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(Philological Research on the Etymology of Loanwords
in Sinitic and Dictionary Compilation)

by
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汉语外来词的语源考证和词典编纂

徐文堪

一

近十年来，汉语外来词的研究取得了不少进展^①，并已先后出版了两部汉语外来词词典^②和一本专著^③。笔者同意史有为先生的看法^④，汉语外来词的研究和词典编纂工作虽然包括了很多方面，但其重点和难点还是传统的考证源流；能否正确地考释语源，应该视为衡量一部汉语外来词词典质量高低的主要标准。在提交给 1982 年上海市辞书学会成立大会的论文中，我曾对这个问题略加讨论^⑤。现在想结合一些具体例证，对此作进一步的申说，请读者指正。

二

在词典释文中探求追溯汉语外来词的语源，必须注意吸收中外学者的研究成果，特别是近年来的最新成果。现已出版的汉语外来词词典和其他辞书在这方面都作了一定的努力，但显然还不够充分。我想先谈谈对两个专名的处理。

1.“印度”的古名

岑麒祥先生在《汉语外来语词典·序言》中对此说道：“‘身毒’、‘信度’、‘贤豆’、‘痕都’、‘天竺’、‘天笃’、‘天毒’、‘捐毒’和‘印度’等都是指的同一个地区或国家，可是‘身毒’和‘信度’来源于梵语的 Sindhu，‘贤豆’和‘痕都’源于古波斯语的 Hēndhu，‘天竺’、‘天督’、‘天笃’和‘天毒’来自古波斯土语的 Thēndhu，而‘捐毒’和‘印度’却与拉丁语的 Indus 有关。”这段话问题颇多，不可不辨。

我国古代汉文史籍称呼印度的译名虽然很多，但在五代以前，主要有三种写法，即身毒、天竺和印度^⑥。“身毒”见于《史记·大宛列传》及《西南夷列传》，并非直接来源于今天印度河的古代梵文名称 Sindhu，而是以伊朗语为中介的。“身毒”的“身”在古代是腭音送气音而不是齿音送气音，指示着古代汉语的 *θen，汉代发音近似 *hēn 或 hin。“身毒”一名系公元前二世纪张骞在大夏时听说的印度名称，

所以它的^{直接}原只可能是古伊朗语 hinduka。至于天竺(天竺、天督)，这里需要略加说明：早在 1954 年，包拟古(N. C. Bodman)在研究《释名》的专著中就已指出“天>显 hen”的现象，所以其汉代读音有 hen 和 t'an 两读，读作 hen 时，“天竺”可以构拟为 *hen-tuk，也正好与古伊朗语 hinduka 对应^⑦。今天通行的“印度”一名，是由玄奘率先使用的。它绝不是像岑先生所说的那样与拉丁语有关，而可能是玄奘入印前在突厥汗国里听到的，来源于当时隶属于突厥的龟兹国人的语言。考龟兹语即吐火罗语 B 有 Yentukemne 一名，其中 kem 的意思是“土地、国土”，ne 是龟兹语单数依格之标志，《大慈恩寺三藏法师传》卷二和《宋高僧传》卷三译作“印特伽”(除龟兹语外，粟特语作 'yntk'w 等，回鹘语作 'n'tk'k 等，亦可比照)，可能是“印度”一名之所本。不过，在对音方面还存在一些问题，还可以继续研究。

2. 满洲(满珠、满住)

大家知道，清代满族自称为满洲。满族为女真人后裔，早期满人自称为“诸申”(亦作“珠申”，满文为 jūsen)，天聪九年(1635 年)皇太极庶四有族名，确定新族名为“满洲”。但对“满洲”一词的来源，却众说纷纭，至今未能确定。

