



晚清民初上海话的音韵研究

晚清民初

滬語英漢詞典

上海基督教方言学会等 编著

上海译文出版社



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感谢

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总序

钱乃荣

19世纪下半叶至20世纪上半叶，西方来华的传教士在中国土地上，翻译出版了大量的汉语方言圣经及其通俗教义，编写出版了种类繁多的方言和方言学著作，包括语音音系、音节表、字典、词典、语法、习惯用语、课本、故事、戏剧、报纸、讲义等。他们怀着对人类语言的虔诚之心，认真精细地记录了多地的汉语方言口语，在广度、深度和科学性方面远远超过清儒的方言学著作，也是同时代的其他文献（如地方志中的方言志和方言文学作品）所不可比拟的。这些著作对于如实保存地方语言，研究近代中西学术交流、中国基督教和天主教史、汉语方言学和方言学史、中国近代地方历史民俗文化和社会民生风貌，都有相当高的价值。

由于传教士们运用近现代最新的语言学理论和分析方法，采用田野调查法直接记录方言，用字母来记录语言的辅音元音，所以依据这些文献，我们现在可以十分完整地归纳分析19世纪中叶起100多年里10多个地方方言的语音系统，整理和研究当年这些地方的词汇和语法，研究语音、语词和语法系统的历史演变及其规律。例如，据我们至今为止搜集到的资料来看，100多年里传教士在上海连续出版了50多部上海方言著作，使用这些著作中所记语料，经条分缕析，正好可以整理出上海方言变化最快一段时期（开埠后向大都市转变时期）的语音、词汇、语法的真实发展历史。再如，将不同方言翻译的《新约全书》《旧约全书》拿来对其用词用句进行比较，可以系统地比较出各地方方言共时的词汇语法差异。至于对此类书中记录的近现代社会风貌、民间生活等历史和文化信息的研究，基本还未起步，只因书著如今难以觅得。

西洋传教士的这些中国方言圣经和方言学著作现在散藏在国内外的市、大学图书馆或者藏书楼中，长期以来不受重视，没有再版印刷，只有少数研究方言学的学者以个人之力每到一地就去寻寻觅觅追踪搜集，有的地方还不准借出、复印、拍照或扫描，搜集工作十分艰难，直接影响到这些珍贵资料的使用与普及。

继上海书店出版社之后，现在上海译文出版社开始重印西洋传教士的方言著作了。这次出版了两本比较重要的词典，原版都是发行在20世纪初期。当年出版的共同特点，是在19世纪后期传教士们对粤语和沪语都有较系统了解的背景下，语音和用字方面都已进行过比较系统的整理，并出版过一些专著后再出版的，因此这两部词典收集记录词语比较丰富和全面。《晚清民初粤语法汉词典》是以《法粤字典》（第二版）为底本进行重排重印的。《法粤字典》是我们目前所知的第一部大量收词的法粤词典，此书第一版于1903年在香港出版，之后又经修订并增补了大量粤语常用表达，于1909年推出了第二版。书中收录了丰富的广东方言口语词汇和常用表达，用法语发音相同或相近的字母制定了粤语拼音方案，真实记录了当时的粤语词句、语音语调，具有颇高的参考和研究价值。此外，作者在前言处做了详尽的粤语语音和语法说明，为百余年后的我们提供了弥足珍贵的史料。

《晚清民初沪语英汉词典》则是以上海基督教方言协会编写的《英汉上海方言词典》（第二版）为底本进行重排重印。原书于1901年在上海出版，1913年再版，目前在世界范围内已是绝版孤本。在此书出版之前，1869、1890、1900年都出版过这个协会里主要骨干个人编写的词典和英沪7779个字字音释义的字典，而且制定了基督教上海方言辞书、课本等书著中统一的上海方言拼音字母方案，1891年上海基督教方言协会还出版过上海方言的音节表。天主

教系统在1894年也曾出版过大部头的《法汉上海方言松江方言词典》。《英汉上海方言词典》附录了1200余个新词，从中可以窥见社会的变革与发展、中西方文化的交流情况。此外我们还增录了一本1926年第六版（1908年初版）的《上海方言常用习惯用语》，书中包涵许多完全注音的实用短句，从中我们可以看到20世纪初期市场买卖、交通生活的基本面貌，从语言结构上也可以发现一些新旧变化。例如，上海话里的是非问句，上海话从松江话沿用下来的土话通用语法形式是“V va”（如在书中的“The Merchant”一节中有这样的句子：“今朝侬有啥事体否？”“侬要卖脱否？”），后受随苏州话、宝山话而来的“阿V”形式影响，在1916年版始增补的乘火车和电车时用的新句子中，就增有“夜班车阿有晒车个？”这样的说法，而且还产生了一种两者叠加的交杂新用法“阿V…va”，如：“拉火车里阿有得吃否？”

