

FANG YEN IV,5 and 31. Knee covers and Apron.

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The text of *Fang yen* IV,5 has the following dialect words for 'apron': 蔽郝，江淮之間，謂之褱或謂之袂，魏宋南楚之間謂之大巾，自關東西謂之蔽郝，齊魯之郊謂之褱。

"The *pi-hsi* ('covering knees'): in the region of the rivers Huai and Chiang they call it *hui*, and some (also) call it *po*. In the regions of Wei-Sung and Nan-Ch'u, they call it *ta-chin* ('big kerchief'). From the Pass, eastward and westward, they call it *pi-hsi*. In the country side of the regions of Ch'i and Lu, they call it *jan*"

Fang yen IV,31 has another note, relevant to the words of IV,5: 絮襦謂之蔽郝 "The *chieh-ju*, (some) call it (also) *pi-hsi*."

The commentary of Kuo P'u 郭璞 (276-324) is limited to some sound descriptions: 褱音韋或暉。褱 '*hui* sounds like 韋 '*ɕjwǝi* (KYSH 934) or like 暉 '*ɕjwǝi* (KYSH 31)'; 袂音沸，袂 sounds like 沸 '*pjwǝi*' (KYSH 487). *Erh ya shu* 爾雅疏 (ch. *shih ch'i* 釋器)¹⁾ quotes FY and writes 弗 (*pjwǝt*) instead of 沸. *Kuang ya* 廣雅 (ch. *shih ch'i* 釋器. *Kuang-ya shu-cheng* 廣雅疏證 ch. 7 hs. p. 31 a) quotes Ts'ao Hsien 曹憲 -ca. 600- with the *fan-ch'ieh* 不勿: *pjwǝt*. Some editions of FY have instead of 褱, either 褱 with *fan-ch'ieh* 昌詹 *ɕtš'iam* (*Fang-yen chien-shu* 方言箋疏 ch. 4, p. 6 a) or 褱 「*ɕts'iam*」 (KYSH 948, 949). The latter reading is preferred by Ts'ao Yi's edition (曹豪本) as stated by Tai Chen 戴震 who follows Lu Wen-ch'ao 盧文弨 (*Fang-yen shu-cheng* 方言疏證 ch. 4, p. 2 b). Concerning the geographical areas mentioned in the FY passage on the 'apron', there are two important variants of text, which may change the picture of the distribution of the words considerably: the *Erh ya shu* (ch. *shih ch'i*) quotes the FY passage but changes 江淮 into Chiang-Huai Nan-Ch'u 江淮南楚. In the whole FY text we find several cases where Nan-Ch'u and Chiang-Huai are combined, but these are in the following order: Nan-ch'u Chiang-Huai (6 x), Ch'u Chiang-Huai (1 x), Ch'i-Ch'u Chiang-Huai (1 x), Ch'en-Ch'u Chiang-Huai

(3 x), Nan-Ch'u Chiang-Hsiang (6 x), but Chiang-Huai Nan-Ch'u only once (FY 4.3) besides the suggested reading of the *Erh ya* commentary. It seems therefore that the present FY reading should be preserved. Chiang-Huai alone is a term occurring many times, and the proposed emendation is a formula seldom met with. Another text variation is proposed in the Tai Chen, following Lu Wen-ch'ao's (*Fang-yen Shu-cheng*, ch. 4 p. 6a) edition which reads Ch'i-ch'u instead of Ch'i-lu (齊楚~齊魯). When comparing with the usages of Fang yen in this respect, we find eleven cases of the combination Ch'i-Lu and ten cases of Ch'i-Ch'u. This shows that in FY both are equally prevalent occurrences as geographical area descriptions. But the majority of the FY editions read Ch'i-Ch'u in the present passage.¹⁾

The study of these words require that we consider several underlying problems: what do these words refer to in the context of the FY and what is their meaning in other early Chinese literary texts, and if these meanings can be reconciled, what was the original meaning and the real thing referred to by these words. Secondly, from the point of view of the reconstructions of the Archaic Chinese readings of these words and characters, we have to establish what kinds of relationship, if any, can be found between these forms of reconstructed words. Thirdly, we will examine what can the geographical distribution of FY tell us about these dialect words in Middle Han time and in what way the distribution can inform us about the development and history of these words. In dealing with the first two problems, we will discuss each character, compound word or binom separately, and for clarity and shortness sake, we resort to a series of abbreviations and *sigla*. The Ancient Chinese reconstruction (*Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻 time values) will be indicated according to B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, vol. 29, 1957) (Abbreviated: GSR and no. of phonetic series) or to Shen Chien-shih 沈兼士 *Kuang yün sheng-hsi* (廣韻聲系, Peking 1944) (Abbr. KYSH and page). These reconstructions are in *italics*. The Archaic Chinese values however will be preceded by a *; both will carry tone signs, following the KYSH method by marks beside the reconstructions: *x=p'ing*, **x=shang*, *x'=ch'ü*. Archaic Chinese is given according to GSR and also occasionally according to Tung T'ung-ho 董同龢 *Shang-ku yin-yün piao-kao* 上古音韻表稿 (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, vol. 18, 1948) (Abbr. Tung), Tōdō Akiyasu 藤堂明保, *Etymological Dictionary of Chinese Characters*

漢字語源辭典 Tokyo, 1965 (Abbr. Todo), Takahata Genjirō 高畑彦次郎, 周秦漢三代之古紐研究 Kyoto 1937. Besides unstarred and starred reconstructions, /^{*} represents forms proposed by myself, different than those of the authors mentioned, and which are based on the interpretation of *Shuo-wen chieh-tzū* 說文解字 (abbr. SW) (quoted according to the edition of Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, *Shuo-wen chieh-tzū ku-lin* 說文解字詁林, Shanghai 1928. Abbr. SWKL and page number) and the implied contacts between individual characters by phonetic series (also found in KYSH with minor differences), between certain given words, monosyllabic or binomial, as shown through definitions and sound phrases; such /^{*} reconstructions may also be based on other works such as *Shih ming* 釋名 by Liu Hsi 劉熙 (late Han times) (abbrev. SM, and for which I also refer to my study, *Notes on the Study of the Shih-Ming, Marginalia to N.C. Bodman's A Linguistic Study of the Shih Ming*. (Asia Major, new ser. vol. VI, 2, 1958; abbrev. SM Notes), *Po Hu T'ung Yi* 白虎通義, *Feng Su T'ung yi* 風俗通義 and other sources for paronomastic definitions (*sheng-hsün* 聲訓). Some Archaic Chinese reconstructed forms are marked by #*, to indicate the forms deduced from binoms, that are not mere compounds but presumed to be dimidiative forms of originally monosyllabic words with initial consonant clusters. Finally, some reconstruction values are presented, with the mark /^{*}/, whenever a special form is posited based on mere relationship between different cognate words. Many of these ideas about reconstruction of Archaic Chinese, which once the projections of *Ch'ieh-yün* language, the systematizations of rhyming classes are exhausted, are concerned with *particular instances of concrete words*, as used and defined, reinterpreted and combined with other words, according to different dictionaries and commentaries, ancient texts from different times and areas, and have been expounded in my study *The Chinese Dialects of Han Time According to Fang Yen*, Berkeley 1959 (Abbrev. Chinese Dialects-FY), and later particular studies on certain items of Ancient Chinese vocabulary.