一些辞书和专著沿用旧说，把“满洲”释成来源于梵文菩萨名文殊师利(曼殊师利 Mañjuśri)，其实这是一种附会之说。“满洲”(“满住”)一名在努儿哈赤时已经使用，皇太极自己就说过：“我国建號滿洲，統緒綿遠，相傳奕世。”(《清太宗实录》卷二十五)。据意大利满学家 Giovanni Stary 最近的研究^⑧，“满洲”(Manju)应来自通古斯—满语词根 man< *manj，表示“成长”、“壮大”、“强”、“有力”等义。后来满语中尚有 mangga(强、猛、才勇出群)，mangalambi(做艰难逞强之事)，mandumbi(长成)等词。又如通古斯语称大河、大江像黑龙江为 Maygu(但满语称黑龙江为 Sahaliyan ula)，当亦来源于此。如再上溯，《北史》卷九四《勿吉传》有“渠帥曰大莫弗瞞咄”的记载，此“瞞咄”(mantu)可以解释为“强有力之人”。这一新说显然优于旧说，可惜还没有引起我国辞书编纂者的注意。

三

接下来我想再举出八个其他外来词的例子，从中可以看出，在某

种意义上，编一部翔实的汉语外来词词典，实在无异于写一部详尽的中外文化交流史和国内各民族文化交流史。

1. 肖宿

据《史记·大宛列传》，肖宿是汉武帝时张骞从大宛带回的，《汉书·西域传》作“目宿”，古音近于 muwk suwk。大宛即今中亚费尔干纳盆地，古代可能说伊朗语，劳佛 (B. Laufer) 在其名著《中国伊朗编》(Sino-Iranica, Chicago, 1919, p. 212) 中构拟的大宛语原型是 *buksuk, *buxsux 或 *buxsak。但波兰汉学家 J. Chmielewski 在 1961 年发表的文章^⑨提出新说，认为此词源于梵语 māksika 或其某种方言形式，意为属于蜂或与蜂有关的某种东西；也可能来自假设的梵语 *mygasāka-，意为“家畜饲料”。蒲立本 (E. G. Pulleyblank) 对此表示怀疑，他主张大宛即后之“粟特” (Sogdiana)，“肖宿”一词应来自吐火罗语或伊朗语，但其原型究竟是什么，则不得而知。在词典里解释这个条目的语源时，似宜数说并存。

2. 狮子 (师子)

狮子一名最初见于《汉书·西域传》，原作“师子”，魏晋南北朝时才写作“狮子”。刘正琰等编《汉语外来词词典》曾列举几种可能的语源。按，“狮”梵语为 simha-, 花剌子模语为 sary, 粟特语为 ſryw, 比较起来，以来源于粟特语之说为长。但是，早期汉语文献都写作双音节词“师子”(古音 sii-tsiə, 子不是名词后缀)，所以也可能来自吐火罗语 A 的 ſecca 和吐火罗语 B 的 ſiſäk。又狮子的另一译名“狻猊”，并不像有些人所说的那样源于梵语 simha^⑩，而同样是一个伊朗语词的对音，著名伊朗学家亨宁 (W. B. Henning 1908—1967) 早已指出(来源于伊朗语 saryē 或 sargeē)。郭沫若先生在《甲骨文字研究》里主张“狻猊”来自巴比伦语的说法，也是缺乏根据的。

3. 翼毛罽毛

这是一种毛织物的名称，通常织着图案花纹，华丽美观。对其语源，日本藤田丰八认为是阿拉伯语 gäshiya、ghäshiyat 的对音^⑪。但此名始见于东汉，如张衡《四愁诗》：“美人赠我赵卿翼毛罽毛。”把这个阿拉伯语词传入中国时代提前到汉，显然缺乏根据。据马雍先生研究^⑫，新疆发现的佉卢文文书中有 kósava一词，源于梵文 kośa，

意义为“茧”。玄奘《大唐西域记》卷二有“惊奇奢耶衣”，“惊奇奢耶”是梵文 Kauṣeya 音译，意为野蚕丝；惊奇奢耶衣即野蚕丝织成的绢衣。此词原指野蚕丝织物，后来传到游牧地区，改用兽毛纺织，才转而用以指毛织物。我国古籍中的瞿毘咤可能即 kośava (转为 *küṣāṇ) 的对音。马先生还认为，《逸周书·王会篇》的“渠叟”和《尚书·禹贡》的“渠搜”(先秦时代一个西北部族的名称)亦来源于此，可能因这个部族擅长织毛织物而得名。此非定论，但亦可备一说。

