

The Impact of Buddhism on the Development of Chinese Vocabulary (I)

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Introduction

This paper focuses on the influence of Buddhism on the historical development of the Chinese vocabulary. It is well known that Buddhism was officially introduced into China from India and Central Asia in medieval period starting around the beginning of the Christian era. It is argued that, since the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 — 220 CE), Buddhism and its culture have had a tremendous impact not only on Chinese culture but also on Chinese. Language is the basic and the most important means for cultural dissemination. However, when they began to have contact with Buddhism, Chinese people learned Buddhism not through the original Indian language, but primarily from the translation of Buddhist sutras introduced by foreign monks who were probably the only interpreters at the time. Thus, the translation of Buddhist sutras was the sole vehicle for dissemination of Indian Buddhism in China. It is without doubt that, for the Chinese people, the translated sutras were

**論佛教對古代漢語詞彙
發展演變的影響(上)**

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序言

本文討論佛教對於漢語詞彙歷史發展的影響。眾所周知，佛教從印度及中亞正式傳入中國是在中古時期，約當公元開始的時候。從東漢(25-220)開始，佛教及其文化不僅對中土文化產生了巨大的影響，也對漢語影響。語言是文化傳播文化最基本也是最重要的工具。但中國人接觸佛教，並不是通過學習原典來了解佛法，而是主要透過外來僧人翻譯成漢語的經典，這些外來僧人可能就是當時僅有的中介。因此，佛典翻譯是印度佛教弘傳到中土的最基本的途徑。毫無疑問，對於中國人而言，翻譯經典是學習印度佛教的唯一資源，也

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the only source available to learn about Indian Buddhism, and the only medium to spread Buddhist culture. It is further argued that the translation of Indian Buddhist sutras resulted in what is called 'Buddhist Hybrid Chinese (BHC)' — a new written, or book language of Chinese which is based on old written language but mixed with elements from different languages, such as the original Buddhist textual languages, the mother tongues of foreign translators, and spoken Chinese from different dialects and vernacular. When BHC Buddhism and its culture expressed by such a language spread into every corner of China, the native Chinese could not escape from its impact. Of course, Buddhist Hybrid Chinese is not a pure language and is definitely not native Chinese. However, because of the great influence Buddhist preaching had, Chinese people quickly became familiar with this strange language and used it in their daily lives. In other words, although the linguistic elements used in this special language may be unnatural, artificial, or even strange, BHC was finally accepted by Chinese people. Further, and then, lots of the "strange features" mixed, piece by piece, with native Chinese.

For a long time, no one could deny the existence of the Buddhist influence on Chinese. Unfortunately, however, the influ-

是佛教文化傳播的唯一媒介。印度佛典的翻譯形成了「佛教混合漢語」，這是一種以原有的書面語為基礎，同時混合了原典語言、譯者的母語及中國各地的方言口語等不同的語言成分，所構成的新的書面語。當以這種語言作為載體的佛教及其文化傳播到中國各地，原本的漢語必然會受到影響。「佛教混合漢語」不是一種單純的語言，也顯然不是道地的漢語，但由於佛教的弘傳發揮了鉅大的影響力，所以中國人很快就熟悉了這種奇怪的語言，而且將其運用在日常生活中。也就是說，雖然在這一特殊的語言裡有各種語言的成分，它們或許是非自然，人造的，甚至很彥扭，中國人最終還是接納了「佛教混合漢語」，許許多多的「奇怪成分」也逐漸融入漢語。

長久以來，沒有人會否認佛教對於漢語的影響。但遺憾的

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ence has commonly been understood as consisting of nothing but “many” loan words, such as *Fó* 佛 from *Buddha* or *Bud*, *Púsà* 菩薩 from *Bodhisattava* ‘candidate of Buddha’, etc. Some scholars even questioned why there were so few foreign elements in ancient Chinese! Obviously, a substantial and serious study is lacking in this area. What I would like to argue in this paper is the following: The introduction of Buddhism and the translation of Indian Buddhist sutras into Chinese marked the first and the largest scale of language contact and exchange between Indo-European and Chinese languages in history of ancient China. This is the first Europeanization of Chinese that can be placed on a par with the one that occurred from around the May 4th Movement until now. Thus, the result of the Buddhist influence is not just the introduction of a few Buddhist terms and proper nouns into Chinese lexicon; it involves language changes almost in all aspects, including word-formation, syntax, etc.

1. A brief review of previous studies

1.1. The view that Buddhism had a great impact on Chinese, especially on Chinese vocabulary, is well known. But it seems that many linguists just stopped at the point that many new words came into Chinese by means of Buddhism and made no further

是，一般人對於這種影響力的認識還停留在漢語擁有「許多」借詞上面，例如，「佛」字源於「佛陀」(*Buddha*)，「菩薩」源於「菩提薩陁」(*Bodhisattava*)等等。有些學者甚至質疑為什麼古漢語裡面只有這麼少的「外來詞彙」！顯然這個領域缺乏踏實深入的研究。在這篇論文裡，我想要探討的是：佛教的傳入中土以及印度的漢譯是古代中國史上印歐語系和漢語系之間首次大規模的接觸和交流。這是漢語的首次歐化，可與「五四運動」前後發生的另一次大規模的歐化相媲美。因此，佛教為漢語帶來的影響並不僅僅是增加了一些佛學名相與專有名詞而已，實則涵蓋了語言的各個層面，包括構詞法與句法等等。

1. 對於過去研究的簡單回顧

1.1. 佛教對於漢語的影響至鉅，尤其在漢語詞彙方面的影響可說是家喻戶曉。但許多漢語史學家的認識似乎還停留在只有許多新詞透過佛教傳入中土這一點

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efforts to do research on this issue. After having scrutinized four recent and influential works on the history of Chinese vocabulary, we find that these distinguished scholars did not make further investigations on this question either. The four works are Wáng Lì's *History of Chinese Vocabulary* (1993)^①, Pān Yǔzhōng's *Essentials of the History of Chinese Vocabulary* (1989)^②, Shǐ Cúnzhí's *The Outline of the History of Chinese Vocabulary* (1989) and Xiàng Xī's *Brief History of Chinese* (1993).

1.2. Comparing with many comparatively unscholarly works, these books offer no newer or more professional insights concerning the Buddhist influence. Although these authors emphasized the impact of Buddhism on the development of Chinese vocabulary, if viewed from the perspective of contemporary lexicology, their arguments do not hold much weight. Readers are given little more than a list of 116 loan words and loan translations^③, all of which was discovered by Buddhist researchers and was previously well known. In fact, we can find thousands of such words in dictionaries of Buddhism. This kind of study actually simplifies the important question of the impact of Buddhism on the development of Chinese vocabulary, which is crucial to understand not only the special nature of Buddhist Hybrid Chinese, but also that of medieval, and

上，而沒有再花費心力對這個課題作更深入的研究。當我們細讀四本晚近重要的漢語詞彙史著作之後，將不難發現這些傑出的學者也沒有在這個問題上多作考察。這四本著作是：王力的《漢語詞彙史》(1993)^①、潘允中的《漢語詞彙史概要》(1989)^②、史存直的《漢語詞彙史綱要》(1989)和向熹的《簡明漢語史》(1993)。

1.2. 與許多相對非學術性的論述比較起來，上述著作並沒有為佛教對漢語的影響提供更新更專業的洞見。雖然這些學者一再強調佛教對於漢語詞彙發展確有影響，但就現代語言學的觀點而言，他們的貢獻似乎太少了些。讀者在他們的書中看到的116個借詞與仿譯詞^③，都是由佛教學者所發現，而且都是大家過去所熟知的。事實上，我們在佛教詞典裡就可以看到數千個類似的詞語。因此，這樣的研究實則會使我們對於佛教影響漢語詞彙發展這樣一個重要問題的看法過於簡

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after, Chinese and Chinese culture. The previous studies gave people the wrong impression as if there is nothing worth mentioning except the great number of these words.

