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Tiao-Fish through Chinese Dictionaries

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TIÁO-FISH THROUGH CHINESE DICTIONARIES

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The *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'iôg* fish, a classical Chinese happiness metaphor, has been contradictorily identified as a chub, culter, dace, eel, goby, hairtail, hemiculter, loach, mullet, paddlefish, and pike. This paper illustrates the history of Chinese lexicography by comparing *tiáo* definitions from thirty-five Chinese monolingual dictionaries with *tiáo* translation equivalents from sixteen Japanese and seventeen Western language bilingual ones.¹

INTRODUCTION

I believe with all my heart that we'll live together one day as happily as two lobsters in a saucepan, two bugs on a muscle, one smile, though never to vanish, on the Cheshire face. (Dylan Thomas)

The present monograph on Chinese dictionaries started as a translation study of *Zhuangzi*'s epistemological dialogue about whether humans can know the "happiness of fish" (see §1.2). English translators have rendered the Chinese joyful *tiáo* < **d'iôg* B as "minnow," "thryssas" (i.e., anchovy), "herring," "trout," "silver carp," "small fish," "white fish," and simply "fish." Checking monolingual and bilingual dictionaries revealed even further disagreements about the *tiáo*'s identity, and it became apparent that this fish provides a good case study of problems in Chinese linguistics and lexicography.

The first section reviews the lexicology of *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'iôg* names and their classical Chinese association with happiness as recorded in the *Shijing*, *Zhuangzi*, *Xunzi*, *Huainanzi*, *Shanhaijing*, and *Shuoyuan*. Linguistics of the **d'iôg* name was complicated by seven alternative logographs and variant Old Chinese pronunciations of **d'iôg*, **d̥iôg*, **d'jôg*, **siôg*, or **dzjôg*.

1. Thanks go to Paul Benedict, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Hisanori Kimira, Victor Mair, Axel Schuessler, Isao Shimomura, and Paul Yang for commenting upon earlier versions of this paper.

The second compares the lexicography of Chinese *tiáo* entries in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. Early Chinese-Chinese definitions (table 1) give descriptions, synonyms, and folk etymologies. Many modern monolingual Chinese dictionaries (table 2) repeat these earlier definitions and some identify *tiáo* as "*Zucco platypus*," but this is a lexical ghost misspelling for 'pale chub, *Zacco platypus*'. Most Chinese-Japanese dictionaries (table 3) translate *tiáo* as *hae* ~ *haya* 'dace; chub'. European language dictionaries (table 4) typically gloss *tiáo* as "a small white fish" or "a long narrow fish," but some copied the "*Zucco*" or an erroneous 'hairtail, *Trichiurus armatus*' identification.

Section three answers the "What fish?" and "Why happiness?" questions, and draws some general conclusions from *tiáo* to Chinese lexicography. Is it preferable to translate the *tiáo* as "a long, silvery fish," "a minnow" or "*Zacco platypus*"? In defining names of plants and animals, scientific nomenclature has the advantage of a metalanguage beyond descriptions and synonyms, but it has the disadvantage of unfamiliarity to most dictionary users. The *Zucco* mistake for *Zacco* is not anomalous, it is one of many misspellings that originated in the classic 1938 *Cihai* 辭海 [A Sea of Words] and that have been copied in Oriental and Occidental Chinese dictionaries up to the present day.

The following has been written for a general audience interested in Chinese dictionaries and assumes no knowledge of either Chinese language or ichthyology. Chinese characters are referred to as *logographs*; with *pictograph* and *ideograph* literally used for depictions of things (e.g., 魚 originally portrayed a *yú* 'fish') and ideas (writing *xiān* 'fresh' as 鮮 with 魚 'fish' and 羊 'sheep' — i.e., when fish and mutton should be eaten). The vast majority of Chinese logographs are "phonetic compounds" consisting of two elements, a *radical* (a.k.a. *signific* or *classifier*) that gives a clue to the word's semantic field and a *phonetic* that roughly suggests its pronunciation. For instance, *lǐ* 鲤 'carp, *Cyprinus carpio*' (fig. 5) is transcribed with the 魚 "fish radical" and a *lǐ* 里 'village; countryside' phonetic, denoting a "li-fish," not a "village-fish."² Chinese fish names are typically either monosyllabic words written with this 魚 "fish radical" or polysyllabic -*yú* 魚

2. In a few fish logographs like *tiáo* written with a "branch" phonetic, the phonetic element has semantic significance. Xu (1990:396-7) gives the example of *fāng* 魴 '*Megalobrama terminalis*' (fig. 14) which is said (e.g., *Bencao gangmu*, Read 1939:41) to be *fāng* 方 'square' shaped. In comparison with the English "triangular bream" name for *M. terminalis*, "square" and "triangular" mean 'angular'.

"-fish" suffixations. The 'needlefish, Japanese halfbeak, *Hyporhamphus sajori*' (fig. 11) has both types: *zhēnyú* 箴魚 "needle fish" and *zhēn* X (魚 "fish radical" & *zhēn* 箴 'needle' phonetic).

Besides usual abbreviations and symbols (e.g., §), note the following: ~ = alternative pronunciations, spellings, or graphs, " " = quote or literal meaning, and ' ' = semantic meaning. Greek letters (e.g., A for 魚條) listed in the appendix represent special logographs not available in the JIS (Japan Industrial Standard) computer font. Modern Standard Chinese ("Mandarin") is romanized in the Pinyin system, and Modern Standard Japanese in the modified Hepburn system. Old and Middle Chinese — representing pronunciations circa 7th cent. B.C.E. and C.E. 7th cent. — are given in Karlgren's (1957 "Archaic" and "Ancient") reconstructions, changing his *ng* velar nasal to *ŋ*, ' glottal stop to ' , and *â* to *a*. Since the Old Chinese pronunciation of this *tiáo* fish was glossed **d'iōg*, **d'ioŋ*, **d'ioŋ*, **d'ioŋ*, **siōg*, etc., it is tentatively called "**DZIOG*," with admission that this etymon is subject to revision. Texts are translated with current pronunciations; for instance, in table 1 dictionaries, the A~B fish is transliterated as *tiáo* in Modern texts (e.g., the 1716 *Kangxi zidian*), *tiáo* < *d'ieu* in Middle Chinese era ones (1067 *Jiyun*), and *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'iōg* in Old ones (100 *Shuowen jiezi*).

Identifying Chinese fish names is problematic in foreign languages. Whenever possible, identifications are made with both English name(s) and ichthyological nomenclature(s). Figures 1-30 (alphabetically ordered by genus) illustrate the various fish said to be, or resemble, *tiáo*. While contemporary zoological dictionaries (e.g., *Zhengzhong dongwuxue cidian*, *La-Han jizhui dongwu mingcheng*, *Shijie yurui mingdian*) give reliable definitions of modern Chinese fish names, it is harder to identify classical ones. Read's (1939) study of the "Fish Chapter" in the classic (1596) pharmacopoeia, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 [Outline of Roots and Herbs], remains one of the best references, although it uses some dated terminology. The *Bencao gangmu*, edited by Li Shizhen (1518-1593), is what Unschuld (1986:145) calls "the best-known and most respected description of traditional Chinese pharmaceuticals." This introductory section can aptly finish with the *Bencao gangmu*'s *tiáoyú* A 魚 entry.

Interpretation of Names. Li [Shizhen] states that the name comes from 條 [*tiáo* 'branch'] meaning a narrow strip. The name [三魚 *cānyú*] comes from 粲 [*cān* 'bright; food'] meaning sparkling. The name [囚魚 *qiúyú*] comes from 囚 [*qiú*] a prisoner. The narrowness refers to the shape, the sparkle refers to its colour, and the imprisonment refers to its character.³

3. Read (1939:51) notes "This is hard to explain. The character 囚 means to float. The explanatory note refers to its love of floating or swimming on the surface."

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Explanatory Notes. Li [Shizhen] states that the hemiculter is a small fish found in the rivers and lakes, only a few inches long, thin and flat, shaped like a willow leaf. The scales are fine, regular and clear-cut of very attractive appearance (pretty). It likes to float around in shoals. [Xunzi] states that the hemiculter likes to float in the sunlight. It is best when salted in slices.

Qualities. Sweet, warming and nonpoisonous.

Uses. Li [Shizhen], boiled and eaten it dispels sorrow [cf. §1.5], is warming to the stomach, a cure for cold diarrhoea. (tr. Read 1939:51-2)

These pseudo-etymologies based upon phonetic elements such as 囚 "prisoner" came from classical dictionaries (e.g., *Piya* in table 1), and several modern ones (1965 *Cihai* in table 2) repeat Li's description. Before analyzing the dictionary definitions of *tiáo* < *DZIOG in section 2, it is first necessary to introduce the classics that definitions quote.⁴

1 LEXICOLOGY OF TIAO

Loci classici for the *DZIOG A ~ B ~ Γ fish are chronologically presented from the (10th?-6th cents. B.C.E.) *Shijing* §1.1, the (2nd cent. B.C.E.) *Zhuangzi* §1.2 and *Xunzi* §1.3, the (140 B.C.E.) *Huainanzi* §1.4, the (3rd?-1st? cents. B.C.E.) *Shanhaijing* §1.5, and the (20 B.C.E.) *Shuoyuan* §1.6. For each *DZIOG occurrence, the original Chinese context and relevant commentaries are translated.⁵

1.1 *Shijing's A*

A short sacrificial hymn in the *Shijing* 詩經 [Book of Poetry/Odes] is the *terminus a quo* for *DZIOG-fish, written *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'iôg* A:

Oh, the [Qi] and the [Zhu], In their warrens have many fish, Sturgeons and snout-fish, [A 𩚑 𩚑] Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp, For us to offer, to present, And gain great blessings. (281, tr. Waley 1937:231)

4. For example, the *Erya*, the oldest Chinese dictionary in §2.1, probably glosses the *Shijing* in §1.1. Coblin analyzed the first part of the *Erya* and found a distinct core of *Shijing* glosses, proposing (1972:508) that: "lexicography in China arose through the compilation and reworking of material from commentaries on specific texts, to form new compendia which were no longer associated with any particular text or texts."

5. For texts that have been translated into English, citations are from best available sources; otherwise, the passage is translated by the Author. Note that for the sake of simplicity, the Chinese measure words 𠂔 尺 (0.358 meter or 14.1 inches) and 𠂔 寸 (0.1 𠂔) are translated as "foot" and "inch."

Waley is the only *Shijing* translator who avoids awkwardly transliterating *tiáo* by neologizing "Long-fish" based upon descriptions (cf. table 1).⁶ His "Sturgeons and snout-fish" are *zhān* < *tīān* < **tjan* 𩺰 'Chinese sturgeon, *Acipenser sinensis*' and the smaller *wěi* < *jwī* < **giwəg* 𩺰 'beaked sturgeon, paddlefish, *Psephurus gladius*' (figs. 1 and 20). The "yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp" with **d'iōg* (v. *Piya* in table 1) are: *cháng* < *zīān* < **ājan* 𩺰 'yellow croaker, cut-tailed bullhead, *Pseudobagrus aurantiacus*', *yān* < **ian* < **'ian* 𩺰 'sheat-fish, *Silurus asotus*', and *lǐ* < *lji* < **liəg* 𩺰 'carp, *Cyprinus carpio*' (figs. 21, 24, and 5).

The *Shijing* commentary of Zheng Xuan (127-200) glosses **d'iōg* as the "白 A white **d'iōg*." This ode implies that the Chinese anciently valued **DZIOG* A and these other five fish as being suitable for ancestral sacrifice (Hsu and Linduff 1988:357). Associations with happiness were not recorded until several centuries later.

1.2 Zhuangzi's B 𩺰 and Δ

Two consecutive (ca. 2nd cent. B.C.E.) "Outer Chapters" in the Daoist *Zhuangzi* 莊子 [Master Zhuang] mention **DZIOG*-fish: **d'iōg* 𩺰 B 𩺰 is the subject of a dialogue about knowing the happiness of fishes, and **d'iōg* Δ is said to be the proper food for an unhappy bird. Both contexts describe **DZIOG* with the word *yóu* < *iəu* < **d'iōg* 遊 'swim, float, drift; stroll, wander, ramble; diversion, leisure' — which had a special Daoist sense of "wandering" (Crandell 1983:114-5), translated as "strolling," "swim," and "play" below.⁷ Fish often have allegorical importance in *Zhuangzi* (viz. the opening story), and Allinson (1989:42) believes "A fish symbolizes a creature that can be caught."

6. Jennings loosely translates this line as "Salmon and smelt, and carp, and all," admitting they are "Approximate names." Cuvreur and Legge note commentaries describing the **d'iōg* A as a "long and narrow fish," and the latter cites Williams (cf. table 4) that it "may be a species of *thryssa* or *engraulis*," i.e., anchovy.

7. This 遊 logograph with the "motion radical" on the left was originally written 游 with the "water radical" specifying 'swim, float'. The **d'iōg* 'pendants on a flowing banner' phonetic element on the right of 遊 originally pictured a 子 'child' under a banner or flag, with **d'iōg* sharing cognate senses of 'floater; floating'. The second context adds the (rhyming) word *fú* ~ *fōu* < *b'iəu* < **b'iōg* 浮 'float; swim'. There is an obvious parallel between a fish in the water and a sage in the Dao. The *Zhuangzi* (6/73, tr. Graham 1981:90) says, "Fish forget all about each other in the Yangtse and the Lakes, men forget all about each other in the lore of the Way."

The best known (e.g., Yukawa 1983, Lee 1986) *DZIOG usage occurs in a conversation set between Zhuangzi ("Master Zhuang," Zhuang Zhou, 399-295 B.C.E.?) and Huizi ("Master Hui," Hui Shi, 380-305 B.C.E.?), who was a leader of the philosophical Mingjia 名家 "School of Names" (usually tr. Dialecticians or Logicians). Hui's frequent Zhuangzi textual role is to serve as a friendly foil; making it easy for Zhuangzi, Mair (1983:90) explains, "to go on his romp against ratiocination." This "happiness of fishes" argument illustrates Daoist epistemological views on the inherent subjectivity of "knowledge" (Carr 1988:69-71) and syntactically hinges upon a cognitive/locative pun with ānzhī 安知 'how/what/where do you know' (cleverly tr. by Graham as "Whence do you know?").

[Zhuangzi] and [Hui Shi] were [*d'îôg 游] strolling on the bridge above the Hao River.

'[B魚出游從容] Out swim the minnows,⁸ so free and easy,' said [Zhuangzi]. 'That's how fish are happy.'

'You are not a fish. [安知魚樂] Whence do you know that the fish are happy?'

'You aren't me, whence do you know that I don't know the fish are happy?'

'We'll grant that not being you I don't know about you. You'll grant that you are not a fish, and that completes the case that you don't know the fish are happy.'

'Let's go back to where we started. When you said "Whence do you know that the fish are happy?", you asked me the question already knowing that I knew. I knew it from up above the Hao.' (17/87-92, tr. Graham 1981:123)

Guo Xiang (265-317) glosses B pronunciations of tiáo < d'ieu < *d'îôg, chóu < d'îeu < *d'îôg, yóu < ieu < *d'îôg, or xiǎo < sieu: < *s'îôg, and identifies it as a/the báiyú < b'akwio < *b'ākio 白魚 "white fish." With ambiguity similar to English whitefish meaning either generally 'fish with white meat' (cod, sole, halibut, bluefish) or specifically the 'Coregonus' genus, Chinese báiyú 白魚 "white fish" (cf. §1.6) can mean 'whitefish' or specifically the 'culter, Culter alburnus' (fig. 4, and later 'glassfish, icefish, Salangichthys microdon', fig. 22).

The second Zhuangzi usage, in the "Perfect Happiness" chapter, describes birds "happily" eating *d'îôg Δ and qiū < ts'ieu < *ts'îôg 鰕 '(mud-)loach, Oriental weatherfish, Misgurnus anguillicaudatus' (fig. 15).⁹ Confucius supposedly tells this allegory when worried over his favorite disciple Yan Hui taking an official position:

8. Cf. these other translations: "minnows" (Balfour, Giles, Waley, Watson), "thryssas" (Legge, cf. §1.1), "herring" (Ware), "silver carp" (Situ and Tang), "trout" (Fang), "small fish" (Lin), "white fish" (Chan), or simply "fishes" (Merton).

9. This *d'îôgts'îôg 鰕Δ is a rhyming compound; perhaps one *DZIOG nomen. Note that Erya 16/8 (table 1) defines ⊕ and 16/9 defines 鰕.

Once a seabird came down in the suburbs of Lu. The Marquis of Lu welcomed and banqueted it in the shrine of his ancestors, performed the music of the Nine Shao to entertain it, provided the meats of the [Tailao] sacrifice as delicacies for it. Then the bird stared with dazed eyes and worried and pined, did not dare to eat one slice, did not dare to drink one cup, and within three days it died. This was caring for a bird with the cares proper to oneself, not to a bird. Someone who cared for it with the cares proper to a bird would let it perch in the deep woods, [遊] play on the shoals, [浮] float in the Yangtze and the Lakes, eat [鰕] loaches and minnows, come down with the column as it flies in formation to veer with the line of least resistance and settle. ... A fish by staying in the water lives, a man by staying in the water dies; that they necessarily differ from each other is because their needs are inherently different.¹⁰ (18/33-39, tr. Graham 1981:189-190)

Guo's commentary does not identify Δ but lists the same *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'iôg* and *yóu* < *ïu* < **d'iôg* glosses as for the B 魚, plus slightly different *yōu* < *ïu* < **d'iôg* and *tóu* < *d'ïu* < **d'iôg*. Without an identification, it seems he viewed Δ as a variant of the preceding "white fish" B.

1.3 *Xunzi*'s B N

The *Xunzi* 荀子 [Master Xun] is a collection of essays attributed to Xun Kuang (298-238 B.C.E.?) and his followers in the "Naturalistic" school of Confucianism. One (ca. 2nd-1st cent. B.C.E.) passage¹¹ metaphorically refers to the **d'iôgkïog?* B N fish in describing ego delusions.

The mullet [浮鰕] dart about near the surface of the water, but when they are netted and lying on the sand, though they may long for water, they will never reach it again. Similarly, when a man is caught in the midst of calamity, though he may wish he had been cautious, his wishing will be in vain. Those who know themselves do not resent others; those who know fate do not resent Heaven. Those who resent others are bound to fail; those who resent Heaven do not learn from experience. Erring oneself but attributing it to others — is this not far wide of the mark indeed! (4/20-22, tr. Knoblock 1988:188)

10. Compare other translations: "mudfish and minnows" (Watson), "mudfish or dace" (Ware), "eels and minnows" (Balfour), "eels and small fish" (Legge), "eels and fish" (Merton), and "fish" (Giles, Fung). A *Huainanzi* (9/22b, tr. Ames 1983:208) passage about repairing dikes says: "A fish swimming about in the water is happy, but if the dam is broken and the water drains off, the fish becomes food for insects." The idiom *hé zhé zhī fú* 涸轍之附 "carp in a dry rut" 'a person in a desperate situation (esp. one who needs immediate help)' comes from *Zhuangzi* (26/7).

11. Since this B N passage (4/20-22) is located within the *Xunzi* 榮辱 "Honor and Shame" chapter (4), there is reason to suspect it was added to the text (ca. 2nd or 1st cent. B.C.E.). Most *Xunzi* chapter titles begin with their first words, but because "Honor and Shame" occurs in 4/22 (immediately after the **DZIOG* parable), commentators interpret the section as a dubious accretion (Dubs 1928:5). Knoblock (1988:242, 245) concludes this 4/1-22 fragment may have originally been part of chapter 3.

The commentary of Yang Jing (fl. 814-840) says some people behave like this fish and notes *fúyáng* < *b'jəuɿaŋ* < **b'jōgdɿaŋ* 浮陽 "play in the sunshine" has the same meaning as the *Zhuangzi*'s "swim free and easy" §1.2 with *yóu* < *jəu* < **dʲjōg* 游 'swim; wander; travel' and *cōngróng* < *ts'iwonjwɔŋ* < **ts'jundjɔŋ* 從容 'leisurely, calm'. (Cf. *cōngróng búpò* 從容不迫 'calm and unhurried'.)

Xunzi mentions **DZIOG* in a word-puzzle **d'jōgkʲjog*? BN with the *hapax legomenon* N (魚 "fish radical" & *běn* < *puen*: < **pwen* 本 'root' phonetic). Since N is not found in any other text — excluding dictionaries circularly glossing back to this passage — Qing dynasty (1644-1911) philologists came up with four explanations that the **pwen* 本 phonetic on the right of N was a graphic mistake for 丕, 豐, 喬 or 本.¹² They interpreted N's **pwen* 本 phonetic as a miscopy of: 丕 in *pí* ~ *pī* < *b'ji* < **b'jɛr* 𩺰 'a large catfish'¹³ (Wang Niansun, 1744-1832), 豐 in *lǐ* < *liei*: < **ljɛr* 鯪 'snakefish, snakehead (mullet), *Channa/Ophicephalus argus*'¹⁴ (fig. 2, Hao Yixing 1757-1825, reasoning that 体 was a common calligraphic shorthand for 體 'body'), 喬 in *jiāo* < *kjāu* < **kʲjog* P 'culter, *Culter alburnus*' (fig. 4, Chen Dazhang, fl. 1681, cf. **dʲjāŋg'jog* §1.6), or 本 in *qiáo* < *kjāu* < **kʲjog* 𩺰 'a fish' (Wang Xianqian 1842-1917, cf. *Zihui* in table 1). The latter two interpretations of N in terms of the homophonous **kʲjog* P 'culter' (also glossed as *tāo* < *t'āu* < **t'og* by Chen Dazhang) or **kʲjog* 𩺰 are most likely. Furthermore, there is similarity between **d'jōgkʲjog* BN and the **dʲjāŋg'jog* 陽橋 name (using the **dʲjāŋ* 陽 'sun(ny)' in **b'jōgdɿaŋ* 浮陽 "play in the sun").

1.4 *Huainanzi*'s 𩺰 魚 and B 魚

The (ca. 140 B.C.E.) *Huainanzi* 淮南子 [Masters of Huainan] is a philosophical compilation attributed to Liu An (d. 122 B.C.E.), Prince of Huainan. The fact that this heterogeneous text writes **DZIOG* as both **ǎ'jōkʲjio*

12. One earlier explanation can be rejected from the context of a fish name rather than a **b'wæt* 'splash' onomatopoe. Yang's *Xunzi* commentary assumes N to be *bá* < *b'wæt* < **b'wæt* 𩺰, a variant (*Shijing* 57/4, Karlgren 1964, no. 173) for *bōbō* < *pətpətpət* < **pətpətpət* 𩺰 𩺰 'plop-plop; sound of fish tails splashing'.

13. The *Erya* (16/11) defines *pí* ~ *pī* < *b'ji* < **b'jɛr* 𩺰 as a large *hū* < *no*- < **g'wæg* 𩺰 'catfish, *Leiocassis longirostris*' (fig. 12). Hao glosses *hū* 𩺰 and *wéi* 𩺰 to be northern and southern dialectal terms for 'catfish'. Another *Erya* definition (16/23) identifies N as the *fāng* 𩺰 'bream, *Megalobrama terminalis*' (cf. §1.6).

14. This is the source of Knoblock's translation and he notes (1988:288) it also meant "white-bellied shad" (*Shuowen*), or "snakefish" (*Erya*), yet both these early dictionaries seem to define 𩺰 as the 'snakehead, *Channa argus*'.

𩺰魚 and **d'ioḡŋio* B魚 shows these graphic variants were freely interchangeable during the early Han period.

