

*The Impact of Buddhism on the Development of Chinese Vocabulary (II)*

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on the Development of  
Chinese Vocabulary (II)**

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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

**論佛教對古代漢語詞彙  
發展演變的影響(下)**

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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

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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 inherent 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 *jisòng* 偈頌 *gāthā* 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 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> 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 Chi-

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

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nese 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 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.

### 3.4. Buddhism and changes in word formation in Chinese vocabulary

In the past, only the meaning, but rarely

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。

### 3.4 佛教與漢語詞彙中詞形的變化

過去在探討佛教的外來詞

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the form, was involved in discussions of foreign words from Buddhism, giving the impression that the forms of these foreign words are inherent in Chinese. Liáng Xiǎohóng (1994) made an initial study on this aspect. She thought that the translation of Buddhist sutras has the following two effects: 1) not only created many new forms of words but also invented some new methods of translation, and 2) caused the further development of the already existed word formation in Chinese. Multi-syllabic transliteration brought about many transliterated words comprising of varied syllables. The special word formation combining Chinese and foreign elements also brought many compound words into being. The combination of transliteration and free translation gave Chinese fresh words too. For example: verb-object compounds, derivatives, and subject-predicate compounds that were rare in the pre-Qin days experienced a sharp increase in Buddhist scriptures. Among these kinds of compounds, derivatives stood out and displayed their special features. The main uses of prefixes like *xíng* 行~ and suffixes like ~ *shī* 師 make good examples. But we should go further, beyond these examples, to think about how the creation of new ways of word formation and changes of the old ways of word formation influenced the historical development of Chinese vocabulary.

時，僅觸及詞意，鮮少論及詞形，這給人們一個印象，以為外來詞的詞形是漢語本來就有的。梁曉虹(1994)就這個問題進行初步的研究，她認為佛典翻譯有下列兩項貢獻：1) 不僅創造了許多新的詞形，而且發明了一些新的翻譯方法；2) 促使漢語既有的構詞法有更進一步的發展。音節多樣化的音譯方式產生了音節多樣化的音譯詞，漢外合璧帶來了大批的合璧詞，音義兼顧詞帶來了令人耳目一新的音義兼譯詞。例如：在先秦時代少見的動賓式、補充式、主謂式複合詞，在佛典裡均大大地增加了。附加複合詞較已往更顯出特色來。像「行~」等前綴及「~師」等後綴的大量使用就是較好的例子。不過我們應該超越這些詞例，進一步思考新構詞與舊構詞的改變對於漢語詞彙的歷史發展有什麼樣的影響。

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Sanskrit is a language of phonography and Chinese is one of ideography. Zhèng Qiáo 鄭樵 of the Sòng 宋 Dynasty said: 'Because Indian people are good at sounds, they get knowledge by hearing it; Chinese people are good at characters, so they get knowledge by looking at it.' ( *Tōng Zhì* 通志, Liushū Luè 六書略) So what influence did the introduction of a great amount of transliteration words in Chinese Buddhist sutras have upon the traditional view of Chinese words, i.e. the emphasizing on *běnzì* 本字 'the original character of a word or concept'? The transliteration words cut off the conventional connection between words and characters, which might be the reason for the "using characters at will" which once appeared and clearly exhibited itself in the Medieval Times. What kind of inspiration could the ancient Chinese people derive from transliteration compounds like *Shìjiā* 釋迦 -- *móní* 牟尼, *bǐqiū* 比丘 -- *ní* 尼? If purely transliterated words affected people's view of words and characters, then what special significance did the appearance of a method which combines transliteration and free-translation, or so-called *yīn yì jiān yì* 音意兼譯 in Chinese? (Nowadays it is a more frequently used method to translate foreign words.) Moreover, how did the appearance of polysyllabic transliterated words influence the traditional view of vocabulary that placed more attention upon monosyllabic

梵文是表音文字，漢語是表意文字。宋·鄭樵有謂：「梵人長於音，所得從文入；華人長於文，所得從見入。」(《通志·六書略》。)那麼，漢語佛典譯介了大批的單純音譯詞對於漢語詞彙向來注重本字的傳統觀念有什麼影響呢？音譯詞切斷了詞與字之間約定成俗的關聯性，或許這是由於中古時期曾一度出現的「文字自由化」(using characters at will)所使然。古代的中國人從釋迦-牟尼、比丘-尼等等音譯複合詞能夠得到什麼樣的啟示呢？如果純粹的音譯詞影響了人們對於詞、字的觀念，那麼漢語裡面音譯與意譯合璧並用的方式，也就是所謂的「音義兼譯」的出現又有什麼特別的意義呢？因為今日音義兼譯的方式已經常見於外來詞彙的翻譯；甚至，多音節的音譯詞又會對傳統以來的單音節詞彙觀產生什麼樣的影響呢？

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words?

Many scholars think that the verb-complement compounds that appeared in medieval period laid a solid foundation for the development of vocabulary of Early Modern Chinese. Jerry Norman (1988 : 121), on the basis of I. S. Gurevich's study (1974) on the Buddhist scriptures from the third century to the fifth century, concludes :

*In Classical Chinese there were no verbal compounds ; when two closely linked verbs occurred in a single phrase, they had to be separated by the verbal connective ér 而. By the Western Han Dynasty, however, linked verbs without an intervening ér 而 began to make an appearance. In the several centuries following the Han Dynasty, the use of these verbal collocations greatly increased.*

This is how the verb-complement compounds appeared, but it is insufficient to attribute the usage of V + V solely to the V + ér 而 + V constructions. We might notice that in translating Buddhist scriptures, 'consecutive synonyms', as an often used means of disyllabization or polysyllabization of

許多學者認為，中古時期出現的動補式複合詞為漢語詞彙在近代的發展奠定了穩固的基礎。Jerry Norman (1988:121)曾經根據 I. S. Gurevich (1974)對三、四世紀佛典的研究，得出下列結論：

古代漢語裡面沒有動詞複合詞，如果兩個動詞連結成為一個詞組時，通常會用一個連接詞「而」放在二者之間作為分隔。但是在西漢時期，沒有連接詞「而」作為分隔的動詞串連出現了。自西漢以降的幾個世紀，這種動詞連文的用法大為增加。

這固然是動補式複合詞產生的由來，但將「動詞+動詞」的用法全都歸於「動詞+而+動詞」的詞語結構是不全面的。我們或可注意到翻譯佛典中，「同義連文」

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monosyllabic words, created many disyllabic words, including disyllabic verbs. But one thing we should pay attention to is that translators of Buddhist sutras might have an imprecise knowledge of synonyms and might use some words that are not really synonymous. This is perhaps because they could not find a proper word for the moment, or because their limited, insufficient Chinese proficiency made it hard to find a true synonym. Thus the use of “consecutive synonyms” might change the original meaning of its elements. This change plus the re-analysis from word to phrase caused by the traditional view of word-character correspondence helped to shape 1) synonymous or nearly synonymous coordinate compounds, 2) two new types of verb-complement compounds: a) verb + resultative complement, and b) verb + directional complement.

