

國立中央研究院
歷史語言研究所

集刊

第一本 第二分

中華民國十九年刊行

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國立中央研究院
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集刊

第一本第二分

北平

中華民國十九年

告 白

本刊第一本第二分於十八年十月初旬付印。因刻字較多，及英文一篇，延至本年五月始經排完。又因英文一篇抽去末兩節，改排兩短文，以符原排葉數，再延一星期。今始出版，不勝歉然！但本刊第一本第三分及第四分均於本年一月付京華印書局排印；其第二本第一分及第二分已分於本年四月及六月付上海科學印刷公司排印，數月內均可印就。以後當竭力設法免去此類一印經年之憾事。

本所編輯會白

中華民國十九年六月

告 白

凡 以 稿 本 交 來 者 ， 編
輯 部 只 決 定 其 刊 入 集
刊 與 否 ， 不 爲 排 列 次
敘 ， 故 本 集 刊 各 文 之
次 敘 ， 均 以 交 到 編 輯
部 之 先 後 爲 定 。

本 集 刊 編 輯 部

本刊附白

- 一 本刊爲國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所刊物之一，此外之專刊史料集等，繼續發刊之。
- 二 本刊每四分爲一本，每本約有五百單頁。每本完時附以目錄，檢題，及每篇之英文或法文提要；其原以外國文著作者，附以漢文提要。
- 三 本刊原爲本所同人發刊其論著之用，但國內外同業此學者願以其著作投登時，本所當敬謹斟酌之。
所外人之稿件，如經刊登，當酌送些須之工作費，以償補其爲此所費之雜費，至於獎金及出版規則，另由中央研究院詳定之。
- 四 每文加印單冊二十五份由作者有之。如作者願多加印單冊時，至遲須于最後次校稿時聲明，並自任其費用。
- 五 本刊每分國幣捌角，如有頗多之照像等，則增加。每本預定國幣三元，郵費在內。每本出完時，售價照每分之價。

國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊

第一本 第二分

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大乘義章書後

陳寅恪

大藏中此十撰述總詮通論之書，其最著者有三，大乘法苑義林章宗鏡錄及遠法師此書是已。宗鏡錄最晚出，亦最繁博。然永明之世，支那佛教已漸衰落，故其書雖平正篤實，罕有倫比，而精采微遜，雄盛之氣更遠不逮遠基之作，亦猶耶教聖奧古斯丁 St. Augustin 與巴士卡兒 Pascal，其欽聖之情，固無差異，而欣戚之感，則迥不相侔也。基公承慈恩一家之學，顯門絕業，今古無儔，但天竺佛教當震旦之唐代，已非復盛時。而中國六朝之世則不然，其時神州政治，雖為紛爭之局，而思想自由，才智之士亦衆，佛教輸入，各方面皆備，不同後來之拘守一宗一家之說者。嘗論支那佛教史，要以鳩摩羅什之時為最盛時代。中國自創之佛家，如天台宗等，追稽其原始，莫不導源於羅什，蓋非偶然也。當六朝之季，綜貫包羅數百年間南北兩朝諸家宗派學說異同之人，實為慧遠。遠公事蹟見道宣續高僧傳卷八。其所著大乘義章一書乃六朝佛教之總彙。道宣所謂「佛法綱要盡於此焉」者也。今取大乘義章之文，與隋唐大師如智顛玄奘諸人之說相關者數條比勘之，以見其異同。

天台智者大師妙法蓮華經玄奘卷一下，解「四悉檀」為十重，一、釋名云：「悉檀，天竺語。……南岳師例「大涅槃」梵漢兼稱，「悉」是此言，「檀」是梵語，「悉」之言「遍」，「檀」翻為「施」，佛以四法遍施衆生，故言「悉檀」也。大乘義章卷二四悉檀義四門分別條云：「四悉檀義出大智論，言悉檀者，是中(外)國語，此方義翻，其名不一。如楞伽中子注釋言，或名為宗，或名為成，或云理也」。按「悉檀」乃梵語 Siddhānta 之對音，楞伽注之言是也。其字從語根 Sidh 衍出，「檀施」之「檀」乃 dāna 之對音，其字從語根 dā 衍出，二語絕無關涉，而中文譯者偶以同一之「檀」字對音，遂致智者大師有此誤釋，殊可笑也！

又道宣集古今佛道論衡卷丙文帝詔令玄奘法師翻老子為梵文事條云：「(玄奘)染翰綴文，「厥初云「道」，此乃人言，梵云「末伽」，可以翻「度」。道士等一時舉袂

曰：「道」翻「末伽」，失於古譯，古稱「菩提」，此謂爲「道」，未聞「末伽」，以爲「道」也。奘曰：今翻道德，奉教不輕，須覈方言，乃名傳旨。「菩提」言「覺」，「末伽」言「道」，唐梵音義，確爾難乖，豈得浪翻，冒罔天聽！道士成英曰：「佛陀」言「覺」，「菩提」言「道」，由來盛談，道俗同委，今翻「末伽」，何得非妄？」奘曰：「傳聞濫真，良談匪惑，未達梵言，故存恒習。「佛陀」天音，唐言「覺者」，「菩提」天語，人言爲「覺」。此則人法兩異，聲采全乖。「末伽」爲道，通國齊解。如不見信，謂是妄談，請以此語，問彼西人，足所行道，彼名何物，非「末伽」者，余是罪人。非惟罔上當時，亦乃取笑天下」。按「佛陀」梵文爲 Buddha，「菩提」梵文爲 bodhi，同自語根 Budh 衍出，然一爲具體之名，一爲抽象之名，所謂人法兩異者，混而同之，故慈恩以爲不可。「末伽」梵者文 mārga 之對音，慈恩以爲「道」之確譯者也。大乘義章卷十八無上菩提義七門分別條云：「菩提，胡語，此翻爲道。……問曰：經說第一義諦亦名爲道，亦名菩提，亦名涅槃，道與菩提，義應各別，今以何故，宣說菩提翻名爲道乎？釋言：外國說道名多，亦名菩提，亦曰末伽。如四諦中，所有道諦，名末伽矣。此方名少，是故翻之，悉名爲道。與彼外國涅槃，毘尼，此悉名滅，其義相似。經中宣說第一義諦名爲道者，是末伽道。名菩提者，是菩提道。良以二種，俱名道故，得翻菩提，而爲道矣」。按慧遠之書，皆本之六朝舊說。可知佛典中，道之一名，六朝時已有疑義，固不待慈恩之譯老子，始成問題也。蓋佛教初入中國，名詞翻譯，不得不依託較爲近似之老莊，以期易解。後知其意誼不切當，而教義學說，亦漸普及，乃專用對音之菩提，而舍置義譯之道。此時代變遷所致，亦即六朝舊譯與唐代新譯（此指全部佛教翻譯事業非僅就法相宗言）區別之一例。而中國佛教翻譯史中此重公案，與今日尤有關係。吾人欲譯外國之書，輒有此方名少之感，斯蓋非唐以後之中國人，拘於方以內者所能知矣。

又大乘義章卷一衆經教迹義三門分別條略云：「晉武都隱士劉此……所云，佛教無出頓漸二門，是言不盡。如佛所說四阿含經，五部戒律，當知非是頓漸所攝。所以而然，彼說彼小，不得言頓，說通始終，不爲入大，不得言漸，是故頓漸攝教不盡。又復五時七階之言，亦是謬浪」。按遠師學說，多與吉藏相近。嘉祥著述如法華玄論卷一所謂「人乘五時之規矩，格無方之聖化，妄謂此經，猶爲半字，明因未圓，辨果

不足，五時既爾，四宗亦然，廢五四之妄談，明究竟之圓旨」。及法華遊意第四辨教意門所謂「南方五時說，北土四宗論，無文傷義，昔已詳之，今略而不述也」等語，皆是。又窺基妙法蓮華經玄贊卷一顯時機條云「古有釋言，教有五時，乍觀可爾，理即不然，今依古義，且破二時，後除三時，並如古人破，恐厭文煩，且畧應止」云云，又基公大乘法苑義林章記卷一所引菩提流支法師別傳破劉虬五時判教之說，皆略同大乘義章之說，蓋同出一源也。可知天台宗五時判教之義，本非創自天台諸祖，不過襲用舊說，而稍變易之耳。然與諸祖先後同時諸大師中，亦有不以五時之說爲然者。就吾人今日佛教智識論，則五時判教之說，絕無歷史事實之根據，其不可信，豈待詳辨？然自中國哲學史方面論，凡南北朝五時四宗之說，皆中國人思想整理之一表現，亦此土自創佛教成績之一，殆未可厚非也。嘗謂世間往往有一類學說，以歷史語言學論固爲謬妄，而以哲學思想論未始非進步者，如易本卜筮象數之書，王輔嗣程伊川之注傳雖與易之本誼不符，然爲一種哲學思想之書，或竟勝於正確之訓詁。以此推論，則徐健庵成容若之經解，亦未必不於阮伯元王益吾之經解外，別具優點，要在從何方面觀察評論之耳。

上所舉三事，天台悉檀之說，爲語言之錯誤，五時判教之說，爲歷史之錯誤，慈恩末伽之說，爲翻譯之問題，凡此諸端，大乘義章皆有詳明正確之解釋，足見其書之精博，或勝於大乘法苑義林章宗鏡錄二書也。又此書日本刊本其卷一標題下有「草書惑人，傷失之甚，傳者必真，慎勿草書」等十六字。予所見敦煌石室卷子佛經注疏，大抵草書，合肥張氏藏敦煌草書卷子三種，皆佛經注疏，其一即此書，惜未取以相校。觀日本刊本「慎勿草書」之語，則東國所據，最初中土寫本，似亦爲草書，殆當日傳寫佛典，經論則真書，而注疏則草書，其風尙固如是歟。因併附記之，以質博雅君子。

靈州寧夏榆林三城譯名考

(蒙古源流研究之二)

陳寅恪

歷史上往往有地名因其距離不遠，事實相關，復經數種民族之語言輾轉譯，以致名稱淆混，雖治史學之專家，亦不能不爲其所誤者，如蒙古源流之靈州寧夏榆林等地名，是其一例。予近校此書，獲讀昔人所未見之本，故得藉以釋其疑而正其誤，此蓋機會使然，非予之庸鄙不學，轉能勝於前賢也。

施密德氏 Isaac Jacob Schmidt 蒙古源流校譯本第四篇 Turmegei 城附注云：「本書著者以爲西夏之都城」。又第九篇 Temegetu 城附注云：「此城或即本書著者所稱爲成吉思汗所攻取而西夏末主所居之 Turmegei 城，殊未能決言」。王觀堂先生（國維）蒙古源流校本第四卷圖默格依城傍註云：「友爾馬哥波羅游記謂撒斡徹辰屢說西夏之衣兒格依城 Irghai，此書紀西夏城邑僅兩舉圖默格依城，而無衣兒格依城，不知漢譯與西譯何以互異？衣兒格依城元史太祖本紀作斡羅孩城，地理志作兀刺海城，秘史作額里合牙（旁注寧夏二字）又作兀刺孩」。按施氏未見蒙古源流之滿文及中文譯本，觀堂先生未見蒙文原本及滿文譯本，故其言如此。日本那珂通世成吉思汗實錄卷十二所考靈州寧夏地名甚精審，然彼書爲元秘史之和譯本，故不及榆林之名，且其所徵引，猶未完備。茲更詳稽蒙古源流諸譯本之異同，證以元明舊史之文，庶幾得以釋正施王之疑誤，並可補那珂氏所考之未備，凡前賢之說，其是者固不敢掠美，其非者亦不爲曲諱，惟知求真而已。

施密德氏蒙古源流蒙文本 Temegetu 之名凡五見，Turmegei 之名凡兩見，Irgai 之名凡五見。滿文及中文譯本於 Temegetu 及 Irgai 之名以中國舊名譯之。於 Turmegei 以對音譯之。茲先論 Temegetu 及 Irgai 之名，然後再及 Turmegei 之名。

滿文本譯 Temegetu 作 Iui Lin，即中文本之榆林。譯 Irgai 作 Ning Hiya，

即中文本之寧夏。以常理而言，滿文本譯者當爲蒙人或滿人之精通蒙文者，其譯此二城之名，以中國舊名當之，而不用對音，非憑虛臆造，必有所依據，固無可疑。茲復取中國舊史所紀與蒙古源流所載爲同一之史實，而有關於此兩城之名者，參互校覈之，益可以證明其所譯之不誤也。

蒙古源流卷七紀往迎達賴喇嘛事云：

(上略)於是寧夏城之王爲首，都堂總兵大小各官，以次延請，頗著恭敬。
。(下略)

按此節蒙文本寧夏作 Irgai，王作 Tsching Wang。明史卷一百十七諸王傳，「慶靖王櫛太祖第十六子，洪武二十四年封，二十六年就藩寧夏」。卷四十二地理志，寧夏衛下注云，「洪武二十六年，慶王府自慶陽遷此」。卷一百二諸王世表「慶端王倪燾萬曆五年襲封，十六年薨」。據此 Tsching Wang 者慶王之對音，蒙古源流紀此事在甲申年，即萬曆十二年，此慶王當爲倪燾，此時之王，既爲慶王，則其建邸之城，非寧夏莫屬。然則 Irgai 之爲寧夏可無疑矣。

又蒙古源流卷七云：

(上略)歲次甲午徹辰濟農年三十歲，復行兵明地，由阿拉善前往，榆林城之馬姓總兵追至。(下略)

按蒙文本徹辰濟農上有博碩克圖 Busehuktü 一語，即明史之卜失兔，甲午爲明萬曆二十二年，明史卷二百三十八麻貴傳云：

(上略)貴以功增秩予廕，尋擢總兵，鎮守延綏。(萬曆)二十二年七月，卜失兔糾衆深入定邊營，張春并貴乘虛搗其帳，於套中斬首二百五十有奇，還自寧塞，復邀其零騎。會寇留內地久，轉掠至下馬關，寧夏總兵蕭如薰不能禦，總督葉夢熊急檄貴赴援，督副將蕭如蘭等連戰曬馬臺薛家洼，斬首二百三十有奇，獲畜產萬五千。(下略)

又明史卷九十一兵志，及卷一百七十八余子俊傳紀延綏徙治事相同，今竝錄之。

兵志略云：

(上略)先是東勝設衛守在河外榆林治綏德，後東勝內遷，失險，招米脂魚河地幾三百里。正統間，鎮守都督王禎始築榆林城(中略)。至是(成化中)延綏

巡撫余子俊乃徙治榆林。(下略)

余子俊傳略云：

(上略)初延綏鎮治綏德州，屬縣米脂吳堡悉在外，寇以輕騎入掠，鎮兵覺而追之，輒不及，往往得利去。自子俊徙鎮，增衛益兵，拓城置戍，攻守器畢具，遂爲重鎮。(下略)

施氏蒙古源流蒙文本榆林作 Temegetu，總兵之姓名作 Magha，當即麻貴之對音，而轉寫激譌。成袞札布蒙文本編校者，或滿文本譯者，以其不類漢姓，故略去下一音，僅餘 Ma 音，中文本遂譯爲馬姓耳。明憲宗成化以後，延綏徙治榆林，蒙古源流所稱榆林總兵，亦猶西人習稱清代兩江總督爲南京總督之例。當萬曆二十二年之秋，寧夏鎮總兵爲蕭如薰，延綏鎮總兵爲麻貴，則蒙古源流蒙文本之 Magha 必爲麻貴，Magha 旣爲麻貴，則 Temegetu 城非榆林屬，是 Temegetu 之應譯爲榆林又可無疑矣。

Irgai 之爲寧夏 Temegetu 之爲榆林，旣已證明。則音譯之圖默格依 Turmegei 即元秘史卷十二之朶兒篋該對音適切，其爲一地自無疑義。拉施特書亦有此城名，多桑 D'Ohsson 讀爲 Derssekai 額爾篤曼 Erdmann 讀爲 Deresgai，其中 s 之音疑爲傳寫之譌。按元秘史載狗兒年攻靈州一節，其蒙文音譯朶兒篋該旁注靈州二字，與元史太祖本紀二十一年丙戌冬十一月庚申帝攻靈州同一事，則靈州之爲朶兒篋該無待再爲之證明。故中文圖默格依即蒙文滿文本之 Turmegei，亦即元秘史之朶兒篋該。然則蒙古源流之圖默格依準 Temegetu 及 Irgai 之例，不以對音譯而以中國舊名譯，當爲靈州二字，無疑也。

三城之譯名皆已考定，然後可以辨昔賢舊說之是非。觀堂先生謂衣兒格依城 Irgai 即元秘史之額里合牙其說是也。所以知其是者，元秘史續集卷二，額里合牙傍注寧夏二字，如朶兒篋該傍注靈州二字者相同，多桑 D'Ohsson 引拉施特書謂西夏國都名 Irghai，蒙古人謂之 Ircaya，Ircaya 與額里合牙對音適符，而西夏國都即寧夏，又與傍註膺合，故衣兒格依 Irghai 即秘史之額里合牙無疑也。惟先生又謂衣兒格依城即幹羅孩、兀刺海、兀刺孩，其說非也。所以知其非者，元秘史續集卷二，額里合牙與兀刺孩同列一卷中，對音旣異，一則傍注寧夏，一則否。又元史地理志甘肅等處行中

書省所屬寧夏路與兀刺海路竝列，其爲二地可知。且地理志兀刺海路下注云：「太祖四年由黑水城北兀刺海西開口入河西，獲西夏將高令公，克兀刺海城」。與太祖本紀「四年己巳，帝入河西，夏主李安全遣其世子來戰，敗之，獲其副元帥高令公，克兀刺海城，薄中興府，引河水灌之，堤決水外潰，遂撤圍而還」。所載適符。據此可知是役僅克兀刺海而未克中興府。元史地理志寧夏府路下注云：「自唐末有拓拔思恭者鎮夏州，世有銀夏綏宥靜五州之地。宋天禧間，傳其孫德明，城懷遠鎮爲興州以居，後升興慶府，又改中興府」。夫中興府，即寧夏，亦即衣兒格依 Irghai，然則衣兒格依與兀刺海決不得爲一地明矣。又元史太祖本紀二年「丁卯秋再征西夏克斡羅孩城。四年己巳帝入河西克兀刺海城」。聖武親征錄「丁卯秋再征西夏，冬克斡羅孩城」。斡羅孩與兀刺海對音適合，故史家皆以爲一地，如柯蓼園丈劄忞新元史太祖本紀書「二年丁卯秋，帝親征西夏，入兀刺海城，五年庚午秋，帝再伐西夏，復入兀刺海城」。柯氏以斡羅孩即兀刺海，故第一役亦作兀刺海而不作斡羅孩，第二役則書復入。（柯氏繫第二役於五年庚午，而不於四年己巳者，蓋從拉施特書及聖武親征錄，屠敬山先生（寄）蒙元史記亦與新元史同，惟觀堂先生聖武親征錄校注「庚午西夏獻女爲好」有「此年事拉施特書繫於蛇年」等語，按元史譯文證補卷一下太祖本紀譯證「馬年秋又征合申，帝至兀刺孩城指揮軍事，旣勝合申納女而回。觀堂先生所云當即指此，然此事拉施特氏實繫於馬年，而非蛇年，徧檢上年，即蛇年，并無類似之事，不知所出，待考。）若斡羅孩與兀刺海爲一地，則據上文所述，與衣兒格依 Irghai（即寧夏）絕無關涉，焉得謂衣兒格依即斡羅孩乎？又屠氏蒙元史記謂兀刺孩即元史李恆傳之兀納刺及姚牧庵集中書左丞李公家廟碑之兀納。然兀納刺與兀刺孩對音殊不相近，如無他證，似不能合爲一地也。

王觀堂先生前數年校蒙古源流時，未見蒙文滿文諸本，故不知 Irghai 即寧夏，謂此書紀西夏城邑，僅兩舉圖默格依，而友爾馬哥波羅遊記所引之 Irghai，不見於中文本，因不解漢譯與西譯，何以互異？今予以機緣獲見先生當日所未見之本，遂得釋此疑，若先生有知，亦當爲之一快也。

至施密德氏疑 Temegetu 或與 Turmegoi 同爲一地，據上文所述，Temegetu 爲榆林，Turmegoi 爲靈州，旣已証明爲兩地，實無牽合爲一之理。且蒙古源流著者亦

未顯稱圖默格依爲西夏國都，惟言其爲末主錫都爾岡汗所居耳。（靈州爲夏人先世繼遷舊都，蒙古源流著者容有誤會。）然則施氏所疑之不當，又不待言也。

今綜上文所述，得以證明四端，除中國近日如洪王諸家所譯之對音不計外：

- (一) Turmegei 圖默格依、朶兒篋該、靈州、Derssekai, Deresgai 等名，同屬一地。
- (二) Irgai, (Irghai), 寧夏、中興府、夏王城、（見元史太祖本紀二十二年）等名，同屬一地。
- (三) Temcgetu, 榆林等名，同屬一地。
- (四) 兀喇海、兀喇孩、斡羅孩等名，與 Irgai 非屬一地，至其當今日之何地，及友爾 Henry Yule 馬哥波羅游記注誤以西涼府之 Egrigaia 當寧夏等問題，以其不在本文範圍之內，姑不具論。茲僅就此關於蒙古源流之三城考定其譯名，或亦讀是書者之一助歟？

聲調之推斷

及

“聲調推斷尺”之製造與用法

劉 復

1] 語言中的“聲調”(intonation)，無論是屬於字的方面的(所謂“字調”)，或是屬於句的方面的(所謂“句調”)，簡括說來，只是“音高”(pitch)的起落罷了。所以研究聲調，實際就是研究音高的起落；不過聲調是語言學中的名詞，音高的起落是物理學或音樂中的名詞，在於不知道底細的人，或者不免要錯認為兩件不同的事。

2] 研究音高的起落有三種方法：

第一法便是直接用耳朵聽：這在“耳音”特別發達的人，或受過極充分的“耳聽訓練”的人，也可以得到相當的結果(當然是很粗疏的)；在一般人，却只能於最明顯最簡單之處，略略聽出一點，此外便是茫然無所措手。

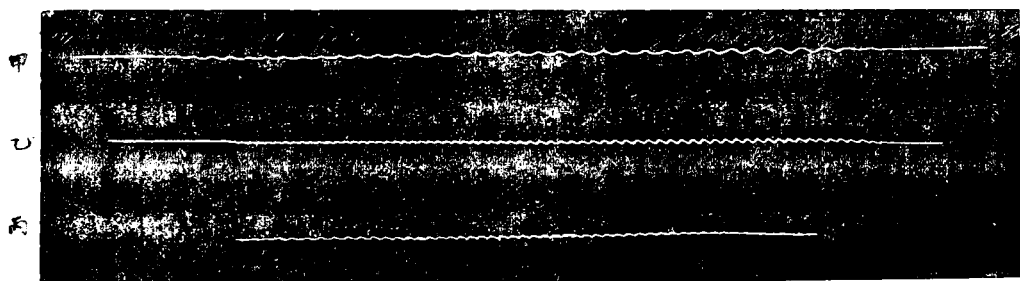
第二法介於直聽與實驗之間，是 Daniel Jones 做聲調曲線(Intonation Curves)一書時所用的方法。他先把語音收蓄在蠟片裡(或取現成的蠟片)，然後把蠟片放在留聲機上，照常發送聲音來。到鋼針或鑽針走到每一個“有聲的音”(voiced sound)的中央時，便隨即把它提起，於是藉着耳朵裏所留存着的這一個音的印象，來斷定它的“絕對音高”(absolute pitch)。用這同樣的方法，把一張蠟片裏所有的“純音”(vowels)及“有聲雜音”(voiced consonants)的音高一起斷定；——在必要時，把一個音分作兩部分或三部分，每一部分作一次之斷定。到完全斷定了，然後聯接起來，作成一條曲線。我在倫敦大學語音學實驗室工作時，曾見 Daniel Jones 的助手 Stephen Jones 和一個印度學生用這方法研究梵語的聲調。當時我因為自己別有工作，未曾參加，只是從旁畧畧看看。這從旁畧畧看看所給我的印象就不大好：我覺得

這種測驗法，手續不能算不麻煩，而所得結果，却不甚可靠：他所謂“斷定”，實際有許多處仍舊是以意爲之，不能認爲有力量的斷定。後來我和趙元任兄談起這件事，問他的意見怎麼樣。他說他照樣試驗過，結果是了無所得；因爲蠟盤旋轉得很快，要預定了在每一點上把針提起，往往做不到；而且，即使做得到，這針尖提起時一剎那間所給的音高的印象，也決不能代表一個音的先後各部的音高。如此說，這種方法簡直是根本不能存在。但 Daniel Jones 曾用它著了一部書，我們又何從反對呢？我們只能說：這是 Daniel Jones 的個人方法罷！

第三法純粹用實驗的方術。此項方術，又可以分作兩步說：第一步是用一座“浪線計”（Kymograph），配以音鼓及電流音叉等，將所要研究的單字或語句，很忠實的畫在烟薰紙上，這叫做“記音”。第二步是根據烟薰紙上所畫的浪線，推斷所研究的單字或語句中的音高的起落。這兩步工作，我在四聲實驗錄中已大致說過。本文的目的，在於將第二步的推斷方術加以更充分的說明，並將我自己所造的“聲調推斷尺”介紹於世，故於第一步的“記音”工作略而不論。

種 種 的 推 斷 法

3) 假定烟薰紙上所畫出的浪線很好（這就是說：所有的顫動（vibrations），都能一個一個清清楚楚畫出），我們只須粗粗一看，就可以看出音高起落的大概來：若顫動密，則其音必高；反之，若顫動稀，則其音必低。例如第一圖，有甲乙丙三浪



第 一 圖

線：甲線中的顫動稀，其音低；乙線中的顫動比較密一點，其音比較高一點；丙線中

的顫動最密，其音最高；又甲乙二線的顫動，都是先密後稀，故均為下降音；丙線的顫動是先稀後密，故為上升音。這種粗率的觀察所得的結果當然是極不精密的。但在實際上，有時只須知道某音與某音相較是孰高孰低，不必要知道高低間的程度如何；有時只須知道某音是上升或是下降，不必知道上升了幾許，或下降了幾許，那麼，這粗率的觀察法也就有了用處了。不過，就一般而論，我們的需要決不能這樣簡單，所以這一法總是不大用，而必採用一種相當的推斷法，以求一比較精密一點的，或者是，滿够精的結果。

4) 推斷的方法雖有種種之不同，但其原理，總不外乎就浪線計上圓柱體旋轉的速度(即烟薰紙行走的速度)，以推測語音中各顫動的遲疾。

測驗圓柱體旋轉的速度用電流音叉，或用他種計時器。

速度的大小，是屬於時間方面的長短；到畫上了烟薰紙，就變做了屬於空間方面的長短。

所以，以圓柱體旋轉的速度與語音中各顫動的速度相較，本來是時間方面的事，現在却已變做了空間方面的事。

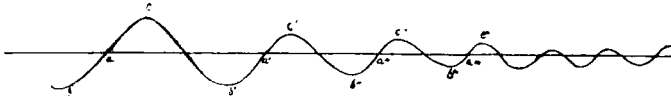
5) 圓柱體旋轉的速度，應當是絕對平均的。但這“絕對平均”一句話，只能在理想中存在着。在事實上無論你在機械方面用何種苦功，你只能做到“相當平均”這一步。所謂相當平均，是說大致與平均相差不遠；即使有時快，有時慢，所差還並不很多。

要是所用的浪線計還不能具有這“相當平均”一個條件，則在音高的推斷上，就有很多的困難。我們稱這一類的推斷為甲類推斷。

反之，若所用浪線計能於具有“相當平均”這一個條件，則在推斷上就要省事一點。我們稱這一類的推斷為乙類推斷。

6) 無論為甲類推斷為乙類推斷，總應當把浪線中的每一個顫動作為一單位；但在不求十分精密時，也可以把每兩個或每三個顫動作為一單位。

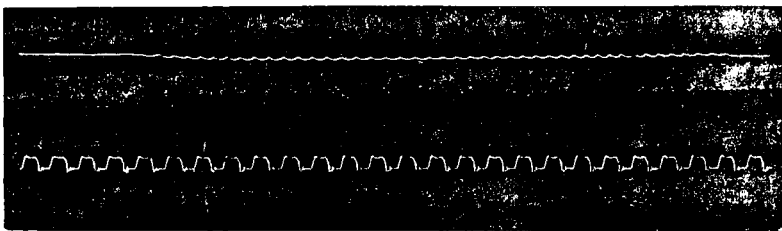
我們既然把顫動認為推斷工作中的單位，就應當知道每一個顫動的起點在什麼地方，終點在什麼地方。如第二圖中的一條浪線，包含着六個多（嚴密的說，是 $6\frac{3}{4}$ ）顫



第 二 圖

動；別有一條直線，是各顫動共同的中線。照理論說，各顫動的起點和終點，都應當以中線為標準。如第一個顫動，應當是起於 a，終於 a'；第二個應當起於 a'，終於 a''；第三個應當起於 a''，終於 a'''。但烟薰紙上所畫出的，只有浪線，並沒有中線；要有中線，應當另用方法推求；若要推求得正確，手續非常複雜。事實上，若研究的目的是在於推斷音高，誰都不願意（而且也犯不着）這樣笨做；通常都是略略變通一點，把每一顫動的頂點（最高點）或底點（最低點），作為起訖的標準。如以頂點為標準，則第一個顫動起於 c，終於 c'；第二個起於 c'，終於 c''；如以底點為標準，則第一個顫動起於 b，終於 b'；第二個起於 b'，終於 b''。這裡面所有的錯誤是一望而知的。但在推斷音高的工作中，這一點小錯誤，實在算不了什麼，儘可以置之不問。

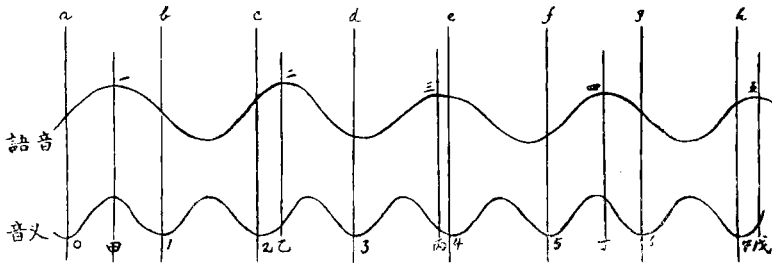
7) 因浪線計上圓柱體的旋轉不能具有相當平均的條件而欲施行甲種推斷，在記音時便應當以音鼓與電流音叉同時並用，使烟薰紙上畫出兩條平行的浪線。如第三圖，上面一條是語音的浪線，下面一條是音叉的浪線，互相平行。



第 三 圖

這種平行的浪線畫成之後，可以任取一浪線中各顫動之界點為標準（前一顫動之終點，即後一顫動之起點，為簡約計，可混稱之曰界點），畫成許多平行線，與浪線

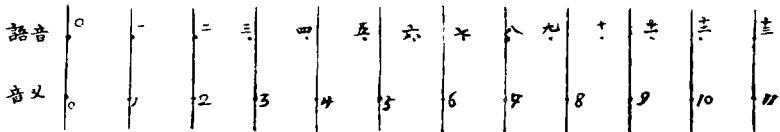
正交，而且通過兩條浪線。如第四圖，上面一線是語音的浪線，下面一線是音義的浪線。



第 四 圖

線，我們可以用語音線中一，二，三，四，五諸界點，畫成一甲，二乙，三丙，四丁，五戊諸平行線；也可以用音義線中 0，1，2，3，4，5，6，7 諸界點，畫成 a0，b1，c2，d3，e4，f5，g6，h7 諸平行線；這些線都與浪線正交，而且通過兩條浪線。

8) 如第五圖，上行 0，一，二，三，四，……諸點，是語音線中各顫動的界



第 五 圖

點；下行 0，1，2，3，4，……諸點，是音義線中各顫動的界點。我們若以下行諸點為標準，就可以畫成自 0 至 11 共十二條平行線，每兩線中相隔的長度，代表音義上每一顫動所佔有的時間。音義的顫動數，應當是已知的，而且永遠是平均的（雖然也有製造得不好的音義，不能符合這個條件）。假如音義的顫動數是 100，即每秒鐘顫動一百次（一百個往復，所謂“複顫動”），則圖中每兩平行線間相隔的長度，無論是自 0 至 1，或自 1 至 2，或自 2 至 3，……都是代表一秒的 100 分之 1。

這樣，我們就可以逐段研究了：

第一段，下面是自 0 至 1，上面也是 0 至 一，恰巧相同。我們另用一張紙，寫下一

個 1 字來，即 $1:1=1$ 的意思。

第二段同。

第三段，下面是自 2 至 3，上面是自二至三之外，還有自三至四中的一部分，約為十分之一。 $1 + \frac{1}{10} = 1\frac{1}{10} = 1.1$ ，我們把 1.1 寫下。

第四段，下面是自 3 至 4，上面是：自三至四中已經去了一個十分之一，餘下的是十分之九；還有自四至五中的一部分，約為十分之二。 $\frac{9}{10} + \frac{2}{10} = \frac{11}{10} = 1.1$ ，我們再把 1.1 寫下。

如此類推，得第五段的結果為 $\frac{8}{10} + \frac{3}{10} = \frac{11}{10} = 1.1$ ，第六段的結果為 $\frac{7}{10} + \frac{6}{10} = \frac{13}{10} = 1.3$ ，第七段的結果為 $\frac{4}{10} + 1 = \frac{14}{10} = 1.4$ ，第八段的結果為 $1 + \frac{3}{10} = \frac{13}{10} = 1.3$ ，第九段的結果為 $\frac{7}{10} + \frac{6}{10} = \frac{13}{10} = 1.3$ ，第十段的結果為 $\frac{4}{10} + \frac{9}{10} = \frac{13}{10} = 1.3$ ，第十一段的結果為 $\frac{1}{10} + 1 = \frac{11}{10} = 1.1$ 。

把所得結果依次寫下，即為第一表中第一行之“比例數”。

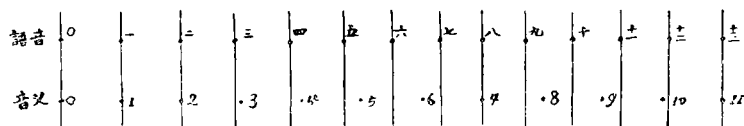
比	例	數	1	1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.1
顫	動	數	100	100	110	110	110	130	140	130	130	130	110
對		數	.00	.00	.04	.04	.04	.11	.15	.11	.11	.11	.04

第 一 表

此項比例數的解釋法是如此：若比例數為 1，意即謂音叉顫動一次時，語音也顫動一次。今已知音叉每秒鐘之顫動數為 100，則語音每秒鐘之顫動數，當然也是 100。若比例數為 1.1，意即謂音叉顫動一次時，語音顫動一次又十分之一，較音叉快十分之一。故音叉之顫動數為 100，語音之顫動數 110。照此類推，得表中第二行之“顫動數”，實即語音在每一段中所有的平均顫動數，亦即語音在每一段中所有的平均音高。

因作圖時顫動數不能將音高正確表出，必須用顫動數的對數，故將“對數”列於表中第三行。作圖所用對數，普通只用兩位，用三位的很少，故表中只列兩位。若對數中的整數全體相同，可將整數取消了，單用尾數，故表中把應有的整數 2 取消了(下同)。

9) 若以上行諸點(即語音中各顫動的界點)為標準而畫平行線，則成第六圖。



第 六 圖

圖中第一第二兩段(即 0 至一，一至二)的比例數仍為 1。

第三段，上行自二至三，約當於下行自 2 至 3 的十分之九，寫 .9。

第四段，上行自三至四，下行有自 2 至 3 賸餘下來十分之一，加自 3 至 4 的一部分，約有十分之八。 $\frac{1}{10} + \frac{8}{10} = \frac{9}{10}$ ，寫 .9。

如此類推，所得結果為 $\frac{2}{10} + \frac{7}{10} = \frac{9}{10} = .9$ ， $\frac{3}{10} + \frac{5}{10} = \frac{8}{10} = .8$ ， $\frac{5}{10} + \frac{3}{10} = \frac{8}{10} = .8$ ， $\frac{7}{10} = .7$ ， $\frac{7}{10} = .7$ ， $\frac{3}{10} + \frac{5}{10} = \frac{8}{10} = .8$ ， $\frac{5}{10} + \frac{3}{10} = \frac{8}{10} = .8$ ， $\frac{7}{10} + \frac{1}{10} = \frac{8}{10} = .8$ ， $\frac{9}{10} = .9$ ，寫為第二表中第一行之“比例數”。

比例數	1	1	.9	.9	.9	.8	.8	.7	.7	.8	.8	.8	.9
反對數	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05
顫動數	100	100	111	111	111	125	125	143	143	125	125	125	111
對 數	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05

第 二 表

此項比例數的解釋法是如此：若比例數為 1，意即謂語音顫動一次時，音叉也顫動一次。今已知音叉之顫動數為 100，則語音之顫動數，當然也是 100。若比例數為 .9，意即謂語音顫動一次時，音叉只顫動一次的十分之九。換句話說，就是語音顫動一次所用的時間，只相當於音叉顫動一次所用的時間的十分之九。今音叉每秒鐘顫動 100 次，以 .9 除之，得 111，即為語音在一秒鐘之內的顫動的次數。照此推算，得表中第三行的“顫動數”，即語音中各顫動在一秒鐘內自有的顫動數，亦即語音中各顫動自有的音高。

如前表之例，列各顫動數的對數於第四行。

若不求顫動數而逕依據比例數作圖，則須用比例數的“反對數”(reciprocal logarithms)，即 $\log \frac{1}{n}$ ，如表中第二行所列。〔我們也可以依據第一表中的比例數作圖，但須用比例數的對數，而不能用反對數。我們假定音義的顫動數是 100，所以第一表中比例數的對數(表中未列)與顫動數的對數應當是相同的，第二表中比例數的反對數與顫動數的對數也應當是相同的(所謂相同，只指尾數言，整數可以不問)。若音義的顫動數不是做10的倍數的 100 或 1000，那就決不能相同。但在數目上是不同，畫到圖上去，高低間的比例，還是相同的。——關於作圖所以要用對數的理由，已在四聲實驗錄中說明，茲不贅述〕。

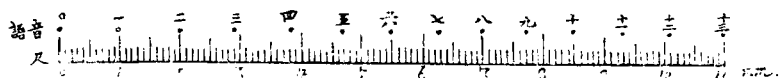
爲便利述說起見，我們可以稱第 8 節的推斷法爲“甲一推斷法”，稱第 9 節的推斷法爲“甲二推斷法”。

10) 若浪線計上圓柱體的旋轉能於具有“相當平均”一個條件，我們就可以不用甲種推斷法而用乙種推斷法。

施行乙種推斷法，記音時不必把音義與音鼓並用而畫成兩條平行的浪線，只須依據一條從音鼓中所畫出來的語音線。

我們應當預備一個廓大鏡，以放大十倍者爲最相宜；再預備一枝玻璃小尺，總長爲 50mm. 或 100mm.，其中每 1 mm. 用“顯微鏡刻度法”分爲十等分；度刻均在玻璃的背面，放在紙上時，刻紋與紙面密接；刻紋用紅色染，俾與烟薰紙的黑色可以互相襯托。(巴黎 Nachet 顯微鏡公司製造者甚佳；在七年前，長 100mm. 者價一百法郎。)

