



A Handbook of  
Eastern Han Sound Glosses

W. South Coblin

The Chinese University Press

---

International Standard Book Number: 962-201-258-2

Copyright © 1983 by The Chinese University of Hong Kong

*All Rights Reserved*

The Chinese University Press  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong  
SHATIN, N. T., HONG KONG

Typesetting by The Chinese University Press  
Printing by Ngai Kwong Printing Co. Ltd.

## Preface

During the past eighty years the study of Chinese historical phonology has focused on the Middle Chinese (ca. A.D. 600) and Old Chinese (ca. 1000 B.C.) periods. Work on the intervening span of over 1000 years has been less intense, due in great part to the paucity and relative inaccessibility of relevant data. Within this long interval the first and second centuries A.D., corresponding to the ascendancy of the Eastern Han dynasty, promise to be important for future research. Linguistically this seems to have been a transition period between the Old and Middle Chinese sound systems. Intellectually it was a time of intense scholarly activity resulting in the compilation of several major lexicographical works and many commentaries on earlier texts. Among the philological devices used by the Eastern Han scholars were various types of sound glosses and annotations. These seem to have been based on the pronunciations of those who formulated them and therefore reflect the sound systems of a number of Eastern Han dialects. The object of this handbook is to collect and make available to students of Chinese historical linguistics a corpus of heretofore widely scattered Eastern Han sound gloss data. A further source of information on Eastern Han phonology is the sizable body of identifiable transcriptional forms found in Han Buddhist texts. Though these are not sound glosses *per se*, they are of such importance for the study of Eastern Han phonology that it seemed justifiable to include them in a reference source of this type.

The handbook is divided into three parts. The first of these reviews previous work in Eastern Han phonology and discusses the nature of the sound gloss and transcriptional data. The second part analyzes the data and posits Eastern Han phonological reconstructions. These reconstructions are offered not as definitive solutions but as suggestions on how the material might be interpreted. In Part III the data are arranged systematically according to source and analyzed in a stroke order index.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to those who have made the completion of this work possible. My teachers, F. K. Li and Paul L.-M. Serruys, first aroused my interest in Chinese historical linguistics and the language of the Han period; and I have continued to benefit from their guidance. Throughout the past five years N. C. Bodman's advice and friendship have been a constant source of encouragement and support. To E. G. Pulleyblank I owe my interest in the Han Buddhist transcriptions and my appreciation of their

## Preface

importance for the study of Han phonology. Work with these materials would nevertheless not have been possible for me without the tireless and patient collaboration of my colleague, S. I. Pollock. The following friends and colleagues have also given me the benefit of their criticisms and suggestions: T. L. Mei, J. L. Norman, A. Schuessler, and P. H. Ting. Needless to say, all remaining errors of fact and opinion are my responsibility.

Finally I should like to express my gratitude to the American Council of Learned Societies and to the Office of Academic Affairs at the University of Iowa for providing grants which made it possible for me to devote my time to writing this book.

## Abbreviations and Signs

- \* Reconstructed EH Forms  
\*\* Reconstructed OC Forms
- AM *Asia Major*  
BHS Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Forms cited after Edgerton 1953)  
BHTY *Baihu tongyi* 白虎通義  
BIHP *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica  
BMFEA *Bulletin of the Museum of Ear Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm  
BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London  
BTD Buddhist Transcription Dialect(s)  
comm. commentary  
EH Eastern Han (A.D. 25-220)  
EY *Erya* 爾雅 (Cited according to Harvard-Yenching Institute Sino-logical Index Series, Supplement No. 8, *Index to Erh-ya*. Reprint: Taipei, 1966)  
FSTY *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義  
FY *Fangyan* 方言  
(1) Text attributed to Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.-A.D. 18). Cited according to Zhou (1951).  
(2) *Dialect*, a journal of Chinese dialectology published in Peking.  
Gd. Gāndhārī (Forms cited after Brough 1962 unless otherwise indicated)  
GS *Grammata Serica* (Karlgren 1940)  
GSR *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Karlgren 1964)  
GY *Guangyun* 廣韻  
GZSSJ *Guzhu shisanjing* 古注十三經 (Edition: Xinxing shuju 新興書局, Taipei, 1966)  
HGY *Hanguanyi* 漢官儀  
HHS *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Edition: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, Peking, 1965)  
HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*  
HN *Huainanzi* 淮南子  
HQJJXB *Huang-Qing jingjie xubian* 皇清經解續編, 1886-7  
HS *Hanshu* 漢書 (Edition: Zhonghua shuju, Peking, 1965)  
JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