Both contexts describe the **DZIOG*-fish as elusive, probably alluding to the *Zhuangzi* §1.2 "happiness of fish." The former mentions *bùdé* 不得 'not get/obtain' the Dao (~ Tao) and the latter *bùnéngdé* 不能得 'cannot get/catch' the fish. The first is:

To fail to obtain *Tao* is like watching [𩺰魚] minnows. The Sage therefore is like a mirror, neither sending [things] away nor welcoming [things], responding but not storing. Thus, he undergoes Ten Thousand Changes without the slightest injury. He who [stops to think he] has obtained it (*Tao*) has just lost it; but he who [thinks he] has lost it, has he not just obtained it? (6/4a, tr. LeBlanc 1985:135)

Gao Yu (fl. 205-212) comments that **ǎ'ioḡŋio* 𩺰魚 is "a small fish that can be glimpsed in the water, but is very difficult to catch, like the Dao." The second context says:

You can fish for [B魚] minnows in the river every day and still not catch one. This is not because the fish are not biting, it is because they do not want the bait. Now a skillful angler uses a rod to cast bait right onto the fish's lips, and will catch the fish if it likes the bait.¹⁵ Is there anything that cannot be accomplished? Can anyone accomplish it? (18/20a-20b)

Gao concludes "Anything can be accomplished with the proper techniques," but "An incapable person cannot do it."

These two *Huainanzi* and passages describe the **DZIOG* as being difficult to catch (cf. §1.6) and there is an obvious analogy with happiness.

1.5 *Shanhaijing's* 𩺰魚 and 𩺰

The *Shanhaijing* 山海經 [Book of Mountains and Seas] is a collection of early Chinese geographic myths and legends. This long-neglected text records a mythical **ǎ'ioḡŋio* 𩺰魚 bird-fish (associated with dragons, Carr 1990:109) which, when eaten, supposedly cures sorrow, and it describes two other fish as resembling **ǎ'ioḡ* 𩺰. In all three cases, the commentary of Guo Pu (276-324) says *shù* < *zìuk* < **ǎ'ioḡ* 𩺰 'sudden; hasty' is a graphic loan for **d'ioḡ* B.¹⁶

15. Compare Lorden's (1924:136) description of *Hemiculter leucisculus* (fig. 9), "But the great charm about the knife fish is the delightful way he rises to the artificial fly."

16. Guo's 江子賦 "Rhapsody on the Yangzi River" lists myriad fish including the H (l. 108, tr. Knechtges 1987:329 "hemiculter") which Li Shan notes resembles an eel.

The first context is the only extant record of the legendary *shùyú* < *ʒjukŋiwo* < **ʔiòkŋio* 鰕 魚 ~ B 魚:

The Peng River flows down from Mt. Tai and west into the Pihou River. In it there are many **ʔiòk* fish [鰕 魚] which resemble chickens, have red hair(?), three tails, six feet/legs, four heads/eyes,¹⁷ and make a sound like a magpie. Eating them will [已憂] stop melancholy. (3/1b; tr. Schiffeler 1978:111 "Azure-black fish")

The alleged effect of eating this bird-fish is to cure *yōu* < **ʔiəu* < **ʔiòg* 憂 'melancholy; sorrow; grief; anxiety', an Old Chinese antonymic wordplay with the **DZIOG* 'happy' fish.

The other two *Shanhaijing* contexts refer to *shù* < *ʒjuk* < **ʔiòk* 鰕 魚 rather than legendary **ʔiòkŋio* 鰕 魚.

In the Fen River ... there are many **ts'jār* fish [鰕 魚] 'anchovies' which resemble **ʔiòk* [鰕], have red scales, and make a sound of *chǐ* < *ts'jēt* < **t'jēt* [叱]. Eating them will prevent [驕~驕] pride [~ agitation]. (3/7a-7b)

In the Zhi River ... there are many **tjäm* fish [鰕 魚] 'needlefish' which resemble **ʔiòk* [鰕] (tr. Schiffeler 1980:51 "hemicultrars") and whose snouts are comparable to [鰕] needles. Eating them will prevent epidemic diseases. (4/1b)

Jiyú < *ts'ieŋiwo* < **ts'jārŋio* 鰕 魚 is the 'estuary tapertail anchovy, *Coilia nasus*' (fig. 3); *zhēnyú* < *tsjēmŋiwo* < **tjēmŋio* 鰕 魚 "needle fish" (now written *zhēn* X with the 魚 "fish radical" & this 鰕 phonetic) is the 'needlefish, *Hyporhamphus sajori*' (fig. 11).

The compilation of the *Shanhaijing* began sometime around third century B.C.E. and continued up through the Han dynasty (Schiffeler 1978:ii), but it presumably drew upon earlier sources. There is no way of ascertaining whether the myth about a fish with melancholy-relieving properties existed before/after the (ca. 2nd cent. B.C.E.) *Zhuangzi* "happiness of fishes" story.

1.6 *Shuoyuan*'s 陽 橋

The (ca. 20 B.C.E.) *Shuoyuan* 說苑 [Garden of Sayings], edited by Liu Xiang (77-6 B.C.E.), tells this story about the Confucianist Fu Zijian (cf. the Yan Hui allegory in §1.2). On way to his new post as Minister of Danfu (in the state of Lu), Fu requests advice from Yang Shu:

Yang said: "Although I am young, you don't know the technique of governing people. There

17. This 毛 'hair' could conceivably mean 'feathers' or 'scales' and some §2.1 dictionaries quote with a variant 尾 'tail', but that is incompatible with the following 三尾 "three tails." Wang Niansun and Hao Yixing say the received *Shanhaijing* text with four 目 'eyes' was originally written 首 'heads'.

are two Daos of fishing. May I impart them?"

Fu asked: "What do you mean by the Dao of fishing?"

Yang answered: "The fish that pulls on the line and mistakenly goes to swallow the bait is the **djang'jog* [陽橋]; as a fish, it is skinny and unattractive. The one that [considers] whether it will live or die, whether it should eat the bait or not, is the **b'jwan* [魴 'bream']; as a fish, it is fat and rich tasting."

Fu said: "Excellent!" On his way to Danfu, he saw an official crossing the road to meet him. He told his chariot driver, "Run him down! Run him down! This is truly what Yang Shu meant by a **djang'jog*." After arriving, he assembled all the old, wise, and virtuous people in Danfu, and governed together with them. (7/14a)

This moral about easily obtainable fish (metaphorically = people) being undesirable contrasts the *yángqiáo* < *jang'jäu* < **djang'jog* 陽橋 with the *fáng* < *b'jwan* < **b'jwan* 魴 'Chinese bream, *Megalobrama terminalis*' (fig. 14).

Instead of *qiáo* < *g'jäu* < **g'jog* 橋 (木 "tree/wood radical" & *qiáo* 喬 'tall' phonetic) 'crossbar; bridge', later dictionaries wrote this fish as *jiǎo* < *kjäu* < **kjog* P 'culter, *Culter alburnus*' (魚 "fish radical" & same *qiáo* 喬 phonetic). But since the best *Shuoyuan* textual versions write **djang'jog* 陽橋 "bright bridge"¹⁸ rather than **djang'jog* 陽 P "bright culter," it seems that **djang'jog* was a binomial appellation akin to **d'iôgkjog*? BN §1.3. The *Bencao gangmu* entry for *báiyú* 白魚 'culter' explains¹⁹:

the character [白] for white is also rendered T, because it is white in colour. It is called *qiáo* 喬 ['tall; high'] because the head and the tail turn upwards. Liu Han states that it is a white river fish with upturned head. A large fish six to seven feet long. Li [Shizhen] states that the culter has a narrow body, with a flat belly, fine scales, and the head and tail are turned upwards. There are fine bones among the flesh. (tr. Read 1939:20-1)

Because of resemblance to *jiǎo* P *Culter*, the *tiáo* is zoologically identified as *Hemiculter* (see §3.1). The *Shuoyuan*'s easily-caught **djang'jog* 陽橋 apparently contradicts the *Huainanzi*'s §1.4 elusive **d'iôgnjio* B 魚. These

18. Yangqiao 陽橋 "bright/sunny bridge" (cf. this sage Yang Shu 陽書 "Bright Writing") was an ancient place name in Lu, like Danfu above. The "bridge" on which Zhuangzi and Huizi stood §1.2 was called *liáng* < **liang* 梁 'beam; bridge; dam'; the oldest recorded usage (*Zuozhuan*, Cheng 2, Legge 1872:348) of *qiáo* < **g'jog* 橋 'crossbar' to specifically mean 'bridge' refers to Yangqiao. 橋 was also used to write *jiào* < **kjog* 'well-sweep' ~ *jiǎo* < **kjog* 'energetic', and the latter sounds like 陽橋 "bright and energetic" meant 'happy (fish)'.

19. The *Bencao gangmu* additionally identifies P as *báiyú* 白魚 "white fish" generally or 'glassfish, *Salangichthys microdon*' specifically (fig. 22, cf. §1.2). The variant *zōu* T (魚 "fish radical" & 取 'take' phonetic) was semantically extended from "small fish" to 'petty person' (cf. English *small fry*).

could have been two different fish (perhaps culter and hemiculter), and Guo Pu equates the **djang'io*g with the **ǎiōkŋio* 鰕 bird-fish §1.5.

1.7 Summary

In these Chinese classics, **DZIOG*-fish had monosyllabic names of A (*Shijing*), Γ (*Shanhaijing*), and Δ (*Zhuangzi*); bisyllabic **d'io*gk_{io}? BN (*Xunzi*) and **djang'io*g 陽橋 (*Shuoyuan*) names, plus B 魚 and Γ 魚 (*Zhuangzi*, *Huainanzi*, *Shanhaijing*) suffixations with **ŋio* 魚 'fish'. In addition, **d'io*g B ~ Γ was a proper name Chou in the (ca. 300 B.C.E.) *Zuozhuan* 左傳 [Zuo's Commentary/History];²⁰ and the **DZIOG*-fish had variant writings like **dio*g H (魚 "fish radical" & *yóu* < *io* < **dio*g 由 'from' phonetic) in the (320) *Baopuzi* [Master Who Embraces Simplicity]. A description of narrow-mindedness says:

[Ignorance of the Dao], alas, may be called holding a lighted torch within an enclosed space but not noticing the brilliance of the luminaries in heaven; or associating with [H 鰕] little fish and crabs in the shallow water and thus knowing nothing about the vast floods of the four seas. (10/2a, tr. Ware 1966:167)

From this context with *xiā* < *xa* < **g'a* 蝦 'shrimp; crab', the **dio*g H was a 'small; insignificant' fish.

Variant logographs and pronunciations have complicated the **DZIOG*-fish's word-history. First, the standard logograph for **d'io*g is A or B; but early texts wrote it Δ, H, or **ǎiōk* Γ; and later dictionaries Θ or Z. Like most Chinese fish names, **DZIOG* graphs are written with the 魚 "fish radical" — except for the graphic loan **ǎiōk* Γ 'rapid' with 黑 'black'.²¹ The *Erya* (table 1) commentary of Hao Yixing (1757-1825) proposes this 黑 in Γ was a miscopy of the 魚 in B. The most common phonetic element in **DZIOG* logographs is *yōu* < *io* < **dio*g 攸 'where; whereby; who' (in B, Δ, and Γ), elaborated with the 木 "tree/wood radical" into *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'io*g 條 'branch;

20. The personal name Bo ("Elder/Uncle") Chou 伯B is mentioned twice: (Xi 23 [637 B.C.E.], tr. Legge 1872:186) The Duke of Jin's son "took [Ji] Wei to himself as his wife, and she bore him [Bo Chou]," and (Xuan 3 [606 B.C.E.], tr. Legge 294) a pregnant concubine dreams about being given a symbolic orchid and told "I am [Bo Chou]. I am your ancestor." The place name Chou/You B was a city in Yong 庸 on the border between Jin 晉 and Zheng 鄭, in present day Hebei and Henan: (Wen 16 [611 B.C.E.], tr. Legge 275) when Chu 楚 was fighting Rong 戎: "only the men of [Pi, Chou], and Yu [魚 "fish"] were actually employed to drive them off" and (Wen 17 [610 B.C.E.], tr. Legge 278), the Marquis of Qi promises "We will raise all our poor levies, and await you at [Chou]."

21. This *shū* < *ziuk* < **ǎiōk* Γ 'rapid; sudden' was graphically simplified to 倏 with 犬 'dog' in place of 黑 'black'.

extended, spread out' (the phonetic in A).²² Less commonplace phonetics are *liǎo* < *lieu*: < **liôg* 了 'clear' (a graphic simplification of the eleven-stroke 條) in Z, *yóu* < *iəu* < **djôg* 由 'follow; from' in H [today meaning 'scorpionfish, *Scorpaena izensis*' (fig. 23)], *qiú* < *ziəu* < **dziôg* 囚 'arrest; prisoner' in Θ, and *zú* < *tsuet* < **tswet* 卒 'soldier; end' in **tsiwet* K. Hao Yixing likewise proposes a graphic confusion between the 囚 and 由 phonetics in Θ and H.

Second, these disparate phonetics reflect complexities of **DZIOG*'s Old Chinese pronunciation, glossed by Guo Xiang (ca. 300, see §2.2) as **d'îog*, **d'jôg*, or **siôg*.²³ Compare Karlgren's Old Chinese **d'îog* reconstruction for A and B with: **d'jôg* (Dong Tonghe), **diəw* B vs. **deəw* A (Zhou Fagao), **diegw* (Li Fanggui), and **gliəw* (Axel Schuessler). The alternative names of **điôk* Γ, **djang'jog* 陽橋, **d'îogkio?* BN, **tsjæg* I, and **dziôg* Θ suggest a more phonologically complex origin for this fish name. **DZIOG* possibilities could include consonant clustered **dgliôg*, bisyllabic **dəgiog*, etc..

Having examined lexicology of the **DZIOG* name, we can now approach the central topic of how this fish is defined and translated.

2 LEXICOGRAPHY OF *TIAO*

Dictionary definitions and translations of the *tiáo* < **DZIOG* A ~ B minnow provide a historical microcosm of Chinese lexicography. The following first compares monolingual definitions from early §2.1 and modern §2.2 Chinese dictionaries, and then parallels bilingual translation equivalents from Japanese §2.3 and European languages §2.4. Tables 1-4 chronologically list definitions and equivalents from 68 dictionaries, both *zìdiǎn* 字典 'character/logograph dictionaries' and *cídiǎn* 辭書 'word dictionaries'. Since it would be repetitious to list all the Chinese dictionary definitions of **DZIOG* variants, for the sake of brevity, the focus is upon A and B definitions from major texts (mentioned in the literature, Tōdō 1958, Liu 1963, Yang 1985, *inter alia*). The ensuing is not a macrohistory of Chinese dictionaries, but an outline of evolution in lexicographic methodology.

22. The *tiáo*'s 'long thin' shape was lexicalized in *tiáoyú* 條魚 "branch fish" and *báitiáoyú* 白條魚 "white branch fish" names in table 1. This *tiáo* 'branch' is the Chinese numerative for long and narrow things (e.g., roads, cords, legs, trousers, snakes, fishes, dragons, etc.).

23. The 攸 phonetic series anciently had a few **s-* initials, e.g., *xiū* < *sjau* < **sjôg* 修 'adorn; prepare; cultivate' and *xiū* < *sjau* < **sjôg* 脩 'dried meat; shrunk; long'.

2.1 Early Chinese Dictionaries

Tiáo < *d'ieu* < **d'iōg* definitions from the eleven dictionaries listed in table 1, changing from short synonym glosses to detailed descriptions, give an overview of traditional Chinese lexicography from 200? B.C.E. to 1716. To establish the development of early graphic variations, in addition to citing all A and B definitions, table 1 lists the first definitions of **DZIOG* variants (e.g., 𩺰 in the *Erya*).

Table 1 — Early Chinese Definitions

| DICTIONARY | DEFINITION(S) |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Erya</i> | 【𩺰】黑 I. |
| <i>Shuowenjiezi</i> | 【B】B魚[名]也从魚攸聲. |
| <i>Guangya</i> | 【K】B也. |
| <i>Yupian</i> | 【𩺰】似由切魚也或作H. 【H】直留市由二切魚名. 【A】音條魚名. 【B】徒堯切白Γ魚也似雞赤尾[sic]六足四目又直流切. |
| <i>Guangyun</i> | 【H, Δ】以周切 ... 𩺰H小魚. 【H】市流切 ... 魚名又直留切. 【H】直由切 ... 魚名又音由. 【B】直由切 ... 魚子又魚名也. 【A】徒聊切 ... 白A魚名. |
| <i>Jiyun</i> | 【B】夷周切 ... 白魚也. 【B】陣留切 ... 說文魚名一曰魚子或書作Δ. 【A】田聊切 ... 白A魚名或作BΔ. 【A】先了切 ... 魚名或从了亦作Δ. 【Z】朗鳥切 ... 魚名. |
| <i>Piya</i> | 【A】A魚形狹而長若條然故曰A也今江淮之間謂之M魚性淨似α而白蓋α从嘗M謂之餐其義一也詩曰Aαη鯉先A後α先η後鯉者α大於A鯉大於η亦其美之遞不知也. |
| <i>Eryayi</i> | 【A】A白A也其形纖長而白故曰白A又謂白B江東呼為𩺰釋魚𩺰黑 I 是也此魚好遊水上故莊子觀於濠梁稱B 魚出游從容以為魚樂明達其性也淮南子曰不得其道若觀Γ魚望之可見即之不可得此魚好遊也而詩潛有多魚有Ω有鮪Aαη鯉潛者φ也積柴水中令魚依之止息因而取之爾雅曰[sic]魚之所息謂之υ蓋潛之詩謂季冬及春寒氣方盛故魚止φ中因而薦之非其出遊之時今人謂A為參魚參音近φ或以其伏φ中得名耶去其腸作鱖謂參魚鱖又謂其魚為肉條魚. |
| <i>Zihui</i> | 【B, Δ】于求切音由魚名又田聊切音迢義同又除留切音酬人名〔左傳〕晉公子取委魏生伯B又後漢劉B. 【A】田聊切音迢白A形狹而長若條性淨似α而白〔詩周頌〕Aαη鯉. |
| <i>Zhengzitong</i> | 【A】田聊切音迢白A形狹而長若條然詩周頌Aαη鯉毛傳白A也本作B. 【B】易求切音由小白魚俗稱B魚亦曰參條魚小而長時淨水面性好遊故名莊子觀于濠梁B魚出游從容以為樂淮南子曰不得其道若觀B魚望之可見即之不可得又蕭韻音迢意同又尤韻音酬人名左傳晉公子取委魏生伯B又後漢劉B又地名左傳文十七年將悉敵賦以待于B注晉鄭之境又山海經滎山彭水西流至ω湖其中多B魚狀如雞赤毛三尾六足四目其音如鵲食之已憂郭璞B魚貫溜和損平莫慘于憂詩咏○草帶山則B亟焉遺位聊以盤遊接ω湖之B形近怪與莊子淮南所謂B同名殊類篇海合為一誤. |

Kangxi zidian

〔B〕〔唐韻〕以周切〔集韻〕夷周切从音由〔說文〕魚名〔集韻〕與H同〔莊子秋水篇〕B魚出游〔音意〕即白B魚也〔淮南子覽冥訓〕不得其道者若觀B魚〔注〕B魚小魚〔正字通〕俗呼參條魚長而小時浮水面性好遊故名又〔山海經〕帶山彭水西流至の湖其中多B魚其狀如鵠赤毛三尾六足四目其音如鵠○按與莊子淮南子別是一種又地名〔左傳文十七年〕將悉敝賦以待于B〔注〕B晉鄭之境又人名左傳晉公子伯B後漢劉B又〔廣韻〕直由切〔集韻〕〔韻會〕陣留切〔正韻〕除留切从音傳義同又〔集韻〕〔正韻〕从田聊切音迢本作A詳A字注。

〔A〕〔廣韻〕徒聊切〔集韻〕〔韻會〕〔正韻〕田聊切从音迢白A魚名〔正字通〕形狹而長若條然〔詩周頌〕Aαη鯉〔傳〕白A也〔集韻〕或作BΔ又〔集韻〕先了切音小義同。

The oldest extant Chinese dictionary, the ca. 200 B.C.E. *Erya* 爾雅 [Approaching Refined/Correct (Language)] is semantically organized into nineteen chapters/sections. For example, the last seven define names of plants, trees, insects, fish, birds, wild, and domestic animals. The sixteenth, "Explaining Fish [Names]," has 43 definitions with 77 names of aquatic creatures ("fish" in a general sense including amphibians, crustaceans, and reptiles) and most are definiendum-definiens pairs like:

The *qiú* < *ziəu* < **dzjōg* ① [is/means] the *hēizī* < *Xəktsi* < **Xmektsjəg* 黑 I "black **tsjəg*."

The *Erya* evidently originated as an assemblage of glosses from classical texts, and it defines about 2200 terms, many of which are rare graphs or *hapax legomena* like **tsjəg* I.²⁴ The first *Erya* commentary by Guo Pu (276-324, cf. §1.5) notes this is the "白B魚 white **d'iōg*-fish, called *qiú* < *ziəu* < **dzjōg* ① in Jiangdong [present day Jiangsu and Zhejiang]."²⁵ Commentators diversely attempted to explain this black/white contradiction. Zheng Qiao (1104-1162) reasons that since the *zī* < *tsi* < **tsjəg* I ("fish radical" 魚 & **tsjəg* 茲 'black' phonetic) had *zī* < *tsi* < **tsjəg* 茲 'black' spots on its back, it could not be the same as the white *qiú* < *ziəu* < **dzjōg* ①. The *Zhengzitong* below plausibly suggests the *zī* 鰭 'gray/striped mullet, *Mugil cephalus*' (fig. 16). Hao Yixing (1757-1825, cf. §1.3) proposes the 黑 logograph in this *Erya* definition was miscopied from 𩺰 (with the 黑 "black" rather than the 魚 "fish radical"), implying an original "**dzjōg* ① and **dzjōk* 𩺰 [are/mean] **tsjəg* I" definition. Even though Shi's (1990:42) study of *Erya* fish names gives

24. Guo (1980:124) says 2190 terms, Xue (1982:152) says 2091. The *Erya* dates from the third century B.C.E. or earlier. Han dynasty scholars viewed the text as one of the *jīng* 經 'classics', and officially canonized it in the (90 C.E.) *Han History* bibliography section. Since I is not recorded before the *Erya*, two explanations are that it glossed an early transcription of A in the *Shijing*, or came from some ancient text lost in the 213 B.C.E. "Burning of the Books."

25. The *Erya* commentary of Xing Bing (931-1010) confirmed the Zhejiang dialectal usage seven centuries later. Does it continue in the present day?

'*Hemiculter leucisculus*' (fig. 9), one solution to the black/white problem would be *dzjôg 𩺰 meaning 'pale chub, *Zacco platypus*' and "black" *xmëktsjæg 黑 I 'dark chub, *Z. temmincki*' (figs. 29 and 30). In Western lexicographical terminology, the *Erya* is more of a synonym thesaurus (a "synonymicon," von Rosthorn 1975:138) than a full-fledged dictionary like the next.

The ca. 100 C.E. *Shuowenjiezi* 說文解字 [Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Logographs] was edited by Xu Shen (58-147?) into 540 logographic radicals (Creamer 1989). For a dictionary user, it is easier to look up a logograph (esp. an unknown one) in a word-book organized by graphic classifiers than in one divided by *Erya*-like semantic fields. The *Shuowen* arranges its 540 radicals by both cosmological principles and graphic similarities,²⁶ but the system can seem (Thern 1966:4) "illogical." For example, the *Shuowen* 魚 "fish radical" (no. 424) is understandably subsumed under a "watery" syllogism: preceded by radicals for 水 "water" (410), 川 "river" (415), 雨 "rain" (422), 雲 "cloud" (423), and followed by ones for 燕 "swallow" (426 [believed to transform into a]), 龍 "dragon" (427), and 飛 "to fly" (428). Xu's postface says the *Shuowen* defines 9353 logographs plus 1163 graphic variants, but, owing to many textual redactions (Miller 1953:156-200), modern editions have 9431 plus 1279. The "fish radical" section defines 103 logographs (not the *Erya*'s 𩺰 or 𩺱) including:

Tiáo < *d'ieu* < **d'iôg* B, a fish (name), derived from the fish [radical] and a *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'iôg* 敺 phonetic.