有了這兩種器具，我們就可以把烟薰紙上每一個顫動的長度，正確量出。其法，先將烟薰紙平鋪在桌子上，或者更好一點，鋪在圖畫板上。次將玻璃尺放在烟薰紙上，以尺上的 0，壓在所要量的一條浪線的第一個界點。接着便將廓大鏡放在玻璃尺上，看每一個界點，相當於尺上的若干，直到全尺 100mm. 或 50mm. 都已量完，然後將尺移動。如第七圖，尺的 0，相當於界點 0，這是在開始時就安排好的。接着用廓大鏡往下看；



第七圖

界點一，相當於尺上的 1，寫1.0，

界點二，相當於尺上的 2，寫2.0，

界點三，相當於尺上的2.9，寫2.9，

界點四，相當於尺上的3.8，寫3.8，

如此類推，所得結果為第三表第一行之“量得數”。

量得數	1.0	2.0	2.9	3.8	4.7	5.5	6.3	7.0	7.7	8.5	9.3	10.1	11.0
長度	1.0	1.0	.9	.9	.9	.8	.8	.7	.7	.8	.8	.8	.9
反對數	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05
顫動數(甲)	100	100	111	111	111	125	125	143	143	125	125	125	111
對數(甲)	.00	.00	.05	.05	.05	.10	.10	.16	.16	.10	.10	.10	.05
顫動數(乙)	125	125	139	139	139	156	156	178	178	156	156	156	139
對數(乙)	.10	.10	.14	.14	.14	.19	.19	.25	.25	.19	.19	.19	.14

第三表

第一個量得數 1.0，即為第一個顫動之長度；

從第二個量得數 2.0 中減去第一個量得數 1.0，得 1.0，為第二個顫動之長度；

從第三個量得數 2.9 中減去第二個量得數 2.0，得 .9，為第三個顫動之長度；

如此類推，得表中第二行之“長度”，即各顫動自有之長度。

假如我們不要求各顫動在一秒鐘內自有的顫動數，而只依據各顫動的長度作圖，那就只須找出各長度的反對數來就可以(表中第三行)。

若要求出各顫動在一秒鐘內的顫動數來，却應當知道圓柱體的面(即烟薰紙的面)，在一秒鐘之內能走多少長。(此項速度之測定法，已見四聲實驗錄，茲不贅。)知道之後，以各顫動的長度除之，即是得數。

假定烟薰紙的面每秒鐘走 100mm，以第一顫動之長度 1.0mm. 除之，得 100，即為第一顫動在一秒鐘之內的顫動數。(第二顫動同。) 以第三顫動之長度 .9mm. 除之，得 111，即為第三顫動在一秒鐘之內的顫動數。如此類推，得表中第四行的“顫動數(甲)”，其對數為第五行的“對數(甲)”。

若烟薰紙的面每秒鐘走125mm.，則得數便應為表中第六行的“顫動數(乙)”，及第七行的“對數(乙)”。

11) 另有一種較為簡便一點(當然，結果也要粗疏一點)的方法。如第八圖，自



第 八 圖

第一界點至末一界點，中間共有三十六個顫動，我們在第一個界點上畫一條與浪線正交的直線 0，此後便按着一定的距離畫許多平行線，1, 2, 3, 4, ……等。(距離以 3mm. 或 4mm. 為最好，至多也不能過於 5mm.。) 為省事計，也可以取一張明角片(或取照相所用的膠片，放在定影水裏浸透明了)，用尖細的針子畫成許多平行的直線，到應用時，把這明角片覆合在烟薰紙上，以第一直線與第一界點相當，——這就可以不必在每一浪線上畫許多平行線了。

圖中第一段，自 0 至 1，包有第一第二兩完全顫動，和第三顫動的十分之三。 $2 + \frac{3}{10} = 2.3$ ，寫 2.3。

第二段，自 1 至 2，包有第三顫動的十分之七，加第四顫動全個，再加第五顫動的十分之八。 $\frac{7}{10} + 1 + \frac{8}{10} = 2.5$ ，寫 2.5。

如此類推，得 $\frac{2}{10} + 2 + \frac{4}{10} = 2.6$ ， $\frac{6}{10} + 2 + \frac{3}{10} = 2.9$ ， $\frac{7}{10} + 2 + \frac{6}{10} = 3.3$ ， $\frac{4}{10} + 4 + \frac{2}{10} = 4.6$ ， $\frac{8}{10} + 3 + \frac{2}{10} = 4.0$ ， $\frac{8}{10} + 2 + \frac{8}{10} = 3.6$ ， $\frac{2}{10} + 2 + \frac{8}{10} = 2.7$ ， $\frac{5}{10} + 2 = 2.5$ 。

將此項結果寫為第四表第一行的“顫動比”，依據其對數(第二行)，亦可作圖。

顫	動	比	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.9	3.3	4.6	4.6	3.6	2.7	2.5
對		數	.36	.40	.42	.46	.52	.66	.60	.56	.43	.40
顫	動	數	46	50	52	58	66	92	80	72	54	50
對		數	.66	.70	.72	.76	.82	.96	.90	.86	.73	.70

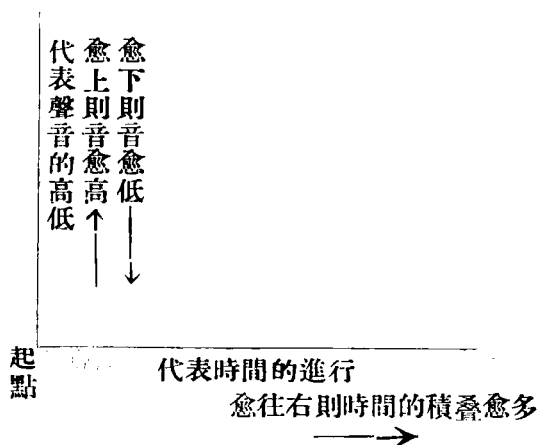
第 四 表

假定各平行線間的距離為 5mm.，而圓柱體的面（即烟薰紙的面），每秒鐘行走 100 mm.，則 $\frac{100}{5} = 20$ ，即兩平行線間的距離所代表的是 $\frac{1}{20}$ 秒。今第一段中有 2.3 顫動，而其時間則為 $\frac{1}{20}$ 秒，則每顫動所佔有之平均時間應為 $\frac{1}{20 \times 2.3} = \frac{1}{46}$ 秒；換句話說，就是這 2.3 顫動中的每一顫動，平均在一秒鐘中顫動 46 次。依此類推，求得表中第三行的“顫動數”，及第四行的“對數”。

為便於述說起見，我們可以稱第 10 節的推斷法為“乙一推斷法”，稱第 11 節的推斷法為“乙二推斷法”。

12) 推斷所得結果，只是許多數字，看上去仍是一盤散沙。必須依據所得數字畫起圖來，然後音高的起落，才可以一目了然。所以作圖是推斷的最後一步工作。

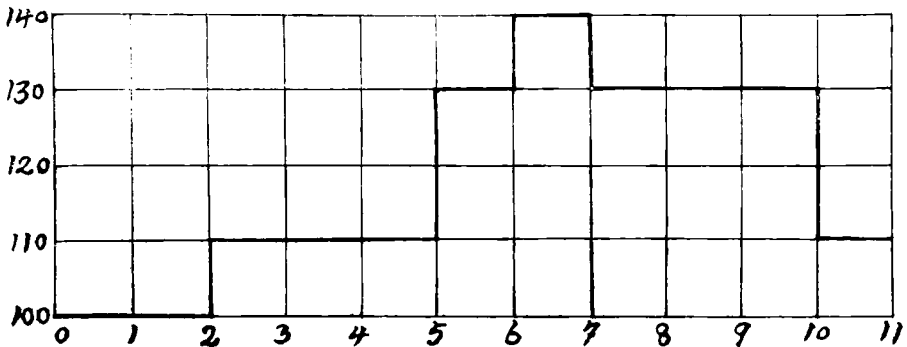
畫圖時，通常用 1mm. 的方格紙，以直的方向代表聲音的高低，以橫的方向代表時間的進行，如第九圖。



第 九 圖

至於以方格紙中的一格，代表數字中的若干，却可以斟酌情形，自由規定；而且橫直兩方向，不必取同一標準。

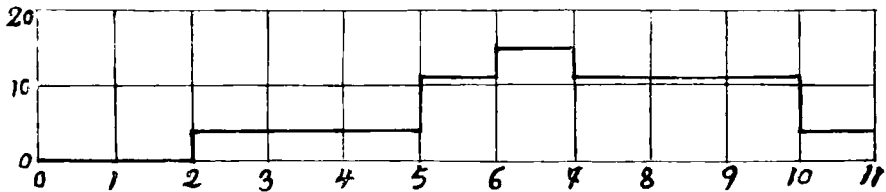
13) 如第十圖，是依據甲一推斷法所得顫動數（第一表第二行）畫成的。圖中直的方面以 1mm. 代表一顫動，橫的方面，以 10mm. 代表推斷時的一段。（因 1mm. 的方



第 十 圖

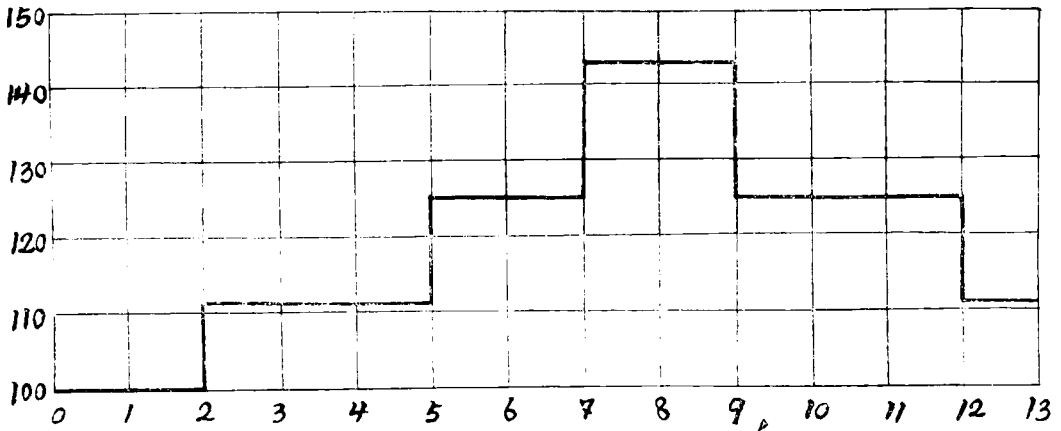
格不容易製板，所以現在的圖裡，只有 10mm. 的方格，以下諸圖準此。）

這樣直接用顫動數畫在圖裡，所表顯的只是顫動數增進或減少的比例，並不是音高起落的比例。雖然這方法直到現在還有人用，究竟是不合理的。合理的圖，應當依據顫動數的對數（第一表第三行），如第十一圖。



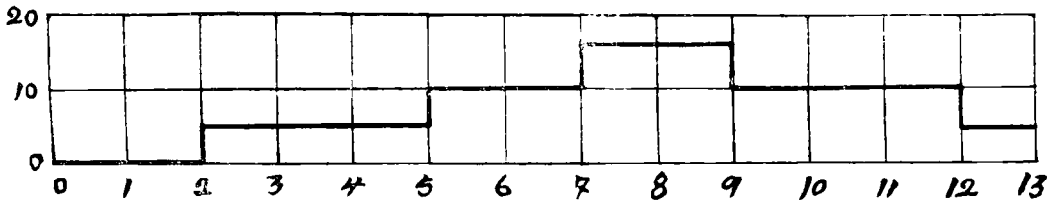
第 十 一 圖

14) 同樣，依甲二推斷法所得顫動數（第二表第三行）畫成第十二圖。



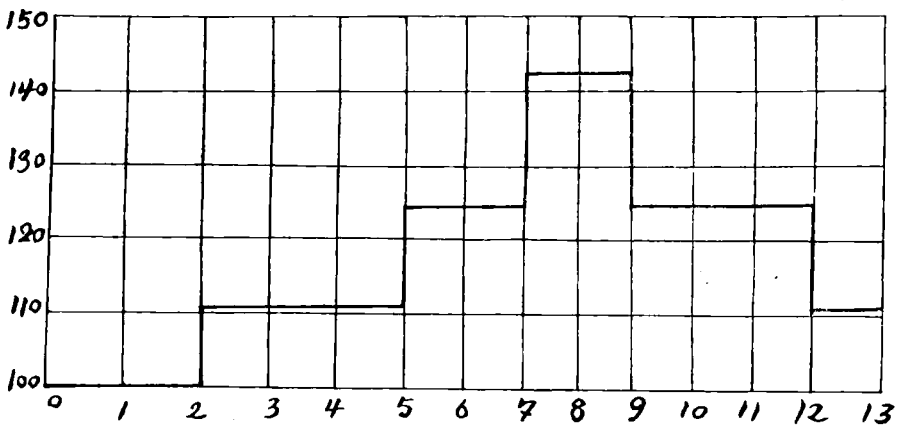
第十二圖

若用其比例數之反對數(第二行)或漲動數之對數(第四行),則得第十三圖。

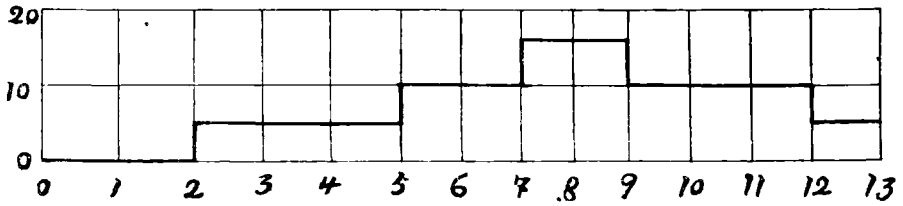


第十三圖

這十二三兩圖,都不是正確的。因為圖中橫的方面以 10mm. 代表推斷時的一段;這 10mm. 是始終一致的,是彼此相等的,而推斷時的各段,却是有長有短,並不相等。所以,若要作正確的圖,應以各段自有之長短為比例,將第十二圖校改為第十四圖,第十三圖校改為第十五圖。



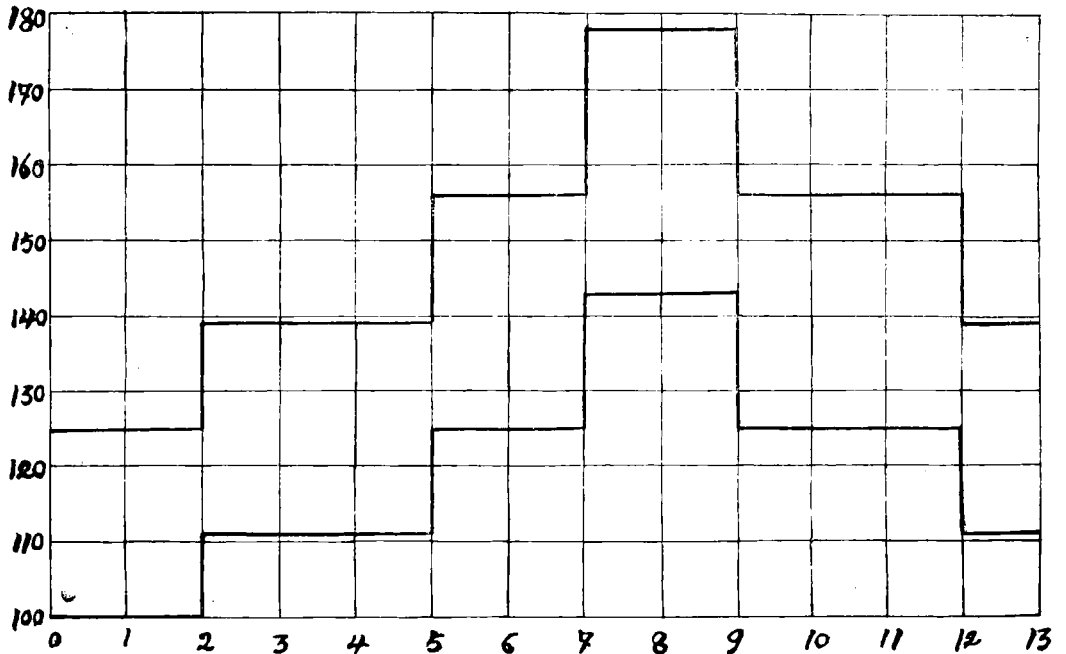
第十四圖



第十五圖

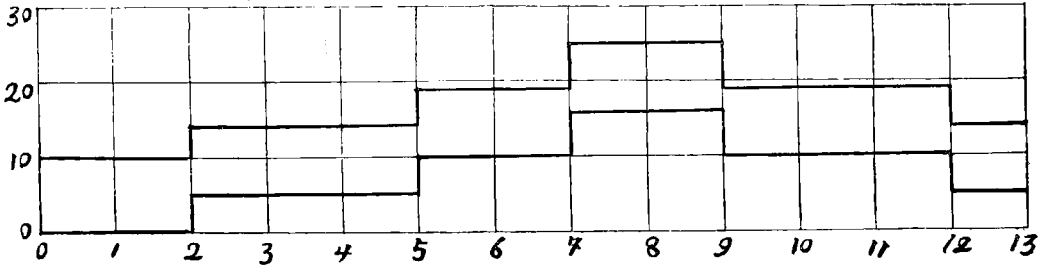
不過這種校改，在事實上是不可可能的，因為在推斷時，我們並沒有把各段的長短正確量過，又如何能把它的正確的比例數畫在圖中，至多也不過約略校正一些就是了。甲二推斷法最大的缺點，就在這上面。

15) 同樣，依乙一推斷法所得顫動數，畫成第十六圖。圖中有兩條曲折線，下一線依據第三表第四行之“顫動數(甲)”，上一線依據第六行之“顫動數(乙)”。



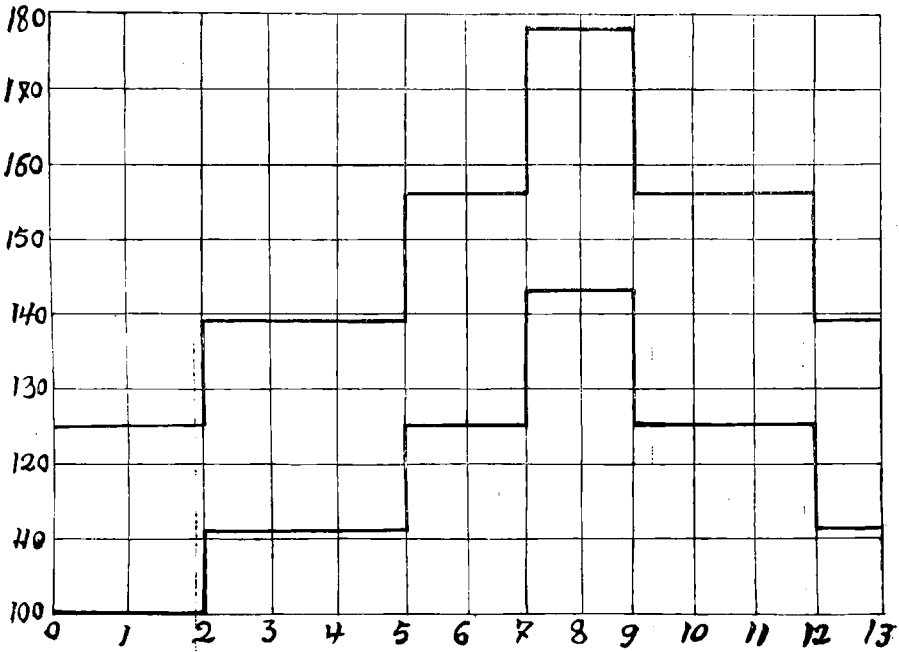
第十六圖

若用其對數，則得第十七圖。圖中下一曲折線依據表中第三行的“反對數”，或第五行的“對數(甲)”，上一曲折線依據第七行的“對數(乙)”。

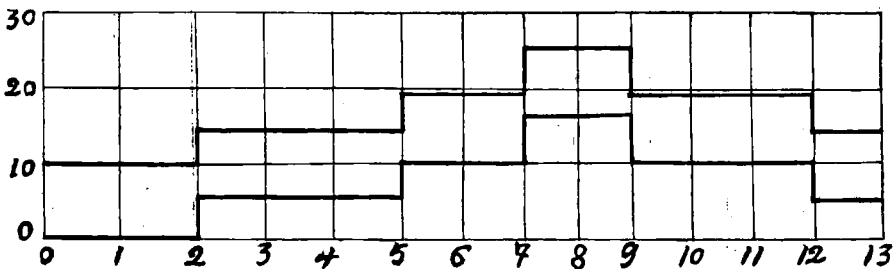


第 十 七 圖

若依前節所說，加以校正，則第十六圖應改為第十八圖，第十七圖應改為第十九圖。



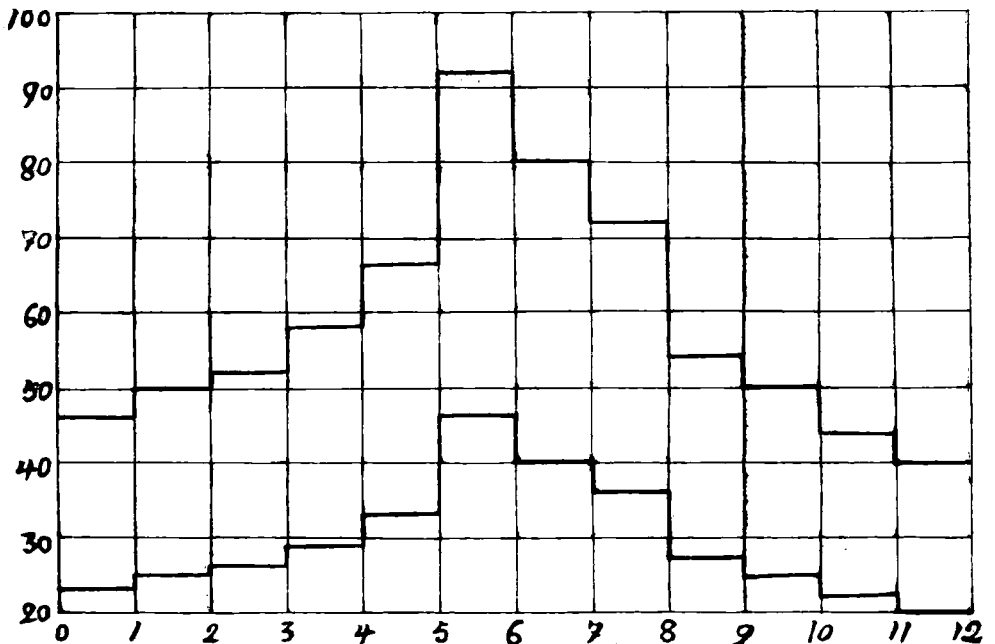
第 十 八 圖



第 十 九 圖

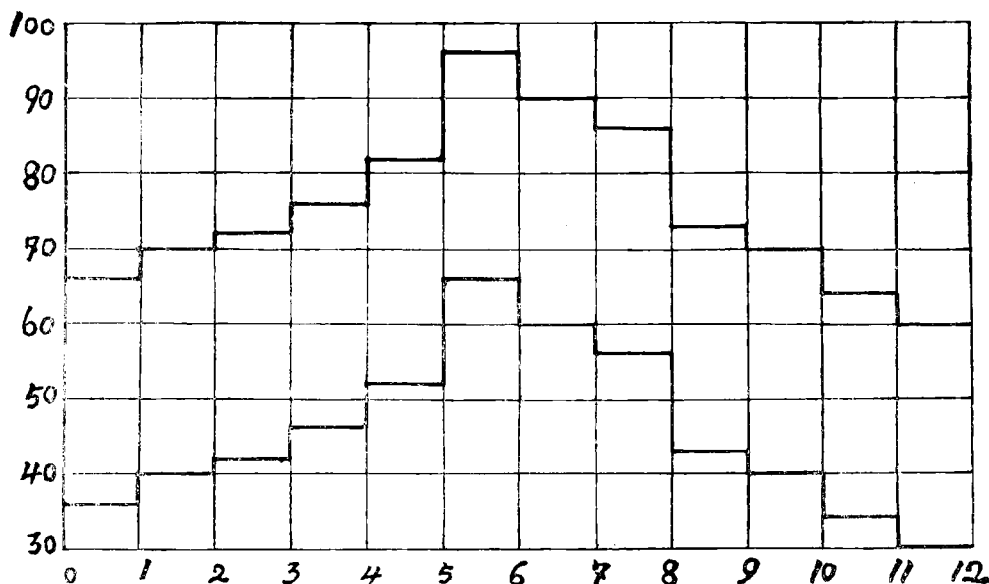
我們在推斷時，已經量得各段（即各顫動）的長度，所以在校正時，無論是直接依據長度，或者是依據長度的比例數，照理說，都應當是很容易的。可是，我們現在所畫的圖，因為要表示得明顯起見，所以在橫的方面，把 10mm. 代表一段（就本節言，則為一顫動）。若在實際工作上也是如此，則一秒鐘的語音，畫出圖來要有 1000 mm. 或 1250mm. 長，那是絕對不能適用的。實際工作上所畫的圖，大約以 150mm. 至 200mm. 代表一秒鐘為最相宜。而浪線計上烟薰紙行走的速率，就試驗音高而論，也以一秒鐘行走 150mm. 至 200mm. 為最好。所以，畫圖時，圖面各顫動之長，最好就用烟薰紙上各顫動之原長。而烟薰紙上各顫動之原長，用玻璃小尺去量到 $\frac{1}{10}$ mm. 的精密是容易的，要依據玻璃小尺之所量，還畫到紙上去，仍有 $\frac{1}{10}$ 的精密，那就是一般人所萬難做到的。我們畫圖時，要求 1mm. 的精密是容易的，要求 $\frac{1}{2}$ mm. 的精密就得十分用心，要求 $\frac{1}{3}$ 或 $\frac{1}{4}$ mm. 的精密就很困難，不要再說以下的 $\frac{1}{5}$ 或 $\frac{1}{10}$ 。所以，這乙一推斷法的長度校正，終於是不能十分精密的。

16) 依乙二推斷法所得“顫動比”(第四表第一行)及“顫動數”(第三行)，可以畫成第二十圖中的兩條曲折線(下一條為“顫動比”之十倍，上一條為“顫動數”)。



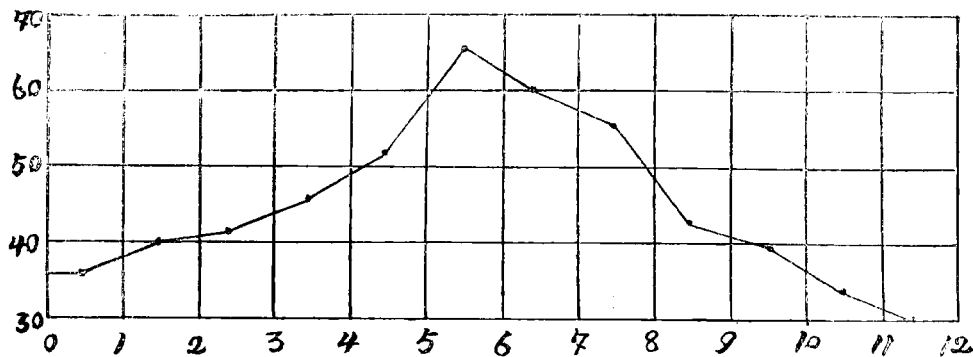
第 二 十 圖

若用其對數，則得第二十一圖。(下一條曲折線為第二行顫動比之對數，上一條為第四行顫動數之對數。)



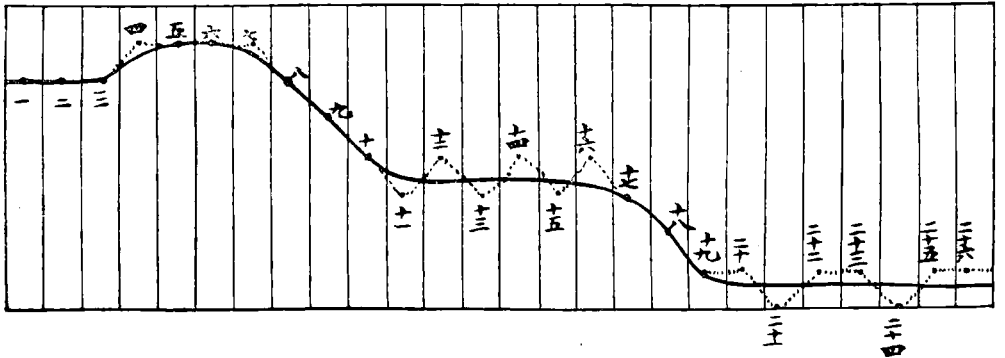
第 二 十 一 圖

17) 以上所作各圖，都是在每一段中畫一條水平線，畫完之後，用垂直線聯絡；所以畫成的曲折線，是階級形的。這是為表顯得明白起見，所以如此。在實際的工作上，應當用小點替代水平線，再用斜線聯絡各小點，成爲一條不規則的曲折線。如第二十一圖中下面的一條曲折線，應變爲第二十二圖中的一條曲折線。



第 二 十 二 圖

但是，語音的起落，照我們耳朵裏所聽見的說，是向上或向下逐漸移滑，並不是向上或向下跳動。所以若要使所畫的圖符合於我們耳朵中所得到的印象：那就應當畫成曲線，不應當畫成曲折線。如第二十三圖，中間有二十六個點（實際畫圖時，點子應當畫得極細，而且全圖畫成之後，應將點子擦去；今為表顯明白起見，特將點子畫大；後同），我們可以用畫自在畫（free-hand drawing）的方法，作成一條曲線（圖中的實線）；若依第二十二圖的方法，則如圖中虛線之所示，四七兩點處應有兩個角，十一至十六各點處，又二十至二十六各點處，應畫成上下交錯的犬齒形，這就和我們耳朵中所得到的語音的印象不符了。



第 二 十 三 圖

但是，所謂用畫自在畫的筆法畫曲線，却並不是信筆一揮，只是不用直尺或曲線板罷了。畫這條曲線時，應當有很仔細的斟酌，如圖中一二三三點，是規則的平進，自然就畫一條水平線，通過各線；四五六七四點也是規則的平進，但因要免除兩只角，故曲線只能通過五七兩點，而在四七兩點處畧畧通融；八九十三點是規則的下降，以曲線通過之；十至十七諸點，均是上下交互，故將曲線在其中央處經過；十七十八十九三點是規則的下降，以曲線通過之；十九至二十六各點，又是上下交互，但上方密而下方稀，故曲線所經過之地，偏於上方。這一個圖裡的各點，比較還是規則的，所以畫起曲線來，並不覺得困難；有時碰到很不規則的點，畫曲線時必須先用鉛筆起草，再三斟酌改正之後，才可以用墨筆畫定。

但圖面上的點子何以能有不規則的現象呢？這裏面的原因，雖然也有許多人揣測

過，但直到現在，還不曾有一種强有力的斷定。將來我打算在這上面作一種專門實驗，希望能有相當的結果，現在且不將靠不住的假定預先說出。

實際工作之一例

18) 前文雖然提起“實際工作”這四個字，但就全體而論，只是把各種推斷法的輪廓大畧說出；當真要做實際工作，就決不能如此簡單。例如從一九二一年到一九二五年，我在巴黎作漢語字聲實驗錄一書時，所採用的方法是乙一法。單就量出各顫動的長度，和基於各顫動的長度以推出各顫動在一秒鐘以內的顫動數而論，其方法亦不外乎前文第10節之所說。說到作圖，却就和第15節裡所說的有些兩樣了。

我作圖時，所用的也是1mm.的方格紙，而且當然也是把直的方面代表音高的起落，把橫的方面代表時間的進行。

圖有大小兩種，就大的說，是在直的方面，以每10mm.代表“等律音階”(gamme tempérée)中的一個“全音”，以5mm.代表一個半音，以1mm.代表一個半音的五分之一，即五個“米里沙法爾”(millisavarts)。

19) 基於這種計劃，我就造成了兩張表。

第五表中，DT一項，是各半音的名目，從 $C_0=32.3$ 顫動起，到 $A_3=435$ 顫動止，中間包有 $3\frac{10}{12}$ “協”(octaves)，就一般的語音(男人的或女人的)而論，已經大致够用的了。

VD項是各半音的顫動數。

L項是各半音的顫動數的對數，即 $\log 435=2.6385$ ； $\log 410.6=2.6134$ 。

D項是對數與對數間的差，即 $2.6385-2.6134=0.0251$ ； $2.6134-2.5883=0.0251$ 。

d項是對數差的五分之一，即 $\frac{0.0251}{5}=0.00502$ 。

第六表是依據第五表造成的，其造法如下：

$$2.6385 = \log 435.0 = A_3,$$

$$2.6385 - 0.00502 = 2.6335 = \log 430.0,$$

$$2.6335 - 0.00502 = 2.6285 = \log 425.1,$$

$$2.6285 - 0.00502 = 2.6234 = \log 420.2,$$

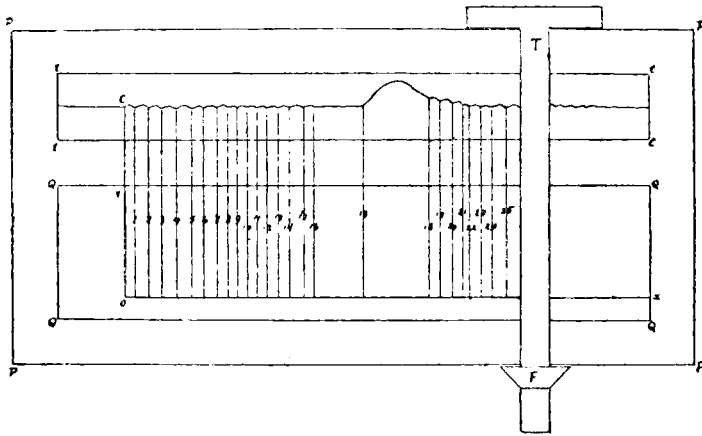
$$2.6234 - 0.00502 = 2.6184 = \log 415.4,$$

$$2.6184 - 0.00502 = 2.6134 = \log 410.6 = G_{\#3}。$$

這第六表造成之後，作圖時，就可以不必求各顫動的顫動數的對數了。例如有某一顫動，其顫動數為 185，只須在假定為 $F_{\#2} = 182.9$ 的一條線的上面一條線上作一個點；若為 187，便在上線；若為 186，則在兩線之間。

這是就大的一種圖說。就小的一種圖說，則以 5mm. 代表一個全音， $2\frac{1}{2}$ mm. 代表一個半音，1mm 代表 $\frac{2}{5}$ 半音，即十個米里沙法爾。（實際上小的一種圖比大的一種更適宜）。因此，在第六表中從 $C_0 = 32.3$ 起，每隔一行，使用肥體字印，使作小圖時，可以一目了然。如在方格紙上取某一橫線代表 $C_3 = 258.7$ ，則上一線便是 264.7，再上一線是 270.9，再上一線是 277.2，再上一線是 283.6，再上一線是 290.3 = D_3 。

20) 欲求各顫動之長度，也能在圖面上相當表顯出來，其法如第二十四圖。



第 二 十 四 圖

圖中 P P P P 是圖畫板；t t t t 是烟薰紙，其中 C 是浪線的開端；Q Q Q Q 是方格紙；T 是丁字尺；F 是將丁字尺喫緊在圖畫板上，使它不能斜動的一個小東西，名叫“定丁”(fixe T)；O Y 是所畫的圖裡的縱軸(arcounée)，即表示高低的標準線；O X

DT.	VD.	L.	D.	d.
si	172.1	2,0867	0,0252	0,00504
la#	115.2	2,0615	0,0248	0,00496
la.	108.3	2,0367	0,0252	0,00504
sol.#	102.7	2,0115	0,0252	0,00504
sol.	96.9	1,9863	0,0249	0,00498
fa#	91.5	1,9614	0,0254	0,00508
fa.	86.3	1,9360	0,0248	0,00496
mi.	81.5	1,9112	0,0253	0,00506
re#	76.9	1,8859	0,0250	0,00500
re.	72.6	1,8604	0,0252	0,00504
ut#	68.5	1,8357	0,0248	0,00496
ut.	64.7	1,8109	0,0250	0,00502
si	61.0	1,7853	0,0249	0,00498
la#	57.6	1,7604	0,0248	0,00496
la.	54.4	1,7350	0,0255	0,00510
sol.#	51.3	1,7101	0,0253	0,00506
sol.	48.4	1,6848	0,0249	0,00498
fa#	45.7	1,6599	0,0244	0,00482
fa.	43.2	1,6355	0,0259	0,00518
mi	40.7	1,6096	0,0247	0,00482
re#	38.5	1,5855	0,0256	0,00512
re.	36.3	1,5599	0,0246	0,00492
ut#	34.3	1,5353	0,0261	0,00522
ut.	32.3	1,5092		

第五表 (續)

DT.	VD.	L.	D.	d.
la.	435.0	2,6385	0,0251	0,00502
sol.#	410.6	2,6154	0,0251	0,00502
sol.	387.5	2,5883	0,0250	0,00500
fa#	365.8	2,5613	0,0251	0,00502
fa.	345.3	2,5382	0,0251	0,00502
mi.	325.9	2,5131	0,0251	0,00502
re#	307.6	2,4880	0,0252	0,00504
re.	290.3	2,4628	0,0250	0,00500
ut#	274.0	2,4378	0,0250	0,00500
ut.	258.7	2,4128	0,0252	0,00504
si.	244.1	2,3876	0,0252	0,00504
la#	230.4	2,3624	0,0249	0,00498
la.	217.5	2,3375	0,0251	0,00502
sol.#	205.3	2,3124	0,0250	0,00500
sol.	193.8	2,2874	0,0252	0,00504
fa#	182.9	2,2622	0,0252	0,00504
fa.	172.6	2,2370	0,0251	0,00502
mi.	162.9	2,2119	0,0250	0,00500
re#	153.8	2,1869	0,0249	0,00498
re.	145.2	2,1620	0,0253	0,00506
ut#	137.0	2,1367	0,0251	0,00502
ut.	129.3	2,1116	0,0249	0,00498

