

## THE RHYMING CATEGORIES OF LI HO (791-817)

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There has been surprisingly little detailed study of the rhyming of T'ang poetry. No doubt the sheer bulk has been a deterrent. Another factor has undoubtedly been that when so much is known from other sources about T'ang Chinese there has been comparatively little incentive to study poetic rhyming whereas for earlier periods, it may be almost the only means available to investigate pronunciation. Moreover the uniformity of "regulated poetry" (律詩) and the way in which it set the standard for later centuries of imitative poets have given the false impression that departures from this norm in "old style poetry" (古體詩) were simply due to greater license and did not necessarily reflect genuine linguistic differences.

It is certainly true that little independent linguistic information is to be gained from studying the rhyming in "regulated poetry", which conforms very faithfully at all periods to the restrictions of the rhyme dictionaries of the *Ch'ieh-yün* (切韻)—*T'ang-yün* (唐韻) tradition. All this shows is that poets used their *Ch'ieh-yün* or *T'ang-yün*. It is also true, as Wang Li shows in his discussion of rhyming in "old style poetry"<sup>1</sup>, that a great deal of this also follows the same rhyming conventions. When this occurs, especially in the later part of the dynasty, it is hardly evidence of the persistence of early T'ang pronunciation. It is again merely evidence of the bookishness and conventionality of the majority of poets even when writing this freer style of verse.

Where one must part company completely with Wang Li is in regard to his explanation for departures from the *lii-shih* norms in *ku-shih*. He gives two reasons for this: (1) a less exacting standard of what constituted a rhyme, (2) deliberate imitation of what was believed to be ancient rhyming. It is surprising in view of the way in which Wang Li has himself studied the rhyming in earlier periods as evidence of linguistic evolution that he should have largely neglected this as a factor in T'ang. Yet it is clear that the language was pronounced very differently by educated speakers in the ninth century from the way it had been pronounced by the same class of speakers in the seventh, and that this was the major reason for the emergence of new rhyming patterns. Only in respect to the rhyming together of 上 *shang* and 去 *ch'ü* tones in Late T'ang does Wang Li suggest linguistic change as a specific factor (see below).

The theory that T'ang poets were influenced by actual imitation of ancient rhyming seems especially dubious. The one example Wang Li gives is of the indiscriminate rhyming of words in *-n* which is found occasionally. He attributes this to the fact that in the same *Ch'ieh-yün* rhyme *hsien* 先 there were words like

天, 田, which had rhymed with the *chen* 眞 (-en) group in the *Shih ching*, and words like 肩 which had rhymed with the 山 (-an) group, giving the false impression to T'ang poets that since these words now rhymed together and had, severally, rhymed with all other types of -n word, all words in -n could rhyme in "old poetry". But there is probably a quite different explanation for the particular case of rhymes in -n (see below) and if there had really been this kind of inference we should expect it to have affected many other categories as well.

The "looser rhyming" explanation ignores the fact that there is an evolution through time. In early T'ang, poets rhymed in the *Ch'ieh-yün* categories, in many cases using narrower distinctions than the *t'ung yung* 同用 categories that became official and were preserved in the table of contents of the *Kuang yün* 廣韻 and the *p'ing shui yün* 平水韻 of Sung times<sup>2</sup>. This was simply because it was then the natural thing to do—as we can see from the fact that these categories simply continued the patterns that had been slowly evolving through the Southern Dynasties and the Sui<sup>3</sup>. For example, at the very beginning of T'ang we find a poet like Wang Chi 王績, an eccentric T'ao Ch'ien-like figure, whom one would not expect to be constrained by a dictionary, rhyming quite strictly according to the *t'ung yung* limitations. He even keeps rhyme 支 separate from rhymes 脂 and 之 (as do many other early T'ang poets), although these rhymes were later *t'ung yung*. Another distinction which he preserves is that between the *tu yung* 獨用 rhyme 青 and the *t'ung yung* group 庚耕清. Though this was one of the canonical distinctions, it was one that was tending to break down well before the end of the seventh century. The following examples of sets of rhyme words from Wang Chi's poetry will illustrate these points. (Page references here, and subsequently, are to the *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩, Peking, 1960).

Rhyme 支: p. 483 爲 奇 危 皮 騎 知

Rhymes 止 旨 (rising tone of 之 脂): p. 477 水 裏 涓 軌 藟 死 篋 否 履

Rhyme 青: p. 484 靈 醒

Rhymes 庚 耕 清: p. 478 英 生 情 萌 驚

p. 485 名 傾

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It would undoubtedly be very instructive to examine the *ku-shih* of poets of all periods through T'ang. Sampling suggests that a gradual evolution would be observable through the seventh and early eighth centuries. Differences of geographical origin might also show themselves. When we come down to some of the poets of the turn of the ninth century, however, one can no longer speak of gradualness. There is a sharp break from the old tradition and the emergence of a new style of rhyming which points the way to the practice of the *t'zu* poets of Sung times.

One of the poets who first shows this new trend is, as one might expect, Po

Chü-i 白居易. His *Hsin Yüeh-fu* and his *ku shih* do not rhyme according to the *t'ung yün* canons at all, but according to the rhyme groups (*she* 攝) of the rhyme tables of Sung times. An absolutely clear indication that this is no mere relaxing of the prescribed limitations but represents a change in language is the treatment of the *Ch'ieh-yün* rhyme *yüan* 元 (and corresponding rhymes in other tones). This was *t'ung yung* with rhymes *hen* 痕 and *hun* 魂 according to the *lü-shih* canons, a grouping which merely continued the practice of sixth century poets. In the rhyme tables, however, rhyme *yüan* is in the *shan* 山 (-an) group, while *hen* and *hun* are in the *chen* 臻 (-ən) group. In Po Chü-i's *ku-shih* not only do rhyme *yüan*, on the one hand, and rhymes *hen* and *hun*, on the other, rhyme with their respective *she*, they also no longer rhyme with each other. Clearly if it were merely a question of relaxing of restrictions we should expect *yüan* and *hen*, *hun* to rhyme *mainly* with each other and to have cross rhymes as a group with other rhymes in *-n*. But this is not the case, as can be seen from examples like the following, which could be greatly extended (page references to *Ch'üan Tang-shih*).

*Group chen* 臻 (rhymes in *hen* 痕 and *hun* 魂 underlined).

4654 春倫陳文君臣仁敦民身新勤塵聞淪尊根人貧門

4674 民身親人臣論循春斤巡村紛溫辛門屯尊恩塵

*Group shan* 山 (rhymes in *yüan* 元 underlined)

4654 安然干弦難端言彈官前山間天賢年權

4684 歎篇然完源殘山間遷言全鸞單安闌

This contrasts with typical examples of the *t'ung yung* group *hen*, *hun*, *yüan*, such as the following from Wang Chi (rhyme in 元 underlined):

483 門村源溫崑孫

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The sharp break in rhyming patterns that is exemplified by the behaviour of rhyme *yüan* has to be understood in the light of other evidence about the development of the language during T'ang. Though China was reunited (from the north) by the Sui dynasty and the capital was located at Ch'ang-an from 589 onwards, it was well over a century before the Ch'ang-an dialect could establish itself as the prestigious form of speech, the "Mandarin" of its day. At first the educated standard remained that of the preceding period of division. Based on the Lo-yang dialect of the fourth century, it had evolved in the upper class speech of the Southern dynasty court at Nanking and in various centres in the northeast<sup>(4)</sup>. Around the turn of the eighth century there is evidence of a change. One clear indication of it is a sharp break in the tradition of Buddhist transcriptions<sup>(5)</sup>. For example, the Sanskrit unaspirated voiced stops were no longer represented by the old voiced ("muddy", *cho* 濁) stops of Chinese but instead by the Chinese nasals. In numerous versions of the Indian alphabet from the third century up to that of

I-ching (義淨) (ca. 690–692) the characters 那 or 娜 are used for the syllable *na*<sup>(6)</sup>. In I-hsing's 一行 translation of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* of 724 we instead find 娜 for *da* and similarly 摩 for *ba*. From then on we find this new kind of transcription as a regular rule. It evidently arises from the pronunciation of initial nasals as prenasalized stops—*m*b-, *n*d-, etc.—as is still done in some modern dialects like Wen-shui 文水 (陝西) and Hsing hsien 興縣 (山西).