Some *Shuowen* texts gloss "魚也 a fish" and others "魚名也 a fish name." The renowned *Shuowen* commentator Duan Yucai (1735-1815) analyzed classical **DZIOG* references and concluded that the one A~B fish mentioned in the *Shijing*, *Erya*, and *Zhuangzi* was different from the legendary other 𩺱 魚 in the *Shanhaijing*. He noted a current *tiáo* pronunciation and old *chóu* and *diú* ones.

The ca. 230 *Guangya* 廣雅 [Extended/Enlarged (*Er*)*ya*],²⁷ edited by Zhang Yi, defines 18,150 logographs and follows the *Erya* organization of vocabulary into nineteen semantic chapters. The sixteenth "Explaining Fish [Names]" defines 29 terms not found in the *Erya*,²⁸ including the first appearance of

26. Xu's postface (tr. Thern 1966:75-6, cf. Miller 1953:277-8) explains: "When I established the categories, I chose 'one' (yī 一) to be the first, [the *Book of Changes* says] 'The similar are grouped together, the different are separated'. Graphs of the same category can be linked. If they have common principles, they are strung together."

27. The *Guangya* is also known as the *Boya* 博雅 [Extended/Wide (*Er*)*ya*] because the pronunciation commentary of Cao Xian (541-645?) was entitled *Boyayin* 博雅音 owing to taboo on the personal name Guang of Sui emperor Yang (r. 605-617).

the "dictionary word" jù K (魚 "fish radical" & 卒 phonetic):

The jù < tsjuēt < *tsiwet K [is/means] the tiáo < d'ieu < *d'iôg B
[or Γ in some editions].

Wang Niansun's (1744-1832, cf. §1.3) commentary quotes B's early textual usages, but admits unfamiliarity with jù K, unless it was wěi 鮓 'beaked sturgeon' as noted in the *Guangyun*, which he justly doubts as "source unknown."

The *Yupian* 玉篇 [Jade/Precious Tablets] was originally edited ca. 543 by Gu Yewang (519-581), revised in 760 by Sun Jiang and Fu Chun, and redacted by Chen Pengnian as the 1013 *Daguang yihui yupian* 大廣益會玉篇 [Enlarged and Revised Jade Tablets]. It defines 16,917 logographs, including many graphic variants (eight for the *DZIOG-fish), and is arranged into a 542 radical system, adapting the 540 in the *Shuowen* more in line with the *Erya*'s semantic fields. The "fish radical" section (no. 397), for instance, is placed between "bird" and "rat radicals," and defines 321 "fish" logographs. While the *Shuowen* occasionally gave pronunciations in terms of logographic phonetics, the *Yupian* was the first dictionary to give systematic pronunciation glosses in *fānqiè* 反切 "cut and splice." This is the traditional Chinese "spelling" method of phonetic notation, using two logographs to represent the initial and final pronunciations (Norman 1988:27-8).²⁹ For example, it glosses 𩺰 as "似由切," denoting the initial of sǐ < zi: 似 "cut [and spliced]" with the final of yóu < iəu 由, i.e., pronounced shóu < zǐəu. The *Yupian* has the first definition of the variant H logograph:

𩺰, shóu < zǐəu, a fish, also written H.

H, chóu < ǎiəu ~ shóu < zǐəu, a fish name.

It writes the *Shuowen* B as A, and takes B to be the bird-fish written Γ in the *Shanhaijing* §1.5; defining:

A, tiáo < d'ieu, a fish name.

B, tiáo < d'ieu ~ chóu < ǎiəu, the white Γ, resembling a chicken with a red tail, six feet, and four eyes.

A is glossed with (cf. *Shuowen* above) 音條 'pronounced tiáo' instead of with a *fānqiè* like most the others; and the received *Shanhaijing* text has "red hair" and "four heads." The *Yupian* defines this cross-referenced Γ — also its definiens for K "子律切Γ也, zù < tsjuēt, the Γ" — not as a fish name

28. This fish chapter has the first definition of jiǎo < kǎu: P (see §1.3) as the bó < b'ak T 'culter'.

29. The *fānqiè* system is traditionally assigned to Sun Yan (220-264), who, under the influence of Sanskrit scholarship, used "cut and splice" glosses in his *Eryayin* 爾雅音 [Erya Pronunciations].

but as "他狄切又大的尸育二切Γ禍毒也青黑σ也急疾也, *tí* < *t'iek* or broadly *shù* < *śjuk*, disaster; blue-black silk; urgent." These internally inconsistent Γ definitions, along with the irregular Θ and H 魚 "fish" and 魚名 "fish name" definitions, reveal the *Yupian*'s textual heterogeneity.³⁰

The 1007-1011 *Guangyun* 廣韻 [Extended/Enlarged Rhymes], edited by Chen Pengnian, Qiu Yong, et al., was based upon the no longer wholly extant 751 *Tangyun* 唐韻 [Tang (Dynasty) Rhymes] and Lu Fayan's 601 *Qieyun* 切韻 [Cut (i.e., *fāngqiè*) Rhymes]. These pronunciation dictionaries are the cornerstone upon which Chinese historical phonology was reconstructed. The *Guangyun* defines 26,194 logographs, organized according to 206 final syllables (Karlgren 1954). The major sections of the four Middle Chinese tones (*píng* 平 'level', *shǎng* 上 'rising', *qù* 去 'departing', and *rù* 入 'entering') are subdivided into 206 rhyme groups with identical finals, and further organized by grouping together variants, synonyms, and graphs with the same radical. It gives a definition and a *fāngqiè* for the headword (called the *yùnmù* 韻目 "rhyme eye") in each homophonic group, and definitions for subsequent entry-words. For example, most *DZIOG names (along with a few other fish names, e.g., Modern *qíū* < Middle *ts'ieu* 鰩~鰐 'loach', fig. 15) are found under the *yóu* < *jiéu* < Old **giôg* 尤 rhyme heading (no. 18 in part 4 'level tone'). This dictionary was first to define Δ as identical with H:

H, *yóu* < *ieu*, Θ or H, a small fish.

Δ, same as above.

H, *xiú* < *śieu*, a fish name, also pronounced *chóu* < *ǎ'ieu*.

H, *chóu* < *ǎ'ieu*, a fish name, also pronounced *yóu* < *ieu*.

B, *chóu* < *ǎ'ieu*, roe, also a fish name.

A, *tiáo* < *d'ieu*, the 白A white *tiáo*, a fish name.

This *yúzǐ* 魚子 "fish baby" 'roe' is the inversion of the *Zhengzitong*'s 'gray mullet' dialectal name *zǐyú* 子魚 'zǐ-fish'. The *Guangyun* defines (not shown in table 1) the *DZIOG synonym K as:

子律切B 鰩別名, *zù* < *tsjuët*, alternative name for *tiáo* < *d'ieu* B, or for *wěi* < *jwi*: 鰩 beaked sturgeon.

This is the first identification of *DZIOG with 'paddlefish, beaked sturgeon, *Psephurus gladius*' (fig. 20; mentioned in the *Shijing* §1.1 context), but the *Guangyun* focuses more upon pronunciations than meanings. It has inefficiencies like three *yóu*, *chóu*, and *xiú* H definitions, or defining Θ and A as what are probably the same "white *DZIOG": *báichóu* < *b'akd'ieu* 白B and *báitiáo* < *b'akd'ieu* 白A.

30. The *Yupian* has the first definitions of two logographs associated with *DZIOG in later dictionaries; "Z, *xiǎo* < *śiau*:, a fish" and "A, *liè* < *liap*, a fish name."

The *Jiyun* 集韻 [Collected Rhymes] was compiled under imperial mandate by groups of Song dynasty scholars, beginning with Ding Du in 1037 and ending with Sima Guang in 1067. It defines what Norman (1988:72) calls an "extraordinarily large number" of 53,525 logographs, including many graphic variants, the largest number in any Chinese dictionary up to the present day *Hanyu daizidian*. The *Jiyun* follows the *Qieyun* organization into rhyme groups of 206 finals, and its definitions largely incorporate the *Shuowen* and other early dictionaries. Most *DZIOG definitions are found under the *yóu* < *jíu* 尤 rhyme heading, including two for B:

B, *yóu* < *jíu*, a white fish.

B, *chóu* < *ǎ'íu*, the *Shuowen* [says] "a fish name," also said to be "fish roe," also written Δ.³¹

Definitions under other rhyme groups include the first, though indirect, identification of Z (cf. "a fish [name]" in *Yupian* and *Guangyun*) as the *DZIOG:

A, *tiáo* < *d'ieu*, the white *tiáo*, a fish name, also written B or Δ.

A, *xiǎo* < *sǎu*:, a fish name, also from a 了 phonetic [in Z], also written Δ.

Z, *liǎo* < *lieu*:, a fish name.

This 'fish roe' definition of B is copied from the *Guangyun*, along with defining K as: "即聿切魚名 Γ 也 一曰鮓別名, *zù* < *tsjuët*, a fish name, the Γ, also said to be an alternative name for the *wěi* < *jwi*: 鮓 ['beaked sturgeon']". The *Jiyun* is the first dictionary to define B as a variant for Γ.³²

The *Piya* 雅 [Increased/Revised (Er)ya], edited by Lu Dian from 1078-1085, comprises eight chapters dealing mainly with plants and animals; corresponding to the latter part of the *Erya* (Carr 1979:38-9). "Fish" come

31. Other relevant definitions in this rhyme group are: H, "夷周切小魚或从攸, *yóu* < *jíu* a small fish, also [Δ] from a *tiáo* phonetic"; Γ, "丑鳩切山海經彭水多 Γ 魚其狀如雞三尾六足四首, *chōu* < *t'íu*, the *Shanhaijing* [says] 'The Peng River has many *t'íog fish, it resembles a chicken, with three tails, six feet, and four heads'" [with a different pronunciation and omission of "red hair"]; H, "陣留切魚名, *chóu* < *ǎ'íu*, a fish name" and "時流切魚名, *xiú* < *zíu*, a fish name."

32. B is defined as "武竹切說文青黑 σ 發白色一曰黑也 一曰 Γ B 罹禍毒也, *shú* < *śiuk*, the *Shuowen* [says] 'blue-black', gives off a white color, also said to be black, also said to be BB [ΓΓ in the *Erya*], trouble and disaster"; and Δ as "力涉切魚名, *liè* < *liào*, a fish name". The *Jiyun* misquotes the *Erya* with *jū* < *tsiwo* < **tsio* μ (且 instead of 因 phonetic); I, "津之切魚名爾雅 μ 黑 I, *zī* < *tsi* < **tsieg*, a fish name, the *Erya* [says] '**tsio* μ is the black **tsieg*."

first, followed by "Wild Animals, Wildfowl, Insects, Horses, Trees, Plants, and Heaven." Xue (1982:154) describes the *Piya* to give "particularly detailed definitions of terms for plants and animals." Many of its thirty fish definitions involve folk etymologies like *tiáo*:

The name *tiáo* < *d'ieu* A is owing to this fish's narrow shape that resembles a long *tiáo* < *d'ieu* 條 'branch'. In the area between the Yangtze and Huai Rivers, it is nowadays called the *cān* < *ts'an* M fish. It has a playful disposition and resembles the *cháng* < *zjan* α fish, but is white. The name α comes from [its phonetic] *cháng* < *zjan* 嘗 'taste' and the name M from [its phonetic] *cān* < *ts'an* 餐 'eat; meal' and both are synonymous. The *Shijing* says A α η 鯉 [§1.1 "Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp" {in this order}] because **d'iōg* A is smaller than **dzjan* α, and **'jan* η is smaller than **liag* 鯉; or this [ordering] could relate with their respective beauties, but that is unknown.

This is the first identification of *cān* M ~ E with *tiáo*. In Modern Chinese, *cháng* < *zjan* α is a catfish, 'yellow croaker, *Silurus asotus*' (fig. 24).

The 1174 *Eryayi* 爾雅翼 [*Erya* Wings/Assistance], edited by Lo Yuan (1136-1184), has an even more detailed description:

Since the A is a long, narrow, white fish, it is called *báitiáo* 白A "white branch" or *báiyóu* 白B. It is called *qiú* < *ziəu* ⊙ in Jiangdong, and is the ⊙ 黑 I defined in the *Erya*. Since this fish likes to play on the water's surface, Zhuangzi watched them on the bridge above the Hao River and said [sic] 'Out swim the minnows, so free and easy, that is the happiness of fish', obviously as a result of their nature. The *Huainanzi* [(sic) says] 'To fail to obtain the *Tao* is like watching minnows. You can catch a glimpse of this fish, but not catch it'. This fish loves to play in the water, and the *Shijing* [says] 'In their warrens have many fish, Sturgeons and snout-fish, Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp,' where *qián* < *dz'iam* < **dz'iam* 潛 'plunge/hide under water' [tr. "warrens"] is a loan for *shēn* < *siam* < **siam* ~ *chēn* < *ts'iam* < **ts'iam* φ "tall tree" meaning a 'fish trap' where bundles of brush are put into water, and after fish enter it to rest, they are [因] trapped and captured. The *Erya* [sic] defines U as a place where fish rest. However this *Shijing* ode refers to the coldest time of year at the end of Winter before the beginning of Spring, so the fish caught in the warren can be offered for sacrifice; but that was not a season when they would swim about [during hibernation]. Nowadays people call the *tiáo* < *d'ieu* A the *cānyú* < *ts'angiw* 參魚 "three/consult fish," and this pronunciation is close to *chēn* < *ts'iam* φ 'fish trap', or, it could be that the *cān* name derives from its hiding within the *chēn* 'trap'. This fish's intestines are removed and dried to make *cānyúxiāng* 參魚鱗. Another name is the *ròutiáo* < *íziukd'ieu* 肉條 "meat branch" fish.

This descriptive definition has a few errors. The *Zhuangzi* and *Huainanzi* (plus its commentary) are more paraphrased than quoted, cf. the originals in §1.2 and §1.4. There is no way of determining when this *Shijing* poem was written. Since the *Erya* does not define U, this "a place where fish rest" probably refers to the *Jiyun* U "shēn, brushwood put under water in order to catch

fish" definition. Rather than a dubitable 'trap' etymology, this *cān* < *ts'an* M name is more likely a predecessor of *cānyú* < *ts'amngiwo* 參魚.

The 1615 *Zihui* 字彙 [Logograph Classification/Glossary], compiled by Mei Yingzuo (1553-1619), defines 33,179 logographs. It is best known for inaugurating what became the standard 214 radical system replacing the original 540 in the *Shuowen jiezi*. The 214 are ordered by their number of strokes, from one (e.g., 一, 丶, ...), two (二, 丩, ...), up through seventeen (龠), and logographs arranged under each radical by number of residual strokes. Under the 魚 "fish radical," for instance, words written with residual four stroke logographs (e.g., 魯, 魴) come before five (鮎, 鮓) which come before six strokes (鮓, 鮓), etc. The 魚 "fish radical" (no. 195, between 高 "high; tall" and 鳥 "bird") section defines 489 logographs, including,

B or Δ, *yóu* < *ieu* pronounced like *yóu* < *ieu* 由 [the phonetic in H], a fish name, also *tiáo* < *d'ieu*, pronounced like and cognate with *tiáo* < *d'ieu* 迢 'distant', also *chóu* < *ziéu* pronounced like *chóu* < *ziéu*, a personal name, the *Zuozhuan* [Xi 23] "took Ji Wei to himself as his wife, and she bore him Bo Chou", also Liu Chou [d. 168] of the Latter Han.

A, *tiáo* < *d'ieu*, pronounced like *tiáo* < *d'ieu*, the white *tiáo*, its shape is narrow and long like a branch, its nature is playful, and it resembles the α 'yellow croaker' [mentioned in] the *Shijing* (Zhou Song) 'Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp'.

Note the glossing of pronunciation with both a technical *fānqiè* and a more readily understandable homophone (cf. *Guangyun yùnmù* rhyme headings), here *tiáo* 迢 'distant' said to be cognate ('long distance' =? 'long fish') with B but not A. The *Zihui* cites the *Xunzi* §1.3 with κ instead of N and the *Shuoyuan* §1.6 with **djangkiog* 陽喬 instead of 陽橋; and is the first dictionary to include C as a proper name, citing the (ca. 300 B.C.E.) *Zuozhuan*.³³

The 1670 *Zhengzitong* 正字通 [Correct Character Understanding] is a revision of the *Zihui* (Liu 1963:47-49) edited by Zhang Zilie and Liao Wenying. It defines 33,440 logographs, 498 of which are written with the fish radical, including *tiáo* variants A and B:

A, pronounced *tiáo*, the white-*tiáo* has a long narrow shape like a branch. *Shijing* (Zhou Song) "Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp," Mao's commentary "the white-*tiáo*" Originally written B.

B, pronounced *yóu*, a small white fish, commonly called *cān* M, also called *cāntiáoyú* 參

33. The *Zihui* is the first dictionary to define κ, "*qiáo* < *kjau*, pronounced *qiáo* < *kjau* 喬, a fish name." This 喬 is the phonetic in P, defined in the *Zihui* as "*jiǎo* < *kieu*, a white fish, ..." quoting the *Shuoyuan* story but not the text. In addition, the θ "*bō* < *pāt*, fish jumping" definition notes B θ as "a fish name."

條魚. The name for this small elongated fish derives from its nature of occasionally liking to swim and frolic on the water's surface. *Zhuangzi* "Gazing from the bridge on the Hao [River] the minnows seem happy because they swim out, so free and easy." *Huainanzi* says "Failing to obtain the Tao is like watching minnows [...] they can be glimpsed, but are very difficult to catch." Also pronounced *tiáo* in the same meaning. Also pronounced *chóu*, a personal name, *Zuozhuan* "took [Ji] Wei to himself as his wife, and she bore him [Bo Chou]", also Liu Chou of the Latter Han. Also a place name, *Zuozhuan* (Wen 17) "We will raise all our poor levies, and await you at [You]," commentary "on the border between Jin and Zheng." Also *Shanhaijing* "The Peng River flows down from Mt. Tai and west into the Pihou River. In it there are many tiao-fish which resemble chickens, have red hair, three tails, six feet, four eyes, and make a sound like a magpie. Eating them will stop melancholy." Guo Pu says, "The *tiáo*-fish has a dry and well-flavored nature, nothing is better for destroying grief and melancholy. The *Shijing* sings of the *XIÉCǎO* 'plant of forgetfulness', the valleys of Mt. Tai have the *tiáo*, by tradition both are taken to bring happiness." However, the *tiáo* in the Pihou has a nearly fantastic appearance, a different species with the same name as the fish in *Zhuangzi* and *Huainanzi*. The *Pianhai* is wrong in taking them to be the same.

These two *Zhengzitong* definitions copy the *Piya*'s "long narrow shape like a branch" description and "small white fish, commonly called the *cān M*"; and repeat the *Eryayi* explanation that "The name for this small, elongated fish derives from its nature of liking to swim and frolic on the water's surface." This B definition rephrases the *Zhuangzi* (cf. §1.2), mixes the original *Huainanzi* with Gao's commentary (§1.4), misquotes the *Shanhaijing* (§1.5), and quotes Guo's *Shanhaijing* commentary about the "plant of forgetfulness" 'day-lily, *Hemerocallis fulva*' which is likewise said to cure sorrow.³⁴

Besides defining A, B and other variants (Δ , Z, Θ , H, A, K), the *Zhengzitong* is the first dictionary to identify the *Erya*'s black *zī* 鰭 I as the *zī* 鰭 'gray mullet, *Mugil cephalus*' (fig. 16). It defines *zī* I as a fish with:

身圓頭扁骨脆子滿腹有黃脂鰭喜食之 a round body, flat head, brittle bones. When its belly is full of eggs, it has yellow fat. Otters like to eat them.

This definition also discusses the black/white inconsistencies of Guo's "white-*tiáo* 白 A" commentary to the *Erya* "black-*zī* 黑 I," and quotes this (1320) *Liushugu* 六書故 [Reasons for the Six Logographic Categories] definition:

今之鰭淡水中者長不踰尺博身椎首而肥俗謂之鰭海亦有之又有子魚與之相類人鹽藏為苞苴之珍

34. The day-lily is called *xuān* 萱 or *wángyōu* 忘憂 'forget sorrow' in Chinese and *wasuregusa* 忘れ草 "plant of forgetfulness" in Japanese. While not identified, this quote comes from Guo's *Shanhaijing* (5/3a) commentary about a creature resembling a bristly raccoon-dog with a white tail that was said to cure sorrow when eaten: the *kūku* < *k'uek'uek* < **k'uek'uek* 蛄蛄.

Nowadays the fish commonly called *zī* 鰱 is found in salt and fresh water, has a length of less than one foot, a wide body, mallet-like head, and is fat; also [a fish] found in the ocean. Also the *zǐ*-fish is a corresponding species which people in Min [Fujian] salt and store as a special food offering.

This southern dialectal name *zǐyú* 子魚 "baby fish" 'zǐ-fish' could reversibly explain the *Guangyun*, *Jiyun*, and subsequent dictionaries defining *tiáo* with the textually unattested meaning *yúzi* 魚子 "fish baby" 'roe, spawn'. This *Zhengzitong* I definition adds the (1596) *Bencao gangmu* entry for 'gray mullet, *Mugil cephalus*' which notes the Cantonese term *zǐyú* 子魚 and interprets the name *zī* 鰱 to mean "black," (cf. this phonetic & the "silk radical" in *zī* 緇 'black' with the *zī* 茲 'black' phonetic in I). Li Shizhen notes that the *zī* 鰱:

is found in the Eastern Sea, shaped like the [black carp], it is more than a foot long, the belly is full of eggs. It has a fine tasting yellow fat. Otters like to eat them. The people of Wu [and Yue, Zhejiang and Jiangsu] consider it excellent food and salt it whole or in slices. (tr. Read 1939:19-20)

From the cognate 'black' phonetic elements in *zī* < *tsjæg* I and *zī* < *tsjæg* 鰱, it is possible that both named the 'gray mullet', but this interpretation goes against the "white-*tiáo*" commentary of Guo Pu, a leading fourth century scholar and naturalist. This definition of oceanic *Mugil* could have affected the *Trichiurus* mistake in table 4.

The *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 was compiled from 1710-1716 by Zhang Yushu, Chen Tingjing, et al. under the order of Emperor Kangxi. They based it on the *Zihui* and *Zhengzitong*, defining 47,035 logographs plus 1995 variants. The *Kangxi zidian* remained the standard dictionary up to the present century, and it popularized, or effectively canonized,³⁵ the 214 radical/stroke system. It quotes *fānqiè* from various dictionaries, notes current [yīn 音] pronunciations, and lists homophonous variants. The "fish radical" (no. 195) defines 572 logographs, including:

B, *Tangyun* "yóu < jǐu" *Jiyun* "yōu < jǐu" Pronounced yóu *Shuowen* "a fish name." *Jiyun* "identical with H." *Zhuangzi*, *Autumn Floods Chapter* [§ 1.2] "Out swim the minnows," commentary "white *d'idg-fish." *Huainanzi*, *Peering Into the Obscure Chapter* [§ 1.5] "Failing to obtain the Tao is like watching minnows," commentary "a small fish." *Zhengzitong* "Commonly called the *cántiáoyú* 參條魚. The name for this long, small fish derives from its nature of liking to swim and frolic on the water's surface." *Shanhaijing* [§ 1.5] "The Peng River flows down from Mt. Tai and west into the Pihou River. There are

35. This *diǎn* 典 in the title means 'standard (work); canon', and Chinese *zìdiǎn* 字典 or Japanese *jiten* 字典 'dictionary' became what Xue (1982:157) calls "a name applied to virtually every Chinese dictionary since." See titles in tables 2 and 3.

many **diōg* fish which resemble chickens, have red hair, three tails, six feet, four eyes, and make a sound like a magpie." However, this species is different from the fish in *Zhuangzi* and *Huainanzi* [cf. Wang Niansun above]. Also a place name, *Zuozhuan* (Wen 17) "We will raise all our poor levies, and await you at [Chou]," commentary "on the border between Jin and Zheng." Also a personal name, *Zuozhuan* (Duke Xuan 3) "I am [Bo Chou]"; and Liu Chou of the Latter Han. Also, *Guangyun* "*chóu* < *ǎ'ieu*" *Jiyun* and *Yunhui* "*chóu* < *ǎ'ieu*" *Zhengyun* "*chóu* < *ǎ'ieu*" Pronounced like and cognate with *chóu* [< *ǎ'ieu* 儔 'equal; friend']. *Jiyun* and *Zhengyun* "*tiáo* < *d'ieu*" Pronounced *tiáo* Originally written A, see the A entry.

