

TONAL "ANOMALIES" IN THE *KUO FENG* ODES⁽¹⁾

GILBERT L. MATTOS

That the majority of the rhymed syllables appearing in the *Kuo Feng* odes in the *Shih Ching* followed a regular line of development from Archaic to Ancient Chinese, insofar as their tones⁽²⁾ were concerned, was successfully demonstrated by Bernhard Karlgren in his paper "Tones in Archaic Chinese." Here Karlgren showed that, in addition to congruency in principal vowels and consonants, the rhyming of syllables was further conditioned by tone class and that the tone classes of these syllables usually correspond to their *Ch'ieh-yün* classification. In the course of his study, however, Karlgren found it necessary to treat cases of tonal congruency as "positive evidence" and cases of incongruency as "negative evidence." Attention, therefore, was focused on the "positive evidence" elicited from what he termed "pure one-tone sets of rime words," e. g. Ode 115.2: 考 khəgw² 柎 niəgw² 埽 səgw² 考 khəgw² 保 pəgw², in contrast to the tonally incongruent rhymes, regarded by him as "negative evidence," e. g. Ode 94.1 溥 duan¹ 婉 'wjan² 願 ngwjan². Having projected positive and negative values on his data, his conclusion was somewhat inevitable:

Archaic Chinese, like Ancient and Modern Chinese, had distinct tone classes. One of them corresponded to the p'ing-sheng of Ancient Chinese, another to the shang-sheng, another to the ch'ü-sheng and the last (words ending in -p, -t, -k) to the ju-sheng. It should be clearly stated, however, that we cannot, by any means assert that every word with Anc. Chin. p'ing-sheng belonged to the 1st Arch. tone class, that every word with Anc. shang-sheng belonged to the 2nd Archaic tone class and so forth. Our conclusion is necessarily limited to the general phenomenon that Archaic Chinese had tone classes roughly corresponding to those in Ancient Chinese; the attribution of individual words to one or other of the Arch. classes cannot be made with anything like certainty. The most we can venture to propound is that words figuring in the "pure one-tone sets of rimes" in all probability belonged to the Arch. tone class corresponding to the Anc. class concerned (p'ing, shang, ch'ü, ju).

Curiously enough, immediately after having made this rather cautious pronouncement, Karlgren forged ahead to explain in tonetic terms why the rhyming of tonally incongruent syllables was possible, assuming all along that these syllables had the same tones as those assigned to them in the *Ch'ieh-yün*—an assumption which he had just finished saying is not valid! Yet since Karlgren treated these syllables negatively to begin with, one would suppose that he had simply accepted their *Ch'ieh-yün* tonal classification as being applicable to Archaic Chinese as well, rather than considering the possibility that many of them might have had tones other

than those recorded in the *Ch'ieh-yün*, as was suggested by the late George A. Kennedy.⁽³⁾ Since there is evidence to support the latter case, such a possibility will be explored in this paper, limiting our study to the *Kuo Feng* odes.

The relative low frequency of tonally incongruent rhymes in the *Kuo Feng* section is borne out by the fact that 106 of its 160 odes are tonally congruent throughout;⁽⁴⁾ that is, 106 are of the following type wherein rhymed syllables agree in tone:⁽⁵⁾

Ode 11	1. A 趾 tǰəg ²	2. A 定 ding ³	3. A 角 kruk ⁴
	A 子 tsǰəg ²	A 姓 sjing ³	A 族 dzuk ⁴
	O	O	O

Among the remaining 54 odes, there are in all 71 cases of tonally anomalous rhymes, involving a total of 85 syllables. This amounts to only 4% of the total number of rhymed words in the *Kuo Feng* section, of which there are roughly 2025. In view of these figures one cannot help but wonder why these poets were so exacting 96% of the time and less so during the other 4%. Our first impulse is to conclude, as Karlgren does, that the poets merely disregarded the tonal differences in these instances.⁽⁶⁾ Yet when each of these 71 cases are examined individually, some rather interesting facts emerge which suggest that the *Kuo Feng* poets were even more diligent than previously realized. In short, what may now appear to be tonally incongruent rhymes in numerous cases were probably not so when these odes were first composed. Let us take, for example, the case of *hsin* 信 *sjin³ as a rhyme word in Ode 31.5. Here we find *hsin* in rhyme with *hsün* 洵 *hwün¹, or Tone 3 vs. Tone 1. That *hsin* and *hsün* must have belonged to the same tone class at one time becomes apparent when one examines the remaining occurrences of *hsin* as a rhyme word in the *Shih Ching*. We soon discover that *hsin* was consistently rhymed with Tone 1 syllables:

51.3 人 njin ¹	姻 'jin ¹	信 sjin ³	命 mjin ³
92.2 薪 sjin ¹	人 njin ¹	信 sjin ³	
125.1 苓 lin ¹	顛 tin ¹	信 sjin ³	
191.4 親 tshjin ¹	信 sjin ³		
194.3 天 thin ¹	信 sjin ³	臻 tsrjin ¹	身 sthjin ¹ 天 thin ¹
200.3 人 njin ¹	信 sjin ³		

Our first example above is somewhat disturbing; here we find Tone 3 *hsin* in rhyme with Tone 3 *ming* 命 *mjin³, which seems perfectly natural but contradicts what was said above. When the occurrences of *ming* as a rhyme word are checked out, however, we find that it, too, was normally rhymed with Tone 1 syllables:

116.3 磷 ljin ¹	命 mjin ³	人 njin ¹	
222.3 命 mjin ³	申 sthjin ¹		
249.1 人 njin ¹	天 thin ¹	命 mjin ³	申 sthjin ¹

252.8	天 thin ¹	人 njin ¹	命 mjin ³	人 njin ¹	
261.1	甸 din ³⁽⁷⁾	命 mjin ³			
262.5	人 njin ¹	田 din ¹	命 mjin ³	命 mjin ³	年 nin ¹
267.1	命 mjin ³	純 djən ¹			

This phenomenon was noted long ago by the eminent 19th Century Chinese phonologist Chiang Yu-kaio 江有誥 (d. 1851). After having examined most of the rhymed literature dating from early Chou down to the early Han period, Chiang discovered that there was a sizeable number of syllables which had been used as rhyme words in tonal environments which were at odds with their *Ch'ieh-yün* listings. Chiang reasoned that these syllables, at an earlier period, must either have had different tones or more tones than were recorded in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. Hence he felt that the *Ch'ieh-yün* was in need of revision. The substance of his researches was subsequently recorded in his *T'ang-yün Szu-sheng Cheng* 唐韻四聲正 ("Emendations to the four tones in the *T'ang-yün*") in which he listed around 280 such syllables, replete with textual evidence.⁽⁶⁾ Below each listing he gave its *fan-ch'ieh* spelling, followed by a comment on the tone of that syllable and the rhyme group to which it ought to be assigned. In the case of *hsin* 信, for example, he notes, "...in antiquity *hsin* was read exclusively in *p'ing-sheng*. By Han times, however, people occasionally read it in *ch'ü-sheng*."⁽⁹⁾ This is followed by 43 examples of *hsin* in rhyme with Tone 1 syllables. As for *ming* 命, Chiang asserts, "...in antiquity *ming* had a *p'ing-sheng* reading."⁽¹⁰⁾ Again, numerous examples are adduced as proof that *ming* was anciently read in Tone 1.