I. Survey of the individual characters, words and cognates.

1. *Pi-hsi* 蔽膝~蔽膝.

蔽膝 * *piad'-siēt* (GSR. 341. 401) ~ *piwüi* < /^{*} *piwäd'-siet* (Tung) ~ * *piad'-siet* (Todo 661. 779), literally means 'covering the knees' and is a synonym for 市, 帶 (GSR 501: 'knee cover') * *piwət* ~ * *p'wît* (Tung) ~ * *p'iat* > *p'iuət* (Todo 174); for in SW (SWKL 3443) 市 is defined and explained as follows: 市, 韞也, 上古衣蔽前而已, 市以象之. 天子朱市, 諸侯赤市, 大夫葱衡.

从巾象連帶之形。篆文韍。“The *fu* 市 is a *pi* 韠 (GSR 407: * *piět*, knee cover; *Shih ching*; Tung * *piet*). In high antiquity they merely wore (the garment) that covered the front side. The *fu* was used to represent this. The emperor had vermillion knee covers, the feudal lord had red knee covers, the minister and great officers had an onion (green coloured) breast pendant (with their knee covers). It is derived from 巾 and representing the string that tied it (to the waist). The (*Ta* 大) *chuan* graph is 韍. ” This variant graph 韍 recurs in the definition of 韠 (SWKL 2337) 韍也所以蔽前，以韋，下廣二尺上廣一尺，其頸五寸。一命緼韠再命赤韠，从韋畢聲。 “*pi* is *fu* 韍 (GSR 276, * *piwət*: knee cover; *Li chi*). That by which one covers the front side is made of soft leather. Down side it is two feet broad, above it is one foot broad. Its neck was five inches. The officer who had one emblem (一命) on him, wore the madder (dyed) knee covers; if he had two emblems on him (再命) he had red knee covers. The graph is derived from 韋 and 畢 phonetic.” Part of this explanatory text is a shortened quote from *Li chi*.²⁹ Tuan Yü-ts'ai (段玉裁) in his commentary under 韠 quotes the commentary of Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200) to *Li chi*, ch. *Yü tsao*: 古者佃漁而食之。衣其皮，先知蔽前，後知蔽後，後王易之以布帛而獨存其蔽前者不忘本也。 “In antiquity, (people) hunted and fished and eat them; they clothed themselves with their skins. First they knew to cover the front, later they knew to cover the backside. When later on the kings substituted for them (i.e. skin made aprons) cloth or silk and only preserved the front side garment, it meant that they did not want to forget the origins.” This text is important in that it shows that the Han time commentators understood that the wearing of the ceremonial apron was a ritual preservation an archaic stage in civilization. *Tso chuan* 左傳, Duke Huan 桓 2nd year writes 韍 **piwət* (GSR 276) ~ **piwət* (Tung), which Tu Yü 杜預 (222-284) explains with 韋韠以蔽膝也 ‘The soft leather knee cover is (by which) they cover the knees’. There the sub-commentary *shu* 疏 (*Shih-san ching chu-shu* 十三經注疏. *Ch'ung k'an Sung pen* 重聚宋本, 1873. ch. 5, p. 10) informs us that 漢明帝復制天子赤皮蔽膝，蔽膝古韍也。 “Emperor Ming of Han restored the use of the leather knee cover. The son of heaven had a red leather knee cover (*pi hsi* 蔽膝). *Pi-hsi* is (the name for) the old *fu*.”

In the *Po hu t'ung yi* 白虎通義 (ch. 25 緼冕) it is written 緼 * *piwət*³⁰ (GSR 500) and from this chapter we gather further information: 緼者何謂也緼者蔽也，行以蔽前者爾有事因以別尊卑有德也。天子赤緼，諸侯朱緼……緼以韋爲之者反古不忘本也。上廣一尺下廣二尺法天一地二也長三尺法天地人也。

"What does *fu* 'knee cover' mean? 紼 *fu* means *pi* 蔽 'to cover': to cover the front [part of the legs] when walking. It is used on [special] occasions to distinguish between the high and the lowly, and to signal out those who have spiritual power. The Son of Heaven wears vermillion knee covers, the Feudal Lords red ones. The knee cover is made of hide because the meaning is to revert to antiquity, so as not to forget the origin. Above it has a width of one foot, below of two feet, modelling itself on Heaven's [number, which is] one, and on Earth's [number, which is] two. Its length is three feet, modelling itself on Heaven, Earth and Man." (*Po Hu T'ung. The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, by Tjan Tjoe-som 曾珠森. Leiden, 1949-1952. II. p. 611-12).

In most of these texts which are quoted above, it is clear that the later standard term of Han is 蔽膝, and in the explanatory texts the recurrent phrase is 蔽前 **piad'-dz'ian* (GSR 245) ~ **piwäd'-dz'ian* (Tung) ~ **piad'-dzün* (Todo), which is obviously another way of giving on etymology to the word 蔽膝, and its variants. But *fu* 紼 itself is equated with 蔽. Wang Nien-sun 王念孫 already in *Kuang-ya shu-cheng* 廣雅疏證 (ch. 7. p. 30b) explained 紼 as a contraction of 蔽膝. But since *pi-hsi* is certainly the later term, it is more probable that it is a dimidiation of an older word: **piad'-siēt* < #* *psiēt*, **piad'-dz'ian* < #* *psian* ~ *bz'ian*⁴. The Han texts clearly indicate that *pi-hsi* 蔽膝 was an 'apron'. As a garment for women it was still in use as is attested from *Han Shu* 漢書 (*Wang Mang chuan* 王莽傳, *K'ai ming shu-tien* 開明書店 ed. 0619/2): 莽妻近之, 衣不曳地布蔽膝見之者以爲僮, "Wang Mang's wife came close (to receive them). Her clothes did not trail on the ground, she had an apron of plain cloth; those who saw her took her for a servant girl."⁵ (Cfr. H. H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*. Vol. III. Baltimore, 1955. p. 129-30).

While the word *pi-hsi* and its immediate cognate forms represent the latest level of word formation, the word 市 is certainly the oldest. 市 is the only form that occurs in the early Chou bronze literature. Examples of these occurrences are found in Chou Fa-kao 周法高 *Chin-wen ling-shih* 金文零釋 (Taiwan, 1951, p. 119 sq. 釋8). In the bronze script dictionary of Jung Keng 容庚, *Chin wen pien* 金文編 (Peking 1959, p. 437-8) we find different variations from a considerable number of inscriptions, but basically all representing the same graph with minor changes: 市市市市 (But see also note 14).

2. 褱 *hui*.