第五表

DT.	V.	L.	DT.	V.	L.	DT.	V.	L.	DT.	V.	L.	DT.	V.	L.	DT.	V.	L.	DT.	V.	L.
la ₁	433.0 430.0 423.1 420.2 415.4	2.6385 2.6335 2.6285 2.6234 2.6184	297.1 293.6 2,4678	205.3 203.0 200.6 198.4 196.1	2.3124 2.3074 2.3024 2.2974 2.2924	sol ₁ #	140.3 138.7 137.0 135.4 133.9	2.1468 2.1418 2.1367 2.1317 2.1266	sol ₁	96.9 96.8 94.7 93.6 92.6	1.9863 1.9813 1.9763 1.9714 1.9664	66.2 65.5 64.7 64.0 63.2	1.8206 1.8159 1.8109 1.8058 1.8007	45.7 45.2 44.7 44.2 43.7	1.6599 1.6550 1.6501 1.6453 1.6404					
sol ₁ #	410.6 401.3 401.9 396.6 389.0	2.6134 2.6084 2.6034 2.5983 2.5933	274.0 270.9 270.8 267.8 261.7	193.8 191.6 189.3 187.2 185.0	2.2874 2.2824 2.2773 2.2723 2.2672	sol ₁	129.3 127.8 126.4 124.9 123.5	2.1116 2.1066 2.1016 2.0967 2.0917	fa ₁	86.3 86.3 84.4 84.5 83.5	1.9360 1.9310 1.9261 1.9211 1.9162	80.8 80.3 78.8 77.8 76.9	1.7704 1.7654 1.7604 1.7554 1.7505	40.7 40.3 39.4 38.9	1.6096 1.6048 1.5999 1.5950					
sol ₁	387.5 383.1 378.7 374.4 370.1	2.5883 2.5833 2.5783 2.5733 2.5683	258.7 255.8 252.7 248.7 240.7	172.6 170.8 168.7 164.7 162.9	2.2370 2.2320 2.2270 2.2219 2.2169	fa ₁	119.3 118.0 116.5 115.2 113.7	2.0766 2.0716 2.0665 2.0615 2.0565	mi ₁	84.5 83.4 82.5 81.5 80.6	1.9112 1.9061 1.9011 1.8960 1.8910	78.7 78.7 77.8 76.9 76.0	1.7406 1.7354 1.7305 1.7253 1.7203	38.5 38.1 37.6 37.2 36.7	1.5855 1.5804 1.5753 1.5701 1.5650					
fa ₁ #	368.8 361.6 357.5 353.4 349.3	2.5633 2.5583 2.5533 2.5482 2.5432	249.9 246.9 240.7 235.8 233.0	161.0 159.2 158.2 157.2 155.5	2.2019 2.1969 2.1919 2.1869 2.1819	mi ₁	108.8 107.6 106.3 105.4 103.9	2.0367 2.0317 2.0266 2.0216 2.0165	re ₁ #	72.6 71.8 71.8 70.1 69.3	1.8609 1.8559 1.8508 1.8458 1.8407	68.3 68.5 67.0 67.0	1.6848 1.6798 1.6748 1.6699	36.3 35.9 35.5 35.1	1.5599 1.5550 1.5501 1.5451					
fa ₁	345.3 341.4 337.5 333.5 329.7	2.5382 2.5332 2.5282 2.5231 2.5181	230.4 227.7 225.4 220.3	153.8 152.0 150.3 148.6 146.9	2.1869 2.1819 2.1769 2.1719 2.1670	re ₁ #	153.8 152.0 150.3 148.6 146.9	2.1869 2.1819 2.1769 2.1719 2.1670	mi ₁	72.6 71.8 71.8 70.1 69.3	1.8609 1.8559 1.8508 1.8458 1.8407	68.3 68.5 67.0 67.0	1.6848 1.6798 1.6748 1.6699	34.3 33.9 33.5 33.1	1.5333 1.5301 1.5249 1.5196					
mi ₁	328.9 322.1 318.4 314.8 311.2	2.5131 2.5081 2.5030 2.4980 2.4930	220.3 220.3 215.0 212.5 207.7	145.2 143.5 141.9	2.1620 2.1569 2.1519	re ₁ #	145.2 143.5 141.9	2.1620 2.1569 2.1519	mi ₁	72.6 71.8 71.8 70.1 69.3	1.8609 1.8559 1.8508 1.8458 1.8407	68.3 68.5 67.0 67.0	1.6848 1.6798 1.6748 1.6699	32.3	1.5092					
re ₁ #	307.6 304.1 300.5	2.4880 2.4830 2.4779	207.7	141.9	2.1519	re ₁ #	141.9	2.1519	mi ₁	72.6 71.8 71.8 70.1 69.3	1.8609 1.8559 1.8508 1.8458 1.8407	68.3 68.5 67.0 67.0	1.6848 1.6798 1.6748 1.6699	32.3	1.5092					

第六表

是底座 (abscisse) 即表示時間的標準線。作圖時，先將烟薰紙與方格紙配置好，使 C 點與 OY 線正對，然後借着丁字尺的幫助，以浪線中每一顫動之界點為標準，畫成 1, 2, 3, 4, ……等平行線，與 OY 平行，與 OX 正交。（應先用此法畫好各平行線，然後依前節所說之法，定各顫動的高低點。）

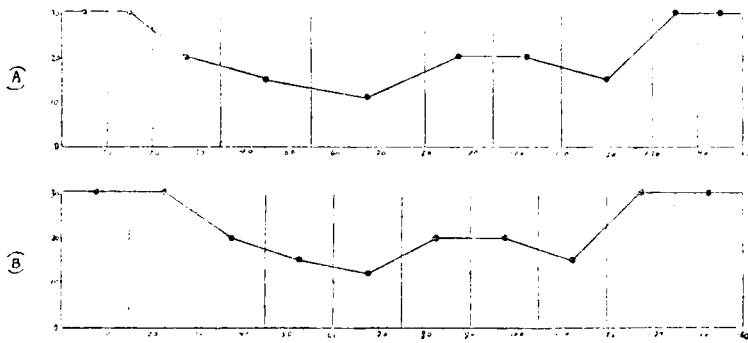
用這種方法定各顫動的長度，當然不能十分正確的，因為肉眼的精密度，當然不能到十分之一 mm。例如有一個顫動，其長度為 2.4 mm，畫到圖上，或者變成了 2.3，2.2，或者變成了 2.5，2.6；但就全圖而論，用了這方法，總可以在長度上有相當的補正。譬如有十個顫動，其長度之比為：

10 10 15 20 25 15 15 20 10 10

其顫動之數比為：

30 30 20 15 12 20 20 15 30 30

若用此法，即有相當的錯誤，所得曲線的總體，總與第二十五圖中的 (A) 相差不多；若用一般不注意這一點的人的方法，把各顫動看作一樣長，所得結果應是圖中的 (B)，那就錯得太多了。



第 二 十 五 圖

21] 一個實例：如江世義君所說安徽旌德方言中一個“凍”字，共有七十六個顫動，各顫動的長度及顫動數，如第七表。（烟薰紙每秒鐘行走 191 mm，以各顫動的長度除之，得顫動數。）

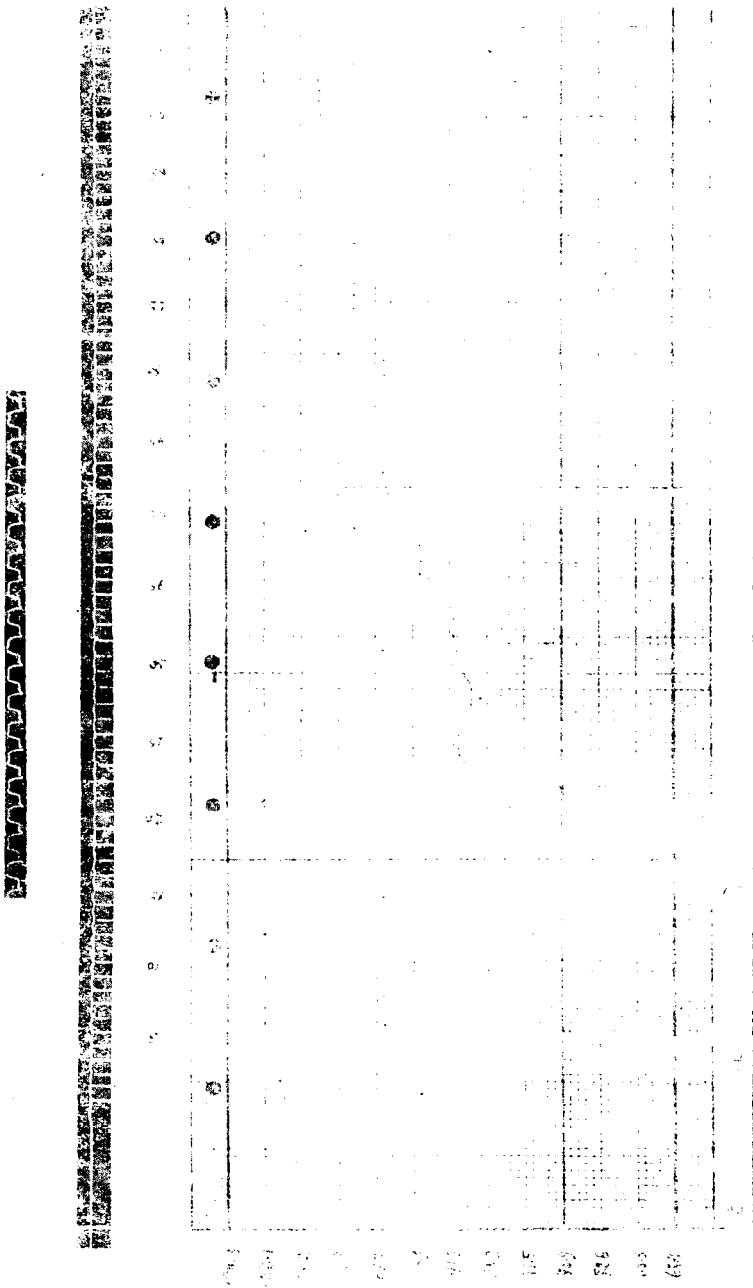
	L.	V.	D.	L.	V.	D.	L.	V.	D.	L.	V.	D.
1	20		95	20	21	91	39	18	1.6	58	18	106
2	16		119	21	21	91	40	21	9	59	17	112
3	18		1.6	22	22	87	41	19	101	60	18	106
4	17		112	23	22	87	42	19	101	61	18	106
5	19		101	24	21	91	43	19	101	62	18	106
6	19		101	25	21	91	44	19	101	63	18	106
7	18		106	26	21	91	45	18	106	64	16	119
8	19		101	27	20	95	46	19	101	65	18	106
9	19		101	28	22	87	47	19	101	66	8	112
10	19		101	29	22	87	48	18	106	67	17	112
11	19		101	30	21	91	49	17	1.2	68	17	112
12	19		101	31	19	101	50	19	101	69	16	119
13	19		101	32	21	91	51	19	101	70	17	112
14	20		95	33	21	91	52	17	112	71	17	112
15	19		1.1	34	21	91	53	18	1.6	72	17	112
16	21		91	35	20	95	54	18	1.6	73	17	112
17	20		95	36	22	95	55	8	1.6	74	18	106
18	20		95	37	20	95	56	18	1.6	75	18	106
19	21		91	38	20	95	57	18	1.6	76	18	106

第七表

依法作圖，其情況如第二十六圖。（此圖原見本段因下空太少無法排入故移置 155 面校者識）圖中第一條浪線呈電流音義的浪線，每五十頓動為一秒（此與作圖無關，只是列入圖中，以供參考而已。）；第二條浪線即“凍”字的浪線；下面是用方格紙所畫成的圖，以 10mm. 代表一個全音，5mm. 代表一個半音。

聲 調 推 斷 尺

22) 如上文所說，可見推斷聲調，在理論上並沒有什麼高深難於明瞭處，只是工作異常煩苦，一般人都沒有耐心做。即使碰到了有耐心的人，也要把很豐富的時間給了他，才可以希望有相當的成績。而且，這種工作做得太多了，在生理上也很不相宜：很好的眼睛可以變做近視，背可以變彎，又因垂頭的時候太久，肺量愈變愈小，很容易鬧成肺病。我因為預備一部漢語字聲實驗錄，用乙一法（比較最精密而工作最

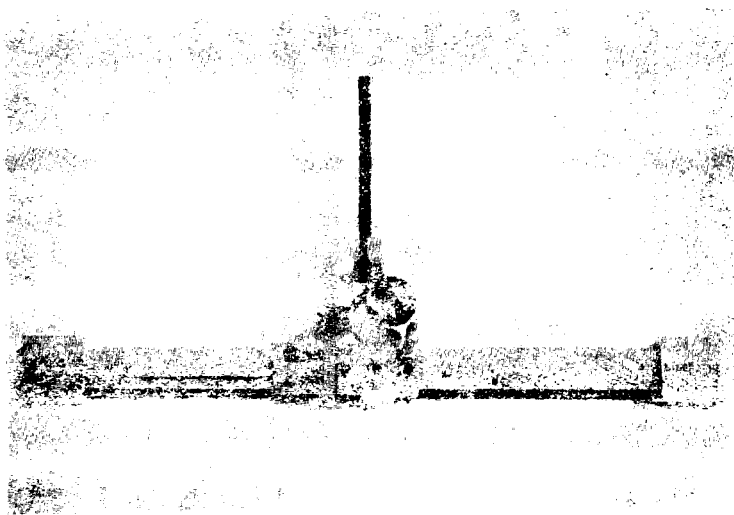


第 二 十 六 圖

煩苦的一種)工作了數年,雖然沒有鬧成病(但彎腰曲背,已彰彰在人耳目!),而花了多量的時間,所得結果如此之少,回想起來,總不得不認為生平第一最不上算事。

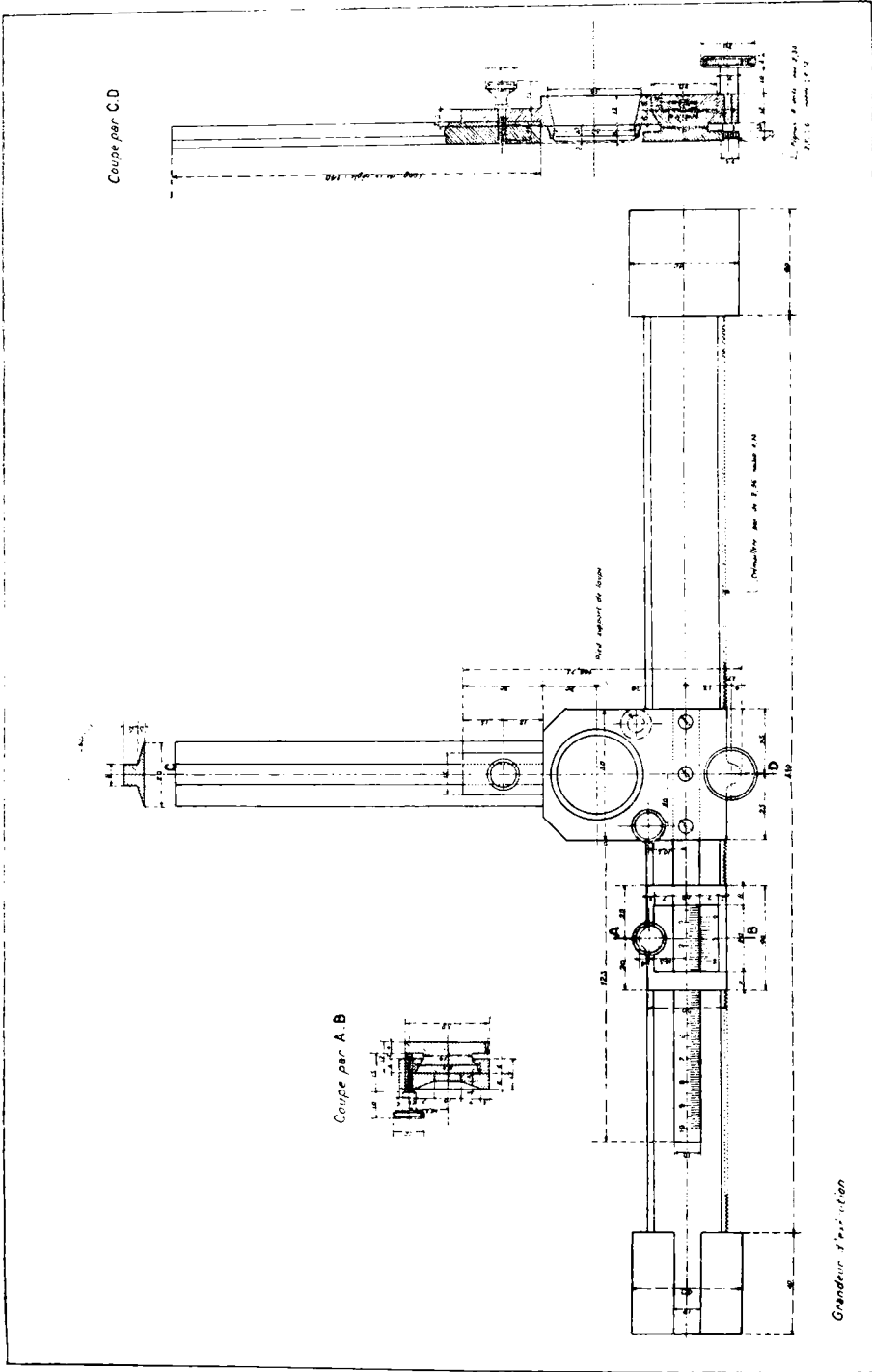
我的“聲調推算尺”,就是做了數年苦工之後設計製造起來的。製造完成時,先在字聲實驗錄的附錄中將大概情形發表過;因為當時想不到適當的名稱,所以就用我自己的姓,稱為“Lingraphie”(趙元任戲譯為“劉氏尺”)。現在覺得“聲調推算尺”五個字還很妥當,那個舊名字可以取消了。

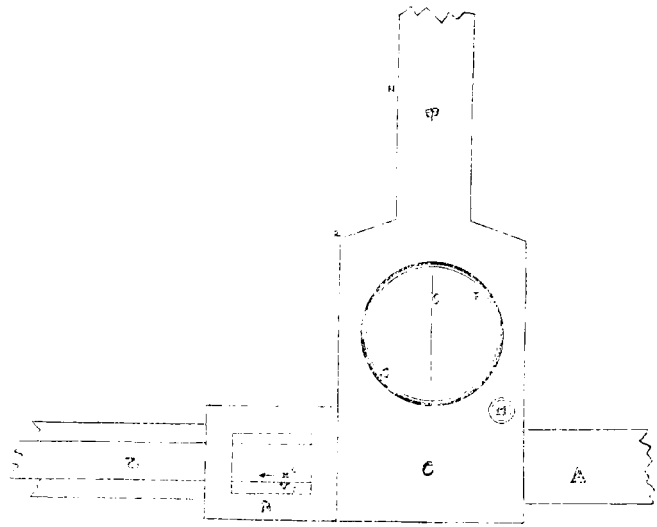
23) 第二十七圖是製造此尺的設計,第二十八圖是製造完成以後的攝影。



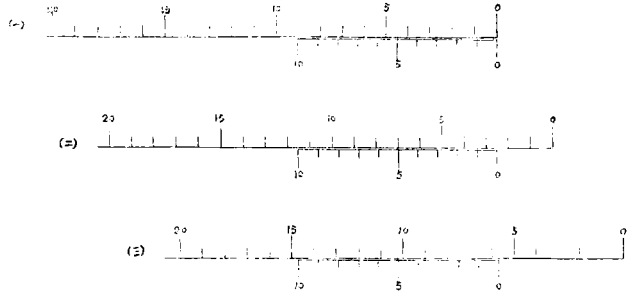
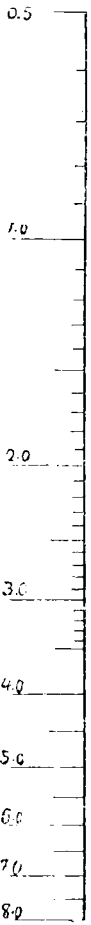
第 二 十 八 圖

欲明瞭其用法,可看第二十九圖(此圖只求表顯各部分之作用,其比例與原器不合;後文第三十二圖亦然)。圖中有一定尺(A),兩活尺(B與C)。定尺A是沒有什麼作用的,只是做一個座子,使B,C兩活尺可以裝在上面左右移動;同時有相當的重量,可以使全器固定在紙面上。B尺是一個方形的框子。C尺是一個矩形的東西,其上有兩支:甲支垂直,乙支水平(即甲支與定尺A正交,乙之與之平行)。甲支之N邊依對數刻度,略如第三十圖(此圖只畧示大概,原器所刻線紋,係按四位對數表算出,用顯微鏡刻度橫刻成)。乙支通過活尺B的方框,其上下兩邊,與方框的上下兩



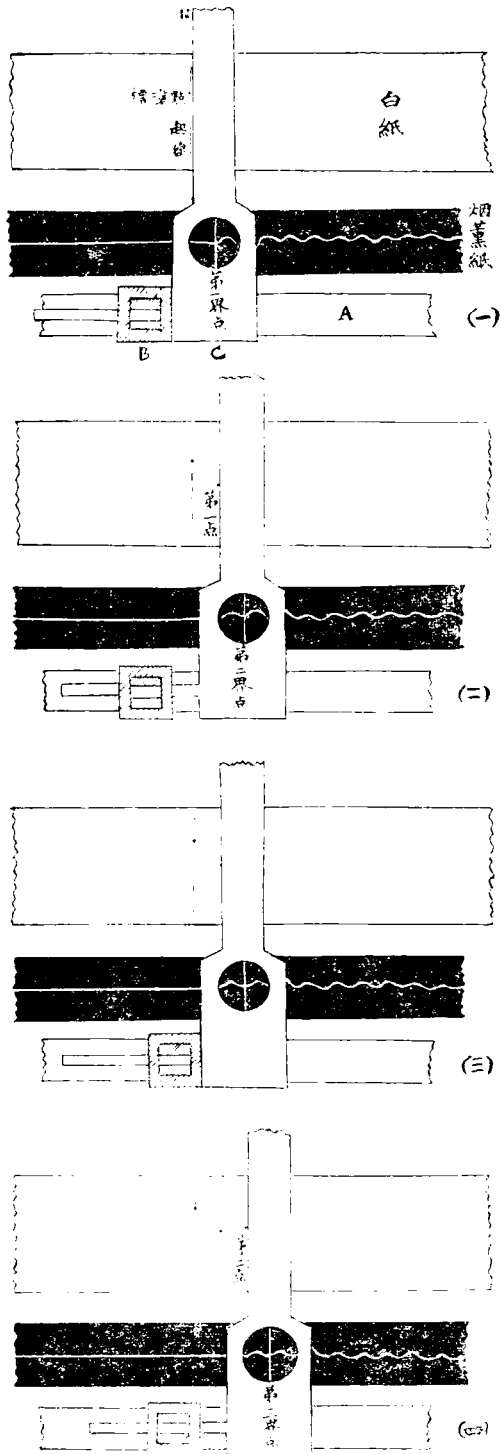


第二十九圖



第三十圖

內邊相密切。自乙支下邊的X點起，向左(如矢印所示)依普通米突尺的方法，從0刻至200mm.；即於方框的下內邊，與X相對之處，作一 vernier (V)。 (Vernier 是一個附麗於大尺的小尺。如第三十一圖(一)，上方從0刻至20的是大尺，下方從0刻至10的是小尺。小尺上的0至10，相當於大尺上的0至9，所以小尺中的1，等於大尺中的9。這大小二尺，必定有一個是固定的，一個是活動的。假如大尺是活動的，小尺是固定的，則在本圖(一)的時候，兩尺的0在同一直線上，小尺的10也正對着大尺中的某一線，就可見大尺還並沒有移



第三十二圖

動；在本圖(二)的時候，小尺的0已在大尺的2與3之間，小尺的5，正對着大尺的某一線(不管它是什麼線)，就是大尺已經向右移動了2.5單位(如以mm.為單位，則已移動2.5mm.)；在本圖(三)的時候，小尺的0在大尺的5與6之間，小尺的7，正對着大尺的某一處，就是大尺已經移動了5.7單位了。)在A, B兩活尺相接觸的時候，即B尺的QP邊，與C尺的RP邊合成一條RQP直線的時候，X尺的0，與Vernier的0同在一條直線上(即第二十九圖中的狀況)。若兩個活尺中有一個移動了，其移動的多少，可以在X, V處看出。因為X尺是依mm.刻的，Vernier是依 $\frac{9}{10}$ mm.做成的，所以結果能有 $\frac{1}{10}$ mm.的精密。FG是C尺上所開的一個圓孔，孔底鑲一塊玻璃；玻璃的下面，刻一條極細的紅線S；將尺放在紙上的時候，這S線與紙面密接。M處可以裝一個立柱，柱上裝一個廓大鏡(參觀第二十八圖)，用以看S線是否確在烟薰紙上的各顫動的界點上。

24) 應用此尺之法如第三十二圖(一)，先在圖畫板上鋪一張白紙，白紙之下方，放所要推斷的一張烟薰紙，均用圖畫釘釘定。於是將推斷尺放上，務使

- (1) 定尺A，與烟薰紙上的浪線平行；
- (2) 活尺C的甲支，大部分在白紙上；
- (3) 浪線在活尺C的圓孔的中央；
- (4) 圓孔玻璃下面所刻的紅線，正壓在浪線的第一界點上；
- (5) B, C兩活尺相密切。

這樣安排好了，就用鉛筆沿着活尺C的N邊，在白紙上畫一條線，叫做“起線”；隨在起線上作一個“標準點”。這標準點是依 $C_2 = 129.3$ 算出的。假如烟薰紙每秒鐘行走189.1mm.，則 $\frac{189.1}{129.3} = 1.46$ ；意即烟薰紙行走的速率是每秒189.1mm.的時候， $C_2 = 129.3$ 的每一顫動，應在紙上佔有1.46mm.的長度。於是，我們就在N邊上找到1.46的地位，在起線上作一個點，即標準點。

於是將活尺C漸漸向右移，直移到玻璃下面的紅線，正壓在浪線中的第二界點上，隨着活尺C的X，與活尺B的V相切處，數目是多少；假如是1.9，即於活尺C的N邊上，找到1.9的地位，用鉛筆在白紙上作一點，是為“第一點”，如本圖之

(二)。

隨將活尺 B 向右移，使與活尺 C 相接觸，如本圖之(三)。

再將活尺 C 向右移，直移到紅線壓在節三界點上，看 X, V 處數目是多少；假如是 1.8，即於 N 邊 1.8 的地位，在白紙上作一點，是為第二點。

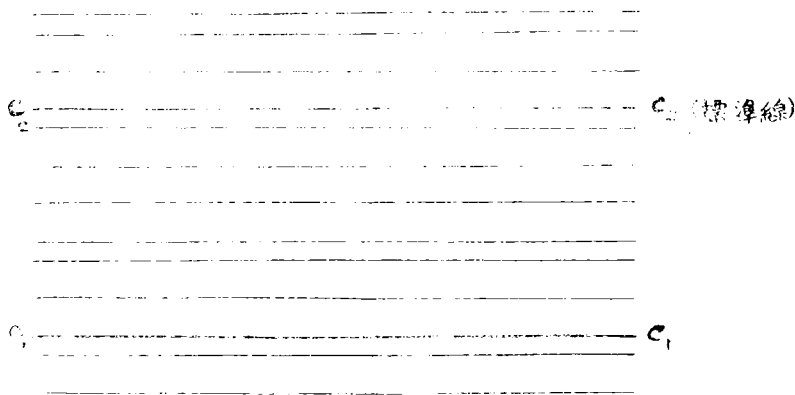
如此推去，直推到末了一點為止。

作末了一點之後，隨用鉛筆沿 N 邊畫一條線，是為“終線”，更在終線上依 1.46 的地位，作一標準點。

依第 17 節所說，用畫自在畫的方法，畫成一條曲線，是為音高起落線。

連結起線及終線上的兩標準點，作一直線，是為“標準線”。

如第三十三圖，由標準線 C_2 向上或向下，凡音階中各音，相隔一全音者，則隔 5mm. 作一平行線；相隔一半音者，則隔 $2\frac{1}{2}$ mm. 作一平行線；凡遇 G 處，均用粗

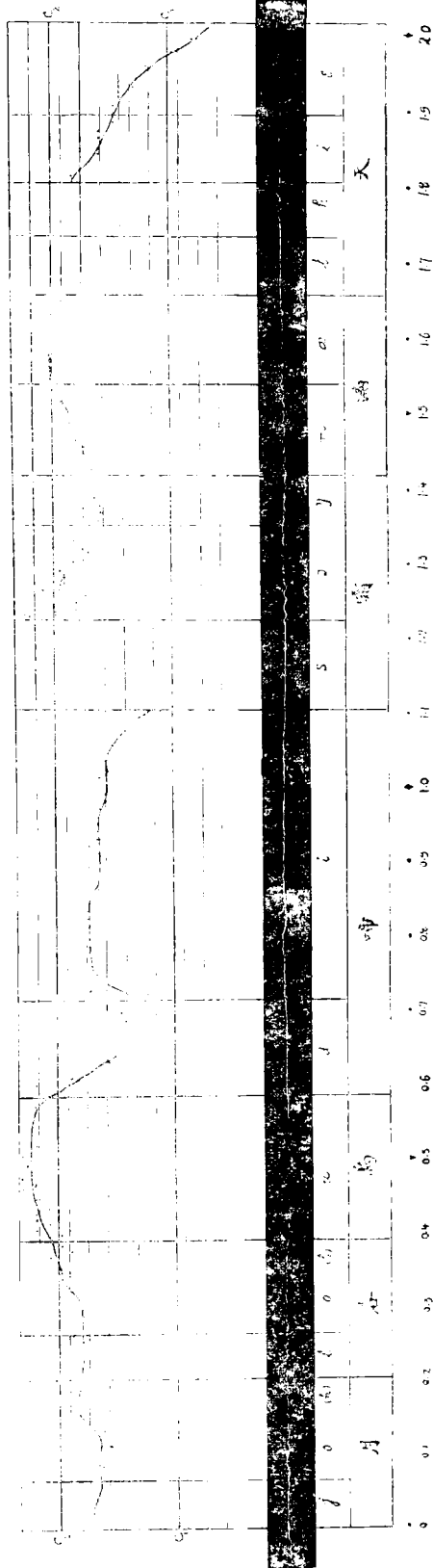


第 三 十 三 圖

線，兩粗線之間為一“協”，共距離為 30mm. (這是作音高起落圖最適當的比例，即第 19 節中所說的小的一種圖的比例；推算尺的 N 邊的對數，是依此比例算定的)。

25) 第三十四圖是用推斷尺推斷我自己所讀“月落烏啼霜滿天”一句的聲調 (是直讀式，不是吟誦式) 的結果；圖中最上一層是音高的起落，其次是說音的浪線，再次是音素的分析，再次是標示時間的點子，每兩點間的距離，代表十分之一秒。

我作這一張圖，從開始推斷起，到畫完末了一筆止，通共用了三點五十三分鐘的



第 三 十 四 圖

時間，連中間零碎的休息（吸烟喝茶等），也包括在內。若用乙一法，至少也得兩整天。

用推斷尺不但可以節省時間與勞力，而且所得結果，比任何推斷法更精密，因為普通推斷法所得的結果，是經過了許多次的間接得來的（先量線次計算，再次求對數，再次作圖），每經過一次間接，就有增加一份錯謬的可能（如小數的抹去），用推斷尺，却完全是直接的工作（一面量，一面就作圖，所以錯誤的成分，就減縮到了最小度了。又用普通推斷法作圖，只用兩位對數，這推斷尺上的對數，却用了四位，錯誤的成分就愈加少了。最重要的，就是前文14，20兩節中所說到的各顫動的長度問題，這問題在用甲二乙一兩法時，是無論如何不能正確解決的；盡人力之所及，只是多少校正一點；用推斷尺，却可以使各顫動的長度，自然而然的 (automatiquement) 在紙面上正確表出，不必要我們重費一番勞苦而無謂的工夫。

（十八年二月五日寫訖。）

聲調之推斷及“聲調推斷尺”之製造與用法正誤

頁數	行數	原文	改正
133	7	滿夠精的結果	滿夠精密的結果
138	末行	；	：
140	17	把這明角片覆合在烟薰	把這明角片蒙在烟薰紙
		紙上	上
	末3行	$\frac{2}{10} + 2 + \frac{8}{10} = 2.7,$	$\frac{2}{10} + 2 + \frac{5}{10} = 2.7,$
141	1	顫動比第七位 4.6	4.0
146	11	或 $\frac{1}{10}$ 3	或 $\frac{1}{10}$ 了
150	7	便在上線	便再上一線
	14	欲求各顫動之長度，	欲求各顫動之長度
	14	其法如第二十四圖。	其法如第二十四圖：
	末行	ardounée	ordounée
153	1	(abscisse)	(abscisse)，
160	2	移動了 2.5 單位 3	移動了 2.5 單位了
	5	正對着大尺的某一處	正對着大尺的某一線
161	末3行	其次是說音的浪線	其次是語音的浪線
163	3	比伍何	比任何
	4	先量線	先量線，
	5	錯謬	錯誤
	6	一面就作圖，	一面就作圖)，

慧琳一切經音義反切聲類攷

黃 澤 伯

反切以上字定聲。同聲類字，即可彼此互切。故攷索一切經音義反切之聲類，裒輯其所注之反切上字，分別觀其所切，復爲何字，其同類者，必能系聯成貫也。比次其類，爲聲類考。

每類擇其共切之字，標爲某類之名。共有一類中，以等位不同，復分數系者，則擇其共切之字，舉爲一系之目，分繫大類之下。此與字母家用同聲類字爲字母名稱之意正同。

各類比次之法，依用今日語音學之著論，以各類發音之部位，分爲八組。曰舌根音，居、羌、渠、魚、呼、胡、六類屬之；曰喉音，烏、以、二類屬之；曰舌面前音，陟、敕、直、之、昌、時、式、而、八類屬之；曰舌尖後音，側、楚、仕、所、四類屬之；曰舌尖音，奴、力、都、他、徒、五類屬之；曰舌尖前音，子、七、情、先、四類屬之；曰雙唇音，包舉補、普、蒲、莫、四類；曰唇齒音，兼賅方、扶、武、三類。如此假設排列，不知當時之音位，果言若是。然依用舊說，終不易使人得明確之辨識也。

一類之中，兼分數系者，依據諸切上字系聯之跡象，參覈指掌圖之等位。不意此種材料，竟能翕然有合，故各系之先後，即依等位之數定之。

各系反切上字，以少數字之錯亂，遂使彼此膠漆，此不過十之一二耳。本然之界畫，簡約然具見於大多數之音切中。故各系不規則之音切，雖復並存，但點識之，示其歧誤，不足據信。

每類中無切徵引之字，率以他字用之爲直音者替代之，如居類居系君字無切，而磨字讀居雲等切，並直音君，則居雲切亦即爲君字切也，故次磨於君下，以承其乏。其既無切可徵，而又不見他字用之爲直音可替代者，惟附書本類之後也。又以切語希

昌類

昌	猖	唱	敞	敞	唱	充	昌	修	昌	處	昌	穿	昌	專	專	專	喘	喘	川	喘	川	釧	穿	川	吹	吹	出	齒	推	
<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	
出	齒	昌	蚩	鴟	鴟	鸚	商	昌	叱	叱	曉	噴	昌	蚩	蚩	蚩	商	蚩	商	蚩	赤	關	昌	蚩	醜	去	昌	齒	尺	廣
<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>
佳	止	止	止	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時	時
<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>	<small>(音昌)</small>

總本類反切上字，共三十有二。無切可攷者七字，錄後：

川聾噴春唱亦出

時類

肯	乘	時	市	尚	慎	賢	時	時	受	受	酬	壽	壽	傳	酬	哇	哇	壽	受	授	酬	維	是	砥
<small>(音是)</small>	<small>(音乘)</small>	<small>(音時)</small>	<small>(音市)</small>	<small>(音尚)</small>	<small>(音慎)</small>	<small>(音賢)</small>	<small>(音時)</small>	<small>(音時)</small>	<small>(音受)</small>	<small>(音受)</small>	<small>(音酬)</small>	<small>(音壽)</small>	<small>(音壽)</small>	<small>(音傳)</small>	<small>(音酬)</small>	<small>(音哇)</small>	<small>(音哇)</small>	<small>(音壽)</small>	<small>(音受)</small>	<small>(音授)</small>	<small>(音酬)</small>	<small>(音維)</small>	<small>(音是)</small>	<small>(音砥)</small>
垂	僮	睡	過	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊	殊
<small>(音垂)</small>	<small>(音僮)</small>	<small>(音睡)</small>	<small>(音過)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>	<small>(音殊)</small>
常	時	食	石	射	時	食	成	盛	音	石	蛇	常	食	射	時	社	蟬	蟬	常	時	善	善	善	善
<small>(音常)</small>	<small>(音時)</small>	<small>(音食)</small>	<small>(音石)</small>	<small>(音射)</small>	<small>(音時)</small>	<small>(音食)</small>	<small>(音成)</small>	<small>(音盛)</small>	<small>(音石)</small>	<small>(音蛇)</small>	<small>(音常)</small>	<small>(音食)</small>	<small>(音射)</small>	<small>(音時)</small>	<small>(音社)</small>	<small>(音蟬)</small>	<small>(音蟬)</small>	<small>(音蟬)</small>	<small>(音常)</small>	<small>(音時)</small>	<small>(音善)</small>	<small>(音善)</small>	<small>(音善)</small>	<small>(音善)</small>

切韻攷聲類，乘、神、食、質、等字，與牀、助、材、士、等字，於三十六母中，俱屬牀母。自陳氏攷定之後，始知分立。本編聲類，乘助之分，與切韻無異。惟禪母與乘神一類字，融乳爲一，是新獲耳。

總本類反切上字，共四十五。無切可攷者十一字，錄後：

殊愁示維辰臣祠狫甚社拾

式類

式	傷	傷	式	賞	於	書	賞	傷	瑞	傷	設	設	糴	扇	設	糴	輸	輸	式	攝	商	施	書	式	舒	式	暑	始
<small>(音式)</small>	<small>(音傷)</small>	<small>(音傷)</small>	<small>(音式)</small>	<small>(音賞)</small>	<small>(音於)</small>	<small>(音書)</small>	<small>(音賞)</small>	<small>(音傷)</small>	<small>(音瑞)</small>	<small>(音傷)</small>	<small>(音設)</small>	<small>(音設)</small>	<small>(音糴)</small>	<small>(音扇)</small>	<small>(音設)</small>	<small>(音糴)</small>	<small>(音輸)</small>	<small>(音輸)</small>	<small>(音式)</small>	<small>(音攝)</small>	<small>(音商)</small>	<small>(音施)</small>	<small>(音書)</small>	<small>(音式)</small>	<small>(音舒)</small>	<small>(音式)</small>	<small>(音暑)</small>	<small>(音始)</small>
戾	矢	尸	尸	屍	試	尸	深	尸	傷	案	翅	尸	設	施	異	中	失	眞										
<small>(音戾)</small>	<small>(音矢)</small>	<small>(音尸)</small>	<small>(音尸)</small>	<small>(音屍)</small>	<small>(音試)</small>	<small>(音尸)</small>	<small>(音深)</small>	<small>(音尸)</small>	<small>(音傷)</small>	<small>(音案)</small>	<small>(音翅)</small>	<small>(音尸)</small>	<small>(音設)</small>	<small>(音施)</small>	<small>(音異)</small>	<small>(音中)</small>	<small>(音失)</small>	<small>(音眞)</small>										
昇	陞	識	入	聲	掬	翰	倏	字	切	同	用	則	識	昇	式	類	也											
<small>(音昇)</small>	<small>(音陞)</small>	<small>(音識)</small>	<small>(音入)</small>	<small>(音聲)</small>	<small>(音掬)</small>	<small>(音翰)</small>	<small>(音倏)</small>	<small>(音字)</small>	<small>(音切)</small>	<small>(音同)</small>	<small>(音用)</small>	<small>(音則)</small>	<small>(音識)</small>	<small>(音昇)</small>	<small>(音式)</small>	<small>(音類)</small>	<small>(音也)</small>											
收	手	守	由	留																								
<small>(音收)</small>	<small>(音手)</small>	<small>(音守)</small>	<small>(音由)</small>	<small>(音留)</small>																								