In order to appreciate Chiang's proposals more fully, it will be of some help if we first gather together all of the syllables responsible for the tonally incongruent rhymes in the *Kuo Feng* odes. A final tabulation reveals that 66 of our 71 cases of tonal incongruency are attributable to 47 syllables.⁽¹¹⁾ These syllables fall into three classes: 1) Class A: those syllables which were consistently rhymed with members of another tone class; 2) Class B: those syllables which occur only once as rhyme words in the *Shih Ching*; and 3) Class C: those syllables which were at times rhymed with words having the same tone as that recorded for them in the *Ch'ieh-yün* and at other times with members of another tone class. All of these syllables have been listed in the tables which follow and grouped according to their *Ch'ieh-yün* tonal classification. Opposite each are the numbers of the *Shih Ching* odes in which they occur as rhyme words. The four tone classes at the head of each column denote the tonal environments in which these syllables appear. For example, under *Ch'ieh-yün* Tone 1, Class A *yü* 予 *rag¹ rhymes with Tone 2 syllables in Odes 141, 155, 192, etc.

STONE I	1	2	3	4	STONE III	1	2	3	4
A. 予 rag (I, me)		141.2 155.2 192.9 201.1 204.1 258.4			A. 佩 bæg	91.2 134.2 96.3 189.6 192.4			
借 krid		110.3 169.4 170.5 220.1			夢 mjæng	31.5 51.3 92.2 125.1 191.4 194.3 200.3			
祛 khjag			81.1 120.1		晦 hmæg		90.3 255.5		
B. 虛 hjag 手 pjung 胎 ræg		50.2	88.1 42.3		狩 sth- jægw		77.2 127.1 179.2		
C. 梅 mæg	152.2 204.4	20.1 130.1			顧 kag		29.1 71.1 113.1 141.2 165.2 258.4 207.2 220.2		
翻 dægw	67.2	136.3			至 tjid				156.3 169.4 202.3
群 gwjøn	190.1	128.3?			B. 救 kjægw	35.4			
夷 djid (rid)	57.2	42.3			帛 tiagw	149.2			
居 kjag	167.1 168.4 185.1 188.1 194.7 221.3	259.5	12.1 114.1 120.1 124.4 261.5?		素 sag	98.1			
離 djægw	178.4		35.5 256.6 31.2		莒 magw				1.5
忡 thr- jængw	14.1 168.5				C. 命 mjïn	51.3 116.3 222.3 249.1 252.8 262.5 267.1 271.?		261.1?	
提 dig	197.1		107.2		望 mjang	61.1 225.1 252.6 119.2 191.6			
TONES II	1	2	3	4	畏 'wjød	76.1 156.1 258.3		254.7	
A. 爽 srjang	58.4 173.2				望 mjang	61.1 225.1 252.6		136.1	
褒 hjang	154.8 175.1 209.2 272.2 302.3				姓 sjing	119.2 191.6		11.2	
B. 鼻 mrægw	21.2				妹 mød	57.1		236.5	
靡 mjtar	65.1				事 dzræg		13.1 205.1 237.4 256.10 259.2 264.4?	212.1	
閔 mjïæn	155.1				茂 mægw		97.2 166.6 172.4 265.4 291.5	245.5	
闕 rægw	23.1				說 sthjuad (to halt)				16.3 72.3 300.5
蕪 djøm	58.3				歲 skwjad				150.3 154.1 245.7
菲 phjød	35.1				TONES IV	1	2	3	4
展 trjan	47.3				轄 grat			39.3	218.1?
C. 酒 tsjægw	26.1 192.1 218.3	77.2 82.2							
隕 gwjïæn	58.4	197.6							
子 tsjæg	54.4 200.7 247.5 251.2	11.1 24.2 34.4 etc.							
反 pjæn		106.3? 274.4 253.5	54.2 58.6 75.1 223.1						

The above tables reveal that well over half of the syllables responsible for tonally incongruent rhymes in the *Kuo Feng* odes, which occur more than once as rhyme words in the *Shih Ching*, were seldom if ever rhymed with members of the tone class to which they were assigned in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. Moreover the mixing of tones in each case was far from haphazard. With the exception of Tone 1 *chü* 居, which is found in rhyme with words belonging to tone classes 1, 2, and 3, none of the others were ever mixed with more than one other tone class. Tone 1 *yü* 予, for example, was consistently rhymed with Tone 2 syllables and never with those having a Tone 1, 3, or 4. Similarly, while Tone 1 *mei* 梅 was at times rhymed with Tone 1 syllables and at other times with Tone 2, it was never rhymed with syllables having Tones 3 or 4.

Now when we stop to consider that the *Kuo Feng* poets showed concern for tonal congruency 96% of the time, it seems highly unlikely that they simply became careless when it came to using our Class A syllables as rhyme words, never rhyming them with members of their own tone class but consistently with those of another. It seems to me that we would have to agree with Chiang that *hsin* 信, for example, was originally read in Tone 1, rather than Tone 3, or that *yü* 予 was consistently read in Tone 2 regardless of whether it was used in the sense of "I, me" or "to give." For our Class A syllables, at least, there seems to be good reason to believe that they originally had tones other than those assigned to them in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. But being a courageous scholar, Chiang not only suggested tonal emendations for our Class A syllables but for many of those falling into Classes B and C as well. In the case of Class C, Tone 1 *chü* 居, for example, Chiang cites 45 textual examples showing *chü* in rhyme with Tone 3 syllables and concludes that it was read in Tone 3 in these cases.⁽¹²⁾ In other instances, however, even with only a few textual examples in evidence, Chiang stood firm and supplied these characters with additional tones just the same. His emended Tone 1 reading of Class B, Tone 2 *yün* 隕, for example, rests on only two cases.⁽¹³⁾

In spite of Chiang's efforts to rectify past wrongs, only 10 of his 280 suggestions were accepted by Cheung Yat-shing in his recent paper "A study of the tones in Archaic Chinese." Cheung states here that, in following Chiang Yu-kao, he accepted only those emendations for which there were three or more cases from the *Shih Ching* in evidence, with each case showing the same tonal conflict for the graph concerned.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is unclear, however, why he did not favor the emendations of, say, *mao* 茂 or *wei* 畏, especially since he had seen fit to overlook the one exception in Ode 261 wherein *ming* 命 is found in rhyme with *tien* 甸, which he recognizes as a Tone 3 word.⁽¹⁵⁾ That more than just ten of Chiang's emended readings are credible becomes evident when attention is turned from the stanza as a unit to the ode as a whole.