Let us look at some examples of verb-complement or quasi-verb-complement disyllabic words from *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* translated by Dharmarakṣa in the Western Jin Dynasty:

*bànzú* 辦足：妙音菩薩……化作八萬四千億眾寶蓮華，……嚴飾淨

經常用來將單音詞雙音化或多音化，因而產生了許多雙音詞，包括雙音動詞在內。但有一點我們必須注意的是，佛經譯者或許對於同義詞還沒有精準的認識，有時候會誤用一些不是真正同義的詞彙。這或許是因為他們在當時無法找到一個確當的詞彙，或許是因為他們不嫻漢語，很難找到真正的同義詞，而「同義連文」的用法可能會改變詞素的原義。因為有了這種改變，再加上傳統以來字－詞相符的觀念導致從詞彙到語法的重新分解，便形成了(1)同義詞複合詞或近義詞複合詞，(2)兩種新的動補式複合詞：a)動詞＋結果補語，和b)動詞＋方向補語。

以下讓我們看一下西晉·竺法護所譯《正法華經》裡的一些動補式或者是準補充式雙音詞的例子：

辦足：妙音菩薩……化作八萬四千億眾寶蓮華，……嚴飾淨

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好，……輒如所念，即時辦足。(9/127b)

*báduàn* 拔斷：如來至真等正覺超越十方，光照眾冥，解脫憂恐，拔斷根芽枝葉華實。(9/75c)

*bèizú* 備足：無央數歲恣所求索，應意備足，供養飲食，無所乏少。(9/118a)

*biànchéng* 變成：皆以七寶變成樹木。(9/103c)

*chàngjìn* 暢盡：眾生喜見菩薩從定意起，重自思惟：雖用雜物供養於佛，不能暢盡至真之德。(9/125b)

*chāochū* 超出：得聞佛乘一句之業，超出本望，怪未曾有。(9/73b)

*chāoguò* 超過：眾生喜見……心自念言：吾已供養世尊舍利，當複更事，

好，……輒如所念，即時辦足。  
(《大正藏》第九冊，第一二七頁中)

拔斷：如來至真等正覺超越十方，光照眾冥，解脫憂恐，拔斷根芽枝葉華實。(《大正藏》第九冊，第七十五頁下)

備足：無央數歲恣所求索，應意備足，供養飲食，無所乏少。(《大正藏》第九冊，第一一八頁上)

變成：皆以七寶變成樹木。  
(《大正藏》第九冊，第一〇三頁下)

暢盡：眾生喜見菩薩從定意起，重自思惟：雖用雜物供養於佛，不能暢盡至真之德。(《大正藏》第九冊，第一二五頁中)

超出：得聞佛乘一句之業，超出本望，怪未曾有。(《大正藏》第九冊，第七十三頁中)

超過：眾生喜見……心自念言：吾已供養世尊舍利，當複更

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超過於前。(9/126a)

事，超過於前。(《大正藏》第九冊，第一二六頁上)

*chènzhūó* 觀著：智者……體常觀著淨潔被服。(9/108b)

觀著：智者……體常觀著淨潔被服。(《大正藏》第九冊，第一〇八頁中)

*chōngbèi* 充備：是等族姓子……無數億百千劫供養奉侍，諸度無極皆悉充備。(9/117a)

充備：是等族姓子……無數億百千劫供養奉侍，諸度無極皆悉充備。(《大正藏》第九冊，第一一七頁上)

*chōngmǎn* 充滿：以為人導師，充滿悅我意。(9/106c)

充滿：以為人導師，充滿悅我意。(《大正藏》第九冊，第一〇六頁下)

*chūxiàn* 出現：以用眾生望想果應，勸助此類，出現於世。(9/69c)

出現：以用眾生望想果應，勸助此類，出現於世。(《大正藏》第九冊，第六十九頁下)

*chúduàn* 除斷：無數菩薩……常行精進，於佛法教，除斷諸難，滅終始患。(9/87c)

除斷：無數菩薩……常行精進，於佛法教，除斷諸難，滅終始患。(《大正藏》第九冊，第八十七頁下)

*chúqì* 除棄：設使各各作奇異行，除棄一切所樂調戲。(9/71b)

除棄：設使各各作奇異行，除棄一切所樂調戲。(《大正藏》第九冊，第七十一頁中)

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*chúyù* 除愈：今我此子……不肯服藥，病不除愈，或恐死亡。(9/114a)

*chūfàng* 吹放：自然風起，吹放眾華，散於佛上。(9/89a)

*còumǎn* 湊滿：在丘壙間，見人死屍，惡鬼凶嶮，放髮叫呼，諸魃湊滿，貪欲慢翰。(9/76c)

We call these words “quasi-verb-complement,” because most of them, though appearing to be verb-complement disyllabic words, were not real verb-complement, but coordinate word groups. Therefore, if we agree upon the view that “consecutive synonyms” resulted in verb-complement compounds, we should take into account the driving force the translation of Buddhist scriptures had on this change.

#### 4. The influence of loan translation

Due to the fact that the semantic inner structures of words have their own national characteristics, words that are synonymous in different languages often differ in their

除愈：今我此子……不肯服藥，病不除愈，或恐死亡。(《大正藏》第九冊，第一一四頁上)

吹放：自然風起，吹放眾華，散於佛上。(《大正藏》第九冊，第八十九頁上)

湊滿：在丘壙間，見人死屍，惡鬼凶嶮，放髮叫呼，諸魃湊滿，貪欲慢翰。(《大正藏》第九冊，第七十六頁下)

這些詞語之所以被稱為「準補充式」，因為它們大多貌似動補式語雙音節詞彙，實際不是，而是並列式。因此，如果我們認同「同義連文」可以形成「述補」式合成詞的觀點，當會重視佛典翻譯在這項變革中具有促進之功。

#### 4. 仿譯的影響

由於詞彙的內在語義結構具有民族的特性，因此不同語言的同義詞通常在語意結構上往往有

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semantic inner structures. It is also true that words with the same semantic inner structure have different meanings. Therefore, there is no doubt that loan translation can bring a great number of new words into the target language, with relatively rare exceptions in the case that there are some equivalent words in the target language in terms of both meaning and semantic inner structure.