褱 (GSR 571(* *xiwər* 'queen's ritual robe' (*Li chi*), 'knee covers' (*Mu t'ien-tzū chuan*), ~ * *xiwəḏ* (Tung). The *Li chi* text is in ch. *Yü tsao* 玉藻: 王后褱衣 "The queen has a ritual robe." (Couvreur I, p.703) and *Mu t'ien-tzū chuan*: 天子大服冕褱 "The son of Heaven has the great garment, hat and knee covers". Again the SW (SWKL 3694) defines 褱 as 蔽膝也; its phonetic is (KYSH 934 sq) 韋, under which there are also unusual derivatives such as 徧 *ngiäi~tsiäi*, which suggest [* *sxiwəd*. The two meanings 'ritual robe' and 'knee covers' as we shall see later, are not two unrelated meanings. Though the SW definition may indicate that the meaning *pi-hsi* 蔽膝 is a later meaning, prevalent in Han time, it is found already in early texts as *Mu t'ien-tzū chuan*, and the SM (ch. 16. 14) has a long passage which shows that the meaning of 'ritual robe' was equally common at least in certain contexts during Han time: 王后之上服曰褱衣, 畫翬雉之文於衣也. 伊洛而南, 雉素質五色皆備成章曰翬; 搖翟畫搖雉之文於衣也. 江淮而南青質五色皆備成章曰翟; 闕翟, 翦闕繒爲翟雉之形以綴衣也。

"The queen's upper garment is called *hui-yi* (GSR. * *xiwər·iər*; Tung. * *xiwəd·iəd*). They draw ornamental lines (in the form of) a pheasant on the dress. (翬雉 GSR. 458. 560: * *xiwər·d'iər*; Tung: * *xiwəḏ·d'iəd*). In the regions of Yi and Lo and southward, the pheasant patterns in plain unadorned material and five coloured threads are all complete to make the design, and are called 翬 (* *xiwər* ~ * *xiwəḏ*); *yao-ti* 搖翟 (GSR 1144. 1124 * *diog·d'iok* ~ Tung: * *giog·d'iok*) 'agitating pheasant' means they draw the design of an agitating pheasant on the dress. In the area of Chiang-Huai and southward, the green material and the five coloured threads are all complete to make the pattern, which is called 搖 (GSR 1144 * *diog* ~ Tung * *giog*); *ch'üeh-ti* 闕翟 'broken off (thread) pheasant' (GSR 301. 1124 * *k'iwät·d'iok*, * *g'iwät·d'iok*, Tung * *k'iwät·d'iok*) means that they cut and break of the silk threads and so make the pattern of a pheasant and attach it to the dress." The text actually continues but only the part which is quoted here has direct connection with the word 褱. As can be seen, the earlier word 褱 is expanded into a compound 褱衣, which is in turn explained as 翬雉 'soaring pheasant' with a corresponding dialect word of Yi-Lo, which is still simply 翬 'pheasant'; this is further brought into a comparison with 搖翟 explained by a common standard word 搖雉 (GSR * *diog·d'iər*, Tung * *giog·d'iəd*), also with a corresponding dialect word of Chiang-

Huai, again simply 搖. Some of these terms seem to be new transcriptions for similar terms found in *Li chi* (ch. Yü-tsao 玉藻, *Couvreur* I. p. 703): 揄狄 **d̥iu*, 'd̥u, -iəu < d̥i^hg' + d̥iek, t̥iek (GSR 125. 856), **d̥iug*, 'd̥u^hg, t̥u^hg + d̥iok (Tung) corresponding to SM 搖翟 **d̥iog-d̥iok*, and 屈狄 **k'iwət-t̥iek* (GSR 496) corresponding to SM term 闕翟 **k'iwät-d̥iok*. The replacement of 狄 by 翟 indicated that the words have been reinterpreted and etymologized in Han time. We can then conclude that 搖 and 搖翟 and the *Li chi* word 揄狄 on one hand, and 翟, 闕翟 and the *Li chi* word 屈狄 on the other, show that we have a series of monosyllabic words, dialectally preserved, with corresponding early literary binomial forms, (搖翟, 揄狄, 闕翟, 屈狄 which all are reduplicative and dimidiative binoms, again later reinterpreted as 搖雉 and 翟雉) just like 褱 has been expanded into 褱衣, and 搖翟, rewritten as 搖雉. For the analysis of 闕翟, 屈狄 as dimidiative binoms, we can refer to the KYSH series under 屈 (744) as well as to the GSR 496 series which imply different initial (K-/T-) (see also below 4.)⁷⁾ What is the relationship between the 'ritual robe' and the 'knee cover' will be clear only after the next two words from FY have been studied.

3. 裙 *jan*.

裙, 褱 **ɕniam* (GSR 622) 'lady's nuptial robe' (*Li chi*). The striking fact that again a word which in literary texts has the meaning 'nuptial robe' is in FY given as a dialect word for the standard word *pi-hsi* 蔽膝 'knee covers', just as for 褱, is an indication that these two types of meaning are not a coincidence but must be founded on a more basic relationship. KYSH (1090) includes among the derivatives of 冪, 冉 such kinds as 聘 **ɕ'əm* (Tung. **ɕ'âm*), from which we conclude to 裙 /**ɕniam*. As already pointed out before, some FY editions write 褱 instead of 裙. This character, though found in early literature (GSR 617) did not have there the meaning of 'knee cover' but 'carriage curtain, fringe, flounce' ɕ'iam². * According to SW and consequently as listed in KYSH (947) the phonetic of 褱 (炎) equally includes in its series of derivatives, words like 熊 **ɕg̊ium* (GSR 674) ~ **ɕi^hwong* (Tung) and 褱 ɕxəm, suggesting 褱 ɕts'iam² < /**ɕtsxiam*² (78). The writing 褱 is probably a later variant of the same word, represented by 褱, and a synonym of 裙. *Erh ya* (ch. 6 *Shih ch'i* 釋器) has the entry: 衣蔽前謂之褱. 'The garment, covering the front side (knee cover, apron) is called 褱, **ɕ'iam*², (GSR 619, 'apron (*Shih ching*), comfortable, well adjusted dress (*Lun Yü*)⁸⁾ That 裙 and 褱, 褱 do refer to the same thing is also confirmed by the *Shih ming* (ch. 16. 15.) 褱, 蔽膝也, 所以蔽膝前也, 婦人蔽膝