總本類反切上字，共三十有四。無切微引者十六字，錄後：

施書詩聲始暑水捨識東失室庶手守世

而類

戎	終	熱	而	悅	儒	儒	儒	奕	而	熱	儒	如	儒	乳	儒	儒	乳	疑	而	藥	藥	而	如	乳	藥	穰	穰	若	弱	穰
<small>(音戎)</small>	<small>(音終)</small>	<small>(音熱)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音悅)</small>	<small>(音儒)</small>	<small>(音儒)</small>	<small>(音儒)</small>	<small>(音奕)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音熱)</small>	<small>(音儒)</small>	<small>(音如)</small>	<small>(音儒)</small>	<small>(音乳)</small>	<small>(音儒)</small>	<small>(音儒)</small>	<small>(音乳)</small>	<small>(音疑)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音藥)</small>	<small>(音藥)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音如)</small>	<small>(音乳)</small>	<small>(音藥)</small>	<small>(音穰)</small>	<small>(音穰)</small>	<small>(音若)</small>	<small>(音弱)</small>	<small>(音穰)</small>
而	灼	壤	而	柔	柔	而	仁	壤	而	柔	壤	然	然	執	執	然	如	染	而	爾	爾	而	如	乳	而	饒	饒	繞	而	如
<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音灼)</small>	<small>(音壤)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音柔)</small>	<small>(音柔)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音仁)</small>	<small>(音壤)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音柔)</small>	<small>(音壤)</small>	<small>(音然)</small>	<small>(音然)</small>	<small>(音執)</small>	<small>(音執)</small>	<small>(音然)</small>	<small>(音如)</small>	<small>(音染)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音爾)</small>	<small>(音爾)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音如)</small>	<small>(音乳)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音饒)</small>	<small>(音饒)</small>	<small>(音繞)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音如)</small>
矚	純	潤	而	潤	而	潤	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順	而	順
<small>(音矚)</small>	<small>(音純)</small>	<small>(音潤)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音潤)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音潤)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>	<small>(音而)</small>	<small>(音順)</small>

按一切經音義八十三卷十八頁與八十五卷十頁著錄之侑字，其義俱訓會長，其音一作就由切，一作似由切。據此一字，當時之音，情（從母四等字）循（邪母）兩系之發聲，或相同也。又以第三組舌面前部帶音摩擦之禪母，與破裂摩擦之乘母（牀母之別一類）相合之現象例之，則舌尖前帶音摩擦之邪母（於本編為循系）與破裂摩擦之從母（從母四等字，於本編為情類之情系）融渾為一，其可能性，未嘗不强。此根據禪乘渾一之跡，參取當時語音家之說，侑字之切，就與似同用，乃一可貴之材料也。惟通檢緝錄讀從邪二母字，其合併之例證絕少。去聲胤韻燼字切，凡二十一見，屢注夕刃、辭進、等切，並注秦刃切者三見。但於四十六卷十二頁灰燼下注云，“寺進，秦刃二反，”八十八卷三頁同燼下注云，“秦進反，俗音似進反，非也，”則燼字宜讀秦進反，其屢注之夕刃等切，自亂之狀，與覆字之切，既以敷務反為秦音而取之，又復雜用敷救反，正同。（此說參看通例。）然則從邪兩聲，慧琳依用之音切，蓋有殊別。執此兩端，納循系字於情類，侑字彼此互見，以見其可合。依據大部分之材料，列書兩系，以見其似分。

總本類反切上字，共八十有四（藏情兩系，有切可徵者，三十八字，循系二十四字。）無切徵引者，二十一字，錄後：

自字情秦盡全峯才徂在罪坐族前錢賤泉（藏情兩系）夕徐薛席（循系）

先類

桑一等	桑	索	喪	筭	散	珊	蘇	賽	搔	掃	嫂	嫂	騷	掃	掃	搔	蘇
蘇	掃	掃	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇
膝	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇
損	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫	孫
先四等	先	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙
膝	先	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙	仙
想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想	想
銑	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇	蘇
消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消	消

總本類反切上字，共八十字。無切徵引者二十八字，錄後：

吐氣 unspirated 與吐氣 aspirated 之意也) ，於今方音，既少取證，驗之口吻，亦未易矯造。慧琳引切，非敷通類，語音變遷史中特有之現象也。)

總本類反切上字，共四十六字。無切徵引者十一字，錄後：

付坊粉昉法風否妨芳捧忿

扶類

扶	鼻	附	輔	父	蕃	輔	煩	繁	扶	飯	伐	伐	機	煩	飯	餽	煩	樊	樊	伐	肥	扶	費	憤	扶	墳	墳	扶	焚	扶
	(音扶)	(音扶)	賦	于	袁	袁	煩	繁	袁	袁	袁	機	(音伐)	機	餽	晚	晚	晚	袁	袁	肥	微	微	憤	扶	墳	墳	扶	焚	扶
浮	輔	輔	扶	伏	馮	奉	滂	縫	泰	伏	符	附	符	扶	房	防	符	縛	縛	房	分	防	扶	墳	墳	汾	汾	佛	浮	
	開	文	輔	馮	福	勇	捧	捧	蒙	蒙	蒙	附	遇	務	防	(音房)	亡	亡	亡	縛	縛	防	防	問	問	問	問	佛	開	浮
附	無	無	輔	凡																										
	無	無	範	豔																										

本類反切上字，共二十六字。無切徵引者五字，錄後：

父符逢凡佛

武類

武	武	無	無	無	武	無	無	無	武	亡	罔	無	芒	武	網	武	網	勿	忘	勿	亡	吻						
	(音武)	甫	無	蕪	(音無)	膚	舞	蕪	(音舞)	甫	網	無	助	做	罔	坊	芒	方	忘	坊	方	勿	粉	粉	粉	粉	吻	開
文	武	文	蚊	武	勿	勿	勿	問	案	問	望	武	罔	轆	機	望	晚	萬	萬	曼	萬	晚	晚	晚	晚	武	無	
粉	粉	粉	(音文)	分	分	分	分	問	(音問)	憤	坊	坊	坊	發	發	發	發	發	發	(音萬)	販	(音晚)	(音晚)	(音晚)	武	無		
萬	罔																											
坂																												
尾	齋			微	微	尾																						
	(音尾)			匪	匪	非																						

總本類反切上字，共二十一字。無切徵引者六字，錄後：

味巫勿問聞物

一切經音義反切聲類，與陳蘭甫切韻攷聲類比較，語其類，切韻聲類四十（明微宜分，應為四十一類），而是編定為三十六。其內容之分合，語其同，喻與于，莊與照，楚與穿，乘與牀，沙與審之分界，與切韻無殊。語其異，禪乘渾一，泥浪同聲，從邪似合，非敷交切，唇音輕重，切韻未見其分，蛻化之跡，又當以是編為創見。此景審叙一切經音義云，“武絲非雙聲，”有以也。

惟是編尤可驚異者用等韻之說（切韻指掌圖），施於切韻，良多躓碍，施諸是編，每合總理。通觀諸類分析之系，多以異等，致形畛域。一二等字，聲類與共。三四等字，各別為系。雖復時見踰越，而條理甚明。切韻則不然，凡同聲類字，用等排次，則切語上字，如有絡之絲，加治益紊。例如十二齊，皆四等字也，用古切雞，用苦切谿，用五切倪，用都切低，用土切梯，用奴切泥，用部切磬，用莫切迷，用祖切

齋，用徂切齊，用烏切鷺，用呼切醴，用胡切奚，用郎切黎，俱以一等爲上字，與十一模韻字之切，固同條共貫也，而兩韻之等位迥殊。按王仁煦刊繆補缺切韻平韻韻目存錄之注，“二冬，無上聲，陽（陽休之韻略）與鍾江同，呂（呂靜韻集）夏侯（夏侯該韻略）別，今依呂夏侯。”“十八真，呂與文同，夏侯陽杜（杜臺卿韻略）別，今依夏陽杜。”“十九臻，無上聲，呂陽杜與真同韻，今依夏。”然則法言切韻，非純據當時之音而作，其摭選諸家舊韻，蓋不僅此數目已也。切韻之音，存古既多，範以指掌圖，其鑿柄也，固無足怪。慧琳引據元廷堅韻英，廷堅所據，與指掌圖韻等相契，則其時之音流入晚近，固因是而決。惟今日所見之指掌圖南海鄒特夫頗疑爲楊中修切韻類例改併失真之僞本。近人依宋元諸家等韻書，比較韻類分合之迹，及入聲兼承陰陽之異，是書作期，更移後爲宋季之作。廷堅書遠在三四百年之上（天寶十四年），其所據之音，爲是時之關中音，何爲與切韻指掌圖之韻等能相契合，乃語音變遷史上至可驚疑之事也。（攷楊中修爲北宋弘農人。弘農關中地也。中修所據以區分切韻者，或亦關中音。其所定之韻類雖經改併，而韻等猶未紊亂，致能上下相承，投合無間與？此尚有待於攷索者也。）

又按慧琳所引切語，其上下字定聲協韻之外，又須韻等均一，遂使一聲類又分數系。聲以韻殊，乃亦自來治音韻學者未或知也。蓋此種跡象，本諸音理，固不背謬。即證集韻，旨趣亦同。先以音理言之，凡同聲類字，其所綴元音有高低幾微之變，即能影響於所發之聲。等韻縱列四等，所以示能辨之韻首之高低也。（韻首之高低，言發韻時舌面之高低發生共鳴音高之上下也。等韻家云。一等洪大，二等次大，三四等細，四等尤細者，義殆相同。）讀三四等字，含有近輔音性之介母，而一二等則無之，聲以韻異，此最淺顯之事也。反切以兩字譬況一音，分別其性質言之，則曰上字定聲，下字定韻。若就其結合言之，則宜上下字又須韻等均一，而後被切之音，試口易出。此慧琳引切之聲類，以韻等分系，乃音理上自然之勢也。更取集韻參證之。集韻韻例云，“凡字之反切，舊以武代某，以亡代茫，謂之類隔，今皆用本字。”此言唇音蛻化輕重，舊切宜加改易之見端耳。細檢各韻部音切，與切韻比較，其改易者，大都以切韻之反切上字與下字韻等不合使之均一爲主要之因。仍以齊韻字爲例，雞堅奚切，谿牽奚切，倪研奚切，低都黎切（此切例外），梯天黎切，泥年題切，

羣駢迷切，迷緜批切，齋戔西切，齊前西切，驚煙前切，醴馨奚切，奚弦鷄切，黎憐題切。諸切上字，切韻用一等字者，於此盡改用四等，與下字均一。此與慧琳引切，規制正復相同。據此則慧琳引據之韻英，其根據之秦音，今定爲晚近音之導源也。可無疑義矣。而出切引聲，上下字須同韻等，謂爲定切之原則，亦無不可。切韻之音切，與此刺謬者，非定切原則之咎，實晚近音與較古之音演變致之。

記 傣 羅 音 史 祿 國

PHONETIC NOTES ON A LOLO DIALECT
AND CONSONANT L.

By S. M. SHIROKOGOROFF

I. INTRODUCTION

The Lolo dialect here discussed* is spoken by the Lolos (ḡoso-in Lolo)** living in south eastern part of Yunnan, namely near the small

*One of the purposes of my recent visit (1928) to Yunnan was to investigate the Lolos living in the south-eastern part of this province. As this work, owing to the temporary local conditions in this region, could not be carried out as I had originally intended, I confined it to what was accessible at the spot. In Yunnanfu, I found a Lolo family, native of the above indicated region, consisting of five adult women, a young man, and two children. All of them used their mother tongue in the family, and when visiting *bušid'i*, but used Chinese when dealing with the Chinese. During my work in this family, practically all members were present, which permitted me to check up individual pronunciation. The time at my disposal and the character of the material did not permit me to gather a very great amount of material. Looking over this material, however, I have found it interesting from the linguistic point of view and thus worthy of being published.

**They use this name for designating their own group and the Lolos in general. The names used by the Lolos for themselves as seen amongst various groups are numerous, but most of Lolo groups use one which lies within the phonetic complex where the initial consonant is either *ŋ* or *n*, or rarely *l*. The following vowel also varies: one meets with *o*, *u*, *i*, *a*, *e*. The first syllable *ŋo* with its variations has been translated as "black" (cf. A. Lié t a r d, Au Yunnan, pp. 28 et seq.). However, the first syllable of their names and the word used for "black" do not always coincide, e. g. in *Buš.* dialect where "Lolo" is *ḡoso*, "black" is *no*, and *ŋo* is, for instance "five"; in *Ni* dialect "Lolo" is *n'i* (𑄎) and "black" is *ne* (V i a i's transcription *neé*—𑄎). In order to warrant against misinterpretation of their name P. V i a l (Dictionnaire, p. 81) has given a very important explanation which I permit myself to reproduce in full. "Les Lolos n'ont aucun terme qui puisse s'appliquer à toute une nation ou une race d'hommes, pas plus pour les autres que pour eux. Les peuples se divisent simplement en tribus, et chaque tribu porte son qualificatif. En pratique, chez Lolos, chaque tribu ne connaît que les tribus qui l'environnent; au-delà de cet horizon, elle ignore

city of Posi (in Lolo—*bušid'i*). This group, ethnographically speaking is in the process of gradual ethnical desintegration which is also true of most Lolo groups of Yunnan. Two neighbouring Lolo dialects have been investigated by P. Vial and A. Liétard. The first has investigated the dialect styled by him Ni (gni of his transcription), the name which I shall preserve in this paper, spoken by the Lolos living in 路南州, 陸原州 and 廣西州 a region* lying north from that of Buš dialect region, and the second has investigated the dialect styled by this author Ahi, the name which I shall also preserve, spoken by a small group of Lolos living in 路南州, also near 彌勒, south from the Ni dialect and north from the Buš dialect.**

tout. Dans les livres, l'écrivain emploie le nom de sa tribu dans un sens restreint, s'il s'agit d'une histoire particulière; tantôt dans un sens général, si l'histoire s'applique à l'ensemble de la race." It is evident that in Ni dialect *n'i* is used in reference to the speaker's group first, and to all Lolos he knows. It holds good for all Lolo dialects if they are actually Lolo dialects and not dialects of groups included into the Lolos by other ethnical groups, e. g. the Chinese. The syllable varies, but the stem remains the same. Nearly the same phenomenon is observed in the Northern Tungus dialects where the names for the Northern Tungus are invariably derived from *even* and very rarely substituted by non-Tungus names (cf. my Social Organization of the Northern Tungus, pp. 50 et seq.). A. Liétard has also interpreted the second syllable (in the Lolo dialects of Szechuen) *so* as "man, person." This may be true of some dialects, but again in Buš. dialect no such a meaning for *so* is found, while in Ni dialect *co* (Vial's transcription, *ts'o*) is not common in the above sense and altogether lacking in the name of people Lolo. It may be thus formulated: *no* (with its variations) + *so* (with its variations, and sometimes lacking altogether) seems to be the name by which the Lolos style themselves, but its meaning cannot be etymologically understood. Moreover this name among some groups is of little use. The problem is also complicated by the fact of some supposed to be Lolo groups being included into "Lolos" in former times by the Lolos themselves and later by foreigners, who did not distinguish ethnical relations which existed between the Lolos and other groups sometimes controlled by the Lolos. This also has its analogy in the ethnography of the northern regions of China. The name *nosso* (and variations) may be of a political origin (like "Manchu"), it may be given by neighbours (like "Tungus"), and it may as well be a name preserved from the immemorial time (like "even").

*P. Vial, Dictionnaire, and earlier publication, Les Lolos.

**A. Liétard, Essai, and Vocabulaire, also Notions de grammaire. Only a part of 路南州 is evidently occupied by the Lolos speaking Ahi dialect, for P. Vial mentions the same 州. As will be shown, these two dialects are different.

A. Liétard has also investigated the Lo-lo-po dialect of western Yunnan, but no dictionary has been published*.

The Lolo writing system, as it is now used, is based upon phonetic principle; but the reading of characters varies among different groups. As to the origin of the characters from ideogrammes, according to P. Vial, there is no doubt about it. In fact, he gives a list of characters some of which (not all quoted by him, I believe) may be connected with the ideas expressed by the corresponding monosyllable words**, but considering the fact of a complete disconnexion between the characters, now phonetically used, and phonemata designated*** these characters may also be supposed to be borrowed from the actual inventors of ideogrammes, some other people, perhaps of the same origin (linguistically), but distinct from Ni. The phonetic equivalents of these characters thus were at a remote time borrowed by the Lolos. According to P. Vial, the number of characters is no more than three thousand, of them in Ni dialect one hundred and eighty characters are used for phonetic transcription of the actual sounds which in this way are sometimes increased by vowels contained in written syllables. The fact of using a syllabic system of writing has caused P. Vial and A. Liétard to see a monosyllabic basis of these dialects and to cut words into syllables as it is practised in European transliterations of the Chinese characters. From the above facts, it is evident that the value of written Lolo language has a very limited importance for my purpose.

The connexion of the Lolo language with other asiatic languages has been definitely established. It is connected with the Tibeto-Burman

*There are some other material which is not sufficient for comparative purpose. For instance, Cl. Madrolle (Quelques peuplades Lolo) has given some words of eleven (Ni dialect included) groups. I now mention this publication for I shall quote it once more. The details regarding early information about the Lolos may be found in a paper by H. Cordier (Les lolos. Etat actuel). Moreover, the languages Moso and Si-hia, closely related to Lolo, though investigated, could not be compared with Buš. dialect.

**Cf. P. Vial, Les Lolos, p. 39 et seq.

***e. g. numerals, the sun, the man, the woman, etc.

larger group in which it forms a group by itself with several dialects. The Moso and old Si-hia languages are also included in the Lolo group*.

P. Vial and A. Liétard were quite definite in their assertion of a monosyllabic character of the Lolo language. The polysyllabic words were thus explained as syllables just put together. Besides, the theory as to the monosyllabic character of all Sino-Tibetan languages which influenced these authors, this idea has found a strong support from the Lolo writing system, based, as stated, upon the syllabic principle. In fact, when the Lolo is writing, he has to decompose the complex sounds into the nearest phonetic elements **found in characters**. Owing to this, both consonantal and vowel clusters cannot be phonetically expressed unless one adopts a new conventional reading of characters. P. Vial in the first half of his dictionary has taken into brackets the vowels that are not pronounced**. Unfortunately in the second half of the same dictionary he has omitted them. The using of two characters has been explained as combination of two stems***. Yet even in the case of di-syllabic

*J. Pr z y l u s k i (Les langues du monde, p. 369) has included these two languages into the Lolo group. Cf. also N. N e v s k y, B. L a u f e r (The Si-hia Language) has considered Si-hia as a language by itself, showing affinities with Lolo and Moso within the Tibeto-Burman "family," and all of them included into "Indo-Chinese," about which J. P r z y l u s k i says "il ne peut être question de faire actuellement la théorie du sino-tibétain commun" (op. cit. p. 361). The classification of the Lolo dialects is far from being completed. Their classification is still hindered by the fact that some groups now classified among the Lolos may happen to be non-Lolos, but only controlled by them, and yet some other groups which have changed their language. The instances of Tungus (they are so styled) who speak Mongol (Buriat), e.g. in Transbaikalia, Nomad Tungus, shows that a group may be considered as belonging to certain ethnically larger unit by the tradition, and not by the language spoken. Yet the cases *visé versa* are common, too.

**cf. Dictionnaire, p. 9, his remarques très importantes.

***The monosyllabic stems may be increased by prefixes and suffixes mistaken for distinct "stems." On the other hand, the phonetic syllabic system when meeting with the initial consonantal clusters may mislead when they are expressed by two characters understood as "stems" and morphological parts. The same may happen with the Lolos when they forget the conventional new reading of characters when used in combinations with other characters. From the psychological point of view it is curious that the Manchus being familiar with the syllabic system (from their previous

words, where the stem may be distinguished from the second component (the latter may be either another stem, or prefix, or suffix) the written syllables have nothing but phonetic meaning. Therefore one cannot make a conclusion as to the monosyllabic character of Lolo word formation*. The further analysis of Lolo will show perhaps that there are not only monosyllabic but also di-syllabic stems. As to the words, there are di- and tri-syllabic ones which are used as such**. A large number of word is composed of syllables and morphological parts, like suffixes and prefixes agglutinated. Yet some, especially monosyllabic words, may take meaning of nouns and verbs which depends upon the place of the word in the sentence. If such a word is incorporated either into a polysyllabic word or between the noun (also pronoun) and verb (according to the

experience with the Chinese characters and various attempts at the creation of syllabic writing from the Chinese characters) of twenty six letters of their alphabet made over thousand combinations with which almost all possible consonantal and vowel clusters could be expressed. However, not all combinations, even of their own language, could be foreseen whence clumsy spelling sometimes originated. Those Manchus who did not know their own language, as it was common among the Manchus living in China, used to read the syllabic combinations one by one pronouncing all the syllables according to the rules, and even cutting off the suffixes when written separately. This reading was just as P. Vial's transliteration of the Lolo characters. However, the Manchu syllabic system was much more superior to that of the Lolos, for the former did solve the problem of a moderate accumulation of vowels and consonants in clusters.

*I have detained such a long time on the opinion of the first investigators of the Lolo language, for this opinion has greatly affected their records by cutting words in a syllabic manner, while there might be no voiced elements contained to form a syllable. This idea was so strong that J. B a c o t, who had investigated the Moso dialect (of Toung Pao, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 266) when the monosyllabism could not be disclosed said: "la langue Mosso est actuellement polysyllabique," leaving to understand that it was not so before.

**Indeed, in the living languages there are words and not stems and morphological parts. In other languages like Indo-European, Finno-Ugrian, Altaic, Tungus, etc. the stems are very often monosyllabic, but words containing one syllable are very rare. In Lolo, the number of monosyllabic stems and words may be still higher, for, as will be shown, this language possesses quantity and tones which permit additional combinations. Still this language possesses a large number of particles (e. g. a great number of those used for counting) in order to give a definite meaning to the short words and avoid monosyllabism.

principle well known in all Tibeto-Burman languages) in a written form, it naturally remains a monosyllabic one. However, when pronounced it is included into the polysyllabic word or long word-sentence, and therefore, as will be later shown, is subject to the changes of quantity, tone and stress of vowels and consonants. Such a syllable cannot be thus considered as a word, for taken alone it has no meaning at all, or it may have many a meaning not being at the same time a morphological element.

The incorporation has been understood by P. Vial as a peculiar form of Lolo word order in sentences when "double verbs" are used. He has quoted a list of "doubled" verbs* which as a rule incorporate objective. This list may be enlarged, indeed.** As the stem syllable is getting verb but with the nouns (and pronouns) the former cannot be considered as a verb existing quite independently, so the idea of word order, noun (pronoun)-objective-verb, perhaps may be also regarded as a particular form of incorporation. In fact, as stated, a complex sentence-word is pronounced as one word in accordance with which the stress is laid upon one of syllables, and the quantity, also tone, of other syllables may vary.

To the above general characteristic of Lolo it ought to be added, that this language possesses a quite well developed system of suffixes, in nouns, pronouns and verbs, also a large number of suffixes of derivation. These suffixes, especially when written separately,*** in other dialects have

*Cf. Grammar, in Dictionnaire, p. 48. He has tried to give absolute meaning of all syllables of which di-syllabic verbs consist. In many instances however, it was absolutely impossible, so his interpretation of this phenomenon is very clumsy, and still more some of his translations word by word.

**A Liétard has also made an attempt at the analysis of the "verbes composés" (cf. Grammaire, p. 290), but he has not been satisfied himself with this attempt. In the Lolopo dialect he has also met with the same difficulty in the case of the use of the suffix of negation, so he has made a list of "exceptions" when negative suffix is incorporated in di-syllabic verbs (cf. Au Yunnan, p. 243).

***The Manchus for instance sometimes also write suffixes separately e.g. bə, dè, ei, i, n'i, and composite ones, but they never separate them in reading (unless the reader is sinified), and the European scholars have understand them as agglutinating suffixes and not particles. However, among the sinified Manchus they are sometimes treated as particles and read separately as the Chinese do.

been understood as particles different as to their function when compared with the agglutinative languages. However, in Lolo several suffixes may be agglutinated to a stem. The lists of suffixes in the Ahi, Ni and Lolopo dialects may be found, but true they are not always presented in a clear form*. In the case when the speaker does not need them for expressing his idea, he does not use them even if the suffix might be required in typically agglutinative languages**. On the other hand, when the speaker needs, he is allowed to agglutinate several suffixes to the same stem, as it is also observed in typically agglutinative languages.

The above facts shown are sufficient for forming a general idea as to the Lolo dialect treated in this paper. It may be classified as a language (1) belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group, the Lolo subdivision; (2) possessing several syllables in words when needed; (3) possessing a well developed system of suffixes and prefixes agglutinated to the stem; and derivatives: (4) using, in a limited manner, the incorporation in polysyllabic words and very commonly in the system of word-order in sentences.

*J. B a c o t (cf. Les Moso,) has treated them as suffixes.

**In typically agglutinative languages as the Northern Tungus are, the omission of suffixes is very common when the sentence may be understood without them. In Manchu Spoken this phenomenon is still more common than in the Northern Tungus.

II

PHONETIC SYSTEM OF THE BUŠ DIALECT

I. Quantity, Tone and Accent of the Vowels.

In this dialect one may distinguish three conditions defining the character of the vowels regardless of their articulation, viz. the quantity, tone and stress.

§ 1 **Quantity.** There are long (ˉ), medium () and short (˘) vowels.

Note: this definition is, of course, very approximate, for one cannot put exactly the boundaries between these three classes. Yet, sometimes the vowel may be longer or shorter absolutely speaking, which depends upon the tempo of speech, individual and subject of speech, also place in the sentence.

Examples: a ācov'ī (violet), aćumo (bride), sián (elephant)
 e nōpè (ear), řeli (shoulder), ně (two)
 o omó (bamboo), toř (thousand), řso (green)
 u kŭ (pali rim), koduso (to malk), kŭ (†) (horn)
 i cimo (goat male), ši (seven), deí (to beat), zibo (river)
 y natý (father), mytýřa (sparkle), kŷn (he, she)

however, ō and è seem to have only medium quantity*, e.g.

ě nōbe (nose)
 è luře (bridge)

§ 2 **Tone.** The tone of vowels of the same articulation is subject to variations. One may distinguish vowels of low and high tone, also vowels on which no musical accent is heard. The difference between the low and high tones seems to be a quint.

Examples: gōmō (plough), no difference in tone, but in řŷkē (bark) e is higher than y, in dōbŷ (honey) y is lower than o, though the quantity in all cases is the same.

*Perhaps more numerous material would give instances of long and short vowels of these articulations. As will be later shown, these vowels are rather rare in this dialects.

1. In monosyllabic words the tone may also be either low, e.g. **dō** (bee), **ʒō** (snow), **mō** (horse), **iā** (to-day), or it may be high, e.g. **iñ'** (yesterday).

The low and high tone may be combined with the long and short vowels.

2. in di-syllabic words, e.g.

sýkē (bark), **lenē** (hair on the body), **čabē** (sedan chair), **pōli** (father's junior brother's son), **mlé** (cow skin),* **řmō** (cow),* where the second vowel is higher than the first one and quantities are different, on the other hand, e.g.

dōžy (honey comb), **ndō** (chair),* where the first vowel and **n** are higher than the second one.

3. in tri-syllabic words the same cases are seen as in di-syllabic words, e.g. **n'ěcoty** (rock), where **y** is higher in tone. However in tri-syllabic words, just as in sentences (vide § 4) if there is stress on one of vowels the others may be affected by weakening, they are getting shorter and lose the musical accent.

§ 3 **Stress.** The stress is used very commonly. There are stresses laid upon (1) one of syllables of di- or tri-syllabic words when they are of the same quantitative value and tone, e.g. **mytýza** (sparkle), **n'ěmō** (sweet potato), **čitōŋ** (one thousand), also words which are composed of syllables containing vowels of different quantity and tone, e.g. **čikuλé** (nineteen), **ěčicimō** (twenty one) and (2) on monosyllabic words which then produce impression of an emphatic pronunciation, e.g. **áwn** (father's brother's wife), **kč** (nine).

The stress can be thus laid upon long, medium, and short vowels of low and high tone.

*Though **mlé**, **řmō** and **ndō** include only one vowel each, the nasal consonants **m**, **ŋ** and **n** are distinguished as to their tones, therefore I have included them in the class of di-syllabic cases. The difference in tone in the case of **mlé** is exactly a quint.

Note 1. There seems to be a tendency in using stress, namely the final short high vowels are very often stressed. When the vowel is neither stressed nor accentuated by a fixed tone it has a definite tendency of disappearing when in combinations with other syllables forming polysyllabic words and in sentences, e.g. such is the case of **ci** (**mō**) (one) (in combinations **-mō**, which is a suffix, is omitted), **ñě** (two), where the vowels disappear altogether.* Such is probably the case of words like **ŋ** (ox) and the like.

Note 2. There seems to be another tendency, namely, of laying stress upon one of the syllables when all of them, in polysyllabic words forming a word (and sentence-word), have the same quantity and tone, as in the case of **mýtyza** (sparkle) the choice of the syllable which is stressed depends thus upon the phrase as a whole and seems to be closely connected with the musical form of this dialect, in general.

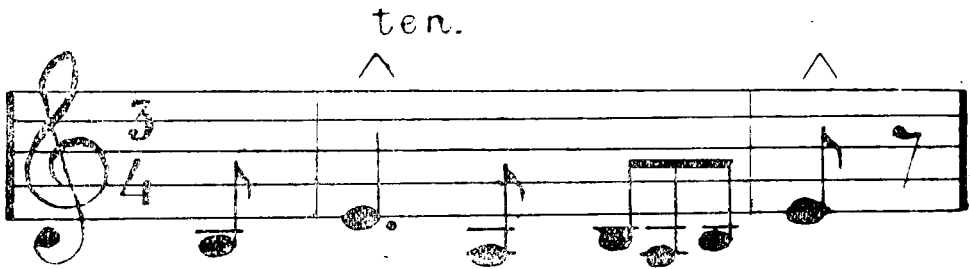
Note 3. There remain certain words stressed (vide supra § 3,2), but they seem to be used in the narrow sense they contain: **áwn** (an important term of relationship), **k̂** (a numeral, relatively rarely used and containing no other meaning, contrary to the case of **ci**, "one" and indefinite article, and **ñě** "two" and "pair", "couple").

§ 4 **Musical system.** The musical system is very essential element in this dialect. The quantity and tones may change the meaning of the phonetic complex, so for instance in **ciŋ** and **ciŋ**, in the first case "one thousand" and in the second case "ten thousand" quantity changes though **ŋ** is the same word, but in the case of **iā**, "to-day," and **iā**, "yesterday" the tones are different. In a sentence the tones being preserved may take different **relative** value owing to

*A similar process takes place in Tibetan, I think.

the quantitative value and stress of vowels and voiced consonants which do play the part of musically marked components.

Examples: 1. *noa as'i kolija* (I shall to-morrow cook) the musical phrase consists in a gradual rising of the tone from A to G; 2. *x'engo p'ikolē* (the door shut, i.e. shut the door) the first part *x'engo p'i-* remains under the same musical tone, but beginning from *i* it is getting lower, attaining its minimum at *l*, and then again rises up passing over the initial tone of *x'engo*; 3. *ta ē azo ažulá* (don't cry, child) which is still more complex as it is shown in musical symbols.



The above instances show that the quantity, musical tone and stress may be combined. It is difficult, sometimes, to find the actual nature of sounds taken out of text. Yet, the musical expression as a whole sometimes also affects the original nature of sounds, for instance in the case of question, disapproval, doubt, and order.

REMARKS: To §§ 1, 2, 3 and 4. The nature of sounds as shown is not stabilized, petrified. The four tones of Chinese (mandarin) cannot be applied to this system for (1) the quantity may be combined with different tones, (2) the musical nature of the Chinese tones is sometimes more complex than that of this dialect. So, as stated, the sounds low, medium and high of this dialect may be long and short but they are made of simple tones, as it is, for instance in Japanese where every vowel supposed to have its own tone, which again is not characteristic of this dialect.

II. VOWELS.

§ 5. Non-labilized vowels.

1. a mid-back-wide (with a tendency to low-back-wide shown as **ã**) it may be of different quantity, tone and stress, met with in all positions, e.g. **amo** (mother), **aka** (bucket) **čafun'epa** (window) (**ã** is met with chiefly with the consonants of cerebral and backed articulation: it is rather rare so I have no indications regarding quantity and tone: e.g. **aĩã** (mother's mother), **x'ergotudã** (the door bar).
2. ä low-front-narrow: this vowel seems to have no low tone, but high and usually medium; it has been observed as initial: e.g. **ělã** (goose), **ikã** (head), **nãnä** (spot).
3. e mid-front-wide: it may vary in quantity, tone and stress: it is met with in all positions, but rather rare as initial; e.g. **ělã** (goose), **gẽ** (leg), **v'ẽ** (ig), **sib'ẽ** (soil), **k'egecã** (dirty), **lemo** (thumb), **λeλe** (to come) (it is very common in combinations with **k, g, x, l, n**).
4. e high-mixed-narrow: no variations as to the quantity and tone have been found; it has not been met with as initial one: it seems to be always stressed: e.f. **amẽŋ** (the father's mother), **arçẽ** (evening), **itẽ** (hat), **Èẽ** (mountain), **mẽte** (fire).
5. i high-front-narrow, also sometimes high-front-wide; the variations depend upon the articulation of the preceding consonant: both of them show variations as to the quantity, tone and stress, but **i** is rarely met as initial; the latter is met with in the diphthongs; e.g. **čĩŋ** (root), **jĩŋwuka** (fibre/bone/of tobacco leaf), **cop'i** (hand): also **cimẽŋ** (old), **čisi** (claw), **dige** (stair case), **kopoci** (Adam apple): and **sýĩai** (tree), **n'ibucai** (brow).
6. y high-mixed-wide; it may differ as to the quantity, tone and stress; it is met with in all positions, except initial; e.g. **apy**

(abdomen), **buzo** (island), **cydu** (the well), **nynyx'e** (morning),
ɛȳ (wood), **xy** (iron).

§ 6. Labilized vowels.

1. **o** mid-back-wide-round; it may differ as to the quantity, tone and stress: it is met with in all positions; e.g. **ōmō** (a kind of bamboo), **šč** (blood), **ɾo** (live), **n'ilo** (red), **m'ebō** (buttock), **koču** (tray), **ɣč** (snow).*
2. **o** mid-front-wide-round; no difference in quantity, tone and stress has been found: it is met with in all positions; **čpa** (duck), **v'erjō** (wild boar), **nēbe** (nose), **nēvč** (side), **nčbepaŋ** (nostril).
3. **u** high-back-wide-round; it may differ as to the quantity, tone and stress: it is met with in all positions: e.g. **uhumo** (owl), **šu** (to cry), **pu** (suffix, "male"), **sexu** (to sweep), **zomesovŷ** (daughter), **kā** (†) (horn), **cačá** (table), **baŷu** (shrimps).**

§ 7. Diphthongs.

1. **ao**, e.g. **baōta** (many storied pagoda) (this may be a loan-word, I have no other instances).
2. **oa**, e.g. **ɣoxoa** (/I/ have eaten) (this diphthong is very often met with in verbs to get the idea of an accomplished action, also in some other cases, cf. § 4, example 1, where **ɾo** is increased with an **a** forming a diphthong: also § 5, 1, Footnote).
3. **ua**, e.g. **šixua** (to die), **wučuan** (brick).
4. **í** in all cases of combinations with the vowels may be regarded as component of diphthong, e.g. **deí** (to beat), **†ob'ic***** (cousin?) **maíćumo** (widow), also cf. § 5, 5-i.

*There is another **o** designated as **ō**, which is somewhat more back, but it is met with very rarely, e.g. **ž dō** (drink) (**adōa**-I don't want to drink).

There are two more variations of **u, namely **ū** and **ü**, the first being mixed and second front, both high-wide-round. **ū** is higher in tone than **u**, and **ü** is higher than **ū**; e.g. **sososū** (to read). I believe **ü** is met with only in the loan words of Chinese origin.

***In this particular case **í** is not **j** what one might expect to have.

III. CONSONANTS.

§ 8. Consonants in general.

Certain quantity, tone and stress in this dialect may be given to the consonants *mediae lenes*. In § 4 we have already seen some instances of it. The greatest variations are naturally met with in nasal and liquid consonants, like *m, n, ŋ, l, ʃ* and *λ* which may be long and short. They may sometimes play part of vowels in clusters with *tenues*, especially in words (and suffixes) without vowels. The same consonants are also affected by the musical accent especially in sentences.

The *tenues* consonants may also vary, but in a much lesser degree as to their quantity. No such case is met with the occlusive. The emphatic (stress) pronunciation of consonants is also common. They may sometimes produce impression of being "doubled."

§ 9. Labial consonants.

1. **b** bilabial, occlusive, *mediae lenes*: e.g. **bonogo** (knee), **λōbō** (moon), **nēbe** (nose), **dōb̄y** (honey): when palatalized: **be** (to speak), **labe** (neck): when getting almost *tenues* and aspirated: **ĕè** (mountain), **ĕūsid'i** (Posi), **ĕeli** (shoulder): no palatalized **ĕ** has been found.
2. **p** bilabial, occlusive, *tenues*: it is sometimes slightly aspirated: e.g. **poli** (glass), **pu** (suffix, "male"): when palatalized: **p'e** (leaf), **p'i** (back), **p'i** (to push), **lop'e** (blue).
3. **w** bilabial, spirant, *mediae lenes*: e.g. **wu** (roof), **áwn** (father's father's wife), **godow** (road): no palatalized **w** has been found.
4. **v** labio-dental, spirant, *mediae-lenens*: e.g. **vājemo** (carp), **zomescvá** (daughter): when palatalized: **v'è** (pig), **v'i** (wolf, hunting dog), **nev'i** (flower).
6. **f** labio-dental, spirant, *tenues*: e.g. **faču** (wood), ***limefoŋ** (son's son's wife), **mefu** (snake): no palatalized **f** has been found.

*This may be a Chinese lone-word.

§ 19. Dental Consonants.