The necessity of dealing with the odes in the *Shih Ching* as such was demonstrated by George A. Kennedy in his paper "Metrical 'Irregularities' in the *Shih*

Ching"—a study which has contributed significantly to our appreciation of the high degree of metrical regularity that exists in the *Shih Ching*. Kennedy's principal concern here was with the non-tetrasyllabic lines that appear in the *Shih Ching*. While these had been considered by earlier students as violating "the law of meter," Kennedy argued that "if we proceed from the idea of a melody to be sung, the important feature of an ode is its total symmetry and not the length of a particular line."⁽¹⁶⁾ Hence he was able to show that irregular line-length in 40% of the cases of "irregularity" was quite regular, since we have "...the same number of syllables in every stanza in the corresponding positions."⁽¹⁷⁾

Further research along these same lines has revealed that, in the majority of cases, the *Kuo Feng* poets sought symmetry in rhyme scheme as well as in line-length. That this was indeed the case is borne out by the fact that 95 of the *Kuo Feng* odes contain rhyme schemes which were constructed on the basis of what we may call "stanzaic parallelism;" that is, the rhyme schemes of succeeding stanzas were patterned after that of the first. Working within this framework, however, the poet was apparently free to change rhyme and/or tone classes from one stanza to the next, provided he adhered to their corresponding arrangement in the first. If the rhyme scheme of the first were ABAB, for example, the same formula would be repeated in those that followed. Thus the first stanza served as a paradigm, as it were, for all the rest. This convention was undoubtedly related to the melody to which these odes were sung. And it may very well be that melody dictated form. In any event, a few examples will suffice:

Ode 6

1. O	2. O	3. O
A 華 gwrag ¹	A 實 djit ⁴	A 蓁 tsrjin ¹
O	O	O
A 家 krag ¹	A 室 sthjit ⁴	A 人 njin ¹

Ode 18

1. A 皮 bjiar ¹	2. A 革 kræk ⁴	3. A 縫 bjung ¹
A 紇 dar ¹	A 絨 hwjiæk ⁴	A 總 tsung ¹
O	O	O
A 蛇 rar ¹	A 食 djæk ⁴	A 公 kung ¹

Ode 22

1. A 汜 rjæg ²	2. A 渚 tjæg ²	3. A 沱 dar ¹
O	O	O
A 以 ræg ²	A 與 rag ²	A 過 kwar ¹
A 以 ræg ²	A 與 rag ²	A 過 kwar ¹
A 悔 hmæg ²	A 處 thjæg ²	A 歌 kar ¹

Ode 129

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. A 蒼 tshang ¹ | 2. A 淒 tshid ¹ | 3. A 采 tshəg ² |
| A 霜 srjang ¹ | A 晞 hjəd ¹ | A 已 rəg ² |
| O | O | O |
| A 方 pjang ¹ | A 湄 mjid ¹ | A 浹 dzrjəg ² |
| B 從 dzjung ¹ | B 從 dzjung ¹ | B 從 dzjung ¹ |
| A 長 drjang ¹ | A 躋 tsid ¹ | A 右 gwjəg ² |
| B 從 dzjung ¹ | B 從 dzjung ¹ | B 從 dzjung ¹ |
| A 央 'jang ¹ | A 坻 drjid ¹ | A 泚 tjəg ² |

There are yet another 35 odes in which we find two or more parallel stanzas offset by one or more stanzas whose rhyme schemes differ from that of the former; e. g.,

Ode 15

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A 蘋 bjin ¹ | 2. O | 3. O |
| A 濱 pjjin ¹ | A 筍 kjag ² | A 下 grag ² |
| B 藻 tsagw ² | O | O |
| B 潦 lagw ² | A 釜 bjag ² | A 女 nrjag ² |

Ode 27

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O | 3. A 絲 sjəg ¹ | 4. O |
| A 裏 ljəg ² | A 裳 djang ¹ | A 治 drəg ¹ | A 風 pjəm ¹ |
| O | O | O | O |
| A 已 rəg ² | A 亡 mjang ¹ | A 詵 gwjəg ¹ | A 心 sjəm ¹ |

Ode 159

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. A 渚 tjag ² | 3. A 陸 ljəkw ⁴ | 4. A 衣 'jəd ¹ |
| A 魴 bjang ¹ | A 所 srjag ² | A 復 bjəkw ⁴ | A 歸 kwjəd ¹ |
| O | A 處 thjag ² | A 宿 sjəkw ⁴ | A 悲 pjjəd ¹ |
| A 裳 djang ¹ | | | |

Ode 78

- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O | 3. O |
| A 馬 mrag ² | A 黃 gwang ¹ | A 鵠 pəgw ² |
| A 組 tsag ² | A 襄 snjang ¹ | A 首 sthjəgw ² |
| A 舞 mjag ² | A 行 gang ¹ | A 手 sthjəgw ² |
| O | O | O |
| A 舉 kjag ² | A 揚 rang ¹ | A 阜 bjəgw ² |
| A 虎 hag ² | B 射 djiag ³ | B 慢 man ³ |
| A 所 srjag ² | B 御 ngjag ³ | B 罕 han ³ |
| O | C 控 khung ³ | C 棚 pjjəng ¹ |
| A 女 njag ² | C 送 sung ³ | C 弓 kwjəng ¹ |

An awareness of these patterns places a fair share of the *Kuo Feng's* tonally incongruent rhymes in a new perspective, for it now becomes evident that with a breakdown in tonal congruity there must have been a concomitant breakdown in stanzaic parallelism. Hence when many of the tonal emendations suggested by Chiang are evaluated in terms of the wider context of the ode as a whole, they become increasingly more attractive. The following odes illustrate this point:

Tone 1 Emendations

1) 予 rag¹⁼²

Ode 141

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O |
| A 斯 sjig ¹ | A 萃 dzjød ³ |
| O | O |
| A 知 trig ¹ | A 諄 sjød ³ |
| B 已 ræg ² | B 顧 kag ³⁼² |
| B 矣 sgjiæg ² | B 予 rag ¹⁼² |