But we should not stop here without further investigating the influence of loan translation upon the target language. The semantic inner structures of words that have their national features, to some extent, reflect a certain nationality's special perspective on and mode of thinking about the objective world, and reflect the special conceptual structure and grammatical structure of the given language. If the unique national features of the original language were taken into the target language through loan translation, the loan translation not only brought new words but also new semantic inner structures, as well as new conceptual and grammatical structures to the target language. For example, "make-hair" in English means dressing one's hair artificially in a certain style for the sake of beauty. Its meaning is general. Comparatively, in Chinese there are only some similar expressions that have a specific meaning, such as *biān biànzi* 編辮子 'to braid or twist [hair] into a queue', *tàng tóufà* 燙頭髮 'to

所差異，而相同語意結構的詞彙也可能有不同的意義。所以仿譯的方式無疑能為目標語言帶來大批的新詞，當然也有一些巧合，能在目標語言中找到含意和語意結構都能相當的詞彙，不過這相對少見。

但我們不能停留在這一點上，而應當進一步探究仿譯對於目標語言的影響。詞彙語意結構的民族性在某種程度上反映了一個民族對於客觀世界特殊的看法與思考方式，也反映了某種語言的語義結構和文法結構。源頭語言所獨具的民族性一旦透過仿譯帶進目標語言之中，那仿譯為目標語言所帶來的，就非僅新詞而已，同時還有新的語意結構和文法結構。例如：英語的 *make-hair*，是指為了美觀而以人工方式來梳理髮型，具有集合性的含意，在漢語裡面只有「編辮子」、「燙頭髮」等詞語與其意思相近，卻無法找到像英語一樣涵蓋廣泛的用語，因此就出現了「做頭髮」

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marcel', etc. , but there is no expression that has the general meaning like the English expression. So *zuòtóufà* 做頭髮, loan-translated from "make-hair," is a new word. But previously, *zuòtóufà* 做頭髮 was practically as unintelligible as *zuò zhǐjiǎ* 做指甲 (presumably meaning to trim or manicure your fingernails) because *zuò* 做 can't be directly collocated with *tóufà* 頭髮 or *zhǐjiǎ* 指甲. But the loan translation of "make-hair" changes the semantic feature of *zuò* 做 and might extend its collocation range by coining a phrase like *zuò zhǐjiǎ* 做指甲 in spite of the existence of *xiū zhǐjiǎ* 修指甲 in Chinese.

Loan translation can also cause some semantic change. *Kāihuǒ* 開火, which originally means "to make a fire [for cooking]"<sup>⑮</sup>, if someone say: "*Wǒ zìjǐ kāihuǒ* 我自己開火," it means that "I cook myself;" and also *tíng huǒ* 停火, which originally means "to put out fire," both have split into two words of different meaning, with a newly acquired meaning in which *huǒ* 火 referring to "weapons," after "open-fire" and "ceases-fire" in English were loan translated into *kāihuǒ* 開火 and *tíng huǒ* 停火.

The following discussion provides more examples to illustrate the massive amount of such words due to loan translation used in translating Buddhist scriptures.

這個新詞。過去，如果說「做頭髮」，就和「做指甲」(即剪指甲或修指甲)一樣，沒有人會懂得意思，因為「做」不能直接和「頭髮」、「指甲」連在一起，但「做頭髮」的仿譯卻能改變「做」的語意特徵，並有可能在漢語的「修指甲」之外也另仿造一個新詞——「做指甲」，從而使「做」的語義搭配範圍進一步延伸。

仿譯也造成了語意的改變。例如「開火」，原來意為「昇火(煮飯)」<sup>⑮</sup>有人說：「我自己開火。」意思是說我自己煮飯。「停火」亦然，原本指「熄火」的意思。但隨著英語的「open-fire」、「cease-fire」仿譯為「開火」、「停火」之後，「火」也可以用來指「武器」，因此「開火」和「停火」便有兩種截然不同的含意了。

下面將舉出更多的例子來說明因佛典的仿譯而帶來了大批的詞彙。

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4.1. *Guòqù* 過去, *xiànzài* 現在, and *wèilái* 未來

Wáng Lì, who in his 'Sketch History of Chinese' correctly identified the Buddhist origins of these three words, but did not point out that they are loan translations from Sanskrit :

*guòqù* 過去 < *atita* 'the past' is a past participle form of the compound verb *ati√i*, *√i* 'to go', prefix *ati-* 'exceed, beyond, over', thus literally the meaning is "over-gone ; "

*xiànzài* 現在 < *pratyutpanna* 'the present moment' is a past participle form of compound verb *prati-ut-√pad*, *ut-pad* 'to appear, to emerge', *prati* 'at [the time of], appear', thus they correspond to the loan translated word *xiàn* 現 and *zài* 在 ;

*wèilái* 未來 < *anāgata* 'the future' is a past participle form of negative compound verb *an-āgam*, *√gam* 'to go', *ā-gam* 'to come', plus the negative prefix *an-*, literally it means "un-come."

We should notice some changes in the semantic inner structure of the three San-

4.1 過去、現在、未來

王力在他的《漢語史稿》裡主張這三個詞彙源於佛教，這固然是正確的，但沒有指出它們是仿譯梵文而來。

過去 < *atita*，是複合詞 *ati√i* 的過去分詞型態：*√i* 意為「去」，前綴 *ati-* 意為「超過，越過」，因此仿譯之後，就是「過去」了。

現在 < *pratyutpanna*，是複合詞 *prati-ut-√pad* 的過去分詞型態：*ut-pad* 意為「出現、浮現」，*prati* 意為「在」，仿譯之後將二者合起來，就成為「現在」這個詞了。

未來 < *anāgata*，是否定複合動詞 *an-āgam* 的過去分詞型態，*√gam* 意為「去」，*ā-gam* 則意為「來」，前面再加上一個否定詞 *an~*，仿譯之後就是「未來」了。

應當注意的是這三個梵語詞的內部形式，它們原本都是表示

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sanskrit words which originally were verbs signifying a spatial category. These words translated into Chinese have become temporal nouns as their Sanskrit origins did. The spatial and temporal categories contained in Sanskrit and Chinese have great philosophical significance. Furthermore, attention should be paid to the semantic inner structure of *wèilái* 未來.