A, *Guangyun* "*tiáo* < *d'ieu*" *Jiyun*, *Yunhui*, and *Zhengyun* "*tiáo* < *d'ieu*" Pronounced *tiáo*, the white *tiáo*, a fish name. *Zhengzitong* "long, narrow shape like a branch." *Shijing* (Zhou Song) [§1.1] "Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp," commentary "white **d'iōg*" *Jiyun* "also written B or Δ." Also *Jiyun* "*xiǎo* < *sǎu*," pronounced like and cognate with *xiǎo* < *sǎu*: 小 'small, little'."

Owing to the emperor's command that his dictionary be completed in five years, the *Kangxi zidian* contains errors and misquotes (Fang 1979:224); the (1831) *Zidian kaozheng* 字典考證 [Dictionary Textual Criticism] corrected over 2500. Taking the B definition as an example: the *Huainanzi* says "不得其道 To fail to obtain the/its *Tao*" not [者-nominalized] "不得其道者 Failing [~ One who fails] to obtain the *Tao*"; part of the *Zhengzitong* definition is omitted and part reversed to "小而長 small and long" instead of "長而小 long and small"; and the *Shanhaijing* quote should read "四首 four heads" instead of "四目 four eyes." Even with such minor mistakes, the *Kangxi zidian* was more inclusive than previous dictionaries, and thus more valuable. For instance, it cites the *Zuozhuan* using B as a personal and a place name; compare the *Zihui* mentioning the birth of this Bo Chou/You and the same Liu Chou/You.

Having introduced the classic lexicographical history of *tiáo* < **DZIOG* A ~ B, we can now compare modern treatments from Chinese, Japanese, and Western language dictionaries in tables 2-4. Since most contemporary dictionaries have familiar formats such as definiendum-definiens rather than exotic aspects such as logographic etymologies or *fānqiè* glosses, the definitions below are presented in less detail than the early Chinese ones above. Sections 2.2-2.4 discuss general patterns among dictionaries, and instead of translating every *tiáo* definition, only cite exemplary ones. Note that for typographic reasons, in tables 2-4 modern simplified logographs have been changed to traditional forms, and pronunciations are standardized to Pinyin [*tiao*, *chou*, *you*] without tonal diacritics. Chinese dictionaries use diverse pronunciation systems. Pinyin *chóu*, for instance, is transcribed as *ch'ou* or *ch'ou*² (Wade-Giles), ㄔㄡ (National Phonetic), *chour* (National Romanization), Ч О У (Russian), *tch'eu*² (Spanish), *tch'eou* (French), or 池尤切 (*fānqiè*).

2.2 Modern Chinese Dictionaries

Twenty-four Chinese dictionaries from 1915-1990 are listed in table 2, including some revised editions, but not abridgments.³⁶ Note that this table includes different editions of texts called *Ciyuan* 辭源 [The Sources³⁷ of Words] and *Cihai* 辭海 [A Sea of Words]. In parallel to English dictionaries entitled *Webster's*, the *Ciyuan* and *Cihai* have gone through diverse Mainland and Taiwan editions; and from differences among the definitions listed, it is clear these dictionaries were not simply revisions.

Table 2 — Modern Chinese Definitions

| DICTIONARY | DEFINITION(S) |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1915 <i>Ciyuan</i> | 【B】[you]魚名。白B。即A魚。詳A字注。 【A】[tiao]魚名。即白A。詳白A條。 【白A】[baitiao]魚名。產於淡水。大者長尺許。形狹長。背淡黑。微青。腹白。鱗細。好群遊水面。一名三魚。又稱三條魚。 |
| <i>Zhonghua daizidian</i> | 【A】[tiao, xiao] ① 魚名。〔詩潛〕一αη鯉。〔箋〕一白一也。〔按即A魚。釋魚義疏引ψ雅云一魚形狹而長。江淮之間謂之M魚。今俗呼白漂。蓋語聲之譌耳。〕② 海魚名。屬喉鯉類。體長僅七八寸。背部蒼青。腹部白。脊鰭之後端有一長刺。延長成絲狀。肉供食用。 |
| <i>Citong</i> | 【白A】[baitiao]魚名。俗呼白Ψ[sic]。〔詩·周頌潛〕Aαη鯉。〔傳〕A○也。〔山海經·北山經郭注〕小魚曰A。爾雅翼云其形纖長而白。故曰○○。【白Γ】[baitiao]〔爾雅·釋魚〕⊙黑I。〔郭注〕即○○[sic]魚。江東呼為⊙。 |
| <i>Zhonghua guoyu daizidian</i> | 【A】[tiao] ① 白A。② ㄣA。 【ㄣ】[can]【ㄣA】淡水裏的一種小魚兒。 |
| <i>Biaozhun guoyu daizidian</i> | 【A】[tiao]白A。魚名。 |
| <i>Guoyu cidian</i> | 【A】[tiao]〔動〕魚名。形狹長。大者長尺許。 |
| 1936 <i>Cihai</i> | 【A, B, Δ】[tiao, you, chou]動物名。(Zucco [sic] platypus) 屬魚類喉鯉類。形狹長。側扁而薄。體長數寸至尺餘。下顎比上顎長。尾鰭分叉。鱗細而整齊。背部淡黑色微帶黃。腹部黃白色。肉多細骨。棲河湖池沼間。性好群遊。名見〔本草綱目〕。又有白B。三魚。⊙魚。等名。按今動物學以M為A之較大之一種。長可一二尺。 【B】[tiao, you, chou]白B魚也。見〔玉篇〕。〔莊子秋水〕：『B魚出遊從容。』釋文引〔爾雅〕『⊙黑I』郭注：『即白B也』意謂⊙B二字通用。朱駿聲〔說文通訓聲〕云：『字亦作A今之白餐條也。』按字又作Δ。參閱ΔA二字注。 |
| <i>Guoyin zidian</i> | 【A】[tiao]魚名。形狹長。大者長尺許。背部淡黑微黃。腹部黃白色。亦稱白A。 |
| 1950 <i>Ciyuan</i> | 【A】[tiao]魚類喉鯉類。又稱白B。學名 <i>Cultricus kneri</i> (<i>Hemiculter leucisculus</i>)。英名 <i>Keeled culter</i> 。形狹長側扁而薄。其狀略似柳葉。頭小。下顎 |

36. E.g., the 1937 *Guoyu cidian* and its revised 1981 *Chongbian Guoyu cidian* are shown but not its abridged 1957 *Hanyu cidian* revision which copies verbatim the *Guoyu cidian* definition.

37. Instead of *yuán* 源 'source (esp. river), fountainhead' the 1978 *Ciyuan* uses the watery near-synonym *yuān* 淵 'deep (water), abyss'.

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| | 比上顎長，肩部微駝，鰭分叉，鱗細，背部淡黑帶黃，腹部黃白色，肉多細骨，棲於河湖沼池間，名見〔本草綱目〕。 |
| | 【B】[you, tiao]白B魚也。見〔玉篇〕。即A魚。詳A字注。 |
| Xinhua zidian | 【E, A】[tiao] 魚名，身體小，側綫緊貼腹部，生活在淡水中。 |
| Sijiao haoma xincidian | 【A】[tiao]魚名，產于淡水。大者長一尺余，形狹長，背淡黑，微青，腹白鱗細，好群遊水面。一名三魚，又稱三A魚。 |
| 1965 Cihai | 【E】[tiao]魚名，亦稱白A。一種性好群遊的小魚，長僅數寸，形狹而扁，狀如柳葉，鱗細而整齊，潔白可愛。見《本草綱目·魚部三》。《詩·周頌·潛》：“猗與漆沮，潛有多魚，有Q有鮪，A，α，η，鯉。”亦作“B”。張華《答何劭》詩：“屬耳听鸚鵡，流目玩A魚。” |
| Xiandai Hanyu cidian | 【E, A】[tiao]魚類的一屬，身體小，側綫緊靠腹部，生活在淡水中。 |
| Zhongwen dacidian | 【A】[tiao, xiao] ① 魚名。(Zucco [sic] platypus) 屬魚類喉鰭類，形狹長，側扁而薄，體長數寸至尺餘，下顎比上顎長，尾鰭分叉，鱗細而整齊，背部淡黑色帶微黃，腹部黃白色，肉多細骨，棲河湖池沼間，性好群遊。又有白B，三魚，⊙魚等名。案今動物學以三為A之較大之一種，長可一二尺，或作B，Δ。〔集韻〕A，白A，魚名，或作B，Δ。〔正字通〕A，白A形狹而長，若條然。〔詩，周頌，潛〕A α η 鯉。〔箋〕A，白A也。〔本草，A魚〕集解，時珍曰，A生江湖中小魚也，長僅數寸，形狹而扁，狀如柳葉，鱗細而整，潔白可愛，性善群遊。② 或作Z。〔集韻〕A或从了。 |
| | 【B】[you] ① B魚也。即小白魚。〔說文〕B，B魚也，从魚攸聲。〔爾雅，釋魚，⊙黑I，注〕即白B魚。〔正字通〕B，小白魚，俗稱三魚，亦曰參條魚，小而長時浮水面，性好遊故名。② 魚卵也。〔集韻〕B，一曰，魚子。③ 地名。春秋，晉鄭之境。〔左氏，文，十七〕將悉敝賦以待于B〔注〕B，晉鄭之境。 |
| | 【chou】① 魚名。〔集韻〕B，說文，魚名。② 魚卵也。〔集韻〕B，一曰，魚子。③ 魚名。食之可以忘憂，與Γ通。〔山海經，北山經〕帶山，彭水出焉，其中多Γ魚，食之可以已憂。〔注〕畢π曰，依義當為Γ，B借音字。④ 或作Δ。〔集韻〕B，或書作Δ。 |
| | 【tiao】① 白A也。與A同。〔集韻〕A，白A，魚名，或作B。② 或作H。〔爾雅，釋魚，釋文〕B，本亦作H。 |
| Guoyu ribao cidian | 【B】[chou, you]B魚，也叫「白A」「A魚」或「⊙魚」。參看「A」字。 |
| | 【A】[tiao]A魚。體形狹長，有細鱗，肉內多細骨。 |
| Cihui | 【A】[tiao] [名] A魚。體形狹長，鱗細而整齊，肉多細骨，棲湖沼中，俗叫「白A魚」。 |
| | 【B】[chou] [名] 白B。·就是白色的三A魚。 |
| Guoyu tujie cidian | 【E】[tiao] [名] 魚名，身體狹長而扁，下顎較上顎長，鱗很細但很整齊，背部淡黑色，腹部黃白色，棲息在河流及池沼間。 |
| 1978 Ciyuan | 【A】[tiao]魚名。體形狹長側扁，長數寸到一尺餘，鱗細而整齊，背部淡黑色微帶黃，腹部黃白色，肉多細骨，棲於河湖池沼中。性善群遊。也叫「白魚」，「三魚」，「⊙魚」等。 |
| 1979 Cihai | 【E, B】[tiao, you]魚名，亦稱白A。《莊子·秋水》：“B魚出游從容。” |
| Lishi Zhongwen zidian | 【A, E】[tiao]淡水魚一種，亦名B。 |
| | 【B】[you]A魚。 |
| Chongbian guoyu cidian | 【A】[tiao] [名] (動物) 魚名，屬脊椎動物亞門，硬骨魚綱，條鰭亞綱，鯉形目，形狹長，側扁而薄，體長數寸至數尺，下顎突出，尾鰭分叉，細鱗，背部黃黑，腹部黃白色，淡水產。 |
| | 【B】[chou, you] [名] (動物) 魚名；又名白A，A魚。 |
| Hanyu xiaocidian | 【E】[tiao] [三E] 魚名，體側扁，長四五寸，銀白色，生活在淡水中，可供食用。 |
| Yuyan dadian | 【E】[hemicleer (sic) leucisculus] 魚名，亦稱白E，三E。 |
| Hanyu dazidian | 【E, A】[tiao]《廣韻》徒聊切，平蕭定。又《集韻》先了切，幽部。魚名，又名白E，三E。魚綱鯉科。體長，側扁，銀白色，側綫緊靠腹部，性活潑，善跳躍，常在水面 |

結群往來，迅速遊動。我國淡水均產。《廣韻·蕭韻》：“A，白A，魚名。”《爾雅翼·釋魚》：“A，白A也。其形纖長而白，故曰白A，又謂白B。”《本草綱目·魚部·A魚》：“A，生江湖中，小魚也。長僅數寸，形狹而扁，狀如柳葉，鱗細而整，潔白可愛，性善群遊。”《詩·周頌·潛》：“潛有多魚，有Q有鮪，Aαη鯉。”鄭玄箋：“A，白A也。”清陳維嵩《朝中措·客中雜憶》：“紅魚明A映滄ρ，相間倍離離。”

【B】《說文》：“B，魚名。从魚，攸聲。”

(一) [tiao, you] 《集韻》田聊切，平蕭定。又夷周切。幽部。B魚，即白E，俗名E E。清段玉裁《說文解字注·魚部》：“白B，即今白M條。”《莊子·秋水》：“B魚出游從容，是魚樂也。”唐王維《中山與裴秀才迪書》：“輕B出水，白鷗矯翼。”清徐珂《清稗類鈔·動物類》：“白A即B魚。產於淡水，大者長尺許，形狹長，背淡黑微青，腹白鱗細，好群遊水面。一名三魚，亦稱三條魚。”

(二) [chou] 《廣韻》直由切，平尤澄。幽部。

① 魚子。《廣韻·尤部》：“B，魚子。”② 古地名。1. 古晉鄭之境。《左傳·文公十七年》：“將悉敝賦以待於B。”杜預注：“B，晉鄭之〔境〕。”2. 古肅國邑名，同魚。(在今奉節縣)鄰近。《左傳·文公十六年》：“又與之遇，七遇皆北，唯裨，B，魚人實逐之。”清顧祖禹《讀史方輿紀要·四川四·奉節縣》：“《左傳·文十六年》：‘楚侵庸，七遇皆北，唯裨，B，魚人實逐之。裨，B二邑，與魚近也。’

Many of these monolingual Chinese definitions give circular cross-references (A = B and B = A) and list alternative appellations. The 1975 *Cihui*, for example, uses synonyms to define *tiáo* A as the "tiao fish" *tiáoyú* A魚 or "white tiao fish" *báitiáoyú* 白A魚, and *chóu* B as the "white chou" *báichóu* 白B or a white *cāntiáoyú* E A魚.

Contemporary Chinese dictionaries in table 2 copy, often without citing, classical table 1 descriptions of the *tiáo* fish, exemplifying "cut and paste" lexicography. Descriptions of this fish's *lín* 鱗 'scales' are illustrative.³⁸ The (1596) *Bencao gangmu* said its "*lín xǐ ér zhěng* 鱗細而整 scales are fine and regular." This is cited verbatim in four dictionaries (1936 and 1965 *Cihai*, 1968 *Zhongwen dacidian*, 1990 *Hanyu dazidian*), as well as quoted without attribution in two (1975 *Cihui*, 1978 *Ciyuan*). Other dictionaries rephrase to: "鱗細 scales are fine" (1915 and 1950 [saying "see *Bencao gangmu*"] *Ciyuan*,

38. Another example is dictionaries asserting that this fish especially *hào* 好 'likes; loves' to *yóu* 遊 'swim; ramble; play'. Among classical wordbooks in table 1, this claim first appears when the 1174 *Eryayi* says Zhuangzi discussed the *tiáo* because it "好遊水上 likes to play on the water's surface" and repeats "好遊 likes to play." Following the 1596 *Bencao gangmu* description of the *tiáo*'s "性好群遊 character of liking to play/swim in a school," the 1670 *Zhengzitong* (quoted by the 1716 *Kangxi zidian*) etymologizes about its "性好遊 character of liking to play." Four larger dictionaries in table 2 (the 1936 and 1965 *Cihai*, *Zhongwen dacidian*, and *Hanyu dazidian*), follow the *Kangxi zidian* tradition of quoting the *Bencao gangmu*; others repeat "likes to play" without citing the source. Compare "好群遊水面 likes to play in a school on the water's surface" (1915 *Ciyuan* and 1955 *Sijiao haoma xincidian*) and a "性好群遊 character of liking to play in a school" (1978 *Ciyuan*).

1955 *Sijiao haoma xincidian*), "有鳞细 has fine scales" (1974 *Guoyu ribao cidian*), "鳞细 fine scales" (1981 *Chongbian guoyu cidian*), and "鳞很细但很整齐 scales are very fine and very regular" (1976 *Guoyu tujie cidian*). Modern dictionaries copy not only from classical dictionaries, but also from contemporary ones. For instance, the 1968 *Zhongwen dacidian* copies word for word, including "Zucco," the 1938 *Cihai* A definition.

The last dictionary in table 2, the *Hanyu daizidian* is unequivocally the best reference work on Chinese logographs. It defines approximately 60,000, including these two:

A~E, *tiáo* *Guangyun tiáo* < d'ieu level tone *xiāo* < *sieu* rhyme section. Also *Jiyun xiǎo* < *siau*; *yōu* < ?*ieŋ* rhyme section. A fish name. Also named *báitiáo*, *cāntiáo* Cyprinid class. Long body, flat sides, silver-white color, close lines on the sides near the belly, a lively nature, good at leaping, usually swims about the water surface in a school, fast playful motion. Well-distributed in fresh waters of China. *Guangyun* (*xiāo* < *sieu* rhyme): "*tiáo*, the white *tiáo*, a fish name." *Eryayi* (Explaining Fish): "*tiáo*, the white *tiáo* Since this fish is long, narrow, and white, it is called *báitiáo*, also called *báiyóu*" *Bencao gangmu* (Fish Chapter, *tiáo*-fish): "A small fish found in the rivers and lakes, only a few inches long, thin and flat, shaped like a willow leaf. The scales are fine, regular and clear-cut of very attractive appearance (pretty). It likes to float around in shoals." *Shijing* (Zhou Song, Qian): "In their warrens have many fish, Sturgeons and snout-fish, Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp." Commentary of Zheng Xuan: "*tiáo*, the white *tiáo*" Qing dynasty Chen Weisong *Chaozhongcuo* (Kezhong zayi): "Red snappers and bright *tiáo* shine in the falling waves, alternating farther and farther apart."

B, *Shuowen*: "*tiáo*, the *tiáo*-fish, derived from the fish [radical] and a *tiáo* phonetic." (1) *tiáo* (also read *yóu*) *Jiyun tiáo* < d'ieu level tone *xiāo* < *sieu* rhyme section. Also *yóu* < *ieŋ*; *yōu* < ?*ieŋ* rhyme section. *tiáo*-fish, the white *tiáo*, commonly named *cāntiáo* Qing dynasty Duan Yucai *Shuowenjiezi zhu* (Fish Section): "The white *tiáo* is the white *cāntiáo*" *Zhuangzi* (Autumn Floods Chapter): "Out swim the minnows, so free and easy, That's how fish are happy." Tang dynasty Wang Wei *Zhongshan yu Pei Xiucai dishu*: "The light *tiáo* go out of the water, the white gull strongly wings away." Qing dynasty Xu Ke *Qingbai leichao* (Animal Section): "The white *tiáo* is the *tiáo*-fish. It lives in fresh water, large ones reach about one foot in length. It has a long narrow shape, its back is pale black and slightly blue-green, its belly is white with fine scales, and it enjoys playing in schools on the water surface. Also named *cān* fish, or *cāntiáo* fish."

(2) *chóu* *Guangyun chóu* < ō'ieŋ level tone *yóu* < *jiēu* section. *yōu* < ?*ieŋ* rhyme section. (1) fish roe. *Guangyun* (*yóu* < *jiēu* section): "*chóu*, fish roe." (2) Ancient place names. 1. Anciently on the border between Jin and Zheng [present day Hebei and Henan]. *Zuozhuan* (Duke Wen 17): "We will raise all our poor levies, and await you at Chou." Commentary of Du Yu: "Chou, on the border between Jin and Zheng." 2. Ancient city name in Yong, same vicinity as Yu (in present day Fengjie county). *Zuozhuan* (Duke Wen 16): "Accordingly [Chu] met with

[Yong], they met seven times and [Yong] always fled north. Only the men of Pi, Chou, and Yu were employed to drive them off." Qing dynasty Gu Zuyu *Dushifang yu jiyao* (Sichuan, Fengjie county): "Zuozhuan (Wen 16); "Chu invaded Yong, they met seven times and always fled north. Only the men of Pi, Chou, and Yu were employed to drive them off." The cities of Pi and Chou were near Yu."

These definitions are thoroughly informative, citing the same classical dictionaries and texts as other modern monolingual dictionaries, plus additional ones like the famous "nature poet" Wang Wei (699-759) and the *Qingbai leichao*.³⁹

Five dictionaries in table 2 transcend Chinese synonyms for the *tiáo*-fish and metalinguistically define with New Latin ichthyological terminology. The 1950 *Ciyuan* accurately gives *Cultricus kneri* or *Hemiculter leucisculus* (fig. 9) with English "keeled culter". The 1990 *Yuyan dadian* spawned a new *Hemiculter* misspelling: "hemiculeer."⁴⁰ Two dictionaries (1936 *Cihai* and 1968 *Zhongwen dacidian*) give "*Zucco platypus*" which is a mistake for the 'common minnow, pale chub, *Zacco platypus*' (fig. 29). Besides the dictionaries shown in table 2, "*Zucco*" has been copied in Chinese-Chinese dictionaries both large and small (e.g., *Zhengzhong xingyinyi conghe dazidian* and *Daxue zidian*).

The 1936 *Cihai*, edited by Lu Erkui et al., defines some 13,000 terms, including many modern words and colloquialisms. Zhu (1990:371) praises its "encyclopedic" treatment of plant and animal names, including (sometimes misprinted) Latin terminology. Not only did the *Cihai* originate this "*Zucco*" misspelling subsequently copied into Chinese (and even bilingual table 4) texts, but it was the first dictionary to define the *tiáo* as the *Zacco platypus* that is customarily called *liè* 𩺰 or *táohuāyú* 桃花魚 "peach flower fish." Dictionaries going back to the sixth century *Yupian* (table 1) define *liè* 𩺰 ("fish radical" & *liè* 鬣 'whiskers, bristles; dorsal fin' phonetic; i.e., "bristly-finned") as a fish name, but none before the *Cihai* associate it

39. The *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔, a miscellany of Qing dynasty anecdotes and fables, has a color description of *tiáo* that illustrates dictionary copying. The 1915 *Ciyuan* and 1955 *Sijiao haoma xincidian* quote without attribution the *Qingbai leichao*'s phrase 背淡黑微青 "its back is pale black and slightly blue-green." Compare these descriptions: 背部淡黑微黃 (1949 *Guoyin zidian*), 背部淡黑色 (1976 *Guoyu tujie cidian*), 背部淡黑帶黃 (1950 *Ciyuan*), 背部淡黑色微帶黃 (1936 *Cihai*, 1978 *Ciyuan*), 背部淡黑色帶微黃 (1968 *Zhongwen dacidian*), 背部蒼青 (1915 *Zhonghua dazidian*), 背部黃黑 (1981 *Chongbian guoyu cidian*).

