 1924
- "Social Organization of the Northern Tungus, with Introductory Chapters Concerning Geographical Distribution and History of These Groups," Shanghai, 1929
- "Study of the Tungus Language," in *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LV, Shanghai, 1924
- "Śramana-Shaman," etc.; *vide* Mironov, N. D., and Smedt, A. de; *vide* Mostaert, A., and Smith, Elliot: "The Evolution of Man," Oxford, 1927
- Titov, E. I.: "The Tungus-Russian Dictionary," Irkutsk, 1926 (in Russian)
- Torii, R.: "Populations préhistoriques de la Mandchourie méridionale," in *Journal of the College of Science (Imper. Univ. of Tokyo)*, Vol. XXXVI, Art. 8, Tokyo, 1915
- Vendryes, J.: "Le Langage. Introduction linguistique à l'histoire," Paris, 1921
- Wylie, A.: "Translation of the Ts'ing Wan K'e Mung, Chinese Grammar of the Manchu Tartar Language, with Introductory Notes on Manchu Literature," Shanghai, 1855
- Yoshitake, S.: "Etymology of the Japanese Word *fude*," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institute, Vol. VI, pp. 45-54, 1931
- Zaxarov, I.: "Grammar of the Manchu Language," St. Petersburg, 1879 (in Russian)
- "The Manchu-Russian Dictionary," St. Petersburg, 1875 (in Russian)

## 刊 誤 表

頁數	行數	刊 誤	改 正
85	三	破綻	破綻
88	二	實在	實則
同上	二十一	(1778)之日	之H(1778)
89	五	懸殊,	懸殊;
90	註14第三行	理想最末	理想。最末
105	四	較大國國民	較大國……
同上	註54第二行	sentimeut	sentiment
107	五	幽穩	幽隱
同上	十五	<u>馬丁路德</u>	<u>路德馬丁</u>
109	五	現默。	沉默。”
同上	二	予如研究	予所研究
112	十四	最高	最高
113	三	任何人。”	任何人。”
116	一	一六四〇	一六四九
118	註84第二行	themselues,	themselves
118	註84第三行	preservation	preservation
119	七	後逐漸	而後逐
123	註102a第三行	absolutiem	absolutism
128	註117	drsit	droit
129	五	否設	否認
129	十七	未必	未必

132	註127第二十行	<u>-D. + B</u>	<u>-D; + B</u>
135	一	福意	福利
137	四	不能不	安能不
144	八	不啻	不啻
147	一	教等	教育等
149	註第五行	169	170
153	註175	同171	同註171
157	十六	人類	人數
161	十一	總計學家?	統計學家!
162	七	”此	“此
162	十五	趨勢	趨勢。”
164	十七	馬丁路德	<u>路德馬丁</u>
165	十九	引引	引起
167	十二	沒世	後世
171	註232	“no .....another.”	“no.....another.”
177	九	之反面自然	自然之反面
188	十五	較易。 <sup>267</sup>	較易 <sup>268</sup>
193	十七	所及,可	所及,有可
195	十五	<u>雖有美國</u>	<u>雖有美國</u>
198	註296	<u>教(服漢)</u>	<u>教(服漢)</u>



# 清華學報(自一卷二期至六卷二期)目錄

## 本報啓事一

本報自民國十七年六月五卷一號出版後，一時未能繼續出版，現改定每卷內分三期，即從六卷一號計起，以後務求出版迅速，以副讀者雅望。

## 本報啓事二

本報五卷以前各期除第一卷已售缺外，凡願補購者每本連郵費大洋三角五分(郵票代洋以一分至四分者爲限)購者請直函北平清華大學出版事務所可也。

第二卷第一期目錄	民國一四年六月	第一卷第二期目錄	民國一三年一二月
水經注跋尾	王國維	詞的起源	胡適
中文書籍分類法商榷	齊修	清季中國流行之貨幣及其沿革	
中國古代跳舞史	陳文波		衛挺生
中國預算之缺點馬寅初講金嘉斐記		中國第一篇古史之時代考	陸懋德
宋燕肅吳德仁指南車造法考		四元開方釋要	鄭之蕃
A. C. Moule 著 張蔭麟譯		三算分角法二則	周培源
象徵主義 Le Symbolisme	宋春舫	清華學生對於各學科與各職業興趣的統計	莊澤宣 侯厚培
一百七十種花草中西名稱及其培養方法參考	陳鶴人	社會調查的嘗試	陳達
撰著提要		撰著提要	
第三卷第一期目錄	民國一五年六月	第二卷第二期目錄	民國一四年一二月
韃靼考	王國維	中國奴隸制度	梁啓超
中國古代田制研究	劉大鈞	中國經書之分析	陸懋德
中國勞動問題討論	陳長蘅	幽關	李濟
動生感論——以神經反流解釋心理上某種現象	莊澤宣	舊刻元明雜劇二十七種序錄	趙萬里
漢儒顯真理感論	錢基博	唐寫本世說新書跋尾	劉盼遂
四次方程根法	顧毓琇	現今史家的制度改革觀	蔣廷黻
清華園左近七村一〇四戶農情調查	陳鶴人	梅文鼎年譜	李儼
近八年來國內罷工的分析	陳達	宋虞道隆吳德仁記甲鼓車之造法	張蔭麟
附錄：1)中國算學書目彙編	袁冲曼	五種報紙的廣告分析	編輯部
附錄：(1)增補	曾遠榮	附錄：二〇年來中文雜誌中生物學記	
附錄：(3)唐寫本文心雕龍殘卷校記	趙萬里	錄索引	駱啓榮
撰著提要		撰著提要	