### 4.2. *Wèilái* 未來, *bùjiǔ* 不久 and others

Zhāng Yǒngyán (1982 : 113) says, "Unlike Indo-European languages, Chinese has no prefix of negation, but negative adverbs and verbs of negation. The language units that are formed by this type of negative words and another word can only be viewed as a phrase : e.g., *xiǎoxīn* 小心 'caution' / *bù xiǎoxīn* 不小心 'incaution', *yǒu chūxi* 有出息 'to have promise' / *méi chūxi* 沒出息 'do not have promise.' It is clear that it is the syntactical means but not morphological means that is used to constitute antithesis." If the argument is correct, the appearance of *wèilái* 未來 should be given enough attention. *Wèilái* 未來, has been proved as a result of loan translation, must be a word rather than a word group or phrase, if traditional criteria of identifying words are taken into account. In the Chinese version of Buddhist scriptures, there are many "words" of this kind, most of which are loan-translated compounds from

空間範疇的動詞，在譯成漢語之後，也都和它們的梵文語源一樣，變成表時間的名詞。在梵漢兩種語言裡，時空含意的兼具可謂深具哲學意義。我們還應進一步注意到「未來」的內部結構。

### 4.2 「未來」、「不久」及其它

張永言(1982:113)曾說：「漢語沒有像印歐語言那樣的否定前綴，而只有否定副詞和否定性動詞。由這類否定詞和另一個詞構成的語言單位一般只能看作詞組，如：小心／不小心、有出息／沒出息。這就是說，這裡用來表達對立概念的是句法手段而不是構詞手段。」如果這項論證是正確的，我們應該重視「未來」這個詞的出現。「未來」已被證實是仿譯的結果，如果我們以傳統定義詞彙的方式來考量的話，「未來」應該是一個詞彙，而非一個詞組。漢譯佛典裡有許多類似的「詞彙」，大多數都是梵文的語幹加否定的前綴類的複合詞的仿譯。例

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their corresponding Sanskrit words that contain a stem and a negative prefix, e.g. :

*bujiu* 不久, *wèijiū* 未久 < *a-cira* 'not long, recent, soon, speedily' = native expression : *shǎoqǐng* 少頃, *shunjiān* 瞬間, *shuhū* 倏忽

*bushǎo* 不少, *buxiǎo* 不小 < *a-dabhra* 'not scanty, plentiful' = native expression : *duō* 多

*buyuqu* 不與取 < *a-dattādāna* 'taking what is not given voluntarily, stealing' = native expression : *qiè* 竊

*fēigēng* 非耕 < *a-kṛṣṭa* 'unploughed, unploughed land' = native expression : *huāngtǔ* 荒土, *huāngyě* 荒野

*fēijiā* 非家 < *an-agārikā* 'the houseless life of such an ascetic Buddha' = better expression : *chūjiā* 出家

*fēijìng* 非靜 < *an-avakṛṣṭa* 'noisy' = native expression : *nào* 鬧, *cāo* 嘈

*fēiqǔ* 非取 < *a-graha* 'destroying the best part; non acceptance' = native expression : *shěqì* 捨棄

*wúshé* 無舌 < *a-jihvaka* 'tongueless' = native expression : *yǎ* 啞

*wúmíng* 無明, *wúzhī* 無知 < *a-jñāna* 'stupid, ignorance, unwise' = native

如 :

不久, 未久 < *a-cira* , 「片刻, 最近, 很快」= 少頃、瞬間、倏忽

不少, 不少 < *a-dabhra* , 「很多」= 多

不與取 < *adattādāna* , 「他人不與而自取之, 偷盜」= 竊

非耕 < *a-kṛṣṭa* , 「沒有耕種的、不毛之地」= 荒土, 荒野

非家 < *an-agārikā* , 「像佛陀一樣, 捨除世欲, 出離家庭的生活」= 出家

非靜 < *an-avakṛṣṭa* , 「喧囂擾攘」= 鬧, 嘈

非取 < *a-graha* , 「不受」= 捨棄

無舌 < *a-jihvaka* , 「無舌」= 啞

無明, 無知 < *a-jñāna* , 「愚癡、無知、無智」= 癡, 愚

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expression : *chī* 癡, *yú* 愚

*wúliàng* 無量, *wúshù* 無數, *wúqióng* 無窮 < *an-anta* 'endless, boundless, eternal, infinite' = native expression : *zhòngduō* 眾多, *yìwàn* 億萬

*wújià* 無價 < *an-arghya* 'priceless, invaluable' = native expression : *guìzhòng* 貴重

*wúshàng* 無上 < *an-uttama* 'unsurpassed, incomparably the best or chief, excellent' = native expression : *dǐng* 頂, *zuìgāo* 最高

But we should be cautious that here *a-* and *an-* are semantically and functionally the same in Sanskrit, as prefixes, having the meaning of "negative," "privative" or "contrary." But *bù* 不, *wú* 無, *wèi* 未 and *fēi* 非 differ from each other in both meaning and function, in addition to the fact that they are different from *a-* and *an-* in Sanskrit. In this case, there are apparent conflicts in translating Sanskrit *a-* and *an-* into *bù* 不, *wú* 無, *wèi* 未 or *fēi* 非 in Chinese, which manifested in the following aspects :

(1) Some concepts that are positively expressed in Chinese are often negatively expressed in Sanskrit. Consequently, using

無量, 無數, 無窮 < *an-anta*, 「無盡, 無界限, 永恆, 無限」 = 眾多, 億萬

無價 < *an-arghya*, 「價值無窮」 = 貴重

無上 < *an-uttama*, 「最勝, 極佳」 = 頂, 最高

應注意的是, 梵文的前綴詞 *a ~* 和 *an ~* 在語義上和功能上是相同的, 有「負面的」、「否定的」、「相反的」意思。但, 漢語的「不」、「無」、「未」、「非」, 除了與梵文的 *a ~* 和 *an ~* 不同之外, 它們各自也都具有不完全相同的意義和功能。值此情況, 將梵文的 *a ~* 和 *an ~* 譯為漢語的「不」、「無」、「未」、「非」, 就會有明顯的牴觸, 這種牴觸表現在下列幾個方面 :

(1) 有些概念在漢語裡是以肯定的方式表述, 在梵文裡通常卻是以否定的方式來表述。所以,

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loan translation, *huāngyě* 荒野 and *yǎ* 啞 shall be replaced by *fēigēng* 非耕 and *wúshé* 無舌 which were not used in Chinese before. Therefore it is not difficult to understand that most of the loan translated words were not fully admitted into Chinese in the end, with only a few exceptions like *bujǐǔ* 不久, *bushǎo* 不少, *wújià* 無價, etc. There is no doubt that loan translation has enriched Chinese expressions. But the question of its influence upon the Chinese mode of thinking still remains open.

