

中央研究院

歷史語言研究所集刊

第三十五本

故院長朱家驊先生紀念論文集

目 錄

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 中國語法圖解兩例····· | 趙元任 |
| The Phonemic System of the Tai Lü Language····· | FANG-KUEI LI |
| 六博及博局的演變····· | 勞 翰 |
| 劉子集證補錄····· | 王叔岷 |
| 讀梨識小錄····· | 李孝定 |
| 論禹貢著成的時代····· | 屈萬里 |
| 雲南方言特點及分區概說····· | 楊時逢 |
| 緯書集成“河圖”類鉞誤····· | 張以仁 |
| 卡語與沙語的初步比較····· | 嚴 棉 |
| 論洪承疇的“流賊敗逐”題本····· | 李光濤 |
| 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表譌異續編(五)····· | 陳 槃 |
| 西漢政權與社會勢力的交互作用····· | 許倬雲 |
| 從徐潤的房地產經營看光緒九年的經濟恐慌····· | 全漢昇 |
| 括地志序略都督府管州考略····· | 嚴耕望 |
| 殷代的弓與馬····· | 石璋如 |
| 殷商時代青銅技術的第四種風格····· | 李 濟 |
| 附 載 | |
| 朱家驊先生年譜簡編····· | 胡頌平 |

中華民國五十三年九月

臺 灣 臺 北

中央研究院

歷史語言研究所集刊

第三十五本

故院長朱家驊先生紀念論文集

中央研究院
歷史語言研究所集刊
第三十五本
故院長朱家驊先生紀念論文集

定價每冊新臺幣捌拾元

版權所有不准翻印

| | |
|-------|--|
| 編輯者 | 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 集刊編輯委員會 |
| 發行者 | 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 臺灣省臺北縣南港鎮 |
| 印刷者 | 精華印書館股份有限公司 臺灣省臺北市長沙街二段71號 |
| 經銷處 | 臺灣商務印書館 臺北市重慶南路一段 大陸雜誌社 臺北市羅斯福路二段五號 |
| 香港代銷處 | 集成圖書公司 九龍亞皆老街一一一號 |

中華民國五十三年九月出版

中央研究院

歷史語言研究所集刊

第三十五本

故院長朱家驊先生紀念論文集

編輯委員會

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------|-------|
| 李 濟(主席) | 屈 萬 里 | 芮 逸 夫 | 石 璋 如 |
| 周 法 高 | 嚴 耕 望 | 陳 槃(常務) | |
| 徐 高 阮(英文編輯) | 陳 文 石(助理編輯) | | |

中央研究院

歷史語言研究所集刊

第三十五本

故院長朱家驊先生紀念論文集

目 錄

| | | |
|---|-------------------|-----|
| 中國語法圖解兩例····· | 趙元任····· | 1 |
| The Phonemic System of the Tai Lü Language····· | FANG-KUEI LI····· | 7 |
| 六博及博局的演變····· | 勞 榦····· | 15 |
| 劉子集證補錄····· | 王叔岷····· | 31 |
| 讀梨識小錄····· | 李孝定····· | 41 |
| 論禹貢著成的時代····· | 屈萬里····· | 53 |
| 雲南方言特點及分區概說····· | 楊時逢····· | 87 |
| 緯書集成“河圖”類鉞誤····· | 張以仁····· | 113 |
| 卡語與沙語的初步比較····· | 嚴 棉····· | 135 |
| 論洪承疇的“流賊敗逃”題本····· | 李光濤····· | 155 |
| 春秋大事表列國爵姓及存滅表譌異續編(五)····· | 陳 槃····· | 199 |
| 西漢政權與社會勢力的交互作用····· | 許倬雲····· | 261 |
| 從徐潤的房地產經營看光緒九年的經濟恐慌····· | 全漢昇····· | 283 |
| 括地志序略都督府管州考略····· | 嚴耕望····· | 301 |
| 殷代的弓與馬····· | 石璋如····· | 321 |
| 殷商時代青銅技術的第四種風格····· | 李 濟····· | 343 |
| 附 載 | | |
| 朱家驊先生年譜簡編····· | 胡頌平····· | 353 |