Abbreviations and Signs

JCL	<i>Journal of Chinese Linguistics</i>
JY	<i>Jiyun</i> 集韻
LJ	<i>Liji</i> 禮記 (Edition: GZSSJ)
LS	<i>Liushi chunqiu</i> 呂氏春秋
LY	<i>Lunyu</i> 論語
MC	Middle Chinese or Ancient Chinese
MS	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
OC	Old Chinese or Archaic Chinese
P.	Pali
Pkt.	Prakrit (Forms cited after Pischel 1900)
QHXB	<i>Qinghua xuebao</i> 清華學報
QJYB	<i>Qunjing yinbian</i> 群經音辯
QY	<i>Qieyun</i> 切韻
SBBY	<i>Sibu beiyao</i> 四部備要
SBCK	<i>Sibu congkan</i> 四部叢刊
<i>Shi</i>	<i>Shijing</i> 詩經
<i>Shiwen</i>	<i>Jingdian shiwen</i> 經典釋文 (Edition of the <i>Siku shanben congshu</i> 四庫善本叢書)
<i>Shu</i>	<i>Shujing</i> 書經
SJ	<i>Shiji</i> 史記 (Edition: Zhonghua shuju, Peking, 1965)
SJZ	<i>Shujingzhu</i> 水經注
Skt.	Sanskrit
SSJ	<i>Shisanjing zhushu</i> 十三經注疏 (Nanchang 南昌 edition of 1815. Reprint: Taipei, 1965)
SSWXZ	<i>Shangshu wuxingzhuan</i> 尚書五行傳
SM	<i>Shiming</i> 釋名 (Cited according to Bodman 1954 unless otherwise indicated)
SW	<i>Shuowen jiezi</i> 說文解字
SWGL	<i>Shuowen jiezi gulin</i> 說文解字詁林 (Ding 1928)
SXMZ	<i>Zhongguo sixiang mingzhu</i> 中國思想名著, Taipei, 1959
SYHB	<i>Shiyun huibian</i> 十韻彙編 (Liu 1936)
T	<i>Taisho Tripitaka</i>
TP	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
TPYL	<i>Taiping yulan</i> 太平御覽 (Edition: Zhonghua shuju, Peking, 1960)
TSSD	<i>Taiwan shengli Shifan Daxue guowen yanjiusuo jikan</i> 臺灣省立師 範大學國文研究所集刊
WH	Western Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 24)
WJ	Wei-Jin 魏晉 (A.D. 264-419)
WX	<i>Wenxuan</i> 文選
YJ	<i>Yijing</i> 易經
YJXB	<i>Yanjing xuebao</i> 燕京學報

Abbreviations and Signs

YL	<i>Yili</i> 儀禮
YP	<i>Yupian</i> 玉篇
YQJYY	<i>Yiqiejing yinyi</i> 一切經音義 of Xuanying 玄應
YWLJ	<i>Yiwen leiju</i> 藝文類聚
ZGYW	<i>Zhongguo yuwen</i> 中國語文
ZL	<i>Zhouli</i> 周禮