The same feature is found in Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese from the latter part of the T'ang dynasty<sup>(7)</sup> and in the later form of Sino-Japanese, Kan'on 漢音, which has *da* for 那 and *ba* for 摩.

Such features in the pronunciation of initial sounds did not, of course, affect rhyming but there were other changes that did. There were even rhyme dictionaries that departed from the *Ch'ieh-yün—T'ang-yün* tradition and were based on the current Ch'ang-an standard. One of these was the *Yün ying* 韻英 by Yüan T'ing-chien 元廷堅, completed in 755. It has not survived but it was used by the monk Hui-lin 慧琳 in his *I-ch'ieh ching yin-i* 一切經音義 of 810<sup>(8)</sup>. In his preface Hui-lin refers to the differences between Ch'in 秦 pronunciation and Wu 吳 pronunciation, (by which he evidently means the *Ch'ieh-yün* standard—compare the term Goon 吳音 for the earlier form of Sino-Japanese) and states that he has followed Yüan T'ing-chien's dictionary and another work called the *K'ao sheng ch'ieh-yün* 考聲切韻 by Chang Chien 張戢. Hui-lin's *fan-ch'ieh* have been systematically studied<sup>(9)</sup> and they reveal that many distinctions made in the *Ch'ieh-yün* had disappeared. One of these was the distinction between rhyme *yüan* 元 and rhyme *hsien* 仙 (Grade III). Again Kan'on agrees with this while Goon shows the earlier distinction.

	Goon	Kan'on
<i>Rhyme yüan:</i>		
建	kon	ken
言	gon	gen
勸	kuwan	ken
元	guwan	gen
<i>Rhyme hsien:</i>		
蹇	ken	ken
彥	gen	gen
菴	ken	ken

A detailed discussion of how the language had changed between the period of the *Ch'ieh-yün* and mid-T'ang cannot be given here. The change in rhyme *yüan* can however be briefly stated. Karlgren reconstructed this rhyme as *-iɰn*, in contrast to *-iän* for rhyme *hsien*. I would however make the distinction depend on the medial semivowel—/–iän/in contrast to /–ian/. The medial *i* represents a semivowel half way between front *i* and back *u*, like the sound written ʁ (“bearded u”) in Vietnamese, [u] in the International Phonetic Alphabet<sup>10</sup>. In the combination –ia-

the nuclear vowel -a- was influenced by the medial and actually pronounced as [ə] or [ʌ] (probably rather like the sound in English *but*). It could therefore rhyme with rhymes *hen* /-ən/ and *hun* /-wən/. In /ian/, on the other hand, the nuclear vowel was fronted by the palatal medial (as it is in modern Mandarin where some romanizations spell *ian*, others *ien*). In the Ch'ang-an dialect of the eighth century /i/ had become /i/ so that the two rhymes were no longer distinct. At the same time, the fronting effect of the palatal medial had evidently become less pronounced or at any rate was not felt so distinctively by native speakers, so that /ian/ could rhyme freely with other /an/ rhymes, which it had not been able to do before.

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Though the evidence cited above shows the shift in linguistic standard already in the first half of the eighth century, I have not so far found evidence of its effect on poetic rhyming until around 800. This is no doubt indicative of the conservatism and bookishness of most poets but it may also reflect, at least in the pre-An Lu-shan period, the survival of a dying aristocratic tradition of actual pronunciation that was less influential in Buddhist circles than among the literary elite. When the change in rhyming does appear, however, in Po Chü-i and some of his contemporaries, we need have no hesitation in accepting it as reflecting a new linguistic reality and not merely a relaxing of standards.

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One poet who lived at the same time as Po Chü-i went even farther than he did and shows evidence of incipient linguistic changes generally thought to have taken place only in Sung times. This was Li Ho 李賀 (791-817). Li Ho was, of course, highly original and out of the ordinary in other ways and it may be of interest to literary historians to find that he was quite unconventional in this respect also.

In the summary of his poetic rhymes that follows it will be seen that, like those of Po Chü-i, they in general follow the *she* of the rhyme tables. In two categories, however, even these boundaries are crossed.

(1) Though there are a few cases of Group 果 (Karlgren -â) used alone and a good many more of Group 假 (Karlgren -a) used alone, they are very frequently combined. This agrees with some Sung rhyme tables which treat 假 (Grades II, III, IV) as complementary to 果 (Grade I) and with the rhyming of some Sung poets. Po Chü-i keeps these groups apart.

(2) The *ju-sheng* of Group 梗 and Group 會 are used together so frequently that they must be considered a single rhyming category. This again anticipates a change found in Sung times. In Shao Yung's 邵雍 phonological tables (11th century)<sup>11</sup> as well as in the *Ch'ieh-yün chih-chang-t'u* 切韻指掌圖 (falsely attributed to Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光) these two groups are treated as one. For Li Ho the merger of the two rhyme groups does not seem to have affected rhymes in -ŋ

(only one word from group 會, except *ju-sheng*, appear as a rhyme—it rhymes with group 臻 *-ən*!). His treatment of the *-k* finals, however, undoubtedly shows the beginning of the trend to a merger. The changes involved were, in fact probably a little different in the cases of *-ŋ* and *-k* respectively. As far as *-ŋ* endings were concerned the merger was brought about by (a) the closing of the nuclear vowel in group 梗 from /a/ to /ə/, /ajŋ/ > /əjŋ/, (b) the loss of the palatal element before the final velar nasal, /əjŋ/ > /əŋ/, merging with group 會 /əŋ/. In the case of ending in *-k*, the matter was complicated by the incipient loss of final stop consonants which eventually led to the disappearance of the *ju-sheng* category in much of Northern China. The way in which this took place for words in *-ək* (Group 會) in the dialect that was dominant in Sung and Yüan times was *-ək* > *-əj* (as in Pekingese 黑 *hei* < *xək*, 賊 *tsei* < *dzək*). One may suppose that this was preceded by a stage in which *-ək* was palatalized to *-əjk*, with a weakened pronunciation of the final stop, merging with *-əjk* < *-ajk* (Group 梗). If we suppose that the change *-ajŋ/-ajk* > *-əjŋ/əjk* had already occurred in Li Ho's speech (and there may be evidence for a close vowel in this rhyme group by Late T'ang times) and that *-ək* had become *-əjk* while *-əŋ* and *-əjŋ* remained distinct, it would agree with his usage.

A third peculiarity of Li Ho's rhyming is the very frequent rhyming together of rising and departing tones, so much so that one can really speak of two categories, level 平 and oblique 仄, rather than three (excepting of course *ju-sheng*, which was still distinct). This again anticipates the practice of *tz'u* poets in the Sung period. One finds occasional examples of the same tendency in other Late T'ang poets but not usually so consistently as in Li Ho. It is difficult to know what this meant in linguistic terms. There was, of course, no actual merger of categories, since the tones have remained distinct to the present day but evidently some change had taken place in the way they were pronounced that enabled rising and departing tone words to be considered good rhymes, though they had not been considered so earlier.

Wang Li notes the tendency to rhyme rising and departing tone words in Late T'ang but the explanations he gives do not seem at all satisfactory<sup>12</sup>. On the one hand he attributes it to the fact some words had readings in both tones. But, as he himself recognizes, these readings were often distinct in meaning. Moreover alternations between level tone and departing tone are also very frequent, but these do not lead to rhyming confusion. His other explanation relates to the fact that there was a shift from rising tone to departing tone in words with the "muddy" class of initials (voiced stops, affricates and fricatives) which may have begun already at this period. It is possible that the change in pronunciation of the two tones which led to their rhyming and the partial shift from one category to another may have been related in some way but the latter shift can hardly account in itself for

the change in rhyming practice since it did not lead to an actual merger of the categories.