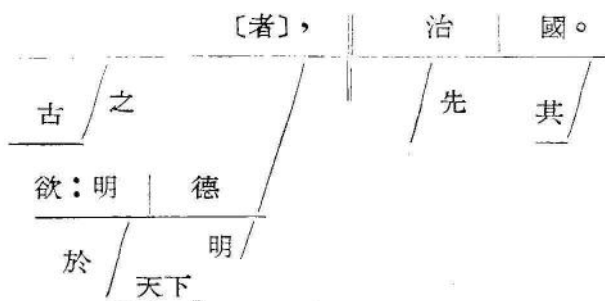
中華民國五十三年九月

臺 灣 臺 北

中國語法圖解兩例

趙元任

平常說到語法圖解，多半總是講黎錦熙式的句子結構的圖解，例如：（註一）



其中雙線表示主謂的分界，單線動賓關係，斜線表示修飾關係，等等。

近來研究語法的又特別注意到直接成分（“IC”）關係，用各種符號來標出什麼跟什麼成為直接成分，例如：（註二）

The king of England open ed Parliament

這裏頭單線標最大的成分界線，雙線次大的，三線更小的成分，等等。還有的用方兜子符號標直接成分的。記得有一年走過武漢大學的農場，看見個牌子上寫着“無肺病牛”四個字。乍一看我說這是什麼牛，又病又沒有肺？再一想才知道我是把直接成分弄錯了。不是

無肺病牛

乃是

無肺病牛

(註一) 黎錦熙，比較文法，北平，民國二十二年，頁174。

(註二) Rulon Wells, Immediate Constituents, *Language* 卷23, 期2, 頁84(1947, 4至6月)。

就是沒有肺病的牛。其實這種方兜式的符號也就跟數學裏的方、圓、花的各種括弧是同樣的功用，不過在語言學的標點裏方括弧已經用慣了當作國際音標或其他音值符號的標誌，花括弧當詞素音位的標誌，圓括弧又當註解的用處，所以一般的語言學者就很少用括弧多用方兜子來標直接成分了。

本文舉的兩個例沒有直接成分關係那麼廣。一個是方位補詞的圖解，還一個是介詞的圖解。

(一) 方位補詞·——最常用的方位補詞就是“來”跟“去”咯。一般用的時候都是輕聲，例如“拿·來”，“送·去”。只有插入“得”或“不”表示可能不可能的時候才不用輕聲，例如“叫·得來”，“下·不去”，重音在最後一個字上，又“來”，“去”對比的時候也不輕聲，例如“跑來跑去”。補詞性的“來”、“去”是表示衝着說話人跟背着說話人的動作，所以嚴格說起來沒法子在紙上畫出方向來。現在照公路上路牌標誌的習慣用一個向上指的鳥形的箭號表示向前，向下指的表示向下(參看第一圖表)。






除了“來”、“去”最活用的兩個方位補詞之外另有“上”、“下”，“進”、“出”，“起”，“回”，“過”，“開”，“攏”當(單)補詞用的時候有相當的詞彙性的限制，例如有“關·上”，沒有“*關·下”，有“提出”，沒有“*提進”(用較文的“入”字也沒有“*提入”。這幾個補詞可以用直箭或彎箭畫出各種方向來(第一圖表)。

這九個方位補詞的見處雖然有限制但是跟“來”、“去”合起來成複補詞就又可以隨便活用了，例如“走·出·去”，“拿·進·來”，凡是有意義的任何動作動詞後頭都可以用得上。只是“打開來”、“並攏來”之類在北方比南方說的少一點。還有“起去”無論是當動補結構還是當另一動詞後的複補詞只見於南官話，在北方只有“起來”沒有“*起去”，所以如果兩個人睡在一個牀上一個人說“你先起去，我再睡一會兒”，在北邊還得說“你先起來，我再睡一會兒”。

方位補詞跟德文裏的遊離性詞頭非常相近。“來”就等於 *her-*，“去”等於 *hin-*“走出來”就等於 *herauskommen*，“跑下去”等於 *hinablaufen*。可是有一個小不同的地方就是複補詞遊離的時候上半還連着主動詞，只後半遊離，例如“爬進來”：“偷偷兒爬進我心裏來”，可是德文 *hineinschleichen: schleicht mir ins herz hinein* 兩種分法不同。