两部词典作为见证近代中国沪、粤两地方言在西方语境影响下流变的活化石，不仅真实记录了两地方言的词汇、语音及语调，也通过语言这一重要的文化载体让我们得以窥见近代以来沪、粤两地政治历史、社会文化之递嬗，为沪粤语方言的历时性研究、历时性与共时性的综合研究，乃至晚清民初整个中国社会生态的研究提供了珍贵的文献。两部词典的出版对于厘清汉语方言在近代化浪潮中的流变脉络，瞭解近代中国社会的新陈代谢，夯实汉语方言的学科建设都具有重大的意义。也希望通过它们的问世，能够激发更多的有识之士、有志之人加入到挖掘并保存民族语言文化瑰宝、培育世界语言文化共同体的队伍中。

钱乃荣

2017年10月16日记于黄浦徐家汇土山湾畔坐看云起作坊

前 言

说沪语或与沪语相似方言的人人数众多，又有许多传教士和其他外国人居于此地，所以对沪语英汉词典的需求一直以来都很迫切。早在1853年，艾德金斯博士就编撰过一部简明词典，在当时很实用，但其收词范围又太过局限。有鉴于无人主动去接手这项工作，一个绝妙的想法在几位传教士之间产生，即把编撰词典的工作分配给上海的各类传教士，每个人承担其中的一部分。这部词典的编撰整体基于《莫里森宁波方言词典》的指导，并对其进行了扩充与改进。本词典中对于罗马字母系统的使用已经得到沪语社的认同，编写好的副本已递交编辑部做最后的修订。这项工作是1896年进行的，预期初稿本该在一年内完成。但是好事多磨，这项工作频频受阻，直到五年后的今天才终于完成。

这部词典的编者众多，每个人的能力与适应性又有所不同，这势必使得词典在风格上显得不甚和谐。当然编辑部的最终校订有望对此进行修正。虽然这部词典远非完美，也无法代替其他更好的作品，但我们相信它在某些方面能起到补充的作用。

熟识中文的人都会知道，像在上海这类地方，除了一些传教士因传教工作所需而编写的东西外，并没有口语的文字作品。有许多口语词没有对应的文字，比如：拨（给）、团（小孩）、勃相（玩儿）、蛮（挺）、旯没（没有）等等。当然，这方面来说，沪语比起其他南方方言来说并不是最明显的。

《莫里森宁波方言词典》试图用文理字来避免这一困难，对于口语中没有的字，标注上小圆圈，并用文理字代替。而在编撰这部词典时，我们想到了给每个音来标字，在没有合适的字时，就借

用一个近音字，当然这也有可能带来歧义。对纯粹的外国人来说，这毫无困难；但对第一次接触这个的中国人，就有点格格不入，但很快他们也会适应，并会根据这些字的读音来做解释，而不是根据原意。

编撰一部方言词典的另一个难点是寻找对于部分词的发音能达成一致的专家们。在没有统一标准的情况下，这些差别是不可避免的。令人惊讶的是，沪语的差别并不非常明显。所谓的新老沪语发音的确有区别。有一类词，比如*su*、*ts'u*和*dzu*，过去的发音分别是*sui*、*ts'ui*和*dzui*，并在某种程度上仍被使用。两者都有优点，也许都能听懂。

在嘉兴、苏州、江阴以及上海周边半径80英里左右范围的区域里，有一些传教士持有这部词典的样本。他们发现只需稍作调整，这部词典对那里的方言也大有帮助。希望除了上海周边地区，这部词典能在其他更多地方发挥作用，这也将为今后的完善和增补工作指明方向。

1901年于上海

PREFACE

As so many people speak the Shanghai or kindred dialects, and there are so many missionaries and other foreigners living in this region, it has long been felt that an English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect was a great desideratum. Dr. Edkins had prepared a small work in 1853, which has been very useful in its day, but its range was too limited. No one volunteering to undertake the work, the happy thought occurred to one or more of the missionaries to divide the work of preparation among the different missionaries of Shanghai, assigning to each a certain portion; the whole to be based upon Morrison's Vocabulary of the Ningpo Dialect as a guide, but to be enlarged and improved upon. The system of Romanization to be used was that already agreed upon by the Shanghai Vernacular Society, and the copy, after being prepared, was to be submitted to a Revision Committee for final correction and amending. The work was undertaken in 1896, and it was hoped that the first draft of the manuscript would be ready within a year. But like many another good scheme the work has met with various hindrances, and is only now completed in its fifth year.