亦如之。齊人謂之巨巾。田家婦女出至田野以覆其頭故因以爲名也。又曰跪襜，跪時襜張也。

“The *pi* ‘knee covers’ is the *pi-hsi*. It is by which one covers the front side of the knees. The women’s *pi-hsi* ‘apron’ is also similar to this. The people of Ch’i call it 巨巾 *^c*gio-ckien* (GSR 95. 482) ~ ^c*g’iag-ckien* (Tung). The women of the peasant families, when they go out in the fields, use it to cover their head; therefore, they accordingly gave it this name. It is also called *kui* (k’ui)-*chan* 跪襜 *^c*g’wia* (^c*k’wia*)-^c*t’iam* (GSR 29), ~ ^c*g’iwa* (^c*k’iwa*)-^c*t’iam* (Tung. < *g’iwā?*, *k’iwā?*) (Takahata *^c*k’iwāg*, Todo **k’iueg*, *giueg*). It means that, when kneeling down, they spread it out *ch’an-ch’an-jan* i.e. ‘well adjusted, neatly’ (?)”-This text is of importance because parallel to the case of 褱, we find that 紳 besides the literary meaning ‘ritual, nuptial robe’ also refers in dialect usage to ‘apron’, but furthermore the *Shih ming* text explains 巨巾 also as a garment occasionally used as a kerchief to cover the head. This word then must have had a general meaning of ‘kerchief’. that could be used for head cover, as well as for an apron, and also be used as a ‘spread out cloth’ to kneel on the ground. In the same way 褱, besides its double meaning ‘queen’s robe, ritual robe, and ‘apron’, is used in the sense of ‘kerchief’. *Erh ya* (ch. 6 *shih ch’i* 釋器) has the entry 婦人之褱謂之縹，縹綏也 “The *hui* garment of the women is called *li* 縹 (**dlia* ‘kerchief’), and *li* kerchief is a *jui* (or *sui*) 綏 (**snīwər* ‘a bond, strap’). This definition is clearly based on the *Shih ching* line (*Pin feng*, ode 156, *Tung shan* 親結其縹: ‘the parents tie her kerchief’, where the Mao commentary has the same explanation: 婦人之褱. B. Karlgren (*Glosses on the Kuo Feng*. BMFEA 14. 1942-Gloss 392) has shown that the interpretation of 褱 ‘apron’ as 縹 ‘kerchief’ can well be explained when understood as a sort of ‘big kerchief, fastened at the girdle and hanging down so as to cover the knees’. It seems then that both 褱 and 紳 were basically an ‘apron’, which could be used also as a ‘kerchief’; but being probably part of a ‘ritual outfit’ it did shift to the meaning ‘ritual robe, nuptial robe’, and it is easily seen that the sense ‘apron’ would be preferably found in connection with ordinary language usage in dialects, and the sense ‘ritual robe’ in literary texts.

But the element 襜 in sense of ‘robe, dress’ appears also as part of a binomial expression, mentioned in *Fang yen* 4.2: 襜褕. This word has been explained by Lao Kan 勞榦 (*Daily Costumes of the Han Dynasty* 漢代常服述略, Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, vol. 24. 1953), as a

name for a type of long robe, similar to the *tan-yi* 'unlined garment' 禪衣, this latter one a development of the ceremonial *shen-yi* 深衣 (cfr. *Fang yen* 4.1). The *ch'an-yü* 檐襦 in *Fang yen* is a standard word with corresponding dialect synonyms like *t'ung-yung* 幢襦, and having different kinds, such as the 'short robe, called *shu-yü* 短襦 and *ch'ung-chü* 統襦. *Shih ming* (ch. 16.21) identifies 檐襦 as one of the dialect words of Ching chou (荊州) for the standard word 禪衣 (namely 布襦 and 檐襦), and explains the word: 言其檐檐宏裕也 'it is to say that it is comfortable and wide and ample', suggesting thereby an etymology 檐 = 幘 **t'iam* 'overcoat, cloak; cut out, cut loose' and 襦 = 裕 **giug* (GSR 1202) (襦 **ding* (Tung); 裕 /**ding* (SM notes, p. 149)). SW defines 檐 as 直裾 'straight and ample garment'. Lao Kan, basing himself on Han time texts from literature and certain passages in the wooden slips from Ch'i Yen 居延, concludes that the *ch'an-yü* was differing from the *tan-yi* 'unlined long garment' by the material from which it was cut, in general a thicker and coarser kind of silk or wool, to which sometimes other materials such as skin were attached, and also by the general cut of the garment, the *ch'an-yü* being much *looser and wider* than the *tan-yi*. It seems then that the character 檐 in 檐襦 did not convey the same meaning as in 檐 'apron', but was rather suggesting a meaning 'wide, broad' as in 幘. *Ch'an* in *ch'an-yü* is of no direct relevance to the study of the words for 'knee cover' 'apron'.

4. 大巾 *ta-chin* (FY) and 巨巾 *chü-chin* (SM).

The word 大巾 **d'äd²-ckien*, **täd²-ckien*, (GSR 317.482) ~ **d'äd²-ckien* (Tung), literally 'big cloth' shows the same type of structure and meaning as 巨巾 **c'gio-ckien* (GSR 59) ~ **c'giag-ckien* (Tung). The first is the *Fang yen* dialect word of Wei-Sung and Nan-Ch'u, the second is the Ch'i word given by *Shih ming*. The two were obviously felt to be one word, both analyzed and etymologized as consisting of two parts, but each resulting from a different process of word enlargement, one by reduplication (巨巾), the other by dimidiation (大巾). For in the same way as we must explain 裱衣 **xiwər-c'ier* (**xiwäd-c'ïäd*) as an enlargement of 裱 **xiwər* ~ *xiwäd*, in which a reduplicative pattern has been followed where the initial and final of 裱 is preserved in a slightly alternating form, the binom 翬雉 **xiwäd-c'd'ïäd* can be considered a reduplicative binom by resyllabication (**xiwed-ïäd* > **xiwäd-c'd'ïäd*) or a binom in which the older consonant cluster 裱 /**sxiwed* < *xiwed* has been preserved but in a reversed sequence *x-/d-*. Then also 大巾 **d'äd²-ckien*, **täd²-ckien*,

**d'âd'-ckien* is a dimidiation of *#* dki:n, tkien, tkian*, which once split in two syllables was understood and written as 大巾 'big kerchief', probably under the influence of the reduplicative form (with alternation of vowel and final) **c'g'ïag-ckien*, etc. Finally 揄狄 **c'diu-d'iek*, **c'diug-d'iek* etc. has been clarified by a change into 搖翟 **c'diog-d'ioik* and 搖雉 **c'diog-c'd'ïad*, reduplications with alternating final consonants. As to 屈狄 **k'iwät-t'ioik*, which was parallel to 揄狄, reinterpreted as 闕翟 **k'iwät-d'ioik*, **g'iwät-d'ioik*, we may very well see here an inversion of the sequence *s, z/x- > k-/t-*, comparable to the form found in 大巾. Additional confirmation of this inversion may be found in the unexpected word of *Shih ming* 跪襦, which is explained as 'kneel-down apron' because it was used by women as a cushion or mat to kneel down on ground (a *post factum* explanation of the sounds); the word **c'kwia-c'ïiam c'kiwag-c'ïiam* was probably also from *#* kt'iam*, similar to 屈狄, 闕翟 **k'iwät-t'iek*, **k'iwät-d'ioik* < *#* kt'iek*, *kt'ioik*.⁹⁾

5. 絮襦 *chieh-ju*.