現在把這些方位補詞的圖解跟德文的比較列在第一圖表。

第 一 圖 表

| 圖 | 單補 | 等於德文 | 單補舉例 | 複 補 舉 例 |
|---|----|---------------------|-------|---------------------------|
|  | | <i>her-</i> | 送·來 | |
|  | | <i>hin-</i> | 拿·去 | |
| ↑ | 上 | <i>auf-</i> | 扣·上 | 爬·上·來, 端·上·來 迎·上·去, 送·上·去 |
| ↓ | 下 | <i>ab-</i> | 留·下妻子 | 攔·下·來, 剩·下·來 掉·下·去, 吃·下·去 |
| →⊙ | 進 | <i>ein-</i> | 走進大門 | 引·進·來, 放·進·來 交·進·去, 聽·進·去 |
| ⊙→ | 出 | <i>aus-</i> | 提出抗議 | 現·出·來, 說·出·來 滾·出·去, 鬧·出·去 |
|  | 起 | <i>empor-</i> | 發起 | 飛·起·來, 哭·起·來了 —— |
|  | 回 | <i>zurück-</i> | 召回 | 跑·回·來, 要·回·來 縮·回·去, 放·回·去 |
|  | 過 | <i>über-</i> | 走過橋 | 遞·過·來, 醒·過·來 背·過·去, 暈·過·去 |
| ↔ | 開 | <i>auseinander-</i> | 分·開 | 打·開·來, 張·開·來 —— |
| →← | 攏 | <i>zusammen-</i> | 靠攏 | 聚攏·來 —— |

(二) 介賓關係。——介詞跟賓詞的關係在意義上其實是表示主詞對於某事物的空間位置或動向的關係跟這些關係的引申的意義。以下擬的圖解法是用一個點標主詞，圈標賓詞，主賓的關係就用點圈的距離或用箭向來標它。例如點緊挨着圈（第1號）就是表示“在”的關係，圈後有反箭，然後有點（第7號），就是“離（開）”的意思，就是標不動距離的。在第二圖表舉例裏左邊是表示時空關係的，右半是由時空引申的或其他的抽象關係。








圖 時 空

其 他

1. ●○ 在(北平又有：待，挨，捱) 在…上(頭)，例如：在政治上
2. ●○ 跟，和，同方，與文，及文
3. ➔○ 到，上，例如：到三點
再走罷，上上海去
4. ●○ 臨，趁，趕
5. ➔○ 望(註一)，衝(着)，朝(着)，對(着)，向 對，於，對於，關於，至於，爲(着～了)

(註一) 一般寫“往”讀去聲。我贊成寫“望”字，因為在吳語粵語都用 *m*，可見原是“微”母“望”字。

中國語法圖解兩例

- | | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| 6.  | 从，打，解，起，自從，由 | 因爲，由於 |
| 7.  | 離(開) | 比，比較，較比，像 |
| 8.  | 沿(着)，順(着) | 照(着)，按(着)，按照(着)，依照， 據，根據，憑(着)，靠(着)，論 |
| 9.  | | 用，拿，以文 |
| 10.  | | 把，給，將文，方，管，叫 |
| 11.  | | 被，給，叫，讓 |
| 12.  | | 替，給 |
| 13.  | | 除了，除去，除……以~之外 |
| 14.  | | 由，歸，連，連……帶 |

以上“叫”字兩個用法，在第10圖如“叫她叫媽”等於北方“管她叫媽”，在第11圖如“錢別叫賊偷了”。“給”字三用，在第10圖如“貓給魚吃了”，在第十一圖如“魚給貓吃了”。第十二圖如“我給貓吃了”(我也不吃貓，貓也不吃我，我就拿貓食給貓吃了)。

SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

TWO EXAMPLES OF DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION IN CHINESE GRAMMAR

YUEN REN CHAO

The diagrammatic representation of sentence structure and immediate constituents is common practice among grammarians. The present paper presents two sets of diagrammatic representation of an iconic nature, for (1) directional complements and (2) prepositions. A close parallel is found between Chinese directional complements and the German separable prefixes, except that when a verb *V* plus a compound directional complement is separated by an object *O*, it is in the order VC_1+O+C_2 , whereas the corresponding German forms will have the order $V+O+P_1P_2$. In the diagrams for prepositions, a dot represents the subject, a circle the object, and an arrow or arrows the relation between them. The examples on the left are prepositions of time and space and those on the right have more figurative or more general meanings.