It is inevitable that a work prepared by so many different people, of such varying ability and fitness for the work, should be somewhat mosaic in its character, yet the final revision by the Editing Committee has, it is hoped, done much to correct this, and while the work is far from being perfect, yet in lieu of something better, it is trusted that it will fill a very useful sphere.

PREFACE

Those who are familiar with the Chinese language will not need to be told that in a place like Shanghai, which has never had any literature in the colloquial, except such as has been prepared by the missionaries for use in their work, there are many words which have no corresponding character, such as, 拨 *peh*, to give; 囡 *noen*, child; 勃相 *beh-siang*, amusement; 蛮 *man*, very; 咤没 *m-meh*, none, etc. In this, however, Shanghai is not so badly off as some of the dialects further south.

In Morrison's Ningpo dictionary an attempt has been made to evade this difficulty by using *vung-li* characters, to which a small circle is attached to indicate that there are no corresponding characters in the colloquial, and so the *vung-li* is given instead. In preparing this work, however, it has been thought wise to give a character for every sound, and where there was no proper character, to "borrow" one, similar in sound, but, of course, with a possible different meaning. To the initiated foreigner there is no difficulty about this; and while to the Chinese who first sees it, it appears incongruous, he soon becomes accustomed to it, and learns to interpret such characters according to their sound and not according to their original *meaning*.

Another difficulty in preparing a work in a local dialect is in finding teachers who agree as to their pronunciation of certain words. This is inevitable where there is no certain standard, and the wonder is that the differences are not more marked than they are. There is also a distinction between what may be called *old* and *new* Shanghai sounds. A certain class of words like *su*, *ts'u*, and *dzu*, used to be pronounced *sui*, *ts'ui* and *dzui*, and are still so called to some extent. Either pronunciation may be said to be good, and is perhaps equally well understood.

PREFACE

Missionaries living in Kashing, Soochow, Kiangyin, and other places within a radius of eighty miles or more of Shanghai, who have had advance portions of the work, have found it very useful in their dialect, with only some slight modifications, easily made. And so it is hoped that the work may have a wider sphere of usefulness than the immediate neighborhood of Shanghai, and that it will prepare the way for something better and more extended further on.

SHANGHAI, 1901.

PRONUNCIATION OF SHANGHAI SYLLABLES

AS REPRESENTED BY THE UNION SYSTEM OF ROMANIZATION.

THE true pronunciation of Chinese sounds can only be learned from a Chinese teacher. A large majority of the sounds have no true equivalent in English; hence the student should bear in mind that *any Romanization used does not represent English sounds, but Chinese sounds*. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. The committee which formulated the present Union System of Romanization did not have in mind the representation of Chinese sounds by their nearest English equivalents so much as it had in view the production of a complete, simple, and systematic table whereby all the Chinese sounds should be represented by Roman letters or combinations thereof — and this without the use of diacritical marks. While retaining some inconsistencies, as representing in some instances a compromise of conflicting opinions and tastes, the system has been doing good service since its adoption in 1889, only two or three slight changes having since been introduced. It should be borne in mind by the student that this system does not divide a word into all its phonetic elements, but rather does it follow a plan well-known to Chinese scholars, viz., that of dividing each syllable represented by a Chinese character into two elements — one initial and one final.

PRONUNCIATION OF SHANGHAI SYLLABLES

THE INITIALS.

The Initials are divided by some Chinese teachers into a "Higher," a "Middle" or "Aspirated," and a "Lower" Series.

1. The HIGHER SERIES comprises sounds represented by *p, 'm, 'v, t, ts, s, 'l, 'n, 'ny, 'ng, k, ky, kw, pure vowel sound, i* and *'w*. They are unaspirated, and are pronounced with closed glottis and almost no vibration of the larynx.

2. The MIDDLE OR ASPIRATED SERIES comprises sounds represented by *ph, f, th, ths, kh, ch, khw, h, hy* and *hw*.

3. The LOWER SERIES comprises sounds represented by *b, m, v, d, dz, z, l, n, ny, ng, g, j, gw, (or low vowel sounds, slightly aspirated), y* and *w*. In pronouncing these sounds there is a decided vibration of the larynx.