1. **t** occlusive tenues; e.g. **taže** (saliva), **tamo** (father's sister), **to** (stair), **tyte** (to talk), **tuŋ** (hotel); when palatalized: **t'i** (threshold); when cerebralized: **aĩã** (mother's mother), **geĩu** (plant of foot), **lalaĩe** (to run), **itè** (hat).
2. **d** occlusive, mediae lenes; e.g. **dige** (stair case), **ligādō** (rudder), **čidepó** (stockings); no cases of palatalized **d** have been found; when cerebralized: **ciđi*** (eleven).

§ 11. Alveolar Consonants.

1. **s** spirant, (high), tenues; e.g. **sē** (three), **sýze** (wooden bridge); when palatalized: **s'é** (woman's dress), **s'in'igo** (to breath).
2. **z** spirant, (high), mediae lenes; e.g. **zē** (tiger), **azo** (young, small sister, brother), **žezo** (incisor); no palatalised consonant has been found.
3. **š** spirant, (low), tenues; e.g. **ša** (coast, land), **še** (gold), **ši** (seven), **šu** (to cry); when palatalized: **š'igu** (lung).
4. **z** spirant, (low), mediae lenes; e.g. **žigo** (stream), **zi** (to drink), **zccyle** (to wash), **žymo** (money); no palatalized consonant has been found.

§ 12. Affricate Consonants.

1. **c** (high), tenues; e.g. **cācú** (table), **cēso** (charcoal), **cevu** (to call), **ci** (λe) (ten), **co** (soil, ground?).
2. **č** (low) tenues; e.g. **če** (dog), **čina** (shoe), **geču** (toy), **gegeča** (very nice); when palatalized: **č'iŋ** (root), **č'ižǒ** (rope).
3. **č** (high), mediae lenes; e.g. **že** (stem of a plant), **žožo** (to eat); when palatalized: **ž'igo duvo** (to marry).
4. **ž** (low), mediae lenes; e.g. **žé** (brass), **ži** (wine), **žu** (buttock), (lower part); when palatalized: **ž'e** (tooth).

*In my records I find only this instance of cerebralized d. Since in the above quoted case **ciđi** (eleven) the word consists of **ci** (**mō**) (one) and **ci** (ten), the existence of **đ** must be supported by other evidences. cf. in Ahi and Ni dialects "one" is "t'i."

§ 13. **Glottal (back) Consonants.**

1. **k** occlusive, tenues; **ko** (year), **ki** (he, she)* **koλe** (neck), when palatalized: **k'ezō** (star), **k'egeča** (dirty); when aspirated: **ka** (ice), **ku** (six).
2. **g** occlusive, mediae lenes; e.g. **gemo** (small toy), **gy** (to give), **argo** (fish), sometimes it is very short, e.g. **luṅǵede** (wooden post); when aspirated: **godow** (road), **ḡulu**** (wheel).
3. **x** spirant, tenues; e.g. **xō** (flesh), **xō** (hundred), **xuxu** (all together) when palatalized: **x'e** (snake), **x'eŋ** (house).
4. **ɣ** spirant, mediae lenes; e.g. **ɣe** (large, big), **ɣō** (snow), **ɣobuɣa** (to be satiated).

§ 14. **Liquid Consonants.**

1. **m** bilabial, nasal; e.g. **maʒo** (wife), **me** (to blow), **moli** (father's junior brother); when palatalized: **m'ēbo** (rump), **m'i** (field).
2. **n** dental, nasal, e.g. **nādō** (back), **namo** (mother), **neca** (to live), **noca** (ear-ring), **nȳtu** (tea), **gegečen** (very handsome), **aṅn** (buffalo); when palatalized: **n'e** (crane), **n'en'e** (face), **n'i** (thou) **n'iki** (eye lid), **n'p'e** (beak), **n'do** (seat); when long: **n̄do** (chair), **n'mo** (heart), **n̄ci** (twenty), **n̄k̄i** (sky), **īa'** (yesterday), **n̄á** (ground, floor), **n̄toŋ** (chest), **cyā** (day) **aā'** (father's sister's husband).
3. **ŋ** glottal (back), nasal; e.g. **ŋ** (ox), **eŋ** (small), **ŋ** (to be) **ŋx'e** (rat), **ŋx'i** (eight), **ŋxopo** (mosquito), **koŋxo** (Yunnanfu), **λaxoŋ** (hat, round, large); when long: **aṅtu** (thunder).
4. **l** lateral, alveolar, (high) (palatalized l); e.g. **lab'e** (neck), **le** (skin), **leču** (finger), **lime** (son's daughter), **lice** (head dress-turban).

*Cf. also **k'ɲ** (he, she).

**Loan-word from Chinese.

5. λ lateral, cerebral, (low); e.g. λeλe (to come), λobe (stone), λose (sun), λu (throw away), λopaje (tobacco), puλa (name of people living near Montse-Yunnan).
6. † lateral, alveolar, (low); e.g. †opačiq̄ (tendon), †obio (cousin?), te†aze (to take), †oko†a (to cook), kǔ(†) (horn), n'ipu(†) (forehead), n'idu(†) (eye) (cf. § 16, †).

§ 15. **Varia Consonants.**

TABLE I.
Consonants

Character \ Articulation		Labial		GLOSSAL					Larin-geal
		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Frontal		Mid	Back		Larin-geal
				Dental	Alveolar	Glottal	Back glottal	Velar	
Occlusive	tenuis	p		t	t̄		k	k̄	
	med. lenes	b b̄		d	d̄		g ġ		
Affricate	tenuis				c č				
	med. lenes				ʒ ʒ̄				
Spirant	tenuis				s s		x		h
	med. lenes				z z	j	ʒ		
Lateral	tenuis				L				
Liquid	Lateral				l l̄ †				
	Nasal	m		n			ŋ		

1. h laryngeal, spirant; e.g. helo (to stand), uhumo (owl); [some cases of ηx, perhaps ought to be considered as nasalized h or aspirated η, e.g. ηxome (fly), ηxopo (mosquito), amηxo (rain), amηxǔλo (lightening)].
2. j mid glottal spirant: e.g. je (chicken), jīnwuka (fibre of tobacco leaf), λopaje (tobacco), jaŋfaču (match).*
3. L lateral, spirant, tenuis (high): e.g. Loŋ (egg), ciLi (fourteen).

Vide § 22, where details concerning this consonant are given.

§ 16. **Final and Initial Sounds, Clusters, Nasalization.**

1. Both vowels, including diphthong, and consonants may be final. All vowels can be so, but as to the consonants I have found only n, η, w

and **ɬ**. The instances of the final vowels can be found in previous sections, so I shall here give but some examples of final consonants.

n e.g. **in** (to-day), **kǎu** (he, she), **áwn** (father's brother's wife); when palatalized: **iń'** (yesterday).

ŋ e.g.; **toŋ** (thousand), **amèn** (father's mother), **cimeŋ** (old, person)
Note: some cases of final **ŋ** may be considered as further variation of nasalization (cf. *infra* § 16,4). The consonant **ŋ** does not appear always as well pronounced in different words, and by different persons, also in combination with other words.

w there are very few instances of final **w**; of its existence in this dialect, however, there is not any doubt. It may be supposed that it is in the process of formation, for the words ending in diphthongs show a tendency of increasing the second component with **w**. This phenomenon is perhaps connected with the emphatic bilabialization of labialized vowels.

ɬ in § 14,6. I have already quoted some cases of final **ɬ** which I put into brackets for its pronunciation is rather weak. However, final **ɬ** is heard even in the isolated words, i.e. when they are not followed by another word with an initial vowels. This phenomenon is perhaps a recent one.

2. The initial sounds may be all consonants and all vowels excepting diphthongs, and **y**. Some of the consonants are rarer than the others, so for instance, **f** and **h**, are met with in a few cases, while all affricate and alveolar consonants are very numerous. Among the vowels, **o** and **ö** are very rare. This may also be connected with the limited use of **ö** in general, but it cannot be said so in reference to **o**, which is the most numerous vowel. The bilabialization of the initial **u** which is preceded by **w** seems to be also common.*

3. Clusters of consonants and vowels are very rare. No clusters have been found excepting that of consonants with **n** and **ŋ**. In some cases they are due to the stricture of vowels (short and not accented.

*This phenomenon has affected Chinese dialects, also Manchu (cf. my Notes on Aspiration and Bilabialization).

The stricture occurs but in the cases when there are final **n** and **ŋ** and initial **n**, **ŋ** and **m**. The loss of vowels may take place even in monosyllabic words, e.g. **ŋ** (ox), **n̄** (two).

4. The nasalization of vowels and some consonants is well marked in this dialect. Almost all vowels has been found to be sometimes nasalized, e.g. **x'eŋ** (house), **aŋce** (evening), **ameŋ** (father's mother), **toŋ** (thousand), **luŋǰede** (wooden post), **č'iŋ** (root). The glottal consonants, as **x** and **g**, perhaps also undergoes nasalization, e.g. **ŋxe** (rat), **ŋxi** (eight), **ŋxopo** (mosquito), **ŋxome** (fly), **amŋxo** (rain). The alternation **ŋ^oŋg** may perhaps be referred to the same phenomenon. The nasalization may change into the consonant **n**. As the individual variations of the pronunciation, emphatic pronunciation, etc. present great variations I have used **ŋ** (consonant) without presuming its origin either from the nasalization of vowels, or as independent consonant, or as nasalization of consonants.

§ 17. Chinese loan-words.

I give here some recent borrowing of the Chinese words which may help the understanding of the present Lolo phonetic character. One must remember that the Chinese characters I give are pronounced in Yunnan according to the phonetic system of the Chinese of Yunnan which is near to that of the northern dialects.

gulu (wheel) 話轆, **jan'zi** (turkey) 洋鷄, **iŋtoŋ** (chimney) 煙筒, **janfacu** (match) 洋發炷, **poli** (glass) 玻璃, **p'i** (writing brush) 筆, **pupoŋ** (sail) 布篷 (?) **s'ian** (elephant)* 象, **ʒi** (wine) 酒.

This list may be enlarged by including many other words which have been completely assimilated, e.g. **aje** (father's father) (corr. 爺), where **a** is Lolo prefix and **je** is Chinese word; also I have suspicion as to **zo** (child, small animals and birds) which seems to be of a Chinese origin (cf. 子) but well assimilated as it has also happened in Mongol and Tungus.

*I believe it to be a recent loan-word for the corresponding word in other Lolo dialects for "elephant" is different. The same is true in reference to other languages of the Tibeto-Burman group. **sian** has been borrowed by the Manchus -**sufan**-, but the Mongol word **ʒan ʒayan** may better be compared with the Siamese-Laos, etc. **čan̄, tsan, tsan̄** and not with the Chinese **siang** (the Siamese-Laos parallels I quote from B. L a u f e r, op. cit. p. 66).

III

COMPARISON OF THE LOLO DIALECTS.

§ 18. *Methods of Recording.*

The difficulty of comparison of this dialect with other Lolo dialects, besides the fact of rather limited material, is that P. Vial and A. Liétard who have published their material, had not recorded phonetics with all desirable precision. Both of them have analysed the Lolo phonetic system, not from the point of view of articulation, but chiefly from the point of view of acoustic effect as it had been perceived by themselves. Yet as basis of comparison, both of them have taken their own language. Moreover, they did not sharply distinguish the phonetic elements and complexes from their graphic expression in French. Owing to these conditions, none of them were able to give an exact phonetic picture and many a sound have been either mixed up or split. I have here made an attempt of restoring, in so far as it was possible, the actual character of sounds recorded by them basing my restoration on their description of sounds and their own phonetic system. Not in all cases was it possible to do it. In spite of all the defects of my restoration, I shall compare my material with that of P. Vial and A. Liétard, for there are some interesting differences which may bring other problems to light.

The greatest difficulty these authors had were with the following vowels: *ĕ*, *è* and *y* which in many cases are designated by them as “*eu*”. P. Vial says “c’est précisément une des difficultés de cette langue, de gutturaliser les voyelles, même quand la consonne est labiale, de cette manière eu devient facilement ou, o, oo et même un son intraduisible avec nos lettres”.*

These vowels are *è* and *y* probably. A. Liétard considered them, one may guess from his description, as “*voyelles composées (diphthongues)*”,* so he concludes: “*eu souvent aussi est confondu avec o, ou avec ou et parfois \ddot{w} , \hat{w} même, mais très-rarement cependant, avec a, et vice*

*P. Vial, Dictionnaire, p. 6.

versâ". In his case one may also guess the existence of the same vowels ö, è and y which are, as a matter of fact, difficult for foreigners unfamiliar with these sounds. As it has not always been possible to guess which of these sounds had been heard by these authors I give in brackets their original records.

Some difficulties have also been met by these authors with the record of consonants. They did not mention the existence of cerebral \dot{t} , \dot{d} , $\dot{\lambda}$, but they did emphasize many aspirated consonants which I think in some cases are merely cerebralized. The consonant \dot{t} has also been omitted though its existence is very likely, indeed. They have introduced "r" which does not exist in Lolo and which has been recorded instead of \mathfrak{r} and sometimes instead of \mathfrak{x} .** The latter has also been understood as k' (aspirated) and even h , for this consonant is lacking in French. One sound more, namely, η , which has not been understood but perceived, is shown by P. Vial as "gh" and by A. Liétard usually as "ng". P. Vial's transcription "ghh" is that of \mathfrak{r} , too. In these cases he could not get the spirant and voiced character of it produced by the back of the tongue ("s'essaie à sortir du fond du gosier." according to his description). The consonant \mathbf{L} with its variations has not been understood and is designated as a group of consonants, e.g. "shl" (P. Vial), "hl" (A. Liétard). The details will be given in § 22. Other peculiarities of their transcription require no special explanations when restored by me. I here used $ch = \dot{\epsilon}$, $dj = \dot{\zeta}$, $gn = \mathfrak{n}'$, $tch = \dot{\epsilon}$, and $ts = \mathfrak{c}$.

*A. Liétard, Aü Yunnan, p. 198. To this he has also added all syllables composed of \mathbf{j} and \mathbf{w} and different vowels.

**P. Vial says (Dictionnaire, p. 7) "r n'est jamais dure; c'est à peu près notre r grassyé. Il est à remarquer que, dans certains villages, on tend à confondre le k' aspiré et l'r grassyé." This is quite true the alternation $\mathfrak{x} \leftrightarrow \mathfrak{r}$ is very likely, for the articulations in both cases are the same and since the process of alternation of mediae lenes with tenues affect the dialect in one of directions both \mathfrak{x} and \mathfrak{r} may happen to be present. The mistake of \mathfrak{r} for \mathbf{r} is known from other works, too. Cf. for instance M. G. Soulié, *Éléments de grammaire mongole*, analysed by A. Rudnev.

§ 19. Vowels (Comparative).

I give below two tables showing frequency (in percentage) of alternations of principal vowels. I have omitted rare vowels like **ä, ö, ü** and **ü** of my records. In the second table the frequency (in percentage) of the same vowels in three dialects is shown. For this analysis I have chosen the words of the same stem in these dialects. So I have compared one hundred and eighty words of Buš dialect with one hundred and forty-six words of Ni dialect, and one hundred and fifty-two words of Ahi dialect.

TABLE II.
Vowel frequency (in percentage)

Dialects \ Vowels	Vowels							
	o	e	i	u	a	y	ö	ä
Buš	33.3	26.7	21.1	7.2	4.4	4.4	1.7	1.1
Ni	4.0	37.6	12.8	17.6	20.0		7.2	
Ahi	33.3	15.1	12.7	7.1	12.7		19.0	

TABLE III.
Frequency (in percentage) of alternation of vowels

Ni and Ahi \ Buš	Buš													
	a		e		i		ö		o		u		y	
a	25.0	60.0	3.3	22.7	3.1		33.3	46.7	5.6		8.3			
e			66.7	29.5	50.0	12.9	66.7		8.8	2.8	33.3	8.3	50.0	
i	25.0		6.7	18.2	37.3	51.6			4.4	8.3		8.3		
ö	25.0		13.3	15.9	3.1	16.1		50.0	4.4	5.6	16.7	25.0		75.0
o			49.0	3.3	11.4	6.2	12.9		50.0	4.4	72.2		16.7	25.0
u	25.0		10.0	2.3		6.4			31.1	5.6	59.0	33.3	50.0	
	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi	Ni	Ahi

From these tables it may be seen that in Buš. the vowels **o, e, i** cover roughly speaking 80 per cent, while in Ahi and Ni 60 and 50 respectively. In Ni dialect **o** is rare, so in descending order the vowels are **e, a, u, i**, and in Ahi dialect the order of vowels is again different, namely **o, ö, e, i, a**. Taking into consideration the most frequent vowels one may characterize these dialects: Buš (**oai**), Ni (**eau**), and Ahi (**oöe**).

Frequency of alternations also shows the character of these dialects. If one compares these dialects as seen in combinations of alternations the number of these combinations is rather limited.

when in Buš	in Ni is found	in Ahi is found	Frequency in per cent
o	a	o	40.0 of all Buš o
o	u	o	18.2 of all Buš o
e	e	e	31.3 of all Buš e
e	e	i	18.7 of all Buš e
i	i	i	30.8 of all Buš i
i	e	i	17.9 of all Buš i

I give some instances of alternations shown in the previous table
 type **oao kézō, keza** (keèzà 𐌆𐌗), **hazo** (ha³-zo)—the star;
 type **ouo ton, tu** (toù 𐌆), **to** (to³)—thousand;
 type **eee leko, leku** (leèkoū 𐌆𐌆), * **lečo** (lyé²-tcho¹)—the armlet
 type **eei gepē, žebe** (teh'ébee 𐌆𐌆), **k'ib'e** (k'i-bye¹)—the foot
 type **iii lep'i, lepi** (leē pī 𐌆𐌆), **lepi** (lyé²-pi¹)—the ring
 type **iei Li, Lē** (shlē 𐌆), **li** (li²)—four.

I shall not give the examples of other combinations of alternations for it will take too much space in this paper. Some of combinations are very rare, so for instance, the coincidence in all three dialects of **a, o, and**

*P. Vial gives also another reading of this character, gou.

u are especially rare. Some of combinations are lacking altogether. I must point out that the above material perhaps does not exhaust all the mathematically possible combinations, but for us it is important just to see the tendency, which appears quite clear from the above tables.

From the Table III one may see that P. Vial has probably understood **ö** chiefly as **e** and **y** as **u**, while A. Liétard—**ö** as **ö**, i.e. quite correct, but **y** as **ö** and **o**.

The diphthongues **eí** and **aí** of Buś have their corresponding in Ni e and **ö**, while in Ahi only **a**.

The quantity and tones have been recorded by these two authors. A. Liétard* has found in Lolopo dialect nearly the same tones as in Chinese and in Ahi four Chinese tones. Father Martin** has found a somewhat different system among the Lolo of Sechuen. P. Vial has also found five tones, but he did not compare them with the Chinese tones. As I have shown the tones of Buś are not of the Chinese type and yet they change in the sentences which has also been noticed by these authors.*** In all dialects there is tendency of preserving the quantity, but it cannot be generalized. In a lesser degree the tones, in so far they may be compared, are also sometimes preserved.****

§ 20. Consonants (comparative).

The aspiration and palatalisation are met with in both dialects. I have already pointed out that in some cases the cerebralization has been mistaken for aspiration and even palatalization. No definite tendency as to the preservation of aspiration and palatalization have been disclosed.

1. Labial Consonants alternate:

- a. **b̥b̥p** without any definite tendency, e.g. **bonogo** (Buś) -**poʒ̥**
(po²-tseu') (Ahi) /knee/;

*A. Liétard, *Ay Yunnan*, p. 199.

**Ibid. p. 199, footnote 2.

***A. Liétard, *Essai*, p. 628.

****These authors, I think, in their search for the tones in Lolo, were influenced by the Chinese system of tones with which they were familiar. Cf. *supra* § 4, Remarks.

bè (Buš) -**pö** (peù ㄨ) (Ni) -**po** (po³) (Ahi) [mountain];
gépē (Buš) -**č'ebe** (teh'e bee ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**k'ib'e** (k'i-bye) (Ahi) [foot]. The most frequent case is that when in all three dialects **p** is found (47.1 per cent of all cases).

Note: All three dialects may be suspected of undergoing the process of alternation mediae lenes into tenues.

b. **v** and **w** seem to alternate with **v** and **g**, also **w** and **b**, and **b** and **v**, so, for instance, **něvö** (Buš) -**nöṽ'e** (neù ghhé ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**nögö** (neu-geu) (Ahi) [side]:

wuka (Buš) -**ṽ'epu** (ghhé pou ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**ṽčko** (reu⁴-kō¹) (Ahi) [bone];

ṽö (Buš) -**va** (vá ㄨ) (Ni) -**wo** (ouo⁴) (Ahi) [snow];

wu (Buš) -**bruben** (bou¹-ben⁴) (Ahi) [roof];

lab'e (Buš) -**leve** (lài ghhé ㄒㄝ) [neck].

c. **bróm** has been met only once, namely **zíko** (Buš) -**jimo** (yi³-mo³) (Ahi) [river], so this alternation may be only suspected as existing in these dialects.

2. **Dental Consonants** alternate **d** and **t**; e.g.

deī (Buš) -**de** (dái ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**ža** (dja⁴) (Ahi) [to beat];

n'idu (t) (Buš) -**nesé** (neesé ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**n'esa** (nyé-sa⁴) (Ahi) [eye];

-žě (Bus) -**že** (dje ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**d'i** (dyi) (Ahi) [brass];*

moše (Buš) -**maša** (mata ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**moto** (mō¹-to³) (Ahi) [bamboo];

on the other hand **t** (t) and **d** is also known, e.g. **ci** (Buš) -**ti** (t'i ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**ti** (t'i) (Ahi) [one]. Alternations **t** and **d** is common. In Buš **t** and **d** seem to be better preserved.

3. **Alveolar Consonants** alternate **z** and **š**; e.g.

ze (Buš) -**cö** (tseù ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**cö** (tseu³) (Ahi) [bridge];

dözy (Buš) -**döčö** (do¹-teh'eu) (Ahi) [honey comb];

ziče (Buš) -**že** (jè ㄒㄝ) (Ni) -**již'e** (yi-dije) (Ahi) [water];

*Cf. Mongol **žed**, Burist -**žes** (brass).

taže (Buš) -n'ize (gnijè ㄗ ㄇ) (Ni) -tiji (ti¹-yi³) (Ahi) /saliva/*;
 čiši (Buš) -k'isa (k'i³-sa³) (Ahi) /claw/.

4. Affricate Consonants alternate **cʌč, cʌk, čʌk, cʌʒ, čʌʒ, čʌz, čʌʒ, čʌg, ʒʌʒ, ʒʌk, ʒʌg, ʒʌʒ (?)** /also previously shown, **cʌz, čʌz, dʌʒ, cʌt,** /, e.g.

čiLon (Buš) -ciLu (ts'ishlou ㄘ ㄌ) (Ni) /rice/;

n'ib'učai (Buš) -nibucö (nee bou ts'eu ㄋ ㄨ ㄘ) (Ni) n'ebuka (nye¹-bou²-k'a) (Ahi) /eyebrow/;

či (Buš) -ci (ts'í ㄘ) (Ni) -k'i (k'i²) (Ahi) /goat/;

če (Buš) -če (teh'é ㄘ) (Ni) -ki (k'i⁴) (Ahi) /dog/;

syžai (Buš) -secö (sètse ㄝ ㄘ) (Ni) -söc'e (seu³-ts'ê²) (Ahi) /tree/;

ž'e (Buš) -čema (tehèma ㄘ ㄇ) (Ni) -čaʒö (tcha³-reu⁴) (Ahi) /tooth/;

wučāpo (Buš) -zopo (zo⁴-p'ó⁴) (Ahi) and zu (ts'ou) (Ahi) /man/ (čāpo-zopo);

godow (Buš) -kama (kamà ㄎ ㄇ) (Ni) čoma (tcho²-ma³) (Ahi) /road, way/;

čizé (Buš) -kicö (kits'eú ㄎ ㄘ) (Ni) -k'icö (kyé-ts'eu⁴) (Ahi) /rope/;

gomo (Buš) -guma (goúmà ㄎ ㄇ) (Ni) -žoma (djo⁴-ma³) (Ahi) /plough/;

lěži (Buš) -leže (leéghhedlou ㄌ ㄝ ㄘ) (Ni) -leʒö (lyé²-reu) (Ahi) /arm/;

5. Glottal Consonants alternate **kʌʒ, kʌh, ʒʌg, ʒʌx?** /xʌhʌ' (aspiration)/, **ʒʌŋ** /also previously shown **ʒʌʒ, gʌʒ, kʌc, kʌč, kʌʒ**/; e.g.

koduso (Buš) -se (ghhe ㄎ) (Ni) -so (ouo¹) (Ahi) /to walk/** (ko-se-so)

*že (ži)-ji, the second component is "water," see *supra*.

**I have some doubts as to ži-se-so. Perhaps we have here two different components.

Yet "ghhe" may be x, and "ouo" may be wo.

k'ezé (Bus) -keza (keèzà 𐌆𐌗) (Ni) -hazo (ha²-zo⁴) (Ahi) /star/;
 ve (Bus) -g'e (giú 𐌇) (Ni) -ŋa and v'a (nga,⁴ ra⁴) (Ahi) /large,
 big/;

xy (Bus) -ve (re 𐌗) (Ni) -hō (heu) (Ahi) /iron/: (v [r] in Ni
 might be shown by mistake, instead of x, also h in Ahi). Though
 there are many instances of x^oh^o I have some doubts as to
 these records. In fact, as shown both P. Vial and A. Liétard
 did not distinguish the consonant x, so in some cases it might be
 taken for h and even a simple aspiration. Therefore I omit all
 these alternations. The same ought to be referred to v^oŋ, e.g.;
 in the above case, for v and ŋ presented great difficulties to these
 authors.

6. Liquid Consonants

a. m^ob, vide supra Labial Consonants; generally speaking,
 the consonant m seems to be very stable in all dialects; the same
 holds good for n. However, the alternation n^oŋ is common, e.g.
 ŋ (Bus) -n'i (gni 𐌆) (Ni) -ni (ni⁴) (Ahi) /ox/;

ŋe (Bus) -n'a (gna 𐌗) (Ni) -na (nā¹) (Ahi) /small/; ŋ^og alter-
 nation is also somewhat doubtful, though there are cases like ŋo
 (Bus) -ŋa (gha 𐌗) (Ni) -ge (gō³) (Ahi) /I, me/, which together
 with the case ŋ^ov ought not to be omitted from consideration.
 Moreover, there are many instances when ŋ is present in Bus
 while lacking in other dialects, e.g. toŋ (Bus) -tu (teù 𐌗) (Ni)
 -to (to³) (Ahi) /thousand/;

č'iŋ (Bus) -ki (k'i-teho¹) (Ahi) /root/;

λaxoŋ (Bus) -laxo (la'o 𐌗 𐌗) (Ni) /hat (round, large)].

Note: It may be noted that in most cases oŋ (Bus) corr. u (Ni),
 whence, it may be supposed that the final ŋ may be regarded
 as effect of nasalization of vowels.

b. as to the alternations † (l) (λ) vide supra § 18. In Bus
 alternations of this type are possible, so in some cases I have
 found in my notes (from different and even from the same per-

sors) palatalized and cerebralized **l** combined with different vowels and sometimes with the same vowels.

7. **V a r i a C o n s o n a n t s.** It has already been stated regarding comparative material in general, as to **h** (*vide supra* § 20,5). The alternation **j**↔**ž** has been shown in § 20,3. The case of **L** will be analyzed in § 22. The yodization of vowels is observed in all three dialects simultaneously. However, it may be sometimes lacking in one or two of them.

§ 21. **General Remarks.**

1. No regular process of transition of mediae lenes into tenues or vice versa has been found in these dialects.
2. The alternation of alveolar and glottal consonants (**c**↔**k**, etc.) seems to be very common. Buš may be characterized by the presence of alveolar consonants which are glottal in other dialects.
3. Buš may be characterized by the presence of numerous **č**, **ž**, **š**, used instead of **c**, **z**, **s** found in other dialects, however **ž**↔**z** is also common in Buš.
4. The aspiration in Buš seems to be less developed than in other dialects [This remark ought to be taken with great reserves as to its validity, for in P. Vial's and A. Liétard's works the palatalization and cerebralization might be mistaken for aspiration, for the decrease of the voice as well].
5. The nasalization seems to be more pronounced in Buš than in other dialects.
6. The final consonants (**ɫ**) and **w** are met with only in Buš. Yet the final **n** and **ŋ** are also much more common in this dialect than in the others.
7. The stricture of vowels, in so far as it is possible to see from the material published, is more common in Buš and Ni than in Ahi.
8. The bilabialization (**w**) and its further changes into the spirant **w** is met with in Buš and it may also be suspected in Ahi.

IV.

CONSONANT L.

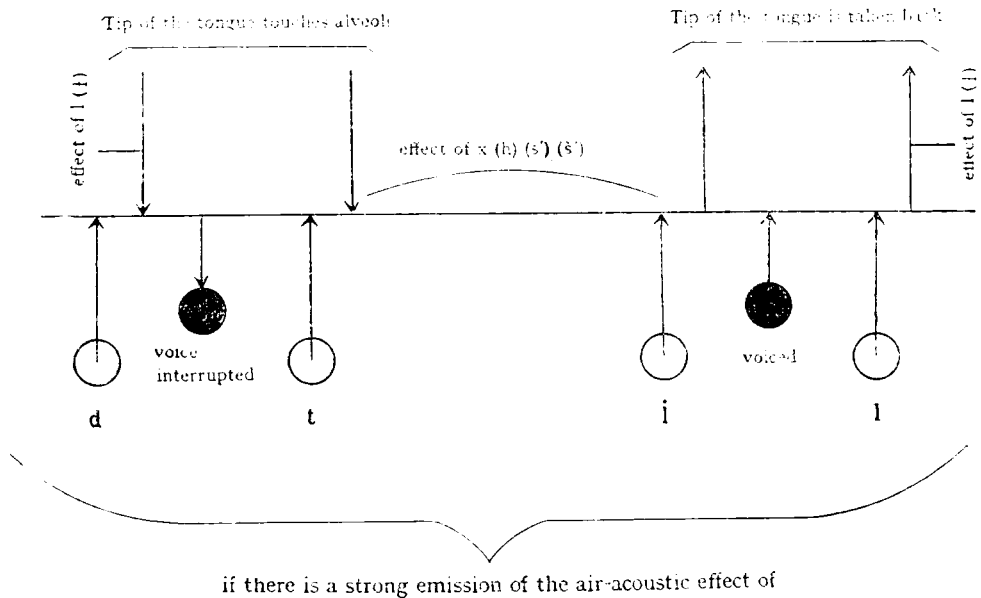
§ 22. In the Lolo Dialects.

The articulation and production of this consonant in Buš is as follows. The tip of the tongue touches the alveoli of the upper incisors, the lateral edges of the tongue approach the molar teeth, and the back of the tongue is raised to the palate leaving a narrow passage for the air; the vocal chord and velum are relaxed. For producing the sound, the air is moderately emitted first between the palate and back of the tongue and later passing through the space left by the lateral edges of the tongue and molar teeth, at last between the relaxed cheeks and teeth, thus producing a **tenuis spirant**. This sound is increased by another sound produced by the vibration of the cheeks, also in a relaxed position, while the air passes with certain strength through the narrow space between the tongue and teeth and escapes into the larger space formed by the cheeks and teeth. No change of the air pressure occurs.

If the air pressure is gradually increased, the acoustic effect is very near to that of a spirant, either **x**, or **h** and even **s'**, but when abruptly stopped it produces acoustic effect of a **voiceless l** (or **l**), that is, **xl** (**l**), or **hl** (**l**), and even **s'l** (**l**). If the pressure of the air is stronger at the beginning and later gradually decreases, the acoustic effect is naturally different. First, a sound like voiceless **l** (**l**) comes out and afterwards the spirant, either **x**, or **h**, or even **s'** is heard, that is either (**l**) **lx**, or (**l**) **lh**, or even (**l**) **ls'**. Let us now suppose that the air emission is similar to that in the case when an occlusive is produced. The above described sound will be modified into **dl** (**l**), or **tl** (**l**) **h**, or even **tl** (**l**) **x**. Let us now make another step by supposing this consonant to be voiced. With such a supposition, the acoustic effect will again be different, and we shall have **dl** (**l**), (**l**) **ld**, which may also be perceived as increased by **x**, **h**, etc.

In the speech, this consonant is rarely met with without voiced vowels and consonants either preceding or following it. In case the articulation of the consonant **L** takes place before the vanishing of the preceding voiced sound, it may appear just as it has been described, but if it is not so, then **L** may be perceived as **l** (ɫ)-x (h). In the case of a preceding either occlusive voiced, or stressed vowel, **L** may be perceived as **dl**, etc. The same holds good in the case of a following either voiced consonant or vowel. All these cases can be clearly seen from the Scheme I.

SCHEME I.
L and its variations



The conventional sign **L** I use for designating this consonant in Lolo does not imply its connexion with **l**, **ɫ** and **λ**. The acoustic effect produced by this consonant may be nearly the same (for an ear not yet accustomed to these sounds) as that of **l**, but since the nature of this sound, as described, is entirely different, we cannot generalize it with **l**. It is getting especially evident when the further variations of this sound are established. In fact, several sounds, like simple **d**, **t**, **x**, **k**, **h**, with

their modifications may originate from **L**. Among these consonants **l** (ʔ), and **λ** may also originate.

Since, as I shall later show, this consonant is not confined to the Lolo dialect here discussed, but is also met with in other languages, I shall give details first within the Lolo dialects.

In P. Vial's work, so far as it may be seen from what he says, I find three different complexes which seem to originate from one and the same source, namely **L**. P. Vial gives "shl", "dl" and "tl" as "groupes" of consonants. For the time being, I shall leave open the question whether these are really groups of consonants or certain consonant differently perceived, but we may point out that in Buś there is but one consonant **L**, the groups **dl** and **tl** are lacking. In A. Liétard's work there are slight traces of this consonant, namely when he uses "hl" and "ll". In all other cases to my **L** and P. Vial's "shl" one finds corresponding "l". He understands it as "aspiration initiale" of **l** which he describes in the following words: "elle (aspiration) se rapproche au contraire de la sifflante palatale, marquée dans les transcription scientifiques par s̃". In his examples he says "hlo-bo (lune); prononcez.... chlo-bo ou shlo-bo"* whence it is evident that he did distinguish this consonant, but could not understand its articulation and production of sound. Whether A. Liétard did not find it in Ahi dialect or he did merely simplify it we cannot see from his material, for this consonant **L** is in a process of variation. The fact of finding only **L** and **l** (ʔ, λ) in Buś, "shl", "dl" and "tl" in Ni, also "hl", "ll" and "l" in Ahi points to the fact of such a process. There may be naturally different ways of losing it, which will be discussed later on. I now quote some parallels from the three dialects.

1. Cases when **L** is preserved in both Buś and Ni dialects:

Li (Buś) -**Le** (shle ɯ) (Ni) -**li** (li²) (Ahi) [four];

Licu (Buś) -**Live** (shivee ʔ^w ʔ^z, according to P. Vial, out of use,

*A. Liétard, Essai, p. 629.

preserved only in written form) (Ni) /cf. **male** (ma⁴-lyé¹) (Ahi) (liançailles) /bridegroom/;

Lebe (Buš) -Lu (shloù ▷) /white/;

Lo₇ (Buš) -Lu (shioù ▷) /silver/;

Lope (Buš) -Lape (shlap'ec ㄉ ㄨ) /leg/;

ciLo₇ (Buš) -ciLu (ts'ishloù ㄉ ㄨ) (Ni) /rice/;

2. Cases when **L** is lost in Buš, but preserved in Ni dialect:

sifo (Buš) -aLama (ashlâma ㄨ ㄨ ㄨ) (Ni) -tiLo (ti¹-hlo³) (Ahi) /hare/;

li (Buš) -Li (shli ㄌ) (Ni) -li: (li) (Ahi) /boat/;

lizo (Buš) -Leza (shlězá ㄌ ㄨ) (Ni) -lizo (li¹-zo⁴) (Ahi) /son's son/;

lu (Buš) -Lu (shlu ▷) (Ni) -lě (leu¹) (Ahi) /worn out, to/;

lěpi (Buš) -La (shla ㄌ) (Ni) -lu, lo (lou³, lo³) (Ahi) /tongue/;

λcǎ'e (Buš) -Labe (shlābài ㄌ ㄨ) -lubi (lou-bi⁴) (Ahi) /trousers/;

amǎ'ǎcǎ (Buš) -mulō (moùshleu ㄨ ㄨ) (Ni) -mulo (mou-llo) (Ahi) /lightening/;

a'oiimo (Buš) -aLalamá (ashlākám (ou) ㄨ ㄨ ㄨ) (Ni) -alalimi (a¹-la³-li-m⁴) (Ahi) /ass/;

λcǎcǎ (Buš) -Laba (shlā-bà ㄨ ㄨ) (Ni) -Lobo, hobo (hlo-bo, ho-bo) (Ahi) /moon/;

3. There are some cases where **L** seems to be lost, e.g. šešo (Buš) -šedla (chedla ㄌ ㄨ) (Ni) /orange/; however, in this case, **L** has been perhaps perceived as **dl**. The complex **il** I do not find in my material, but it is met with in a limited number of cases in Ni dialect. The consonant **L** in its modified (either by the observer or on the soil of the dialects) form is found in Cl. Madrolle's material, namely in Wu-ni (Ha-ni) /Laokai province, in Tonkin/ dialect "moon" is "ba-tl'a-ma" (cf. **Laba** of Ni dialect).*

*In the same publication some other evidences as to the existence of the consonant **L** are found, e.g. in Man-tseu (No-so) dialect "moon" is "la ba" and "lilo po" (**Lopo**); in Eul-yí-tseu (Ni-se) dialect are found, for instance, "sdli" (four, cf. **supra Li**); "shlie" (boat); "y slou" /cf. **šeLa** (je shla ㄌ ㄨ) (Ni) / (river); "ti-mi-slā" /cf. **meLi** (mai shli ㄌ ㄨ) (Ni) / (wife).

The above shown evidences of the existence of the consonant **L** in different degrees modified, also in different ways and manner perceived and recorded by the investigators are convincing enough for making up conclusion as to its wide spreading in different Lolo dialects. It is not confined to the Buś dialect where it has sometimes already given its place to **l**, **l** and **λ**, being evidently better preserved in Ni dialect. These evidences also show that this consonant is in the process of variation going on in different dialects.

The material I have at my disposal does not suffice for finding the present boundaries and variations of this consonant. Unfortunately, some observers have "simplified" their transcription of sounds perceived, so it is impossible to distinguish **L** from other consonants recorded in the same manner. I have some suspicions as to the records of A. Liétard who evidently has simplified his records. In fact, in many respects, the Ahi dialect occupies an intermediary position phonetically speaking, and geographically as well, but only in three cases out of ten, one may suspect **L** (**ll**, **hl** of his transcription), while the consonant **L** is well represented in Ni dialect and sufficiently represented in Buś.