1.3. Frankly speaking, such works mentioned above have only a superficial understanding of the question concerning the impact of Buddhism on Chinese, and they basically represent the understanding level of Chinese historical linguists before the 1990's. The reason for this situation is that, not only the above-mentioned scholars, but also the whole circle of the Chinese historical linguistics made no thorough investigation on the related topics; meanwhile, research findings in other related disciplines were not borrowed into the study of the history of Chinese language(s). (Zhū, 1992a)

1.4. Buddhism, as everyone knows, from India and Central Asia, exerted an important influence on Chinese, including Chinese vocabulary during its long course of dissemination. But the influence is not confined to that limited understanding in the past. Since 1990, things have been changing little by little. On the basis of Buddhist

單化，而這個問題對於瞭解「佛教混合漢語」及中古時期乃至以後的漢語及中國文化的特質都是十分重要的。以往的研究容易予人一種錯誤的印象，以為除了大量的詞語之外，再也沒有什麼值得一提的。

1.3.坦率地說，上述著作對於佛教對漢語的影響的認識是膚淺的，卻也基本上代表了1990年代之前漢語史學家的認識水平。之所以如此，是因為不僅上述學者，而且整個漢語學界都沒有在相關的議題上作過深入的研究，同時，也沒有將其他相關學科的研究發現援用於漢語史的研究中。(朱慶之，1992a)

1.4.眾所周知，自印度及中亞傳來的佛教在漫長的流佈過程中，對漢語，包括辭彙有著十分重要的影響，但這種影響決非僅僅囿於往昔那種有限的認識。自1990年代之後，不盡人意的情形

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Chinese (the language of ancient Chinese Buddhist works) studies which flourished in the 1980's, the publication of three works revealed a breakthrough in that area in our understanding. One is *Study of the Relationship between Buddhist Scriptures and the Vocabulary of Medieval Chinese* (1992) ④ of Zhū Qìngzhī, the others are *Construction of Buddhist Terms and the Development of Chinese Vocabulary* (1994) ⑤ of Liáng Xiǎohóng and *Elucidation of the Language of Buddhist Scripture: a Study of the Vocabulary of Medieval Buddhist Sutras* (1997) ⑥ of Yán Qiàmào. This paper, based on these works, discusses the main points of the impact of Buddhism on ancient Chinese vocabulary.

2. Ways in which Buddhism influenced Chinese vocabulary

2.1. Translation of Buddhist scriptures

Buddhism formally came into *Zhōng-yuán* 'the Central Plains of China' at the beginning of the Christian era. Chinese people came to know Buddhism not through learning the original language of India or through *xītiān qǔjīng* 'acquiring scriptures in the Western Heaven', but through the Chinese version of the scriptures that had been translated by missionaries. Therefore, there is no doubt that Chinese version of Buddhist scriptures was the only important way to disseminate the Buddhism of India.

開始有了轉機，以 80 年代勃興的佛教漢語（古代佛教文獻所使用的語言）研究成果為基礎而出版的三本書，標誌著在這個領域上有了突破。這三本書是朱慶之的《佛典與中古漢語詞彙研究》（1992）④、梁曉虹的《佛教詞語的構造與漢語詞彙的發展》（1994）⑤與顏洽茂的《佛教語言闡釋——中古佛經詞彙研究》（1997）⑥。本文就是在上述研究成果的基礎上對探討佛教影響古代漢語詞彙的一些主要方向進行進一步的探討。

2. 佛教影響漢語詞彙的途徑

2.1. 佛典翻譯

佛教於紀元初年正式傳入中原。中國人開始認識佛教，並非經由學習古印度語言，或者經由西天取經，而是通過由外國來華的高僧大德翻譯成漢語的佛經。因此，漢譯佛典無疑是印度佛教在中國漢地傳播的唯一重要途徑。從東漢到北宋（25-1127）年所翻譯出來的佛典共計二千四百

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From the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Northern Song Dynasty (25 CE-1127 CE), in all there were 2,411 translated Buddhist texts in 7,620 fascicles. If counted as 8,000 characters per fascicle, the number of total characters will come to 61 million. Such a great number of Buddhist texts are surprising, even when compared with the amount of all kinds of native writings at the same time. Even more important from the point of view of linguistic study, these scriptures helped shape a specific and major variety of the language of Chinese historical literature—Buddhist Hybrid Chinese (BHC).

2.2. Buddhist Hybrid Chinese

BHC refers to the language of Chinese Buddhist works of which the language of translated Buddhist scriptures is representative. It is a special, unnatural variant of the language of Chinese historical works, a product of the impact of Buddhism on ancient Chinese. Here, I want to discuss its vernacular nature. Scholars think of the language of translated Buddhist scriptures as a spoken language. It is generally right and important for us to understand the beginning of the colloquial written language of ancient Chinese—writings in the vernacular. Jerry Norman (1988 : 111) says :

一十一部，七千六百二十卷。如果以每卷八千字來計算，全部加起來，總字數有六千一百萬之多。即使與當時各類中土文獻的總數來比較，佛典如此浩瀚的卷帙也夠驚人的了。更重要的是，從語言學的角度來看，這些佛典對漢語歷史文獻語言中一種特殊而又重要的變體——「佛教混合漢語」的形成起到了重要的作用。

2.2. 佛教混合漢語

「佛教混合漢語」指漢語佛文獻中所使用的語言，其中以翻譯佛典的語言為代表。這是漢語歷史文獻中一種非自然形成的特殊語言變體，是古漢語在佛教影響下的產物。在此我只想探討一下它的口語性質。學者們認為翻譯佛經的語言是一種口語化的語言，這大體上是正確的，對於我們瞭解古漢語的口語化書面語——白話文的起源十分重要。Jerry Norman (1988:111)曾說：

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It is no accident that religious writings play such a prominent role in the study of vernacular language. Missionaries, by the very nature of their work, try to present their teachings in simple and easily accessible language. Thus, already in the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-200 AD) Buddhist works (consisting almost entirely of translations and paraphrases of Indian originals) have a strong vernacular flavor and this continues to be the case through succeeding centuries down to the Song Dynasty.

If one who knows Classical Chinese reads Buddhist scriptures, the difference between them can be most clearly felt. What Norman called “vernacular flavor,” in my opinion, more or less comes from our intuition about contemporary Chinese. A question arises here: this intuition is unreliable, because contemporary Chinese, spoken or written, has an easily felt flavor of being westernized. Therefore we guess that the language of the Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures is a combination of both written and spoken languages and thus is somewhat apart from both of them. It is also the immediate product of the first systematic westernization of Chinese, that is, the

宗教文獻在研究方言俗語上扮演了突出的角色，這種現象一點也不偶然。傳教的僧侶由於他們的工作性質使然，嘗試以簡單易懂的語言來宣說教義，因此在東漢時期（西元25-200年間）的佛教文獻（幾乎包括了所有的對印度原典的全譯或節譯）就有很強烈的白話味道，而且一直沿用至數世紀以降的宋代。

懂得文言的人在閱讀佛經時，可以很清楚地感受到其間的差異。Norman 所說的「白話味道」，在我看來，多少是基於我們對於現代漢語的直覺。這裡產生了一個問題，就是這種直覺並不可靠。因為於現代漢語，無論在口語或書面語方面，都可以很明顯地感受到歐化的味道。我們認為漢譯佛典的語言是口語和書面語的混合物，故有別於口語和書面語二者。它是漢語首次系統歐

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product of the profound impact of ancient Indian language and culture on Chinese language and culture. The vernacular flavor that is characteristic of contemporary Chinese may be a reflection of westernization. The works of the past somewhat overstated the degree of oralization of Buddhist Chinese and meanwhile made no thorough investigation of its characteristics from the different culture(Zhū, 2001).

BHC is a special written language that contains many different elements. On the one hand, it was by means of BHC that Buddhism disseminated its religious philosophy and culture all over China, and finally spiritually “conquered” China. On the other hand, with the wide spread of Buddhist teaching and the ever widening influence of Buddhism, the different elements would spread step by step and be learned consciously or unconsciously by Chinese people, and some of them “dissolved into the blood of Chinese,” (Wáng Lì, 1993) and were truly accepted by Chinese. Therefore, our studies of the impact of Buddhism on Chinese should be based on a study of the special nature of BHC.

2.3. Loan translation(calque)

The history of Buddhist sutra translations

化的直接產物，即古代印度語言和文化對漢語和漢文化深刻影響的直接產物。那些與現代漢語相似的白話味道，或許正是歐化的反映。過去的研究不僅高估了佛典漢語口語化的程度，同時也沒有對異文化的色彩給予必要的揭示。(朱慶之，2001)

「佛典混合漢語」是一種特殊的書面語，包含了許多異質成分。一方面，佛教透過「佛典混合漢語」將佛教哲理與佛教文化傳播到中國各地，終於在精神上「征服」了中國；另一方面，隨著佛法的廣泛流佈，佛教發揮了前所未有的影響力，這許多不同的成分逐漸散播，被中國人在有意無意間學習模仿，有些成分「溶入漢語的血液」(王力，1993)，真正被漢語所接受。因此我們在探討佛教對漢語的影響時，應該植基於對「佛典混合漢語」特質的研究。

2.3 仿譯

佛典翻譯史，就翻譯型態而

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is divided into three stages according to different translation styles: ancient translation, old translation and new translation. Although different in translation methods from one another, they had a general tendency heading towards 'faithfulness', 'smoothness' and 'elegance', and shared one common ground: loan translation that permeated the three translation stages.