## Contents

Preface .....	ix
Abbreviations and Signs .....	xi
<b>Part I: Preliminary Questions</b>	
Chapter 1: The Study of Eastern Han Phonology .....	3
1.1 Introduction [3]	
1.2 Poetic Rimes [3]	
1.3 Loangraph Glosses [4]	
1.4 The <i>SW Duruo</i> Glosses [5]	
1.5 Direct Sound Glosses and <i>Fanqie</i> Spellings [5]	
1.6 Paranomastic Glosses [6]	
1.7 Buddhist Transcriptions [7]	
1.8 Han Dialectology [8]	
Chapter 2: Philology in the Eastern Han Period—The Nature of Sound Glosses .....	9
2.1 Background [9]	
2.2 Loangraph Glosses [10]	
2.3 The <i>Duruo</i> Glosses of SW [12]	
2.4 Direct Sound Glosses [13]	
2.5 <i>Fanqie</i> Spellings [14]	
2.6 Paranomastic Glosses [14]	
Chapter 3: The Eastern Han Dialects .....	19
3.1 The FY Evidence [19]	
3.2 The Post-FY Evidence [20]	
Chapter 4: Sources of the Data .....	27
4.1 Du Zichun [27]	
4.2 Zheng Xing [27]	
4.3 Zheng Zhong [27]	
4.4 The BHTY [28]	
4.5 Xu Shen [28]	
4.6 Zheng Xuan [29]	
4.7 Fu Qian [29]	
4.8 Ying Shao [30]	

Contents

- 4.9 Gao You [30]
- 4.10 SM [30]
- 4.11 BTD [31]

Part II: Reconstructions

Chapter 5: Reconstruction of the Eastern Han Initials . . . . .	43
5.1 MC p, ph, b, m [43]	
5.2 MC t, th, d, n [43]	
5.3 MC t̥, th̥, d̥, n̥ [46]	
5.4 MC l [47]	
5.5 MC ts, tsh, dz, s, z [50]	
5.6 MC tʂ, tʂh, dz, ʂ [53]	
5.7 MC tʂ̥, tʂh̥, ɦʂ̥, ʂ̥, ʂ̥ [54]	
5.8 MC ji and dʒ [60]	
5.9 MC k, kh, g, ng, x, ʔ [65]	
5.10 MC γ and j [69]	
5.11 Summary [75]	
Chapter 6: Reconstruction of the Eastern Han Finals . . . . .	77
6.1 The Medials [77]	
6.1.1 EH *-w-	
6.1.2 EH *-r-	
6.1.3 EH *-j-	
6.2 The Final Consonants [79]	
6.2.1 EH *-p, *-t, *-k, *-kw, *-m	
6.2.2 EH *-h, *-γ, *-k-; *-hw, *-γw, *-kw-	
6.2.3 EH *-t:, *-t-	
6.2.4 EH *-r	
6.2.5 EH *-ng, *-ngw	
6.2.6 EH *-n	
6.3 The MC Tone Categories [92]	
6.4 The Vowels—Rime Categories [93]	
6.4.1 The <i>Zhi</i> 之 Category	
6.4.2 The <i>You</i> 幽 Category	
6.4.3 The <i>Xiao</i> 宵 Category	
6.4.4 The <i>Yu</i> 魚 Category	
6.4.4.1 The OC <i>Yu</i> 魚 Group Finals	
6.4.4.2 The OC <i>Hou</i> 候 Group Finals	
6.4.5 The <i>Ge</i> 歌 Category	
6.4.6 The <i>Zhi</i> 支 Category	
6.4.7 The <i>Zhi</i> 脂 Category	

6.4.8	The <i>Ji</i> 祭 Category	
6.4.9	The <i>Zheng</i> 蒸 Category	
6.4.10	The <i>Dong</i> 冬 Category	
6.4.11	The <i>Dong</i> 東 Category	
6.4.12	The <i>Yang</i> 陽 Category	
6.4.13	The <i>Geng</i> 耕 Category	
6.4.14	The <i>Zhen</i> 真 Category	
6.4.15	The <i>Yuan</i> 元 Category	
6.4.16	The <i>Tan</i> 談 Category	
6.4.17	The <i>Qin</i> 侵 Category	
6.4.18	The <i>Zhi</i> 職 Category	
6.4.19	The <i>Wo</i> 沃 Category	
6.4.20	The <i>Yao</i> 藥 Category	
6.4.21	The <i>Wu</i> 屋 Category	
6.4.22	The <i>Duo</i> 鐸 Category	
6.4.23	The <i>Xi</i> 錫 Category	
6.4.24	The <i>Zhi</i> 質 Category	
6.4.25	The <i>Yue</i> 月 Category	
6.4.26	The <i>He</i> 盍 Category	
6.4.27	The <i>Qi</i> 緝 Category	
6.5	Summary [128]	
Chapter 7:	Conclusion . . . . .	131
7.1	EH Reconstructions [131]	
7.2	Some Applications [132]	
7.2.1	Problems in EH Dialectology	
7.2.2	The Origins of the QY Language	
7.2.3	The Reconstruction of OC	
7.3	Closing Remarks—The Task Ahead [136]	
<b>Part III: The Data</b>		
Introduction	. . . . .	139
A. Listing of the Data	. . . . .	145
1.	Du Zichun [145]	
2.	Zheng Xing [147]	
3.	Zheng Zhong [148]	
4.	BHTY [154]	
5.	Xu Shen [158]	
6.	Zheng Xuan [198]	
7.	Fu Qian [219]	
8.	Ying Shao [223]	