Also Ode 155.2: 雨 gjag² 土 thag² 戶 gag² 予 rag¹⁼²

2) 偕 krid¹⁼²

Ode 110

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A 岫 gag ² | 2. A 配 khjæg ² | 3. A 岡 kang ¹ |
| A 父 bjag ² | A 母 mæg ² | A 兄 hwjiang ¹ |
| B 子 tsjæg ² | B 季 kwjid ³ | B 弟 did ² |
| B 已 ræg ² | B 寐 mjöd ³ | B 偕 krid ¹⁼² |
| O | O | O |
| B 止 tjæg ² | B 棄 khjid ³ | B 死 sjid ² |

3) 祛 khjag¹⁼³

Ode 81

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. O | 2. O |
| A 祛 khjag ¹⁼³ | A 手 stjæg ² |
| A 惡 'ag ³ | A 醜 djæg ¹ =醜 djæg ² |
| A 故 kag ³ | A 好 hæg ² |

Ode 120

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. A 祛 khjag ¹⁼³ | 2. A 襲 rjæg ³ |
| A 居 kjag ¹ =倨 kjag ³ | A 究 kjæg ³ |
| O | O |
| A 故 kag ³ | A 好 hæg ³ |

4) 丰 pjung¹⁻³

Ode 88

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A 丰 pjung ¹⁻³ | 2. A 昌 thjang ¹ | 3. O | 4. O |
| A 巷 grung ³ | A 堂 dang ¹ | A 裳 djang ¹ | A 衣 'jød ¹ |
| A 送 sung ³ | A 將 tsjang ¹ | O | O |
| | | A 行 gang ¹ | A 歸 kwjød ¹ |

5) 翻 dæg^{1-2?}

Ode 136

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A 湯 thang ³ | 2. A 鼓 kag ² | 3. A 缶 pjøg ² |
| A 上 djang ³ | A 下 grag ² | A 道 dæg ² |
| O | O | O |
| A 望 mjang ³ | A 羽 gjag ² | A 翻 dæg ¹⁻² |

6) 居 kjag¹⁻³

Ode 12

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O | 3. O |
| A 居 kjag ¹⁻³ | A 方 pjang ¹ | A 盈 ring ¹ |
| O | O | O |
| A 御 ngjag ² | A 將 tsjang ¹ | A 成 djing ¹ |

Ode 114

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A 堂 dang ¹ | 2. A 堂 dang ¹ | 3. A 堂 dang ¹ |
| B 莫 mag ³ | B 逝 djad ³ | B 休 hjøg ¹ |
| O | O | O |
| B 除 drjag ³ | B 邁 mrad ³ | B 慍 thøg ¹ |
| A 康 khang ¹ | A 康 khang ¹ | A 康 khang ¹ |
| B 居 kjag ¹⁻³ | B 外 ngwad ³ | B 變 'jøg ¹ |
| A 荒 hwang ¹ | A 荒 hwang ¹ | A 荒 hwang ¹ |
| B 瞿 kwjag ³ | B 蹶 kwjiad ³ | B 休 hjøg ¹ |

Ode 124

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. A 楚 tshrijag ² | 2. A 棘 kjøk ⁴ | 3. A 粲 tshan ³ | 4. O |
| A 野 riag ² | A 域 gwjiøk ⁴ | A 爛 glan ³ | A 夜 riag ³ |
| O | O | O | O |
| A 處 thjag ² | A 息 sjøk ⁴ | A 且 tan ³ | A 居 kjag ¹⁻³ |

5. O

- A 曰 njit⁴
O
A 室 sthjit⁴

Tone 2 Emendations

7) 昴 $mr\acute{e}gw^{2=1}$

Ode 21

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. A 星 $siŋ^1$ | 2. A 星 $siŋ^1$ |
| B 東 $tung^1$ | B 昴 $mr\acute{e}gw^{2=1}$ |
| A 征 $tjiŋ^1$ | A 征 $tjiŋ^1$ |
| B 公 $kung^1$ | B 稠 $drj\acute{e}gw^1$ |
| B 同 $dung^1$ | B 猶 $r\acute{e}gw^1$ |

Tone 3 Emendations

8) 佩 $b\acute{e}g^{3=1}$

Ode 91

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. A 衿 $kj\acute{e}m^1$ | 2. A 佩 $b\acute{e}g^{3=1}$ | 3. A 達 $that^4$ |
| A 心 $sj\acute{e}m^1$ | A 思 $sj\acute{e}g^1$ | A 闕 $khwjat^4$ |
| O | O | O |
| A 晉 $'j\acute{e}m^1$ | A 來 $l\acute{e}g^1$ | A 月 $ngwjat^4$ |

Ode 134

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O |
| A 陽 $rang^1$ | A 思 $sj\acute{e}g^1$ |
| O | O |
| A 黃 $gwang^1$ | A 佩 $b\acute{e}g^{3=1}$ |

9) 姓 $sjing^{3=1(18)}$

Ode 119

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O |
| A 滑 $sjag^2$ | A 菁 $tsjiŋ^1$ |
| A 躅 $kjag^2$ | A 震 $gwjiŋ^1$ |
| O | O |
| A 父 $bjag^2$ | A 姓 $sjing^{3=1}$ |
| O | O |
| B 比 $bjid^3$ | B 比 $bjid^3$ |
| O | O |
| B 飲 $tshjid^3$ | B 飲 $tshjid^3$ |

10) 信 $sjin^{3=1}$ (仲 $thj\acute{e}ngw^{1=?}$)

Ode 31

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| 1. A 鏡 $thang^1$ | 2. A 仲 $drj\acute{e}ngw^3$ | 3. A 處 $thjag^2$ |
| A 兵 $pjiang^1$ | A 宋 $s\acute{e}ngw^3$ | A 馬 $mrage^2$ |
| O | O | O |
| A 行 $grang^1$ | A 仲 $thj\acute{e}ngw^{1=?}$ | A 下 $grag^2$ |

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 4. A 關 kwhat ⁴ | 5. A 關 kwhat ⁴ |
| A 說 sthjuat ⁴ | A 活 gwat ⁴ |
| B 手 sthjəgw ² | B 洵 hwin ¹ |
| B 老 ləgw ² | B 信 sjin ³⁻¹ |

Ode 92

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. A 水 sthjid ² | 2. A 水 sthjid ² |
| B 楚 tshrjag ² | B 薪 sjin ¹ |
| A 弟 did ² | A 弟 did ² |
| B 女 njag ² | B 人 njin ¹ |
| O | O |
| B 女 njag ² | B 信 sjin ³⁻¹ |

Ode 125

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. A 苓 lin ¹ | 2. A 苦 khag ² | 3. A 葑 phjung ¹ |
| A 巔 tin ¹ | A 下 gag ² | A 東 tung ¹ |
| B 言 ngjan ¹ | B 言 ngjan ¹ | B 言 ngjan ¹ |
| A 信 sjin ³⁻¹ | A 與 rag ² | A 從 dzjung ¹ |
| B 旃 tjan ¹ | B 旃 tjan ¹ | B 旃 tjan ¹ |
| B 言 ngjan ¹ | B 言 ngjan ¹ | B 言 ngjan ¹ |
| B 然 njan ¹ | B 然 njan ¹ | B 然 njan ¹ |
| B 焉 'jian ¹ | B 焉 'jian ¹ | B 焉 'jian ¹ |