Loan translation is a special type of translation, in which each morpheme or word is translated in the equivalent morpheme or word in the target language, retaining the inner structure of the original language. Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures have hundreds and thousands of loan translation on the level of word (morphology) and on the level of non-word (non-morphology), of the latter the most known example perhaps is *Rúshì wǒ wén* 如是我聞 'I heard like this' < *evaṃ mayā śrutam / evaṃ maya śruta dibhyaḥ* (literally translated as: Like this by me heard; -me-, instrumental case; -heard-, p.p.).^⑦ Here the focus is on the loan translation on the word level.

In the Chinese version of Buddhist scriptures, it is common to see phrases like *suí* 隨~, most of which are loan translations of Sanskrit words with the prefix *anu-* which, if put before a noun or a verb, means 'after', 'beside', 'following', 'along', etc

言，可分為三個階段：古譯、舊譯和新譯。雖然三者方式不同，但總的發展趨勢都向著「信」、「達」、「雅」的目標前進著，而且有一種貫穿譯經的始終，這就是仿譯。

仿譯是一種保留源頭語內部形式不變，採用目的語的材料逐詞或逐詞素地意譯源頭詞語的各單個組成部分的翻譯方法。漢譯佛典語言在詞和非詞的層面上有大量仿譯，後者最著名的例子或許就是「如是我聞」< *evaṃ mayā śrutam / evaṃ maya śruta dibhyaḥ* (漢譯乃按梵文字面意義和語序翻譯而成。其中，「我」：具格；「聞」：過去分詞)了。^⑦這裡要探討的是詞彙的仿譯。

在漢譯佛典裡面常見的一個構詞成分「隨~」，通常是由梵文前綴詞 *anu-* 仿譯過來的，如果我們將 *anu-* 置於名詞或動詞的前面，意思就是「在後」、「在旁」、

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⑧. For instance :

anu-ga ‘following, going after’, *ga* ‘going, moving’ > *suírù* 隨入, *suíxíng* 隨行

anu-gāmin ‘following, a companion’, *gāmin* ‘going or moving on or in’ > *suíshùn* 隨順, *suízhú* 隨逐

anu-cara ‘companion, follower, servant’, *cara* ‘moving, going, walking’ > *suíxíng* 隨行

anu-modanā ‘gratification, to be happy together, or with someone, one of seven forms of worship’, *modanā* ‘to be happy, the act of gladdening’ > *suíxǐ* 隨喜

In the above compound words, *anu-* has a concrete meaning and it is reasonable to translate it as ‘following, after’. But in many contexts, it has no concrete meaning, only playing the function of extending the syllable, and it was still translated as *suí* 隨 ‘following, after’ in Chinese. For example :

anu-gantavya ‘to be understood’ >

「跟著」、「伴隨」等⑧。例如：

anu-ga : 「跟隨、跟在後面」, *ga* : 「去, 動」 > 隨入, 隨行

anu-gāmin : 「跟隨、同行」, *gāmin* : 「走、繼續前進或進入」 > 隨順, 隨逐

anu-cara : 「同伴, 隨從, 僕人」, *cara* : 「行動, 去, 走」 > 隨行

anu-modanā : 「感恩, 和某人一起歡喜, 七支供之一」, *modanā* : 「喜, 使人喜悅的行為」 > 隨喜。

上述的複合詞中, *anu-* 是有實在意義的, 翻譯為「隨」也很合理。但在很多時候, *anu-* 只是作為延長音節的虛詞, 並沒有具體的意義, 而在漢譯裡面還是翻譯為「隨」。例如：

anu-gantavya : 「被了解」 >

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suíxiǎo 隨曉, *suíliǎozhī* 隨了知

anu-graha 'to uphold, to receive' > *suíshè*
隨攝

anu-dharma 'the Law in all its parts,
[right] method, [in BHS] the true method
[of the law]' > *suífǎ* 隨法

In many cases, the meaning of a compound word is much different from that of its constituents, thus it is not suitable to use loan translation to translate this kind of compounds. But loan translation could still be used under this circumstance, in spite of the fact that it would cause confusion. For instance :

Anu-saya means 'bad habit, proclivity' which was referred to in Buddhism as greed, anger etc. Literally, *saya* means 'sleep', therefore the loan translation *suímǎn* 隨眠.

Presumably loan translation should be used in such a situation where there was no equivalence of the target language in the specific lexicon of translators, or even no equivalence in Chinese at all. However, the examples of *bě'n'èr* 本二 in several sutras can further illustrate how wide the practice of loan translation was :

隨曉，隨了知

anu-graha : 「支持，收取」
> 隨攝

anu-dharma : 「真理的全部，（正確的）方法，〔在佛教混合梵語裡〕真理的法則」> 隨法

在許多情況下，複合詞的意思與其構詞成分的意思不同，這時就不適合用仿譯的方式來翻譯。不過，以下的仿譯仍然隨處可見，儘管會造成誤解：

anu-saya，在佛教裡指貪、瞋等「惡習、習染」。在字義上，*saya* 意為「眠」，所以這個詞仿譯之後，就成為「隨眠」。

照理說，仿譯應該只用在當譯者的個人言語系統乃至整個漢語裡找不到對等的詞彙時。但我們以幾部經文中的「本二」為例，可以得知仿譯在實際上應用得多麼廣泛：

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時尊者優陀夷是善生比丘尼本二。(*Mahāsaṅghavinaya*, Eastern Jīn, Buddhahadra tr., Ch. 9, 22/310a)

時耶輸伽父，知如來默然受請，即從坐起，禮佛足而去。語耶輸伽母及其本二言：“汝今知不？耶輸伽身在大沙門所修梵行，我今日請大沙門及耶輸伽侍從後來，汝今知時，可供辦所須。”(*Dharmaguptavinaya*, Yáo Qín, Buddhayaśas and Zhú Fóniàn tr., Ch. 32, 22/790a)

According to the context, *běn'èr* 本二 means the former husband. Thus another similar phrase *gù'èr* 故二 means the former wife :

我甚樂梵行，近在屏處犯惡行，與故二行不淨，故愁耳。(*Dharmaguptavinaya*,

時尊者優陀夷是善生比丘尼本二。(東晉·佛陀跋陀羅譯，《摩訶僧祇律》卷九，《大正藏》第二十二冊，第三一〇頁上)

時耶輸伽父，知如來默然受請，即從坐起，禮佛足而去。語耶輸伽母及其本二言：「汝今知不？耶輸伽身在大沙門所修梵行，我今日請大沙門及耶輸伽侍從後來，汝今知時，可供辦所須。」(姚秦·佛陀耶舍、竺佛念合譯的《四分律》卷三十二，《大正藏》第二十二冊，第七九〇頁上)

根據文意，可知「本二」意為前夫。另一個類似詞「故二」，意為前妻。

我甚樂梵行，近在屏處犯惡行，與故二行不淨，故愁耳。(《四分律》卷一，《大正藏》

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Ch. 1, 22/570b)

爾時婆闍子比丘，愁憂不樂，不樂淨行，即還家與故二行不淨。(*Dharmagupta-vinaya* , Ch. 55, 22/971c)

There even is *běndì èr* 本第二, for example :

是時有一比丘，本不要，若父母遣命使，若兄弟若姊妹若兒女若本第二，是中不獲已強去。(*Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, Puṇyatāra of Late Qín tr., Ch. 23, 23/172c)

有比丘夏安居，若父母來，兄弟姊妹兒女本第二來，比丘如是思惟：我是中若父母來，兄弟兒女姊妹本第二來，我若是處住，或失命或失梵行。(*Sarvāstivāda-*

第二十二冊，第五七〇頁中)

爾時婆闍子比丘，愁憂不樂，不樂淨行，即還家與故二行不淨。(《四分律》卷五十五，《大正藏》第二十二冊，第九七一頁下)

甚至還有「本第二」，例如：

是時有一比丘，本不要，若父母遣命使，若兄弟若姊妹若兒女若本第二，是中不獲已強去。(後秦·弗若多羅譯，《十誦律》卷二十三，《大正藏》第二十三冊，第一七二頁下)

有比丘夏安居，若父母來，兄弟姊妹兒女本第二來，比丘如是思惟：我是中若父母來，兄弟姊妹本第二來，我若是處住，或失命或失梵行。(《十誦律》卷二十四，《大正

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vinaya, Ch. 24, 23/177a)

藏》第二十三冊，第一七七頁上)

These phrases are not inherent in Chinese, but are loan translations of the Sanskrit compound word *purāṇa-dvītīya* (masculine) / *-yā* (feminine): *purāṇa* 'former, old, past', *dvītīya* 'the second (time), partner, follower, friend or enemy'. The translators did not use the already-existing phrases like *gùfū* 故夫, *gùqī* 故妻 in Chinese^⑨, but preferred to use loan translations from Sanskrit and coined the odd expressions like *běnr' èr* 本二, *gù' èr* 故二, and *běndi' èr* 本第二.