There remains the entry of *Fang yen* 4.31 which reads 絮襦謂之蔽褊. "The (garment) 絮襦 **k'iat-c'ñiu*, **g'iat-c'ñiu* (GSR 279.134), **k'iat-c'ñiug*, **riät-c'ñiug* (Tung) is called *pi-hsi* 'apron, knee cover'." The character 襦 on the basis of its *hsieh-sheng* 諧聲 connections (KYSH, 1082-6) was [** c'niug*]. Though appearing alone (*Tso chuan*, Chao, 25th year) with the sense of 'jacket', it is part of several compound words, like 汗襦, 'sweat shirt', synonym to other dialect words 襜, 祗裼, 甲襦, 檐襦, and 禪襦 (FY 4.13); this was probably a kind of jacket, or shirt, basically identical with and in some cases expansions of the word 襦. One of them, on the basis of Han time texts, was explained by Lao Kan (op. cit. p. 180 sq): 檐襦 was the 'long dress, thick and double lined' as against 襦, that was 'short and padded'. In FY 4.39 複襦 (with dialect synonyms 襜 (or 袷) **c'diug* (GSR 118, KYSH 312) and 筩袷 **d'ung-ngiad* (GSR 1185, 330). Literally 複襦 is 'double lined jacket' and 筩袷 'tube-like sleeve' probably meaning a kind of sleeveless, round piece covering the upper part of the body. Finally, FY 4.6 has 襦 (also written 揄) with synonym 曲領, for a 'sleeveless shirt'. From all these words, it appears that 襦 has acquired a rather general meaning of 'sleeveless round piece of garment', and could be further determined by various qualifying words preceding it. It is in this sense also that 絮襦 must probably be understood. Ch'ien Yi 錢繹 (T. 以成) (*Fang-yen chien-shu* 方言箋疏 ch. 4 p.16a) explains the element 絮 through its SW definition

麻一崙也 'one string made of hemp' and the definition of 係 as 繫束也 'to tie together', concluding that 繫 is the same as 結 **kiet* (GSR 393) 'to tie, to knot'. If 繫褌 could be identified as another term for 蔽膝, it seems then that this word, in spite of the meaning of 褌 'jacket, or sleeveless round piece', did not any longer refer to such a garment, but rather to a skirt or apron. *Chieh-ju* 繫褌 as analyzed by Ch'ien Yi would then literally mean 'fastened, tied up skirt', and in this way it could have (in some dialect) have become a synonym to *pi-hsi* 蔽膝 (knee cover, apron). Moreover, the term 繫褌 has all appearances of a popular etymology 'string tied (skirt)' > apron, and the second part 褌 may convey only a vague connotation, derived from the original meaning 'jacket' > 'skirt'; it may have been seized upon merely for its sound value. It is then more probable that for the speakers of Han time, the etymology of the word was felt to rest more in the element *chieh* 繫 'to tie, string' (an apron), since the graph of 巾 in SW is still recognized as a pictographic sign (从巾象連帶之形 'derived from 巾 and depicting the tying string of the garment'). Yet, this seems to be a rather late word and this etymology may not go further than just a way of the speaker and writer to rationalize their choice of characters, for a word that was otherwise not analyzed at all. In this sense, we ought to consider the word 繫褌 [**kiat-ɕniŋʷ ~ g'iat-ɕniŋʷ*] as a dimidiated binom of an older *##ksniŋ ~ gɕniŋ*¹⁰, and related to forms like 闕翟 *##ktiek, gɕ'ioŋ* etc. Unfortunately, FY though indicating it as a non-standard word, does not tell us to what dialect area this word 繫褌 belonged; may be, it was not strictly a dialect word, but a popular specialized term for 'apron like' garment.

6. 韎 *chia* (*ko*) and 韎韐 *mei* (*mo*)-*chia* (*ko*).

The *Po-hu t'ung-yi* 白虎通義 (ch. 25 紼冕. Crf. *Po-hu-t'ung shu-cheng* 白虎通疏證 by Ch'en Li 陳立 1809-1869) (皇清經解續.) mentions among the different kinds of knee covers, distinguished by colour and material, one kind called the 韎韐 **mwədʷ-kɛp* (*kɛp*) ~ **mwɛt-*, **mwɛdʷ-* (GSR 531.675), **mwədʷ-kɛp* (*kɛp*) (Tung) in the sentence 天子大夫赤紼葱衡，士韎韐，"A great officer of the Son of Heaven wears red knee covers with green stone pendants. Common officers wear leather knee-covers dyed (red)". (*Po Hu T'ung. The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, by Tjan Tjoe Som 曾珠森 II. 1952, p. 611-612). This word is found also in *Shih ching*, ode 213: 韎韐有奭 'The madder dyed leather knee covers are red'. B. Karlgren, *Glosses on the Book of Odes* (BMFEA 14-18, 1942-46, p. 145. GL. 691-692) does not comment on 韎韐 nor

on 爽 as variant for 𩇛. Mao's commentary states 𩇛, 所以代𩇛也. 'The *chia* (*ko*) is by which one substitutes for the *pi* 'kneec over'. SW (in SWKL 3446) writes 𩇛 and 𩇛, and explains 士無市有𩇛制如𩇛, 缺四角爵弁服其色𩇛, 賤不得與裳同, 司農曰裳纁色, 从市合聲. 'An ordinary noble has no *fu*-knee covers, but he has *chia*. It is cut like a bowl and lacks the four corners. He has the sparrow (coloured) hat and the long robe; its colour is madder-red; (his) low status does not allow that it be the same colour as the skirt. (Cheng 鄭) Ssü-nung (司農 ca. 80 A.D.) says: the skirt is purple. Derived from 市 and 合 phonetic'. SWKL (2339) states that 𩇛 is 茅蒐染革也一入曰𩇛 'It is the madder dyed leather. After one soaking it is said 𩇛. Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁 in his commentary quotes Cheng Hs'an (鄭玄 127-200) who considers 𩇛 to be a name of a plant, related to the word 茅蒐 **môg-sîôg* and the dialect word of Ch'en-Liu (陳留) 蓐 **ts'ien*. Wei Chao 韋昭 (204-273) in his commentary to *Kuo Yü* 國語 (*Chin yü* 晉語) confirms this and explains it as a contraction 急疾呼茅蒐成𩇛 'In fast pronunciation 茅蒐 becomes 𩇛.' Though this may not be necessarily true, it shows that the two words were felt as close cognates. In fact, 茅蒐 **cmôg-sîôg* (GSR 1109, 1098), **mog-sog*, *mîog-sog* (Tung) goes back to #* *msog* ~ *msîôg*; on the other hand the phonetic series under 矛 (KYSH 424) and the SW treatment of 矛, defining it as 𩇛矛 **cdzîôg-cmîog* (GSR 1096, 1109) suggest /* *dmog*, *zmîôg*, *dmug*, etc. We may then assume that #* *msog* ~ *msîôg* (茅蒐) may also occur in a metathesized form *sm-/ms-*, and be related to 𩇛 (KYSH 545) **mwôd* /* *zmwôd*. All commentaries on *Shih ching*, *Shuo wen* agree that the phrase 𩇛𩇛 is simply 𩇛 qualifying 𩇛 '(madder-dyed kneecover) and the word for knee cover is 𩇛. When SW compares it to a 'bowl' (its form being octagonal, because the four corners were cut off to distinguish it from the quadrangular shapes of knee covers attributed to higher ranked persons), as is often the case, an allusion is at the same time made to the sound of the word defined 𩇛 **k:p*, *kəp kěp* = 𩇛 **k'âp* (GSR 642), (Tung. id.). This phonetic series (去) contains derivatives like 𩇛 **pîwăp*, and would suggest 𩇛/* *mk'âp*. When comparing the phonetic series of 𩇛 (KYSH 157 sq), however, we find besides the velar series, only dental initials (*t-*, *z-*, *s-*, *l-*) but no labials; 𩇛 **kəp* ~ *kəp*, ~ *kăp*, could only go back to something like /* *sk-*, *tk-* etc. The solution we would like to suggest is that the regular expression being 𩇛𩇛, seldom the two words are found in isolation,¹¹ so that 𩇛𩇛 might be considered a binom; then the first syllable, written 𩇛, with the meaning 'madder (dyed)', may be a later