11) 晦 hməg³⁻²

Ode 90

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. A 淒 tshid ¹ | 2. A 蕭 siəgw ¹ | 3. A 晦 hməg ³⁻² |
| A 啮 krid ¹ | A 膠 krəgw ¹ | A 已 rəg ² |
| O | O | O |
| A 夷 rid ¹ | A 瘳 hljəgw ¹ | A 喜 hjəg ² |

12) 狩 sthjəgw³⁻²

Ode 77

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A 田 din ¹ | 2. A 狩 sthjəgw ³⁻² | 3. A 野 riag ² |
| A 人 njin ¹ | A 酒 tsəgw ² | A 馬 mrag ² |
| A 人 njin ¹ | A 酒 tsəgw ² | A 馬 mrag ² |
| O | O | O |
| A 仁 njin ¹ | A 好 həgw ² | A 武 mjag ² |

13) 事 dzrəg³⁻²

Ode 13

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O | 3. A 童 dung ¹ |
| A 泚 tjəg ² | A 中 trjəngw ¹ | A 公 kung ¹ |
| O | O | B 祁 gjid ¹ |
| A 事 dzrjəg ³⁻² | A 宮 kjəngw ¹ | B 歸 kwjəd ¹ |

14) 顧 *kag*³⁼²

Ode 29

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O | 3. O | 4. O |
| A 士 <i>thag</i> ² | A 冒 <i>məgw</i> ³ | A 方 <i>pjang</i> ¹ | A 出 <i>thjət</i> ⁴ |
| O | O | O | O |
| A 處 <i>thjag</i> ² | A 好 <i>həgw</i> ³ | A 良 <i>ljang</i> ¹ | A 卒 <i>tsjət</i> ⁴ |
| O | O | O | O |
| A 顧 <i>kag</i> ³⁼² | A 報 <i>pəgw</i> ³ | A 忘 <i>mjang</i> ¹ | A 述 <i>djət</i> ⁴ |

Ode 71

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. A 蕙 <i>ljəd</i> ² | 2. A 蕙 <i>ljəd</i> ² | 3. A 蕙 <i>ljəd</i> ² |
| B 滸 <i>hmag</i> ² | B 涖 <i>dzrəg</i> ² | B 濟 <i>djən</i> ¹ |
| A 弟 <i>did</i> ² | A 弟 <i>did</i> ² | A 弟 <i>did</i> ² |
| B 父 <i>bjag</i> ² | B 母 <i>məg</i> ² | B 昆 <i>kwən</i> ¹ |
| B 父 <i>bjag</i> ² | B 母 <i>məg</i> ² | B 昆 <i>kwən</i> ¹ |
| B 顧 <i>kag</i> ³⁼² | B 有 <i>gwjəg</i> ² | B 聞 <i>mjən</i> ¹ |

Ode 113

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. A 鼠 <i>sthjag</i> ² | 2. A 鼠 <i>sthjag</i> ² | 3. A 鼠 <i>sthjag</i> ² |
| A 黍 <i>sthjag</i> ² | B 麥 <i>mrək</i> ⁴ | B 苗 <i>mjagw</i> ¹ |
| A 女 <i>njag</i> ² | A 女 <i>njag</i> ² | A 女 <i>njag</i> ² |
| A 顧 <i>kag</i> ³⁼² | B 德 <i>tək</i> ⁴ | B 勞 <i>lagw</i> ¹ |
| A 女 <i>njag</i> ² | A 女 <i>njag</i> ² | A 女 <i>njag</i> ² |
| A 土 <i>thag</i> ² | B 國 <i>kwək</i> ⁴ | B 郊 <i>kragw</i> ¹ |
| A 土 <i>thag</i> ² | B 國 <i>kwək</i> ⁴ | B 郊 <i>kragw</i> ¹ |
| A 所 <i>srjag</i> ² | B 直 <i>drjək</i> ⁴ | B 號 <i>gagw</i> ¹ |

15) 畏 *wjəd*³⁼¹

Ode 76

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O | 3. O |
| A 里 <i>ljəg</i> ² | A 艦 <i>dzjang</i> ¹ | A 園 <i>gwjan</i> ¹ |
| A 杞 <i>khjəg</i> ² | A 桑 <i>sang</i> ¹ | A 檀 <i>dan</i> ¹ |
| O | O | O |
| A 母 <i>məg</i> ² | A 兄 <i>hwjiang</i> ¹ | A 言 <i>ngjan</i> ¹ |
| B 懷 <i>gwrəd</i> ¹ | B 懷 <i>gwrəd</i> ¹ | B 懷 <i>gwrəd</i> ¹ |
| O | O | O |
| B 畏 <i>wjəd</i> ³⁼¹ | B 畏 <i>wjəd</i> ³⁼¹ | B 畏 <i>wjəd</i> ³⁼¹ |

Also 156.2: 畏 *wjəd*³⁼¹ 懷 *gwrəd*¹16) 茂 *məgw*³⁼²

Ode 97

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. A 還 <i>sgwjan</i> ¹ | 2. A 茂 <i>məgw</i> ³⁼² | 3. A 昌 <i>thjang</i> ¹ |
| A 閒 <i>krian</i> ¹ | A 道 <i>dəgw</i> ² | A 陽 <i>rang</i> ¹ |
| A 肩 <i>kian</i> ¹ | A 牡 <i>məgw</i> ² | A 狼 <i>lang</i> ¹ |
| A 儻 <i>hwjian</i> ¹ | A 好 <i>həgw</i> ² | A 臧 <i>tsang</i> ¹ |

17) 弔 tiagw³⁼¹

Ode 149

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. A 發 pjat ⁴ | 2. A 飄 pjiagw ¹ | 3. O |
| A 鳩 khjiat ⁴ | A 漂 phjiagw ¹ | A 鸞 rjəm ¹ |
| O | O | O |
| A 怛 tat ⁴ | A 弔 tiagw ³⁼¹ | A 音 'jəm ¹ |

18) 素 sag³⁼¹

Ode 98

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A 著 drjag ¹ | 2. A 庭 ding ¹ | 3. A 堂 dang ¹ |
| A 素 sag ³⁼¹ | A 青 tshing ¹ | A 黃 gwang ¹ |
| A 華 gwrag ¹ | A 瑩 gwjing ¹ | A 英 'jiang ¹ |

19) 望 mjang³⁼¹

Ode 61

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. O | 2. O |
| A 杭 gang ¹ | A 刀 tagw ¹ |
| O | O |
| A 望 mjang ³⁼¹ | A 朝 trjagw ¹ |