In the past, we simply considered the results of loan translation as many isolated, newly coined words and totally ignored the important phenomenon that should attract our attention, namely, loan translation not only introduced the new words but also their unique inner structure. The frequently used loan translation might have changed the semantic and grammatical features of the collocation and semantic orientation of the "words" constituting compounds in Chinese.

2.4. Unique style of Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures

這些詞在漢語裡面本來是沒有的，而是由梵文複合詞 *purāṇa-dvītīya* (陽性) / *yā* (陰性) 仿譯而來。其中，*purāṇa* 意為「前、舊、故」，*dvītīya* 意為「二度、夥伴、隨從、朋友或敵人」。譯者不用漢語裡既有的「故夫」、「故妻」^⑨等詞彙，卻將直接仿譯梵文，並自創「本二」、「故二」等怪異的詞彙。

過去我們對仿譯的結果的認識僅僅停留在一個個孤立的新造詞上，最應注意卻又完全忽略的是，仿譯所帶來的，不僅是新詞而已，還有獨特的詞彙結構，使漢語許多作為構詞成分的「詞」的搭配關係、語義指向等等語義和語法特點可能發生了變化。。

2.4. 漢譯佛典的特殊文體

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Like the loan translation on the level of words mentioned above, there are also many traces of loan translation on the level of the textual structure. Some cases in point are imitation of the style that prose and *gāthā* 'verse, song' alternate with each other in the text, copy of the special written formula of these verses, and de-versification of the verses. To keep the easiness of singing and memorizing, the translators, in most cases, translated the original texts in the form of a four-character couplet, in order to retain the rhythmic flavor in the Chinese versions (Zhū, 1992a and 1997). What we should pay attention to is what kind of impact such a style had on the vocabulary and what changes it caused in vocabulary? I hope the following examples can help make the questions clear.

Yán Qiàmào (1997 : 185) argued that phrases like *qīnzhònggōngyè* 輕重工業 'light and heavy industry, lit. light and heavy industry', *shàngxiàshuǐguǎn* 上下水管 'up-comer and down-comer, lit. up-and-down-comer', *zhōngxīyàopǐn* 中西藥品 'Chinese medicine and Western medicine, lit. Chinese and Western medicine' which were claimed to be "somewhat like abbreviation, but can not be called abbreviation" had already existed in great numbers in the medieval Buddhist sutras, just to mention a few, *dàxiǎobiàn* 大小便 < *dàbiàn* 大便 'stool, to defecate' and *xiǎobiàn* 小便 'pee, to

如同前述詞彙上的仿譯一樣，在文體的結構上也有仿譯的軌跡可尋。最顯著的例子如：摹仿原典中散文與偈頌相間的文體，遵循偈頌的書寫格式，但去除漢語詩歌的押韻特徵。大多數場合裡，譯者為保持易於記誦的特色，將原典譯成四字格的型式，以保持譯文的節奏感。(朱慶之，1992a，1997)我們應注意的是，這樣的文體對詞彙帶來什麼樣的影響及形成什麼樣的變化。我希望下面的例子能讓大家對這個問題有更清楚的看法。

顏洽茂(1997:185)曾說，像輕重工業(即輕工業與重工業)、上下水管(即上水管和下水管)、中西藥品(即中藥藥品和西藥藥品)等「有幾分像簡稱，但是不能稱作簡稱」(呂叔湘《漢語語法分析問題》語)的詞彙已大量地出現在中古時期的佛典中。再舉多一點的例子，像「大小便」<大便和小便，「清信士女」<清信士和清

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urinate’; *qīnxìnshì* 清信士女 < *qīnxìnshì* 清信士 *upāsaka* ‘a male Buddhist lay worshipper’ and *qīnxìnnǚ* 清信女 *upāsikā* ‘a female Buddhist lay worshipper’; *shuǐhuǒfēngzhǒng* 水火風種 ‘3 of 4 elements which all substances are composed of’ < *shuǐzhǒng* 水種 *abdhātu* ‘water-element’, *huǒzhǒng* 火種 *tejo-dhātu* ‘fire-element’ and *fēngzhǒng* 風種 *vāyū-dhātu* ‘wind-element’; *shēnkǒuyìyè* 身口意業 < *shēnyè* 身業 *kāya-karman* ‘body-action product’, *kǒuyè* 口業 *vāk-karman* ‘language-action product’ and *yìyè* 意業 *manas-karman* ‘mind-action product’; *lǎoshàozhōngnián* 老少中年 < *lǎonián* 老年 ‘old age’, *shàonián* 少年 ‘young age’ and *zhōngnián* 中年 ‘middle age’; and *bǐqiūjíní* 比丘及尼 < *bǐqiū* 比丘 *bhikṣu* ‘a Buddhist mendicant’ and *bǐqiūnǚ* 比丘尼 *bhikṣuṇī* ‘a female Buddhist mendicant’. The phrases below tell us where the seeming abbreviations came from:

彼時男女 / 之類意欲 / 大小
便時 / 地自然開 / 事訖之後
/ 地便還合 (*Mílè Xià Shēng Jīng*
, Western Jīn, *Dharmarakṣa*
tr., 14/421a)

信女, 「水火風種」(四大的前三種) < 水種、火種、風種, 「身口意業」 < 身業、口業、意業, 「老少中年」 < 老年、少年、中年, 「比丘及尼」 < 比丘及比丘尼。由下面的詞組可以得知類似的簡稱是怎麼來的:

彼時男女 / 之類意欲 / 大小
便時 / 地自然開 / 事訖之後
/ 地便還合 (西晉·竺法護譯,
《彌勒下生經》, 《大正藏》第十四
冊, 第四二一頁上)

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亦復俱得 / 三品法衣 / 其價
施佛 / 等無差特 / 各各賜遺
/ 清信士女 / 一具體衣 / 所
以者何 / 皆是世尊 / 聖恩所
化 / 故使其然 (*Bǎowǎng*
Jīng, Dharmarakṣa tr., 14/79b)

如來種者 / 亦復如此 / 以此
得道 / 曉了地種 / 水火風種
/ 則成為佛 (*Dà Jìn Fǎmén*
Jīng, Dharmarakṣa tr., 17/818b)

身口意業皆清淨 / 佈施淨故
世不染 (poem, *Samādhirāja*,
Gao Qí, Narendra-yaśas tr, Ch.
3, 15/566a)

老少中年比丘所 / 慚愧謙下
生恭敬 (verse, *Samādhirāja*,
Ch. 4,15/572a)

時閻浮提一切人 / 咸皆捨欲
而出家 / 比丘及尼樂習定 /
如來徒眾廣無量 (verse,

亦復俱得 / 三品法衣 / 其價
施佛 / 等無差特 / 各各賜遺
/ 清信士女 / 一具體衣 / 所
以者何 / 皆是世尊 / 聖恩所
化 / 故使其然 (竺法護譯, 《寶
網經》, 《大正藏》第十四冊, 第
七十九頁中)

如來種者 / 亦復如是 / 以此
得道 / 曉了地種 / 水火風種
/ 則成為佛 (竺法護譯, 《大淨
法門經》, 《大正藏》第十七冊,
第八一八頁中)

身口意業皆清淨 / 佈施淨故
世不染 (高齊·那連耶舍譯,
《月燈三昧經》卷三, 《大正藏》第
十五冊, 第五六六頁上)

老少中年比丘所 / 慚愧謙下
生恭敬 (《月燈三昧經》卷三,
《大正藏》第十五冊, 第五七二頁
上)

時閻浮提一切人 / 咸皆捨欲
而出家 / 比丘及尼樂習定 /
如來徒眾廣無量 (《月燈三昧經》

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Samādhi-rāja, Ch. 6,15/588a)

卷六，《大正藏》第十五冊，第五
八八頁上)

Now it is clear that the unique style of Buddhist scriptures had great influence on the formation of disyllabic words, four-character idioms and abbreviated forms.