40. *Yuyan dadian* definitions include helpful English glosses, but not a few are misspelled. On the same page (2:3431) as "hemiculeer" for *tiáo*, compare "lof a child grow permanent teeth" and "The moon appear from the west at the and of month."

with the *tiáo* A ~ B. In the absence of any pre-1936 sources identifying *tiáo* as *Z. platypus*, a hypothetical explanation can be set forth. Many scientific identifications in the *Cihai* derive from Du Yaquan's classic (1922) *Dongwuxue dacidian* [A Comprehensive Dictionary of Zoological Terms] which did not include *tiáo* but identified *liè* A as "*Zacco (Barilius) platypus*" and *hécān* 河 M as "*Zacco temminkii*" (figs. 29 and 30). Since the *Cihai* did not include either *liè* or *táohuāyú*,⁴¹ but did define *cān* M ~ E as *tiáo*, it is conceivable that editors miscopied "*Zucco*" from the *Dongwuxue dacidian*'s *Zacco*.

The problem of misprints like "*Zucco*" is not unique to Oriental dictionaries. The first edition of a dictionary in any language(s) is likely to have misspellings, and Chinese is no exception. The (1934) *Citong* 辭通, edited by Zhu Qifeng et al., has two *tiáo* typos: quoting Guo's commentary with white "Γ" instead of B, and citing a common name of white *zhàn* "Ψ" instead of *cān* E.⁴²

2.3 Japanese Dictionaries

The sixteen 1916-1992 bilingual dictionaries in table 3 uniformly identify Chinese *tiáo* as Japanese *hae* ~ *haya* 鮠 'chub; dace'.⁴³ Like table 2, this one shows only primary dictionaries, not revisions or abridgments. Note that pronunciation glosses, both Chinese and Sino-Japanese *on'yomi* readings, are romanized (e.g., *chō* for katakana チョウ ~ テウ). Three older Chinese-Japanese dictionaries gloss pronunciation in Sino-Japanese: *tiáo* > *chō* ~ *jyō*, *chóu* > *chō* ~ *jyo*, and *yóu* > *yu* ~ *yū*, nine, particularly newer, ones give only the Chinese pronunciations, and four give both.

41. However, the *Cihai* does define fourteen "peach-flower" compounds, e.g., *táhuāshuǐ* 桃花水 'spring flood/run-off'.

42. This *zhàn* is an obscure name (not defined in *Citong*) that the *Hanyu dacidian* describes as a soft-boned scaleless fish 7-8 inches long, and called *yíngēng* 銀羹 "silver broth" in Min dialect.

43. The usual etymology for the *hae* ~ *haya* name is its *hayai* 速い 'fast, quick' swimming [cf. *dace* < *dart*], or, more imaginatively, its feeding upon *hae* 蠅 'flies'. Sakiyama (1988) proposes that since Okinawans and Southwestern Japanese associate *hae* ~ *hai* with the south and southerly winds, it derives from proto-Austronesian **paɾi* 'south', cognate with **paɾi* 'Southern Cross'.

Table 3 — Japanese Translation Equivalents

| DICTIONARY | EQUIVALENT(S) |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>Shōkai Kan-Wa jiten</i> | 【A】[chō, tiao]はえ(B). 【B】[yu, you] [chō, chou] [jō, tiao]はえ.川魚の一.形あゆに似て背淡青黒色,味は淡い.はや,鮠,A,Φ,参條魚. |
| <i>Shinago jiten</i> | 【A】[tiao]魚名.ハヤ. |
| <i>Kan-Wa shindaijiten</i> | 【A】[chō, jō, shō]はえ(B).正字通「一形狭而長,若條然」. 【B】[yū, chō, jō]はえ.はや,川魚の一.形,あゆに似て背淡青黒色,味は淡い.はや,鮠,A,Φ,参條魚.莊子,秋水「一魚出游」. |
| <i>Kago daijiten</i> | 【A】[tiao]白魚. |
| <i>Saishin Shinago daijiten</i> | 【A】[tiao]魚ノ名,ハエ,ヤナギハエ,白A二同ジ. 【B】[you, chou] ① 三ト同ジク用フ,魚ノ名,ハヤ,アユ白三.(ハエ) 又音 [tiao] ② 人名及地名ニ用フ. |
| <i>Shinsen Kan-Wa jiten</i> | 【A】[chō, jō, shō]淡水産の魚.はえ.はや (B・鮠).形は鮎に似て,背は淡青色. 【B】[yū, chō, jō]はえ.はや(鮠).川魚の名.形は鮎に似て背が淡青色,味は鮎よりもまづい.莊子秋水「一魚出游」. |
| <i>Saishin Kan-Wa jiten</i> | 【B】[yū, chō, jō]川魚の一,はえ,はや,鮠. |
| <i>Ka-Nichi daijiten</i> | 【A, B, Δ】[tiao]〈名〉《魚》喉鰭類の扁平で細長い淡水魚. 【B】[tiao]〈名〉《魚》はや,はえ. |
| <i>Chūgokugo jiten</i> | 【A】[tiao]〈魚〉はや. 【B】[chou]〈魚〉川魚の名,はえ. |
| <i>Dai Kan-Wa jiten</i> | 【A】[chō, jō, tiao] [shō, xiao] ① はえ.はや.或はB・Δに作る.〔集韻〕A,白A,魚名,或作B・Δ.〔正字通〕A,白A,形狭而長,若條然.〔詩,周頌,潛〕A α 𩚰.〔箋〕A,白A也.〔本草,魚〕集解,時珍曰, A生江湖中小魚也,長僅數寸,形狭而扁,狀如柳葉,鱗細而整,潔白可愛,性善群遊. ② 或はZに作る.〔集韻〕A或从了. 【B】[yō, yu, you] ① はえ.はや.〔說文〕B, B魚也,从魚攸聲.〔爾雅,釋魚,○黑I,注〕即白B魚.〔正字通〕B,小白魚,俗稱三魚,亦曰参條魚,小而長時浮水面,性好遊故名. ② はらご.魚の卵.〔集韻〕B一曰,魚子. ③ 地名.春秋,晉鄭の境の地.〔左氏,文,十七〕將悉敝賦以待于B〔注〕B,晉鄭之境. [chō, jō, chou] ① はや.〔集韻〕B,說文,魚名. ② はらご.〔集韻〕B,一曰,魚子. ③ 怪魚の名.Γに通ず.〔山海經,北山經〕帶山,彭水出焉,其中多Γ魚食之可以已憂.〔注〕畢π曰,依義當為Γ, B借音字. ④ 或はΔに作る.〔集韻〕B,或書作Δ. [chō, jō, tiao] ① はや. Aに同じ.〔集韻〕A,白A,魚名,或作B. ② 或はHに作る.〔爾雅,釋魚,釋文〕B,本亦作H. |
| <i>Gendai Chūgokugo jiten</i> | 【E, A】[tiao] (魚) ハエ.ハヤ. |
| <i>Chū-Nichi daijiten</i> | 【E, A】[tiao] [〜魚[yu]] [白〜]《魚介》はや:別称 [B[chou]]. 【B】[chou, you] [A[tiao]魚] [白[bai]A]ともいう.《魚》はい[sic] (はや). |
| <i>Kan-Nichi jiten</i> | 【A, E】[jō, tiao]白A,はえ.はい[sic](B)淡水魚. 【B】[yū, you]白B,はや.はい[sic]. |
| <i>Gakken Kan-Wa daijiten</i> | 【A】[jō, chō, tiao]〈意味〉(名)はえ 淡水魚の一種.あゆに似て細長い.はや.おいかわ.〈解字〉「魚+音符條(細長い)」の会意兼形声文字. 【B】[yu, yū, you] [jō, chō, chou]〈意味〉(名)はや あゆに似た川魚.はえ.おいかわ.〈解字〉攸は條 (=条.細いすじ)のもとになる字で,細長い of 意を含む. Bは「魚+音符攸」の会意兼形声文字.細長い小魚のこと.〈字体〉HはBの異体字. |

Kan-Nichi shiten
Zhong-Ri cidian

【E,A,B】[tiao]ハヤ (鮠・A).ハエ (鮠).
【E,A,B】[tiao]【E魚】[tiaoyu]〈魚〉→[cantiao]【E E】
【E E】[cantiao]〈魚〉ハエ.ハ ヤ.→"E魚""E魚"ともいう.

Every dictionary in table 3 translates Chinese *tiáo* as Japanese *hae* ~ *haya* 'dace; chub', variously written はえ ~ はや in hiragana, ハエ ~ ハヤ in katakana, or 鮠 ~ 鰱 in kanji. This 鮠 is a Chinese logograph for 'catfish' (discussed below), while 鰱 (魚 "fish radical" & 若 'young') is a *kokuji* 国字 'logograph made in Japan'. Owing to dialectal variations typical for Japanese fish names, *hae* and *haya* have three different referents⁴⁴: *ugui* 石斑魚 "stone group fish" 'Japanese dace, *Tribolodon hakonensis*' (fig. 27), *oikawa* 追河 "follow river" 'pale chub, common minnow, *Zacco platypus*' (fig. 29), and *kawamutsu* 河Σ "river bluefish" 'dark/river chub, *Zacco temmincki*' (fig. 30).⁴⁵ Their Modern Chinese names are: *yǎluóyú* 雅羅魚 "elegant net/display fish" 'T. *hakonensis*', *kuānqiliè* 寬鰭Λ "broad fin (~ *xiǎokǒu* 小口 "small mouth") chub" 'Z. *platypus*', and *dānshǐlièyú* 淡氏Λ魚 "Temminck's chub" 'Z. *temmincki*'. Chinese uses this Λ logograph to write *liè* 'chub', but Japanese to write *karasumi* Λ子 "dried mullet/mackerel roe" (also written phonetically as 唐墨 "Chinese ink"). The practice of writing Japanese *hae* ~ *haya* 'chub; dace' as 鮠 led to confusion with Chinese *wéi* 鮠 'catfish' and resulted in the following dictionary mistake.

Five table 3 dictionaries translating Chinese *tiáo* A ~ B as Japanese *hae* 鮠 'chub; dace' say it resembles the *ayu* 鮎 'sweetfish, Japanese river trout, *Plecoglossus altivelis*' (< the Chinese *xiāngyú* 香魚 "fragrant fish" name, fig. 19). This sweetfish comparison went from the 1916 *Shōkai Kan-Wa jiten* through 1930's dictionaries (*Kan-Wa shindaijiten*, *Saishin Shinago daijiten*, and *Shinsen Kan-Wa jiten*) up into the 1978 *Gakken Kan-Wa daijiten*.⁴⁶ However,

44. The *Dictionary of Japanese Fish Names and their Foreign Equivalents* additionally notes *hae* ~ *haya* as variants of *hayago*, *hayakko*, etc. designations for the *medaka* 目高 "eye high" 'Asiatic rice fish, Japanese killifish, top-minnow, *Oryzias latipes*' (fig. 18). Kanegae Nobumitsu's 1960 *Chūgokugo jiten* artificially distinguishes pronunciations of "*tiáo* A, *haya*" versus "*chóu* B, a river fish, *hae*."

45. Two dictionaries give additional equivalents: *yanagihae* "willow minnow," a dialectal term for *kawamutsu* (*Saishin Shinago daijiten*) and *oikawa* (*Gakken Kan-Wa daijiten*). This "willow minnow" may result from comparisons with a "willow leaf" (e.g., *Ciyuan* and *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* in tables 2 and 3). Cf. English "willow-gudgeon/-minnow" names for Japanese *honmoroko* 本諸子 'rounded shiner, Biwa gudgeon, *Gnathopogon elongatus*' (fig. 8).

46. Furthermore, the *Kan-Wa shindaijiten* describes the flavor of *hae* as *awai* 淡い 'light, plain' and the *Shinsen Kan-Wa jiten* claims it has more of a *mazui* まずい 'bad taste' than *ayu*. The *Gakken Kan-Wa daijiten*, edited by Tōdō Akiyasu, correctly glosses 鮎 as *namazu* 'catfish;

neither dace nor chub (figs. 13, 27, 29, 30) bear much resemblance to salmon-like sweetfish (fig. 19). This long-copied mistake is owing to Japanese and Chinese using the same logograph to write different fishes. Japanese *hae* ~ *haya* 'dace; chub' is written 鮠 — graphically identical with yet semantically different from Chinese *wéi* 魩 'catfish, *Leiocassis longirostris*' (fig. 12) — while Japanese *ayu* 鮎 'sweetfish' compares to Chinese *nián* 鮎 ~ 鰱 'sheatfish, *Silurus asotus*' (fig. 24). (Japanese uses this 鰱 logograph for *namazu* 'sheatfish; catfish'.) The Chinese/Japanese 鮎 'sheatfish/sweetfish' dictionary misunderstanding originated in the (ca. 934) *Wamyō ruijushō* 倭名類聚抄 [Japanese Names, Classified and Annotated]⁴⁷ which quoted the *Shisei ji'en* 四聲字苑 [Four Tones Logograph Garden] that "*wéi* 魩 catfish resemble *nián* 鮎 sheatfish but are white"; and was not corrected until Kariya Ekisai's 1883 exegesis. His *Senchū Wamyō ruijushō* 箋注倭名類聚抄 [Wamyō ruijushō with Annotated Commentary] concluded that Chinese *nián* 鮎 'sheatfish' is equivalent to Japanese *namazu* 'catfish' rather than *ayu* 'sweetfish', and traced this confusion back to Guo Pu's commentary on the *Erya* definition of *pí* ~ *pī* 𩺰 (see n. 13) as a large *hù* ~ *huá* ~ *huò* 𩺰 'catfish, *Leiocassis longirostris*' that says "*hù* 'catfish' resemble *nián* 鮎 'sheatfish', but are larger and white."

1955-1960 *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, edited by Morohashi Tetsuji et al., was a watershed in Chinese lexicography. Including variants, it defines 49,964 logographs, including the *Kangxi zidian* corpus of 47,035 plus subsequent Chinese and Japanese-made *kokuji* logographs. (It was adapted into the *Zhongwen dacidian*, cf. table 2). The following translated *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* A and B entries cite Chinese dictionaries and classics, list two meanings for *tiáo* ~ *xiǎo* A and distinguish three *yóu* ~ *chóu* ~ *tiáo* pronunciations and nine meanings for B:

A, *tiáo* or *xiǎo* (1) *hae haya* also written B or Δ. *Jiyun* "A, the white *tiáo* A, a fish name, also written B or Δ." *Zhengzitong* "A, the white *tiáo* A, with a long narrow

sheatfish' in Chinese and *ayu* 'sweetfish' in Japanese. This dictionary's exemplary *kaiji* 解字 "analyzing graphs" section says A and B combine the 魚 "fish radical" with *tiáo* 條~条 "branch" serving both as a phonetic and an ideographic indicator of a 'long thin' fish.

47. This early Chinese-Japanese dictionary (Bailey 1960:4-5), edited by Minamoto no Shitagō, follows the *Erya* semantic tradition and is divided into twenty-four sections/headings (e.g., 18 lists names of *Ryūgo* 龍魚 "Dragons and Fish," i.e., aquatic animals). The entry notes a *fāngqiè* (Japanese *hansetsu*) pronunciation of 五灰 *wéi* < *ngai* (from the *Guangyun*, though some editions miscopied with 巨 < *kū*: 巨 instead of 五 < *nguo* 五) and quotes the (ca. 720?) *Kangoshō* 漢語抄 [Annotated Chinese Words] giving a Japanese pronunciation gloss of 波江 *hae*.

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shape like a branch." *Shijing* (Zhou Song) "Long-fish, yellow-jaws, mud-fish and carp," *Commentary* "the white *d'îōg" *Bencao gangmu*, *tiáo*-fish, *Explanatory Notes*, [Li] Shizhen says, "this is a small fish found in rivers and lakes, only a few inches long, thin and flat, shaped like a willow leaf. The scales are fine, regular and clear-cut of very attractive appearance (pretty). It likes to float around in shoals." (2) also written Z. *Jiyun* "A, also written with a *liǎo* 了 phonetic."

B, *yóu* (1) *hae haya* *Shuowen*, "*d'îōg B, the *d'îōg-fish; derived from fish [radical] and *tiáo* < d'ieu < *d'îōg 攸 phonetic." *Erya*, *Explaining Fish*, "*d'îōg 𩚑 [means] black *tsiag 黑 I" *Commentary*, "this is the white *d'îōg-fish." *Zhengzitong* "B, a small white fish, commonly called the *cān* M, also called *cāntiáoyú* 參條魚. The name for this small elongated fish derives from its nature of liking to swim and frolic on the water's surface." (2) Fish eggs. *Jiyun* "B, also said to mean 'fish eggs, roe'." (3) place name. during the Spring and Autumn period, a place on the border between Jin and Zheng. *Zuozhuan* (Wen 17) "We will raise all our poor levies, and await you at [You]," *commentary* "on the border between Jin and Zheng"

chóu (1) *hae*. *Jiyun* "B, *Shuowen* [sic] 'a fish name'." (2) Fish eggs. *Jiyun* "B, also said to mean 'fish eggs'." (3) name of a mythological fish. *Shanhaijing*, *Northern Mountains* [sic] "The Peng River [...] flows from Mt. Tai [...] and in it are many *d'îōg fish [...] eating them will cure sorrow." Bi Yuan's *commentary* says, "based upon the meaning, I suggest 𩚑 is a graphic loan for B." (4) also written Δ. *Jiyun* "B, also written Δ."

tiáo (1) *haya*. same as A. *Jiyun* "A, white *tiáo*, a fish name, also written B." (2) also written H. *Erya*, *Explaining Fish*, [*Jingdian*] *Shiwen* "B, originally written H." This *tiáo* A translation of *hae* ~ *haya* 'dace; chub' includes the dubious *Jiyun* "xiǎo" pronunciation gloss < xiǎo 小 'small [fish]' paronomasia. This complex B entry equates 'dace; chub' and *harago* はらこ 'fish eggs' for *yóu* and *chóu* pronunciations, includes the 'place name' You, graphic variant Δ, and 'mythical fish name' Chou, and it cross-references *tiáo* B to A, with a graphic variant H.⁴⁸

In the last three decades, Japanese dictionaries have added the modern simplified Chinese logograph E, writing the *tiáo* 條 phonetic 条 with three less strokes. This E is seen in Kōsaka Jun'ichi's *Gendai Chūgokugo jiten*, Aichi University's *Chū-Nichi daijiten*, Fujizuka Shōichi's *Kan-Nichi jiten* (unusual for being handwritten rather than typeset, n.b. *hai* "はい" for *hae* はえ), Kobayashi University's *Kan-Nichi shiten*, and Shangwu's and Shogakukan's *Zhong-Ri cidian*.

48. One typographical flaw with the *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* is misquoting. It synthesizes the *Shanhaijing* quote, but the sections shown with ellipsis marks were correctly added into the abridged 1982 *Kō Kan-Wa jiten* (not shown in table 3).

2.4 Occidental Dictionaries

The choice of seventeen English, Latin, French, German, Spanish, and Russian dictionaries of Chinese in table 4 is less selective than the previous tables, and includes practically every European language source including *tiáo* A ~ B. These diverse 1874-1987 bilingual dictionaries range from learners' wordbooks (e.g., Chauncey Goodrich's *A Pocket Dictionary, Chinese-English, and Pekingese Syllabary*) to specialized historical studies (Axel Schuessler's *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*).⁴⁹

Table 4 — Western Language Translation Equivalents

| DICTIONARY | EQUIVALENT(S) |
|--|---|
| <i>Syllabic Dict. of the Chinese ...</i> | [A,B] [tiao] Small white fish, like dace; long narrow fish such as the <i>Trichiurus</i> or <i>Thryssa</i> , called 白 魚; many sorts are common along the coast of China. [M,Ξ] [can] A fish otherwise called A魚 the slender fish, whose description shows that it is another name for the hairtail or girdle fish (<i>Trichiurus armatus</i> and <i>intermedius</i>), so common along the coast. |
| <i>Dictionarium Sinicum et Latinum ...</i> | [A] [tiao] Piscis quidam longus et tenuis. [B,H] [you] Anguilla. [chou] Pisciculi nomen. [tiao] Piscis longus et tenuis. |
| <i>Petit dictionnaire chinois-français</i> | [A,Δ] [tiao] 白 Nom d'un poisson long et mince (詩周頌). [H,B] [you] Espece d'anguille. [chou] Nom d'un petit poisson. |
| <i>Dict. classique de la langue chinoise</i> | [A] [tiao] 白 Nom d'un poisson long et mince (詩周頌). [B,Δ] [you] Nom d'un poisson mince et long. [tiao] Nom d'un petit poisson blanc, long et mince. |
| <i>Pocket Dict., Chinese-English ...</i> | [A] [tiao] A small white fish. |
| <i>Chinese-English Dict.</i> | [A,B] [tiao] A long narrow fish. [M,Ξ] [can] A long thin fish (<i>Trichiurus armatus</i> and <i>T. intermedius</i>). |
| <i>Chinesische-deutsches Wörterbuch</i> | [B] [tiao] langer dünner Fisch (Zucco [sic] platypus). |
| <i>Mathews' Chinese-English Dict.</i> | [A] [tiao] A long narrow fish. [Ξ] [can] A long narrow fish — <i>Trichiurus armatus</i> . |
| <i>Diccionario manual chino-castellano</i> | [A] [tiao] locha. [B] [chou] gobio. |
| <i>Grammata Serica Recensa</i> | [A] [tiao] a kind of small white fish (<i>Shi[jing]</i>). [Δ] [tiao] a kind of small white fish ([<i>Zhuangzi</i>]). |

49. Schuessler's historical dictionary, Couvreur's *Petit dictionnaire chinois-français* and *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise*, and Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa* cite the *Shijing*.

Michael Carr, "Tiao-Fish through Chinese Dictionaries"

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Beginner's Chinese-English Dict. ...</i> | [A] [tiao] in [cantiao]. |
| | [ME] [cantiao] <i>Trichiurus armatus</i> (long narrow fish). |
| <i>Foursquare Dict. ...</i> | [A] [tiao] A long narrow fish. |
| | [B] [chou, you] A long narrow fish — The white <i>Trichiurus armatus</i> . |
| <i>Lin Yutang's Chinese-English Dict. ...</i> | [B] [chou, tiao, you] N. A long, slender white fish, <i>Zucco</i> [sic] <i>platypus</i> (also called 白條魚). |
| <i>Hua-F dacidian</i> | [B] [tiao, chou] елец, чебак (<i>Leuciscus macropus</i> , пыба). |
| <i>Chinese to English Dict.</i> | [E,A] [tiao Bound-form: tiao-yu] <i>Zucco</i> [sic] <i>platypus</i> , small fresh water fish. |
| <i>Liushi Han-Ying cidian</i> | [A] [tiao] (n.) A long narrow fish. |
| | [A魚] Minnow, a long narrow fish (Zoo.). |
| <i>Dict. of Early Zhou Chinese</i> | [A] [tiao] A kind of small fish: <i>Zucco</i> [sic] <i>platypus</i> (Shi[jing]). |

Five of the eleven Chinese-English dictionaries in table 4 mistakenly identify the fresh-water báitiáoyú 白A魚 or cāntiáo MA *Hemiculter leucisculus* (fig. 9) as the salt-water "hairtail, cutlassfish, ribbonfish" *Trichiurus lepturus/armatus* (fig. 28). In Chinese, *T. lepturus* is called (bái)dāiyú 白帶魚 "(white) belt fish" or tàidāoyú 太刀魚 "great sword fish"; not cāntiáo. This cāntiáo *Trichiurus* mistake went through three stages. First, Samuel Williams' 1874 *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* accurately translated tiáo A~B as a "Small white fish, like dace,"⁵⁰ but inaccurately as a "long narrow fish such as the *Trichiurus* or *Thryssa*," i.e., the *Thrissa* genus of anchovies (fig. 25, cf. *Coilia* and *Engraulis*, figs. 3 and 6). He repeated this error, along with "common along the coast," under his cān M~Ξ equivalent (shown in table 4, cf. qiū ⊙ in §3.3). Second, Williams' "long narrow fish such as the *Trichiurus* or *Thryssa*" was given seeming veracity through two standard reference works: Herbert Giles' 1912 *Chinese-English Dictionary* and Robert H. Mathews' 1931 *Chinese-English Dictionary*.⁵¹ The former translated tiáo A~B as "A long narrow fish" and cān M~Ξ as "A long thin fish" copying *T. armatus* and *intermedius* cutlassfish but not *Thrissa* anchovies. Mathews' omitted the two less common variant graphs and translated tiáo A as "A long narrow fish" and cān Ξ as "A long narrow fish —

50. Williams gives a graphic etymology "From fish and slender," and notes that B is also read yǒu, "explained by one author to mean a dark color," and gives a "A魚出遊 the white minnows sport on the water" usage example (from *Zhuangzi*). He translates cí I as "A small slender fish, probably one of the mackerel family, that delights in gamboling on the surface of the water," and enters (the Erya's) 黑I as "a sort of goby or loche, on mud shores, shaped like an eel."