4. 毡铎

《晋书·乞伏固仁载记》：“四部服其雄武，推爲统主，號之曰乞伏可汗毡铎莫何。毡铎者，言非神非人之稱也。”刘正琰等编《汉语外来词词典》收录此条，释为“非神非人”，注明源于鲜卑语。

此词至今尚无令人满意的、公认的解释。就我所知，日本白鸟库吉^⑬首先将它与蒙古语 zik-tei 比对（此蒙古语词见《四体合璧清文鉴》卷十九），zik 为词根，奇异之义；tei 为语尾，约相当于汉语之“的”。方壮猷先生同意他的看法^⑭，谓“毡铎”乃鲜卑语神怪灵异或黠慧之义。这是用蒙古语词解释鲜卑语，但从对音看不很切合。出生于俄国的美国汉学家卜弼德 (P. A. Boedberg) 的看法与此不同，他用突厥语词 *taydagii 来解释“毡铎”的语源，意为“山居者”^⑮。早期突厥人中盛行山岳崇拜，故汉文史籍的“非神非人”实即“半神半人”，体现了对山上居民的尊崇。鲜卑语究竟属突厥语族还是蒙古语族，学者间分歧很大，下面我们将略作讨论。

5. 迦沙

《新唐书·回鹘传下》：“[黠戛斯]有金、鐵、錫，每雨，俗必得鐵，號迦沙，爲兵絕犀利，常以輸突厥。”其中提到的“迦沙”一词至今未见任何辞书收录。著名匈牙利学者李盖提 (L. Ligeti) 将这个词的原型构拟为 *qasa 或 *qas，意为铁，起源于萨莫耶德语^⑯。最近蒲立本对此作了更深入的研究^⑰，他一方面肯定李盖提的构拟，另一方面又指出李盖提只引《新唐书》，而忽略了《通典·边防十六》的更清楚明确的记载：“天每雨鐵，收而用之，號曰迦沙，以爲刀劍，甚銳利。”(《唐会要》卷一百同) 所以，“迦沙”应指陨石或陨铁。此词其实也出自突厥语，^(A. von Grabain)葛玛丽的《古突厥语法》中正有 qas 一词 (“宝石”)，

意义相近，可以视为“迦沙”的语源。《汉语大词典》第10卷已收入这个条目，依据以上两位学者的研究所得写了释文。

6. 破罗（叵罗、颇罗）

《隋书·西域传·曾国》：“國中有得悉神，自西海以東諸國并敬事之。其神有金人馬，金破羅闕丈有五尺，高下相稱，每日以馬五頭、馬十匹、羊一百口祭之，常有千人食之不盡。”这里的“破罗”亦作“叵罗”、“颇罗”等，始见于《北齐书·祖珽传》：“神武宴寮屬，於坐失金叵羅，賓客令飲酒者皆脫帽，於珽髻上得之。”《汉语大词典》第1卷收“叵罗”条，释为“西域语音译，当地的一种饮酒器”，是。但对它的语源，尚待再作探索。

卜彌德在本世纪三十年代对此作过研究^⑯。他将汉语“叵罗”的原型构拟为*bala～*pala，意为饮器，并进而将它与突厥文《突厥特勤碑》东十七行的 balbal（意为“石像”，即“杀人石”。古代突厥习俗，死者生前曾杀一人，即于其墓立石志之，见《同书·突厥传》）和《通典·边防十三》的突厥称号“大罗便”^⑰联系起来，其说颇迂曲。但他又指出，酒杯（还有短剑）是说伊朗语的斯基泰武士的最具代表性的器物，其希腊语转写形式是 *psálly*，*bala 可能来源于此。这种看法很有道理。至八十年代初，前苏联伊朗学家 B.A. ЛИВШИЦ 再作研究后确定此词源出伊朗语^⑱，似指“碗”。有一杯状银碗，上镌粟特文 *patrōs*，可资参证。

此词屡见于唐及唐以后诗文。如：唐李白《对酒》诗：“葡萄酒，金叵罗，吴姬十五細馬駛。”明唐寅《进酒歌》：“吾生莫放金叵羅，請君聽我進酒歌。”直到清末的黄遵憲，在其《樱花歌》中尚有“螺鈿漆盒攜叵羅”之句。现代作家笔下也有出现这个词的，如鲁迅先生《朝花夕拾·从百草园到三味书屋》文中引的“金叵罗”^⑲。可见胡语^⑳入汉文，真可谓源远流长。