於此可以很清楚地瞭解佛經的特殊文體對於雙音詞、四字格與簡稱的形成影響至鉅。

3. Clues of the impact

3. 影響漢語詞彙的表現

3.1. Many new words coming into Chinese

3.1. 為漢語添增許多新詞

This aspect is what was mostly discussed by scholars in the past. Many words about philosophical categories and concepts in Buddhism came into their mind first, and were regarded as the only convincing evidence of the impact of Buddhism on Chinese vocabulary. But from the point of view of historical linguistics, these words are neither the manifestation of total influence nor that of the most important influence of Buddhism on Chinese vocabulary.

在這方面，過去的學者討論甚多，因為許多與佛教哲理和概念有關的詞彙最先浮現他們的腦海，故而被視為佛典影響漢語詞彙的力證。但如果我們從歷史語言學的角度來看，這些詞彙既不能反映總體的影響，也不能反映佛教對漢語詞彙最重要的影響。

It is true that BHC has many words of transliteration and free translation of which the source can be found in the original sutras. It is still true that, beside these words related to Buddhism, the Indian culture of the same period, whether religious or not, was introduced into China by the means of the carrier of Buddhism—Buddhist sutras. We can guess that at the beginning, people might have intensely felt the religious col-

「佛教混合漢語」裡的確有許多可以溯及原典的音譯詞和意譯詞。除了這些與佛教有直接關係的詞彙之外，同時期的印度文化，無論是宗教的或者是非宗教的，的確也都藉由佛教的載體——佛經傳入中土。我們推測，人

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oring of these words. Though a long time had passed, the religious coloring of some words was still there, e.g. *púsà* 菩薩 < *Buddhisattva*. But right now, the religious coloring has gradually been rinsed from many words, even many linguists who do not touch upon similar issues will not know their origin, like *fāngbiàn* 方便 ‘convenient, fit’ < *upāya* ‘a means or expedient of any kind way, stratagem, craft, artifice; a means of success against an enemy’, *jiūjìng* 究竟 ‘outcome; after all’ < *atyanta* ‘beyond the proper end or limit, excessive, to the end’, *bukěsīyì* 不可思議 ‘inconceivable, unimaginable’ < *a-cintya* ‘inconceivable’, *fánnǎo* 煩惱 ‘be vexed, be worried, be annoyed, be irritated’ < *kleśa* ‘affliction’, *wēicuì* 危脆 ‘not hard, not solid, weak’ < *dur-bala* ‘of little strength, weak, feeble, emaciated, scanty, sick’, and *jīnlián* 金蓮 ‘golden lotus; female’s foot’ (Zhū, 1992c), *yǐngxiǎng* 影響 ‘influence, affect’ (Zhū, 1992b), *yuānjiā* 冤家 ‘enemy, foe [of preexistence]; one’s destined love, *tǎozhàiguǐ* 討債鬼 ‘a ghost who is a dun; a ghost who demands repayment of a debt of preexistence, usually used by parents to call a child who has a bad behavior’ ⑩, *wàidào* 外道 ‘strange, unacquainted, regarding [sb.] as an outsider’ ⑪, *póyí* 婆姨 ‘wife’ ⑫, etc. So there are still many studies to do on this aspect.

們最初或許會感覺這些詞彙具有強烈的宗教色彩。雖經過漫長的時間，一些詞彙仍帶有宗教色彩，如菩薩 < *Bodhisattva* 等。然而到了今天，許多詞語的宗教色彩已逐漸褪去，以致許多沒有接觸相關領域情形的語言學家無法感知某些詞彙的來源，像方便（便利，合宜） < *upāya*（善權的方法、變謀、機巧、施設、勝過敵人的手段）、究竟（結果，畢竟） < *atyanta*（超越一般界限的，極端的，到達極盡的）、不可思議（難以想像的，無法想像的） < *a-cintya*（無法想像的）、煩惱（擾亂，憂慮，困擾、苦惱） < *kleśa*（惑）、危脆（不堅固，不牢固，柔弱） < *dur-bala*（力量不夠的，衰弱的，柔弱的，羸弱的，貧弱的，病弱的），以及金蓮（金色的蓮花，婦女的足部）、影響（引起作用）、冤家（敵人，〔前世的〕怨敵，命中注定的愛人）、討債鬼（索取債務的鬼，要求償還債務的鬼，通常用於父母稱呼有不良習

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性的子女)⑩、外道(奇怪的,見生的,被視為是外人)⑪、婆姨(妻子)⑫等都是。因此還有許多與此有關的議題有待研究。

There are many non-Buddhist words that were ignored in the past, such as :

tánzhǐ 彈指 < *acchaṭā-saṃghāta* 'snap of the fingers'

fùcì 復次 < *api* 'then'

jiāngwú 將無 < *mā* 'perhaps'⑬

zúxìngzǐ 族姓子 < *kula-putra* 'a son of noble family, respected youth'

yìshí 一時 < *ekadā* 'once, one time, some time ago'

shàn 騷 < *ṣaṇḍha* 'a eunuch, hermaphrodite' (Zhū, 1993)

dīdiē 爹爹 < *tāta* 'papa, daddy' (Zhū, 1994)

gēda 疙瘩 < *granthi* 'a knot, tie, etc.' (Zhū, 1994)

許多非佛教性的用語在過去也常被忽略,例如:

彈指 < *acchaṭā-saṃghāta*, 「彈擊手指」。

復次 < *api*, 「然後」。

將無 < *mā*, 「或許」⑬。

族姓子 < *kula-putra*, 「大戶人家的兒子,可敬的年輕人」。

一時 < *ekadā*, 「一度,某時,一些時日之前」。

騷 < *ṣaṇḍha*, 「陰陽人」(朱慶之, 1993)。

爹爹 < *tāta*, 「爸爸」。(朱慶之, 1993)。

疙瘩 < *granthi*, 「突起的結」。

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mǔrén 母人 < *vadhukā* 'a woman or lady' (Karashima, 1998a)

diéhù 疊互, *gèngù* 更互 < *anyonya* 'one another, mutual'

guāngshì 光飾 < *sobhā* 'bright, brilliant'

gōngyè 工業 < *śilpa-karman* 'handicraft'

shífāng 十方 < *daśa-diś* 'all directions, everywhere' ⑭

母人 < *vadhukā* , 「婦人」。

疊互、更互 < *anyonya* , 「彼此, 互相」。

光飾 < *sobhā* , 「光耀」。

工業 < *śilpa-karman* , 「手工」。

十方 < *daśa-diś* , 「各個方向, 遍處」 ⑭

Later more of such words will be given, whose origins are lost in oblivion.

BHC also has many 'spoken words' or so-called 'vernacular words', most of which were not used in 'Classical Chinese', or even in formal speech of the same period, or in other words, it was hard for them to enter the written language because of their vernacular nature. But the translators of the Buddhist scriptures used these words in their translation, making them part of BHC. And thus the vernacular words found their way, through translation, into the written or book language of Chinese. Therefore we are justified in saying that one consequence of the impact of Buddhism on Chinese vocabulary

本文稍後將提出更多類似的詞彙, 其來源久被遺忘。

佛教混合漢語裡面也有許多「口語詞」或所謂的「俗語詞」, 它們大多數不能用在文言, 甚至是當時正式的口語, 或者換句話說, 由於它們的俗語性質, 難登大雅之堂。但佛經的譯者在翻譯的時候卻用了這些詞彙, 使其成為「佛教混合漢語」的一部分。因此, 這些俗語詞便透過翻譯進入了漢文書寫語之中。我們據此認為, 大量俗語詞進入馴雅的書面

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was vernacular words coming into the elegant written system of Chinese (Zhū, 1992a).