Though the *-ən* and *-an* groups are on the whole kept distinct, there are a very few cases in which they seem to rhyme indiscriminately together. Wang Li's explanation for this kind of thing has been rejected above. It may have resulted from the fact that in the canonical T'ang rhyming, still practiced by the majority of poets in Li Ho's day, rhyme *yüan* rhymed with the *-ən* group, whereas it rhymed with the *-an* group in actual speech, so that it could provide a bridge making possible the rhyming together of the *-ən* and *-an* groups as a whole.

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In the tabulation below, Karlgren's Ancient Chinese reconstructions for the various rhymes are given for reference purposes. It was originally intended to give new reconstructed Early and Late T'ang values, but these have been omitted since they would have required more explanation than can be given here. A monograph on the subject is in preparation.

For the rhyming sets page references are given to the *Ch'üan T'ang shih*. A further figure is added to indicate the number of the poem on the page and, in the case of poems of several stanzas, a letter to indicate the number of the stanza. When, as frequently happens, the rhyme changes within a poem, no further numbering has been added to indicate this.

In all rhyme groups I have classed together rising and falling tones under one heading, "oblique". Words in rising tone are marked ◦, words in falling tone are underlined -. Words which can occur in either tone are left unmarked and no attempt has been made to establish their tones in individual cases. It will be seen that in some rhyme groups there appears to be a greater tendency than in others to keep the two tones apart. Compare, for example, Group VI and Group III.

### Groups I 果 and II 假 (a) Level Tone

#### Rhyme Words:

Group I, Rhyme 哥 (Karlgrén á): 珂峨峨駝鼈荷河羅

Rhyme 戈 (Karlgrén uá): 過波莎禾騾

Group II, Rhyme 麻 (Karlgrén a): 家牙芽麻槎沙紗鴉霞瓜花華 \*娃

(Karlgrén ia): 車斜

\**Ch'ieh-yün* rhyme 佳 generally belonged to Group VI but some words irregularly went over to Group II instead.

#### Rhymes:

Group I alone:

4426.4 過河波峨

4427.4 波峨

Group II alone:

4394.3 鴉花斜紗芽

4401.3(c) 車斜瓜

- |                 |                |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 4401.3(k) 家華花   | 4417.3 華鴉斜花    |
| 4401.3(l) 牙霞    | 4419.3 家花沙斜 *娃 |
| 4404.1(f) 牙花麻   | 4432.1 沙花牙     |
| 4407.1 牙斜沙花     | 4434.3 斜沙花     |
| 4414.6(c) 斜花牙沙華 |                |

Groups I and II together (words from Group I underlined):

- |                               |                        |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 4398.3 家花斜 <u>荷</u>           | 4406.4 斜花 <u>鬻</u> 沙家槎 |
| 4401.1(q) 禾 <u>莎</u> 牙        | 4423.1 家 <u>駝</u>      |
| 4401.1(v) 家 <u>珂</u> <u>騾</u> | 4429.4 羅 <u>過</u> 花    |

### Groups I 果 and II 假 (b) Oblique Tones:

#### Rhyme Words:

Group I, Rhyme 果(上) (Karlgren *uâ*): 火

Group II, Rhymes 馬(上) 禡(去) (Karlgren *a*): 馬灑<sub>○</sub>啞<sub>○</sub>下 \*畫  
(Karlgren *ia*): 者瀉<sub>○</sub>灸<sub>○</sub>夜

\**Ch'ieh-yün* rhyme 卦 (Group VI (b), See note on I/II (a) above)

#### Rhymes:

Group II alone:

- |                                         |                                        |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 4394.4 下馬 <sub>○</sub> 者 <sub>○</sub>   | 4420.2 馬 <sub>○</sub> 畫 <sub>○</sub> 瀉 |
| 4396.3 下馬 <sub>○</sub> 瀉                | 4420.3 馬 <sub>○</sub> 下                |
| 4399.2 灑 <sub>○</sub> 下馬 <sub>○</sub>   | 4427.3 下馬 <sub>○</sub>                 |
| 4408.3 馬 <sub>○</sub> 下夜 <sub>○</sub> 啞 | 4433.3 馬 <sub>○</sub> 下                |

Groups I and II together:

- |                                                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4432.1 馬 <sub>○</sub> 下夜 <sub>○</sub> 灸 <sub>○</sub> 火 <sub>○</sub> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|

### Group III 止 (a) Level Tone

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhyme 支 (Karlgren *ig*): 騎宜涯卮枝漪離兒吹垂陴差隨

Rhyme 脂 (Karlgren *i*): 遲悲眉姿伊雖雖推誰

Rhyme 之 (Karlgren *i*): 期絲思辭祠時

Rhyme 微 (Karlgren *jei*): 磯飛衣稀歸威

#### Rhymes:

- |                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| 4392.2 兒歸      | 4401.2(h) 飛歸磯 |
| 4394.5(b) 絲期衣宜 | 4401.2(i) 遲絲  |
| 4395.1 歸飛      | 4403.3 歸垂     |
| 4397.1 歸遲姿絲    | 4404.1(h) 騎兒  |
| 4397.5 漪飛差     | 4404.1(o) 威飛  |
| 4399.3 時推飛遲    | 4407.2 伊衣     |
| 4399.5 卮誰      | 4409.4(b) 辭離枝 |



4414.3 稀歸垂悲姿  
4418.4 姿眉衣遲  
4419.2 飛歸  
4420.3 兒歸

4426.1 絲悲  
4426.2 時隨吹祠  
4426.4 思飛陞涯駢

Group III 止 (b) Oblique Tones

Rhyme Words

Rhymes 紙(上) and 寘(去) (Karlgren *ie*): 髓<sub>。</sub>妓<sub>。</sub>紫<sub>。</sub>此<sub>。</sub>紙<sub>。</sub>蕊<sub>。</sub>義<sub>。</sub>帔<sub>。</sub>漬<sub>。</sub>翅<sub>。</sub>戲<sub>。</sub>睡<sub>。</sub>臂<sub>。</sub>刺<sub>。</sub>

Rhymes 旨(上) and 至(去) (Karlgren *i*): 几<sub>。</sub>机<sub>。</sub>圮<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>指<sub>。</sub>履<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>驥<sub>。</sub>器<sub>。</sub>地<sub>。</sub>賦<sub>。</sub>恣<sub>。</sub>轡<sub>。</sub>媚<sub>。</sub>魅<sub>。</sub>次<sub>。</sub>四<sub>。</sub>肆<sub>。</sub>至<sub>。</sub>二<sub>。</sub>墜<sub>。</sub>翠<sub>。</sub>悴<sub>。</sub>醉<sub>。</sub>邃<sub>。</sub>粹<sub>。</sub>稼<sub>。</sub>戾<sub>。</sub>

Rhymes 止(上) and 志(去) (Karlgren *i*): 起<sub>。</sub>徵<sub>。</sub>恥<sub>。</sub>峙<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>似<sub>。</sub>祀<sub>。</sub>使<sub>。</sub>涖<sub>。</sub>喜<sub>。</sub>以<sub>。</sub>裏<sub>。</sub>李<sub>。</sub>里<sub>。</sub>值<sub>。</sub>思<sub>。</sub>事<sub>。</sub>意<sub>。</sub>吏<sub>。</sub>餌<sub>。</sub>字<sub>。</sub>

Rhymes 尾(上) and 未(去) (Karlgren *jei*): 毛<sub>。</sub>鬼<sub>。</sub>氣<sub>。</sub>沸<sub>。</sub>毅<sub>。</sub>貴<sub>。</sub>緯<sub>。</sub>

Rhymes:

4395.2 水<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>起<sub>。</sub>尾<sub>。</sub>字<sub>。</sub>  
4395.4 裏<sub>。</sub>紫<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>起<sub>。</sub>意<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>  
4396.4 翠<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>器<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>尾<sub>。</sub>臂<sub>。</sub>值<sub>。</sub>字<sub>。</sub>以<sub>。</sub>  
李<sub>。</sub>  
4396.5 鬼<sub>。</sub>里<sub>。</sub>  
4397.2 水<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>  
4397.3 起<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>里<sub>。</sub>地<sub>。</sub>  
4398.4 水<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>  
4399.3 子<sub>。</sub>轡<sub>。</sub>  
4399.5 地<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>  
4400.2 里<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>  
4400.4 翠<sub>。</sub>思<sub>。</sub>醉<sub>。</sub>  
4401.2 死<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>  
4403.1 里<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>  
4406.1 子<sub>。</sub>淚<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>  
4409.3 緯<sub>。</sub>醉<sub>。</sub>起<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>  
4412.1 里<sub>。</sub>似<sub>。</sub>起<sub>。</sub>機<sub>。</sub>  
4416.1 醉<sub>。</sub>氣<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>紫<sub>。</sub>事<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>  
4419.1 起<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>翠<sub>。</sub>翅<sub>。</sub>使<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>  
4420.3 起<sub>。</sub>吏<sub>。</sub>  
4421.2 起<sub>。</sub>醉<sub>。</sub>

4421.2 起<sub>。</sub>似<sub>。</sub>  
4421.4 子<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>  
4422.2 水<sub>。</sub>地<sub>。</sub>媚<sub>。</sub>翠<sub>。</sub>淚<sub>。</sub>醉<sub>。</sub>邃<sub>。</sub>涖<sub>。</sub>賦<sub>。</sub>  
字<sub>。</sub>蹄<sub>。</sub>起<sub>。</sub>裏<sub>。</sub>紫<sub>。</sub>髓<sub>。</sub>穉<sub>。</sub>帔<sub>。</sub>墜<sub>。</sub>恣<sub>。</sub>闕<sub>。</sub>氣<sub>。</sub>  
几<sub>。</sub>粹<sub>。</sub>圮<sub>。</sub>思<sub>。</sub>魅<sub>。</sub>貴<sub>。</sub>似<sub>。</sub>義<sub>。</sub>祀<sub>。</sub>恥<sub>。</sub>吏<sub>。</sub>餌<sub>。</sub>  
紙<sub>。</sub>事<sub>。</sub>妓<sub>。</sub>至<sub>。</sub>次<sub>。</sub>悴<sub>。</sub>意<sub>。</sub>翅<sub>。</sub>戲<sub>。</sub>使<sub>。</sub>吹<sub>。</sub>漬<sub>。</sub>  
臂<sub>。</sub>刺<sub>。</sub>肆<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>  
4425.3 里<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>  
4426.2 事<sub>。</sub>四<sub>。</sub>二<sub>。</sub>氣<sub>。</sub>  
4427.3 起<sub>。</sub>吏<sub>。</sub>里<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>  
4427.5 水<sub>。</sub>履<sub>。</sub>地<sub>。</sub>  
4429.1 紫<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>理<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>  
4430.3 喜<sub>。</sub>尾<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>地<sub>。</sub>里<sub>。</sub>  
4432.3 水<sub>。</sub>里<sub>。</sub>  
4433.5 子<sub>。</sub>死<sub>。</sub>尾<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>魅<sub>。</sub>起<sub>。</sub>  
4433.3 刺<sub>。</sub>驥<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>地<sub>。</sub>此<sub>。</sub>意<sub>。</sub>  
4434.3 地<sub>。</sub>賦<sub>。</sub>  
4435.3 貴<sub>。</sub>醉<sub>。</sub>翠<sub>。</sub>  
4439.3 沸<sub>。</sub>鬼<sub>。</sub>水<sub>。</sub>  
4439.3 死<sub>。</sub>子<sub>。</sub>  
4440.1 毅<sub>。</sub>氣<sub>。</sub>貴<sub>。</sub>

4441.1 指徵起

4442.3 地裏水起翠

4442.2 蕊淚睡尾子水起

**Group IV 遇 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**Rhyme 模 (Karlgrén *uo*): 姑孤沽圖奴鋪租蘇烏嗚乎胡盧Rhyme 魚 (Karlgrén *ɿwo*): 居祛 \*\*去渠魚梳蔬書蛛虛餘驢虛如Rhyme 虞 (Karlgrén *ɿu*): 歎鳧無雛愚株須鬚珠榆襦儒**Rhymes:**

4393.5 餘書無虛

4421.4 襦租

4395.1 虛魚

4425.1 榆襦雛

4399.5 蛛梳

4427.1 乎如愚乎魚姑胡\*浮居

4401.3(d) 餘蔬書

如鳴

4406.3 渠書

4433.1 圖儒書

4408.3 餘鬚無

4438.2 蘇魚鋪沽株歎鳧餘疏

4411.1(a) 珠奴須鬚書虛

烏珠鬚虛孤 \*\*去梳

4417.1 渠書魚虛蛛餘裾

4440.3 書居虛魚

4421.3 驢魚

\*浮, rhyme 尤, Group VII (a).

\*\*For level tone reading see *Chi yin***Group IV 遇 (b) Oblique Tones****Rhyme Words:**Rhymes 姥(上)暮(去) (Karlgrén *uo*): 鼓苦土姥虎故暮蠹兔素護路露Rhymes 語(上)御(去) (Karlgrén *ɿwo*): 語處渚煮許芋曙Rhymes 虞(上)遇(去) (Karlgrén *ɿu*): 父舞鵠主機嫗雨縷數住**Rhymes:**

4392.1 處雨嫗舞樹兔

4419.4 處語

4392.2 去舞數路

4419.5 住去

4396.5 父主土

4420.2 鵠虎煮

4399.1 素處

4425.1 雨去

4399.5 護主土

4425.2 路素素縷舞

4400.1 苦素蠹

4426.3 露霧土

4406.2 素雨舞語

4427.5 舞語兔

4408.1 渚路去

4430.1 處苦

4411.1(a) 語去

4430.2 樹路去

4411.1(b) 曙去路語

4430.2 語雨

4414.5 去路

4432.2 雨亭主	4439.3 苦許語
4433.2 兔樹	4440.2 雨處苦路
4434.2 鼓舞暮雨士	4440.3 處去許語
4439.1 渚語素故	4441.4 渚語姥

**Group V 蟹 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**

Rhyme 哈 (Karlgren *âi*): 開臺苔材腮哀來

Rhyme 灰 (Karlgren *uâi*): 摧杯媒梅灰 \*逕回迴疊雷

Rhyme 佳 (Karlgren *ai*): 釵

Rhyme 齊 (Karlgren *iei*): 雞霓低蹄啼泥犂迷躋淒齊臍嘶犀棲  
西奚蹊

**Rhymes:**

4398.1 開回來	4417.2 泥來灰雞淒蹊
4400.5 開臺	4420.1 開迷 *逕
4401.3(a) 開腮媒	4425.3 蹄西
4404.1(s) 來臺	4426.3 回苔
4409.4(a) 開材泥	4427.5 開來雷
4412.2 犂霓開材低嘶齊泥臍	4428.2 媒迴開
躋啼來疊杯犀奚棲臺	4434.4 齊泥
哀釵梅迴	

\*逕, emendation for 脛, see 葉葱奇, 李賀詩集 p. 212

**Group V 蟹 (b) Oblique Tones****Rhyme Words:**

Rhymes 海(上)代(去) (Karlgren *âi*): 改待彩綵在載

Rhyme 隊(去) (Karlgren *uâi*): 珮

Rhyme 廢(去) (Karlgren *îvi*): \*肺

Rhymes 齊(上)霽(去) (Karlgren *iei*): 底霓

Rhyme 泰(去) (Karlgren *âi*): 蓋外貝

**Rhymes:**

4396.2 蓋珮待彩	4427.5 貝霓
4397.4 蓋外	4435.4 綵在
4409.2 底外改	4437.2 *瘁 *肺蓋
4426.3 載在	4440.1 在待

\*瘁, rhyme 至 (Group III b). It is possible that 肺, rhyme 廢, should also be placed in Group III, with which it is associated in the *Yün-ching* 韻鏡. In that case this rhyme set should be transferred to Group III b and 蓋 is the cross-rhyme.