(2) The difference mentioned above between Sanskrit a-, an- and Chinese *bù* 不, *wú* 無, *wèi* 未 and *fēi* 非 made the meanings and uses of the BHC words different from their former ones. Accordingly, two results are possible: a) the grammatical status of *bù* 不 and other negative words could evolve from syntactic elements into morphological elements; b) the meaning of the loan translation words could be distorted. For example: *fēijiā* 非家, literally means “to be not one’s home,” is far from the meaning borrowed from Sanskrit, that is “giving up one’s home.” The ‘Contemporary Chinese Dictionary’ (Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn Yǔyán Yánjiūsuǒ, 1996) includes 320 subentries under the entry *bù* 不, 27 under *fēi* 非 and 204 under *wú* 無.

如果用仿譯的方式，像「荒野」、「啞」等詞彙就得代之以「非耕」、「無舌」等以往在漢語裡未曾見過的詞彙。於此我們不難瞭解為什麼除了少數的詞彙如「不久」、「不少」、「無價」等之外，許多仿譯過來的詞彙終究無法真正進入漢語系當中。仿譯的確豐富了漢語詞彙，但它對於中國人的思惟方式所產生的影響問題仍有待討論。

(2) 上述梵文的 *a* ~, *an* ~, 和漢語的「不」、「無」、「未」、「非」之間的差異使得這些漢語在佛教混合漢語的含義和用法都和往昔有所不同，由此產生了兩種結果：a) 「不」字乃至其他否定詞彙的語法地位從句法成份變為詞素。b) 仿譯詞的意義有時會被曲解。例如：非家 < *anagarika*，字面的意思是「非某人的家」，與梵文的原意——「出家」已相距甚遠。在《現代漢語詞典》(中國社會科學院語言研究所，1996)裡，「不」打頭的條目

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More than a half of these subentries are word groups or idiomatic phrases. Also in these subentries there are many words that might have developed under the influence of ancient Buddhist language. Of course it is still an open question.

### 4.3. Reduplication

In the translated Buddhist scriptures, there are many compounds whose elements are semantically reduplicated. According to Yáng Bójùn and Hé Lèshì (1992 : 172), it is only after the Eastern Jìn Dynasty that reduplicated verbs had the meaning of continuity and emphasis in Chinese. Hú Chìruì (1999 : 34-35) made a comparison between the semantically overlapped terms in the Buddhist scriptures of the Eastern Hàn Dynasty and in *Lun Héng* written by Wáng Chōng at the same time and found 33 such terms in the former and 2 terms in the latter. He concludes that : “This is one of the striking differences between the vocabulary in Buddhist scriptures and that in *Lùn Héng*. The semantically reduplicated terms in Buddhist scriptures are more similar with those in Early Modern Chinese. For instance, many quantifiers and nouns of this type in Buddhist scriptures have an entailment of ‘per, each, every.’ Reduplicated adjectives and adverbs entail the concept of ‘quantity.’”

有 320 個，「非」的條目有 27 個，「無」的條目有 204 個。當中約有一半以上都是詞組，其中也有不少是詞，或許是受到古代佛教語言的影響所發展而成的。當然，這個問題還有探討的空間。

### 4.3. 重疊式

在翻譯佛典裡面，有許多詞義重疊的複合詞。楊伯峻和何樂士(1992 : 172)曾說，直到東晉以後的漢語才出現以重疊的動詞來表示連續或加強的意思。胡敕瑞(1999 : 34-35)曾就東漢佛典和《論衡》裡詞義重疊式的複合詞作過一番比較，發現前者有三十三個，而後者只有兩個，他的結論是：「這是佛典與《論衡》詞彙明顯不同的一點。……佛典眾多語義重疊所包含的意思倒是與現代漢語重疊式有很多相似之處，譬如佛典中由重疊構成的量詞和有些名詞含有『每』的意思，表示周遍性。……由重疊構成的形容詞和副詞含有『量』概念。」

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We do not agree with Hú Chìruì who considered those reduplicated expressions as the representation of spoken language. The following data show that it is likely that those reduplicated forms in Buddhist sutra were also the result of loan translation<sup>⑬</sup> :

*shēngshēng* 生生, *qǐqǐ* 起起 < *utpādotpāda*. *Utpāda* ‘coming forth, birth.’ There is an additional meaning of “every, each” after reduplication.

*zàizàichùchù* 在在處處 < *yato yatas... tatra tatraiva*. *Yatas* ‘where, in what place’; *yato yatas* ‘wherever’ is the emphasis of *yata*. *Tatra* ‘in that place, there’, *tatra tatra* ‘in that and that place, here and there, everywhere.’

*chùchù* 處處 < *sthāna-sthāna*. *Sthāna* ‘place of standing or staying, any place, spot, locality’, after reduplication, ‘in different place, here and there.’

*chùchù* 處處 < *tahiṃ tahiṃ*. *Tahiṃ* ‘at that place’, after reduplication, ‘everywhere.’

*chùchù* 處處 < *deśe deśe*. *Deśe* ‘in or at or on point, region, spot, place, part’,

胡敕瑞認為這些疊字詞是口語所致，對於此點，我們不予認同。從下列資料即可得知佛典裡重疊式的詞彙也是仿譯的結果。  
<sup>⑬</sup>

生生，起起 < *utpādotpāda*, *utpāda* 意即「生」，在重覆之後，就有了另一層「每」的意思。

在在處處 < *yato yatas... tatra tatraiva*, *Yatas* 意即「從某地」，*yato yatas* 意即「無論何處」，加重了 *yata* 的意思；*Tatra* 意即「在那裡」，*tatra tatra* 意為「在此處彼處，各個地方」。

處處 < *sthāna-sthāna*, *Sthāna* 意即「站立或佇足之處，任何地方，地點，所在」，重覆之後意為「在不同的地方，處處」。

處處 < *tahiṃ tahiṃ*, *Tahiṃ* 意即「在彼處」，重覆之後意為「在各處」。

處處 < *deśe deśe*, *Deśe* 意即「在一點，在一個地區，在一個地

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after reduplication, 'in everyplace.'

*chùchùzhōng* 處處中, *pǐpǐzhōng* 彼彼中  
< *teṣu teṣu*. *Teṣu* 'in those places', after  
reduplication 'everywhere.'

*chùchù* 處處 < *dīdī dīdī*. *Dīdī* 'direction,  
place', after reduplication, 'in all directions,  
everywhere.'

*gègè* 各各, *lǚlǚ* 屢屢, *shùshù* 數數,  
*chuáchuá* 傳傳 < *paraṃpara*. *Para* 'next,  
following', after reduplication, 'one follow-  
ing the other, successive, repeated.'<sup>17</sup>

*gègè* 各各 < *pṛthak-pṛthak*. *Pṛthak*  
'widely apart, separately, singly, one by  
one', after reduplication the meaning is  
emphasized.