BHC has many disyllabic and polysyllabic words in the form of coordinate compound, most of which are extensions of monosyllabic words in terms of meaning, e.g., *jiēgè* 皆各, *jiēgòng* 皆共, *jiējù* 皆俱, *jiēpǔ* 皆普, *jiēxī* 皆悉, *dōujiē* 都皆, *xījiē* 悉皆, *shuàijiē* 率皆, etc, all have a same meaning as *jiē* 皆 'all, each and every' (Zhū, 1992b). Of course, these are not borrowed words and were seldom used in the written language of the same period. These words should have been provisionally coined by the translators and later became part of Chinese of all speakers and enriched the vocabulary system of Chinese.

3.2. Early spread of words from Buddhist literature

If the special elements of BHC only had their existence in Buddhist scriptures, it would not be justified to say that they influenced Chinese in a real sense. But if they were used in contexts other than the translation of Buddhist scriptures, we can say that they really melt into Chinese. For this reason, to study the impact of Buddhism on Chinese vocabulary, we should discuss the spread of Buddhist words from the translation of Buddhist scriptures to the non-Buddhist Chinese literature. Here I will briefly

語系統是佛教對漢語的影響之一。(朱慶之, 1992a)

「佛教混合漢語」裡面有許多雙音節或複音節詞彙形式的並列關係複合詞，像皆各、皆共、皆俱、皆普、皆悉、都皆、悉皆、率皆等，它們都與單音節的「皆」(都)同義。(朱慶之, 1992b)當然，凡此均非借詞，也很少用於同時期的書面語。它們應該都是由過去譯者所創，後來成為中土全民語言的一部分，從而豐富了漢語的詞彙。

3.2. 早期從佛教文獻詞彙的擴散

如果「佛教混合漢語」的特殊成分只存在於佛經裡面，我們就不能據此認為它們對漢語有實質的影響；但如果是將它們用在翻譯佛典以外的話，就可以說它們是真正融入到漢語裡了。因此，要研究佛教對漢語詞彙的影響，還應該探討佛教漢語語彙從佛典擴散到非佛教漢語文獻的情況。

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discuss how the Buddhist words were used in the non-Buddhist literature before the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317 CE - 420 CE).

In 65 CE, Emperor Liú Zhuāng of the Eastern Hàn Dynasty used several Buddhist words in the imperial edict to the Duke of Chǔ, Liú Yīng. The following sentences often quoted before to illustrate how early Indian Buddhism coming into China are also useful to illustrate how early Indian Buddhist words coming into Chinese :

王誦黃老之微言，尚浮屠之仁慈，清齋三月，與神為誓，何嫌何疑，尚有悔吝？其還贖以助伊蒲塞沙門之盛饌。
(*Hòuhàn Shū* , Biography of Guangwu Shíwáng)

Fútú 浮屠 < *Buddha*, *yīpusài* 伊蒲塞 < *upāsaka* 'a Buddhist lay worshiper' and *shāmén* 桑門 < *śramaṇa* 'a monk, a person who enters into a religion and give up his/her family', or *samana* in Pali, *samāne* in Tocharian are transcribed terms, which can be used to explain the degree of the impact of Buddhism at that time. If someone thinks that it is somewhat farfetched to use them to show the impact of Buddhism

在這裡我將簡單地探討東晉以前佛教詞彙如何運用在非佛教文獻上。

在西元 65 年，東漢明帝劉莊頒給楚王劉英的詔書裡用了一些佛教詞彙。下面的詞句經常被用來說明印度佛教進入中土有多麼的早，如今也可以用來說明佛教詞彙進入漢語的領域有多麼早。

王誦黃老之微言，尚浮屠之仁祠，潔齋三月，與神為誓，何嫌何疑，尚有疑吝？其還贖以助伊蒲塞桑門之盛饌。
(《後漢書·光武十王傳》)

浮屠 < *Buddha* ; 伊蒲塞 < *upāsaka* , 意指「在家佛教信徒」; 桑門 < *śramaṇa* , 或巴利 *samana* , 龜茲 *samāne* , 意指「出家修道的人」。這些翻譯過來的名相都說明了當時佛教影響的程度。但，如果有人認為用這個例

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on the Chinese vocabulary, here is one more instance :

上恤其下，下赴其難；惡出乎己，害及其身，如影響自然也。(Zhangzhǐ of Mèn Zǐ, Part 3 of Ch. of Liánghuì Wáng)

The sentence above is considered to be made by Zhào Qí who was a scholar in the time of Emperor Líng and Emperor Xiàn of the Eastern Hàn Dynasty (168 CE-196 CE). The word *yǐngxiǎng* 影響 'shadow and echo' in the last sentence is not a natural usage in Chinese, but it is a common usage in Buddhism (Zhū, 1992b).

We have more examples found in texts of the time of the Three-kingdoms 三國, as in the following :

神高而聽卑，報若響應聲。
(Cáo Zhí:Wéi Hàn Xíng)

飄飄周八澤，連翩歷五山。
流轉無恆處，誰知吾苦艱！
(Cáo Zhí : Yūjia Pian)

子來說明佛教對漢語詞彙的影響有牽強附會之嫌，這裡可以再舉一例說明：

上恤其下，下赴其難，惡出乎己，害及其身，如影響自然也。(《孟子章指·梁惠王章句下》)

上列文句的作者是東漢獻帝到靈帝時的學者趙岐(168-196)。句末的「影響」一詞不是漢語本有的，而是一個普通的佛教用語。

在三國時代，還有更多的例子，謹列如下：

神高而聽卑，報若響應聲。
(曹植〈惟漢行〉)

飄飄周八澤，連翩歷五山。
流轉無恆處，誰知吾苦艱。
(曹植〈籲嗟篇〉)

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平生髮完全，變化似浮屠。
(Yìng Ju : Bǎiyī Shī , 6)

In these examples, *bào* 報 *vipāka* ‘retribution, result of actions in the present or former births pursuing those who commit them through subsequent existence’, *xiǎngyìngshēng* 響應聲 *pratiśrutkā* ‘echo, quick retribution or reaction like echo’, *liúzhǎn* 流轉 *pravṛtti* ‘moving onward, wheel of life; transmigration’ and *biànhuà* 變化 ‘transformed into; change and disappear’ are also Buddhist words or usages.

According to Chén Yínquè, Táo Yuānmíng, the great poet of the Eastern Jìn Dynasty, did not believe in Buddhism, but still used some words from Buddhism in his poems, for instance :

人生似幻化，終非歸空無。
(*Guī Yuántián Jū Wu Shǒu*, 5)

流幻百年中，寒暑日相推。
(*Huán Jiūjū*)

吾生夢幻間，何事紕塵羈。
(*Yǐn Jiū èrshí Shǒu*, 4)

平生髮完全，變化似浮屠。
(應璩〈百一詩〉第六首)

在這些例子中，報 (*vipāka*)，意指「由某種原因得到的結果，現在世或過去世的業行招感未來多生的結果」；響應聲 (*pratiśrutkā*)，意指「回音，報應如回音般迅速」；流轉 (*pravṛtti*)，意指「向前移動，生命的輪迴」，「變化」，意指「使變形，變異消失」，它們都是佛教用語。

據陳寅恪的考證，東晉大詩人陶淵明雖不崇信佛教，但在他的詩裡面也常見佛教用詞，例如：

人生似幻化，終當歸空無。
(〈歸園田居五首〉第五首)

流幻百年中，寒暑日相推。
(〈還舊居〉)

吾生夢幻間，何事紕塵羈。
(〈飲酒二十首〉第四首)

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Huànhuà 幻化 *māyā* or *māyā-upama* 'miraculously transformed into; magic', *kōngwú* 空無 *sūnya* 'empty, nothing, absolute non-existence', *liúhuàn* 流幻 'transform, change and disappear as mirage' and *mèngguàn* 夢幻 *svapna*, *svapna-upama* 'dreamworld, dream' all are Buddhist terms. Perhaps the use of certain Buddhism words by these authors is enough to illustrate my point.