7. 质孙（只孙）

蒙元制度，宫廷及宗王斡耳朵设宴，与宴者着同样颜色的服饰，称质孙服（亦作“只孙服”），宴称质孙（只孙）宴^㉑。“质孙”（“只孙”）即蒙古语 *jisun*，意为“颜色”。此说久已成为定论。

但是，对“质孙”一词的语源也有另一种解释。叶奕良先生最近提出^㉒，此词来自波斯语 *jashn*，意为“礼仪”，亦有“节日”、“庆典”和“贸易

服饰”之意。按质孙宴又名“诈马宴”，“诈马”一词韩儒林先生已考证为源于波斯语 *jāmah* — 衣，则“质孙”之名亦源出波斯语自然有其可能。我们知道，从公元十世纪起波斯语就已逐渐确立了作为东部伊斯兰世界文学语言的地位，到蒙古兴起时期，中亚地区已普遍使用波斯语。当时有不少中亚回回商人投到蒙古统治者帐下，为蒙古贵族效力。有元一代，中亚回回人在政治、经济、文化上都占有相当突出的地位，回回文字即波斯文的重要性仅次于蒙古文和汉文。所以，元代汉语文献中有许多波斯语词汇，从历史背景看，是并不令人感到奇怪的。

8. 亦思替非文字

《通制条格》卷五有“亦思替非文书”，《元史·选举志》及《百官志》提到“亦思替非文字”。此“亦思替非”究何所指，一直是元史学界的难题。

内蒙古达尔罕旗阿伦苏木曾陆续发现汪古部回地墓群的基督教徒墓碑，是用古叙利亚文字母拼写的突厥语言。呼和浩特市附近的丰州城址内辽代“万部华严经塔”的游人题记中也发现这种文字。李逸友先生认为即亦思替非文字^④。考古学家夏鼐先生曾就此请教韩儒林先生。韩先生研究后，认为亦思替非文字可能就是波斯文^⑤，而非上述叙利亚字母的突厥语。此说受到史学界的重视，《中国历史大辞典·辽夏金元史卷》（上海辞书出版社 1986 年版）“亦思替非文字”条就采用了这种说法。

在此之前，日本学者岩村忍曾写过一篇短文^⑥，认为“亦思替非文字”指当时拜占庭（东罗马）使用的希腊文，这种解释是不能成立的。其实，我国学者邵循正先生多年前就已明确指出^⑦，“亦思替非”的对音应是 *istafā*，训“选择”；质言之，即“被选择者 (*Mustafá*，指穆罕默德) 之文字”。最近刘迎胜先生重新研究这个问题，肯定了邵先生的假设，论证了亦思替非文字指阿拉伯文^⑧。这是一个比较合理的结论。

四

上面所举的十个例证说明了汉语外来词语源考释的复杂性和艰巨性。从事这项工作，不但需要广博的语言知识和汉语音韵学的修养，而且必须进行历史语言学、社会语言学、历史学、考古学、民族学、人类学、地理学等的跨学科研究。语源考释工作做好了，才