THE PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF THE TAI LÜ LANGUAGE

FANG-KUEI LI

University of Washington

This paper is to present a short description of Tai Lü language and to clarify its position in the Southwestern branch of the Tai languages, which consists of Siamese (Thai), Lao, Shan, Khün, Tai Noir, Tay Blanc (Minot), etc.¹⁾ Tai Lü is spoken in the southern part of Yunnan, China, and, to a small extent in the northern part of Laos. This group forms a semi-independent state in China with an area of about 2500 sq. kilometers and an estimated population of about two hundred thousand of which about forty per cent consists of other ethnic groups.²⁾ The native name of the state is called Sipsong Panna (Shih-erh Pan-na 十二版納 or Hsi-shuang Pan-na

-
- 1) This paper was read before the Tenth Pacific Science Congress in Honolulu, 1960.
The Lü material was gathered by me for Academia Sinica in 1936-1937. For information about other languages of this branch, see
Mary R. Hass and Heng R. Subhanka, *Spoken Thai*. 2 vols. 1945-1948.
Mary R. Haas, *The Tones of Four Tai Dialects*, CYYY 29 (1958), pp. 817-823.
T. Guignard, *Dictionnaire laotien-français*. Hong Kong, 1912.
G. Edward Roffe and Thelma W. Roffe, *Spoken Lao*. 2 vols. 1956-1958.
J. N. Cushing, *A Shan and English Dictionary*. Rangoon, 1914.
S. Egerod, *Essentials of Shan Phonology and Script*, CYYY 29 (1958), pp. 121-129.
S. Egerod, *Essentials of Khün Phonology and Script*, *Acta Orientalia* 24.3-4. (1959), pp. 123-146.
Georges Minot, *Dictionnaire Tay Blanc Français*, BEFEO 40.1 (1940).
Georges Minot, *Vocabulaire Français-Thay Blanc*, 2 vols. Public. of EFEO, 1949.
F. Martini, *Romanization des parlers 'Tay du Nord Vietnam*, BEFEO 46.2 (1954), pp. 555-572.
Fu Mou-chi and others, *Yunnan sheng Hsi-shuang-pan-na Yün-ching-hung T'ai-yü ti Yin-wei hsi-t'ung*, *Yü Yen Yen Chiu* 1 (1956), pp. 223-264.
E. Diguët, *Etude de la langue Tai*. Hanoi, 1895.
F. K. Li, *A Tentative Classification of the Tai Languages*, in *Culture in History*, ed. by S. Diamond, pp. 951-959. This is slightly revised version of an article in *Anthro. Linguistics* 1,2 (1959), pp. 15-21.
S. Egerod, *Studies in Thai Dialectology*, *Acta Orientalia* 26.1-2 (1961), pp. 43-91.
- 2) See Li Fo-i, *Shih-erh Pan-na Chih 十二版納志*, pp. 38-52. Taipei, 1955.

西雙版納), and the capital is Ceng Hung (Ch'e-li 車里). There are dialects in this area, but on the whole the differences are slight.³⁾ The dialect that I am presenting here is based on material gathered from speakers from Ceng Tong (Cheng-Tung 整董).

1. Phonemic system.

1.1 Consonants. There are twenty-two consonant phonemes. They are:—

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|----|---|---|----|---|
| / | p | ph | b | m | f | w |
| | t | th | d | n | hr | l |
| | k | kh | | ŋ | x | |
| | c | ch | | | s | j |
| | ʔ | | | | h | / |

/b/ and /d/ are pronounced with glottal stricture and slightly implosive in character. /c/ and /ch/ pre-palatal affricates. /w/ is labio-dental with no or very little friction when it stands alone as an initial, otherwise it means simply lip rounding.