The most significant step in the spreading of Buddhist words in Chinese literature was that Chinese Buddhists began using the words and expressions of BHC to write their own works, which injected new blood into the circulation of the language in the Buddhist scriptures, signaling the beginning of the fusion of Buddhist words with Chinese. These works include native writings of China of *Tripitaka*, traditionally regarded as Buddhist Classics, and literary works concerning Buddhism. In the past 20 years, Xiàng Chǔ has done many textual studies on 'transformation text', a popular form of narrative literature flourishing in the Táng Dynasty (618 CE-907 CE), with alternate prose and rhymed parts for recitation and singing [often on Buddhist themes], and on the poems of Wáng Fànzhì and Hánshān of the Táng Dynasty, and traced back such words used in the works mentioned above to their BHC sources. He fully revealed the

「幻化」(*māyā* 或 *māyā-upama*，幻術變化，幻術)、「空無」(*sūnya*，空，無，非有)、「流幻」(變幻消失如同海市蜃樓一樣)、「夢幻」(*svapna*，*svapna-upama*，夢境，夢)都是佛教名相。以上這些例子或足以說明我的觀點。

佛教詞彙擴散到中土文獻的一個最重要的步驟，是中土的佛教徒開始用「佛教混合漢語」裡的詞彙及用語來寫作，此舉為佛典語言增添了新的生命力，象徵著佛教詞彙融入漢語的開端。這些著作包括在《大藏經》裡的「中土撰述」以及其他有關佛教的文學作品。過去二十年裡，項楚曾對變文(唐代〔618-907〕以散文和韻文相間的通俗文學形式〔大多取材自佛經〕)及唐人王梵志與寒山的詩偈作過許多文本的研究，並將這些文獻裡的詞彙追溯到「佛教混合漢語」，結果充分顯示中古時期的俗文學在詞彙上與佛經語言有著密切的關係。

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close connection of the Buddhist language with the vocabulary of popular literature in the Medieval Times.

3.3. Tendency toward disyllabization of the vocabulary of BHC, its nature, and its influence on the process of the disyllabization of the whole vocabulary of Chinese

BHC vocabulary showed a much more conspicuous tendency toward disyllabization than the vocabulary of contemporary Chinese works, which has been proved by many linguists, including Erik Zürcher. The disyllabization of Chinese vocabulary started from the spoken language. Thus the disyllabization of BHC showed the same direction of development with the Chinese vocabulary. But it seems untrue to argue that the extraordinary disyllabization of BHC is really one of the features of spoken language or is mainly “the consequence of the spoken tendency projected onto the level of written language.”

In fact, the high degree of disyllabization of BHC vocabulary was very far from the real character of Chinese vocabulary at that time. The difference resulted from the co-existence of two kinds of words in Buddhist scriptures: a) foreign words in which disyllabic words are dominant, and most of them are the result of loan translation, and b) the disyllabic forms of monosyllable words in-

3.3 佛教混合漢語詞彙的雙音節趨勢、性質及其對整個漢語詞彙雙音節化的影響

「佛教混合漢語」詞彙與同時期中土文獻的詞彙比較起來，有很明顯的雙音化傾向，這點已由 Erik Zürcher 教授等許多漢語學家所證實。漢語詞彙的雙音化始於口語，因此，「佛教混合漢語」的雙音化表現與漢語詞彙的發展方向相同。但如果就此認為：「佛教混合漢語」異常強烈的雙音化現象完全就是口語的特徵，或大抵是「口語的傾向反映在書面語上的一種結果」，似乎就不正確了。

事實上，「佛教混合漢語」的高度雙音化，與當時漢語詞彙的實際情形相差甚遠，其間的差異是因為兩種詞彙在佛經裡共存所導致的：a) 外來詞彙，其中雙音化的占了多數，這大多是仿譯的結果。b) 漢語中既有的單音詞的雙

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herent in Chinese in which some had existed in Chinese (and might have come from colloquial language), but most of them were not inherent in Chinese, and they seem to be the creation of the translators themselves. Of course, the existence of these words is closely related to the prosodic structure of Chinese, but it is more likely that it was the result of fulfilling the require of the special four-character style and *gātha* of Buddhist scriptures. In this sense, the disyllabization of BHC vocabulary is not natural, i.e. it is not the reflection of natural language, but rather the consequence of many human factors.

The proper understanding of BHC vocabulary disyllabization can help explain why the disyllabization of Chinese could be accomplished so quickly in the Medieval Times (from 100 CE to 600 CE). Disyllabization mainly occurred in the 4th and 5th centuries, the reason of which seems to be easy to explain. By the Medieval Times, the intellectual class had fully come into being. The main driving force of Chinese development, in terms of practice, was not coming from the populace, but from the intellectuals who were literate and able to write. The disyllabization of Chinese vocabulary, from a just tendency in speech to a remarkable change in the language

音形式，其中有些是早已存在在漢語裡的（或許是來自口語），但絕大多數原本在漢語裡面沒有，而似由譯者所自創。這些詞彙之所以存在，固然與漢語的韻律結構有密切的關係，但更是為了滿足佛經「四字格」與偈頌型態的需要而產生的。由此看來，「佛教混合漢語」詞彙的雙音化不完全是出於自然，也就是說，不完全是自然語言的反映，其中有較多的人為因素。

對於「佛教混合漢語」的正確認識，有助於解釋漢語詞彙的雙音化何以在中古時期（100 - 600）迅速完成的問題。雙音化主要發生在西元四、五世紀期間，形成的原因很明顯。在中古時期，知識階級已經完全地形成了。就實際情況而言，這時推動漢語發展的主要力量並非來自下層民眾，而是來自知識分子，因為他們不但識文斷字而且能夠進行書面語的創作。漢語詞彙的雙音化從僅僅是一個口語的傾向到整個語言

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system, was accomplished through the long-term tremendous writing practices of the intellectuals. Yet it is rather strange that the main process of disyllabization could occur in the 350 years of the Wèi, Jìn and Period of division (220 CE - 589 CE), which were the most chaotic and unstable period in Chinese history.

So what spurred the fast change in this period? It was precisely the translation of Buddhist scriptures, which was flourishing because of religious fanaticism and the universal support of rulers of all nationalities. During the Wèi, Jìn and Period of division, in terms of vocabulary, the translation of Buddhist scriptures was the biggest factory of disyllabized expressions. It was this great cultural project that could play such a driving role in the disyllabization of the Chinese vocabulary.

系統的巨大改變，其間需要知識分子長期且大量的言語實踐才能完成。然而可怪的是，雙音化的主要過程發生在魏晉南北朝（220 - 589）三百五十年間，這恰恰是中國歷史上最動盪不安的時期。

那麼，在這段時期裡是什麼因素促成如此急遽的變革呢？準確地說，是在舉國的宗教熱忱及統治階級的全力支持下興盛的佛經翻譯事業的結果。就詞彙而言，在魏晉南北朝時期，佛典翻譯可說是製造雙音詞的大工廠。正是這項巨大的文化工程，才有可能在整個漢語詞彙系統雙音化的過程中扮演了推動的角色。

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【Note】

- ① It is the revised and enlarged version of part two of *Drafting History of Chinese* (1958), completed in the mid-1980s and published separately in the early 1990s.
- ② In a note in correlative Chapter 6 “The origin of the loanwords and translation words in ancient and contemporary Chinese language, part one” the author declared that the chapter came from the paper “On the loanwords in Chinese of pre-Opium War (1838-1842)” published in 1957.
- ③ There are totally 210 words mentioned. But getting rid of 94 iterations, there are 116 different words only: 禪、慈悲、佛、和尚、羅漢、僧、剎那、世界、塔、圓滿(4); 比丘、鉢、懺悔、地獄、法寶、法門、袈裟、劫、煩惱、方便、伽藍、魔、涅槃、平等、菩薩、三昧、剎、閻羅、夜叉、因果、因緣、優婆塞、優婆夷、莊嚴(3); 比丘尼、玻璃、導師、過去、偈、結果、金剛、究竟、蘭若、輪迴、菩提、沙門、沙彌、未來、現在、轉變(2); 阿彌陀、畢竟、變相、波羅蜜、波若、不二法門、不可思議、佈施、癡人說夢、吹法螺、幢、大乘、道場、

【註釋】

- ① 乃《漢語史稿》(下)(1958年)的修訂版，完書於1980年中，並於1990年代初期另行付梓。
- ② 作者在該書第六篇「漢語古今借詞和譯詞的來源(上)」的註釋中說，該篇錄自他於1957年出版的論文「鴉片戰爭以前漢語的借詞」。
- ③ 共有210個詞彙，去掉94個重覆的，還剩下116個：禪、慈悲、佛、和尚、羅漢、僧、剎那、世界、塔、圓滿(以上四次提到); 比丘、鉢、懺悔、地獄、法寶、法門、袈裟、劫、煩惱、方便、伽藍、魔、涅槃、平等、菩薩、三昧、剎、閻羅、夜叉、因果、因緣、優婆塞、優婆夷、莊嚴(三次提到); 比丘尼、玻璃、導師、過去、偈、結果、金剛、究竟、蘭若、輪迴、菩提、沙門、沙彌、未來、現在、轉變(兩次提