能编出理想的汉语外来词词典。

应该指出，在语源考证方面，前人和当代学者已经做了大量工作。通过冯承钧先生等的翻译和介绍，一些著名外国学者如劳佛、伯希和（P. Pelliot）、马伯乐（H. Maspero）、沙畹（E. Chavannes）、烈维（S. Lévi）、费郎（G. Ferrand）、白鸟库吉、羽田亨等人的论著已早为中国学者所了解和熟悉。我国前辈学者如陈垣、陈寅恪、向达、张星烺、冯家升、韩儒林、邵循正、王静如、罗常培、岑仲勉、吕澂、季羨林、周达甫、吴晓铃、闻宥、俞敏、周一良、方豪、饶宗颐等诸先生也都有很好的贡献。近年来，王亮、蔡美彪、张永言、耿世民、张广达、黄盛璋（主要是地名考证）等先生和不少中青年学者致力于此，视野更加广阔，取得不少突出成就。但是，就目前已经出版的各种辞书来看，对汉语外来词的处理和解释往往不能尽如人意，其中一个重要原因就在于忽略了近数十年特别是五、六十年代以来的新成果。所以，我们今后从事汉语外来词词典的编纂，必须广泛收集汉文和各种民族语文以及各种外文的文献资料，并且争取在充分占有材料的基础上有所突破和提高。对国外学者的成果，除伯希和的许多作品至今仍是取之不尽的宝藏外，还应注意如蒲立本、李盖提、柯立甫（F. W. Cleaves）、夏伦（Gustav Haloun）、亨宁、乌瑞（G. Uray）、罗依果（Igor de Rachewiltz）、西诺尔（Denis Sinor）、门格斯（Karl Menges）、傅海波（Herbert Franke）、伯戴克（L. Petech）、费耐生（R. N. Frye）、哈尔马塔（J. Harmatta）、哈密尔顿（James Hamilton）、石泰安（R. A. Stein）、克里雅什托尔内（C. Г. Кляшторный）、服部四郎、石田干之助、植一雄、护雅夫等汉学家和东方学家、语言学家的论著。

五

汉语外来词涉及的范围十分广泛，现代的姑不论，古代汉语外来词就已来自汉藏、阿尔泰、印欧、闪含、南岛、南亚各个语系的语言和日语、古亚细亚语（Paleo-Asiatic Languages）、泰米尔语以至东非的语言等。特别是古代居住在我国境内边疆地区和与我国邻近地区的许多部族，往往没有本族的文字记载留传下来，但在汉文史籍中却记录了大量的族称、专名和各类词汇，这在世界上是独一无二的。如果能

把这些资料系统地予以搜集和整理，综合国内外各方面的成果，以词典形式将它们有条理地编排起来，那对民族史、语言史的研究和历史语言学、普遍语言学的理论研究都将是重大的贡献。为了说明这一点，试以阿尔泰语系为例少作探考。

使用阿尔泰语系各语言的人民在历史早期都起源于中国北方和与其相邻近的地区。如戎，是我国古代北方和西北各族的通称，支系众多，其主要部分当属汉藏语系，但也有一部分可能属阿尔泰语系；狄，主要居住在北方，应与阿尔泰语系有一定关系。又如丁零，一般认为是高车、匈奴、回鹘的先民，其语言属一种原始的突厥语^⑩。在我国和亚欧历史上都很重要的匈奴，其语言系属不明，有突厥、蒙古（两者都属阿尔泰语系）和古亚细亚语诸说^⑪；蒲立本认为匈奴的语言类似古代克特语（亦称叶尼塞—奥施恰克语），最近英国著名伊朗学家 Bailey 又将一些匈奴语词与伊朗语比对。其他如乌桓、鲜卑、柔然、室韦、坚昆、突厥、匈奴、革达靼、契丹、女真、蒙古、满等各个在这一地区建立过幅员辽阔的国家的民族都说阿尔泰语系的语言，在汉文史籍中有着丰富的记载。因此，只有充分利用汉文史料，才能复原阿尔泰语系各族的早期语言状况。

阿尔泰语系包括突厥、蒙古、满—通古斯三个语族。这三个语族之间是否有亲缘关系，语言学家认识不同。一派认为有亲缘关系，也就是在三个语族各自的共同语之上还有一个原始阿尔泰语。另一派认为三个语族之间没有亲缘关系，彼此在类型上的一致性和词汇上的共同性是语言互相影响的结果。因而，研究阿尔泰系语言中什么是同源关系，什么是互相影响的关系，往往很难作出准确判断。我们在确定一个汉语外来词的语源时，对其究竟来自突厥语，还是来自蒙古语，可否一步步追溯到原始阿尔泰语，自然是很费斟酌的。反过来说，如果这方面的研究有大的进展，则对于解决阿尔泰语系的起源和各语族之间的相互关系问题也是很有帮助的。

本世纪以来各国学者对鲜卑语的研究是比较典型的例子。

东胡大約与匈奴同时见于我国史乘，其语言是一种古老的阿尔泰系语言。东胡的后裔乌桓和鲜卑究竟说突厥语还是蒙古语，一直存在争论。白鸟库吉的著作《东胡民族考》把东胡、乌桓、鲜卑、