第三卷第二期目錄 民國一五年一二月

北京,蘇州,常州語助詞的研究	趙元任
美國勞動者財力之進展	陳長衡
唐代商業之特點	趙文銳
近十年來中央財政概況	朱彬元 唐澤森
宋代學生干政運動考	吳其昌
李鄴顯戰徐諸家對於對數之研究	周明羣
生活費研究法的討論	陳達
介紹與批評	
撰著提要	

介紹與批評

第四卷第二期目錄 民國十六年一二月

漢三大樂歌聲調辨	朱希祖
“圖式音標”草創	劉復
由甲骨文考見商代之文化	陸懋德
童受喻駁論梵文殘本跋	陳寅恪
宋遼之關係	王桐齡
再論智慧發育的公式	陸志韋
三十年天津外匯指數及外匯循環	何廉
家庭工資制度	李景漢
清華學校大禮堂之聽音困難及其改正	葉企孫
介紹與批評	

第六卷第一期目錄 民國十九年六月

公孫龍哲學	馮友蘭
The Meaning of "The Meaning of Meaning"	I. A. Richards
闡三志曹冲華陀傳與印度故事	陳寅恪
Molière's Tartuffe	R. Winter.
Internal and External Relations	金岳霖
五德始終說下的政治和歷史	顧頡剛
國文中之倒裝實語	楊樹達
校讀文章一貫後記	張煦
蒙草樓詩(近兩年作)	黃節

第四卷第一期目錄 民國十六年六月

南宋人所傳蒙古史料考	王國維
跋後漢書集解	楊樹達
尹文和尹文子	唐鉞
史記決疑	李奎耀
五口通商以前我國國際貿易之概況	侯厚培
化學情形與植物的關係	錢崇澍譯
一九二〇年美國大學之統計研究	朱君毅

第五卷第一期目錄 民國十七年六月

中國古代鐵製兵器先行於南方考	朱希祖
中國人發明火藥火礮考	陸懋德
周易卦名釋義	林義光
再專音說	王力
英國巴克黎銀行會計制度之研究	劉顯業
明代以前之金銀貨幣	侯厚培
大學生智力之測驗	朱君毅
李善蘭年譜	李儼
古書之句讀	楊樹達

第六卷第二期目錄 民國十九年十一月

金剛魚的孟德爾遺傳	陳植
Compton效應中變線強度與不變線強度之比率	吳有訓
燕麥子葉去尖後之生理的再發作用	李儼
因薩節(Benzamide)之製法	高崇熙
鐵渴與缺少乙種維他命症之比較	馬紹探
因基二烷原酸三個二烷	薩本鐵
關於線紋面之一定理	孫鍾
觸酶(Catalase)研究之趨勢及文獻之介紹	吳祖珍
關於同餘式的一個定理	楊武之
果糖酸(Laeulinic acid)及其醴類(Esters)	薩本鐵
中國各省區面積之初步計算	楊曾威
中國各級地形高度面積之推算	楊曾威
吉敦路線間植物生態的初步觀察	陳封懷
蜈蚣之解剖	薛芬
蟪蛄的反常肺	戈定邦

# 清 華 學 報

第 六 卷 第 三 期

中 華 民 國 二 十 年 十 月 出 版

編 輯 者 國 立 清 華 大 學 出 版 委 員 會

發 行 者 北 平 國 立 清 華 大 學 出 版 事 務 所

---

## 定 價 表 (郵 費 在 內)

	校 內	國 內	國 外
零售每冊	大洋四角五分	大 洋 五 角	美 金 五 角
全年三冊	大洋一元二角	大洋一元三角五分	美金一元三角五分

(附告)國內函購,可用郵票代洋,但以一及四分者為限。