The loss of this consonant may be due to the variation of (1) the character of the air emission, (2) voicing, (3) mode of articulation. The Lolo dialects are affected in different degree by these processes. In Buś dialect, the consonant **L** in all the above quoted cases is substituted either by **l** or **t** or **λ**, whence one may see that the loss of **L** is due to the voicing with slight change of the air emission. This seems to be in accordance with other analogous variations of phonetics sometimes resulting in the change of tenues into mediae lenes.

§ 23. In Other Languages of the same Group.

The consonant **L** seems to be known* in Tibetan, where one meets very often with "hl" and "lh" which may be guessed to be **L**. In the Tibetan colloquial, the writing system used in Tibetan shows quite clearly its existence. In fact, the subjoined consonant **ᄀ** is used but with **ᄁ**

*I have no extensive phonetic descriptions of this language.

.eg. ལྷ་ "a god". According to C. A. Bell* it is pronounced "Fla, the "h" being pronounced before l". This sign is also used in Sanscrit words. A different treatment of the same sound we find in another author, A. Desgodins** who says that it is very aspirated and in combination with ལྷ་ is pronounced "lha", while in Bathang it is sometimes "ha" and "lha". From these two contradictory evidences one may guess that there is neither "hla" nor "lha", but a different sound perceived by some persons as "hl", and by others as "lh" and varying in different dialects. It is sure these sounds are connected with L. In fact, 'trousers' **Labe** (Ni), **λobe** (Buš), **lubi** (Ahi) in Tibetan "hangbo"***. The common words in Burmese are also met with "lh" where we may expect to have L, e.g. 'tongue' **La** (Ni), **lopi** (Bus), **lu** (Ahi) in Burmese "lhya", in Bunan "lhe", but in Tibetan "lče"****. The latter parallel is interesting for it brings forth another way of variation of the same consonant L. This is not an isolated case in Tibetan we have, for instance, "heavy" in Tibetan "lči", corr. "hlö" (L̄, S. Sh.) (Ahi), **lze** (lje ལྷ) (Ni). On the other hand, the same consonant L in Tibetan is sometimes found as "ld". It is also true of Lolo dialects (cf. supra § 22,3), "to lick" is "ldagpa" in Tibetan, and "tongue" is **La** in Lolo, as shown. This may also be supported by a series: "moon" **Laba** (Ni), **λobo** (Bus), **Lobo** ("hlo-be"), (Ahi), [according to B. Laufer,—in Southern Chin—"k-h-lo", in Kuki—"lha", in Haka—"k-la", in Thulun—"k-h-le" and "k-h-lye"/], in Ladakhi "ldava", while in Tibetan "z-la-ba"*****

*Bell, C. A. Grammar, p. 12.

**Desgodins, A. Essai, p. 18.

***I quote from F. Savina, op. cit. p. 51. It may be restored as **L̄abo**, where a is nasalized, as it is common in Buš.

****This and other parallels I quote chiefly from B. Laufer, op. cit. p. 49.

*****I believe that Tibetan "zla" cannot be cut into "za-la" as B. Laufer does (op. cit. p. 29), just as in the case of "lči" (heavy). This author did not hesitate to cut into two syllables "lho" of A. Lié t a r d in **muLo** (mu-hlo) (Ahi), corre. **muLe** (moushle ལྷ) (Ni) [wind] stating that "the form h-lo is evidently (why? S. Sh.) a contraction of he-lo, as shown by Lisu me-hei, mi-hi ("wind")" (p. 43, footnote 2). As a matter of fact the latter cases shows that **lh** may alter into **h** (supposing the records are correct) and not that "h-lo" is contracted form of "he-lo". In the case of P.

To the above cases of $L \rightarrow l\acute{e}$ (Tib) and $L \rightarrow ld$ (Tib) perhaps one may also associate the case of $L \rightarrow rl$ (Tib): so, for instance, $mu\bar{L}e$ (Ni) $muLo$ (mu-hlo) (Ahi), le (Burmese, cf. B. Laufer), in Tibetan is “rlun”—“the wind”. Indeed, in all these cases one must have first of all exact phonetic equivalents. Therefore, for the time being, I shall not discuss them. However, the possibility of $d \rightarrow \check{z} \frac{\check{c}}{z}$ and $L \rightarrow rl$ is evident.*

I want now to draw attention to the Thai language where the consonant L also seems to be present. F. M. Savina in his Dictionary and another work gives very clear hints as to this consonant. So referring to the pronunciation of the initial s (x of his transcription) in numerals he says that they are pronounced sometimes as sl (xl), and th, etc. Yet, there are many other words with the initial sl (xl). Supposing that they are further modifications of the consonant L , I have restored them as shown and brought forth with some parallels, e.g. **Lon** (two),

Vial's “shl” B. Laufer has even introduced his correction, namely, he uses **šl** instead of “shl” while P. Vial quite clearly shows (Dictionnaire, p. 7) this consonant (L) among other simple consonants like \check{s} , \check{z} , \check{z} , η , c and \check{c} , among which he has also included “dl” and “tl”. Yet, in his transcription (particularly “shl”) he pronounces them, as he says, “à la française” so it cannot be read “à l'anglaise” and transcribed as **šl**. This sound transcribed by P. Vial in his way and corrected by B. Laufer, who is familiar with phonetics, in a different way, really looks like $\check{s} + l$ which when needed may be cut into \check{s} and l and also supplied with the imaginary vowels. This is not an isolated case in B. Laufer's treatment of P. Vial's and A. Liétard's material. B. Laufer has used the peculiar transcription of P. Vial's consonant “gh” for showing the existence of a hypothetical prefix k - in Si-hia language (op. cit. p. 14) and which he did not read η , as P. Vial tried to explain (cf. also A. Liétard's “ng” used instead of P. Vial's “gh”) as a peculiar consonant lacking in French. The third case is that of P. Vial's “r” (also of A. Liétard's) which has also been used by B. Laufer for establishing various prefixes and affinities. In this case B. Laufer has also omitted the description of this sound given by P. Vial and transcribed it as English “r”, a sound quite different from “r grassayé” understood by P. Vial. Such a method of treatment of the linguistic material leaves, of course, great doubts as to the validity of results obtained by B. Laufer.

*The cutting of “rlun” into “ro-lun”, as B. Laufer does (op. cit. pp. 43-4) again raises some doubts. Yet, it is not absolutely clear on what basis he proposes Si-hia **lo** (the wind) to be “ro”? The long discussion about the prefix “r” and synonymous words is, of course, very ingenious, but an absolutely unnecessary construction.

Lam (three), Li (four, cf. li /Lolo/), Lip (ten), Lia (thousand), Lit (snow), Lao (girl), Lay (intestine), Lu (dress, cf. Leka /Lolo/),* Ləbo /Tib/, Lun (garden, cf. kelun /Ni/?), Lua (tiger, cf. la /Ni, Ahi, Moso/), Lu (to buy), Li (to write), Lai (to wash), Las (steel), Lay (small). If we suppose that sl has substituted L, then it may also be inferred that in Thai the variations of the consonant L has taken place by a slight change of the original articulation (s) with a stronger emission of the air, but preserving of the tenues and spirant character of the original consonant. Though the relationship between Thai and the languages of the Tibeto-Burman group is not yet definitely established, the fact of common words is evident. As to the common phonetic peculiarities found, for instance, in the existence of the consonant L, it may be due to the common origin of the phonetic

Letters II

Variations of consonant L

Character	Voice	Air emission	Character				
Occlusive	-	Strong	Diminuendo starting by explosion			tl	tl
	+		Crescendo culminating by explosion			dl	dl <-----> ? (rl) ¹
Spirant	-	Moderate	even	L	L [hl] ²	L [shl] ²	L [lh, hl] ²
Liquid	+	Slight	Diminuendo	L	L [hl] ²	L [shl] ²	L [lh, hl] ²
Spirant	-			L	L [hl] ²	L [shl] ²	L [lh, hl] ²
				l (x.l)	l (x.l) ?	l ?	l ?
					x [h] ²		
				Buś.	Ahi	Ni	Tibetan

1. When the articulation is changed. 2. Recorded as shown in brackets.

elements and borrowing from other languages as well.* The phonetic elements in this respect do not differ from other ethnographical elements.

The above shown facts are tabulated in the Scheme II in which I have included but three Lolo dialects compared in this paper, and Tibetan. The variations of the consonant **L** in Tibetan are shown only partly. All possible and observed variations of the consonant **L** may be found out from this Scheme.

§ 24. In the Palaeasiatic and American Languages.

The phenomenon of the consonant **L** is not an isolated case in Asia. Another group of languages the common origin of which is far from being proved is that of the North-Eastern palaeasiatic languages considered as a group by themselves owing to some common phonetic phenomena, and generally linguistic and ethnographical features.

W. Bogoras** has given the following description of this sound

*The instances of spreading phonetic fashions in Asia I have shown in another paper (cf. Notes on the Bilabialization, etc.), where I analyse the spreading of bilabialization and aspiration in relatively recent time in Northern and Southern Tungus, from certain common sources of these "fashions."

**W. Bogoras, Chukchee, p. 645. I have some doubts as to this description. First of all its definition as a "stop" does not clear up the question. Second, "back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate" makes the producing of the consonant impossible unless the speaker changes this position into that above described (cf. *supra*, § 22).* When one learns to produce this sound W. Bogoras' description may perhaps help, but this is not the position of the tongue for the direct production. I had the opportunity of analysing this (Chukchi) sound through the kindness of Madame Xrenov, who had spent among the Chukchis a very long time and, owing to the local conditions and her love for these people, had become absolutely familiar with this dialect (Maritime). Moreover, she knew at the moment of her living among the Chukchis four European languages and possessed a good musical ear. Yet her idea was to speak Chukchi as they did it. She made rather extensive dictionary with very numerous examples. This material, for some time, was at my disposal and all sounds of the Chukchi dialect have been analysed. She learned the language from the natives. The analysis of her material and that published by W. Bogoras show that "back of the tongue pressed" has nothing to do with the production of this consonant for certain clusters would become absolutely impossible, the formation of syllables and their succession, as well.

in Clankchi language: "L stop produced by the tip of the tongue touching the upper alveoli back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate, and sudden lateral release with slightly continued stricture. L like L, but sonant." The American languages L. J. Frachtenberg* defines it as "lateral", "sonant", "surd" and "fortis" in the Coos language, and as "lateral", "surd" and "fortis", in the Siuslaw language.**

The above quoted definitions of this sound show a coincidence with the definition given for the Lolo consonant. Among the Americano-Asiatic groups this consonant is evidently the same which permitted the editor, F. Boas, to designate it by the same sign L, Ḷ (voiced) ("sonant" of his definition) and L! (emphatic) ("fortis"). The distribution of this sound (in its tenuis form) in America, according to E. Sapir is confined to the group of "rough languages of the Columbia valley, and the North Californian and Oregon coast (Chinookan, Salish, Alesá, Coos, Athapaskan, Yurok)".*** The same consonant is met with in Kwikwautl****. Its distribution in Asia is not confined to the Chuchi language. It is met with in a modified form in Koriak, Aleutian, Kamchadal, and perhaps some other languages.

Bogoras - Boas***** treats this consonant L (and Ḷ) as "double consonants" by their origin and actual use for the reason that they never appear in clusters and as terminal ones.***** The reason given cannot, however, be justified from the phonetic point of view. In fact, these authors have also considered the palatalized t', d', j' (z' of the transcription here used), č' (č') as "double consonants" for, according to them, these consonants have originated from t' < t+y; d' < d+y and from the assimilation j' < d'+y; č' < t'+y (or z' < d'+j; č' < t'+j of the transcription

*L. J. Frachtenberg, Coos, p. 307.

**L. J. Frachtenberg, Siuslawan, p. 444.

***Cf. E. Sapir, The Takelama Language, p. 8.

****F. Boas.

*****W. Bogoras' material has been re-worked out by F. Boas (cf. W. Bogoras, p. 637) so that, for safety, I shall join the name of F. Boas to that of W. Bogoras.

*****Bogoras, W. op. cit; §§ 5 and 4 respectively.

here used). By these equations is shown not the actual character of these consonants but their *hypothetical* origin through the assimilation. As a matter of fact, one thing is palatalization and another thing is assimilation. The palatalization is a type of articulation, while the assimilation is a process, but palatalized consonants are as simple as non-palatalized. In Chukchi as in any other language there are some consonantic combinations which are common and others which are not, but it cannot be generalized that palatalized **t'**, **d'**, and some others are never met with in clusters, since there are "exceptions", **t'h** and **nd'**,* rather frequent occurrence in Chukchi. So the palatalization treated as "doubling" of consonants cannot be held responsible for avoidance of some consonants in clusters. Now, the reasoning *vice versa*: since **L** is not met with in clusters it may be supposed to be a "doubled" consonant through the assimilation "**L**<**t+l** and **L**<**l+l** or **l+r**".** But as the facts observed do not support the hypothesis and **L** and **L** are met with in clusters, these authors have introduced **I**, **E**, **A**, of their transcription, defined as "obscure, short vowels" everywhere when the clusters contradicting the above theory are met with. Since **W. Bogoras** has asserted that the dialect of the Maritime Chukchis is "almost identical with that of the Reindeer breeders of the Kalyma river"*** I shall quote some instances from the material gathered by another investigator, **Madame Xrenov**. I find in this material many cases of clusters, so for instance, **alxva kaliet** (let me go away), **tyñlxwēna** (the saw), **raĹkākwin** (the horizon), **tinLiLet** (the spectacles) **reĹkos'ikāipe** (from the house), **tuñĹtārēken** (to be busy).**** No obscure vowels have been found in these

*Ibid, p. 652, footnotes 1 and 2.

This supposition is in flat contradiction with the description of **L and **L** where "back of the tongue is pressed against the hard palate."

***Ibid. p. 639; where he also explains "the work on the Chukche is also facilitated by the fact that this language has no dialects."

****There are also some instances of clusters **t'** not only with **h**, e.g. **rylt'i** (the wing). To the same class of cases must be related all cases of **lt'** (very common in Chukchi) where **t'** is palatalized, but has been understood by **W. Bogoras** as not palatalized **t**. This is a very common mistake on the part of investigators familiar with the Russian language taking as starting point the Russian orthographic system, where the syllable "ti" is presumed to contain **t'** palatalized. The last remark holds good for palatalized **d'**, and **č'**.

cases, though short vowels and glides do exist in the Maritime dialect. In Bogoras-Boas analysis of L these "obscure vowels" make a bridge between the theory and facts. The consonant L cannot be thus regarded as "double consonant" in Reindeer Chukchi, just as it is simple in Maritime Chukchi and Lolo, in the latter two languages its articulation and sound production being identical.

In the Maritime Chukchi dialect, in the Reindeer Chukchi as well, L alternates with tl. In Koriak, as W. Bogoras says, it has changed into L and, as it may be seen from other examples, into l.* Yet, as this consonant is sometimes treated as "cluster" "lh" in Koriak (Kamenskoye) it is found (l̄n) ln' which is due to a general process of transition of tenues into mediae lenes also nasalization and palatalization. In the form of tl it is also found in Aleut.** In Kamchadal this consonant has altered: L (Chukchi)→tl and tč (Kamchadal).*** There are some indirect evidences of former existence of this consonant in Gilak, as for instance, the occurrence of tl and lx not so frequent a phenomenon as it is in other Palaeasiatic languages.**** In this language shows a definite tendency for cutting off final vowels, and omitting them (especially according to L. Sternberg's records) when possible, the phonetic system as a whole is somewhat different as compared with other Palaeasiatic languages.

[When this manuscript went into press, the writer was away in Canton and was not in a position to supervise the reading of the proofs, or to correct some possible errors in the manuscript of the rest of this article. As, however the publication of the present issue is urgently wanted for, we deem it desirable to publish this article as far as here for the time being.—Editor].

*Cf. Bogoras, W. op. cit. 16. According to his description the Koriak consonant is somewhat different as compared with the Chukchi L.

**W. Jochelson, *Archæological*, p. 129, where he defines it as "lateral affricative sound" met with in Atka dialect. Unfortunately I have no other publications of this author at hand.

***W. Bogoras, op. cit. 678, § 21, 7.

****Cf. W. Grube and L. Sternberg.

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Editorial Note: For the convenience of those who are used to the International Phonetic Alphabet only, a table of equivalence between the notation of this article and the I P A is appended here. The form of I P A is based on a pamphlet called *Lautzeichen und Ihre Anwendung in Verschiedenen Sprachgebieten* (Berlin, 1928), by D. Jones, and the equivalence is based on the definitions of symbols given in this article.

In This Article	I P A	In This Article	I P A
a	a	č	tʃ, tʃʰ(?)
ä	ɛ, æ	č'	tʃ
e	e, ɛ	ʒ	dz
è	î(?)	ž	dʒ, dʒʰ(?)
i	i	ž'	dʒ
y	ɪ(?)	k	k
o	o, ɔ	g	g
ö	ø, œ	x	x
u	u, ʊ	ɣ	ɣ
<hr/>		m	m
b	b	n	n
p	p	ŋ	ŋ
w	w	l	l
v	v	ʎ	ʎ
f	f	ʎ'	ʎ' (?)
t	t	h	h
d	d	j	j
s	s	L	ʎ
z	z	□'	□
š	ʃ, ʃʰ(?)	□'	□h, □'
š'	ʃ	□̄	□x
ž	ʒ	ǎ	ǎ
c	ts		

戰國文籍中之篇式書體 一個短記

傅 斯 年

(一)

譬如說，「管子書是假的」，這句話和說「管子書是真的」同樣的有毛病。假如在後來歷史觀念作者觀念大明之時，出了一部管子書；裏面並不顯然出來些管子的謚，桓公的謚，管子死後事，而題目，「春秋時齊相穎川人管仲撰」，以問世，被人考核了一下子，原來是一部做了傳世的書，這然後說，「這部書是假的」。若管子書中，引老子，引戰國末年事，稱桓公的謚法，稱管仲的死後事，本是齊人託管子之功名而著之書，只是當時的一種文體，他自己先不曾說是真的，戰國時也不會有題「齊相管仲撰」的事，又何勞我們答他曰「是假的」。既有一個梁任公先生，硬說管子那個人做了管子那些書，便應該有人回答他說，管子不曾做了這些篇的一個字。說到這樣好到這樣。若進一步去說，管子書是假的，則先須假定戰國時人已有精嚴的著者觀念，先須假定戰國時這些篇出來的時候上邊寫着「齊桓公相管仲撰」。這樣假定當然是不可以的。管子這部書現在所見的集合，乃是劉向的事，其中篇章是齊學之會集，書中直接稱道管仲的篇章，在戰國託於人而出來，也不過是自己為管仲之學之後世，別人叙論他，也不過可說「慎輕重，貴權衡，因禍為福，古之道術有在於是者。齊人聞管仲之傳說而悅之，作為……。」果然我們充管仲妄子是假書一類話，則國語論語孟子墨子莊子等等無不是假書，因為國語當然不是孔子所稱之左丘明寫的，論語當然沒有一個字是孔子寫的，孟子書稱梁惠王襄王之謚當然也是他的弟子記的。墨子中最墨子者，也贊頭就說「子墨子言曰」，中間又說「是以子墨子言曰」，莊子更是漢朝人所集合，魏晉人所編印的。那麼，真書只剩了呂覽，還要減去月令了。若說這些書裏有些真話，真材料，則我們又焉能保管妄書中沒有一點真話，真材料，一切都是度的差別罷了。我們這樣 *ad absurdum* 一看，可以確知我們切不可以後來人著書之觀念論戰國文籍。總而言之：

(1) 戰國時「著作者」之觀念不明瞭。

(2) 戰國時記言書多不是說者自寫，所託只是有遠有近有切有不相干罷了。

(3) 戰國書除呂覽外，都只是些篇，沒有成部的書，戰國書之成部，是漢朝人集合的。

這層意思，我們反覆說來好像不厭其詳者，實因為了解戰國文籍之成書性，是分析戰國文籍的一個前提。

(二) 記言——答論——成書

著述脫離了官書的地步，而成私人著作，我們現在可見之最早者，是論語。論語是記言的。論語的體裁現在看了未免奇怪，除很少的幾段記得較豐充以外，每一段話，只記幾句，前無因，後無果。在我們現在固已不知春秋末年情景，其不懂得，猶可說，乃漢儒對於論語上的話，也有好些像是不懂得何所為而發的樣子。且如「禮與其奢也寧儉，喪與其易也寧戚，」一類的話，若不附帶着「本事」，不和「喪欲速貧，死欲速朽，」發生同樣的誤會嗎？（見檀弓）記言記到沒頭沒尾，不附帶口說便使人不懂得，而一經展轉，便生誤會，決然不是一種妥當的記言法。再試看論語中的言，每段常含蓄很多的意思，有時顯出語長而所記者短的樣子。且論語成書大約在曾子弟子時去孟子時已不遠，孟子便是那樣汪洋大論，雖說孟子是個「戰國辯士」，談言微中與信口開合者不同，然孔子也是靠說話而做東西南北之人者，若他說的話都像論語所記那樣子，恐怕他所專要見的公侯上大夫下大夫中，懂得他的真少啦！這樣看來，論語成書時代，文書之物質尚難得，一段話只能寫下個綱目，以備忘記，而詳細處則憑口說，到了戰國中後年，文書的工具大便宜了，於是乎記長篇大論如孟子莊子書那樣子的可能了遂由簡約的記言進而為鋪排的記言，更可成就設寓的記言。記言是戰國文體的步初。論語，孟子，莊子中若干部分，晏子，管子中若干部分，墨子書中的演說體，以及策記事記言的國語，都屬於這一類。

但一段思想不必有機會言之而出，而假設的記言有時不令人，有時又大費事，於是乎舍去記言之體而據題抒論。史記呂不韋列傳，「是時諸侯多辯士，如荀卿之徒，著書布天下。」現在看荀卿的書，好些不是記言，而是據題為論者，這樣著篇，實是記言之一變，由對語(Diglogue)進而為單語(Monologue)這樣體裁，恐怕戰國中期才

有 現存戰國末年書，如商君書，荀子，韓非子，及管子之一部，大體上屬於這一類。這是戰國諸子文體演進之第二步。

箸論雖已不是記言，但獨立的論，仍然只有篇的觀念，沒有書的觀念。戰國晚年五德六數之義盛行，人們箸書當趨於系統化。慎到箸十二論，(見史記)這個數目是很整齊的，而又以齊物為首，(見莊子天下篇)或者這是做全部書的開始。但我們現在不見慎子全書，不能作決定。而呂不韋之八覽六論十二紀二十餘萬言，乃成一部至始要終的書，不是些散篇了。八覽六論十二紀，六為秦之聖數，八則卦數，十二則記天之數，這三個數八，六，十二，也都是在當時有意義的整數。這部呂子真是中國第一部整書，以前只是些散篇而已。這個體裁雖始於戰國末，然這樣的系統著作尚非依傍大財力不可，故漢朝人之繼續者，始有劉安，在體裁上淮南子是「青出於藍而青於藍」的呂氏春秋。太史公未必富，但有異常的精力，也許武帝時文書的物質更廉了，於是百三十篇又是一部要去貫天地人的通書。十表像天干，十二本紀像地支，書八章像八卦，三十世家取老子三十幅共一轂之語，七十列傳之數亦取一個豐長的整數。從此以後，系統的箸書乃更多，周禮之成書，一往整齊，卜筮如太玄，續子長者如漢書，乃至字書之說文解字，都在那裏有始有終，託於系統哲學啦。

更把上文寫成一表如下

記 言 之 書	→ 成 之 篇 書	→ 系 統 之 書
(一) 因受文書材料之限制但記一言之綱目者如論語	由託言一變即成箸論	由箸論之相為終始即成一系之書
(二) 豐長的記言如孟子		
(三) 託言如莊子		
(四) 故事之製作如韓子說林		

蘇格拉底有語無文，猶之孔子時。柏拉圖依師說散為無窮盡之對語，對語亦記言。亞里士多德乃真箸書。在中國一二百年中之變遷，在希臘則師生三代各代表之，這頗是一個文體進化的平行現象。

問曰 因文體之演進，文詞之內容會不會受影響的？答曰：這是不免的。文辭之

由記言而箸論，由箸論而成書，是由自然的話語到了較不自然的斲飾辭句。說話固可以抽象，然總不能忘了聽的人之直接了解，說話固可以鋪排，然總不能忘了聽的人之捉模得住，一經離了純粹記言的地位，文法可以代語法，泛詞可以代切詞。戰國子書中頗有不少白話，而荀子已是很簡約的文言，呂氏春秋已有些無話說話的油腔滑調，入漢而箸作者，更都是文言了。（此處用文言乃如所謂 *Kunstsprache* 與古文不同）

十八年二月

燉煌劫餘錄序

陳寅恪

一 時代之學術，必有其新材料與新問題。取用此材料，以研求問題，則爲此時代學術之新潮流。治學之士得預於此潮流者，謂之預流（借用佛教初果之名）。其未得預者，謂之未入流。此古今學術史之通義，非彼閉門造車之徒所能同喻者也。燉煌學者，今日世界學術之新潮流也。自發見以來，二十餘年間，東起日本，西迄法英，諸國學人，各就其治學範圍，先後咸有所貢獻。吾國學者，其撰述得列於世界燉煌學著作之林者，僅三數人而已。夫燉煌在吾國境內，所出經典又以中文爲多，吾國燉煌學著作，較之他國轉獨少者，固因國人治學，罕具通識，然亦未始非以燉煌所出經典，涵括至廣，散佚至衆，迄無詳備之目錄，不易檢校其內容，學者縱欲有所致力，而憑藉未由也。新會陳援庵先生垣，往歲嘗取燉煌所出摩尼教經，以考證宗教史。其書精博，世皆讀而知之矣。今復應中央研究院歷史語言研究所之請，就北平圖書館所藏燉煌寫本八千餘軸，分別部居，稽覈同異，編爲目錄，號曰燉煌劫餘錄。誠治燉煌學者不可缺之工具也。書旣成，命寅恪序之。或曰燉煌者吾國學術之傷心史也。其發見之佳品，不流入於異國，即秘藏於私家。茲國有之八千餘軸，蓋當時唾棄之賸餘，精華已去，糟粕空存，則此殘篇故紙，未必實有繫於學術之輕重者在。今日之編斯錄也，不過聊以寄其憤慨之思耳！是說也，寅恪有以知其不然。請舉數例以明之。摩尼教經之外，如八婆羅夷經所載吐蕃乞里提足贊普之詔書，姓氏錄所載貞觀時諸郡著姓等，有關於唐代史事者也。佛說禪門經，馬鳴菩薩圓明論等，有關於佛教教義者也。佛本行集經演義，維摩詰經菩薩品演義，八相成道變，地獄變等，有關於小說文學史者也。佛說孝順子修行成佛經，首羅比丘見月光童子經等，有關於佛教故事者也。維摩詰經頌，唐睿宗玄宗讚文等，有關於唐代詩歌之佚文者也。其他如佛說諸經雜緣喻因由記中彌勒之對音，可與中亞發見之古文互證。六朝舊譯之原名，藉此推知。破昏忘法所引龍樹論，不見於日本石山寺寫本龍樹五明論中，當是舊譯別本之佚文。唐蕃翻經大德法成辛酉年（當是唐武宗會昌元年）出麥與人抄寫經典，及周廣順八年道宗往

西天取經，諸紙背題記等。皆有關於學術之考證者也。但此僅就寅恪所曾讀者而言，其爲數尙不及全部寫本百分之一，而世所未見之奇書佚籍已若是之衆，儻綜合並世所存燉煌寫本，取質量二者相與互較，而平均通計之，則吾國有之八千餘軸。比於異國及私家之所藏，又何多讓焉。今後斯錄旣出，國人獲茲憑藉，宜益能取用材料以研求問題，勉作燉煌學之預流。庶幾內可以不負此歷劫僅存之國寶，外有以襄進世界之學術於將來，斯則寅恪受命綴詞所不勝大願者也。

說 鼎

丁 山

曲禮凡家器為先，犧賦為次，養器為後，無祿田者不設祭器，祭器者，鼎高尊，尚號於諸爵之屬也。祭統鼎有銘，銘者自名也，自名以稱揚其先祖之美而明箸之後世者也。蓋其先祖之辭則曰作口口尊鐘不顯祖考先王（如定禮鐘，例多不備舉）作朕皇祖皇考，爵作口口尊鼎（如定禮鼎）作朕烈祖口尊，詔與祭歌，作旅簋用言于皇祖文考，曾也，彝也，彝也，文也，口口尊鼎（但定禮）其自名止，則先等其國名，次及其私名（如定禮說），或先箸其官爵（大夫友，或先詳其族氏（姬然，所謂以此其身，以重其國家也。若詳其製器之由，美其先祖之德，或數十言，或數百言，文章爾雅，非賢者有所不能，此周器之通別也。越人尚質，銘率不文，自天子至于大夫，其作祭器也，但箸作器者名，與其先人之廟號曰口作父口彝，口作且口彝而已。其畫為獸，出於戈斧，鐘彝，祭器，坐立人，馬人，諸刑于祖，口父口之上下，而不言作者，其例與口作口彝同，此等畫形，皆有實義，非作器者族氏（如殷商人與族氏）即其官爵，非其官爵，即諸侯食地之名，乃自宋之呂錡，二王迄于清之陸鏡三，凡作畫形，皆謂之子孫，謂之子孫，孫承亦謂之子孫，推而廣之，凡不可觸不可知之形，而皆從旁者，錢鼎不疑為傳之子孫，永遠會用也，而以子孫解之。問其故，則曰象上從非，象折木，象象子抱孫，禮記謂君子抱孫不抱子，言孫可以為王父尸，子不可以為父尸，曾子問所謂祭成喪者必有尸，尸必幼孫，則使人抱之也。問非何以知象折木？則曰說文解鼎字云，湯卦，象木于下者為鼎，象折木以炊也，明以目下鼎字為折木形（在復齋鐘鼎文識，商父辛自既記，既識）蓋取折薪負荷之義（從古堂識，學三，商父戊取既），以象子抱孫，凡從旁者皆象子若孫。認認相沿，習非成是，然則欲知非象子，必先辨象之非格子孫矣。

象之見于鼎彝者，其形不一：有作象（從鼎）者，有作象（同圓）者，此無所方變也，若父癸彝作象，父丁鼎作象，則稍有所省矣，若此已，再作象（但見金文編附錄），父己彝作象（禮古錄卷一之二，第二十二葉）則大有所省矣，若父丁鼎作象（薛氏說文法帖卷一）禮文作象（禮古錄金文卷一之二，第十二葉）則大有所變矣，若禮文作象（禮文存下第二十八葉）則析為二字矣。王國維獨據象省形為之說曰此乃一字，象大人抱子置凡，問之形子者尸也。其上兩形之

鼎則周禮所謂左右玉几也，其但作几者，諸侯以下尸右几也。說文「几从半肉在且上，又且，薦也，从几足有二橫，一其下地也，且古文以為且，又以為几字，篆文几字與古文且字，皆作從正面視形，金文作卍卍或日日二形，皆作從側面視形，古鬯字象匕內于鼎之形，則其右之几象俎明矣」（說几下）。又曰「俎几二物，始象以几，繼象以且，且變縱為橫則為几，古文且字，即几形之變，反復論證，無非欲說明几即俎字，以成其「几象大人抱子置諸几間」之說。非可謂象左右玉几之形，几非几也，几象大人抱子置于何物間乎？斷几為几，不特几文為然也，几之甲骨刻辭亦屢見其當二字之用。若：

「貞既父不其取」（藏書堂殷虛文字卅六葉第七版）。

「貞既父不其取」（鐵雲藏龜卅九葉）。

「辛丑卜貞父取卍父口口取」（殷虛書契後編下卅九葉）。

「貞困父困」（後編下卅九葉）。

既即既右之几，亦即几上之几，几上之几也，將謂既象子在几間乎？辭又常言：

「貞既不其子來」（殷虛書契卷六第卅一葉）。

「癸丑卜貞几今昌方」（殷契卷七第二葉）。

「貞几止困」（藏龜拾遺十一第十一版）。

既即既左之几，亦即几下之几也，將亦謂象大人有所抱乎？徵諸卜辭，知几上從几，下從几，雖曰一几，實從二字。今欲探尋几之真義，必先知几為何字？几為何字？

以几一作几，其上之几一作几（案齊集古錄卅二第十六葉父丁爵），一省作几（案齊卅二第十四葉另刻爵），形皆近于許書所謂「几古文保」及金文保右几，疑几即保之初形，保上之几，即几輔之正字。書康誥「天戒其忱」大誥「天其忱解」又曰「越天其忱」漢書翟方進傳引「其忱俱作「輔誠」。荀子性惡「繁弱鉅黍，古之良弓也，不得其楛則不能自正，楊柳注「其楛輔正弓弩之器」然則几輔古義通，几之為言輔也。書呂刑「明明其常，鰥寡無益」又曰「明于刑之中，率又于民其彝」。逸周書皇門「其彝」則作「非彝」，小開「其常」則作「非常」，是非几古今字，非之為言亦輔也。非說文作非云「違也，從飛下几，取其相背」近世言許學者僉以為非與飛下几不符，當從正始石經古文作几。山按靡本從非也，秦會稽刻石從非作几，刻石雖翻于申屠駟，非後人妄造也，則說文非字當非俗儒所妄改。特以其形為變，泰甚，不能即其形以知其義，遂疑其怪耳。實則几為飛之省形，非為非之為變，二者本不相謀，秦漢之際始輟一字，謂許君誤以飛下几

訓非可也，謂非為俗形則不可。非徐詒讓謂象黼黻之黼云“爾雅孫炎注：黼文如斧形，蓋半白半黑似斧及白而身黑，郭注及書傳孔傳說並畧同，金文之非即黼形也。凡斧皆一刃旁出而為筵，以筵于柯。古畫斧之形，蓋當為什篆文約畧寫之則為卅，省之則為十，是其曲畫上下出者即也，直畫旁豎者即柯也，日者上下各一斧，同理連柯左右相背，合而成非，則成四斧，後世通行黼字，而原始象形遂不可復識”（名原）。說較說組為長矣，然無以解于筵之全義。且謂非者日之左右相對形，求非之形象而不得，能知日之初義，斯知非形何象矣。日字許書失紀，後之從事補苴者，或曰象木之左半（整傳引李陽冰說），或曰牀之古文（吳元滿六書正義），或曰象方筵斧之形（吳大澂字說），或曰古楸字（王廷選字義新總），或曰卅之省體，卅古文疾字（王煦說文五聚），此一是非彼一是非，驗以金石古文之偽僞，十不四三合。考卜辭言日者二見：一曰“日牧攬方”（殷契四第四十五葉），一曰“丁亥卜夏日求食”（殷契七第三葉），皆為國名，不能自其上下文義微尋其初義，然自卜辭所見從日之字若囧卪非非等皆有倚恃之義，考之則日雖近于牀，而非牀字，雖近于黼，而非黼字，雖近于几，而非几字，謂象斧辰之形，較得其實。

說文戶部“辰戶牖之間謂之辰，從戶，衣聲，釋名釋牀帳：辰，倚也，在後所依倚也。辰一作依，儀禮士虞禮：宗人佐食無事，則出戶負依南面”注：“戶牖之間謂之依，此士大夫之家有依也，其在天子，則曰斧依。觀禮：天子設斧依于戶牖之間，左右几”注：“依如今絳素屏風也，有繡斧文，所以示威也。斧謂之黼，故一作黼依。周禮春官：司几筵，大朝覲，大饗射，凡封國，命諸侯，王位設黼依，依前南嚮，左右几”注：“黼其繡白黑象，以絳帛為質，依其制如屏風然，于依前為王設席，左右有几，優至尊也。”禮記明堂位：“天子負斧依南嚮而立”注亦謂“斧象為斧文屏風，于戶牖之間。”戶牖之間者，爾雅正義引李巡曰：“謂牖之東，戶之西。”爾雅郭璞注曰：“嚮東戶西也，禮云：斧依者以其所在處名之。”金榜禮箋曰：“牖戶之間謂之辰，此以其所在處名之也。黼依所設非一地，故謂戶牖之間為辰則可，謂依必設于戶牖之間則不可。”胡培塈儀禮正義曰：“戶牖之間者，據後堂之室言之。古人宮室之制，前為堂，後為室，室之左右為東房西房，房有戶而無牖，室則戶牖俱有，戶在東，牖在西，皆在室之南壁，向堂開之，故上以此為尊位，而設斧依于此。如胡說，則斧依有定在，因斧依所在而謂戶牖之間為辰，如金說則斧依無定在，因戶牖之間名辰，而屏風亦謂之辰，其說雖似，其實不同矣。考書顧命：“狄設黼辰，綴衣牖間南嚮，辰畫于石，經作衣，周禮儀禮古文通作依，秦以前似無辰字，則胡說戶牖之間曰辰，

因斧依所在為名者近似，非斧之初字，實戶牖之間之本名也。斧之制，魏書李謐傳引鄭氏禮圖云：「縱廣八尺，畫斧文于其上，今之屏風也。」此堂書鈔引三禮弓矢圖亦云：「縱廣八尺，畫斧文而無柄，設而不用，今之屏風，則遺象也。」漢之屏風，皆有後版，周禮天官掌次：「王大旅上帝，則張氈案，設皇紼。」鄭衆云：「皇用後版也。」堂謂後版屏風與？賈公彥據以疏：「司几筵曰：『鋪氈鋪，即白黑文而為斧形。』此斧以大柄為紼，即堂次皇紼。然論語亦謂紼為氈案後之植版，凡物根板必在後，故後版謂之紼。」周禮掌次：「後版謂之紼，大版亦謂之業。」詩有「設業設虡」，傳：「業，大版也。」所以歸柶為柶也，業如語或曰：「畫之植者為虡，衡者為柶。」明堂位：「復后氏之龍，筭虞般之崇牙，圖之璧，璽。」注示曰：「筭，虞所以懸鐘磬也，橫曰璽，植曰虞，以大版為之，謂之業，業，辰一聲之轉，大版謂之業，即謂之虞，則斧之虞，非大版即後版，其以版為之虞也，來矣。」許君言「版判也，從片，反聲。」積書版也，從片，賣聲，稿，牀版也，從片，高聲，推而至于稿，牀，楡，凡從片音，皆版意，而版片之音義俱近，則判木為片，即判木為版，版片，當古今字也。古文筆勢，不拘向背，片木左向，有時向右作𠄎，片木右向，有時向左作𠄎，片木左向，有時向右作𠄎，片木右向，有時向左作𠄎，（上舉各字俱見說文，則片字今雖右向作𠄎，古文亦可向左作𠄎。）片字雖不見許書，然𠄎字，解：「待也，人有疾病，旁倚箸之形。」形近𠄎，音義則俱同，是上辭所見𠄎，即倚箸之𠄎，亦助斧之虞矣。斧之虞，本象判木，不特說文片字音義可證。說文：「𠄎，病也，從𠄎，失聲。」辭，疾也，作𠄎。（說文文字四下之五）象人血流滿體，負版寢息之形（詳後附釋疾）。說文：「𠄎，寐而有覺也，從𠄎，從𠄎，夢聲。」辭，寤也，作𠄎。（說文八下之五）象人負版寢息，若有所見之形（詳後附釋寤）。凡許書從𠄎之字，辭字但作𠄎，此𠄎一字之證也。日為大版，不特釋疾偏倚可證，古者天子大旅上帝，必設軒，轅，輅，輅之中，必設皇紼，辭字作𠄎，（鐵雲藏龜百第）正象帷幕交覆中施植版之形（詳後附釋輅），植版，豐，疏謂即斧之虞，則斧之虞植版異名而實同，𠄎象植版，亦象斧之虞，𠄎之象斧之虞也，此尤明證矣。