51. Giles' and Mathews' dictionaries, with 13,848 and 7773 logographs, were updated derivations from Williams' and they have been used by several generations of English-speaking students of Chinese.

Trichiurus armatus." Third, *T. armatus* was repeated by a pair of Chinese-English dictionaries translated from monolingual ones in table 2: W. Simon's 1964 *A Beginner's Chinese-English Dictionary of the National Language* (Gwoyeu) was based on the *Guoyu cidian* using Y.R. Chao's National Language romanization, and J.A. Herring's 1969 *Foursquare Dictionary In Chinese and English* was based on the *Sijiao haoma xincidian* using Wang Yunwu's Four-corner indexing system. *Beginner's* cross-referenced *tiáo* A [spelled "tyau"] to *cāntiáo* 𩚑 A ["tsantya"] translated as "*Trichiurus armatus* (long narrow fish)";⁵² and *Foursquare* gave equivalents of "A long narrow fish" for *tiáo* A and "A long narrow fish — The white *Trichiurus armatus*" for *chóu* ~ *yóu* [sic] B.⁵³ Read (1939:51) corrected Williams' *Trichiurus* identification, stating: "All other authorities give the hairtail as 帶魚 *dāiyú*."

Like the preceding translations of *Trichiurus armatus* as a "long narrow fish," four sources in table 4 similarly describe the 'pale chub, *Zacco platypus*' (fig. 29), but copy its "Zucco" misspelling from table 2. This lexical ghost "*Zucco platypus*" is reported to be: a "*langer dünner Fisch*" (Werner Rüdberg's 1924 *Chinesische-deutsches Wörterbuch*), "A long, slender white fish" (1972 *Lin Yutang's Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage*), a "small fresh water fish" (C.K. Wu's 1976 *Chinese to English Dictionary*), and "A kind of small fish" (Axel Schuessler's 1987 *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*).

For most users of Chinese bilingual dictionaries, giving scientific nomenclature like *Zacco* or *Trichiurus* is less meaningful than describing a "small" or "long narrow" fish. The 1973 Russian *Hua-E dacidian* translated both ways: technical *L. "macropus"*⁵⁴ and common "*elets елец*" 'dace' (*L. leuciscus*, fig. 13) or "*chebak чебак*" 'cyprinids, esp. chub, roach, ide, bream'

52. Simon's the 𩚑 ("tsan") entry lists three logographs — 參 "to take part in...", 餐 "to eat; meal," and 𩚑 "*Trichiurus armatus* (= tsantya)" — and translates nineteen words including "*tsantya Trichiurus armatus* (long narrow fish)."

53. Under the Four-Corner numbers of 2739(4) and 2723(6), Herring's *Foursquare* included these English entries and original Chinese definitions of "喉鯉類, 形状狭长, 侧扁而薄." and "白B...白色的MB魚."

54. *L. macropus* ("long foot," cf. the *Macropus* genus of kangaroos) is puzzling. The *Russian-English Dictionary for Students of Fisheries and Aquatic Biology* (1973) lists seventeen species of *Leuciscus*, but not "*macropus*."

More dictionaries followed Giles' "long narrow" phrasing than Williams' "small white" (cf. Bernhard Karlgren's 1957 *Grammata Serica Recensa* blend). The identical "A long narrow fish" phrase is repeated in Mathews', Simon's *Beginner's*, and Herring's *Foursquare* dictionaries (discussed above), and finally with "minnow" in Liu Ta-jen's dictionary.

Séraphin Couvreur's (1892) *Dictionarium Sinicum et Latinum, ex radicibus ordine dispositum* citing the *Shijing* and (1903) *Petit dictionnaire chinois-français* both translate Chinese *tiáo* "a long thin/slender fish" and *chóu* "a (small) fish" versus *yóu* "(anguilla/conger) eel." He corrected this 'eel' association in his (1904) *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise* (note its "long" and "thin" ordering variation). Besides Couvreur's 'eel' error, perhaps the least accurate translation is the (1933) Spanish *Diccionario manual chino-castellano*'s *locha* 'loach' and *gobio* 'goby'. It is not that Spanish lacks an equivalent for Chinese *tiáo*: viz. *leucisco* 'dace; chub; pollard'. This 'loach' error could result from misreading descriptions of H (e.g., n. 16) or confusing the *d'jôg variant *qiú* < *ziəu* < *dzjôg 𩺰 with the homophonous *qiū* < *ts'jəu* < *ts'jôg 𩺰 ~ 𩺰 'loach, *Misgurnus anguillicaudatus*' (fig. 15, used with *tiáo* in §1.2).

In the present sample of *tiáo* equivalents, more Western language dictionaries of Chinese use zoological terms than common names: the only English exceptions are Williams' 1874 "dace" (regrettably not copied into later dictionaries) and Liu's 1978 "Minnow." While technical nomenclature carries authoritative specificity, ordinary language has advantages for average dictionary users. Even so, common name translations for culture-specific flora and fauna are not the final solution.

2.5 Summary

The dictionaries in tables 1-4 represent three different traditions of Chinese language lexicography in China, Japan, and Europe. In the first two tables, classic and modern Chinese dictionaries give remarkably similar descriptions of the *tiáo* A ~ B fish. Most define it in terms of synonyms (e.g., *báitiáo* or *cāntiáo*); but two modern ones give the "Zucco" misspelling for *Zacco*, and another gives "hemiculeer" for *Hemiculter*. Chinese-Japanese dictionaries in the third consistently equate *tiáo* with Japanese *hae* ~ *haya* 鰻 'chub; dace'; however, a few graphically confuse Chinese *wéi* 鰻 'sheatfish' and say *tiáo* resembles Japanese *ayu* 鮎 'sweetfish' rather than Chinese *nián* 鮎 'sheatfish'. In the fourth table, bilingual European language dictionaries of Chinese give diverse translation equivalents to *tiáo*. Many describe a "small,"

"long," "narrow," or "white" fish; some repeat the "Zucco" error; and others blindly identify the "cutlassfish, hairtail, *Trichiurus armatus*."

One general improvement in recent Chinese dictionaries is defining/translating words rather than logographs. To cite Kennedy's "butterfly case" against the monosyllabic myth. In a binomial Chinese word such as *húdié* 蝴蝶 'butterfly', since neither *hú* or *dié* nor 蝴 or 蝶 has any independent use, they lack definable meaning. Nevertheless, many dictionaries gloss *hú* 蝴 and *dié* 蝶 as "butterfly" and give *húdié* 蝴蝶 as a run-on example. Kennedy (1953:86) criticized how this "western practice of inventing imaginary definitions has had a most unfortunate effect on the scientific study of Chinese." This timeworn tradition of dictionaries dealing with Chinese logographs — representing morphemes, word-building elements — rather than words (Mair 1991:84-85) is finally being rectified. Monosyllabic *DZIOG is attested as an ancient fish name (*Shijing*), however from an early period it was "-fish" suffixed (*Zhuangzi*). In modern usage, *tiáo* is restricted to polysyllabic bound-forms such as *tiáoyú* A魚, *báitiáo(yú)* 白A(魚), or *cāntiáo* MA ~ 𩚑 B; and to claim that the logograph A is a fish name is absurd. Some contemporary dictionaries (e.g., 1978 *Liushi Han-Ying cidian*) list bound-forms like *tiáoyú* under *tiáo* entries, others (1992 *Zhong-Ri cidian*) cross-reference *tiáo* to *cāntiáo*.

Modern Chinese dictionaries that use ichthyological terminology for the *tiáo* identify it as four different fish:

- 1) keeled/dace-like culter, *Hemiculter leucisculus* (*Cultricus kneri*),
- 2) pale chub, *Zacco platypus* (*Leuciscus platypus*),
- 3) dace, *Leuciscus leuciscus*,
- 4) cutlassfish, *Trichiurus lepturus/armatus*.

The distribution of these four identifications varies. *Hemiculter*, while consistently preferred in scientific dictionaries (e.g., *La-Han jizhui dongwu mingcheng*, *Zhengzhong dongwuxue cidian*), is given in one table 2 Chinese-Chinese dictionary, or two, counting the "hemiculeer" approximation. *Zacco* is misspelled "Zucco" in several monolingual and Chinese-English dictionaries in tables 2 and 4, *Leuciscus* in one Chinese-Russian dictionary in table 4, and *Trichiurus* in several Chinese-English dictionaries in table 4. Table 2 Chinese-Japanese dictionaries give *hae* ~ *haya*, i.e., 2) 'chub' and 3) 'dace'.

1) *Hemiculter leucisculus* (Basilewski 1855) or *Cultricus kneri* (Warpachowski 1887) is shown in figure 9. Chu (1930:331-2) lists variant appellations proposed for this fish including *Culter leucisculus* (Basilewski 1855, Kner 1867); *Chanodichthys leucisculus* (Günther 1868) changed to

Hemiculter leucisculus (Günther 1873); *Cultricus kneri* (Warpachowski 1887 who gave *Hemiculter kneri* to rename *Culter leucisculus* Kner); and *Hemiculter clupeioides* (< "herring" Nichols 1925).⁵⁵ This *Cultricus* (Oshima 1919) or *Hemiculter* (Bleeker 1859) genus of fishes with a keeled abdominal edge was originally classified under *Culter* (< Latin *culter* 'knife; plowshare'). The uniquely Chinese culters, roughly corresponding to European bleaks (*Alburnus*) or Russian skygazers (*Erythroculter*), are comparatively large fish with narrow bodies and upturned mouths, living in streams and rivers throughout China. Lorden says:

The correct name for it is the *Hemiculter leucisculus*, but, as such a name can never be popular with anglers, this fish is usually known amongst us as the knife fish, which is a literal translation of the Chinese name. (1924:135)

While Latin *culter* means 'knife', Chinese *dāoyú* 刀魚 "knife fish" (~ *dāojiǔ* 刀鱚) commonly names 'anchovy, *Coilia nasus*' (fig. 3).⁵⁶ Sowerby (1925:80-1) lists Chinese culters to include "bleak-like culter" *C. alburnus* (fig. 4), "red-finned culter" *C. crypthopterus*, "sharp-headed culter" *C. oxycephalus*, "Mongolian culter" *C. mongolicus*, and, the *tiáo*, "dace-like culter" *Hemiculter leucisculus*. He differentiates:

The hemiculters are bleak-like fish in which the dorsal outline is inclined to be a good deal straighter than the ventral, the mouth being oblique with a tendency toward the vertical. They are at once distinguishable from the culters, which they resemble, in the much fewer rays in the anal fin, and the larger scales. (Sowerby 1930:98)

Since hemiculters are virtually unknown outside of China, there is a foreign lexical gap for a non-scientific name. Proposed English names for *Cultricus kneri* include "dace-like culter" (Sowerby), "keeled culter" (1950 *Ciyuan*), or "common sawbelly" (Nikol'skii 1982:270; however sawbelly refers to 'gizzard shad, *Dorosoma cepedianum*' or 'alewife, *Pomolobus pseudoharengus*').

2) The "pale chub" or "common minnow" (fig. 29) has been designated *Leuciscus platypus* (Temminck and Schlegel 1847), *Zacco asperus* (Nichols and Pope 1902), or *Zacco platypus* (Jordan and Evermann 1902). *Leuciscus*, like *leucisculus*, derives < Greek *leukos* 'white', cf. *asperus* < *aspros* 'white' and *platypus* < Greek *platypous* 'flat-footed'. There has been some confusion among the generic names (Nichols 1928:18-20), and *Tribolodon* was also called *Leuciscus* (Günther and Cuvier 1817, who identified *Idus waleckii* as *Leuciscus*

55. Nichols (1928:26-7) lists four *Hemiculter* species besides *leucisculus*: *H. bleekeri* (Warpachowski, 1887), Mongolian *H. warpachowskii* (Nickolsky, 1903), *H. lucidus* (Pybowsky, 1872), and black-tailed *H. nigromarginis* (Wu, 1964).

56. Perhaps Lorden was referring to a Shanghai (Wu) dialect term. English *knife-fish* likewise refers to several fishes, esp. *Gymnotus carapo* and *Cyprinus cultratus*.

waleckii), *Leuciscus* or *Barilius* (Temminck and Schlegel 1847), and eventually *Zacco* (Jordan and Evermann 1902).⁵⁷ *Z. platypus* is closely related (cf. figs. 29 and 30) with the dark/river chub, *Z. temmincki* (Temminck and Schlegel). Sowerby eloquently describes the *tiáo*:

the little *Z. platypus* is one of the most beautiful of all the fish that occur in those regions. During the breeding seasons it assumes a livery of brilliant blue, pale green, and the most delicate rose pink, its fins being marked in places with crimson. The green and pink occur on the sides, tongues and each colour running into the parts occupied by the other. The head is black, and is covered in the male during the breeding season with peculiar bony tubercles arranged in rows. (1925:81-2)

The 'pale chub, *Z. platypus*' is consistent with the 白 "white" descriptions and synonyms, but *liè* A 'Z. *platypus*' is nowhere identified as *tiáo* A ~ B.

3) The common dace *Leuciscus leuciscus* is shown in figure 13. While Chinese dace are typically *yǎluóyú* 雅羅魚 *L. waleekii*, the Russian *Hua-E dacidian* gives *L. "macropus"* along with *elets* 'dace' and *chebak* 'cyprinids'. Numerous Chinese-Japanese dictionaries (table 3) confirm meanings 2) and 3) with the translation equivalent *hae* ~ *haya* meaning: *ugui* 'Japanese dace, *Tribolodon hakonensis*' (fig. 27), *oikawa* 'pale chub, common minnow, *Z. platypus*', or *kawamutsu* 'dark/river chub, *Z. temmincki*' (above).

4) The "hairtail" or "cutlassfish" *Trichiurus lepturus/armatus* (fig. 28) is mistakenly given for the *tiáo* in five table 4 Chinese-English dictionaries. *Cāntiáo* MA is a well-attributed synonym of *tiáo* 'H. *leucisculus*'; compare the *Piya* and *Zhengzitong* in table 1 with the 1938 *Cihai*, *Zhonghua Guoyu dazidian*, *Sijiao haoma xincidian*, and *Cihui* in table 2. However, it is not the *dāiyú* 帶魚 "belt/ribbon/tape fish" *T. armatus* which is considerably longer and thinner than hemiculter, dace, or chub. This confusion goes back to Williams' dictionary guessing the *tiáo* is a "long narrow fish such as the *Trichiurus* or *Thryssa*."

In any case, the *DZIOG was a small cyprinid; hemiculter, daces, and chubs are all members of the carp family *Cyprinidae*. English *dace* and *chub* loosely name many cyprinids: the 'European dace, *Leuciscus leuciscus* (fig. 13) and the 'European chub, *L. cephalus*' are closely related,⁵⁸ and in the United

57. In addition, Boulenger and Günther confused the *Leuciscus* species with the "notch-jaws" *Opsariichthys* (Bleeker 1863). Chinese cyprinids of the genera *Opsariichthys* and *Zacco* are closely related. The "piscivorous chubs" *Opsariichthys* are called "notch-jaws" owing to a peculiar mandible shape (see fig. 17).

58. Common European *Leuciscus* species include chub *L. cephalus*, dace *L. vulgaris*, minnow *L. phoxinus*, bleak *L. alburnus*, ide *L. idus*, rudd *L. erythrophthalmus*, and roach *L. rutilus*.

States, the "creek chub" *Semotilus atromaculatus* is commonly called the "horned dace."

3 CONCLUSIONS

The data accumulated within this study can first answer specific "What fish?" and "Why happiness?" questions, and then provide some general insights into Chinese lexicography.

3.1 What Fish?

Answering "What fish⁵⁹ was the *DZIOG A~B?" requires correlating the three identifications from modern dictionaries [ignoring the mistaken cutlassfish (*Trichiurus*)] of dace-like culter (*Hemiculter/Cultricus*), chub, (*Zacco/Leuciscus*), and dace (*Leuciscus*) with information from two historical strata: habitats specified in classics dating from the seventh to first centuries B.C.E., and descriptions in commentaries beginning around the second century C.E.

The oldest data about the *tiáo* < *d'ieu* < **d'iôg*-fish in question are rivers named in *loci classici* that elucidate its original habitat. The Qi and Zhu mentioned in the *Shijing* are tributaries of the Wei that join in Shaanxi. The Hao River along which Zhuangzi and Huizi strolled flows from Anhui into the Huai (of *Huainanzi*) River. The Peng River in which the *Shanhaijing* locates 鰩魚 bird-fish flows from Henan into the Zhi River. Several early dictionaries and commentaries mention the Yangtze. These geographic locations show that the *DZIOG was a fresh-water fish common throughout central China (v. *Hanyu daizidian* in table 2). *Hemiculter*, dace, and chub fit this description.

Classical commentaries and early dictionaries give descriptions of the *DZIOG. Zheng Xuan §1.1 calls it the 白A "white **d'iôg*," and Guo Xiang §1.2 identifies B魚 as a 白魚 "white fish," both of which are consistent with *hemiculter*, dace, or pale chub. Chinese *bái* 白 'white; clear' can mean 'silver', for instance, the *báilián* 白鯪 'silver bighead, *Hypophthalmichthys molitrix*' (fig. 10). During breeding season, chub take on a distinctive

59. Perhaps the question should be what fishes, rather than fish, the *DZIOG was because it designated more than one aquatic animal. Duan Yucai §2.1 says the mythical **āiōxiō* 鰩魚 bird-fish was different from the **d'iôg* A~B. Two fishes could explain the variant names, with one called **d'iôg* and the other **dziôg* or **dgliôg*.

yellowish tint, while dace remain silvery. Gao Yu §1.4 describes the 鰕魚 as being "very difficult to catch" and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1988, 3:840) says the dace is "a shy, somewhat difficult fish to capture." Yet in complete contrast to what Gao and the *Eryayi* say about the hard task of catching a *d'iôg, Liu Xiang §1.6 writes it is especially easy to catch a *djang'io.

Comparisons between *tiáo* and other fish are a secondary type of data. The *Shanhaijing* §1.5 says they resemble jǐyú 鰕魚 'anchovies' or zhēnyú 箴魚 'needlefish' (figs. 3 and 11); and the *Piya* §2.1 compares *tiáo* with cháng 𩚑 'yellow croaker' (fig. 21). These are all elongated fish, consistent with descriptions of a "long, narrow, white fish," shaped like a "branch" or "leaf." The *Bencao gangmu* (table 1) has the earliest size notation, and saying *tiáo* are "only a few [寸] inches long." This clearly rules out the mistaken *Trichiurus* which average about 150 cm. in length; 'dace; *T. lepturus*' usually grow up to a length of around 30 cm., *H. leucisculus* about 15 cm., 'pale chub, *Z. platypus*' 13 cm., and the 'dark/river chub, *Z. temmincki*' 20 cm. The evidence suggests, but cannot ascertain, an original referent of *Hemiculter* or *Zacco*.⁶⁰

3.2 Why Happiness?

Anyone who has watched a skylark can readily understand the English "happy as a lark" simile, but why did the Chinese *DZIOG A ~ B metaphorically signify 'joy; happiness; pleasure'?

Reasons that the *DZIOG-fish was a metaphor for 'happiness' are more elaborate than its renowned usage in the *Zhuangzi* epistemological dialogue. The (pre-600 B.C.E.) *Shijing* is the oldest reference, but it describes the *DZIOG as sacrificial, not happy. All the other early texts date from the second or first centuries B.C.E.; *Zhuangzi* twice describes *DZIOG in relation to happiness, *Xunzi* says it is playful, *Huainanzi* alludes to difficulty in catching one, but *Shuoyuan* says it is easy to catch. The *Shanhaijing*'s mythic anti-depressant *dîôkŋio was conceptually associated with the "happy" simile.

60. A promising topic for pharmacological study is whether this fish has some anti-depressant properties. In traditional Japanese medicine (Miyadi et al. 1976:141), dried oikawa 追河 'pale chub, *Z. platypus*' was used to alleviate irascibility in children. This application probably came from the Chinese *Bencao gangmu* pharmacopoeia that ultimately derived from the mythical *Shanhaijing* bird-fish, but was it based on pharmacodynamics?

**DZIOG*'s etymology classically presents the-chicken-or-the-egg question in historical linguistics. Which came first, a fish descriptively named **DZIOG* "happy; joyous" owing to its behavior, or a **DZIOG* ("branch"?) fish that happened to be pronounced like 'happy' words and was figuratively used in puns? Or, to paraphrase the question in English vocabulary, was the **DZIOG*-fish a *happy jack* or a *happy coat*? The *happy jack/family* name for Australian 'grey-crowned babbler, *Struthidea cinerea*' describes this bird's talkative and sociable behavior;⁶¹ the *happy coat* 'a Japanese style jacket' name elliptically derives from *happi coat* < Japanese *happi* 法被 '(workman's) livery coat'. Both etymologies are feasible: the **DZIOG* name could derive from a behavioral aspect of minnows, or from a chance coincidence in Old Chinese lexical structure.

On the one hand, happiness is explicable as a characteristic of cyprinid swimming. The *Zhuangzi* and *Xunzi* describe the **DZIOG*-fish as "happy" and liking to "play in the sun." In table 1, the *Piya* says the **DZIOG* has a "playful disposition" and the *Eryayi* states it "likes to play on the water's surface." Dace and chub flit about the water surface when feeding upon insects (Miyadi et. al 1976:123). Lorden uses the word *delightful* three times in his essay on fishing for *Hemiculter leucisculus*; "a delightful and game little fish" that "would have afforded you some delightful hours" (1924:135) and a "delightful fish to keep in ornamental waters" (137).⁶²

On the other hand, a fish called **DZIOG* may have been pronounced like, through language happenstance, Old Chinese 'happy; pleased; cheerful; joyful' allofams (cf. Bauer 1976:8-9) such as:

tí < d'iei < *d̥iog 𪛗 'peace; happiness',
yáo < ɣäü < *d̥iog 陶 'pleased; happy; merry',
tiǎo < t'ieu < *t'ioŋ 詭 'light, frivolous; furtive',
zhǐ < ʔ'i: < *t'ioŋ 祉 'happiness; prosperity; blessings',
yí < i < *d̥ioŋ 怡 'pleased; cheerful',
yì < ɣäk < *d̥iäk 悌 'pleased; delighted; happy',
xiáng < ɣiang < *dz̥iang 祥 'felicitous; auspicious; lucky',
zuò < dz'uo- < *dz'äg 祚 'blessing; prosperity; happiness',
qí < g'ji < *g'ioŋ 祺 'prosperity; fortunate',

61. Cf. the ironic English *happy moments* name for the poisonous 'black spinefoot/trevally, *Siganus spinus*'.

62. Searching the compact-disk version of the *OED* for "happy" and "fish" synonym co-occurrences reveals (s.v. *dorado*) Stedman's 1796 history of Surinam describes, "dolphins or dorados, which beautiful fish seem to take peculiar delight in sporting around the vessels."

xǐ < Xji: < *Xjəg 喜 'happy; delighted; joy; rejoice',

hǎo < Xau: < *Xōg 好 'good; fine; friendly; easy'.

