




# 《西番译语》 校录及汇编

Collated and Collected Vocabularies of *Xifan Yiyu*

 中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所

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# 总 序

中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所是一个多学科、综合性的研究机构。从学科的设置和专业方向来看，包括了马克思主义研究、历史学、语言学、民族学、社会文化人类学、经济学、宗教学、文献学、政治学、法学、国际关系、影视人类学、民俗学、古文字学等，还包括蒙古学、藏学、突厥学等专门的学科。这些学科和专业方向的多样化构成了研究所的多学科、综合性特点，而这些学科的研究对象则是人类社会民族现象及其发展规律，着重于对不同历史阶段和不同含义的民族共同体（people、ethnos、nationality、nation、ethnic group）及其互动关系的研究，显示了研究所诸多学科的共同指向。研究所以民族学和人类学冠名的目的是为多学科建构一个共同的学术平台，在研究对象统一性的基础上实现多学科的互补与整合，在多学科的视野中建立综合性研究优势，增强中国民族学和人类学的学科性发展。

人类社会的民族现象及其所伴生的民族问题，是人类社会最普遍、最复杂、最长久，也是最重要的话题之一。中国是世界上古代文明延续不断的东方国度，也是统一的多民族国家。在数千年的发展进程中，多民族的互动关系不仅是历朝历代最突出的社会现象之一，而且也是统一的多民族国家形成和不断发展的重要动能。因此，中国几千年来民族现象和各民族的互动关系，为我们解读人类社会的民族现象及其规律性运动提供了一个相当完整的古代模式。《礼记·王制》中说：

凡居民材，必因天地寒暖燥湿，广谷大川异制，民生其间者异俗；  
刚柔、轻重、迟速异齐，五味异和，器械异制，衣服异宜。修其教不

易其俗，齐其政不易其宜。中国戎夷，五方之民，皆有性也，不可推移。东方曰夷，被发文身，有不火食者矣；南方曰蛮，雕题交趾，有不火食者矣；西方曰戎，被发衣皮，有不粒食者矣；北方曰狄，衣羽毛穴居，有不粒食者矣；中国、夷、蛮、戎、狄，皆有安居、和味、宜服、利用、备器；五方之民，言语不通，嗜欲不同；达其志、通其欲，东方曰寄，南方曰象，西方曰狄鞮，北方曰译。

这就是中国先秦文献中所记载的“五方之民”说，可谓中国最早具有民族志意义的记录。它所提示的内涵，对我们今天认识和理解民族现象也是启迪颇多的。例如，构成民族特征的文化差异的自然基础是生态环境，即在“天地寒暖燥湿”、“广谷大川”等不同生态环境中生存的人类群体“皆随地以资其生”所表现的“异俗”，“五方之民”在民居、饮食、服饰、工具、器物等方面的“异制”，不同的语言、不同的价值观念及其相互沟通的中介（翻译）等。其中也包括了处理“五方之民”互动关系的古代政治智慧，即“修其教不易其俗，齐其政不易其宜”。可以说，中国是一个有民族学传统且民族学资源十分丰富的国家。

古往今来、时过境迁，今天的中国已经自立于世界民族之林，正在为实现中华民族的伟大复兴推进中国特色社会主义现代化进程。这一进程正在展示现代民族进程的发展前景，它同样会对现代人类社会的民族现象及其发展前景提供一种范式，也就是中国解决民族问题的成功例证。当然，我国正处于社会主义初级阶段的发展进程中，在解决民族问题方面，我们不仅面对着中国56个民族共同发展繁荣的历史重任，而且也面对着全球化时代多民族的大千世界。无论是内政治理，还是融入国际社会，广义的民族问题仍旧是我们需要高度重视的课题。当代中国民族问题的基本特征和普遍反应是经济文化的发展问题，这是由当代中国社会所处的发展阶段及其基本矛盾所决定的。同时，我们也面对着一些棘手的问题，如“台独”问题、达赖集团问题、“东突”势力和国际恐怖主义问题，以及世界范围和周边国家民族问题的交互影响。这两个方面的问题为我们提出了责无旁贷的研究任务。履行这一职责需要我们付出多方面的艰辛努力，其中学科建设是最重要的保障。