*gègè* 各各, *biébié* 別別, *zhǒngzhǒng* 種  
種 < *anyanya*. *Anya* 'other, different', af-  
ter reduplication, 'the one, the other.'<sup>18</sup>

*gègè* 各各 < *sveṣu sveṣu*. *Sveṣu* <  
*sva* 'self'; *sveṣu sveṣu*, the emphasis of  
*svesu*.<sup>19</sup>

點，在一處，在一個部分（裡面，  
上面）」，重覆之後，意為「在每  
個地方」。

處處中，彼彼中 < *teṣu*  
*teṣu* , *Teṣu* 意即「彼處」，重覆之  
後，意為「到處」。

處處 < *dīdī dīdī* , *Dīdī* 意即  
「方向，處所」，重覆之後，意為  
「所有方向，到處」。

各各，屢屢，數數，傳傳 <  
*paraṃpara* , *Para* , 意即「其次，  
下一個」，重覆之後，意為「一個  
接著一個，連續不斷，重覆」。<sup>17</sup>

各各 < *pṛthak-pṛthak* ,  
*Pṛthak* , 意即「分開，分別地，單  
獨地，逐一」，重覆之後有加強的  
意思。

各各，別別，種種 <  
*anyanya* , *Anya* 意即「其他，不  
同」，重覆之後意即「各種」<sup>18</sup>

各各 < *sveṣu sveṣu* , *Sveṣu*  
< *sva* , 意即「自己」; *sveṣu*  
*sveṣu* , 即加強 *sveṣu* 的意思。<sup>19</sup>

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*shíshí* 時時 < *kālānukālam*. *Kālā* ‘time, a fixed or right point of time, occasionally’, after reduplication, ‘hardly, merely.’ (Zhū, 1999)

*jíjí* 疾疾 < *śighra-śighra*. *Śighra* ‘quick, immediate’, after reduplication the meaning is emphasized.

*duànduàn* 段段 < *kṣudrānukṣudra*. *Kṣudra* ‘tiny, very small, littler’, after reduplication the meaning is emphasized. ⑳

*duànduàn* 段段 < *khaṇḍakhaṇḍāni*. *Khaṇḍa* ‘a piece, part, fragment’, after reduplication the meaning is emphasized. ㉑

*duànduàn* 段段 < *aṅgam aṅge*. *Aṅga* ‘a limb of the body, a subordinate division or department,’ there is an additional meaning of “every, each” after reduplication.

*bùbù* 步步 < *kramakrameṇa*. *Krama* ‘a step, proceeding’, after reduplication, ‘successive order and simultaneousness.’ ㉒

From the above data, we know that it is common in Sanskrit that many words are

時時 < *kālānukālam* ,  
*Kālā* 意為「時，某一固定時刻，有時」，重覆之後意為「幾乎，全然」。(朱慶之，1999)

疾疾 < *śighra-śighra* 。  
*Śighra* 意為「快速、立即」，重覆之後有加強的意思。

段段 < *kṣudrānukṣudra* ,  
*Kṣudra* 意為「小，非常小，少量」，重覆之後有加強的意思。 ㉒

段段 < *khaṇḍakhaṇḍāni* ,  
*Khaṇḍa* 意為「一片，一部分，一個斷片」，重覆之後有加強的意思。 ㉑

段段 < *aṅgam aṅge* , *Aṅga*  
意為「身上的一塊肉，附屬的一部分」，重覆之後有加強的意思，重覆之後另有「每」的意思。

步步 < *kramakrameṇa* ,  
*Krama* 意為「一步，進行」，重覆之後，意為「連續同時」 ㉒

從以上的資料可以得知，疊字詞在梵文裡十分常見，詞彙經

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duplicated. After the duplication, two kinds of semantic changes will occur: one is to express “every and all,” the other is to emphasize. After these words were loan translated into Chinese, the two features were retained. Therefore, we are justified in saying that Buddhist scripture translation, especially loan translation, was the main reason for the wide-spread existence of reduplicated compounds in Buddhist scriptures, and was a driving force for the development of reduplicated words in Chinese.

4.4. *Zìyóu gòucí yusu* 自由構詞語素 (flexible morpheme)

A *zìyóu gòucí yusu* 自由構詞語素 refers to a morpheme whose written form is a character and major function is to extend the number of syllables in a word, namely to constitute a disyllabic form by combining with a monosyllabic character, which was an important way to form disyllabic words in the Medieval Times. Typical flexible morphemes that are commonly known are *-fù* 復, *-zì* 自, *-wéi* 為, *-dāng* 當 and *xíng*- 行, etc. (Zhū, 1992a; Wáng Yúnlù, 1998) Perhaps the embryonic forms of flexible morphemes may have existed before the Medieval Times and were used to create new words in the Hàn Dynasty before Buddhist scriptures were introduced into China. But their maturity and large amount of appearance only happened in the Medi-

過重疊之後，發生兩種語義上的變化：其一是表述「每個全都」，其二是加強語意。仿譯為漢語之後，這兩項特點被保留下來。因此我們可以說，佛典翻譯，尤其是仿譯的方式，不但是佛經裡的疊字詞廣泛存在的主因，對於漢語疊字詞的發展也有推波助瀾之功。

4.4 自由構詞語素

「自由構詞語素」意指那些主要功能是擴充音節，可以用某個相當大的範疇裡的單音節詞隨意組合構成該詞的雙音形式的「字」，它們是中古漢語詞彙雙音化的重要手段之一。典型的自由構詞要素有大家所熟知的「復」、「自」、「為」、「當」、「行」等(朱慶之，1992a；王雲路，1998)。儘管自由語素的型態或許早在中古時期之前已經萌芽，而且在佛典傳入中土之前的漢代就已被用來創造新詞，但它們只是到了中古時期才趨於成熟，大量出現，

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eval Times, and most of them made their first appearances in Buddhist scriptures. Some may still argue that flexible morphemes are the representation of spoken Chinese. However, when we take into consideration the frequent use of loan translation at that time and the features of Sanskrit compounds, it is justifiable for us to say that flexible morphemes' wide-spread use in Middle and Early Modern Chinese, was closely related to the imitative creation of the translators of Buddhist scriptures.