**Group VI 效 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**Rhyme 豪 (Karlgren *au*): 高 羔 刀 濤 螯 槽 騷 臊 號 勞Rhyme 肴 (Karlgren *au*): 郊Rhyme 宵 (Karlgren *ïüu*): 橋 潮 飄 搖 腰 消Rhyme 蕭 (Karlgren *ieu*): 條 迢 蕭**Rhymes:**

4403.2 迢 飄 橋 消

4416.1 高 勞

4408.3 刀 螯 號

4418.1 條 騷 腰 勞 槽

4413.1 蕭 高 刀 濤 潮

4437.3 (d) 郊 搖 羔 臊 刀 蕭

**Group VI 效 (b) Oblique Tones****Rhyme Words:**Rhymes 皓(上) 號(去) (Karlgren *au*): 島 倒 道 早 草 慄 掃 浩 老 到 羸 躁Rhymes 巧(上) 效(去) (Karlgren *au*): 絞 爪 樂 罩 豹 貌Rhymes 小(上) 笑(去) (Karlgren *ïüu*): 小 沼 少 擾 嶠 峭 笑 照 耀 兆Rhymes 篠(上) 嘯(去) (Karlgren *ieu*): 鳥 掉 藁 篠 曉 蓼 叫 微 調 嘯**Rhymes:**

4392.1 叫 笑

4419.4 老 草 曉

4395.5 道 少 考

4422.1 早 老 \*慄 蓼 倒 照 小 絞 少

4398.4 草 道

浩 道 嶠 笑 耀 調 樂 兆 羸 掉 貌 微

4399.4 曉 小 草

老 沼 豹 罩 躁

4403.1 道 老 小

4432.2 道 老

4406.1 嘯 藁 草

4435.4 草 老 道 掃

4407.5 草 老 少

4437.2 鳥 老 爪

4411.1(a) 小 掉

4437.4(d) 道 草 小 罩 嘯 到 峭

4411.1(c) 草 老 道 曉 擾

4440.1 篠 沼 鳥

4418.3 老 草

\*慄 *Kuang yün* reads only in level tone, *Chi yün* adds reading in rising tone.**Group VII 流 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**Rhyme 侯 (Karlgren *əu*): 鉤 溝 頭 篋 侯 樓Rhyme 尤 (Karlgren *ïəu*): 愁 牛 籌 秋 州 遊 流 榴 不Rhyme 幽 (Karlgren *ïəu*): 幽**Rhymes:**

4392.1 秋 流 愁 篋

4394.2 愁 樓 鉤 秋

- |                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 4401.1 (e) 鈎 秋     | 4431.5 秋 愁 牛 不 幽       |
| 4401.3 (e) 鈎 州 侯   | 4432.3 頭 愁 流           |
| 4404.1 (u) 樓 州     | 4432.4 愁 樓             |
| 4414.4 愁 秋         | 4438.1 頭 榴 牛 遊 樓 鈎 秋 愁 |
| 4416.4 秋 頭 溝 籌 頭 侯 |                        |

**Group VII 流 (b) Oblique Tones****Rhyme Words:**

Rhymes 厚(上) 侯(去) (Karlgren *əu*): 狗 口 斗 吼 後 厚 偶 逗 豆 漏

Rhymes 有(上) 宥(去) (Karlgren *iəu*): 皺 瘦 畫 酒 秀 帚 首 壽 綬 朽 有 袖 柳

**Rhymes:**

- |                          |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 4399.1 酒 壽               | 4420.1 狗 吼 酒     |
| 4407.5 綬 酒 後             | 4421.3 酒 厚 壽 瘦 有 |
| 4409.1 酒 壽 柳             | 4426.3 酒 壽       |
| 4411.1(e) 瘦 厚 秀 逗 漏 朽    | 4432.4 綬 酒       |
| 4416.6 朽 後 酒 首 豆 偶 瘦 皺 秀 | 4435.3 袖 口 斗     |
- 斗 口 畫 柳 狗 綬 帚 吼

**Group VIII 山 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**

Rhyme 寒 (Karlgren *an*): 干 乾 看 單 彈 檀 難 殘 珊 安 鞍 寒 翰 闌 蘭

Rhyme 桓 (Karlgren *uan*): 官 端 盤 攢 權 歡 鸞

Rhyme 刪 (Karlgren *an*): 班 顏 關 灣 環 鑽 還

Rhyme 山 (Karlgren *ən*): 間 山 殷 閑

Rhyme 元 (Karlgren *ɨn*): 喧 園 轅 垣 猿 翻

Rhyme 仙 (Karlgren *ian*): 鞭 偏 翩 便 綿 錢 仙 鮮 涎 蟬 筵 然 泉 船 緣 圓

Rhyme 先 (Karlgren *ien*): 天 田 年 駢 眠 箋 前 煙 弦 憐 蓮 懸

**Rhymes:**

- |                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 4398.2 圓 園 錢 寒 干       | 4409.3 關 鑽               |
| 4398.5 眠 寒 環           | 4413.2(b) 綿 寒 弦 看        |
| 4399.5 錢 煙             | 4414.2 翩 鞭               |
| 4401.3(m) 煙 田 懸 船      | 4414.6(b) 單 寒 錢 難 鞍      |
| 4404.1(a) 錢 煙 鞭        | 4415.1 寒 箋 鮮 煙 蓮 錢 弦 闌 殘 |
| 4404.1(c) 山 *恩         | 船 筵 年                    |
| 4404.1(g) 闌 乾 轅        | 4416.5 憐 弦 錢 煙 鞭         |
| 4404.1(r) 看 間 山        | 4419.4 煙 闌 弦             |
| 4404.1(w) 仙 煙 天        | 4420.1 乾 寒 蘭             |
| 4406.5 關 錢 蘭 蟬 煙 權 寒 眠 | 4426.3 仙 涎               |
| 4407.5 寒 垣 殘           | 4427.2 天 煙 然 錢 年 猿 寒 間   |
| 4407.5 官 憐 天           | 4428.1 間 鞭 蘭 間 端 歡 **言 山 |

- |                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 4428.1 安駢園       | 4431.3 煙天間前     |
| 4428.2 環殷珮顏泉山    | 4433.3 天閑       |
| 4429.1 錢天喧懸      | 4434.1 鸞彈盤寒灣間顏山 |
| 4429.2 天斑翻年      | 4434.3 寒檀       |
| 4429.3 還山環涎眠斑天然天 | 4435.2 仙緣       |
| 4430.2 關山官盤      | 4435.3 歡彈鞍      |
| 4430.5 環關間山年鸞寒天  | 4439.3 天年仙      |
| 4431.2 顏銀間看攢翰田關山 | 4440.1 年田偏      |

\*恩 Rhyme 痕, see Group IX (a).