科学化是学科建设题中之义，任何一门学科只能在科学化的过程中实

现发展。中国的学术传统源远流长，也形成了诸多学科性的研究领域。近代以来，随着西学东渐，中国的学术事业在不断吸收西方科学规范的过程中逐步形成了现代学科的分化，其中民族学、人类学也取得了很大程度的发展。自 20 世纪 70 年代末中国改革开放以来，中国的哲学社会科学事业在与世界学术领域交流互动的过程中取得了新的发展和显著的成就，哲学社会科学在认识世界、传承文明、创新理论、资政育人、服务社会等方面的不可替代作用，得到了党和国家的充分肯定。但是，能否充分地发挥哲学社会科学各学科的这种作用，涉及诸多因素，而学科建设所包含的指导思想、基本概念和范畴、学科理论、研究方法和学术规范等方面的内容是具有重要意义的。体现这些基本要素的研究成果，不仅对推进学科建设至关重要，而且也是繁荣发展哲学社会科学事业不可或缺的内在条件。中国社会科学院重点学科建设工程的启动，是进一步繁荣发展哲学社会科学事业的重要举措。我所推出中国社会科学院重点学科建设工程丛书·民族学人类学系列是贯彻落实这一重要举措所做出的一种尝试。

如上所述，我研究所是一个多学科、综合性的研究机构，经过学科调整和研究室重组，研究所内的大部分学科都纳入了重点学科建设工程，如民族理论、民族历史、民族语言、语音学和计算语言学、民族学（社会文化人类学）、世界民族和诸多专业方向。因此，这套丛书的出版及其所关涉的研究内容也体现了多学科的特点。这套丛书根据基础研究和应用研究并重的学科建设要求，或以学科或以专题反映我研究所科研人员新近的研究成果。根据中国社会科学院重点学科建设工程协议的要求，在今后几年中，我研究所列入工程范围的学科和专业方向将完成一系列具有重要理论价值和现实意义的研究课题，而这套丛书则主要反映这一过程中的阶段性学术成果。

2003 年，我国获得了 2008 年国际人类学民族学世界大会的举办权，这对中国的民族学和人类学以及广义的民族研究事业来说是一次重大的发展机遇，也是与来自世界各国的民族学家、人类学家进行广泛对话和空前交流的机会，同时这也意味着是一次挑战。我们不仅需要展现中国各民族的现代发展成就，而且需要在民族学、人类学研究方面推出一批又一批引人注目的高水平研究成果。因此，加强民族学、人类学的学科建设，整合传统民族研究的学科性资源，做好充分的学术准备，是今后几年我国民族学、

人类学界的重要任务。从这个意义上说，这套丛书的陆续出版，在一定程度上也将体现我研究所为迎接这次世界大会所进行的学术准备。

在此，我们非常感谢社会科学文献出版社对这套丛书的出版给予大力支持和真诚帮助，也期待着广大读者给予关注和指正。

中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所所长

郝时远

2004年6月

## Foreword of the Series

The Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is a multi-disciplinary and comprehensive research institution. In terms of disciplinary arrangement, the institute covers Marxist studies, history, linguistics, ethnology, socio-cultural anthropology, economics, religion, historical records, politics, law, international relations, video anthropology, folklore, and ancient scripts, as well as some special learning like Mongol studies, Tibetology and Turk studies. The disciplinary diversification forms the multi-disciplinary, comprehensive feature of the institute. All these disciplines have one thing in common, that is, they all study minzu (a general word in Chinese for people, ethnos, nationality, nation and ethnic group) phenomenon and their evolutionary law in the human society, with the emphasis on minzu communities in different historical stages and with different meanings, as well as on the interaction between various minzu. The institute is named with the term of ethnology and anthropology for the purpose to build a common academic platform for all disciplines it involves, to realize the mutual complementarity and integration of all the disciplines, to form the advantage of the comprehensive studies, and to foster the development of ethnology and anthropology in China.

The minzu phenomenon and the problems resulting from the phenomenon have been among the most widespread, most complicated, most prolonged and most important subjects in the human society. China is an Oriental country with an ancient civilization that never discontinued. Also, it is a unitary country with ethnic plurality. In the course of several thousand years, the ethnic interaction was

not only a social highlight in each historical dynasty, but also a motivator for the formation and continuous development of a unitary country with ethnic plurality. So, the minzu phenomenon and eth-nic interaction in China' long history of several thousand years provide us with a full ancient model for understanding the minzu phenomenon and their law in the human society.