interpretation inspired by the need to assign to each rank of officials and nobles the proper type of colour and shape, for their respective kind of 'knee covers' they wear, and * *mwəd-kəp* can then be taken as a dimidiated form corresponding to the monosyllabic form #* *mk'âp* ~ *mkəp*. In this view, the basic meaning of 韜 would be 'to cover > covering (garment)', expressing the same idea as 蔽衣. (盍 'to cover')

8. 'Knee covers' or 'Apron'?

At the end of this examination of the individual words by the *Fang yen*, *Shih ming* and other texts quoted in connection with this garment *pi-hsi* 蔽衣, we have often been in doubt whether to translate 'knee covers' usually suggested in relation with a ceremonial garment of nobles, warriors, or 'apron', mostly in relation to women's garments 'apron, kerchief, or ritual, nuptial robe'. Never are the 'knee covers' mentioned in pairs or sets and the idea of some knee pads, or knee caps of leather does not agree with the description and measurement given in the texts quoted here above. The study on Ancient Chinese clothing by W. and A. Eberhard, *Die Mode der Han-und Chin-Zeit*, (Antwerp 1946, p. 36-37) rightly considers both the words usually translated 'knee covers' and 'apron' as the same sort of garment, at least originally, namely '*Schurz*' (apron).¹²⁾ According to these authors, the use of the 'apron' preceded that of the trousers. In Chou time this apron was usually made of leather (for men), a result of the cultural importance of leather in Northern China, and even when the trousers had been adopted, the ceremonial apron was worn above the other garments. The knee cover(s) of the literary text before Han remained as a ceremonial vestige of an earlier cultural stage. This ceremonial aspect of the 'apron' indeed points to a very archaic type of clothing. With due reservation the same authors suspects that the apron type of clothing did probably originate from the south as a simple loin cloth. So far the theory of Eberhard. Concerning this latter point, the fact is that SW 帔 * *pwât* (pronounced also as 撥 * *p'wât*) is defined as 一幅巾 'a strip of cloth'; it was two feet two inches wide. The connection of 袂 and 帔 seems quite sure; moreover, that the apron was by origin a southern type of clothing is already indicated by SW, which says of the 袂: 蠻夷衣也 'the clothing of the Man and Yi barbarians'.

II. Interpretation of the geographical distribution of the dialect words.

The information which we can gather from the sources quoted above may be tabulated in the following way: A. Apron, knee cover:

Fang Yen. Standard word: 蔽褊

Ch'i lu: 裯 (褊, 檐) and *Shih Ming*: Ch'i 亘巾 (regular) 或(also) 跪檐

Wei Sung }
Nan Ch'u } : 大巾

Kuan tung }
Kuan hsi } : 蔽褊

Chiang-Huai 褱 (regular) ,被 (also).

Literary: 市, 鞞, 鞞, 鞞 and 檐 (ancestor of 跪檐).

B. *Ceremonial, nuptial robe.*

Shih Ming. Standard 褱衣 (SW 褱)

Yi Lo and South: 鞞 corresponding standard; 鞞

Chiang-Huai and South: 鞞 corresp. standard 鞞, 鞞

Literary: 屈狄, 揄狄 (Yi li). Correspond. St. 關翟 (SM).

The two groups of words A and B overlap in the word 褱, which in *Fang Yen* is listed as a dialect word of Chiang-Huai for 'apron' but in literary usage and *Shih ming* standard (expanded to 褱衣) in the meaning of 'ceremonial robe'.

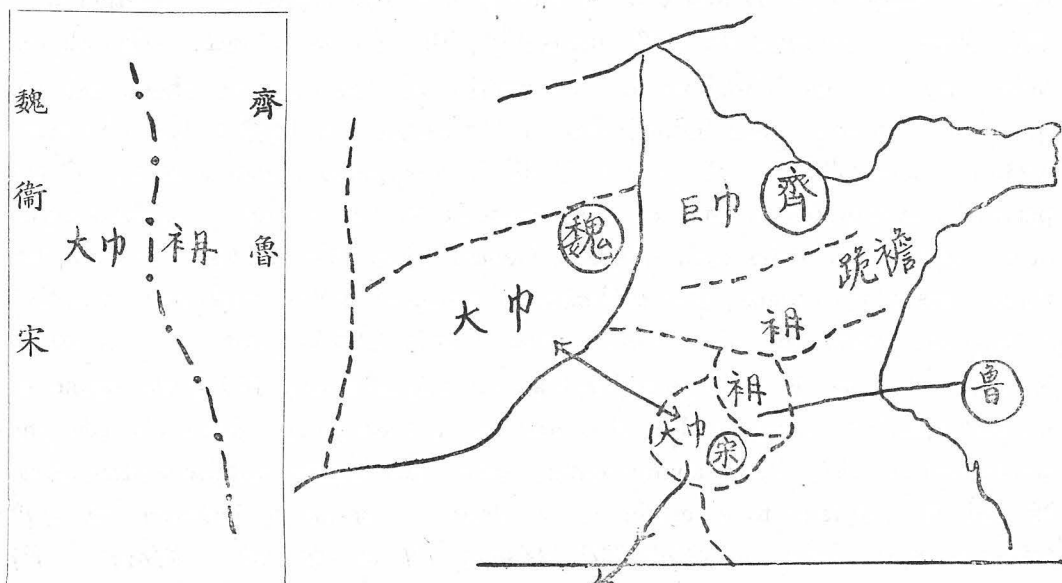
A. *The apron.*

Pi-hsi, clearly the standard term in Han time, was at the same time the prevalent word in the dialects of the areas West and East of the Pass. This 'Kuan-tung Kuan-hsi' formula in *Fang Yen* terminology, as a rule, reflects really a state which resulted from a gradual expansion of words that originally were Ch'in or Kuan-hsi words, and which as a result of the political ascendancy of Ch'in and the unification of the empire by Ch'in, spread into the areas West of the Pass and central China. On the other extreme in the scale of innovating, aggressive movements of words stands the most archaizing and conservative area, that of Sung-Lu-Wei (宋魯衛). This archaizing area has most of its common points (in identity or similarity of vocabulary items) with Wei and Ch'i. (Cfr. *Chinese Dialects-FY*, p. 213-220). It is then no surprise that, here too, it is in the areas of Wei-Sung (魏, 宋) that we find the dialect word *ta-chin* 大巾 "big kerchief", which also seems to suggest most strongly the idea of 'loin cloth', origin of the 'apron'-like garment. Wei and Sung, however, were not exactly contiguous regions, and certainly not in the terminology of *Fang yen*, (*Chinese Dialects-FY*, p. 87. 97) but a narrow passage went between them. Wei-Sung (魏, 宋) then consequently supposes a region once more extensive and including at least also Wei (衛) and possibly Lu, which was broken up

presumably in favour of other dialect words. Together with the Wei-Sung regions goes the region of Nan-Ch'u; again we may safely assume that Wei-Sung and Nan-Ch'u must have once made up one big contiguous areas, not necessarily so extensive as the actual *Fang Yen* description indicates, but a more restricted one, which in its turn expanded southward while being fragmented and pressured by other words.