All the twenty two consonants may appear as the initial of a syllable, but only nine consonants may appear finally, namely /m, n, ŋ, w, j, p, t, k, and ʔ/. A number of initial clusters also occur, e.g. /kw, khw, and xw/. There are also a small number of clusters such as /pl, thl, tw, and sw/, which occur only in literary, semi-literary, and largely loan words, for example /plɛ/ to translate, /thlɛ/ a kind of trumpet, /twaj²/ or /taj²/ to guess, foretell, /swen⁶ wi³/ or /sen⁶ wi³/ title of the ruler at Ceng Hung (hsüan-wei 宣慰).

The phonemic status of /hr/ is interesting. It often alternates with /h/ in tone 2, 4, and 6 (cf. *infra*), /hr/ being the literary and more formal pronunciation, and /h/ being the common form. Thus a word like /hrǎj²/ chicken flea, is likely to be pronounced with /h/, while a word like /hra²-

3) See Fu Mou-chi and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-250.

că⁴-ma² ta/ mother of a prince, is likely to be pronounced with /hr/.

1.2 Vowels. There are ten vowel phonemes. They are:—

| Front unrounded | Back unrounded | Back rounded |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| / i | i | u |
| e | ě | o |
| ε | ă | ɔ |
| | a | / |

/e/ and /ε/ are phonetically [e] and [ε]; /o/ and /ɔ/ are phonetically [o] and [ɔ]. There are also differences of length phonetically, e.g. /ă/ is always short and /a/ is always long, but there are also qualitative differences between these two vowels, e.g. /ă/ is further back and higher, and /a/ is more central and lower. The other vowels are either long or short depending on the tone and the final consonant or juncture.⁴⁾ Thus all vowels followed by a glottal stop (or the close juncture) are short; e.g. the vowel is long in /kɔ/ classifier for trees, but short in /kɔʔ/ island. Similarly the vowel is short in the high tone when followed by a stop consonant as in /het/ mushroom, but long when rising as in /het³/ omen. We shall not therefore consider vocalic length as phonemic.

All vowels may be followed by /m, n, ŋ, p, t, k/ and, except /a/, by /ʔ/. Final /j/ occurs only after back vowels, i.e. /aj, ăj, ěj, ij, ɔj, oj, and ũj/, and final /w/ occurs after unrounded vowels, i.e. /aw, ăw, ěw, εw, ew, and iw/.⁵⁾

1.3 Tones. There are six tones.

1. The high level tone(ṽ 55). It is high level in all situations, except before a pause where it is slightly rising at the end. Ex. /ma/

4) Fu Mou-chi and others distinguish long and short vowels by dropping the glottal stop as a phoneme.

5) The combination /iw/ does not occur in my material.

dog, /to ma/ a dog.

2. The falling tone (↘ 31). It starts at about the middle pitch, and falls rapidly to low. Ex. /kun²/ person, /na²/ rice field.
3. The high rising tone (↗ 25). It starts at a point slightly below the middle pitch and rises up to high. Ex. /kǎj³/ chicken, /pet³/ eight.
4. The mid-level tone (→ 33). Ex. /nǎŋ⁴/ to sit, /nok⁴/ bird, /nok⁴/ outside.
5. The low rising or level tone (↗ 13, or → 11). It starts at the low pitch and rises to about the middle before pauses and before the 1st., the 4th., and the 6th. tone, otherwise it is low level. Thus /xa⁵/ to kill, is low rising in /xa⁵/, /xa⁵ pet/ to kill a duck, /xa⁵ nok⁴/ to kill a bird, but low level in /xa⁵ kun²/ to kill a person, /xa⁵ kǎj³/ to kill a chicken.
6. The mid-low tone (↘ 22). Ex. /mǎj⁶/ tree, /caŋ⁶/ elephant.

The tones are designated by raised numerals to the right of the word, except the first tone which is unmarked.

1.4 Junctures. We may tentatively recognize an intra-syllabic juncture (zero), a close juncture, indicated by a hyphen, and an open juncture, indicated by a space. Thus in a word like /pa naŋ²/ carp, the transition between /p/ and the following /a/ is intra-syllabic, but between the /a/ and the following /n/, the juncture is open (indicated by a space). In a word like /hra² cǎ⁴-bi-ta/ father of a prince, the transition among the last three syllables are close and indicated by hyphens.