Despite whatever the *Ch'ieh-yün* may say about the tones of the syllables above, the internal evidence indicates that the situation was somewhat different eleven or so centuries earlier. Some would appear to have had tones in addition to those already registered in the *Ch'ieh-yün*, while others appear to have had different tones altogether. Thus in many instances what was "negative" for Karlgren was in all probability "positive" for those who composed these songs. This is not to suggest, of course, that tonally incongruent rhymes do not exist in the *Kuo Feng* odes or that all of the words responsible for tonally anomalous rhymes in this section should be emended. Even Chiang did not go as far as that. It is doubtful, for example, that Tone 2 *z*u 子 ever had a Tone 1 reading, even though in four instances in the *Shih Ching* it occurs in rhyme with Tone 1 syllables. There are scores of examples where it does not. Similarly, we cannot always be sure that end-rhyme dominated in every situation. In dealing strictly with end-rhymes other alternative relationships may be obscured. In Ode 65, for example, the rhyming of Tone 1 *li* 離 and Tone 2 *mi* 靡 may not have been so crucial as was the special effect gained from the reduplication of each in their respective lines:

彼黍離離	pjiar ³	sthjag ²	ljjar ¹	ljjar ¹
彼稷之苗	pjiar ³	tsjək ⁴	tjøg ¹	mjagw ¹
行邁靡靡	gang ¹	mrad ³	mjiar ²	mjiar ²
中心搖搖	trjəngw ¹	sjəm ¹	ragw ¹	ragw ¹

On the other hand, a "pure one-tone set of rhymes" may not always have been the desired end of the composer. In Ode 53, for example, it would appear that

stanzaic parallelism was maintained by a shift in tones rather than a shift in rhymes:

Rhyme Scheme	Tone Scheme
1. A ¹ A ¹ B ³ B ³ O B ³	1. A A B B O B
2. A ¹ A ¹ A ² A ² O A ²	2. A A B B O B
3. A ¹ A ¹ B ⁴ B ⁴ O B ⁴	3. A A B B O B

Thus in some instances a breakdown in tonal congruency could be taken as a signal that some other metrical device was being used.

The significance of a breakdown in tonal congruency would, of course, largely depend on the phonological nature of the toneme as it existed at the time these odes were composed. Whether or not tonally anomalous rhymes actually fell on Archaic ears as sheer cacophony is a moot point. Yet my guess is that a breakdown was of considerable significance, since we find so few cases in which these writers ignored the differences in tone. In some respects this fact would lend support to the theory of the phonemic origin of tones as advanced by E. G. Pulleyblank and others, for it is easily imagined how a poet might want to avoid rhyming a Tone 3 *lagws with a Tone 2 *dagw'. Whatever their exact phonetic shapes were, we can be fairly certain that the tonemes of Archaic Chinese were sufficiently dissimilar to warrant their being kept apart in rhyme.

* *
* * *

The table which follows contains an outline summary of those odes which I found to be tonally congruent throughout (TC); those which contain parallel stanzas (PS); and those which contain a commixture of parallel and non-parallel stanzas (PNP). "X's" appearing to the right of each ode number denote which of the above apply. "E's" appearing in the first column (i. e., TC) refer to those odes which were discussed in this paper and subsequently emended.

SUMMARY

	TC	PS	PNP		TC	PS	PNP		TC	PS	PNP		TC	PS	PNP
1			X	41	X	X		81	E	X		121	X	X	
2	X			42				82	X			122	X	X	
3	X		X	43	X		X	83	X			123	X	X	
4	X	X		44	X	X		84	X	X		124	E	X	
5	X	X		45	X	X		85	X	X		125	E	X	
6	X	X		46	X	X		86	X	X		126	X		X
7	X	X		47				87	X	X		127			
8	X		X	48	X	X		88	E		X	128			
9	X	X		49	X			89	X	X		129	X	X	
10	X		X	50				90	E	X		130	X		
11	X	X		51				91	E	X		131	X	X	
12	E	X		52	X	X		92	E	X		132	X	X	
13	E		X	53	X		X	93	X	X		133	X	X	
14	X		X	54				94		X		134	E	X	
15	X		X	55	X		X	95	X	X		135	X		
16	X	X		56	X	X		96			X	136	E	X	
17	X			57				97	E	X		137	X		
18	X	X		58				98	E	X		138	X	X	
19	X	X		59	X		X	99	X	X		139	X	X	
20		X		60	X	X		100	X	X		140	X		
21	E	X		61	E	X		101	X		X	141	E	X	
22	X	X		62	X		X	102	X		X	142	X	X	
23				63	X	X		103	X	X		143	X	X?	
24	X	X		64	X	X		104	X	X		144	X		
25	X			65		X		105	X	X		145	X		X
26				66	X	X		106	X		X	146	X	X	
27	X		X	67	X	X		107				147	X	X	
28	X		X	68	X	X		108	X	X		148	X	X	
29	E	X		69		X		109	X	X		149	E		X
30	X			70		X		110	E	X		150		X	
31	E		X	71	E	X		111	X	X		151	X		X
32	X		X	72	X	X		112	X	X		152	X	X	
33	X	X		73	X	X		113	E		X	153	X		X
34	X		X	74	X	X		114	E	X		154			
35				75	X	X		115	X	X		155			
36	X	X		76	E	X		116			X	156			
37	X		X	77	E	X		117	X	X		157	X	X	
38	X			78	X		X	118	X	X		158	X	X	
39			X	79		X		119	X	X		159	X		X
40	X		X	80	X	X		120	E	X		160	X		

NOTES

- (1) The Archaic readings appearing in this paper are based on the reconstruction system proposed by Prof. Li Fang-kuei. I am truly indebted to Prof. Li for having permitted me to use his system prior to its publication. Yet since he does plan to publish it in the near future, the details of his system need not be discussed here. I should also like to express my appreciation to Mr. Ting Pang-hsin of Academia Sinica for his valuable comments and suggestions.

The reconstructed forms appearing here have not, as a rule, been prefixed with distinguishing symbols, except when appearing alongside a modern reading, in which case the Archaic form has been marked with an asterisk.