As we know, since the Sanskrit prefix *anu-* sometimes does mean something but sometimes means nothing in particular, why was it still added to a word stem? It is because Sanskrit required the number of syllables in a word to be highly flexible. People in ancient India paid much more attention to oral instructions than to written forms. To facilitate reciting and memorizing, the historical literature of ancient India was mainly created in verse. The rhyme of the verses was formed through the number of syllables in the sentence and the regular collocation of long and short vowels. Thus it is important that a meaning could be expressed by many synonyms with different number of syllables and that a word could have more than one variant having different syllables. For example, above-mentioned *anu-*, when it does not mean anything, functions to add syllables to the given word. Therefore, is

且大多首次出現在佛經裡。或許有人會認為，自由構詞語素是漢語口語的表現，但如果我們觀察當時使用仿譯之頻繁及梵文複合詞的特色，當可推論，在中古時期及近代的漢語中之所以廣為使用自由構詞語素，與譯經者摹仿性的創造有著密切的關係。

我們已知道，梵文前綴 *anu* ~ 有時候有意義，有時候沒有任何意義。既然沒有意義，為什麼依舊把它加在詞幹前面呢？這是因為梵文詞彙裡的音節長短必須有很高的自由度。古代的印度人注重口傳，而忽視筆錄。為了便於記誦，古印度的歷史文獻主要以詩偈寫成，詩偈的節拍是由句子裡的音節數目與長短母音按照一定的規則搭配而成。因此一個意思可以由多個不同音節數的同義詞來表達，而一個詞彙也可以有兩個以上不同音節的變體字。例如，上述的 *anu* ~ 沒有任何意義時，可以作為增加音節之用。那

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there any difference between *anu-* and *-fù* 麼，從作用上看，*anu* ~ 和  
復，*-zì* 自, etc?

### 4.5. Abbreviated forms

Those that we called abbreviated forms refer to the forms which have a specific meaning by combining the number of items and the name of the category, such as : *Wujīng* 五經 ‘Five Classics’ < *Yì Jīng* 易經, *Shū Jīng* 書經, *Shī Jīng* 詩經, *Lǐ Jīng* 禮經 and *Chūnqiū Jīng* 春秋經. They are often used in contemporary Chinese, e. g. : *Sānmínzhuì* 三民主義 ‘The Three People’s Principles’ < *mínzúzhǔyì* 民族主義 ‘nationalism’, *mínquánzhuì* 民權主義 ‘democratism’ and *mínshēngzhuì* 民生主義 ‘people-livelihoodism’ ; *sānxià* 三夏 ‘the three summer agricultural jobs’ < *xiàshōu* 夏收 ‘summer harvesting’, *xiàzhòng* 夏種 ‘summer planting’ and *xiàguǎn* 夏管 ‘summer field management.’ In ancient works, there are a few words that seem to be similar with the abbreviated words, such as *bǎixìng* 百姓 ‘hundreds of families ; common people’, *sìhǎi* 四海 ‘four seas ; the whole country, the whole world’, *wugu* 五穀 ‘five cereals, corn ; cereals, cereal crops ; grain plants’ etc, but they have a general meaning, without a specific reference.

There are a surprisingly large number of abbreviated words in Buddhist scriptures.

麼，從作用上看，*anu* ~ 和  
「復」、「自」有什麼不同呢？

### 4.5 簡稱詞

所謂簡稱詞，即由項數的數量加類名稱構成的意義確定的簡稱性詞語。例如：五經 < 易經、書經、詩經、禮經、春秋經。簡稱通常用於現代漢語，好比：三民主義 < 民族主義、民權主義、民生主義，三夏 < 夏收、夏種、夏管。在古籍裡，有些詞彙習以簡稱來表示，像百姓（意指「平民」）、四海（意指「全國、舉世」）、五穀（意指「穀物」）等等，但他們都有通用的意義，而非指特定的事物。

令人印象深刻的是，在佛經裡的簡稱詞數量驚人。顏洽茂

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Yán Qiàomào(1997) made a comprehensive study on this and gave the following examples :

令某甲明經智慧，曉了佛十二部經、四阿舍、安般守意三十七品：四意止、四意斷、四神足、五根、五力、七覺、八直行道。若能至心求佛道者，疾得阿惟越致，令其得佛三十二相、八十種好、紫磨金色、十種力、四無所畏、十八不共。( *Guànxǐ Fó Xíngxiàng Jīng*, Western Jìn, Fǎ Ju tr., 16/797b)

In the above text, there are 14 “number + category name” expressions that are abbreviated words. They are not the words created by translators, but loan translated words of similar construction, for example :

*sì Èhán* 四阿舍 < *caturāgama*, *catur* ‘four’, *āgama* ‘a traditional doctrine, collection of such doctrines’ < *Samyuktāgama* 雜阿舍經, *Madhyamāgama* 中阿舍經, *Dirghāgama* 長阿舍經, and *Ekottarikāgama* 增一阿舍經.

(1997) 曾就此作了一個比較研究，並且舉出下例以為說明：

令某甲明經智慧，曉了佛十二部經、四阿舍、安般守意三十七品：四意止、四意斷、四神足、五根、五力、七覺、八直行道。若能至心求佛道者，疾得阿惟越致，令其得佛三十二相、八十種好、紫磨金色、十種力、四無所畏、十八不共。(西晉·法炬《灌洗佛形像經》)

上述是以十四個〔數目+類目名稱〕的簡稱。它們不是譯者自創的詞，而是原文中同樣結構的詞語仿譯過來形成的詞彙。如：

四阿舍 < *caturāgama* , *catur-* 意即「四」，*āgama* 意即所傳承之教說，或集其教說所成之聖典 < 雜阿舍經、中阿舍經、長阿舍經、增一阿舍經。

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*sishénzú* 四神足 < *catvāra-ṛddhipādāḥ*, *catvāra-* ‘four’, *ṛddhipādā* ‘one of the four constituent part of supernatural power’ < *chanda-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṃskāra-samanvāgato-ṛddhipāda* 欲三摩地斷行成就神足, *citta-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṃskāra-samanvāgato-ṛddhipāda* 心三摩地斷行成就神足, *virya-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṃskāra-samanvāgato-ṛddhipāda* 勤三摩地斷行成就神足, *mimāṃsā-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṃskāra-samanvāgato-ṛddhipāda* 觀三摩地斷行成就神足。

*wǔgēn* 五根 < *pañcendriya*, *pañca* ‘five’, *indriya* ‘organ of senses ; five organs of perception, i.e. eye, ear, nose, tongue, and skin’ < *cakṣur-indriyam* 眼根, *śrotra-indriyam* 耳根, *ghrāṇa-indriyam* 鼻根, *jihvā-indriyam* 舌根, and *kāya-indriyam* 身根。

*wǔlì* 五力 < *pañca-balāni*, *pañca* ‘five’, *bala* ‘power, strength, force’ < *śraddā-balam* 信力, *virya-balam* 進力, *smṛti-balam* 念力, *samādhi-balam* 定力, and *prajñā-balam* 慧力。<sup>②③</sup>

These examples are convincing evidence to show that abbreviated forms of Chinese were influenced by translation of Buddhist scriptures.