A further aspect was Daoist "happily-floating" wordplay with *yóu* < *iəu* < **d'iōg* 遊 'swim, float; wander, ramble; amusement, leisure': the *Zhuangzi* term describes Masters Zhuang and Hui "strolling" while debating the **DZIOG*-fish happily "swimming." Even though Chinese scholars traditionally etymologized **DZIOG* in logographic terms of phonetics (esp. a **d'iōg* 條 'branch'-like shape); a literal **DZIOG* 'happiness; joy' wordplay merits further study.

The English lexicon has a similar case with *lark* meaning both 'a songbird (esp. family *Alaudidae*)' and 'carefree activity; frolic'. The slang origin of the latter remains uncertain (?< Middle English **laike(n)* < Old Norse *lekia*), but it may have been affected by the expression *happy as a lark* referring to this bird's characteristic flight and song. The *OED2* lists the first recorded *lark* 'a bird' from ca. 725 and *lark* 'frolic' from 1811; with *merry/happy/gay as a lark* from 1606, 1811, and 1835.

Many languages besides Chinese describe 'happiness; joy; pleasure' in animal terms.⁶³ Three-fourths of the English *happy* similes listed by Baldwin and Paris (1982:62-3) involve animals:

happy as a clam at high tide,

happy as a pig in a pork pie factory,⁶⁴

happy as a pig in shit,

happy as a dead pig in the sunshine,

happy as a heifer in a corncrib,

happy as baby beavers in a toothpick factory,

happy as a possum up a gum tree,

happy as a monkey in a monkey tree,

happy as a louse on a dirty head.

Synonymous English 'happy' animal lexicalizations include similes (e.g., "happy/jolly as a thrush," "happy/merry as a cricket," "merry/lively as a grig"), and allusions to animal behaviors ("with tail up," "in high feather," "rosy/red about the gills").

63. For German, Lothar von Falkenhausen (p.c. of 1989/6/20) notes similarities with the Schubert song *Die Forelle* "The Trout" and the ditty "Lebe glücklich, lebe froh, Wie der Mops im Paletot" (Live happy, live glad, like a pug in an overcoat). The Chinese happy fish is roughly analogous with a European and Indic folk tale (Thompson 1955, 6:177) about a laughing fish that reveals an unjust judgment.

64. Compare this ironic "happy as a pig in a pork pie factory" phrase meaning 'unhappy' with "happy as ducks in Arizona" and "happy as a bastard on father's day."

Huizi's epistemological argument that "You are not a fish. Whence do you know that the fish are happy?" could apply to English vocabulary for making similar anthropocentric value projections (e.g., "busy as a bee/beaver"⁶⁵). A possible line of Zhuangzian response would be to point out widespread cultural/linguistic similarities among animal metaphors.⁶⁶ For instance, pairs of birds "billing and cooing" are figuratively equated with human lovers. Compare these ornithic likenings for an 'affectionate/happy couple': Chinese *yuānyang* or Japanese *oshidori* 鴛鴦 'mandarin ducks', French *tourtereaux* '(young) turtledoves', and English *lovebirds*.

3.3 Lexicographic Aspects

The *tiáo* fish provides a historical microcosm of Chinese lexicography because every principal dictionary defines it, and because *DZIOG's multifarious pronunciations and writings illustrate some unique linguistic problems in Chinese dictionaries.

In this concluding section, four lexicographical topics concerning *DZIOG will be discussed: (A) translation problems with language-specific words, (B) dangers of misspelling scientific terminology in dictionaries, (C) overdifferentiating modern pronunciations through ignorance of Old Chinese phonology, and (D) overinterpreting graphic etymologies from variant writings of a word. The former two are general dictionary issues; the latter two are peculiar shortcomings in Chinese lexicography. According to Biallas, "the most important reason" for Chinese dictionary insufficiencies

must be sought in the immense material of a culture-language which spreads over several millenniums, which is spoken by the greatest number of men, and which has not yet been completely studied either in its phonetical and graphical, or in its etymological and grammatical content. (1934:183)

Etymologies were mentioned in §3.2, and some phonological and logographic complications in Chinese linguistics are discussed in (C) and (D).

65. The euphonies of alliteration and rhyme seem to determine some animal metaphors. In *eager beaver*, for instance, the beaver's "hard-working" association with dam building is biologically owing to its response to the sound (even recorded) of running water.

66. Chinese has the reverse of English *feel like a fish out of water* in the idiom *rú yú dé shuǐ* 如魚得水 "like a fish gets water" 'be in one's element'.

(A) Lexicographic problems with how to translate culture-specific words like *tiáo*-fish are famous (Iannucci 1967, Tomaszczyk 1984, Schnorr 1986, Benson 1990). While *Hemiculter leucisculus* and *Zacco platypus* are uniquely Chinese fish, chub and dace varieties are found around the world, and many languages have "minnow" words meaning 'small silvery fishes'.⁶⁷

How should a dictionary translate the ichthyological identification of the *tiáo* A ~ B as a *Hemiculter* or *Zacco* cyprinid? A language with a word meaning both 'dace' and 'chub' (e.g., Japanese *hae* ~ *haya* or Spanish *leucisco*) allows easier translation than English. *Dace* (< Old English *darse* < Old French *dars* ~ *darz* < *dart*) seems preferable to *chub* or *minnow* because it cognately describes this fish's typical "darting" motion. *Chub* (<? Swedish dialectal *kubb* 'log') sounds like *chubby* which is inconsistent with a long thin fish. *Minnow* (< Old English *myne* 'small fish' <? Greek *manos* 'sparse') ambiguously names the young of many fishes, especially those used for live bait.⁶⁸ English neologisms translating the *tiáo* 條 'branch' in A and B logographs include Williams' "slender fish" and Waley's "long-fish."

Béjoint — quoting Samuel Johnson's *flounder* definition⁶⁹ "The name of a small flat fish" — distinguishes definitions "extracted" from collected contextual meanings versus ones "imposed" by specialists of the domain:

The choice is between vaguer, descriptive, corpus-based definitions written by professional lexicographers, or more precise, prescriptive, corpus-free definitions written by non-lexicographers who are specialists of the domain. (1988:363)

67. If translating modern Chinese fish names is hard, then classical ones are even harder. A major problem with Chinese ichthyological terminology is determining diachronic changes over three thousand years. Names of some culturally important fish like the *lǐ* < *lǐ* < **liag* 鯉 'carp, *Cyprinus carpio*' (fig. 5) are consistently definable from the earliest recorded stages of Chinese up to the present; but not some less salient ones like **DZIOG*. Two fish mentioned in the *Shijing* (57 §1.1, cf. 204) with **d'îog* A provide examples of both historical types: *zhān* < *tián* < **tian* Ω was and is a common name for 'sturgeon, *Acipenser sinensis*' (fig. 1); while *wěi* < *jwī* < **giwag* 鮓 anciently meant 'beaked sturgeon, *Psephurus gladius*' (fig. 20) but currently means 'yaito bonito, kawakawa, *Euthynnus affinis*' (fig. 7; cf. the Japanese 鮪 writing of *maguro* 'albacore, bluefin tuna, *Thunnus thynnus*', fig. 26). In general, Chinese flora and fauna names can be safely traced back four centuries to the Ming dynasty *Bencao gangmu* pharmacopoeia which systematically lists synonyms and descriptions.

68. Cf. "mud minnows" (*Umbridae*) and "egg-laying top minnows" or "killifish" (*Cyprinodontidae*). In game laws, *minnow* is sometimes used to contrast with *sport/game fish* in general.

69. This exemplifies what James Murray called "curt" definitions (Bailey 1986:124) in the (1721) *Universal Etymological English Dictionary*: "Cat, a Creature well known" and "Horse, a Beast well known."

"A long thin fish" is an extracted definition of *DZIOG and "*Zacco platypus*" an imposed one. To many people, neither is as meaningful as a *dace*, *chub*, or *minnow* definiens. The advantages of using scientific terminology in general-purpose dictionaries can be lost through misspellings.

(B) The "*Zucco*" < *Zacco* hobgoblin illustrates how lexicographers can trust and recopy specious nomenclature. Once a mistaken word has been put into a dictionary, it is often hard to excise it (Carr 1983). Non-specialists are deceived by the seemingly scientific "*Zucco platypus*" definition seen in tables 2, 4, and 5. This kind of mistake is a common phenomenon among Chinese dictionaries. For example, along with "*Zucco platypus*," the 1938 *Cihai* misspells nine "fish radical"-graphs defined with ichthyological terminology:

"*Clupea pallasii*" for 鲱 *Clupea pallasii*,

"*Crocodilus vularis*" for 鱷 *Crocodilus vulgaris*,

"*Hypophtha lmichthys moritrix*" for 𩺰 *Hypophthalmichthys molitrix*,

"*Hypor hamphus sajori*" for 𩺰 *Hyporhamphus sajori*,

"*Lateo labrax*" for 鱈 *Lateolabrax [japonicus]*,

"*Leptecheneis nancrates*" for 𩺰 *Leptecheneis naucratus*,

"*Misgurus anguillicau datus*" for 𩺰 *Misgurnus anguillicaudatus*,

"*Sciaena albiflora*" for 𩺰 *Sciaena albiflora*,

"*Stromateoides zrgenteus*" for 𩺰 *Stromateoides argenteus*.⁷⁰

The 1968 *Zhongwen daizidian* copied five of these misspellings ("*Crocodilus vularis*," "*Hypophtha lmichthys moritrix*," "*Leptecheneis nancrates*," "*Misgurus anguillicau datus*," and "*Sciaena albiflora*"), omitted Latin terminology for two (*C. pallasii* and *S. argenteus*), corrected one (to "*Lateolabrax*"), and changed "*Hypor hamphus*" to *Hyporhamphus* but misspelled the *sajori* species as "*sajcri*." These lexical ghosts are gradually being exorcised; the revised 1979 *Cihai* corrects or updates them all.⁷¹ How long will the recently-coined "*Hemiculeer*" continue to circulate?

70. Several of these errors resulted from failure to hyphenate romanized words written sideways within vertical columns of Chinese (yet some entries are properly hyphenated, e.g., this *Misgurnus* or "*Hyporhamphus*" in the index). The *Zhengzhong xingyinyi conghe daizidian* (1971:2160-2195) copies all these mistakes and adds: "*Aoipenser mikadoi*" for 𩺰 *Acipenser mikadoi*, "*Colia nasus*" for 𩺰 *Coilia nasus*, "*Leuciseus hakuensis*" for 𩺰 *Leuciscus hakuensis/hakonensis*, "*Oneorhynchus masou*" for 𩺰 *Oncorhynchus masou*, "*Paralichtbys olivaceus*" for 𩺰 *Paralichthys olivaceus*, "*Pseudobrgrus aurnrantacus*" for 𩺰 *Pseudobagrus aurantiacus*, and "*Sardinell zunasi*" for 𩺰 *Sardinella zunasi*.

71. Changing X to (outdated) *Hemirhamphus intermedius*, cross-referencing 𩺰 to *Echeneis naucratus*, 𩺰 to 𩺰 *Cobitis taenia*, and 𩺰 to *Milichthys miluy*; discussing *Crocodiliformes* under 𩺰, and adding the *japonicus* genus for 𩺰 *Lateolabrax*. The 1979, like the original 1938 edition, additionally rectifies the "*Zucco*" phantom by defining 𩺰 as "*Zacco platypus*."

Misspellings of biological terms are not confined to Chinese dictionaries, they are lexicographically pandemic. Take, for instance, a "Felix" mistake for the cat genus *Felis*. Rey and Delasalle (1979:24-5) discuss structural advantages of dictionaries using zoological terminology, and give an example of defining French *chat* as "*felix domesticus*" instead of *Felis domesticus*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) defines the loanword *colocolo/-la* as the "Native name for the wild cat of South America (*Felis colocolo*)" [sic, cf. *Felis pajeros* s.v. *pampas-cat*].

(C) Throughout the two millennia history of Chinese lexicography, as the spoken language was changing and as Old Chinese pronunciations were forgotten, dictionary editors endeavored to explain classical pronunciation glosses. In this century, the ongoing reconstruction of Old Chinese phonology allows us to put word histories into historical perspective.

The fish named *DZIOG > *d'îôg ~ *ǎ'îôg ~ *dîôg illustrates overdifferentiating contemporary pronunciations through unfamiliarity with Old Chinese pronunciations.⁷² The *Zhuangzi* commentary of Guo Xiang (265-317) glosses B pronunciations of *tiáo* < d'ieü < *d'îôg, *chóu* < ǎ'ieü < *ǎ'îôg, *yóu* < ieü < *dîôg, or *xiǎo* < sieü: < *siôg. From a short-sighted view, Guo's gloss could be interpreted as four different fish names; or from a longer perspective, all four can be seen as descendants from an Old Chinese *DZIOG etymon. In Middle Chinese pronunciation seven centuries later, the 1011 *Guangyun* (table 1) first differentiated *DZIOG as:

tiáo < d'ieü A 'the white tiao fish',
chóu < ǎ'ieü B 'small fish; a fish',
yóu < ieü H ~ ㊦ ~ ㊧ 'a small fish'.

While *Guangyun*-era Middle Chinese d'ieü/ǎ'ieü/ieü (or Modern *tiáo/chóu/yóu*) sounds like a reasonable three-way contrast set for fish names, the 'small white fish' semantics and Old Chinese *d'îôg ~ *ǎ'îog ~ *dîôg phonology instead reveal the same *DZIOG. The *Guangyun*'s triadic split among *DZIOG names was copied into the *Jiyun*, *Kangxi zidian*, and subsequent dictionaries. Couvreur's Latin and French (table 4) equivalents for Chinese *tiáo* are "a long thin/slender fish" and *chóu* "a (small) fish" versus *yóu* "(conger) eel."

 72. Another example is the personal name Bo ("Uncle") 伯B in the *Zuozhuan*. Following the *Guangyun* distinction, modern dictionaries (e.g., *Hanyu daizidian*) claim his name was Chou, but we have no way of knowing how it was pronounced 2700 years ago. Legge translates his name as both Chou and You (1872:185, 294).

Dictionaries of Chinese are etymologically disadvantaged in comparison with dictionaries of Indo-European languages like English. Take the Proto-Indo-European root *ǵhel- 'to shine' as an example. Not only historical dictionaries of English, but even "collegiate" ones record this etymon's connections with the series of *gl-* 'shiny' words like *gleam*, *glimmer*, *glisten* and their cognates *gold*, *glad*, *gall*, *yellow*, etc. The link between *ǵhel- and *gold* sounds comparatively obvious, but the *yellow* one is almost as obscure as Proto-Chinese *DZIOG > Modern *tiáo*, *chóu*, and *yóu*. Robert Bauer explains:

Sino-Tibetanists may envy the highly polished shine on sound "laws" established for Proto-Indo-European, but such a feeling is tempered with the knowledge that the polishing process spans over 200 years of cumulative efforts. In contrast, the sound correspondences between Proto-Sino-Tibetan and modern Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman languages worked out over a few decades still stand at an early stage of development.

(1991:158)

Phonological reconstruction of Old Chinese *DZIOG relates with the next problem of how to write this ancient fish name.

(D) Graphic variants are a peculiar bugaboo in Chinese lexicography. Logographic alternates take a linguistic step beyond simple synonyms or spelling variants (e.g., Middle English *gladd(e)* for *glad*). Throughout the long history of written Chinese, some words have acquired many written forms. Prior to third century B.C.E. Qin and Han dynasty standardizations of Chinese logographs (that is, when fish names began to be regularly written with the "fish radical" 魚), a scribe was free to write the *DZIOG-fish with practically any graph having a similar Old Chinese pronunciation. The happy *DZIOG could be transcribed through phonetics (with/or without "fish radical" clarification) like *dʰiôg 攸 'where' (seen in B, Δ, and Γ); *dʰiôg 由 'follow; from' (H); or *dzʰiôg 囚 'prisoner' (Θ).

For Chinese dictionaries, graphic variants create minor problems like cross-referencing plus the cardinal danger of folk-etymologizing from meanings of phonetic elements. A few phonetics, like the *dʰiôg 條 'branch; extended' in A had semantic "branch-fish" significance; but most had primarily phonological value. The eleventh-century lexicographer Lu Dian's dictionary and commentary illustrate the dangers of grapho-etymological speculating. His *Piya* (see table 1) definition reasonably explains *tiáo* < dʰieu A to denote "this fish's narrow shape that resembles a long branch" (cf. the less-likely etymologies for *cháng* α and *cān* M); but his *Erya* commentary absurdly claims the *qiú* < zʰiəu 囚 'arrest; prisoner; imprisoned' phonetic in *qiú* < zʰiəu Θ means this fish became "happy" when it escaped from a fish "trap" (mentioned in the *Shijing*). A more linguistically likely cognate is written with the

"water radical": *qiú* < *ziəu* < **dziog* 泗 'swim'. Without information about Old Chinese pronunciation, Lu was unable to perceive that both **dziôg* 𩺰 and **dîôg* 由 phonetically denoted the **DZIOG*-fish.⁷³ When graphic variants for a single word are entered into dictionaries, some lexicographers try to differentiate them.

In conclusion, the dictionary ghost *qiú* < *ziəu* < **dziôg* 𩺰 provides a good example of the lexicographical difficulties with variant writings. **Dziôg* 𩺰 first appeared in the 200? B.C.E. *Erya* and has been copied into Chinese dictionaries ever since. It was glossed as "a fish name" until the 1011 *Guangyun* distinguished 𩺰 between:

似由切白 B, *qiú* < *ziəu*, the white *tiáo*,

即由切鳥化為魚頂上有細骨如禽毛, *jiú* < *tsiəu*, a bird that transforms into a fish, with small hair-like bones on its head.

This *jiú* bird-fish legend probably originated from a physical characteristic of *Zacco platypus*; Sowerby (1925:82) notes, "The head is black, and is covered in the male during the breeding season with peculiar bony tubercles arranged in rows." About half a century later, *Jiyun* editors forgot the *tiáo* fish and defined 𩺰 as:

徐由切魚名烏賊也, *qiú* < *ziəu*, a fish name, the cuttlefish,

將由切鳥化為魚者頸有骨毛, *jiú* < *tsiəu*, a bird that transforms into a fish, its neck has bony hairs.

Chinese transformation myths about birds and fish are common (e.g., the *Shanhaijing*'s **DZIOG* "bird-fish" that cured sorrow §1.5), but there is no attestation for the *Jiyun* defining *tiáo* or *qiú* as the *wūzéi* 烏賊 "crow/black bandit" 'cuttlefish'.⁷⁴

Most modern Chinese dictionaries omit *qiú* 𩺰 owing to the absence of non-dictionary textual attestation. But the few that do include it continue the *Guangyun*'s arbitrary *qiú* vs. *jiú* distinction.⁷⁵ Williams' *Syllabic Dictionary*

73. A further complication with graphic variants in dictionaries was miscopying. Prior to the popularization of printing during the Tang dynasty, scribes frequently made mistakes. Hao Yixing proposed that the 由 phonetic in 𩺰 may have originated from graphic confusion with the 𩺰 in 𩺰. Another case is the *Jiyun* 𩺰 definition (n. 32) misquoting the *Erya* 𩺰 as "𩺰" (with a 𩺰 < *tsiəu* 𩺰 instead of **dziôg* 𩺰 phonetic).

74. The *Bencao gangmu* (tr. Read 1939:90) gives three explanations for this *wūzéi* 烏賊 "crow/black bandit/pirate" name. Cuttlefish are "metamorphosed from the fish-hawk from which it has retained the beak and belly which it greatly resembles," or from floating on the water surface to lure birds it "is commonly regarded as a dangerous pirate for crows," or "in the ninth moon the winter species of blackbird enters the water and changes into this fish."

75. A rare variant name for the 'anchovy, *Coilia nasus*' may have been a complicating factor: *qiū*

differentiates ㊦ between:

[qiū] Another name for the 白A魚 a long thin fish of the pike family like the *Thryssa*, which delights to gambol on the water; its flesh makes an excellent condiment,

[jiū] A kind of fish with spines on its head, which are supposed to prove that it was transformed from a crested bird.⁷⁶

The *Zhongwen daizidian* went "hook-line-and-sinker," defining: qiū 'white tiáo' (quoting the *Erya*), 'cuttlefish' (quoting the *Jiyun*), or a variant for yóu H (quoting the *Yupian*); versus jiū 'a bird-fish' (quoting the *Guangyun*). This kind of pseudo-linguistic definition splitting unattested pronunciations is coming to an end. The *Hanyu daizidian* eliminated the alleged jiū pronunciation but perpetuates the qiū definition as either báitiáo 白B 'pale chub' citing the *Erya* or wūzéi 烏賊 'cuttlefish' citing the *Jiyun*.

This paper angling for one rare fish illustrates the linguistic potentials for combining modern Western science with traditional Chinese scholarship. The current lexicographic renaissance in China has the enviable position of being able to construct dictionaries upon the venerable foundation of Chinese lexicology reinforced by historical and comparative linguistics. Continuing advances in Chinese lexicography hold promise for authoritative dictionaries of plant and animal names. A fish named *DZIOG presents a "happy" example of linguistic change and lexicographical rectification.

< zīqū < *dzīq̥ < 魚 ("fish radical" 魚 & *dzīq̥ 曹 phonetic) was first defined in the *Jiyun* along with jiū < zīqū < *dzīq̥ ㊦.

76. Copying Williams, Giles' *A Chinese-English Dictionary* translates ㊦: "[qiū] Another name for the 白A魚 a long thin fish of the pike family, [jiū] A fish with spines on its head, said to have been transformed from a bird."