In China's Pre-Qin historical literature, there is a term of "wu fang zhi min", literally, five-direction peoples. It comes from the following paragraph:

The material used for shelter must vary with different climate, cold or warm, dry or moist, and with different topography, such as wide valley or large river. And people living in different environment have different customs. They may have different character, behav-ing way, dieting habit, instruments and clothes. It is proper to civilize the people without changing their customs and to improve their administrative system without changing those suitable to them. Wu fang zhi min (people inhabiting five directions), either in middle plain or in frontier, all have their own character, which can not be transformed. People in the east, known as Yi, grow long hair hanging down over the neck and have tattoos, and some of them have their food without cooking. People in the south, known as Man, tattoo their foreheads and cross their feet when sleeping, and some of them have their food without cooking. People in the west, known as Rong, grow long hair hanging down over the neck and wear pelt, and some of them do not have grain as their food. People in the north, known as Di, wear feather and live in caves, and some of them do not have grain as their food. Both people in middle plain and the Yi, Man, Rong and Di have their own shelter, di-et, dress, instruments and carriers. The people in five directions can not understand each other and may have different desires. The way to make each other'ideas and desires understood is called ji in the east, xiang in the south, didi in the west and yi in the north. ( cited from *Liji*, an ancient Chinese book. )



This may be regarded as the earliest record with ethnographical sense in China.

The citation suggests a lot for us to understand today's minzu phenomenon. For one thing, the cultural difference that usually constitutes the ethnic feature has its natural foundation in ecological environment. Human groups living in different ecological environment, like different climate (cold or warm, dry or moist) and topography (wide valley or large river), all depend upon their local resources and thus may have different customs. As mentioned above, the people in five directions varied in shelter, diet, dress and instrument, and people speaking different languages with different values can be communicated only through the medium of translation. Also, here is displayed the ancient political wisdom to deal with the relations of the people in five directions, namely, to civilize the people without changing their customs and to improve their administrative system without changing those suitable to them. So it shows that China is country with ethnological tradition and rich ethnographical resources.

Now, old time has passed and the situation has changed. Today, as an independent member of the international community, China is promoting the modernization with Chinese characteristics in order to realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. This development has revealed the prospect of the modern minzu process. And at the same time, it will also provide a pattern, that is, the successful example in which China deals with the minzu problem, for the minzu phenomenon and their evolution of the human society in the modern time. Of course, China still remains at the initial stage of socialism. So far as the minzu problem is concerned, we are now facing not only the historical task of common development and prosperity for the 56 nationalities in China, but also the ethnically plural, complicated world in the time of globalization.

The ethnic problem in broad sense still remains to be a subject to which we should pay much attention, either in the management of internal affairs or in the merging to the international community. In contemporary China, the fundamental feature of or the widespread response to the ethnic problem is how to promote the economic and cultural development. This is determined by the

current developmental stage as well as the fundamental contradiction of the contemporary Chinese society. At the same time, we are confronted with certain difficult problems, such as Taiwan's attempt for "independence", the problem of the Dalai clique, the issue of "East Turkistan", the international terrorism, as well as the influence of ethnic problems both in our neighboring countries and all over the world in general. The problems in the two larger respects put forth our duty-bound tasks for research. To perform this duty, we should make our effort in many aspects, among which, disciplinary construction serves as the most important guarantee.

Disciplinary construction calls for scientific spirit, only with which can a discipline realize its development. China has its academic traditions of long standing, and a number of academic domains developed in the history. Since the influence of the Western learning went eastward, Western norm of science has been introduced and the disciplinary division in modern sense gradually came into being in China. And it is just in this process that ethnology and anthropology acquired development to large extent. Since the late 1970s when China began to take reforms and open to the outside world, new development and remarkable achievement have been made in China's philosophy and social sciences through the exchange with foreign academia. The Party and the State highly appreciate the irreplaceable role of philosophy and social sciences in understanding the world, passing on civilization, innovating the theory, consulting for government and educating the young, and serving the society.

However, the full play of the role of philosophy and social sciences involves many factors. And in this respect, disciplinary construction is of importance, such as in the guiding thought, fundamental concepts and categories, disciplinary theories, research methods and academic norm. The research achievements that represent these fundamental factors will not only be of vital importance in promotion of disciplinary construction, but also make up the indispensable inherent conditions for prospering and fostering philosophy and social sciences. The launch of the construction project for prior disciplines at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is a significant move for further prospering and fostering

philosophy and social sciences. And the Series of the Construction Project for Prior Disciplines at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences our institute has put out is just an attempt to carry out the significant move.