重日為𠄎，即是非字，𠄎象斧之虞，豈有異？慈，乳為𠄎，門闕也（左傳襄廿八年：「子尾抽簪扣扉三注」）為扉，隱也（儀禮士虞禮用席注），字一作菲，荀子禮論：「無惰絲，無繆其額，以象菲，博，駢也。」注：「或曰菲當為扉，隱也，謂隱與之虞也，或曰菲讀為扉，戶，扇也，門，闕也，此斧之虞之形變也，隱也者，倚也，此斧之虞之音變也（荀子齊物論：「南郭子綦隱几而臥，隱猶倚也。」釋文云：「隱，馮也。」）斧之虞為𠄎，蓋猶不律之謂單，明，雅之謂銘，吳，子，壽，學之謂乘，秦，秋，邠，婁之謂鄒，凡古之名物，一名而二音二字者，後人急讀之，往往併為一字一音，所謂緩言二音急讀一

字矣。非即非字，不特各處合音之異微也。說文“非，賦事也，從業，從八，八亦聲，讀若頌，一曰讀若非”又曰“非，木盛水亦然也，從中，八聲，讀若輩”。輩讀非聲，讀若輩猶讀若非，非八古音本相近也。非本從非字亦從八作分，正八讀若非之比，非不讀非，則何以借為八？以八非之聲近相假證，則之音讀尤可斷言非即非字。於左之左右相對曰非，天子之左輔右弼一曰師保，禮記文王世子“知也音敷之以事而諭諸德者也，保也音慎其身以輔翼之而誅道者也，國有師保猶室有斧斤，斧斤輔翼一聲之轉，深則保之從非作非，正取其輔翼之義，不徒諧其聲，涉讀八聲，雖不失其音，已失非輔之義，後世更展轉變移，一變為非，再變為非，三變為非，復從人作保，不特非輔之義失，其音亦幾以知矣。音失而義亡，下辭解父，遂無人知其為保父，所謂解字，子在几間，或曰人在林上，郭書燕說，其謬也遂不可以毫厘計。

下字，舊說象大人形，亦非也。大人之大，金文通作𠄎，其手下垂，後世所謂天字也。𠄎作兩手端舉，高與首齊，形當即翼敬翼戴之本字。論語鄉黨“孔子在宗廟，揖所與立，左右手，衣前後，襜如也，趨進，翼如也”，集解引孔注及皇疏皆曰“翼如，端正也，端正者敬也，故詩文王有翼，以燕翼子，行翼以引以翼，周書程典“揖下必翼上”，周語翼其上也，傳注皆曰“翼敬也”。顧詩六月“有嚴有翼，共武之職”，傳翼敬也，禮記祭義“嚴在上，翼在下，嚴數熊羆，降旅多福，翼敬字則作翼，亦作翼，春秋左氏昭九年傳“翼戴天子，而加之以共”，杜注“翼佐也”，孟鼎“天翼臨子，法保先王，翼佐字亦作翼，義伯敦“乃相克先王，翼自它邦，翼戴字亦作翼”。翼之與翼，不過頭上微異耳，若以翼又辛彝作翼，翼伯錫作翼，果上辭作翼，後編下廿六葉篆文作翼例之，字之在商從。或曰，後世易之為，曰者多矣，省翼作翼，此何足異？翼古亦通翌，爾雅釋地“南方有比翼鳥焉”，釋文“翼本作翌”，書金縢“王翌日乃復”，爾雅釋言注引作翌曰“武城，翌翼日，蔡己，召誥“若翌日，勿周公朝至于洛，越翌日，戊午，乃社于新邑”，漢書律歷志“王莽傳皆引作翌日”，凡今本尚書作翼者，古文率以翌字代之，凡古文尚書作翌者，其在金文則從立作翼，（孟鼎“寧若翌乙酉”，或省為翼，禮記“在六月，佳王廿祀，翌有五”，其在下辭則或從立作翼，後編上十二葉，翌日辛王其幾于，或從日作翌，殷契“八葉廿二，翌日，酒隻，或省之作翼，殷契“一葉九，口午，卜貞王賓外，翌日，止九”，翼，殷契“七葉十四，乙如，卜翌，丙丙”，後編上，八葉，翌丁未，不其易，明諸形。翼之為字，與翼（卷齊廿二第廿六葉父乙，或）下之甲無異也，翼之為字，與翼（卷齊十八第八葉父己，或）左之甲亦無異也，然則翼，亦翼之省形，翼之別體已。用王國維謂“翼之初字，象毛髮巖巖之形”（隸林六釋是），則謂即鳥翼之本字，說文“翼，翬也，從飛，異聲，籀文翼

翼篆文翼從羽呂覽本味其狀若鯉而有翼注亦曰翼羽翼也羽翼也當是男之本義鳥翼有左右故金文一作𠂔。自周末文祇以用音近識通假為髮巖復借𠂔敬為羽翼字而用之本義失秦漢以選借𠂔敬為異同字復從羽于異上以為鳥飛之專名假借之為翼敬輔翼而𠂔之本義失。昱日之昱卜辭作𠂔從日用聲其本字也金文作𠂔古文尚書作𠂔衛包改訂尚書作翼皆借字也。以古文尚書之互用證卜辭金文之通假以男𠂔之通假證𠂔𠂔之為一字謂𠂔即翼敬翼載之本字此非臆必之辭則卜辭𠂔字亦可斷即異之初形矣。辭曰“有異不其乎來”又曰“有異中苦方”異非人名必是國名而𠂔為官名抑為諸侯食地之名亦于焉可說。

書序言“成王時召公為保周公為師大戴禮保傅亦言“周成王幼在襁褓之中召公為大保周公為大傅太公為大師保保其身體傅傅之德義師導之教訓”周初確有師保之官矣。君爽曰“在大甲時則有苦保衛漢官儀曰殷大甲時伊尹為大保卜辭亦數見“保父”保父者猶酒誥之稱司馬為圻父司徒為農父司空為宏父亦師保之尊稱殷初確有大保之官矣然而亦非“保異”也。尚鼎曰“邢叔在異詩譜曰“晉穆侯遷都于絳孝侯改絳曰翼楚辭天問述周公東征之事亦曰“並馳擊翼何以將之”翼即卜辭所稱“負異不其子來”之異否？雖不可知殷周之世確有以異名其國者然而亦非“保異”也。𠂔上吾知其為保下吾知其為異合而觀之謂為官名既無攷謂為國號亦無徵則前言一名而從二字者毋寧謂其一字與其言“保異”合文毋寧謂𠂔從保異聲即翼之古文矣。何以徵之？說文言“冀北方州也從北異聲此周禹貢九州攸同及周禮職方氏辨九州之國使同貫利為說也。九州之說不知誰始？史記嘗述鄒衍之說云“中國于天下乃八十一分之一耳。中國名赤縣州內自有九州禹貢之序九州是也不得為州數。中國外如赤縣州者有九乃謂九州也”。河圖括地象亦謂天有九道地有九州天有九部八紀地有九州八柱九州之名近世學者頗多疑其出于周末陰陽家則北方州名非冀之古義亦晚周新說。楚辭九歌覽冀州兮有餘橫四海兮馬窮冀州猶言中國也。淮南墜形訓“正中冀州曰中土高誘注“四方之主故曰中土”。山海經大荒北經“蚩尤作兵伐黃帝黃帝乃令應龍攻之冀州之野周書嘗參解則曰“蚩尤逐帝爭于涿鹿之阿黃帝執蚩尤殺之于中冀顧氏曰知錄因之謂“古之天子常居冀州後人因以冀州為中國之號故書皆稱中國為冀州或曰中冀或曰中土則冀之為言中也非北方州之名。史記孝武紀“冀王殊庭焉索隱曰“冀漢書作幾易屯“君子幾不如舍釋文引于夏傳幾作近中孚“月幾望釋文

稱京本幾亦作近，幾近雙聲而冀幾對轉，故爾雅李巡注訓冀曰“近也”。魏梁桓五年傳“鄭同姓之國也，在乎冀州，于是乎不服，為天子病”，范寧注“冀州則近京師，親近猶不能服，則疏遠者可知”。釋文曰“冀州，言去京師近也”。楊士勳疏亦曰“冀州者天下之中州，自唐虞及夏殷皆都焉，則冀州是天子之常居，以鄰近王畿，故舉冀州為說。冀之為言近也，言其近王城也”。王城者，四方之主，天下之中也，近乎中土謂之冀，亦不得以冀為北方州也。冀非北方州名，其字何以從北？北邛伯禹作邛，傳直作天，形皆近非（非字見白鼎）。史記言“伯益之後，大駱生非子，周孝王時封為附庸，邑于秦”，說文“非子”則作“北子”（舊說北讀為邛，誤。邛伯壽，非子孫）。春秋宣元年“宋公陳侯衛侯曹伯會晉師于棊林，伐鄭”，左傳言“會于棊林”矣，又言“楚為賈救鄭，遇于北林”，北林當即棊林之誤（棊下之木，漢儒因為林名而加，上之代，將謂北乎？抑非乎？則冀上之北，殆亦非之形譌。邛一省作𠄎，再省作𠄎，若省其中之𠄎作𠄎，謂冀字乎？謂冀省乎？書臯陶謨“臣作朕股肱耳目，予欲左右有民，汝翼”，史記夏本紀“汝翼”則作“汝輔之”，楚語“求賢良以翼之”，韋注亦曰“翼輔也”，天子輔翼，有三公，有四鄰，四鄰者，尚書大傳云“前曰疑，後曰丞，左曰輔，右曰弼”，天子有問死以對責之疑，可志而不志責之丞，可正而不正責之輔，可揚而不揚責之弼（禮記文王世子疏引），三公者，古周禮說“大師大傅，大保無官屬，與王同職，故曰坐而論道”（五經美義引），師保輔弼，左右天子，如車之輔，如鳥之翼，然則邛本輔翼之專名，展轉省變，為非為北，始有冀字，冀非從北也，保北聲近，北亦𠄎之省誤（翼冀古通用，荀子修身行而供冀，非漬淖也，揚注云“冀當為翼”）。棊廷翼敬冀字作𠄎，蓋又因邛為形，以冀望為義，非所謂中冀中土冀近王城之冀，亦非予之所謂保翼為冀也，保翼為冀，冀者殷周間諸侯有國之名，亦非中土中國之號也。何以徵之？左傳僖二年“晉將伐虢，使荀息假道于虞，曰冀為不道，入自顛輪，伐郟三門，冀之既病，則亦唯君故”，杜注“冀國名，皮氏縣東北有冀亭”，水經注“汾水又逕冀亭南”，下引京璠說亦曰“今河東皮氏縣有冀亭，古之冀國所都也”。冀之立國，史無明文，羅泌路史國名紀附諸陶唐氏之後，以為其國始于堯舜之際，其說不根，其事難信。然以𠄎一字攷之，卜辭云“貞異不其乎來，貞異乍苦方”，異均似冀之省形，又以冀幾古常通用攷之，逸周書商誓言“幾取肅執，皆殷之舊官人”，幾當為冀，則冀實殷時國名。殷之舊國，若蒲姑昆吾密須甲父奄逢姚邛，至于周家，皆降為附庸，冀國之名，春秋之前若書若詩若王會並鮮稱道者，蓋其特位在附庸，不能朝覲，有事則附大國以聞已。冀之亡也，亦不知何時？僖廿五年左傳言“晉文公遷原伯于冀，趙衰為原大夫”，春秋之初，蓋已隨虞歸晉（顧棟高春秋

大事表言冀初併于虞，虞亡，味晉是也。入晉之後，初為郤芮食邑，謂之冀芮，尋以謀弒文公，被冀及向季使，退冀，見冀缺婦，其妻隨之，敬歸言于文公，以為下軍大夫。反自冀，襄公以一命命郤缺為卿，復與之冀。（傳三十三年左傳）冀遂長為郤氏食邑。食邑所在，必邱墓之所在也，以冀缺之墓，尋郤氏之邑，必不遠也，以郤氏食邑，尋冀國故都，亦不遠也。然冀缺墓元和郡縣圖志太平寰宇記俱言在和川縣南三十六里。和川縣南即冀氏縣，元和圖志又言冀氏和川皆漢猗氏縣地，猗氏縣漢地理志屬河東郡而未詳其命名之由。惟孔叢子言猗頓鹽之窮士也，聞朱公富而往問術焉。朱公告之曰：「子欲速富，當畜五牝，于是乃道西河，大畜牛羊于猗氏之南。十年之間，貨擬王公，以富興于猗氏，故稱猗頓。」則猗氏者固春秋戰國間之著族，然而國語國策皆不言猗氏所在。猗氏豈冀氏之音轉乎？又考黎之器，出土之地，呂大臨攷古圖考言黎父乙彝得于壽陽紫金山，其蓋得于維之破石下，維之破石，今不可攷，或云維係綿州傳刊之誤，則其蓋當出潞水上游，翼城縣境。壽陽縣案宇記屬之河東道并州云：「宋漢榆次縣地，榆次縣地理志屬之太原郡云：『涂水鄉，晉大夫知徐吾邑，梗陽鄉，魏戍邑。』梗陽、涂水皆在今太原縣南，則紫金山，非鴈門附近之山而謂沁源縣境之山。沁源者沁水之源也，其地在翼城縣東北，而南與和川接壤。和川之南，即冀氏縣地，自冀氏至于沁源，不過三百里，自沁源至翼城，不過一百里，許使以冀郤墓之所在尋郤氏食邑為不誤，則沁源冀氏之間正冀國之野，使以冀從非而字通于翼之說亦不誤，則翼侯所都或即古冀國之故都。史記晉世家言昭侯封成師于曲沃，曲沃邑大于冀，翼晉君都邑也。不言孝侯改絳曰翼，疑翼亦古名。紫金山正冀國之望，黎父乙彝正冀國遺物，黎之為冀，此其顯徵。冀東臨沁水，西濱汾河，此所謂兩河之間也。但爾雅則謂兩河之間曰冀州，呂覽有始亦曰：「兩河之間為冀州，晉也。」冀州之名，豈同于冀國乎？舊史又言，堯都平陽，舜都蒲阪，禹都安邑。（尚書正義語）古帝王之都多在河東河北，故謂河北為河內，河南為河外。（史記正義語）則冀距歷代帝王之都，遠者不過三二百里，近者不過百十里，冀在尚世，正在畿甸之內，即以河壺甲居相，且乙遷于邢，自殷河北各都至于冀國之野，最遠不過五六百里，商頌曰：「邦畿千里，惟民所止。」則冀在殷世，亦不失為畿內大國，是冀之為名，亦以其地處中土，密邇王城，猶鄭之于周，自謂在乎冀州矣。京璠杜預並以皮氏縣東北之冀亭當冀國之故都，不特失冀國所在，亦且失冀為中國之義。高誘注呂覽「兩河之間為冀州」云：「東至清河，西至西河。」郭璞注爾雅「兩河」云：「自東河至西河，不特失冀州為中國之義，亦且失近乎京師之說。夏書曰：『惟被陶唐，帥復天常，』

有此輩方，輩方音輩國也，豈輩之立國遠在夏殷前世乎？吾說夏瓚杞不足徵也，吾說殷禮有宋存焉，徵之彝器從輩者之衆，則吾敢斷言輩為殷世之大國。

禮含文嘉殷爵三等，周爵五等，各有宜也。句虎通義殷爵三等，公侯伯也。按呂覽射為無道，殺梅伯而醢之，殺鬼侯而脯之，以禮諸侯于廟，明堂位曰射脯鬼侯，楚辭亦曰梅伯近醢，是殷有梅伯也。惟公爵未聞。茲攷齊僕鼎銘：

佳八月初吉辰在乙卯，公錫齊僕，齊用作父日乙寶尊彝。容齋三第十一葉。
所稱公錫齊僕，公當謂冀君，則殷稱有公爵矣。鄭玄玉制注言“公為殷之一等爵，冀君稱公，其國亦必一等國矣。周之封建，王者之後為公，及有功之諸侯，大者地方五百里，其次侯四百里，其次伯三百里，其次子二百里，其次男百里，所用殷之諸侯，亦以功黜陟之”（玉制注）則冀國公爵，地方五百里，正跨汾汾兩河之間。雖然諸侯稱王，見于古彝器銘識者亦不一二觀，徐楚之器無論已。矢伯彝也，散氏盤銘則謂之矢王，景伯彝，姜伯彝皆伯爵也，其作款則並稱王若曰。蓋古時天澤之分未嚴，諸侯在其國中，自有稱王之俗，即徐楚吳楚之稱王者亦皆沿周初舊制，不得盡以僭竊目之。（王國維集林補遺古詩卷稱王說）則父甲鼎銘：

唯正月既望癸酉，王獸于獸，王令口執植休，善用作父甲寶尊彝。容齋六第（八）葉。

師墨鼎銘：

乙亥子錫小子墨，王商月十朔，師墨用作父乙寶尊彝。容齋二第（一）葉。

所稱王獸于獸，王商月十朔，王皆冀君之稱，不得謂為殷周之天子，此冀國之可攷者也。王制“大國三卿，皆命于天子，下大夫五人，上士二十七人，卿者卿士也。”詩商頌“降于卿士”，大雅“百辟卿士”，鄭箋“卿士，卿之有事者”，商周之間，故皆謂之“卿士”，毛公鼎及散氏彝器，太史察，卜辭下在佳癸，卿事（殷契二第二十三葉），卿事即命于天子之卿也。乙未款銘：

乙未，卿事錫小子師，貝二百，用作父丁寶尊彝。容齋七第（四）葉。

則冀有卿士，且有小子諸官矣。小子者，周禮夏官云“掌祭祀羞羊，辨羊，視肉，豆，而掌珥于社稷，祈于五祀，凡沈辜，侯，禋，飾其牲，饗，邦器及軍，燕，要而言之，但主祭祀之小書，未知墨款銘中所稱小子與周官之小子同否？此冀之職官可攷者也。亦有不嘗作器之尚與依器者之職，但曰冀口作且口寶器者：

牧作且寶尊彝。（容文見殷文存上第十八葉）

伯彝寶尊彝。（容文見十七第（九）葉）

叔父辛彝(據古錄卷二之一第八葉)。

棘作且辛彝(釋文。憲齋廿第十三葉)。

牙(脈文。憲齋廿一第七葉)。

通(藝文。據古錄卷一之二第五一葉)。

冀下之牧、幹、叔、棘、牙、通等字，疑皆冀君之名，曰“且”曰“父”曰“伯”皆其先君之廟號。殷人死無諡，即以死日所逢之干支為廟號，後人祀之也。即以其忌日，湯廟號太乙，以乙日記，高宗廟號武丁，以丁日記，非因生之日為名，乃因忌日為廟號也。(詳王國維殷禮徵文)。而吳大澂云：“父辛為父廟第八器，且癸為祖廟第十器，以干支為大廟中禮器之號次，甚矣其謬也。冀之下亦有不著作器者名，但紀其國名與先君廟號者：

作父乙彝(商文。憲齋卷十八第十六葉)。

父乙(說文。憲齋七第十八葉)。

父丁(說文。憲齋七第十八葉)。

父丁(鼎文。殷文存上第九葉)。

父己(爵文。憲齋廿三葉)。

父癸(釋文。殷文存下第二十九葉)。

父己母癸(商文。殷文存下第三十九葉)。

冀下或有作字，或者作字與冀牧作且癸彝冀叔父辛彝同一文例。亦有著作器者名于上，而附國號于銘文末者：

婦闈作文姑日癸尊彝(說文。憲齋廿一第十葉)。

商婦作彝(鼎文。殷文存上第九葉)。

甸作乃尊彝(商文。憲齋十九第十四葉)。

且母作乙尊彝(商文。據古錄卷二之一第三十五葉。此銘疑當讀曰冀作且母乙尊彝)。


女子小臣作兄己尊彝(商文。據古錄卷二之一第七十三葉。此銘疑當讀曰冀女子小臣作兄己尊彝)。


龜婦尊彝(爵文。憲齋廿三第二十二葉)。


亞俞尊作父癸寶尊彝(商文。據古錄卷二之一第八十葉)。


作世婦尊彝(鼎文。憲齋三第五葉。此銘疑當讀曰冀世婦作尊彝)。


亦有父口且口與葉並列，其文左讀則父口翼，右讀則曰翼父口者，依卜辭自左向右讀之例，實同翼作父口者：


“父丁”（古文。《聖齋十八第十七葉）。


“父丁”（尊文。《聖齋十三第二十葉）。


“父丁”（番文。《聖齋十三第二十一葉）。


“父戊”（角文。《殷文存下第二十二葉）。



“父己”（角文。《殷文存下第二十二葉）。

“父辛”（解文。《殷文存下第二十九葉）。

“父戊”（觚文。《聖齋十一第七葉）。

“母口”（爵文。《聖齋十三第五葉）。

“父己”（爵文。《摭古錄卷一之二，第廿二葉）。

凡此等形，皆在“且口父口”之上，釋以“折子孫罔不可通，即謂象尸祭之意，于辭亦不順，若謂即作器者之國名，所謂“以比其身，以重其國家也，則無不泯然冰釋，自鼎彝銘識之通則攷之，亦可斷言為古國之名，其字即葉之初形也。

附 錄 一

釋 卍

周易卦爻辭言疾者疾九：其在復卦曰“出入无疾，往來无咎”，鼎之九二曰“我仇有疾，不能我助，吉，疾之為言咎也憂也”，明夷之九二曰“明夷于南狩，得其大首，不可疾貞”，疾之為言速也，速也。豫六五“貞疾，恒不死”，无妄九五“无妄之疾，勿藥，有喜”，遯九三“係遯，有疾厲”，損六四“損有疾，使遯，有喜”，豐六二“往得疑疾”，兑九四“介疾，有喜”，疾皆當依說文訓曰“病也”。人誰不病，病誰不懼死，今人之死生常問諸鬼神，古人之疾瘵與否，則卜諸蓍龜，周禮“太卜以邦事作龜之八命，八曰瘵”，凡此疾病諸辭，殆亦殷周間卜瘵之類矣。卜瘵之辭亦常見于甲骨刻辭，但字作卍（鐵齋堂文字，卅四葉第五版），孫詒讓以為瘵字云“瘵從疒，叕聲，叕從羽，冬聲，右之卍似從羽省半而倒之”（梁文舉例上）。王襄以為疹字云“卍即介字，卍即卍省”（徵文攷釋），山按急就篇“痲疔疥癩瘵瘵”，顏注云“疥小瘵，攻醬

皮膚，淮錯如疇介也。疥乃皮膚之疾非齒也，而下辭數言“惟齒”曰：

“貞惟齒不佳口”(藏書百九十葉)，

“貞惟齒却于且乙”(殷契一，第廿五葉)，

“甲子卜肅貞王惟齒獲口彤”(殷契四，第四十四葉)，

“王戊卜貞貞之惟齒佳之尙”(徵文游田三十版)，

謂齒生疥癬則不可通。孫君疑卣為倒用形，形亦甚遠。山謂惟齒猶言齒病，卣即周易常兄之疾字也。許君言誤從疇矢營而蔡兩詔擴量刻辭“冬相斯去疾”疾則從人作疇與卣所從之个同也。又按祭卜辭作卣(殷契一，第四葉)殺卜辭作卣(後編下，第六頁)育卜辭作卣(後編上，第卅葉)所從之卣皆象血液，則卣外之卣亦可謂象血液形。日本象太版亦象茶依。人體流血倚版寢息此卣之全形，亦疾之初義矣。釋卣為疾不特合于形義，驗諸所卜各辭亦無不怡然順理。辭曰：

“已卣不死”(藏書百六十八葉。死本作其象人在棺槨之中，舊釋因非也)，

與豫之貞疾恆不死同一文法同一意義，此一證也。又曰：

“貞亡多冠癘亡卣”(殷契四，第卅二葉)，

“亡未卜畢已卣止卣”(後編下，第廿九葉)，

“丁巳貞已段卣卣三月”(徵文人名八十九版)，

“貞王曰卣其卣”(徵文雜事六十二版)，

“癸未卜出貞已卣卣”(徵文游田三十版)，

“貞已其不之卣”(殷契四，第卅二葉)，

“癸未卜貞口卣卣之卣卣”(殷契八，第六葉)，

“止疾卣其疾第疾第疾之疾其不之疾皆與復之“出入无疾”同類，此一證也。而殷虛書契曰(第十葉)有一版曰：

“癸酉卜貞寧其之卣？”

“貞寧卣卣”。

前為命卜之辭，後為吉凶既判之語，合而讀之，尤非卜癘之事莫解，此卣為疾字之證三也。餘若：

“癸未卜肅貞之惟齒口”(藏書百五十六葉)，

“貞告惟于且丁”(殷契一第十二葉)。

“丙午卜貞福告吳惟于口丁吏”(徵文 帝系二百十葉)。

是告疾之卜也。

“貞之肺佳之尪”(藏龜百五十三葉)。

“癸酉卜貞幽其之惟”(殷契六第三十八葉)。

“甲寅卜貞其惟佳口尪”(藏壽堂文字卅四葉第四版)。

“戊申卜貞雀日月之惟”(北大藏龜第〇葉)。

“壬子卜貞其克與之惟”(北大藏龜第〇葉)。

“己酉卜貞之惟它出”(徵文游田廿八葉)。

“丁未尪之惟”(徵文游田三十版)。

是卜臣屬之疾也。藏龜有曰：

“卜貞其惟惟旬之二日”(第五葉)。

則卜疾瘳之期矣。金滕言“武王有疾弗豫，二公曰我其為王禱卜，王翼日瘳，然則卜疾之瘳否，乃古人之常事。焦循並以疾連證訓易卦爻辭之疾字(易通釋卷八)毫厘千里，其失也不亦遠乎？”

附錄二

釋 夢

周禮六卜掌三夢之灋：一曰致夢，二曰疇夢，三曰咸陟。又古夢掌其歲時觀天地之會，辨陰陽之氣，以日月星辰占六夢之吉凶：一曰正夢，二曰噩夢，三曰思夢，四曰寤夢，五曰喜夢，六曰懼夢。釋文夢作蓐云“本多作夢”孫詒讓正義曰“夢正字當作寤，寤即轉之俗，經凡寤字皆段夢為之，古夢釋文載或本作寤，則剛正字。”說文(寤)寐而有覺也，從宀從宀，夢聲。又曰“蓐不明也，從夕，蓐省聲。蓐，不明也，从尚從旬。尚，目不正也，從个從目。蓐從苗從戊，而金文或從勞作蓐(免自)，或從算作蓐(師遼尊)，或從勞作蓐(見生鼓)卜辭或從勞作蓐(殷契一第四十九葉)或從勞作蓐(殷契六第七葉)或從勞作蓐(殷契五第卅九葉)以蓐之偏傍變化測物(殷契一第五葉)右之蓐可斷其為夢

之最初形，其左日可斷其為卅之最初形。許君言“卅，倚也，人有疾病象倚筮之形”。墨經言“筮，臥而以為然也”，倚筮而臥，神有所遇，恍兮惚兮，其見有物，則癡從日從芎，芎亦聲，形誼已著，奚用從白哉？筮從芎，不明之誼亦足，奚用從夕哉？竊疑芎筮古今字，卅即癡之初形矣。何以徵之？辭曰：

“庚辰卜貞多鬼卅不至因”（後編下第三葉）。

“庚辰卜貞多鬼卅由疾見”（徵文禮事六十五版）。

卜貞多鬼卅由言見”（同上）。

“貞多卅由見”（同上）。

“貞多鬼卅止疾”（殷契四第十八葉）。

鬼卅猶言“多鬼癡”是周禮所占之“懼筮”也。卅一作卅，此芎之特變，然以下辭文法比勘，不得謂卅另是一字。卅之變化形亦不齊，有作卅（藏龜百廿一葉）者，有作卅（徵文人名第六版）卅（徵文典禮第廿八版）者，其辭或曰：

“乙巳卜貞賓王卅菊口佳口”（藏龜第二葉）。

“貞王卅畢不獲因”（殷契五第四葉）。

“庚子卜賓貞王卅白牛佳因”（徵文人名第六版）。

此癡見事物而卜其吉凶者也。

“辛巳卜貞卅亞雀朕若”（殷契八第十三葉）。

“貞王卅帚好不佳雙”（藏龜百十三葉）。

“辛未卜貞王卅兄戌口从不佳因”（藏龜百廿一葉）。

“辛亥亞壬子王亦卅尹卅之口口”（殷契七第卅三葉）。

“口口亞辛亥王卅我口口”（同上）。

此癡見人而卜其吉凶者也。餘若：

“丙寅卜貞昌貞羊眾于之卅”（殷契六第九葉）。

“口口之卅口口不若”（殷契六第卅二葉）。

“壬午卜王口貞口卅”（藏龜廿六葉）。

“貞王卅之”（藏龜百十七葉）。

“口午卜口貞王卅佳因”（藏龜百四十八葉）。

“丁口貞王弗不口”(藏龜百六十五葉)。

“貞王弗之口”(戰壽堂文字第卅四葉第七版)。

“貞狩辛佳弗”(微文禱事百零八版)。

“貞王弗止其人來”(微文人名第七版)。

則或事物不記徒卜釋之吉凶。至于：

“癸丑卜貞旬止田王固曰之求之睪父甲寅允之來媿”(後編下第五葉)。

“王固曰求之睪父其來媿”(菁華第六葉)。

睪父應作人名解。尚書序言高宗夢得說使百工營求諸野得諸傅巖作說命三篇今偽說命曰“王宅憂亮陰三祀夢帝賚予良弼其代予言”。殷本紀亦謂“武丁夜夢得聖人，名曰說，以夢所見視群臣百吏，皆非也。于是廼使百工營求之野，得說于傅險中，舉以為相，殷國大治”。睪父豈猶伊尹之稱保衛師保之稱保父，亦傅說之尊稱歟？若然，則殷之名臣見于卜辭者，伊尹咸戊而外，得說而三矣。

附錄三

釋囿

卜辭常見囿字，其辭曰：

“貞今口口从囿侯虎伐斧方受之義。”(殷契四第四十四葉)。

“囿貞令旃从囿侯竇囿。”(殷契七第卅一葉)。

“貞令囿侯歸。”(微文人名四十九及五十版)。

“辛巳卜賚貞王由囿伐囿受囿。”(戰壽堂文字十三葉第五版)。

“貞今夕囿兩。”(藏龜百葉)。

囿侯連文，當是殷時候國之名。三國雜疑與毛公鼎菑字，魏李子白盤尊字，召伯虎敦巖字殆為一字，其字前人皆釋為庸，疑即邶鄘之鄘。商器中屢見北子(即邶子)又有邶侯則邶鄘固殷之舊國矣。(戰壽堂殷虛文字攷釋) 山按邶鄘立國，誠在殷世，然庸許君言“從用從庚與菑形絕遠，菑從日從田與囿形尤不倫，前人釋菑為庸非也，王君謂菑囿一字亦非也。菑卜辭菑(殷契六第六十葉)，下或從皿，蓋簾簾之類，疑是器物之

名，且象其柄，所謂衣版為業，業象樂器，亦象器錄也。其為何字？不敢臆斷。然因象帷幕交覆，中施皇師之形，則確然明白。周禮天官幕人，掌帷幕幄帟綫之事，凡朝覲會同軍旅田役祭祀共其帷幕幄帟綫。鄭玄注：王出宮則有是事。在旁曰帷，在上曰幕，幕或在地，展陳于上，皆以布為之，四合象宮室曰幄，王所居之帷也。又掌次，掌王次之法，以待張事，王大旅上帝，則張氈案，設皇師。鄭玄注：皇羽覆上，師後版也。鄭玄注：張氈案以氈為牀于幄中，後版屏風也。古者天子有事于外，必設帷幄，帷幄之中，必施屏風，因中之日正象後版屏風之形，其外之日正象帷幕在地，展陳于上之形，當即冢之初字。許君說：冢覆也，從冢，冢字無義可說。考古文作冢，卜辭一作下（殷契三第三葉），牙（殷契八第一葉），冢從冢，卜辭一從牙作冢（殷契一第三葉），牙之與日相去幾何？竊疑冢本作冢，或省其下為冢，後世一誤為冢，再誤為冢，于是後版屏風之意失矣。冢，冢古今古字。法言：吾子，震風凌雨，然後知夏屋之為帟也。注云：帟，帟蓋覆也。蓋覆者，帟，帟之引中，帟者，冢之初證。許君以覆訓冢，得其最初引中證，究非冢之本訓也。冢，華乳為蒙，方言：小爾雅：廣詩俱云：蒙覆也。論語季氏：夫顯聖，昔者先王以為東蒙主，魯頌閟宮：奄有龜蒙，遂荒大東，毛傳及孔注皆曰：蒙山。漢書地理志謂：在泰山蒙陰縣西南。蒙陰因蒙山為名，其地又遠在泰山之旁，與卜辭所稱冢今夕兩不合，當非冢侯之故都。冢侯故都疑即泲水南大蒙城。括地志：兗州北五十里大蒙城，即景亳，湯所盟地，因景山以為名。景亳，鄭道元水經注疑即蒙亳，皇甫謐亦曰：蒙為北亳，北亳即地理志之山陽郡濳縣。巨賈注云：薄湯所都。關駟十三州志云：景亳湯都也。亦謂薄城北郭東三里平地有湯冢，則漢之薄縣，薄湯之故居。史記殷本紀：帝盤庚之時，殷已都河北，盤庚渡河南，復居湯之故居，其在紀年則謂盤庚自奄遷于北蒙曰殷。項羽本紀索隱引泲郡古文亦曰：盤庚自奄遷于北蒙。北蒙北亳豈一地乎？按莊十二年左傳：宋萬弑閔公于蒙澤，公子御說奔亳。杜注云：蒙澤宋地，梁國有蒙縣，蒙縣西北有亳城。十三州志以薄城為亳城，亦云：在蒙縣西北，則蒙自為蒙，亳自為亳，北蒙之北，實以別于東蒙蒙亳之稱，亦以其境地毗連而為一矣。蒙本近亳，而亳則正城，故得卜其兩否？辭又言：从冢侯虎伐笱方，笱方葉玉森疑與蒙為一國，從苗從人，或古雲蒙之蒙（殷契鈎沈）。山按葉釋是也。笱方即曹之鄭邑。春秋昭二十年：曹公孫會自邲出奔宋。杜注：鄭曹邑。寰宇記：濟陰參氏縣西北有大鄉城，曹之鄭邑也。山東通志亦曰：鄭城在曹州府荷澤縣西北三

里。曹之南鄙，即宋之北鄙，鄆在陶丘之東，而蒙在商丘之北，自鄆至蒙，不過二百里；以蒙伐鄆，亦不過兼日之程。公孫會自鄆奔宋易，而商自商丘伐鄆，則必道出于蒙，以蒙侯伐鄆之事攷之，知匡必汜水南之大蒙城矣。蒙去商丘僅五十里，是在天子縣內。王制“天子縣內方百里之國九，七十里之國二十有一，五十里之國六十有三”，又曰“公侯田方百里，天子三公之田視公侯，家君稱侯，豈商初之公鄉乎？抑河壘甲遷相後新建諸侯乎？此雖非所知，然梁國郡蒙縣即匡侯故都，匡即汲郡古文所稱北蒙也，則無疑。

十八年十月卅日初成于北海。

山作此文畢，見鄭業敬君獨笑齋金石文考，謂即非字，足證余說之未謬。惟鄭君稱宥于“杵子孫”成說，誠非為分，則不免手拘塵矣。鄭說詳中國學報第二期。

丁山 校記于北海靜仁齋，12. 8.