So far, our knowledge is limited about how loan translation affected Chinese vocabulary. Fortunately, we have come to

四神足 < *c a t v ā r a - ṛ d d h i p ā d ā ḥ* , *catvāra-* 意即「四」, *ṛddhipādā* 意即「四種神力的一種」 < 欲三摩地斷行成就神足、心三摩地斷行成就神足、勤三摩地斷行成就神足、觀三摩地斷行成就神足。

五根 < *pañcendriyani* , *pañca* 意即「五」, *indriya* 意即「感官, 五官, 即眼、耳、鼻、舌、身」 < 眼根、耳根、鼻根、舌根、身根。

五力 < *pañca-balāni* , *pañca* 意即「五」, *bala* 意即「力」 < 信力、進力、念力、定力、慧力<sup>②③</sup>。

這些例證足以顯示, 漢語裡的簡稱的形成受到佛經翻譯的影響。

至今我們對於仿譯影響漢語詞彙方面的知識仍然有限, 所幸

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the realization that there is still a lot of work to be done. It is foreseeable that by further and more thorough investigation of loan translation, more evidence will be found to reveal more clearly the influence of Buddhist language upon Chinese vocabulary.

Last, but not least, although our research has made some progress in the language of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, compared with the work to be done, our findings are quite limited. Research on this issue requires the efforts of more linguists and experts in other fields who have similar interests and pursue the same goal.

### 【NOTE】

- ⑮ Anonymity of Qīng Dynasty, *Wàijiāo Xiǎoshǐ*, Chūshǐ xiàduà Jiuzé: “崔國因……在英時，……不自開火食，惟附食於翻譯李一琴之處。”
- ⑯ All of the examples as following are cited from Ogiwara (1979) and Karashima(1998b).
- ⑰ *Zhèng Fǎhuá Jīng*, Ch. 5: “是諸最勝……各各悉等，皆成佛道。”9/97a) “今日我等……各各逮得別授殊決。”9/97c) Ch.6: “一切諸佛……各各至於眾寶樹下。”(9/103b)

我們已經明白還有許多工作有待完成，預見未來透過更多在仿譯方面的深入研究，必定會有更多證據揭開佛典語言對於漢語詞彙所帶來的影響的廬山真面目。

最後有一件最重要的事，即雖然在漢譯佛典語言的研究上，我們已有了一些進展，但與未竟之業比較起來，我們的發現真是太有限了。這項研究課題還需要更多有志於此的語言學者及其他各領域的專家們一起共襄盛舉。

### 【註釋】

- ⑮ 清·佚名，《外交小史·出使笑話九則》：「崔國因……在英時，……不自開火食，惟附食於翻譯李一琴之處。」
- ⑯ 下面所有例子均引自荻原雲來(1979)及辛鳴靜志(1998b)。
- ⑰ 《正法華經》卷五：「是諸最勝……各各悉等，皆成佛道。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第九十七頁上)「今日我等……各各逮得別授殊決。」(《大正藏》第九冊，

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- 九十七頁下) 卷六：「一切諸佛……各各至於眾寶樹下。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第一〇三頁中)
- ⑱ *Zhèng Fǎhuá Jīng*, Ch. 8： “諸阿須倫居在於海，諸響暢逸，而各各異。”(9/119c) “其梵天上所居諸天……及餘奇特，各各異聲，法師普得悉聞此響。”(9/119c)
- ⑲ *Zhèng Fǎhuá Jīng*, Ch.5： “二千聲聞……布於十方各各異土，逮成無上正真道，為最正覺。”(9/98c) Ch. 6： “時十方佛各各自告諸菩薩等。”(9/103b)
- ⑳ *Zhèng Fǎhuá Jīng*, Ch.3： “碎小段段，諸所良藥。”(9/84b)
- ㉑ *Zhèng Fǎhuá Jīng*, Ch. 10： “若見怨賊欲來危害，即稱光世音菩薩名號，而自歸命，賊所持刀杖，尋段段壞。”(9/129a)
- ㉒ *Zhèng Fǎhuá Jīng* 正法華經, Ch.
- ⑱ 《正法華經》卷八：「諸阿須倫居在於海，諸響暢逸，而各各異。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第一一九頁下)「其梵天上所居諸天……及餘奇特，各各異聲，法師普得悉聞此響。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第一一九頁下)
- ⑲ 《正法華經》卷五：「二千聲聞……布於十方各各異土，逮成無上正真道，為最正覺。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第九十八頁下)卷六：「時十方佛各各自告諸菩薩等。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第一〇三頁中)
- ⑳ 《正法華經》卷三：「碎小段段，諸所良藥。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第八十四頁中)
- ㉑ 《正法華經》卷十：「若見怨賊欲來危害，即稱光世音菩薩名號，而自歸命，賊所持刀杖，尋段段壞。」
- ㉒ 《正法華經》卷四：「於彼所

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4：“於彼所說，及聽受者，是諸聲聞，悉佛弟子，步步各各，若干色像，今當親近，發大道意。”(9/93c)

說，及聽受者，是諸聲聞，悉佛弟子，步步各各，若干色像，今當親近，發大道意。」(《大正藏》第九冊，第九十三頁下)

⑳ Others are *Fóshíèrbùjīn* 佛十二部經 < *dvādaśāṅga-buddha-vacana*, *Sìyìzhǐ* 四意止 < *catvāri-smṛty-upasthānāni*, *Sìyìduàn* 四意斷 < *catvāri-prahanani*, *Qījué* 七覺 < *saptabodhyangāni*, *Bāzhíxíngdào* 八直行道 < *āryāṣṭāṅgikamārga*, *Sānshíèrxìàng* 三十二相 < *dvātriṃsan-mahā-purusalakṣaṇāni*; *Bāshízhǒnghǎo* 八十種好 < *asity-anuvyanjanāni*, *Shízhǒnglì* 十種力 < *dasa-balāni*, *Sìwúsuoǒwèi* 四無所畏 < *catvāri-vaisāradyāni* and *Shíbábúgòng* 十八不共 < *aṣṭādasa-āveṇika-ābuddha-dharmāḥ*.

㉑ 其他：佛十二部經 < *dvādaśāṅga-buddha-vacana*，四意止 < *catvāri-smṛty-upasthānāni*，四意斷 < *catvāri-prahanani*，七覺 < *saptabodhyangāni*，八直行道 < *āryāṣṭāṅgikamārga*，三十二相 < *dvātriṃsan-mahā-purusalakṣaṇāni* 八十種好 < *asity-anuvyanjanāni*，十種力 < *dasa-balāni*，四無所畏 < *catvāri-vaisāradyāni*，十八不共 < *aṣṭādasa-āveṇika-ābuddha-dhamāḥ*。

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