\*\*Reading 言 for 云, See 葉葱奇; 李賀詩集 p. 263

### Group VIII 山 (b) Oblique Tones

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhymes 旱(上) 翰(去) (Karlgrén *ân*): 爛 瀾

Rhymes 潛(上) 諫(去) (Karlgrén *an*): 板 雁

Rhyme 顏(上) (Karlgrén *ân*): 眼

Rhyme 阮(上) (Karlgrén *ïvn*): 飯 晚 苑 蜿

Rhymes 彌(上) 線(去) (Karlgrén *ïän*): 展 剪 箭 淺 賤 線 綫 扇 輦 轉

Rhymes 銑(上) 霰(去) (Karlgrén *ien*): 見 繭 殿 薦 倩 荷 燕 讌 練 犬 縣

Rhymes 緩(上) 換(去) (Karlgrén *uân*): 暖 斷 半

#### Rhymes:

4393.1 殿 輦 晚 賤

4419.5 轉 倩

4396.2 眼 剪

4425.3 練 斷 半

4397.3 淺 暖 苑

4426.1 轉 見

4407.5 眼 斷 犬

4433.1 蜿 飯 剪

4408.1 暖 板

4433.4 淺 見 箭

4408.3 斷 線 見

4435.3 苑 見 綫

4418.3 讌 見 轉 爛

4436.1 瀾 荷 暖 展 雁

4418.5 轉 殿 線 燕 薦 縣 繭 扇\*恨

4441.1 練 線

\*恨 rhyme 恨, see Group IX (b)

### Group VIII 山 (c) Entering Tone

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhyme 曷 (Karlgrén *ât*): 葛 達

Rhyme 末 (Karlgrén *uât*): 闕 活

Rhyme 黠 (Karlgrén *ât*): 殺

Rhyme 月 (Karlgrén *ïvt*): 發 髮 闕 月 歇

Rhyme 薛 (Karlgren *iät*): 子哲別滅折缺裂熱輟絕

Rhyme 屑 (Karlgren *iet*): 結鐵節屑咽血纈

### Rhymes:

4397.1 折結	4427.3 月髮
4400.5 歇咽月發	4428.1 輟歇葛
4403.3 月葛發熱	4429.4 別發子
4409.2 髮熱	4437.2 髮折鐵
4411.1(b) *躡髮絕殺哲歇	4437.3 折節咽月
4417.4 屑滅發**骨	4439.3 鐵月血
4419.2 熱纈	4439.4 絕滅缺
4420.2 裂活月	4441.2 裂折月
4424.2 闊殺發折歇節達闊月葛	

\*躡 rhyme 昔, see Group XIV/XV (c)

\*\*骨 rhyme 沒, see Group IX (c)

### Group IX 臻 (a) Level Tone

#### Rhyme Words

Rhyme 痕 (Karlgren *ən*): 根恩痕

Rhyme 魂 (Karlgren *uan*): 屯奔門昏魂渾尊孫論盜

Rhyme 殷 (Karlgren *in*): 芹

Rhyme 眞 (Karlgren *ien*): 巾銀塵濱貧蘋茵津秦辛新薪甄身紳神臣人  
鄰晨麟鱗

Rhyme 臻 (Karlgren *ien*): 莘榛

Rhyme 文 (Karlgren *iuən*): 氛紋聞軍君裙薰氤云雲芸

Rhyme 諄 (Karlgren *iuən*): 勻春脣涓輪

### Rhymes:

4393.2 春人身	4404.1(1) 身軍
4393.4 春根麟孫	4404.1(n) 新麟春
4394.1 痕門春巾秦根雲	4408.1 昏痕甄
4395.5 春人脣	4409.4(d) 雲貧尊
4396.5 神門津雲	4412.3(b) 春蘋人
4397.2 津人薰春塵雲裙	4413.2(a) 雲春裙人身
4397.3 春人	4418.2 人雲濱春
4397.4 氤門	4419.4 昏恩
4397.5 門紋	4420.4 神雲脣痕春薰勻昏新云
4399.4 裙春	4423.1 人春
4401.1 雲春	4423.2 門昏雲痕晨鄰辛人秦春
4401.1 人身	魂芸薪
4404.1(c) See Group VIII (a)	4425.2 春雲聞
4404.1(k) 人麟塵	4426.1 人奔昏

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 4427.5 雲氛臣        | 4436.2 春人貧雲門昏麟潯 *蠅 |
| 4427.5 人軍雲春       | 茵榛紳銀新神盜論秦 **轅渾     |
| 4428.2 輪春屯文云君     | **穿 **懸人巾          |
| 4430.1 根魂         | 4437.1 巾春雲痕尊魂      |
| 4431.1 雲昏芹門春銀莘君裙鱗 | 4439.3 雲羣軍         |
| 勻脣身塵聞             | 4441.4 門尊孫         |
| 4433.3 軍門         | 4442.1 君裙雲人        |
| 4433.5 昏雲塵        | 4442.4(a) 薪塵       |
| 4435.3 君雲人        |                    |

\*蠅 rhyme 蒸, See Group XIV (a)

\*\*懸 rhyme 先, 轅 rhyme 元, 穿 rhyme 仙, See Group VIII (a)

### Group IX 臻 (b) Oblique Tones

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhyme 恩(去) (Karlgren *uən*): 論

Rhyme 軫(上) 震(去) (Karlgren *iĕn*): 鬢 印 盡

#### Rhymes:

4406.3 鬢 盡

4409.3 印 論

### Group IX 臻 (c) Entering Tone

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhyme 沒 (Karlgren *uət*): 骨 猝 笏

Rhyme 質 (Karlgren *iĕt*): 質 密 日

Rhyme 術 (Karlgren *iuət*): 出 律

#### Rhymes:

4394.4 骨 猝 律

4428.2 骨 質

4407.3 骨 笏

4429.3 密 骨

4417.4 See Group VIII (c)

4435.2 日 出 骨

### Group X 咸 (a) Level Tone

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhyme 談 (Karlgren *âm*): 酣

Rhyme 覃 (Karlgren *âm*): 含 蠶

Rhyme 銜 (Karlgren *am*): 銜 衫

Rhyme 鹽 (Karlgren *iâm*): 鹽 簾

Rhyme 添 (Karlgren *iem*): 甜

#### Rhymes:

4401.3(b) 酣 簾 蠶

4407.3 衫 蠶 含

4404.1(b) 甜 鹽 銜

### Group X 咸 (b) Oblique Tones—No rhymes





**Rhymes:**

4392.1 光皇	4411.1(a) 梁堂
4393.5 黃香觴郎	4411.2 牆妝長
4395.5 塘香璫	4411.3(a) 長方香
4396.1 光塘	4413.2(b) 鶯*窗牀梁
4399.1 光芳	4414.6(a) 蒼黃長香王
4400.2 香光郎堂	4420.2 茫長黃
4400.4 光璫	4427.5 房光倡郎旁*雙煌
4400.4 涼芳光郎	4427.5 香璫長
4400.5 璫望唱光	4433.3 槍香
4404.1(m) 香王	4434.3 光牀
4404.1(t) 腸光	4437.3 蕩揚房牀黃鶯方
4408.2 堂香梁黃長光湯王	4440.1 光香觴郎

\*窗雙, rhyme 江, See Group XIII (a)

**Group XII 宕 (b) Oblique Tones—No rhymes****Group XII 宕 (c) Entering Tone****Rhyme Words:**

Rhyme 鐸 (Karlgren *ak*): 廓薄漠幕閣鏹

Rhyme 藥 (Karlgren *iak*): 若綽

**Rhymes:**

4398.5 幕閣	4406.3 若漠薄
4400.4 廓綽	4433.3 鏹閣

**Group XIII 江 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**

Rhyme 江 (Karlgren *ang*): 窗雙幢

**Rhymes:**

See Groups XII (a) and XVI (a)

This rhyme group merged in Sung times with Group XII and was already tending to do so in T'ang as we can see from the fact that Li Ho twice rhymes words from rhyme 江 with Group XII. Since, however, Li Ho also once rhymes a word from this rhyme with Group XVI (a), one cannot be sure that the merger had yet been completed.