正 誤

葉數	行數	誤	正
233	10	族	族
234	19	右男	右之男
236	21	實同	同實
237	19	膝	膝
238	13	亦非	非
241	19	卿士寮	卿事寮
243	19	言疾者疾九	言疾者九
243	21	五妄	无妄
247	27	卜辭蠱	卜辭亦作蠱

明季桐城中江社考

朱 倌

明季結社，其數盈百，而勢力之偉大，無如復社；而與復社隱然相抗與之敵對者，其惟中江社。

中江社之首領，爲桐城阮大鍼，明季社黨之爭，都置國事於不顧，內憂外患，熟視無視，大鍼始與東林黨爲難，而北都以亡，終與復社爲難，而南都以亡，中江社之設，殆與東林黨暗爭以後，又與小東林黨之復社暗爭者也。此社記載寥寥，殆以阮大鍼爲明季奸臣，清初貳臣，入其社者，人皆諱之。惟桐城錢秉鐙初入其社，其後以方以智之勸戒，始脫離其社，秉鐙少子撝祿撰先公田間府君年譜云：

壬申（崇禎五年），二十一歲，是年，邑人舉中江大社，六皖知名士皆在，府君與三伯與焉，首事潘次魯方聖羽也。次魯爲闕黨汝楨子，聖羽則皖髯門人，皖髯陰爲之主，以薦達名流餌諸士，由是一社皆在其門，皖髯與余家世戚，門內人素不以爲嫌，府君鄉居，不習朝事，漫從之入社。（國粹學報第七十五期據桐城蕭穆抄校本）

案皖髯即阮大鍼，錢秉鐙歲山閣文存有皖髯事實一篇，首云：「皖人阮大鍼」，末云：「並爲髯絕篇一首，大鍼髯而無嗣，故以髯絕名篇。」撝祿所撰年譜，稱大鍼爲皖髯，本此。

欲明阮大鍼主持中江社之陰謀，非先明大鍼之歷史不可，大鍼之歷史，可分爲三時期：一爲崇禎以前與東林暗爭時期；二爲崇禎時列名逆案結中江等社以與復社暗爭時期；三爲弘光時誅鋤復社及降清時期。茲分爲三篇，每篇即以大鍼事蹟穿插其中，藉以明中江社之緣起與組織及其結果焉。

上篇

中江社之成立，在崇禎五年，上距復社之成立僅三年，（崇禎二年，復社有國表初集，列名七百餘人，見復社紀事，其後增至數千人，見復社姓氏錄。）距魏忠賢矯旨頒示東林黨人榜僅七年，（天啓五年十二月乙亥朔，頒示東林黨人榜三百零九人，榜見酌中志餘。）又距欽定逆案大誡列名案中亦僅三年。復社中多東林黨人之子弟，忌者多以小東林目之，大誡本亦爲東林黨人，後與東林黨相仇，列名逆案，故見復社之盛，心頗畏忌，乃別立中江社，網羅六皖名士，以爲己羽翼，一以標榜聲名，思爲復職之地，一以樹立黨援，冀爲政爭之具，中江社成立之原因，蓋不出乎此。

阮大鍼之與東林黨爲讐敵，並遷怒於其子孫，非明其初期之歷史，必有不甚慄然者。茲將錢秉鐸皖髻事實，錄其事之在崇禎二年以前者如左，並以溫睿臨南疆逸史阮大鍼傳及他書補其缺：

皖人阮大鍼，少有才譽，萬曆丙辰通籍，授行人，考選給事中，清流自命，同鄉左公光斗在臺中有重望，引爲同心，其人器量褊淺，幾微得失，見於顏面，急權勢，善矜伐，悻悻然小丈夫也。天啓四年冬，將行考察，會吏掌科缺，以次應補者，江西劉弘化在籍有丁憂信，後資無踰大鍼，大鍼亦方假回，左時已轉僉院，急招入京，大鍼既至，而當事諸公意屬魏大中，以察典重大，大鍼淺躁，語易泄，不足與共事也，左意遂中變，語大鍼曰，「某公艱信已確，但撫按疏久未至，奈何！現有工科缺出，且宜暫補，俟其疏至，再行改題可乎？」大鍼業心知其故，謬曰「可」，於是具疏題補工科都給事中，凡再題而命不下，諸公怪之，而外議喧傳吏科缺出已久，不得已乃更以吏科請，疏朝上而命夕下，蓋大鍼於此時始走捷徑，叛東林也。大鍼到任未數日，即請終養歸，以缺讓魏公大中，與楊左諸公同掌察典，歸語所親曰，「我便善歸，看左某如何歸耳，」楊左禍機伏於此時矣。次年春，難作，毒遍海內，（南疆逸史阮大鍼傳云：「未幾，汪文言獄起，連殺漣光斗六人，又明年，逮攀龍等七人。」）大鍼方居里，雖對客不言，而眉間栩栩有伯仁由我之意，其實非大鍼所能爲也。大鍼與同志相呼應者，馮銓霍維華楊維垣等數人耳，而用以通閹者，倪文煥也。（明史馬士英傳云：「大鍼自是附魏忠賢，與霍維華楊維垣倪文煥爲死友，造百官圖，因文煥達諸忠賢。」）丙寅冬，召起太常寺少卿，數月即回，心知魏閹不可久恃，凡有書幣往候，隨即

購其名刺出，故籍閣時無片字可據，但加以「陰行贊導」而已。先帝即位之初，舉朝皆闔餘黨，東林虛無人，於是楊維垣乘虛倡議，以東林崔魏並提而論，蓋兩非之；不意倪公元璐於詞林中毅然抗疏，極詆其謬，分別邪正，引繩批根，維垣爲之理屈詞窮。而大鍼在籍，既聞闔敗，急作二疏，遣賫入京，其一疏特參崔魏，一疏爲七年合算，以熹宗在位凡七年，四年以後亂政者魏忠賢，而爲之羽翼者，崔呈秀輩也；四年以前亂政者則爲王安，而羽翼安者，東林也，諭役特示維垣，若局面全翻，則上前疏，脫猶未定，即上合算之疏。是時維垣方與倪公相持，得大鍼疏，大喜，即上之，從此東林諸公切齒大鍼，倍於諸闔黨矣。崇禎元年，奉優旨起陞光祿卿，旋被劾罷回，已爲魏公大中子學濂血疏稱：「大鍼實殺其父，」用是削奪配贖，列名欽定逆案，十七年不能吐氣矣。

案明史馬士英傳及南疆逸史阮大鍼傳，記大鍼第一期事蹟，皆本阮傳事實，而不及其詳；惟逸史言「大鍼字圓海桐城人，」而明史馬士英傳則云：「萬曆四十四年，與懷寧阮大鍼同中會試，」民國四年懷寧縣志選舉表云：「萬曆丙辰進士阮大鍼，桐城阮鶚之曾孫，鶚爲嘉靖甲辰進士，官至巡撫，見明史，大鍼爲桐城人，太學題名碑可考，明史誤以大鍼爲懷寧人，附識於此以正之。」尋懷寧縣志文苑傳「大鍼從祖阮自華，始遷懷寧，與吳應鍾劉鍾嶽等結海門社，」乾隆江南通志文苑傳「阮自華懷寧籍桐城人，」則大鍼當爲桐城人無疑。

朱彝尊云「大鍼名在點將錄，號沒遮欄，而閩人周之襲，亦注名復社第一集；阮露刃以殺東林，周反戈以攻復社。」（見靜志居詩話）案酌中志塗所載東林點將錄，沒遮欄爲禮科給事中劉宏化，錄中亦別無阮大鍼之名，殆爲後人所竄易，朱氏所見，必係初本。中江社之首事潘次魯方聖羽，初亦列名復社。（見復社紀事及復社姓氏錄）潘次魯名映婁，方聖羽名啓曾，復社國表第一集即列其名。大鍼餌潘方二氏以爲中江社首領，殆亦使效己智，而爲反戈之意乎？

中篇

南疆逸史阮大鍼傳云：「大鍼起爲光祿卿，御史毛羽健即劾之，以其頌美贊導，列名逆案之四等，論贖徒爲民，終莊烈帝世廢斥，鬱鬱不得志，然未嘗一日忘仕宦

也，賂遺朝貴，求所以湔刷者，終無其術，帝明誓，人有以逆案荐者，輒得罪，大誠無可奈何。」當是時，大誠發憤爲詩，抒其才藻，以博人之稱譽，今南京盩山精舍所刻詠懷堂詩十卷，大都皆爲其罷官里居時所作。葉燠序稱其「一與時忤，便留神著述；家世簪纓，多藏書，徧發讀之，又性敏捷，目數行下，一過不忘，無論經史子集，神仙佛道，諸鴻章鉅簡；卽瑣談雜誌，方言小說，詞曲傳奇，無不薈蘖而掇拾之。聰明之所溢發，筆墨之所點染，無不各極其妙，學士家傳戶誦；而全副精力，尤注射於五七字之間，其詩有莊麗者，有澹雅者，有曠逸者，有香艷者，至其窮微極渺，靈心慧舌，或古人所已到，或古人所未有，忽然出之，手與筆化，卽公亦不知其所以至而至焉。」葉之稱譽，其過情與否，余未敢言；要其所謂學士家傳戶誦，必非虛譽，視大誠之結中江社，六皖知名士皆在，則其詩文之從傾動一時可知。其時復社之聲譽已隆，大誠能使名列復社之潘映婁方啟曾來入其社，雖云以薦達名流爲餌，要亦其文藝足以服人有以致之；卽錢秉鐸（錢攜祿田間年譜所稱爲三伯者）秉鐸兄弟，亦名重江左，亦傾倒其才而入其社，他可知也。茲將潘方二錢事蹟，考之如左；

（一）潘映婁

康熙安慶府志云：「潘映婁字次魯，明少司馬汝楨仲子也，美丰姿，饒機畧，隨父歷官，行止多取決焉。比入成均，才名藉甚，授台州推官，著聲明允。入國朝，以投誠有功，擢杭州鹽法道，旋註誤，下吏議，復白之，陞福寧道，政務寬慈，士民猶有頌聲。」

桐城徐璈桐舊集云：「潘映婁號復齋，崇禎丙子（九年），己卯（十二年）副榜。」

案潘映婁當時亦有才名，桐舊集載其酬何司空太瀛詩云：

大雅將誰託，斯文宛在茲。曹南多夙譽，水部最能詩。月俸存官米，風塵伴放葵。琅玕頻贈我，慚不似潘尼。

案阮大誠詠懷堂詩爲潘次魯而作者有七篇，（黃鶴篇爲潘次魯南征賦，卷二 鳩嶺遲潘次魯不至，卷二 山中五日懷次魯客江上，卷二 招潘次魯等飲傲園，卷二 山夜有懷潘次魯居廬，卷三 冬日同潘次魯等坐天界綠夢居，卷三 酌次魯十寶閣，卷三）茲擇其更關切者，錄四篇如左：

鳩嶺遲潘次魯不至，

山雲靜吐輝，流英照中野。持情復何向，偃曝秋扉下。穫餘禾穰繁，可以贍
鸚鵡。開筵款親益，漁樵亦來社。獨有同心人，煙霜格車馬。鳴雀定不喧，菊香
澹盈把。使我對寒月，孤琴爲君寫。

山中五日懷次魯客江上，

與子靜相見，閒雲及芳草。乘此松際月，時向潭中杲。想子江上心，應懷薇
蕨好。楚些激靈波，離思更難稿。雨止山青開，泉聲喧一道。煙鴛念當來，巖花
落椀掃。蘭芳彌話言，靈谿澹何討。

山夜有懷潘次魯居廬，錄第二首，

世事寧庸問，其如高枕何？儘容恬寤寐，無可寄悲歌。山靜烟雲秀，林深鳥
雀和。秋籬能就菊，爲爾撤門羅。

酌次魯十賚閣，

草閣晴香裏，花繁君適來。有懷何契闊，於此且徘徊。簷柳青難忍，江峯碧
盡開。好將寒靜意，闔世向深杯。

(二)方啟曾

桐舊集云：「方啟曾字聖羽，號僑伴，順治間貢生，官江陰訓導，有振雅堂
集。」

康熙安慶府志著彥表：「方啟曾，壽九十歲，江都訓導。」

象方啟曾亦工詩，阮大誠詠懷堂詩爲方聖羽而作者，有十四篇。（九日霽後同方聖羽
等集李玄素通侯松筠閣，卷二同聖羽等集園觴詠，卷三之讀陶詩偶舉大意似聖羽等，
卷三之送方聖羽等失解歸皖，卷三之春望蛟臺有懷聖羽廬居，卷三之春陰同聖羽等集園
中，卷三之五日喜聖羽等至山，卷三之仲春七日同方聖羽等集劉慧玉宅，卷四之江上逢
聖羽來唁感賦，丙子詩上十七靈谷月下聖羽至，戊寅詩下之二聖羽避亂至山盡談樞川被賊之狀，庚
詩下之七方聖羽四十初度，外集乙秋雨同方聖羽夜酌兼閱其含山館中近撰，外集乙同方
聖羽等集城西樓，辛巳詩上之二）茲擇其尤關切者，錄三首如左：

靈谷月下聖羽至，

山月滿庭樹，樹靜山更涼。良友坐此間，幽意殊相當。澹然共茗粥，清論浮

蘭香。起或步松徑，倦即休竹房。世人如蓼蟲，習苦不自傷。漫游晒禽向，降夢儔羲皇。非君秉素心，定復嗤予狂。

秋雨同方聖羽夜酌，兼閱其含山館中近撰，

秋雨鬱暄申，朋來更此晨。永言遵古處，遺跡長農臣。載露蒹葭厚，開香橘柚新。滄浪審何在，不敢漫垂綸。

禮樂憶君東，山泉發幾蒙。高文矜曙色，清思壓松風。偶影秋燈下，深談夜雨中。閒琴雜涼吹，於此意無窮。

(三) 錢秉鐔

桐舊集云：『錢秉鐔字幼安，崇禎間諸生，注引潘蜀藻曰，「先生少與弟飲光齊名，貢成均時，值國變，遂棄去，憂憤資志以歿，」又引省志云「秉鐔兄弟五人，與季弟秉鐙名重江左，有二錢之稱，及秉鐙遭黨禍，秉鐔撫循門內終身。」』

錢樞祿田間年譜：『萬歷丙辰年，三伯父幼安。蕭穆注云，「幼安名秉鐔，少與先生齊名，滿歲臨貢，值世變棄去，族人有譏其年強不仕爲不孝者，賦詩謝之，有侍中死替猶羞父，諸葛匡吳亦負兄之句。」』

案秉鐔有送別家兄舍弟之震澤詩，蓋在易世後之作，其詩云：

逢人何必問滄桑，越國傷心越水長。客路夢隨今夜月，官橋跡印向來霜。老年兄弟難爲別，亂日詩文不易狂。早晚柴門人獨望，迴思嶺外淚千行。

據此詩及阮大鍼錢爾卓先生偕令嗣幼安幼光飲集園詩，詠懷堂集卷一之三則秉鐔卽樞祿田間年譜所稱三伯者是也；蓋爾卓先生五子，三與五最有名，故爲阮氏所羅致歟！

(四) 錢秉鐙

桐舊集云：「錢秉鐙字幼光，號田間，更名澄之，字飲光，崇禎時諸生，有藏山閣稿，飲光詩文集。」

案錢秉鐙事蹟，諸家記載，皆詳於清而略於明，而於南明事皆不載一字：如方苞所撰墓表，阮元國史儒林傳，鄭方坤國朝詩人小傳，唐鑑學案小識，錢林文獻徵存錄，皆不足以窺其全，馬其昶桐城耆舊傳雖間載南明事，然亦語焉不詳。蓋秉鐙始與阮大鍼同社，後與復社幾社人相結，且與陳子龍夏允彝輩結雲龍社，阮氏與之爲仇，故弘光朝秉鐙不得志，而幾罹黨禍。隆武時，以黃道周之薦，授吉安府推官，尋改延平府。

永曆時，擢禮部主事，後特試，始入翰林爲史官，著有所知錄。南明亡，始歸鄉里，終身不仕，方苞所謂「杜足田間，治經課耕」是也。年八十二終，著有田間易學十二卷，田間詩學十二卷，莊屈合話八卷，及田間詩文集五十八卷，行世。民國十六年冬，家大人購得舊鈔本藏山閣詩集十四卷，文集六卷，其詩起於崇禎十一年，訖於永曆五年（清順治八年），文起於崇禎十二年，迄於永曆四五年，其中雜文，皆記南明時事，皖髯事實卽其一也，此書清代在禁燬之列，故渺流傳，光緒中，桐城蕭穆得一抄本，排印行世，近亦稀見。乘鐙生平事蹟，以其子爲祿所撰田間年譜爲最詳，亦爲蕭穆抄校本，載在國粹學報七十五期，至七十九期，人所易見，故其事不詳列於篇。

錢撫祿田間年譜云：「皖髯與余家世戚。」又云：「辛未（崇禎四年）府君至皖，見阮霧靈翁，（蕭穆注云：「阮霧靈翁名自華，字堅之，號澹宇又號霧靈山人，萬曆戊辰進士，著有霧靈集。」）而阮大鍼詠懷堂詩有壽爾卓先生六十詩一首，外集部之十（田間年譜云，「萬曆四十年，府君生，祖父年四十六，」蕭穆注云：「先生父諱志立，字爾卓，號鏡水，萬曆間諸生，著有輔仁遺編蒞蒞遜噫鬱里春音集，白門伍音集」）又有錢爾卓先生偕令嗣幼安幼光飲集園詩云：

悠悠時序，旣露以霜。森標朝竦，素烟夕翔。誰憂中來，云胡不長。琴瑟在御，寫此幽獨。闢其谷音，沛我弗遑。薄陳莞簟，以話疇風。寒山靜好，高樹鷄鳴。嘉魚旨酒，歛我平生。豈無他土，古處維朋，臨觴不樂，日月彌晏。停雲崇阿，播芳南澗。龍螭匪存，鳳衰何諫。鴈整羽翮，相從放遊。攀霞懸圃，摘月松舟。任運之之，盍盍盍求。

案此詩蓋在初結中江社所賦，其時正與錢氏父子昆弟相善也。其後乘鐙以方以智之勸戒，漸與離異，茲將田間年譜中關於此事者，錄之如左：

壬申（崇禎五年），方密之（名以智）吳遊回，與府君言曰：「吳下事與朝局表裏，先辨氣類，凡閹黨皆在所擯，吾輩奈何奉爲盟主？曷早自異諸！」因私結數子課文；其中江社期，謝不至，諸公旣知有異心矣。其冬，府彙試，生童俱集，大鍼治酒，大會社友，獨不招君，（當作府君）旣試畢，府君往謁其封君柱麓翁，翁語曰：「子爲誰薦？」府君曰：「未有。」翁曰：「小兒云方仁植（蕭穆注云卽方孔炤，）已薦子矣！」府君曰：「不知。」揖而出，仁植者，密之父

也，已發案，府君第一，大鍼居爲己功。

癸酉（崇禎六年），劉用潛爲婺源令，祖父受業門人也，遣迎祖父到任，過皖，大鍼急語之曰：「今年婺源令必入闈，諸昆仲必應中一人，以報師恩，宜儘尺頭長者，且才美不愧。」蓋指府君也。因密傳用關節法。祖父辭曰：「此子年幼，正宜用功，吾生不作僥倖一事，寧敢以誤此子，並累使君也。」其秋，用潛又迎，且曰：「某將入闈，署中須師炤管。」祖父力辭不去。已劉公果入闈，府君兄弟皆不中，人爭惜之；祖父獨喜曰：「幸甚，不墮穀中，即使徑中，不由關節，亦終爲某口實，得箝制之矣。」

乙亥（崇禎八年），過婁東謁張西銘先生。（名溥，復社首領，乘鐙入復社，蓋在此時。）

丙子（崇禎九年，）讀書龍眠山中，左傾人（名國柱）爲主，子直（名國棟）子忠（名國林）子厚（名國材，四左皆光斗子，）共事。大鍼聞之，謂祖父曰：「聞公家有人與左氏共筆硯，必非公子也，左氏固吾世仇，吾兩家世戚，寧有此乎！」祖父曰：「有之，即吾少子也，彼少年，寧知前事，意氣相孚，自爲投契，吾輩亦焉能禁之！」大鍼從此銜恨於府君矣。

戊寅（崇禎十一年），會方仁植以中丞撫楚，密之自楚回，邀府君至白門共事，善府君文，欲捐資授梓。聞里中賊警，遽歸，復移家避舞鸞鄉，度歲。密之往楚，留都出防亂公揭以逐大鍼，大鍼謂密之主謀，而府君適與同事，恨益甚。（案留都防亂公揭錢乘鐙未列名。）

庚辰（崇禎十三年），正月，入城，留龍眠山中，與三左（三左，即子直子忠子厚也。）共事，祖父病，（卒）阮大鍼遣祭，其文專以詆府君，府君亦同諸位往謝，三左亦承密之旨，刻桐山莖業以別氣類，吾邑社事之判，自此始。

壬子，（崇禎十五年），何文端公沒，（名如龍）復社公祭，屬府君爲文，其中畧序朝局，以及閣黨至今爲害等語，何氏懸堂之正中，大鍼陪弔客，於此堂更衣，客必覽此數語，大鍼知爲府君筆，益恨。

甲申（崇禎十七年），大鍼出山，大興同文之獄，而府君竟掛名於宗室朱統燾之章，以擁戴疎濬謀危社稷爲罪，緹騎四出，家人無處可匿，仲伯乃送之東

來，府君變姓名，逃吳市。

綜觀上列數則，知中江社之方以智以故，名流漸多脫離，惜乎此社始末，未能詳知，所謂六皖知名士，究不知有幾，余讀書少，不能詳考，僅此四人，或與阮相終始，或與阮相反戾，可以知其大畧。而大鍼在此期之歷史，亦惟秉鐙知之最詳，故仍以皖髻事實之在崇禎時代者，摘錄如左：

大鍼雖里居，凡巡方使者出都，必有爲之先容，到皖，即式其廬，地方利弊，或相諮訪，大鍼隨以誇張於衆，門庭氣燄，依然薰灼。最後有溫御史應奇者，江西寧都人，出都時，語大鍼所知，極陳向往之私。大鍼聞之，逢人輒述新直指語，迨直指蒞皖，視事畢，當謁客，大鍼灑掃門巷，勅庖廚音樂以候，謂出必先過我，即留飲也；而直指往返再經其門，竟不投一刺，乃大恨，無以對僕御及里人矣。（案詠懷堂詩外集有溫直指澄虛不見枉以書代訊賦答二首，則溫御史不見大鍼信矣；然雖不投刺，而以書代訊，且又有巖居答溫直指再訊一首，亦見外集，則其懷恨當不如錢氏所說之甚也。）已御史被論降調，大鍼即以下石自居，實不然也。會流寇逼皖，大鍼避居白門，既素好延攬，見四方多事，益談兵，招納游俠，希以邊才起用，惟時白門流寓諸生，多復社知名士，聞而惡之，公出留都防亂揭以逐大鍼，大鍼懼，乃閉戶謝客，客亦無造其門者。貴州馬士英固與同譜，譴戍，寓白門，同時失志，兩人者終日往還，互相慰勞耳。宜興相公周延儒，爲髫年晤友，既回籍，大鍼過其家，延儒與約曰，倘得再出，必起君。崇禎十四年，延儒再召，大鍼遣使往候，以金杯爲壽，曰「息壤在彼。」延儒召其使前，舉杯釀者三，仍令持歸，語使曰，「飲此，如與爾主面談矣，舊約不忘，但今茲之出，實山東林先與我約法三章，第一義即爾主也，歸語爾主，倘意中有所爲一人交者，當用爲督撫，俟其以邊才轉薦，我相機圖之，必有以報耳。」使歸，大鍼以爲無如馬士英者，遂以士英請。延儒入，即拔士英爲鳳督。甲申國變，士英擅擁戴聖安之功，實由大鍼致之也。

案流寇逼皖，大鍼避居白門（南京），蓋在崇禎十年丁丑，錢撝祿田間年譜云：「丁丑春，賊大至，合家渡江，避烏落洲，五月，復至，再往。」大鍼當亦在此時避居南京。其時復在南京集羣社，（詠懷堂詩有羣社初集，共用羣字一首，外集甲部之亦烏

飛一首，序云：「羣社期於追古，故各擬古一章，余拈適得朱鷺，因憶鏡歌之義，俞徵君安期辨考之殊詳而愜，易朱鷺以赤鳥飛者誠是也，余曾載之詩印，故賦赤鳥飛以首簡。」卷一之三至於羣社人數及名氏，更不可考矣。）錢秉鐙所謂素好延攬，故復社之人，聞而惡之，崇禎十一年，遂出留都防亂公揭以逐之，蓋其時中江社之人，業已避亂分散，其在南京者，亦必仍入羣社，自防亂揭出，大鍼懼而謝客，客亦無造其門者，惟馬士英失志，終日往還，互相慰勞，遂造成弘光朝之政局，而與復社遂不共戴天矣。

中江社有明文可考者，僅阮大鍼及上列四人，所謂六皖知名士及六皖以外之人，必尚多，詠懷堂戊寅詩卷下，爲同社豹叔錢文蔚校，詩中稱豹叔者亦多，其爲中江社，抑爲羣社，不可知矣。阮之門人入社者，方啟曾外，必亦有之，如詠懷堂辛巳詩爲門人齊惟藩人錢二若次倩校；辛巳詩，序爲夏口門人張福乾撰；其時南海鄭露亦爲其門人，詠懷堂詩首四卷，爲其所校，且有序，而大鍼亦有鄺公露從嶺南相訪感賦一首，詠懷堂詩卷二之十七中有句云：「樂是陬隅謠，避此螻蛄地。萬里就蘆中，吟觴藉相媚。」則鄭露殆亦爲中江社中人乎？

下篇

中江社既以阮大鍼爲主，故本文亦以阮大鍼爲主，大鍼之事跡，在崇禎以前及崇禎時代，既在上中二篇分述之矣。其在弘光時代，當於本篇述之，仍以錢秉鐙所撰皖鬚事實之關於弘光朝及其降清事，錄於左，而以南疆逸史阮大鍼傳及他書補其缺：

皖鬚事實云：「聖安以福王踐位，從前東林所爭者，具有成案，固大鍼可以借此發難報復之秋矣，又守備太監韓贊周，素與交好，京師陷，諸閣南奔，大鍼一一招致之，深相結納，與言東林當日所以危福王狀，諸閣入內，皆悉陳於上前，又極稱大鍼才，聖安意中，固早有阮大鍼矣。士英特疏薦起，以報前德，亦所不容己者，而諸公攻之已甚，激使併力同仇，乃大鍼竟由中旨起用，此又出於士英意外也。當時若早有知變計者，與士英謀，出山之時，界之節鉞，以遂其飛揚馳騁之思，則十七年鬱結之憤，可以少抒；及業已在樞，而給事熊霖乃言「宜置之有用之地，」固已遲矣！攻之愈急，則其機愈深，鬱之愈久，則其發愈毒，

譬如囚猛虎於阱中，環而攻擊之者，不遺餘力，一旦跳躍而出，有不遭其博噬者幾人哉！」

南疆逸史阮大鍼傳云：「周延儒再召，大鍼革金要之維揚，頓首泣涕曰，「大鍼已以身自託於公，公奈何熟視大鍼之困阨而不一援手？」延儒曰：「嘻！難也。」久之，曰：「知交中誰與子最密者？」大鍼以士英對，延儒曰：「然則吾起士英，令士英轉荐子，庶有濟。」延儒入閣，即起士英總督鳳陽，（董含三岡識略云：「周延儒之初相也，璫案諸人，皆厚賂之，欲令轉移上意，阮大鍼亦饋二萬金，延儒畏上英斷，不敢發，性貪鄙，又不能還金，諸人惆悵而已，獨大鍼怒詈之。大鍼既負逆名，衆皆不齒，馬士英黜官居金陵，好聲色，與大鍼爲狹斜交，相得甚歡，士大夫因並薄士英，二人之交愈固。延儒再相，大鍼候之京口，曰：「公起，天下拭目望太平矣，某願爲太平之民，一身功名，非所冀也。」延儒始慮其責報，聞之甚喜，然計大鍼之爲人，終不可負，欲有以取償，曰：「公知人才誰可用者？願得致力，」大鍼舉士英，遂從起廢擢鳳督。及弘光立，士英相，大鍼用，而國由以亡！嗚乎！以三百年之宗社，東南千萬里之江山，一旦舉而捐之，捐之者，僅此二萬金也！）大鍼又與守備大監韓贊周甚暱，京師亂，中貴人南奔者，大鍼因贊周遍給之，大鍼既陰與士英謀立福王，而恐王不知也，則令羣閣交譽大鍼才，以其所演詞曲諸劇進宮中，（家大人曰：「焦循劇說言，阮大鍼所著傳奇共八種，雙金榜，牟尼合，春燈謎，燕子箋，忠孝環，桃花笑，井中盟，獅子賺。王士禛帶經堂集秦淮雜詩云；新歌細字寫冰紈，小部君王帶笑看。千載秦淮鳴咽水，不應仍恨孔都官。自注，弘光時，阮司馬以吳綾作朱絲閣，書燕子箋諸劇，進宮中。）上固喜優樂，已心識大鍼名，而士英方柄國，乃以邊才荐，且言諸臣定策之謀，大鍼啓焉；其附璫也，亦無實跡。遂命大鍼冠帶陛見。大鍼上守江策，陳三要兩合十四隙疏，並自白孤忠被陷，皆由東林。於是舉朝大譁，大學士姜曰廣高弘圖持共章乞下九卿科道集議，侍郎呂大器太僕少卿萬元吉府丞郭維經大理丞詹兆恆給事中羅萬象陳子龍御史陳良弼王孫蕃米壽圖周元泰左光先郎中尹民輿懷遠侯常延齡等，並言先帝欽定逆案，不可擅改，大鍼逆案巨魁，必不可召。士英爲大鍼奏辨，而歷詆曰廣等。居月餘，竟以中旨，起

大鉞兵部，添註右侍郎。左都御史劉宗周言「魏暉之毒，大鉞其主使也，即才果足用，臣慮黨邪害正之才，終病世道，大鉞進退，實係江左興亡，乞寢成命，」不聽。尋命巡閱江防，明年二月，進本部尚書。大鉞既得志，耑務報復，盡召逆案楊維垣虞廷陞郭如閏周昌晉虞大復徐復陽陳以瑞吳孔嘉布列要路，爲之羽翼，而以所善張孫振袁宏勳劉光斗等置言路，爲爪牙，橫制朝政；乃斥曰廣宗周以下諸正人，劾周鏞雷縉社殺之，（明史馬士英傳云：「初，舉朝以逆案攻大鉞，大鉞憾甚，及見北都從逆諸臣有附會清流者，因倡言曰；「彼改逆案，吾作順案與之對，」以李自僞國號曰順也，乃劾周鏞雷縉社殺之。」案南疆逸史周鏞傳謂：「士英亦自劾周鏞之從逆，牽連及鏞，」鏞爲鏞從弟，有聲復社。）朝端側目，惟所欲爲矣。會有狂僧大悲，妄稱王，捕得下詔獄，大鉞與孫振謀曰：「假此誅清流，一網可盡也，」令大悲稱引史可法等數十人，指以將擁戴潞王，書諸臣姓名內大悲袖中，至獻時而出之，因造十八羅漢五十三參之目，海內人望，無不備列，錢謙益先已入其黨，上疏頌士英功德，且爲大鉞訟冤修好矣，大鉞憾不釋，亦列焉。獄詞詭秘，朝士皆自危，而上不欲與大鉞，士英亦難之，乃第誅大悲而止。大鉞雖以知兵荐，願問以軍事，茫如也，一切邊警，悉寢不奏，而時時撓六部權，任劉應賓爲文選，濁亂銓政，以賄爲遲速高下，清卿要秩，皆有定價，再舉考選，所擢給事御史，悉其私人，嘗欲罷撫按糾荐，令輸金於官，糾者免，荐者予，其謬誕如此。江西副將陳麟鄧林奇以功當爲總兵，大鉞徵其賄萬二千金，始給勅印；諸白丁隸役輸重賂，立躋大帥；都人有「職方賤如狗，都督漏街走」之謠。初，士英本德大鉞，故排羣議起之，所言無不從；及大鉞勢盛，則結內奄，徑取中旨，勢且陵其上，吏部尚書缺，士英欲用張國維，而大鉞先以授張捷，士英愕眙良久，浸畏大鉞矣。或曰：「今海宇崩離，瞻烏未定，公何苦乃爾！」大鉞曰：「古人不云乎？吾日暮途遠，吾故倒行而逆施之。」左兵內犯，黃得功率師入援，大鉞與劉孔昭等羅拜之，得功曰：「拒寇吾職也，諸君何爲若此乎！」得功再敗左兵，大鉞以爲指使功，再賜銀幣，與朱大典俱加太子太保。越日，而上幸太平，大鉞入見舟中，上思幸浙，命朱大典先行治兵，大鉞因隨之入金華，大典留與治軍事，士民知者，復檄逐之，乃送方國安軍，士英已

先在，頗悔用大鉞以敗國，而已亦流離無所容也，與相齟齬，大鉞乃陰通款於大軍。」

皖髯事實云：『聖安蒙塵後，大鉞由太平逃奔浙東，投金華朱大典，大典固與同官交好，方舉義婺州，聞其至甚喜，留之與共治軍，大鉞即身任其事，是時金華軍容頗盛，義餉大饒，大典將悉以付之，義軍譁，紳士公檄聲其罪，逐之出境，大典遣人護送至江東，入方國安營。馬士英與國安同里，先在其營，大鉞善論談，至則掀髯抵掌，國安爲之傾動，與士英論多不合，士英亦以南渡之壞，半由大鉞，而已居其惡，意固不平，由是漸相矛盾。有方端士者，懷寧人，與國安聯宗，爲其記室，至是以僉事銜管江頭提塘事，台州推官潘某，某子也，固爲大鉞氣類，在台激變，奔杭，值北師至，投誠，補杭州同知，其家留台，悉匿端士所，杭越書信，往來不絕，大鉞因是潛通降表於北，且以江東虛實啓聞北師，在江頭爲間諜者幾一年，而越人不知也，故後錄用降官，有「阮大鉞投誠獨早」之旨。丙戌六月，貝勒渡江，馬士英與方國安等走台州，大鉞獨至江頭迎降，蓋馮銓已薦爲軍前內院矣，既見貝勒，於衣領中出一紙條授之，有字數行，馮銓手書也。自是大鉞以軍前內院從征，急招士英國安出降，自請於貝勒，願爲前驅，破金華以報國恩。初，大鉞在金華，與大典聞城，至西關，大典語曰：「此門新築，土未堅，有事備禦宜嚴。」及是，大鉞專用大砲攻西門，門塌，城遂陷，焚戮甚慘，以報討敵之恨。（案錢秉鐸所知錄卷六，阮大鉞本末小紀與皖髯事實所載略同，「以報討敵之恨」句下注云，「以上得諸同鄉人流寓江東者之口，」此脫注語。）有金華府同知耿獻忠被繫至帳前，大鉞遙望見之，即呼曰：「耿父母也！」耿舊爲巢縣令，故稱父母，因向諸內院稱某素有吏才，可大用，親解其縛，留之帳下，自是獻忠朝夕不離大鉞。是時北兵所過，野無青草，諸內院及從征官無從得食，大鉞所至，必羅列肥鮮，邀諸公大暢其口腹，爭訝曰：「此於何處得來，」則應曰：小小運籌耳，吾之用兵不可測度，蓋不翅此矣。」其中有黑內院者，滿人，喜文墨，大鉞教以整偶，令作詩，纔得押韻協律，卽附掌擊節，贊賞其佳，黑大悅，情好日篤，諸公固聞其春燈謎燕子箋諸劇本，問能自度曲否？卽起執板，頓足高唱，以侑諸公酒，諸公北人，不省吳音，乃改唱弋陽腔，

始點頭稱善，皆歎曰：「阮公真才子也！」每夜坐諸公帳內劇談，聽者倦，既寐有鼾聲，乃出，遍歷諸帳，皆如是，詰朝，天未明，又已入坐帳中，聒而與之語，或誦其枕上詩，諸公勞頓之餘，不堪其擾，皆勸曰：「公精神異人，盍少睡，一休息。」大鍼曰：「吾生平不知倦欲休，六十年猶一日也，」及諸公起，鼎烹悉陳，復人人饜飫，蓋豫飭厨人以夜備矣。一日，忽面腫，諸內院憂之，語獻忠曰：「阮公面腫，恐有病，不勝鞍馬之勞，老漢不宜面腫，君可相謂令暫駐衢州，俟我輩入關取建寧後，遣人相迓，何如？」獻忠以語大鍼，大鍼驚曰：「我何病！我雖年六十，能騎生馬，挽強弓，鐵錚錚漢子也，幸語諸公，我仇人多，此必有東林復社諸奸徒，潛在此間，我願諸公勿聽，」又曰：「福建巡撫已在我掌握中，諸公爲此言，得毋有意去耶！」獻忠復詣內院，內院曰：「此老亦太多心，我甚知東林復社與渠有仇，因見渠面腫，勸其在此少休息耳，既如此疑，卽請同進關可耳。」於是與大鍼同行，既抵關下，皆騎。按轡緩行上嶺，大鍼獨下馬，徒步而前，諸公呼曰：「嶺路長，且騎，俟到險峻處，乃下。」大鍼左牽馬，右指騎者曰：「何怯也！汝看我筋力百倍於汝後生！」蓋示壯以信其無病也，言訖，鼓勇先登，不復望見，久之，諸公始至五通嶺，爲仙霞最高處，見大鍼馬拋路口，身踞石坐，喘息始定，呼之騎，不應，馬上以鞭彈其辮，亦不動，視之，死矣！諸公乃下馬，聚哭極哀，急命置薪舉火焚其屍，家僮固請全屍歸葬先壟，諸公不能久待，畀以十二金，命爲殮具，僕下嶺求棺，數十里外無居人，三日後，乃得門扉一扇，募土人往移之，則已潰爛蟲出矣。（「原注：以上投降後事，得之耿君口述，」案明史馬士英傳云：「野乘載士英遁至台州寺，爲僧，爲我兵搜獲，大鍼國安先後降，縛唐王走順昌，我大兵至，搜龍扛，得士英大鍼國安父子請王出關爲內應疏，遂駢斬士英國安於延平城下，大鍼方遊山，自觸石死，仍戮尸云。」此所云野乘，不知何書，錄此以存異說。）耿君字伯良，粵東反正，擢陞司空，戊子冬，在端州劉侍郎舟中叙其事甚詳，袁總憲在坐，屬余紀之，併爲髯絕篇一首，大鍼髯而無嗣，故以髯絕名篇也。』

阮大鍼之降清，皖轉事實謂由於台州推官潘某，考此潘某，即中江社之首事潘映斐字次魯者也。所知錄卷六，阮大鍼本末小紀云：「有方端士者，懷寧人，與國安聯


宗，爲其記室，至是以僉事銜，管江頭提塘事，台州推官潘映婁，奄黨潘汝楨子也，在台激變，奔杭請兵除亂，值北師至，遂投誠，補杭州同知，其家屬留台者，悉匿端士所，杭越書訊，往來不絕，大誠於映婁氣類也，因是潛通降表於北，且以江東虛實啓聞北師，在江頭爲北間諜者幾一年，而越人不知也，故後錄用降官，有「阮大誠設誠獨早」之旨。丙戌六月，貝勒渡江，馬士英方國安等走台州，大誠獨至江頭迎降，蓋知馮銓已薦爲軍前內院矣，貝勒問軍中誰識阮大誠者，大誠言杭州同知潘映婁，係臣同鄉，召來識認可也，乃檄映婁到越，初，映婁以己卯副榜，考授通判銜，弘光時，冒推官謁選，大誠不知，上疏引映婁爲證，猶稱其通判原銜，映婁悲，及是渡江，起起不肯進，大誠哀懇至再，乃許之，曰：「我見貝勒，惟曰臣識其面，未識其心，」大誠答，與誓諸神，約得志日，必以兩司相酬，映婁乃入見，於是貝勒召大誠至。此節皖髻事實中已刪去，蓋所知錄爲史類，故從實書；皖髻事實列於文集，錢與潘曾同列中江社，故爲隱諱乎？由此觀之，中江社之結果，得潘映婁而阮大誠乃降清而喪身；得錢秉箴而阮大誠之奸蹟乃因同鄉同社而傳播於天壤。余故於阮大誠生平事蹟，特采錢秉箴所記皖髻事實入之於篇者，以中江社員而記中江社主之歷史，尤爲親切而有味焉。

計六奇明季北畧周延儒續記條云：「宜興（延儒，宜興人）再召，通內而毀幣帛者，馮涿州也，（名銓）奔走而爲線索者，太倉張溥嘉興吳昌時也，擘畫兩年，綸綍始下。」然則周延儒之再相，由於復社首領張溥之推穀，（此事他書亦有記載）阮大誠賂周延儒，而馬士英乃督鳳陽，乃立福王，而大誠乃得獨握朝綱，誅鋤復社，爲一網打盡之計，以報列名逆案，及留都防亂搗之恥，復社後人撰明史，置周延儒於奸臣傳，而不一溯用周延儒之張溥，實非公允。張溥爲復社首領，而用周延儒，因之復社瀕於滅，南都因以亡；正猶阮大誠爲中江社首領，而用潘映婁，爲後來降清之介，因之身死，猶其小事，乃招方國安降，敗朱大典軍，導清軍入仙霞嶺，而福京又因以亡，故阮大誠者，可謂三次亡明者也！而其始乃皆由社黨之爭，余故於明季社事始末，樂爲之詳細推釋，以爲黨而不國者戒，特於中江社考爲之發其凡焉。

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