The word *chü-chin* 巨巾, closely similar to *ta-chin* 大巾, found in Ch'i (according to *Shih ming*) confirms the general contacts and mutual influences between Sung-Lu-(Wei) and Ch'i, already pointed out before. But together with 巨巾 there is also *kui-chan* 跪襜 coexisting within the same area. Though the latter may be a specialized word, more restrict in meaning, we should ask the question whether a more defined area can be assigned to 跪襜 in the Ch'i area. In fact *ta-chin* and *chü-chin* are so similar in composition and meaning of the parts of the compounds, that we must consider the two to have originated somehow together and under each others influence. Since Wei and Ch'i are two contiguous areas, it is logical that *chü-chin* be assigned to the northern part of Ch'i as its predominant area. On the other hand, it is in Ch'i-Lu that the word *jan* 𦘒 is found. This too is to be considered as a contiguous area, filling the whole of Lu and (partly?) covering also Ch'i, and as a consequence predominantly the south-west of Ch'i. Early commentators noted that *jan* 𦘒 was also written *ch'an* 𦘒 and 𦘒. At least to a certain extent, there is a similarity between *jan* 𦘒 [^{*}*dniam*] on one side, and *ch'an* 𦘒 [^{*}*ts'iam*] [^{*}*tsiam*] 𦘒 [^{*}*t'iam*] < [^{*}*t'iam*] (cfr. preceding note 7a) on the other, at least in the finals, so that some relationship between these words can hardly be denied, and consequently the word *kui-ch'an* 跪𦘒 must be considered as a further variation and alteration made from 𦘒 and 𦘒 as it moved farther away towards the South-East of Ch'i. There, *kui-ch'an* is also contiguous with *chü-chin* in the North of Ch'i. This particular distribution of *kui-ch'an* and *chü-chin* furnishes at the same time the solution which can explain the close similarity between the words *ta-chin* of Wei and *chü-chin* of Ch'i. *Chü-chin* 巨巾 [^{*}*g'iaŋ-kien*] ~ [^{*}*g'iaŋ-kien*] must be compared to *kui-ch'an* 跪𦘒 [^{*}*g'iwäg-t'iam*] ~ [^{*}*k'iwäg-t'iam*]. The similarity between the first syllables in both words *chü-chin* and *kui-ch'an* is so striking, that it is in the areal contiguity of the two types of words that we must seek the reason for change of *ta-chin* into *chü-chin* of northern Ch'i. With one look at the map of the Han time distribution of these words in Eastern China, as we

have tried to determine in more detail in the previous paragraphs, it is now possible to reconstruct an earlier pre-Han dialect configuration. Wei-Sung are the main areas of the *ta-chin* forms. This was probably before a more compact and full area covering Wei-Sung-Wei (衛). On the other hand Ch'i-Lu has *jan* 衿 and *ch'an* 袞, *kui-ch'an* 跪襜, but also *chü-chin* 巨巾 which is a form resulting from contamination and influence of (*kui-*) *ch'an*. Most probably we must conclude to a pre-Han dialect configuration, where the whole of Ch'i and Lu had words of the type *jan*, *ch'an* and *kui-ch'an*, while Wei-Sung-Wei were the only areas of *ta-chin*, except for its southward expansion down to Nan-Ch'u.



The Chiang-Huai area has two words, *hui* 褱 and 袂, but the formula *huo wei* 或謂 seems to indicate that *hui* was the more predominant and more common term, and the other a less generally used form. Both words are by origin archaic, *hui* mentioned in *Fang yen* with sense of 'apron' was known in early literature in the sense of 'ritual, nuptial robe' and 'apron', 袂 is the only dialect word of *Fang yen* related to the old literary word of the classics and the bronze inscriptions 市; aside from 市 there is of course 蔽褱 which is a binomial form derived from the same stem. This stem appears under several variants: * *pīwət* (GSR) ~ * *pīwət* (Tung): 褱, 褱, 褱 * *pīwət* (GSR) ~ * *p'wət* (Tung) 市, 褱; * *pīēt* (GSR ~ * *pīet* (Tung) 褱; and 褱 * *pwāt* (Tung) (KYSH 412: *puāt*). We can here distinguish three groups 1) -*īēt*, -*iet* 2) -*iwət*, -*iwət*, 3) -*iwət* ~ -*wāt*; The Chiang-Huai word 褱 belongs to the third kind together with 市 and 褱. The first group 褱 -*iet*, -*iet* is the word that we explained as the base from

which the *Fang yen* standard word *pi-hsi* was derived by dimidiation, and it is also the standard word of SW. 褌 therefore may have simply been from $/*p\check{z}et,$, a dialect form from West of the Pass, which became the standard word in Han, in monosyllabic form written 褌, in binomial form 蔽褌. The second group is an intermediate kind between group 1 and 3: $:-i\check{w}at, -i\check{w}\check{a}t$, these are the word from *Po-hu-t'ung-yi* 紼 (late literary variant), the word from *Tso chuan* 黻 (only occurrence?), the 紼 from *Yi-ching* (cfr. note 3) and according to some reconstructions also 市. From this picture we may conclude that 褌 in the dialect of Chiang-Huai represents the oldest form $*pw\hat{a}t$, variant of 市 and 鞞 $*p'w\hat{a}t$. In KYSH (412) the phonetic series 发 includes an unexpected phonetic derivate 黻 which besides $*b^cu\hat{a}t$ has also a reading $k'at$ (肩膊 'shoulder blades')¹³; $*pw\hat{a}t < /*pgw\hat{a}t, *p^cu\hat{a}t < /*pk^cw\hat{a}t, pk'w\hat{a}t$ 市 $*p'w\hat{a}t (\sim *p\check{i}w\hat{a}t)$, being the oldest attested form in the bronze inscriptions, presumably originated in Western Chou (i.e. West of the Pass) and with the change of the Eastern Chou moved also to the East of the Pass; it was preserved in its most southern area of expansion, Chiang-Huai as 褌 $*pw\hat{a}t < /*pgw\hat{a}t$. The reading 市 $*p\check{i}w\hat{a}t$ was probably a later pronunciation of 市, showing influence from another Kuan-hsi word 褌 $*pi\check{e}t < /*p\check{z}et \sim p\check{z}i\check{a}t$, which as a later form¹⁴ also expanded to the East and became the SW standard and was also written 紼 in *Po hu t'ung yi*. It is possible that this $*p\check{i}w\hat{a}t$ form was the one that broke up the once contiguous Wei-Sung-Wei (衛) area, dividing the one greater *ta-chin* region into two separate areas. Besides this, $*pi\check{e}t$ 褌 had also given the binomial variant *pi-hsi* 蔽褌 in the West, which in its turn expanded into the East.