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道具、闍黎、法事、浮圖、伽耶、合掌、精進、居士、苦海、禮拜、琉璃、六度、羅剎、摩尼、魔鬼、茉莉、南無、尼、尼姑、蘋果、菩提、清規戒律、如來、如意、三乘、三生、僧祇、舍利、世尊、宿命、檀越、天堂、頭陀、妄想、五體投地、悉曇、習氣、相應、小乘、心眼、信心、信仰、業、因明、由旬、由延、圓寂、緣分、招提、真諦、真相、智慧、眾生、咒。

到)；阿彌陀、畢竟、變相、波羅蜜、般若、不二法門、不可思議、布施、癡人說夢、吹法螺、幢、大乘、道場、道具、闍黎、法事、浮圖、伽耶、合掌、精進、居士、苦海、禮拜、琉璃、六度、羅剎、摩尼、魔鬼、茉莉、南無、尼、尼姑、蘋果、菩提、清規戒律、如來、如意、三乘、三生、僧祇、舍利、世尊、宿命、檀越、天堂、頭陀、妄想、五體投地、悉曇、習氣、相應、小乘、心眼、信心、信仰、業、因明、由旬、由延、圓寂、緣分、招提、真諦、真相、智慧、眾生、咒。

- ④ Ph.D. dissertation of Sichuan University, passed the defense in 1990 and published in 1992 in Taiwan.
- ④ 四川大學博士論文，1990年通過答辯，1992年台灣文津出版社出版。
- ⑤ Ph.D. dissertation of Hangzhou University, passed the defense in 1992 and published in 1994 in Beijing.
- ⑤ 杭州大學博士論文，1992年通過答辯，1994年北京語言文化大學出版社出版。
- ⑥ Ph.D. dissertation of Hangzhou University, passed the defense in 1995 and published in 1997 in
- ⑥ 杭州大學博士論文，1995年通過答辯，1997年杭州大學出版

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Hangzhou.

- ⑦ In this paper, except special mentioning, all the foreign origins of Chinese loan words and translation words are from Sanskrit.
- ⑧ All the materials of Sanskrit words and their Chinese translation or Chinese words and their Sanskrit origins are adopted from Cí Yí 慈怡(1988), Ogiwara Unrai 荻原雲來(1979), and Karashima 辛嶋(1998b). The English definition of Sanskrit words comes from Monia-Williams (1851).
- ⑨ Shǐ Jì 史記, Biography of Zhū Mǎichén 朱買臣列傳: “家貧, ……妻羞之, 求去。……買臣不能留, 即聽去。其後, 買臣獨行歌道中, 負薪墓間。故妻與夫家俱上塚, 見買臣飢寒, 呼飯飲之。” *Hòu Hàn Shu*, Biography of Wūhuán and Xiānbīē 烏桓鮮卑傳: “其俗妻後母, 報寡嫂, 死則歸其故夫。”
- ⑩ It is very popular that the people in the countryside call their child who is not tractable *yuānjiā* 冤家 or *tǎozhàiguǐ* 討債鬼. This expression comes from Buddhism. *Wūkǔ Zhāngjù Jīng* 五苦章句經 translated by *Dharmarakṣa* of Eastern Jin: “夫父子、夫婦、兄弟、家室、知識、奴婢, 有五因緣。何謂為五?”
- 社出版。
- ⑦ 在此篇論文中, 除特別指明者外, 其餘所有漢語借詞與譯詞的原文都是梵文。
- ⑧ 所有梵語詞彙及其漢譯, 或漢語詞彙及其梵文來源均採自慈怡(1998)、荻原雲來(1979)、辛嶋靜志(1998b)等書。梵語詞彙的英文定義則採自Monia-Williams(1851)。
- ⑨ 《史記·朱買臣列傳》: 「家貧, ……妻羞之, 求去。……買臣不能留, 即聽去。其後, 買臣獨行歌道中, 負薪墓間。故妻與夫家俱上塚, 見買臣飢寒, 呼飯飲之。」《後漢書·烏桓卑傳》: 「其俗妻後母, 報寡嫂, 死則歸其故夫。」
- ⑩ 鄉下人常稱不太乖的子女為「冤家」、「討債鬼」, 這些詞彙都是來自佛經。像東晉·竺法蘭譯, 《五苦章句經》: 「夫父子、夫婦、兄弟、家室、知識、奴婢, 有五因緣。何謂為五? 一曰怨家, 二曰債主, 三

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一曰怨家，二曰債主，三曰償債，四曰本願，五曰真友。何謂怨家？父子夫婦，兄弟宗親，知識奴婢，相遇相殺，是謂怨家；何謂債主？父母致財，子散用之，是謂債主；……”(17/545b)(Zhū, 1992b) *Wǔdēng Huìyuán*, Chapter 20, *Tiāntóng tánhuá Chánshī* 天童曇華禪師：“上堂：‘趙州喫茶，我也怕他。若非債主，便是冤家。’”

曰償債，四曰本願，五曰真友。何謂怨家？父子夫婦，兄弟宗親，知識奴婢，相遇相殺，是謂怨家；何謂債主？父母致財，子散用之，是謂債主；……”(《大正藏》第十七冊，第五四五頁中)《五燈會元》第二十章〈天童曇華禪師〉：“上堂：『趙州喫茶，我也怕他。若非債主，便是冤家。』”

- ⑪ The people living in Shǎnxī use the word *wàidào* 外道 to describe a person who is too polite or courteous: “你咋這麼外道的？” I believe it originally was a Buddhist term translated from *tīrthika* (an adherent or head of any other than one’s own creed Buddha) in Sanskrit or *titthiya* in Pali, and used to indicate religions other than Buddhism in ancient India.
- ⑫ The people living in the north-Shǎnxī call the wife *póyí* 婆姨. I also believe that the word was derived from a Buddhist term *yōupóyí* 優婆夷/姨 which was a loan-word from *upāsikā* ‘Buddhist lay worshiper’ in Sanskrit.
- ⑬ According to Edgerton (42. Constructions with *mā*, 42.2.), the usage of *mā* in the BHS was very
- ⑪ 陝西人稱太過見外的人為「外道」：「你咋這麼外道的？」我認為這個詞原來是佛教名相，譯自梵文的 *tīrthika* (an adherent or head of any other than one own creed Buddha)，或者巴利文的 *titthiya*，意指古印度時代佛教以外的宗教。
- ⑫ 陝北人稱妻子為「姨婆」。我認為這個詞原來也佛教名相「優婆夷／姨」。「優婆夷／姨」乃梵語 *upāsikā* (在家佛教徒) 之借詞。
- ⑬ Edgerton (在 *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*

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colorful: “It is also much used in expressions of strong negative wish or hope, often translatable by expressions or fear. These most commonly relate to future events, but may also relate to the present or past. This use shades over into expressions of dubiety, uncertainty, or worry. Such expressions are sometimes clearly interrogative in tone: ‘I hope...not?’ ‘It isn’t so, is it?’” (Zhū, 1991)

- ⑭ *Dàoxíng Bōrě Jīn* 道行般若經 translated by Lokāṣema of Eastern Hàn, Ch. 1: “摩訶薩者，悉自了見，悉自了知，十方天下人，十方所有悉了知。”(8/247b) At that moment there was no such a word *shífāng* 十方 ‘ten directions’ but *sīfāng* 四方 ‘four directions’ and *bāfāng* 八方 ‘eight directions’ in Chinese. This may be a loan-translation word from *daśaḍiṣa* ‘ten directions or regions’ in Sanskrit or *dasadisā* in Pali.

第42章論 mā 的結構，42.2) 認為 mā 在佛教混合漢語裡面的用法豐富多采：「它也常用於表示對於希望或期待的強烈否定，通常譯為恐怕的口氣，通常是和未來的事情有關，但有時也和現在或過去的事情合用。這種用法逐漸用來指不肯定、恐怕、擔心。有時以反詰語氣來表示『但願不是……吧？』、『該不是……吧？』」(朱慶之，1991)

- ⑭ 東漢·支讖譯，《道行般若經》卷一：「摩訶薩者，悉自了知，十方天下人，十方所有悉了知。」(《大正藏》第八冊，第二四七頁中)。當時漢語裡面沒有「十方」這個詞，而只有「四方」、「八方」，「十方」應該是從梵文的 *daśaḍiṣa* 或巴利文的 *dasadisā* 直譯而來。

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