**Group XIII 江 (b) Oblique Tones—No rhymes****Group XIII 江 (c) Entering Tone—No rhymes****Group XIV 曾 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Word:**

Rhyme 蒸 (Karlgren *iang*): 蠅

**Rhyme:**

See Group IX (a)

**Group XIV 會 (b) Oblique Tones—No rhymes****Groups XIV 會 and XV 梗 (c)—Entering Tone****Rhyme Words:**Group XIV, Rhyme 德 (Karlgren *ək*): 刻得墨黑國Rhyme 職 (Karlgren *jak*): 測色棘極直逼息織植識飾植食

力

Group XV, Rhyme 陌 (Karlgren *ɒk*): 客帛柏珀魄白陌澤窄(Karlgren *ɨɒk*): 戟Rhyme 麥 (Karlgren *ək*): 隔脈厄輓噴幘Rhyme 昔 (Karlgren *ɨək*): 碧跡夕席石益Rhyme 錫 (Karlgren *iek*): 激鑄寂**Rhymes:** (Words in Group XIV underlined>)

4392.2 客 <u>珀</u>	4425.1 <u>刻</u> 測
4396.3 <u>色</u> 白陌	4427.5 碧 <u>力</u> 席隔 <u>食</u>
4398.4 脈白	4429.2 <u>色</u> 脈白
4400.1 <u>直</u> 客碧	4429.3 索客 <u>息</u> 厄
4400.3 極碧	4432.3 <u>力</u> 白 <u>色</u>
4403.1 客跡碧	4432.3 <u>刻</u> 白
4406.1 碧 <u>色</u> 白	4434.3 <u>色</u> 得 <u>力</u>
4407.1 白噴石 <u>色</u>	4435.2 白得 <u>色</u> 國
4407.3 客窄白	4435.3 柏客 <u>植</u>
4409.1 客識澤得白厄	4437.3(c) 戟色 <u>幘</u> 力 <u>鑄</u> 墨
4415.2 戟 <u>色</u> 碧夕	4440.1 客白織
4415.3 碧 <u>色</u>	4441.2 <u>息</u> 色得
4416.3 石客國帛	4441.3 <u>棘</u> 飾隔益逼魄激客 <u>色</u>
4418.3 <u>色</u> 客	厄柏寂白陌
4421.4 <u>黑</u> 脈客白席	4441.4 客席益

**Group 梗 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**Rhyme 庚 (Karlgren *ɒŋg*): 更根獍行產笙觥(Karlgren *ɨɒŋ*): 驚平鳴明Rhyme 耕 (Karlgren *ɛŋg*): 抨鬯莖爭泓Rhyme 清 (Karlgren *iäŋg*): 纓楹旌情清聲成Rhyme 青 (Karlgren *iɛŋg*): 輕聽屏青星飭傾螢

**Rhymes:**

4396.5 鳴聲	4407.2 城行
4398.5 傾明	4409.3 楹鬯箏
4399.4 星聲纓	4409.4(c) 莖生青
4400.3 聲平星棖笙行明更瘳清	4425.4 抨瘳旌行平鳴聲聽
觥輕泓	4427.5 瓴更
4404.1(d) 星聲	4441.1 情聽
4405.1 聲屏星行生驚纓螢	

**Group XV 梗 (b) Oblique Tones****Rhyme Words:**

Rhyme 梗(上) (Karlgren *vng*): 梗 冷

(Karlgren *ǐvng*): 景 影

Rhymes 靜(上) 勁(去) (Karlgren *ǐäng*): 井 淨 靜 嶺

Rhymes 迥(上) 徑(去) (Karlgren *ieŋ*): 頂 暝

**Rhymes:**

4394.5(a) 井 影 梗 頂 4397.1 冷 暝

4395.3 景 冷 4401.1 淨 冷

4396.1 靜 影 嶺 4432.4 井 影

**Group XV 梗 (c) Entering Tone—See Group XIV/XV (c)****Group XVI 通 (a) Level Tone****Rhyme Words:**

Rhyme 東 (Karlgren *ung*): 紅 東 瓏 桐 空 通 公 濛 翁 恩 工 叢 筒 莖 籠 蒙 虹 峒  
銅 烘 葱 櫛 僮 童 夔 蓬 瓏 鴻 龍

(Karlgren *ǐung*): 風 中 楓 熊 馮 蟲 弓 雄 宮 融 豐 充 隆 窮 菘

Rhyme 冬 (Karlgren *uung*): 宗 竇 整

Rhyme 鐘 (Karlgren *ǐwong*): 龍 容 邕 茸 濃 蜂 封 蹤 墉 從 邛 逢 凶 鐘 蓉 胸 溶  
縫 恂 慵 重

**Rhymes:**

4394.4 風 紅 東

4408.1 空 宮

4398.4 瓏 桐

4410.1 紅 叢 濃 筒 莖 蟲 茸 融 風 籠

4401.2 空 紅 中 通 楓 龍

蜂 蒙 竇 熊 弓 虹 峒 封 銅 蹤 烘 葱 墉

4401.3(f) 蟲 弓 風

濃 馮 桐 從 櫛 豐 菘 僮 \*總 容 充 中 夔

4401.3(g) 空 容 公

邛 通 慵 逢 恂 凶 容 翁 縫 鐘 空

4401.3(j) 邕 風 翁

4413.3 濃 從

4404.1(i) 忽 龍 風

4414.6(d) 蓉 紅 龍 空 鐘

4404.1(j) 風 雄

4416.2 童 龍 紅 銅 封 蓬 風

4404.1(p) 公 宗 風

4420.2 風 紅 濃

4407.4 空 風 工

4420.3 弓 公

- |                         |                |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| 4425.1 空中紅              | 4433.6 弓鴻風中窮公濛 |
| 4427.3 空紅龍              | 4434.1 空擎中風    |
| 4430.4 蔥瓏隆虹公胸中功蓬風<br>鴻龍 | 4434.2 鍾濃紅風    |
| 4431.4 風空 **幢東鴻溶龍筒      | 4435.4 茸龍壠重    |
| 4432.2 風功               | 4437.3(e) 風紅容松 |
|                         | 4439.4 弓風紅     |

\*總, rising tone

\*\*幢, rhyme 江, Group XIII (a)

### Group XVI 通 (b) Oblique Tones

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhyme 送(去) (Karlgren *ung*): 洞 凍 送

(Karlgren *iung*): 夢 鳳

Rhyme 用(去) (Karlgren *iwong*): 重 縫

#### Rhymes:

4400.4 夢 重 洞

4439.2 洞 重 鳳 夢 (?) 凍 送

4415.3 縫 重

### Group XVI 通 (c) Entering Tone

#### Rhyme Words:

Rhyme 屋 (Karlgren *uk*): 哭 鏃 木 斛 鹿 卜 谷 樸 穀 漉

(Karlgren *iuk*): 竹 簾 伏 目 肉 熟 腹 幅

Rhyme 燭 (Karlgren *iwok*): 玉 綠 棗 粟 促 續 曲 足 燭 蜀

#### Rhymes:

4395.2 穀 玉 哭

4423.1 燭 哭

4397.5 綠 粟

4424.1 棗 樸 熟 鏃

4398.1 竹 玉

4427.4 竹 幅 斛 綠 曲 玉

4399.5 綠 促

4432.1 鏃 肉 竹

4406.4 促 鏃 簾

4434.3 玉 足

4407.2 玉 綠

4434.4 漉

4408.3 目 粟

4435.5 谷 棗 腹 目

4409.2 粟 綠

4439.4 曲 蜀 竹 續

4421.1 綠 續

4439.4 木 玉 卜

4421.2 曲 綠

4441.4 綠 竹 哭

4421.3 木 足 肉 伏 哭 玉

4441.4 玉 鹿 竹

## NOTES

1) Wang Li 王力, *Han yü shih lü hsüeh* 漢語詩律學 (1958) pp. 316 ff.

2) The origin of the *t'ung yung* categories is usually traced to a memorial by Hsü Ching-tsung 許敬宗 (d. A. D. 672) complaining about the difficulty poets had in observing certain of the rhyme distinctions of the *Ch'ieh-yün*. (See *Feng shih*

*wen-chien chi* 封氏聞見集 2, 聲韻。) Doubts have been cast on this because these categories are not mentioned in existing *Ch'ieh-yün* and *T'ang-yün* fragments and the first actual listing is in the *Kuang-yün*. (See Chang Shih-lu 張世祿 *Chung-kuo yin-yün-hsüeh shih* 中國音韻學史 (1965), II p. 96 ff. I have not been able to see Ma Tsung-huo's 馬宗霍 *Yin-yün hsüeh t'ung-lun* 音韻學通論 which he cites.) Nevertheless there is no doubt whatever that the categories as listed in the *Kuang-yün* correspond to those actually employed in *lü-shih* by T'ang poets. (See Wang Li, op. cit.) They must have been long obsolete in actual speech by Northern Sung times.