宇文、吐谷浑、乞伏、拓跋等等衔接起来，当作前后继承的古蒙古人来考察。我国著名蒙族学者亦邻真先生近年也认为东胡后裔的语言属蒙古语的说法有其合理性^⑫。他说，《南齐书·魏虏传》记下的十三个鲜卑语官职名称一律带有蒙古语式的后缀“真”，这对判别鲜卑语词有决定意义，因为它代表一种语言的语法特征；至于鲜卑语中有很多突厥成分，是拓跋鲜卑吸收了大量突厥语族人口的结果。但是，也有学者坚决主张乌桓—鲜卑人说突厥语，如英国的克劳逊 (G. Clason 1890—1974，不朽巨著《十三世纪前突厥语语源词典》的编著者)^⑬。我国翁独健先生也认为将元魏拓跋氏归属为突厥语族人是有历史根据的^⑭。自三十年代以来，对鲜卑语（特别是拓跋鲜卑语）发表过专文的有卜列德^⑮、巴赞 (L. Bazin)^⑯、李盖提^⑰、A. Лувсандэндээ^⑱等。他们的论著是我们在考释鲜卑语词时应该参考的。

《晋书·吐谷浑传》：“鲜卑謂兄爲阿干。”《宋书·鲜卑吐谷浑传》：“鲜卑呼兄爲阿干。”阿干即蒙古语 *aga*，意为“兄”。这一点从伯希和以来，一直被视作鲜卑人说蒙古语的重要依据之一（突厥语表示“兄长”的词通常是 *eči*）。胡双宝先生认为汉语中称“父”、“兄”的“哥”是鲜卑外来词“(阿)干”的音变^⑲，“阿干”在当时的鲜卑语中兼有兄、父辈等长者的意思。但是“阿干”带尾音 *n*，这种不稳定的 *n* 在古代没有什么意义，仅在近代才多见，所以“阿干”也可能出自原始通古斯语 *akün，其尾音 *-n* 与“阿干”相合（参阅 Benzing, Die Tungusischen Sprache, 1956）。德国学者道尔蒂 (G. Doerfer) 又指出^⑳，蒙古语 *aga* 乃一个伊呀作语造成的语词，与“爸爸” (*papa*)、妈妈 (*mama*) 等词一样，在许多不同的语言中都相同（如斯瓦希利语的 *mama* = 德语的 *mama*，近代蒙古语的 *axa* [兄] = 阿拉伯语的 *aha* [兄弟]），因此，“阿干”根本不是阿尔泰语词。我们在考释鲜卑语词源时，应该注意到以上这些情况。

汉语中来自我国南方边疆及其邻近地区的外来词的情况也十分复杂，以往的研究还比较薄弱，今后应该予以加强。限于篇幅，这里不再作具体说明。

六

编纂一部详尽的、古今兼收的《汉语外来词词典》还会遇到许多问题，本文只是就其中的一个主要难点语源考释作了一点探讨，而且只限于古代汉语的例子，实在是挂一漏万。比如，近代有一批来自日语的词语进入汉语，不少人都以为这些词又源于英语，其实有相当数量是源于荷兰语的^④。又如，汉语中有为数众多的宗教词汇，外来词占了其中很大比重。佛教、伊斯兰教、基督教暂且不谈，这三大宗教的词语中外来词当可以万计，即使是像摩尼教这样的宗教，其汉语词汇问题也大有探讨的余地。近年来柳存仁^⑤（澳大利亚）、刘南强（英国）、耿世民、林悟殊诸先生都进行了新的研究，德国学者 W. Sundermann 和 P. Zieme 也将中古伊朗语、粟特语和回鹘语的摩尼教文书与汉译摩尼教经典作了一些对勘，瑞典学者翁独秀还出版了一本研究汉译摩尼教术语的专书^⑥。总之，要做的工作多得很。我们希望国内外学者通力合作，使一部面貌革新、穷源溯流的汉语外来词大词典能在本世纪内问世。