As mentioned above, our institute is a multi-disciplinary and comprehensive research institution. Since the discipline adjustment and research department restructuring, most disciplines in the institute, such as ethnic theory, ethnic history, ethnic linguistics, phonetics and computational linguistics, ethnology (socio-cultural anthropology) and world ethnic-national studies, have been brought into the construction project for prior disciplines. So, the series and the content involved reflect the feature of multi-disciplines, too. Placing emphasis both on basic and applied studies, the series reflects recent research achievements either in the unit of a discipline or in a special topic. In accordance with the requirement from the agreement on the construction project for prior disciplines at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, our institute will complete in the next few years a series of research projects both with important theoretical value and actual significance. So, the series mainly reflects the academic products at the current phase.

In 2003, China succeeded in bidding for the host for the 2008 Conference of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES). This will be a significant developmental opportunity, not only to China's ethnology and anthropology, but to ethno-national studies in general as well. Also, it will be an opportunity of widespread dialogue and unprecedented exchange with ethnologists and anthropologists from various countries in the world. At the same time, however, it means a challenge. We need to exhibit the developmental achievements of the nationalities in China, and moreover, we need to exhibit plenty of striking research achievements with a high level. Therefore, it will be the important task of China's ethnology and anthropology in the next few years to strengthen the disciplinary construction, integrate the disciplinary resources of traditional ethno-national studies, and make full academic preparation. In this sense, the publication of the series in succession can be regarded to some extent as the academic preparation made by our institute for the

coming congress of IUAES.

Finally, we appreciate very much the vigorous support and sincere assistance of the Social Sciences Literature Press to the publication of the series. And we also expect the attention and criticism from the readers.

HAO SHIYUAN

*Director*

*Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology*

*Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*

*June 2004*

# 前 言

中国四川省西北部分布着十余种少数民族语言，分别属于藏缅语族的藏语支和羌语支。围绕这些语言的调查研究从20世纪80年代起就受到了国际语言学界的空前关注，因为相关的结果可以对当代中国语言学的—个著名理论——“羌语支假说”形成验证。到目前为止，根据田野调查来描述这些语言的著作已有数十种之多。不过经典的历史语言学认为，当代语言的调查材料必须结合古代文献的记载才能在历史比较中发挥作用，从某种意义上说，古文献的价值甚至要超过当代语言。鉴于本领域此前的研究涉及古文献较少，我们准备为语言学界提供一套经过校理的《西番译语》，这套书为我们展示了近三百年前四川省西北地区的少数民族语言面貌，提供了数百则常用词语，足以成为藏缅语族历史比较研究的一份不可或缺的参考资料。

《西番译语》是清乾隆年间四译馆编写的一套少数民族语言教材，目的是借以培养生员，以备在与川西地方政权交往时充任笔译和口译。全套教材共九册，分别记载当时笼统称为“西番语”的藏语安多方言牧区话和农区话、藏语康方言、白马语、嘉绒语，以及尔苏语中部方言和西部方言。各册在编写时遵循政府统一规定的体例，卷首概述该语言使用的地理范围，正文收录有汉语对译的少数民族词语，以义类编次，分20门，凡740条。每条词语分三个部分，依次为汉语语义、藏文和民族语的汉字译音，如《西番译语》第一种“天文门”的前两条：

天 ཀླུ་མ་ 难      日 ཉི་མ་ 尼麻

读者由此知道藏语的“天”读音接近汉语的“难”，藏语的“日”（太阳）读音接近汉语的“尼麻”。

这种体例是从元末明初火源洁所编汉蒙对照的《华夷译语》继承来的。具体到《西番译语》来说，统一的体例也造成了其中的两个缺点，我们在利用这些材料进行历史比较研究时不可不加关注。

首先，统一的词语表只是当时清政府单方面拟定的，表中除了生活中的常用词外，还特地增加了一批新词。这些新词可以分为两类：一类是为照顾少数民族的风俗习惯而加入的，例如当地的生活日用品名称和一些佛教词语，这可以认为是如实反映了少数民族语言的客观情况；另一类是代表中原满汉文化的特有词，少数民族在日常生活中并不使用它们，我们估计这些词的民族语形式是《译语》的编者“硬译”上去的，因而在历史比较研究中必须谨慎对待。