3) Wang Li, "Nan-pei ch'ao shih-jen yung yün k'ao 南北朝詩人用韻考", *Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao* 11/3(1936), reprinted in *Han-yü shih lun-wen chi* (1958) pp. 1-59. Ch'ang Hou 昌厚, "Sui yün p'u 隋韻譜", *Chung-kuo yü-wen* (1961) 10/11, 47-57; (1962) 1, 38-49; 2, 70-84; 4, 162-166.

4) See Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪, "Ts'ung shih-shih lun Ch'ieh-yün 從史實論切韻", *Ling-nan hsüeh-pao* 9/2(1949) 1-18.

5) See H. Maspero, "Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang" *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient* 20/2(1920)

6) A tabulation of successive versions of the Indian alphabets was made by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培 in his article "Fan-wen o-yin wu mu ti Tsang Han tui-yin yen-chiu" 梵文韻音五母的藏漢對音研究 *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 3 (19 ), reprinted in *Lo Ch'ang-p'ei yü-yen hsüeh lun-wen hsüan-chi* 羅常培語言學論文選集, Peking (1963). See also Li Jung 李容, *Ch'ieh-yün sheng-hsi* 切韻聲系, Peking (1962) p. 164.

7) See Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *T'ang Wu-tai hsi-pei fang-yin* 唐五代西北方音 Shanghai (1933) pp. ix, 16; H. Maspero, op. cit., p. 32; G. L. M. Clauson and S. Yoshitake, "On the phonetic value of the Tibetan characters འ and འ," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1929) 843-862.

8) *Taishō Tripitaka* no. 2178 (vol. 54)

9) Huang Ts'ui-po 黃淬伯, *Hui-lin I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i fan-ch'ieh k'ao* 慧林一切經音義反切考.

10) See E. G. Pulleyblank, "The semivowel *i* in Vietnamese and Mandarin", to appear in the special number of the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* in honour of Prof. F. K. Li.

11) On the skeleton phonological tables in Shao Yung 邵雍, *Huang-chi ching-shih* 皇極經世 see, among others, Li Jung, *Ch'ieh-yün sheng-hsi*, pp. 165-174.

12) *Han-yü shih lü hsüeh*, p. 348 ff.

# 李賀詩的用韻

蒲立本

唐詩之用韻至今詳盡之分析無幾，其原因不外唐詩作品豐富，同時律詩之規律性亦令一般讀者將“古體詩”與“律詩”中詩律上之出入，看為詩人對規律之態度有所不同，鮮有考慮其中可能呈現一二語言變化現象者。

王力於漢語詩律學中分辨“古體詩”與“律詩”如下：①古體詩用韻較寬，②古體詩之詩人於用韻一事故意模仿當時所謂之古韻。王力為何不以此不統一之用韻現象為一語言變化現象，殊不可解。蓋九世紀之官話發音與七世紀之官話發音必有若干出入，當時用韻亦不免受此變化之影響，而王力僅提出晚唐上聲韻部與去聲韻部合併之現象，為語音系統轉變所致。

王力之“模仿古音”理論，實極需再考。王力指出有“-n”尾音之韻部之混淆狀態，例如切韻中之先韻部中之“天”與“田”，在詩經中屬真韻部，“肩”曾與“山”通韻。此種現象可能引致唐代詩人誤認為“古體詩”中所有“-n”尾音之韻部皆可通韻。但專用“通韻”理論以解釋當時“古體詩”中用韻與“律詩”中用韻之區別，有忽略時代的演進之病。初唐詩人嚴格遵守“切韻”中各韻部之分野，其劃分較宋代廣韻中所列之“同用”及“平水韻”中所列之韻部更嚴格，例如初唐詩人王績詩中“支”不與“脂”，“之”同韻，而“支”，“脂”，“之”後來“同用”。〔王績詩中之用韻見原文 p. 2〕

從唐代各期詩人的古體詩用韻中可見語言逐漸變化之一斑。至九世紀初語言變化已成一顯著現象，當時詩人中有白居易於其“新樂府”及“古體詩”中不依同韻而合乎宋代等韻圖中之攝用韻，例如切韻中之“元”韻與“痕”、“魂”，照律詩詩律屬同用，在等韻圖中“元”屬“山”攝而“痕”“魂”屬“臻”攝。在白居易詩中不但“元”，“痕”，“魂”各別與其同攝韻母通韻，而且異攝韻母彼此不通韻。如白居易之用韻僅為用韻寬所致，則“元”、“痕”、“魂”亦應不但彼此通韻，且亦與其他有“-n”尾音之韻部通韻，而其詩中並無此現象。（附例見原文 p. 3）用

韻之劇變只能推源於唐代語言之轉變，蓋自有隋建都長安（紀元 589 年）統一中國，經百年後，長安方言始被採用為當時官話。士大夫階級於隋初尚沿用自四世紀洛陽方言演變成之南朝金陵宮廷之官話，至八世紀初語言已有若干變化，其一例為佛教詞語之譯音，梵文中不帶氣塞聲已改濁塞聲為鼻音以譯之。義淨（690—692）譯“na”為“那”，“娜”而一行譯“da”為“娜”，譯“ba”為“摩”，異化塞聲“mb”、“nd”之現象至今猶存於陝西文水與山西興縣一帶之方言。鼻音變為濁塞聲，亦可見於藏語譯音及日語中之漢音。

鼻音之變化當與韻部無大關係，其他有關之變化見諸慧琳之一切經音義。慧琳引元廷堅之韻英及張戢之考聲切韻證泰語與吳語發音之相異，其一為“元”韻與“仙”韻之分別之消失（附錄吳音與漢音之“元”“仙”韻拼音，見原文 p. 4）。

“元”韻之變化可以簡略說明，高本漢拼“元”為“-ien”，“仙”為“-iän”，本文作者以介音“i”區分此二音：/-ian/ 與 /-iän/, /ian/ 中之元音 /a/ 為介音 /i/ 所影響，因之有 /ə/ 或 /ɛ/ 之元音性，因此可與痕 /ən/ 通韻。/ian/ 中元音 /a/ 受顎化介音 /i/ 之影響，在八世紀長安方言中 /i/ 與 /i/ 之分不復存在，而顎化介音之影響亦日漸削弱，故 /ian/ 與 /an/ 通韻。

語音之轉變固可自八世紀早期文獻中看出一二，其顯著變更實現於九世紀詩律中，於李賀詩中（791—817）可見若干語言轉變之現象，此現象曾被視為宋代之特產。李賀之用韻多與等韻圖中之攝相合，有時甚至於有出攝之現象，其特點如下：

- ① “果”攝與“假”攝雖然大多時維持其區分，而有時相混，此與若干宋等韻圖相似。
- ② “梗”攝與“曾”攝中之入聲韻母通韻，邵雍與切韻指掌圖皆將此二攝合而為一。
- ③ 上聲與去聲通韻，因此四聲除入聲外，僅有平仄之分野。此現象與後來詞律相近。然而上聲與去聲始終不相等。李賀之通韻則不可視為詩律之演化，因其為語音轉變所致。

[附論王力對入聲與去聲之相混之分析不足置信，詳細議論請見原文] 附李賀的韻部表中作者於方格 [ ] 中表明韻母，拼音。高本漢之古漢語拼音，及作者之唐代語拼音，亦附錄於後，以便參考比較。



所錄書頁數係全唐詩，詩之次序，小節之先後亦以數字表明。上聲及去聲合為仄聲。

上聲字用“。”符號表明，去聲字用“\_”符號表明，通用處則無符號。