1.5 Syllables. The syllables are bound by either the open or the close juncture. Its structure is CV or CVC; the initial C may be a permitted cluster. The distribution of tones is restricted by the syllabic types as in many Tai languages and Chinese dialects. A syllable may have any of the

six tones, except when they are followed a close juncture or end in a stop consonant.⁶⁾ Those that end in /p, t, k/ may have the first, the third, or the fourth tone, and those that end in a glottal stop or are bound by a close juncture may have only the first or the fourth tone.

2. After this brief description of the phonology we may compare this system with the other closely related languages, especially Siamese. No attempt is made to go into detailed comparisons of individual words, except to clarify certain systematic differences. In my previous tentative classification of the Tai languages, I have not gone into a more detailed classification of the Southwestern branch. This will give us an opportunity to survey briefly the situation. We shall discuss the various features under three headings.

2.1 Consonants. The consonant system of Lü agrees in general with the Siamese system, and particularly with Tai Blanc as described by Minot. It differs from Siamese in having /h/ or its literary variant /hr/ instead of Siam. /r/. This change of /r/ to /h/ is shared by most languages of this branch except Khün. Lü has, in addition, a contrast of /kh/ and /x/, which is not shared by most of the languages except Tai Blanc.⁷⁾ Examples, Siam. /khaa/ to kill, Lü /xa⁵/; Siam. /kham/ gold, Lü /xǎm²/, but Siam. /khaa/ slave, Lü /kha⁵/; Siam. /khrok/ mortar, Lü /khok⁴/.

The simplification of initial clusters of the type pl, kl, kr, etc. which exist in Siamese, is a common feature of Lü shared with practically all the languages of this branch. Ex. Siam. /plaa/ fish, Lü /pa/; Siam. /kroy/ cage, Lü /khuɣ/, etc..

6) In Siamese these are known as dead syllables.

7) Minot represents /kh/ and /x/ by kh and k'. The latter is described as a sound approaching the ch of German nach. Fu Mou-chi reports that certain Lü dialects have /x/ only, op. cit. pp. 225-226.

2.2 Vowels. The ten vowel system of Lü agrees with Shan and Tai Blanc but differs from Siamese, Lao, Tai Noir, and Khün. It differs from Siamese in two ways. In the first place there are in Lü no diphthongs of the type /ia, ia, ua/, which are simplified to /e, ě, o/, for example, Siam. /mia/ wife, Lü /me²/; Siam. /rīan/ house, Lü /hēn²/; Siam. /hua/ head, Lü /ho/, etc.. This development is shared by Shan, Khün, and Tai Blanc. In the second place, there is no phonemic distinction of length, this is shared only by Shan and Tai Blanc.⁸⁾ The functional load of the contrast of long and short vowels, except /ǎ/ and /a/, in native Tai words is very light even in Siamese and Lao, where the length distinction is most evident. Thus Siam. /luk/ to rise, and /luuk/ child, are not only distinguished by the length of the vowel, but also by the tone. The great quantity of Sanskrit and Pali loans which make scrupulous distinctions of length, seem to bolster this distinction in Siamese. I venture to suggest that the so-called long vowels in Siamese are due perhaps in part to the coalescence earlier vowel clusters in Proto-Tai.

Another special phenomenon in Lü, which I shall call nasal umlaut, is the raising of the vowels, corresponding to Siam. /e/ and /o/, to /i/ and /u/ before a nasal. For example, Siam. /khon/ person, Lü /kun²/; Siam. /pen/ to be, become, Lü /pin/; Siam. /doŋ/ forest, Lü /duŋ/; Siam. /phom/ hair, Lü /phum/; Siam. /len/ to play, Lü /lin⁵/, etc.. This phenomenon is shared only by another language, namely, Tay Blanc. A special case of raising what correspond to the short /a/ in Siamese to /ɛ/ takes place when it is flanked by a dental or prepalatal initial and a dental final. Thus, Siam. /tat/ to cut, Lü /tet/; Siam. /sat/ animal, Lü /set/, etc. In the speech of

8) It is interesting to note that Khün, according to Egerod, has a tendency to neglect length distinctions in the high vowels. The situation of length in Tai Noir is not clear.