注释：

① 史有为《外来词研究之回顾与思考》，《语文建设》1991年第11期。

② 刘正瑛、高在凯、麦永乾、史有为编《汉语外来词词典》，上海辞书出版社1984年版；岑麒祥《汉语外来语词典》，商务印书馆1990年版。

③ 史有为《异文化似的使者——外来词》，吉林教育出版社1991年版。本书除分章分类列出许多带有书证和语源考证的汉语外来词外，书后还附有“语词索引”，可以作为一部小型的外来词词典使用。参看刘丹青的书评《文化语言学的新收获》，《语文研究》1992年第1期。

④ 史有为，上引文，第7页。

⑤ 徐止堪《略谈古代汉语借词的溯源和准确释义问题》，载《辞书论集——上海市辞书学会论文选》，知识出版社1987年版。

⑥ 钱文忠《印度的古代汉语译本及其来源》，《中国文化》第4期，1992年。

⑦ 《释名·释天》：“天，豫、司、亮、冀以舌腹（指舌面音x）言之，天，顯也；在上高顯也；青、徐以舌頭（舌尖中音t）言之，天，坦也，坦然高而遠也。”见 N. C. Bodman, A Linguistic Study of the Shi Ming, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 28—29. 参阅 E. G. Pulleyblank, The Consonantal System of Old Chinese, Asia Major, New Series, 9, 1962, p. 117. 又见同一作者的另一篇论文 Stages in the Transcri-

ption of Indian Words in Chinese from Han to Tang, 刊于 Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien, herausgegeben von Klaus Röhrborn und Wolfgang Veenker, Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 76—77.

⑧ Giovanni Stary, The Meaning of the Word "Manchu" A New Solution to an Old Problem, Central Asiatic Journal, 34, 1—2, 1990. 该文的中文本题为《满洲旧名新考》,《中央民族学院学报》1988年第6期。参阅日本学者对“满洲”词源的研究: Jirō Ikegami, The Lower Amur and Sungari Basins — From the Viewpoint of Toponymy and Ethnonymy, Proceedings of the XXVIII Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Venice 8—14 July 1985, Wiesbaden, 1989.

⑨ J. Chmielowski, The Early Loanwords in Chinese, Rocznik Orientalistyczny 24, 1961.

⑩ 潘允申《汉语词汇史概要》,上海古籍出版社1989年版,125页。

⑪ 藤田丰八《桶及器毛瑟毛瑟毛考》,载何健民译《中国南海古代交通丛考》,商务印书馆1936年版,521页。

⑫ 乌雍《新疆佳卢文书中的 kośava 即“瞿毛瑟毛”考——兼论“渠搜”古地名》,载《中国民族古文字研究》,中国社会科学出版社1984年版。请参看林梅村《沙海古卷——中国所出佳卢文书(初集)》,文物出版社1988年版。

⑬ 白鸟库吉《乞伏氏考》,《史学杂志》第22编第5号。汉译文见方壮猷译《东胡民族考》,商务印书馆1934年版。

⑭ 方壮猷《鲜卑语言考》,《燕京学报》第8期,1930年,1442页。

⑮ P. A. Boedberg, Selections from Hu T'ien Han Yueh Fang Chu (胡天汉月方诸), Selected Works of Peter A. Boedberg, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979, p. 103.

⑯ 参看 L. Ligeti, Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise, Acta Orientalia Hungarica 1, 1950.

⑰ E. G. Pulleyblank, The Name of the Kirghiz, Central Asiatic Journal, 34, 1—2, 1990, pp. 104—105.

⑱ P. A. Boedberg, 前引书, pp. 131—135.