其次，有几种《译语》给出的少数民族词语并非规范的藏文词，或者即使按藏文规则拼读，其读音也与相应的汉字译音多不相符，甚至毫不相干。造成这种现象的原因尚不清楚。我们估计在当时的川西北地区可能流行着三种文字使用方式：其一是普通的藏文，即书写规范的藏文，读以某种藏语方言；其二类似日本对当用汉字的“训读”，即书写规范的藏文，却读以另外的民族语言；其三可以称为“借用”，即借用藏文字母书写另外的民族语言，也读以另外的民族语言。这三种情况有时会交织在一起，为研究者深入理解当地的语言造成困难。

九种《西番译语》的编纂是在清代有规模、有组织语言调查的基础上形成的，是一份不可多得的古代藏羌语言的调查语料。最初的编定本是一种“印抄本”的形式，即由政府统一印制类似语言调查表格式的小册子，其中有固定的行格和汉语词，只在下面民族语词和汉字注音的位置留空。调查人员领到这个统一印制的小册子后，便用毛笔在相应的位置填写上所要求的民族语词。九种《西番译语》所选用的词语都是统一的，这些词语既有日常交流必备的常用词，又有反映藏羌地区民族特点的特殊词。据目前所知，当时的初编本都已在20世纪初流失到了国外。日本大谷大学图书馆存有四种《西番译语》，为神田喜一郎旧藏，封面分题《泰宁属沈边冷边西番译语》、《泰宁属木坪各村寨西番译语》、《泰宁属明正司所管口外各西番译语》、《建昌属木里瓜别各西番译语》，其中的表格和汉义均为印本，而

藏文和汉字对音都是手写，藏文用无头字书写。看得出来，藏文和汉字对音是编译者后来添加上去的，我们推测其为北京故宫所藏抄本的四种原本。<sup>①</sup>此外，西田龙雄在《多续译语的研究》一书中曾经介绍过日本今西春秋所藏的一种《西番译语》，据“西番”一词音译为“多续”，西田龙雄名之为“多续译语”。此本的表格和每个词语的汉义均为印本，藏文和汉字对音是手写，但与上述四种不同的是其藏文用有头字书写，这个本子也是九种《西番译语》的原本之一。现在国内保存的只有故宫博物院图书馆的一套清抄本和北京大学图书馆的一套20世纪初抄本，后者经过抄书人的重新编排，不再按各种语言分册抄写，而是把九种西番语的同义词都集中列在相应的汉语词下，已经失去了原书的面貌。故宫所藏抄本是国内现存最古的本子，但原抄本难得一见，所幸中国国家图书馆收藏有一套20世纪20年代据故宫本的晒蓝本。这套晒蓝本的制作和保存都很好，里面虽有极个别不清楚的地方，参考故宫藏本也可以恢复其原貌，所以我们此项研究的工作本选用了这个晒蓝本。

本项研究的主体部分是对全套《西番译语》的校录，所用底本是国家图书馆的九种《西番译语》晒蓝本，同时参校故宫博物院藏抄本和北京大学图书馆藏抄本。在校录的过程中遇到的最大难题是藏文的辨识，《西番译语》绝大多数都用藏文“无头字”（接近草书）写成，其中还有一些当时的习惯拼写法，例如用基字上面加的“圆点儿”来代替韵尾-m，再加上不少词语都与古来字典上提供的标准形式相去甚远，所以我们的转写尽管参考了前人的研究成果和当代的语言调查材料，但仍不敢说全然没有疑问。也许将来随着研究的深入，会有一个更详细的校订本问世，就像当年西田龙雄和孙宏开二位先生所做的那样。

“华夷译语”可谓是明清两代编纂的相关民族的“语言简志”，本项研究的“导论”部分介绍明清以来政府翻译机构的形成和字书编纂情况以及近、现代人的相关研究，目的是为读者提供进一步了解这个领域的基础。另外，“导论”还用了很大篇幅来展现各种《西番译语》在当时的分布地域，即参照清代地方志逐一查证九种《译语》卷首所述使用该语言的土司领地，试图寻求其与现代地名的对应关系。对于地方志上失载的个别地名，

① 感谢大谷大学松川节博士促成我们浏览了这些书。

我们到四川省进行了实地访问。这一部分的引证虽然看上去有些繁琐，但我们相信它对于研究少数民族语言分布地域的古今变迁是绝对必要的。

为方便检索，本书把十种《西番译语》汇编在一起，其中多出的一种是保存在《龙威秘书》里的《西番译语》。虽然这种书来历不明，但考虑到整体资料的完整性，我们仍然将其编在里面，并根据孙宏开先生的意见，称之为“草地译语”。



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