As a working text I have used B. Karlgren's *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950). In assigning a word to one or another of the Archaic rhyme classes, however, I have consulted Tung T'ung-ho's "Shang-ku yin-yün piao-kao" 上古音韻表稿 (*BIHP* 18 (1948), pp. 1-249; reissued by Academia Sinica, Taipei, June 1967), which at times yielded rhyme schemes differing slightly from those given in the former work. While in the majority of cases my findings concurred with the rhyme schemes appearing in Karlgren's *The Book of Odes*, on occasion I found those given in Lu Chih-wei's "Shih-yün p'u" 詩韻譜 (*Yenching Hsüeh-pao Monograph* 21; reprinted by T'ai P'ing Book Co. (Hong Kong), 1966) preferable to Karlgren's, especially in the case of Odes 19 and 118. As for Ode 1, I believe Arthur Waley's (*The Book of Songs*, pp. 81-82) five stanza division, in contrast to the traditional three, is basically sound. Thus I believe its rhyme scheme to be as follows: 1. AAOA; 2. OAOA; 3. AAOA; 4. OAOA; 5. OAOA (see note 5 below).

In all but a few cases I found Karlgren's emended readings of the rhyme words in the *Kuo Feng* section to be in harmony with the tonal environments in which they occur, which, in my opinion, gives added weight to his arguments. However, when Karlgren was unable to decide between two possible readings, I selected the one which is in tonal agreement with its "rhymemates." In Ode 56.1 I read Tone 1 *kan* 干 for Tone 3 *chien* 澗 (see Karlgren's Gloss 160), and in Ode 95.1 I read Tone 1 *huan* 洹 for Tone 3 *huan* 渙 (see Gloss 243). In the case of Tone 1 *ch'ou* 醜 in Ode 81.2, I think Cheng Hsüan's interpretation of it as a loan for Tone 2 *ch'ou* 醜 is correct (see Gloss 227). Prof. Li Fang-kuei pointed out to me that Tone 1 *p'u* 蒲 in Ode 68.3 should probably be read as Tone 2 *fu* 莆. Since both mean "reed" (see Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa*, entry 102), he is undoubtedly correct. It is not improbable that not a few of the *Shih Ching's* tonally anomalous rhymes are attributable to problems such as these. Further research along these lines may reveal the existence of more such cases.

- (2) Whether those features of the Archaic syllable which gave rise to the four tones of Ancient Chinese were phonemic or tonemic is a riddle which has yet to be solved (for two opposing views on the subject see B. Karlgren, "Tones in Archaic Chinese," *BMFEA* 32 (1960), pp. 133-138, and E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese," Part II, *Asia Major* IX (1962), pp. 209-239). Hence it is with some trepidation that the word "tone," for all that it implies, has been used in this paper. Nevertheless its use seemed preferable to more cumbersome phraseology. Similarly, as a point of departure, the rhyme words from the *Shih Ching* discussed here have been classified according to the tone classes to which they were assigned in the *Ch'ieh-yün*. To indicate tone classes I have used the labels Tone 1, Tone 2, Tone 3, and Tone 4 (or simply 1, 2, 3, 4, when affixed to a reconstructed form) to represent the Chinese terms *p'ing*-, *shang*-, *ch'ü*-, and *ju-sheng*, respectively. It should be understood that in a phrase such as "Tone 3 *ming* 命," the tone referred to is the syllable's Ancient tone and not its modern tone. While it is true that the Ancient *ju-sheng* class included only those syllables which ended in -p, -t, -k, I have nevertheless labeled it Tone 4. Since in Archaic Chinese we are dealing with relatively unknown features to begin with, labeling it as such, for the time being at least, makes little difference, especially since there is a possibility that Ancient Tones 2 and 3 may have evolved from final consonants as well.
- (3) "Tone in Archaic Chinese," *Wennti*, No. 1 (May 1952), pp. 1-16. Also found in Tien-yi Li ed., *Selected Writings of George A. Kennedy*, New Haven: Far Eastern Publications Yale University, 1964, pp. 135-150.
- (4) Included in the latter figure are five odes that contain sets of rhyme words which are not "one-tone sets" but "two-tone sets;" that is, within the set, syllables belonging to one tone class were offset by those belonging to another:
- Ode 9. 1, 2, 3: 廣_去 kwang² 泳_上 gwjiang³ 永_去 gwjiang² 方_上=舫_上 pjang³.
Tone scheme: ABAB
- 53.2: 旗_上 rag¹ 都_上 tag¹ 組_之 tsag² 五_之 ngag² 予_之 rag²
Tone scheme: AABBB.
- 106.3: 變_上 bljuan² 婉_上 'wjan² 選_上 sjuan² 貫_上 kwan³ 反_上 pjan² (or 變_上 pljian³; see Karlgren, Gloss 268: "Undecidable which version best repr. the orig. Shī.") 亂_上 luan³. Tone scheme: AAABA(B?)B.
- 130.1: 有_上 gwjög² 梅_上 mæg¹ 止_上 tjög² 裘_上 gwjög¹ 哉_上 tsög¹.
Tone scheme: ABABB.
- 143.3: 照_上 tjiagw³ 燎_上 ljiagw³ 紹_上 djiagw² 慘(燥)_上 tshagw².
Tone scheme: AABB.
- (5) The uppercase letters appearing to the left of each character indicate its place in the rhyme scheme within the stanza. The same letters have been

used in succeeding stanzas to reveal the extent to which rhyme schemes were repeated and do not symbolize the repetition of the same rhymes from one stanza to the next.

- (6) Karlgren, "Tones in Archaic Chinese," p. 115.
- (7) *Tien* 甸 occurs twice as a rhyme word in the *Shih Ching*. Interestingly enough in Ode 210.1 it is found in rhyme with Tone 1 *t'ien* 田.
- (8) In his "Tone in Archaic Chinese" (see Note 3 above), Kennedy has dealt somewhat unfairly with Chiang, berating his efforts at tonal emendation. But Kennedy should be excused, since he based his remarks solely on what he observed in Chiang's *Shih Ching Yün Tu*. Apparently Kennedy, at the time he wrote his *Wennti* paper, had not yet seen Chiang's *T'ang Yün Szu Sheng Cheng*, for in a note he mistranslated its title as "Corrections of rhymes in *T'ang-yün*"! For an interesting restatement of Chiang's thesis see Chou Tsu-mo 周祖謨, "*Ku-yin yu-wu shang-ch'ü erh-sheng pien*" 古音有無上去二聲辨 ("On whether or not there existed a *shangsheng-ch'üsheng* distinction in Archaic Chinese") in *Wen Hsüeh Chi* 問學集, Peking: Chung Hua Book Co., 1966, vol. 1, pp. 33-80. Since Chou's purpose was to determine whether or not there actually existed a distinction between tone classes 2 and 3 in Archaic Chinese, he assembled here the "negative" as well as the "positive" evidence, indicating which words must have had different or additional tones. Also of interest is "*Han-tai szu-sheng-te lei-pieh*" 漢代四聲的類別 ("On the classification of the four tones in Han times") Chapter 5 in Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培 and Chou Tsu-mo, *Han Wei Chin Nan Pei Ch'ao Yün-pu Yen-pien Yen-chiu*. 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究, *K'o-hsüeh ch'u-p'an she*, Peking 1958.
- (9) Chiang Yu-kaio, *T'ang-yün Szu-sheng Cheng*, vol. 7 in *Chiang Shih Yin-hsüeh Shih-shu* 江氏音學十書, *Yin-yün-hsüeh Ts'ung-shu* ed. 音韻學叢書, Taipei: Kuang Wen Book Co., n. d., pp. 49b-51a.
- (10) *Ibid.*, pp. 60b-61b.
- (11) Out of the *Kuo Feng*'s 367 stanzas, there are five whose rhyme schemes appear to be tonally incongruent throughout. Since I was unable to isolate the words responsible in these cases, these words have not been included in the tables above. I shall list them here instead.
- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 69.2 | 脩 sjəgw ¹ | 獻 siəgw ³ | 獻 siəgw ³ | 淑 djəkw ⁴ |
| 70.2 | 孳 bjəgw ¹ | 造 dzəgw ³ | 憂 'jəgw ¹ | 覺 krəgw ³ |
| 79.3 | 軸 drjəkw ⁴ | 陶 dəgw ³ | 抽 thrjəgw ¹ | 好 həgw ³ |
| 94.1 | 溥 duan ¹ | 婉 'wjan ² | 願 ngwjan ³ | |
| 116.2 | 皓 gəgw ² | 繡 sjəgw ³ | 鵠 gək ⁴ | 憂 'jəgw ¹ |
- (12) Chiang, *op. cit.*, pp. 4b-6a.
- (13) *Ibid.*, p. 22b.
- (14) Cheung Yat-shing 張日昇, "Shih-lun shang-ku szu-sheng". 試論上古四聲 ("A study of the tones in Archaic Chinese"), *Chung-wen Ta-hsüeh Chung-kuo*