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APPENDIX: SPECIAL LOGOGRAPHS

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| A = 魚條 | N = 魚本 | α = 魚曾 | ν = 魚曹 |
| B = 魚條 | E = 魚鰲 | β = 魚隻 | ξ = 魚免 |
| Γ = 魚條 | O = 魚鰲 | γ = 魚連 | \circ = 魚護 |
| Δ = 魚條 | Π = 魚鰲 | δ = 魚印 | π = 魚沅 |
| E = 魚條 | P = 魚鰲 | ε = 魚昌 | ρ = 魚漪 |
| Z = 魚鰲 | Σ = 魚鰲 | ζ = 魚歲 | σ = 魚繒 |
| H = 魚由 | T = 魚取 | η = 魚厘 | τ = 魚閩 |
| Θ = 魚因 | Υ = 魚白 | θ = 魚友 | υ = 魚楷 |
| I = 魚茲 | Φ = 魚若 | ι = 魚正 | ϕ = 魚參 |
| K = 魚卒 | X = 魚箴 | κ = 魚卒 | χ = 魚提 |
| Λ = 魚箴 | Ψ = 魚淺 | λ = 魚齊 | ψ = 魚埤 |
| M = 魚餐 | Ω = 魚直 | μ = 魚且 | ω = 魚芘 |

FIGURES

Fig. 1 *Acipenser sinensis*



Fig. 2 *Channa argus*

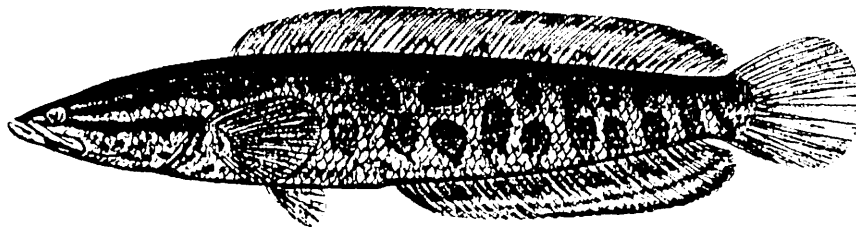


Fig. 3 *Coilia nasus*



Fig. 4 *Culter alburnus*

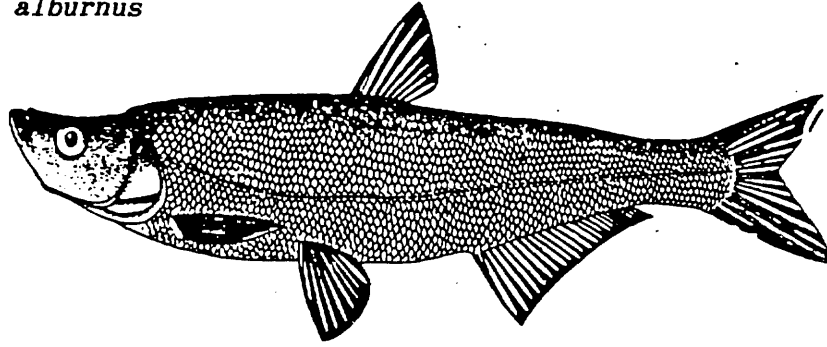


Fig. 5 *Cyprinus carpio*

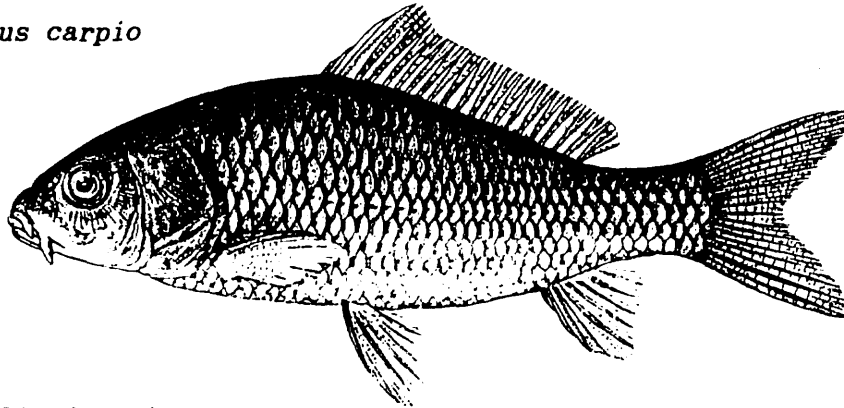


Fig. 6 *Engraulis japonica*

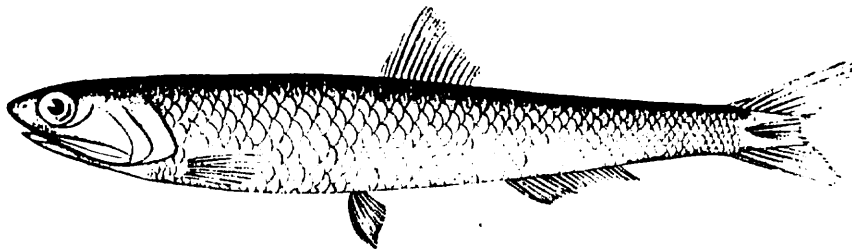


Fig. 7 *Euthynnus affinis*

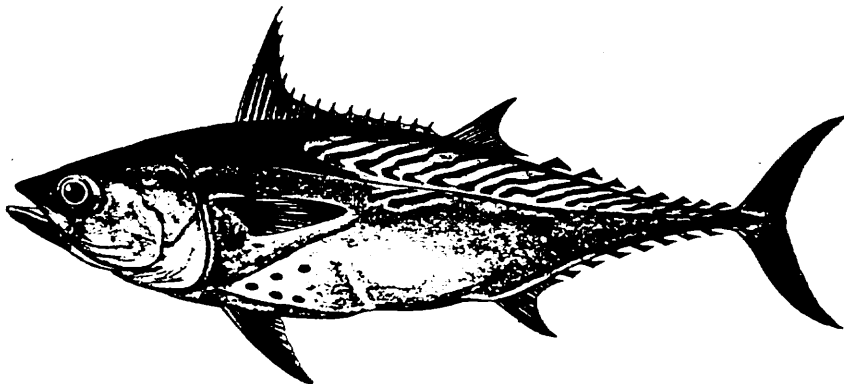


Fig. 8 *Gnathopogon elongatus*

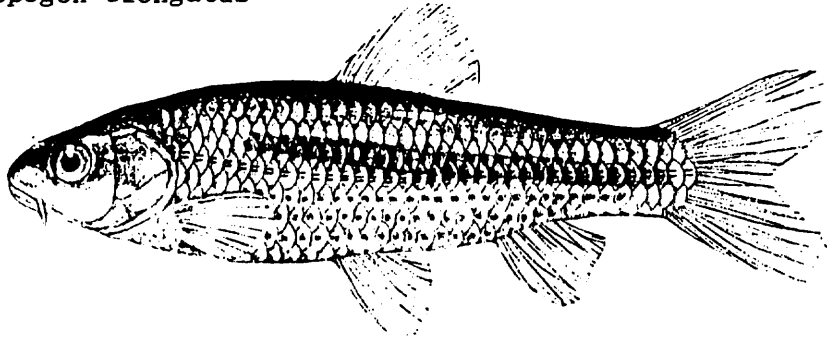


Fig. 9 *Hemiculter leucisculus* (*Cultriculus kneri*)

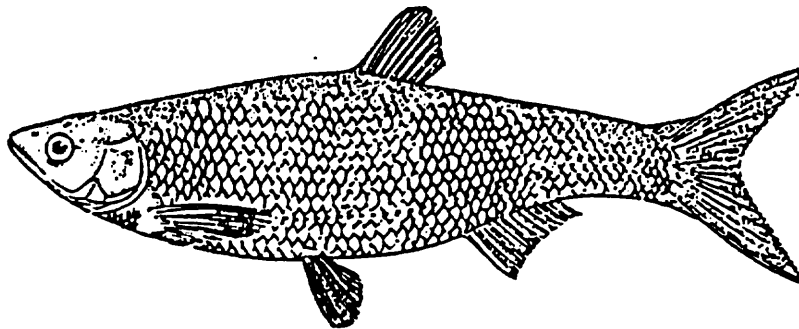


Fig. 10 *Hypophthalmichthys molitrix*

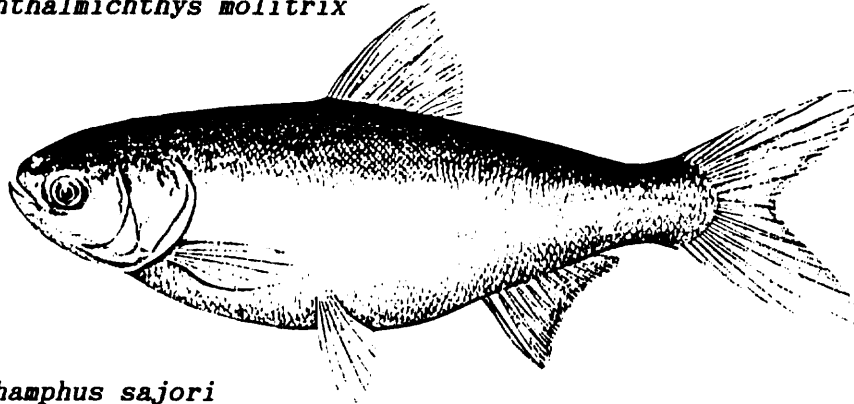


Fig. 11 *Hyporhamphus sajori*

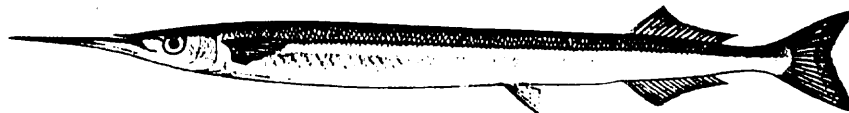


Fig. 12 *Leiocassis longirostris*

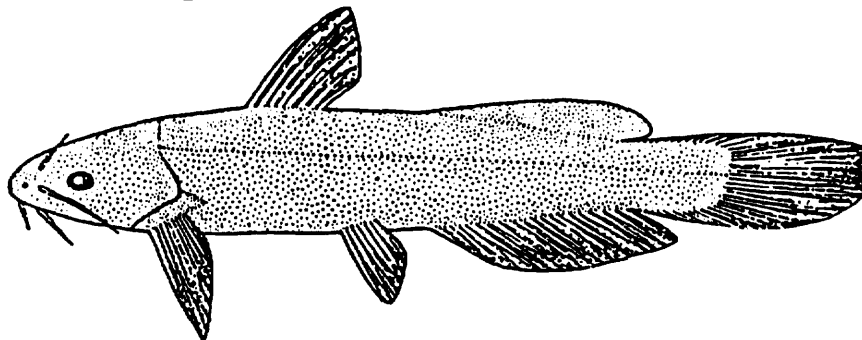


Fig. 13 *Leuciscus leuciscus*

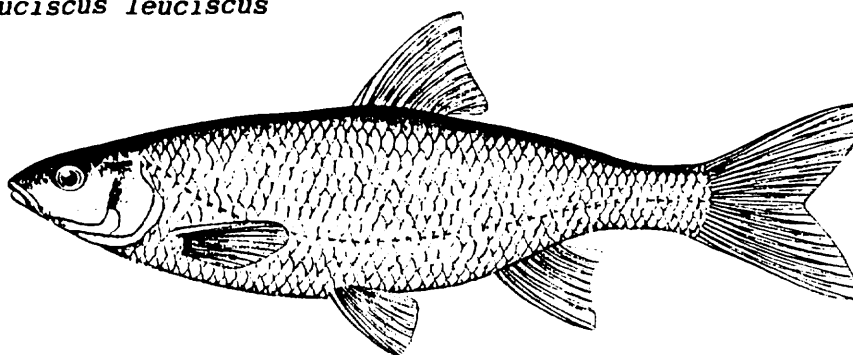


Fig. 14 *Megalobrama terminalis*

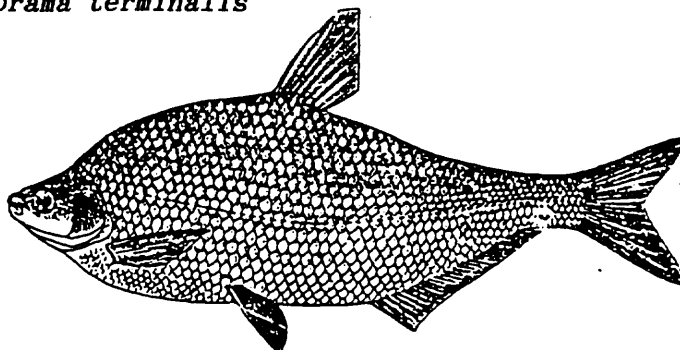


Fig. 15 *Misgurnus anguillicaudatus*

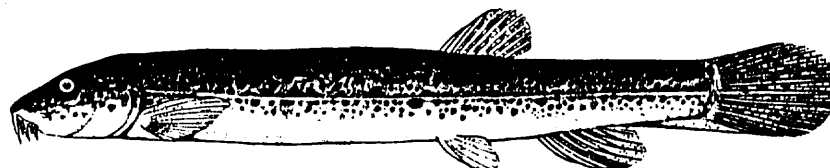


Fig. 16 *Mugil cephalus*

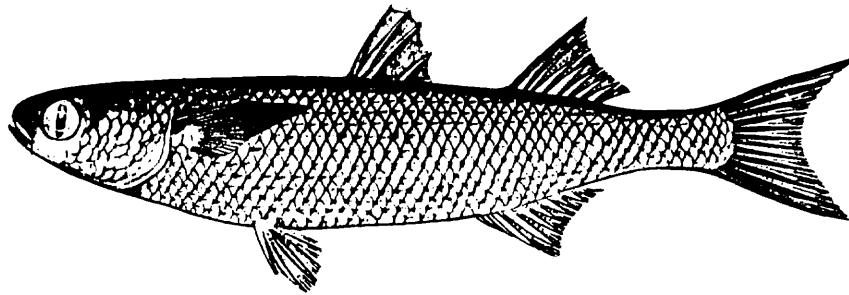


Fig. 17 *Opsariichthys uncirostris*

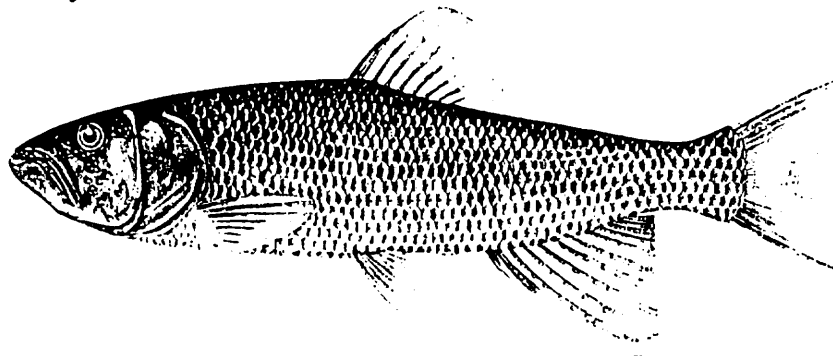


Fig. 18 *Oryzias latipes*

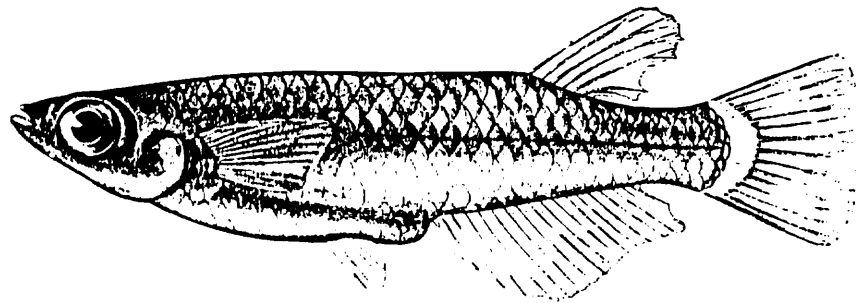


Fig. 19 *Plecoglossus altivelis*

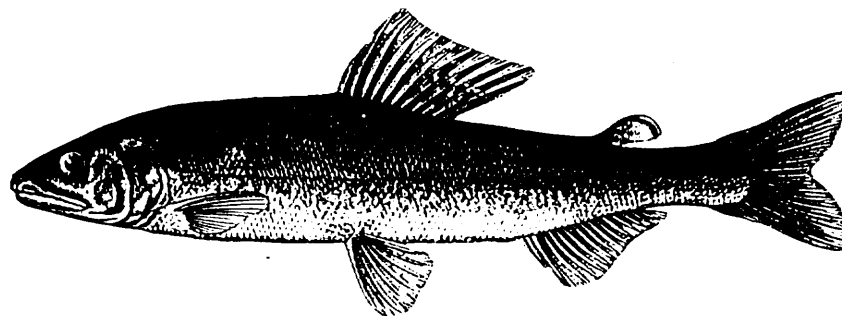


Fig. 20 *Psephurus gladius*

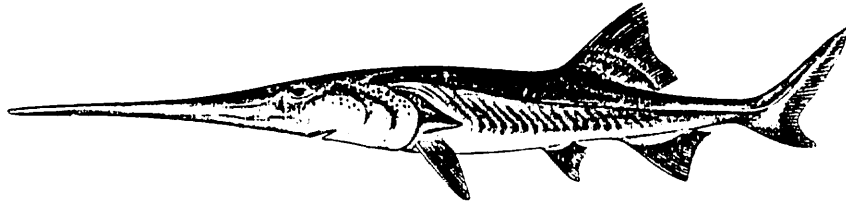


Fig. 21 *Pseudobagrus aurantiacus*

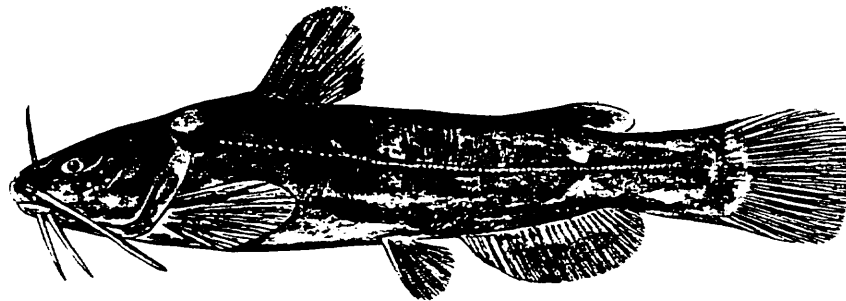


Fig. 22 *Salangichthys microdon*

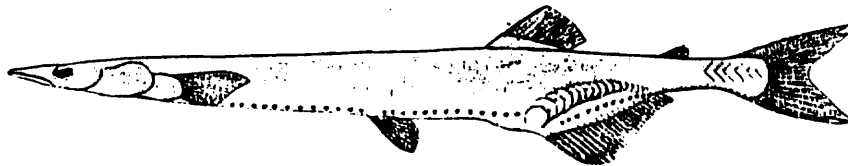


Fig. 23 *Scorpaena izensis*

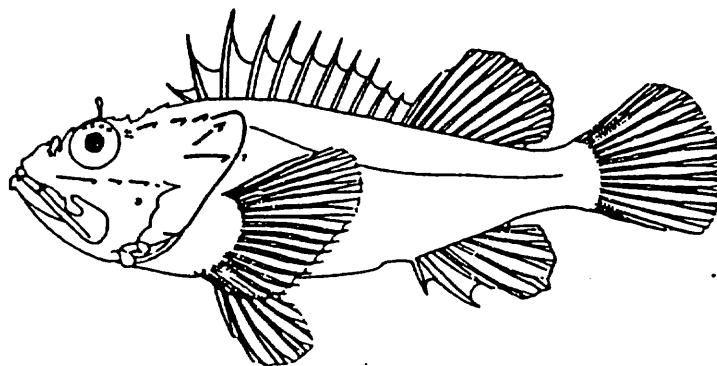


Fig. 24 *Silurus asotus*

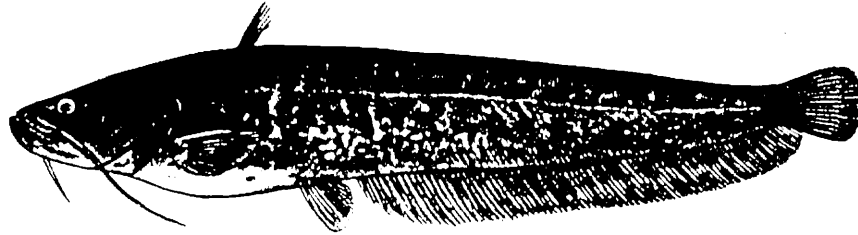


Fig. 25 *Thrissa kammalensis*

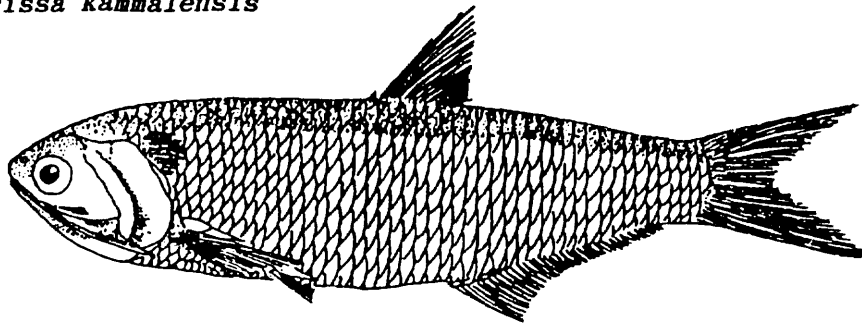


Fig. 26 *Thunnus thynnus*

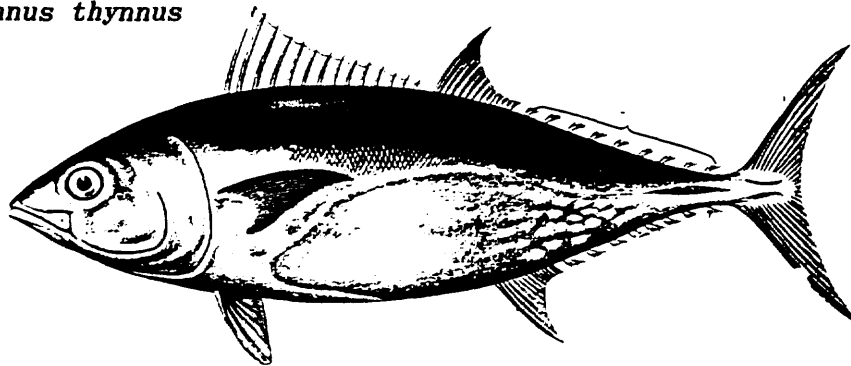


Fig. 27 *Tribolodon hakonensis*

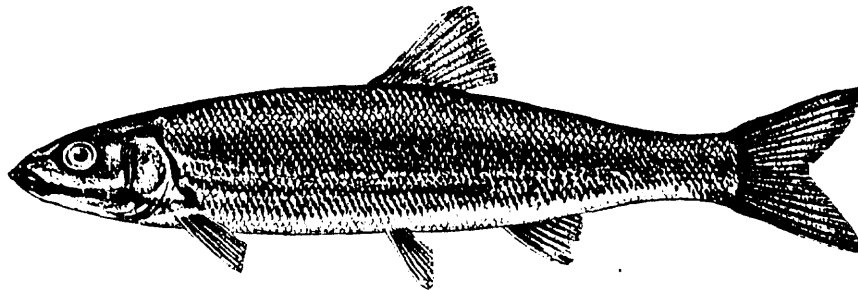


Fig. 28 *Trichiurus lepturus*

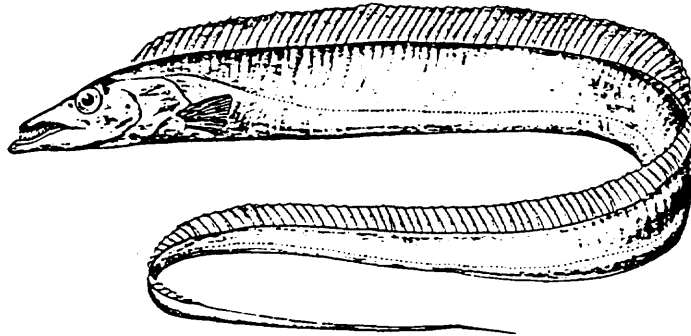


Fig. 29 *Zacco platypus*

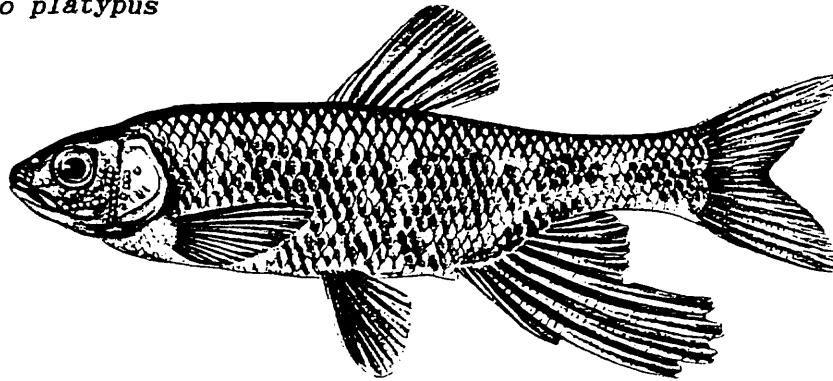
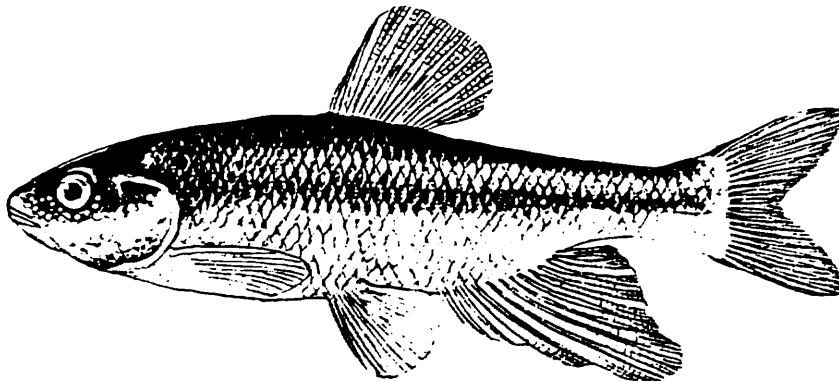


Fig. 30 *Zacco temminckii*



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