⑲ 《通典》卷一九七:“其勇健者謂之大渡羅,亦呼爲英智弗。肥麅者謂之大羅便。大羅便,酒器也,似角而麅短,骨董貌似之,故以爲號。此官特貴,惟其子弟爲之。”酒器“大罗便”与“叵罗”之间可能有一定关系,尚待详考。

⑳ 参看苏鸿生《隋书》康国传探微》,《文史》第26辑,中华书局1986年版,106—107页。

㉑ 鲁迅所引的是王先谦编《清嘉集初稿》卷五载刘翰《李克用置酒三

垂尚賦》中的句子：“玉如意指揮倜儻，一座皆驚；金叵羅傾倒淋漓，千杯未醉。”

㉒ 此处的“胡”非泛称，指古代的伊朗语各族，特别是中亚粟特人。

㉓ 简而立《蒙古之祚与宴与只孙宴》，原收入《蒙古史研究》，陈捷等译文在《元朝制度考》中，商务印书馆 1934 年版；韩儒林《元代祚与宴新探》，《历史研究》1981 年第 1 期；方龄贵《元明戏曲中的蒙古语》，汉语大词典出版社 1991 年版，131—133 页。

㉔ 叶奕良《关于〈元史〉中“质孙服”等的探讨》，《东方研究论文集》总第 5 期，北京大学出版社 1985 年版。

㉕ 参看《考古》1977 年第 5 期，55 页；又《文物考古工作三十年》，文物出版社 1979 年版，82 页。

㉖ 韩儒林《所谓“亦思替非文字”是什么文字》，《文物》1981 年第 1 期。

㉗ 岩村忍《亦思替非文书考》，载《岩井博士古稀纪念论文集》，1963 年版。

㉘ 邵循正《刺失德丁〈集史·蒙哥汗记〉译释》，载《邵循正历史论文集》，北京大学出版社 1985 年版，12 页。

㉙ 刘迎胜《唐元时代中国与波斯语文》，《新疆大学学报》1991 年第 1 期，22—23 页；《明代中国官办波斯语言教学教材源流研究》，《南京大学学报》1991 年第 3 期，105 页。

㉚ E. Pulleyblank, *The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times*, 刊于 *The Origin of Chinese Civilization*, Berkeley, 1983, p. 448.

㉛ G. Doerfer, *Zur Sprache der Hunnen*, Central Asiatic Journal, 17, 1, 1973.

㉜ 亦舒真《中国北方民族与蒙古族族源》，收入《元史论集》，人民出版社，1984 年版。

㉝ G. Clauson 《突厥、蒙古、迦吉斯》，原载 *Asia Major*, New Series, 8, 1, 1960。牛汝极等汉译文载《西北民族研究》1991 年第 2 期。

㉞ 参看雷纳·格鲁塞 (René Grousset) 著、龚金城译《蒙古帝国史》(商务印书馆 1989 年版) 第 324 页接语。

㉟ P. A. Boedberg, *The Language of the T'o-Pa Wei*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 1, 1936.

㉟ L. Bazin, *Recherches sur les parlers t'o-pa*, T'oung Pao, 39, 1949.

㉟ L. Ligeti, *Le Tabghatch un dialecte de la langue Sien-pi*,

Mongolian Studies, Ed. by L. Ligeti, Budapest, 1970.

- ⑧ А. Лувсандэндээв, К расшифровке одного табгаческого слова, Монгольский лингвистический сборник, М., 1985.
- ⑨ 胡双宝《说“哥”》，收入《北京大学哲学社会科学优秀论文选》第3辑，北京大学出版社1988年版。
- ⑩ G. 道尔弗《评 Herbert Franke著〈契丹语考〉》，黄振华译，《民族语文研究情报资料集》第6集，1985年。
- ⑪ 《汉语外来词词典》376页收“旋盘”条，释为车床，旋床（方言）；源于日语“旋盤”senban，日语系意译英语lathe。其实，日语此词译自荷兰语。
- ⑫ 柳存仁《唐代以前拜火教摩尼教在中国之遗痕》，载《和风堂文集》（上），上海古籍出版社1991年版。又饶宗颐先生有《穆护歌考》，载《大公报在港复刊卅周年纪念文集》，1978年版。
- ⑬ P. Bryder, The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism, A Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology, Löberöd, 1985. 美国汉学家梅维恒(Victor H. Mair)曾在T'oung Pao, 73 (1987) 上对此书予以评论。关于回纥摩尼教的最新专著是森安孝夫的《ウイグル＝マニ教史の研究》(A Study on the History of Uighur Manichaeism. Research on Some Manichaean Materials and their Historical Background)，《大阪大学文学部纪要》第31·32卷合刊，1991年。研究汉译摩尼教词汇，此书亦可参考。

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