## Contents

9.	Gao You [228]	
10.	SM [237]	
11.	BTD [240]	
	Index of Sanskrit Words in the BTD Data	
B.	Stroke Order Index to the Data . . . . .	261
	Bibliography . . . . .	311

**Part I**  
**Preliminary Questions**



CHAPTER 1  
The Study of Eastern Han Phonology

1.1 Introduction

Though Han phonology has never been an intensely studied area of Chinese linguistics, it can hardly be characterized as a neglected one. During Qing times the traditional Chinese philologists, to whom later students of Chinese historical phonology owe so much, collected a great deal of material bearing on the Han period. More recently several monumental works and a number of smaller studies have been devoted wholly or in part to Han problems. In the present chapter we shall briefly review a number of previous contributions which are important for the study of EH phonology.<sup>1</sup>

1.2 Poetic Rimes

Generally speaking, the Qing philologists seem to have viewed research on Han riming practices as adjunct to the study of the OC rime categories. An important exception to this was Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744-1832), whose extensive but unpublished work on Han rimes has been described by Luo and Zhou (1958:2-3).

The first published work dealing exclusively with Han rimes seems to be that of Wang (1933) who studied riming patterns in a number of Han *yuefu* 樂府. A much more extensive listing of rime sequences in Han texts is given by Yu (1936) in his *Han Wei Liuchao yunpu* 漢魏六朝韻譜.<sup>2</sup> All previous works in this area have now been superceded by Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumo's monumental *Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yunbu yanbian yanjiu* 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究 (Luo and Zhou 1958), which provides a comprehensive listing of Han rime sequences accompanied by extensive and detailed analysis and discussion. This work is the standard reference source for the riming practices of Han times, and the system of rime categories it proposes has usually formed the basis for subsequent discussions of the syllable finals of the Han period. Phonological reconstructions are not attempted by Luo and Zhou, but on the basis of their rime categories Ting (1975:235-60) has proposed tentative reconstructions for the Western and Eastern Han periods. These reconstructions are viewed as evolutionary stages through which Ting

<sup>1</sup> A useful discussion of work done in this area up until the late 1960s can be found in Bodman (1967:23-8).

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 47-120 of the 1970 reprinted edition.

derives his reconstructed WJ finals from those of the OC system proposed by Li (1971).

The material collected by Luo and Zhou has been carefully arranged according to sources and is discussed in two separate parts of the book. Some sources, which are felt to exhibit unique or ideosyncratic features, are treated in Chapter 7, which is devoted to the problem of distinguishing different dialects. The rest, which are thought to share a large number of common features, are divided into Western and Eastern Han groups and discussed in Chapter 4. Points where one or more of these sources show individual peculiarities are always noted, but emphasis is placed on common features which can be said to be distinguishing characteristics of the Han period in general. Ting's Han reconstructions reflect this conflation of source materials.

An important task ahead is the reconstruction of actual phonological values for the various dialect materials collected and studied by Luo and Zhou. It is equally important that studies of this type be carried out for the major individual sources (i.e. poets) discussed in Chapter 4 of Luo and Zhou's work, for this will almost certainly lead to further discoveries regarding dialectal features of the Han period. The basic analysis already done by Luo and Zhou is immensely important; but phonological reconstruction is also a valuable analytical exercise, which can clarify our understanding and highlight problems that have hitherto escaped notice.