The following description of sounds may be found helpful, but the true sound in most cases must be learned from a Chinese teacher. After each description there is given a Chinese character representing, or containing, the sound described.

p — pronounced much the same as in English, but without any aspiration. Many foreigners pronounce like *b*, from which it should be carefully distinguished. 百

ph — aspirated; somewhat as an American or Irishman would pronounce *p* in *pin*, but with a still more decided aspiration. 拍

b — nearly as in English, but approaching an unaspirated *p*. 白

'm — more explosive than *m*, and with less vibration of the larynx. 每

m — as in English. 煤

'v — a sound less aspirated than the English *f* and with less vibra-

PRONUNCIATION OF SHANGHAI SYLLABLES

tion of the larynx than *v*. 勿

f — as in English. 法

v — nearly as in English, but often approaching *w*, with which it is often confused. 罰

t — harder than in English and without aspiration, and should be carefully distinguished from *d*. 丁

th — with decided aspiration. 听

d — nearly as in English, but approaching an unaspirated *t*. 停

ts — less aspirated than in English. 节

ths — with more aspiration. 切

dz — nearly as in English, but approaching unaspirated *ts*. Many Shanghai natives fail to distinguish between this sound and that represented by *z*. 集

s — as in English. Very often pronounced with a slight lisp. 息

z — softer and more sibilant than in English. 席

ʹl — higher than *l*, and with less vibration of larynx. 拎

l — as in English. 铃

ʹn — higher than *n* and with less vibration of larynx. 乃

n — as in English. 内

ʹny — higher than *ny* and with less vibration of larynx. 拈

ny — much the same as *n* in *new*, but with a more decided *y* sound following the *n*. 年

ʹng — higher than *ng* and with less vibration of larynx. 颜 as in 一
颜

ng — nearly as *ng* in *song*. 颜

k — with less aspiration than in English. 加

PRONUNCIATION OF SHANGHAI SYLLABLES

kh — with more aspiration. 措

g — as in *go*, but approaching unaspirated *k*. 茄

ky — a peculiar sound which cannot be represented by any English combination. Perhaps *tky* might better represent it. It is much the same as *ch*, unaspirated and without vibration of the larynx. 鸡

ch — with more aspiration than *ch* in *church*. 气

j — nearly as *j* in *jug*. 旗

kw — as *qu* in *quart*. 规

khw — the same sound strongly aspirated. 块

gw — nearly as *gu* in *Guelph*. 葵

Vowel initials are pronounced with less vibration of the larynx than in English.

h — as in *hat*. Confused with *f* sounds by many natives. 海

' — before an initial vowel indicates that the word belongs to the lower series. The vowel is pronounced with considerable vibration of the larynx and seems to be slightly aspirated. This aspiration is little more than a huskiness in the throat and foreigners often make the mistake of too much aspiration. It should not be confused with *h*. 害

i — lighter than the *y* sound, — as in *view*. Only as an initial is this sound given to *i*. In other positions *i* represents a vowel sound. 因

hy — somewhat like *sh* in *should*, but less sibilant. It is more like *ti* in *initial*. 兴

y — as in *young*. 刑

'*w* — with less vibration of the larynx than *w*. 碗

hw — as *wh* in *where*. 欢

w — as in *way*. 完

PRONUNCIATION OF SHANGHAI SYLLABLES

DOK-YONG Z-MOO.

In this class there is no clear and distinct vowel sound. The final sound in the syllables formerly written *ts*, *ts'*, *dz*, *s*, and *z*, might be regarded as a vowel sound akin to that in the final syllable of *able* — prolonged, but without any *l* sound, as pronounced by some foreigners. Edkins, Mateer, Baller, and others represent this sound by *i*, and would spell — *tsi*, *ts'i*, *dzi*, *si* and *zi*. Others insist that there is no true vowel sound in the syllables represented, and that there is only a prolonged sounding of *s* or *z*. The syllables represented by *m*, *r* and *ng*, have a slight vowel sound before the consonant, this sound being much the same as that represented by *i* in the list mentioned: *m* represents much the same sound as *m* in *chasm* — prolonged: and *ng* is much the same as *ng* in *song*: *r* is a sound between that of the English *r* and *l* — or rather a blending of them. We give below a Chinese character representing the syllables described as *Dok-yong z-moo*.

<i>m</i> — 无	<i>ts</i> — 纸	<i>ths</i> — 此	<i>s</i> — 思	<i>'r</i> — 耳
<i>ng</i> — 鱼	<i>dz</i> — 池		<i>z</i> — 时	<i>r</i> — 而

THE FINALS.

The Finals are divided into three classes; viz. —

1. VOWEL ENDINGS, comprising sounds represented by *a*, *e*, *i*, *au*, *o*, *oo*, *oe*, *eu*, *u*, *ui*, *ia*, *iau*, and *ieu*; also *ie*, used in reading the *wen-li*.
2. NASAL ENDINGS, comprising sounds represented by *ang*, *an*, *en*, *ien*, *ing*, *aung*, *ong*, *oen*, *ung*, *uin*, and *iang*.
3. ABRUPT VOWEL ENDINGS, comprising sounds represented by *ak*, *ah*, *eh*, *ih*, *auh*, *ok*, *oeh*, *uh*, and *iak*.