- Wen-hua Yen-chiu-so Hsüeh-pao* 中文大學中國文化研究所學報, vol. I (1968), p. 158.
- (15) *Ibid.*, p. 159. Following Karlgren, Cheung also has *ming* and *ch'un* 純 *djen¹ rhyming with Tone 2 *hsien* 顯 *hian in Ode 267.1. In view of the near absence of rhyme compounded by a tonal conflict, I prefer to follow Lu Chih-wei in excluding *hsien* from the rhyme scheme here (Lu, *op. cit.*, p. 131). Following Karlgren again, Cheung has *ming* in rhyme with *k'ang* 康 *khang¹ in Ode 271, which would be the only instance in the *Shih Ching* wherein *ming* is found in rhyme with a syllable having a final *-ng*. Outside the *Shih Ching* there are, to be sure, cases in which we do find *ming* rhyming with syllables having *-ng* finals (see Chu Chün-sheng 朱駿聲, *Shuo-wen T'ung-hsün Ting-sheng* 說文通訓定聲, XVI, p. 35-36). But its contacts with syllables of this type were restricted to rhyme class *keng* 耕 (*-ing). On the other hand, it could be argued that since the *Sung* odes are much older than, say, the *Kuo Feng* odes (see W. A. C. H. Dobson, "Linguistic evidence and the dating of the *Book of Songs*," *T'oung Pao*, vol. LI (1964) pp. 322-334), the rhymes in the *Sung* section may represent an earlier stage of the language, i.e. Early Archaic Chinese, in which case *ming* and *k'ang* may have rhymed perfectly. If this argument were carried to its logical conclusion, one might be able to account for the numerous "poor" rhymes which are found in this section. That "free rimes," as Karlgren terms them, do exist in the *Sung* section is probably more a result of our inadequate knowledge of 11th and 10th Century Chinese than of the rhymes themselves. In any event, it may be a bit premature to rule out the possibility of rhyme here.
- (16) Tien-yi Li, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- (17) *Ibid.*
- (18) Cf. Ode 11 above wherein *hsing* 姓 is found in rhyme with Tone 3 *ting* 定. Yet in Odes 191.6, 244.7, 256.10, 262.2, and 264.1 *ting* appears in rhyme with Tone 1 syllables. Only in Ode 167.2 is *ting* found in rhyme with another Tone 3 word, namely, *ping* 聘, which occurs only once in the *Shih Ching*. Thus *ting*, too, must also have had a Tone 1 reading.

國風中聲調不協的韻脚

馬 幾 道

從詩經國風諸詩中，我們可以看出當時詩人對於協韻的看法不僅注意韻脚各字的元音及韻尾，並且也注意其聲調。在國風一百六十篇詩中，有一百零六篇的韻脚都是聲調和協的；在其他的五十四篇詩中，共有七十一處聲調不協的押韻，涉及八十五個韻脚。這個數目在整個國風二千零二十五個韻脚中僅佔百分之四。對於這些例外，如高本漢氏就以為是當時詩人忽略了那些韻脚的聲調，但是現在從詩經本身我們可以證明那些例外中的若干韻脚根本在上古時就有另外不同聲調的一讀，與切韻的記載相異。

在例外的聲調不協的七十一處之中，有六十六處只牽涉四十七個有問題的字。這些字可以分為三類：第一類字在詩經中根本完全跟另一聲調的字押韻；第二類字在詩經中用為韻脚的僅一見；第三類字有時與同一聲調的字押韻，有時與另一聲調的字押韻。關於第一類的字我們可以根據統計，肯定它們有與切韻記載不同的另一聲調。在一百多年以前，江有誥就在他的唐韻四聲正中提出這一說法。他甚至認為詩經中所有聲調不協的韻脚都是不合規則的，因此，有許多屬於我們第二、第三兩類的字他也認為有不同的或一個以上的讀法。

如果我們把每一篇詩作為一個整體來觀察，有許多情形可以證明江氏確有見地。我們發現國風諸詩不僅章與章之間長度相稱，如金守拙所說；同時其用韻格式也是相稱的。國風之中，各章之間用韻情形完全平行的就有九十五篇。換句話說，一篇詩中，第一章的用韻情形就是其次各章的藍本。既然如此，詩人們在保持與第一章韻例相同的條件下，就可以自由地在第二章以後換用其他韻部或其他聲調的字。例如，在第一章中，其韻例為ABAB，那麼以後各章就要跟着這個格式走。然而國風中仍然有三十五篇詩其中各章韻脚的情形並不一致。

有了如上的了解，等於給國風中那些聲調不協的韻脚一種新的解釋。現在我們可以看出，如果詩中某一章的韻脚忽然打破了其聲調的協調性，那麼必然在同詩的其他各章中也有平行的現象。原來聲調和協的韻脚佔96%，現在把原本聲調不協的4%用這個方法再解釋掉一大部分，不再視為例外。所以我們可以說，絕大多數的詩篇在寫成時都是聲調和協的，現在我們看到的不協的情形完全是因為韻脚聲調轉變的原故。