### 1.3 Loangraph Glosses<sup>3</sup>

The major Qing compendium dealing with Han-time loangraph glosses is the *Han Wei yin* 漢魏音 of Hong Liangji 洪亮吉 (1746-1809; Hong 1775). In this work glosses from extant and fragmentary texts of the Han and Wei periods are brought together and arranged according to the *bushou* 部首 of SW.<sup>4</sup> No attempt is made to analyze the data, and in order to be used they must be extracted and arranged according to glossist or text. Another source of Han loangraph data is Bernhard Karlgren's "Loan Characters in Pre-Han Texts" (Karlgren 1963-7). In discussing the opinions of Han commentators on pre-Han texts, Karlgren cites a number of EH sound-based glosses, some of which are not included in Hong (1775). EH loangraph glosses have been used as a basis for phonological reconstructions in several recent studies (Coblin 1977-8, 1979-80).

<sup>3</sup>The nature and form of the various types of EH sound glosses will be discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>4</sup>Another work of this type, mentioned by Luo and Zhou (1958:3), is the *Hanyin gouchen* 漢音鉤沉 of Hu Yuanyu 胡元玉. I have not been able to locate a copy of this work. It would appear to deal exclusively with sound glosses of the Han period.



#### 1.4 The SW *Duruo* Glosses

The *duruo* glosses of SW were of great interest to scholars of Qing and early Republican times. Most of the major studies of this period are included in SWGL. Two brief but interesting articles on the nature of the *duruo* are Takahashi (1936) and Yang (1947). The major modern study of the *duruo* is Lu (1946). In this work the author determines the rime categories of the language of the SW author, Xu Shen, and arranges all the *duruo* glosses according to the EH rimes of the glossed words.<sup>5</sup> EH reconstructions are posited for each word and are derived from the author's reconstructed OC forms. A gloss by gloss annotation of the *duruo* data in the tradition of the Qing philologists has been done by Zhou (1962). The *duruo* have been used to reconstruct the language of Xu Shen in two recent studies (Coblin 1978, 1979a).

#### 1.5 Direct Sound Glosses and *Fanqie* Spellings

Direct sound glosses of the EH commentators Fu Qian and Ying Shao are collected in Hong (1775).<sup>6</sup> They have been partially studied in Coblin (1977-8). A small number of *fanqie* glosses from Fu and Ying are also attested but have never been used for phonological reconstruction. Direct sound glosses occur in the LS and HN commentaries of Gao You.<sup>7</sup> These have not been investigated. Direct sound glosses and *fanqie* spellings do not occur in the extant commentaries of Zheng Xuan, but a number of such annotations are attributed to him in *Shiwen*.<sup>8</sup> These presumably derive from several phonological commentaries of Zheng Xuan which are mentioned by title in *Shiwen* but have since been lost.<sup>9</sup> The glosses have been collected by Sakai (1975), who is suspicious of the data (pp. 30-1) because the *Shiwen* author, Lu Deming 陸德明, has stated (*Shiwen* 1.17a) that “the Han people did not make sound glosses” (漢人不作音). For this reason Sakai suggests that, while the Zheng Xuan glosses in *Shiwen* represent the reading traditions of the master, they were probably constructed by later followers of his school of textual exegesis.

At the outset we must question Lu Deming's claim that the Han scholars did not make sound glosses. The direct sound glosses of Gao You are integral

<sup>5</sup> On Xu Shen see Chapter 4, section 4.5 below.

<sup>6</sup> On Fu Qian and Ying Shao see Chapter 4, sections 4.7 and 4.8.

<sup>7</sup> On Gao You see Chapter 4, section 4.9.

<sup>8</sup> On Zheng Xuan see Chapter 4, section 4.6.

<sup>9</sup> These titles appear in the first *juan* 卷 of *Shiwen* in the prefaces to the various works glossed in the text. For lists of the various titles see Künstler (1962:50-1) and Sakai (1975:31).