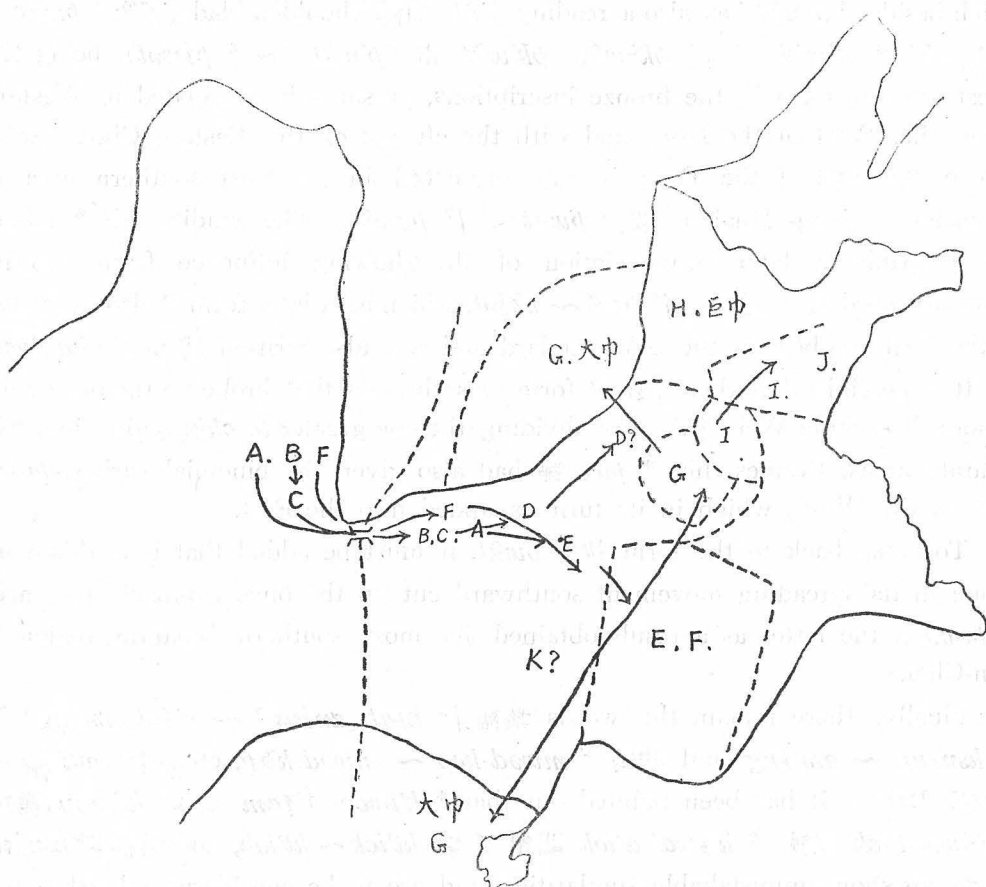
To come back to the form 褌 $*pw\hat{a}t$, it must be added that it is this word which in its spreading movement southward cut up the once compact unit area of *ta-chin*; the latter as a result obtained its most southern separate region in Nan-Ch'u.

Finally, there remain the words 鞞 $/*kiat-c\check{z}niug^? \sim g'i\check{a}t-c\check{z}niug^? > \#*ksniug \sim g\check{z}niug$, and 鞞 $*mw\check{a}d-kep \sim mw\check{a}d-k\check{a}p$, etc., $\#*mk'\hat{a}p \sim mk\check{a}p$. Before, it has been pointed out that $*k'iweg-\hat{t}'iam < \#*k\hat{t}'iam$ 跪襠, $*k'i\check{w}at-t'iek$ 屈狄, $*k'i\check{w}\hat{a}t-d'iok$ 闕翟 $< \#*k\hat{t}'iek \sim k\hat{t}'iok$, and 鞞 $\#*ksniug \sim g\check{z}niug$ show unmistakable similarities, and are to be considered related terms. This reconstructed form 跪襠 $\#*k\hat{t}'iam$ was a truly archaic form, and it must have been existing before the Han time dialect period, for it is the dimidiated form $*^c k'i\check{w}\check{a}g-c\hat{t}'iam^?$ that was the factor supposedly active in the adapted recast type of the *ta-chin* 大巾 word in Ch'i under the variant form *chü-chin* 巨

巾 ^c*g'iag-kien*, ^c*g'iag-kien*. The Han time term */*kiat-zniug* ~ *g'iat-zniug* '絮襦', for which *Fang yen* unfortunately does not assign any special area of distribution, must however also go back to an archaic form */*ksniug* ~ *gzniug*. The same must be said about 韎韐. Since there are two great areas, which were of great importance in the general division of the Han time dialect groups, Wu(吳) and Ch'u(楚), but which in the present *Fang yen* entry remain unmentioned, it may be tempting to consider both terms 絮襦 and 韎韐 to belong to either of these two regions.

Map

Showing the geographical distribution of the words for 'Knee cover, apron'.



- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| A. 巾 <i>/*p'wāt</i>
<i>/*p'wāt</i> | B. 韎 <i>/*piēt, piēt,</i> | F. 韎 <i>/*xiwəd < /*zx-</i> |
| D. 紕 <i>/*p'wāt</i> | C. 蔽薺 <i>/*piad-siēt</i> | G. 大巾 <i>/*t'ād-kien ~ d'ā-dien</i> |
| E. 被 <i>/*pwāt</i> | K. 絮襦 <i>/*kiat-zniug < /*ksniug, gzniug.</i> | H. 巨巾 <i>/*g'iag-kien ~ g'iag-kien</i> |
| | | I. 袴 <i>/*dniam (< /*t'ngiam)</i> |
| | | J. 跪襠 <i>/*k'iwäg-t'iam < /*kt'-</i> |

In the map for 'apron' that is appended to this discussion, we have for clarity's sake replaced the different words by letters A, B, C, etc. We have also used arrows to indicate the supposed origin and local shifts of word in the different geographical areas of Han time China.

The word types A.B.C.D.E. are all originally from the *kuan-hsi* area and have invaded the *kuan-tung*, eastern parts. The word types F.G.H. are the relics of an earlier stage when this type of words were probably predominant in all of the *kuan-tung* parts. I.J. are the word types that were once predominant in all of the easternmost parts of China. The *Fang yen* material thus interpreted allows to reconstruct a pre-Han geographical dialect division that covered broadly three main areas: *kuan-hsi*, *kuan-tung*, *Chi-lu*.

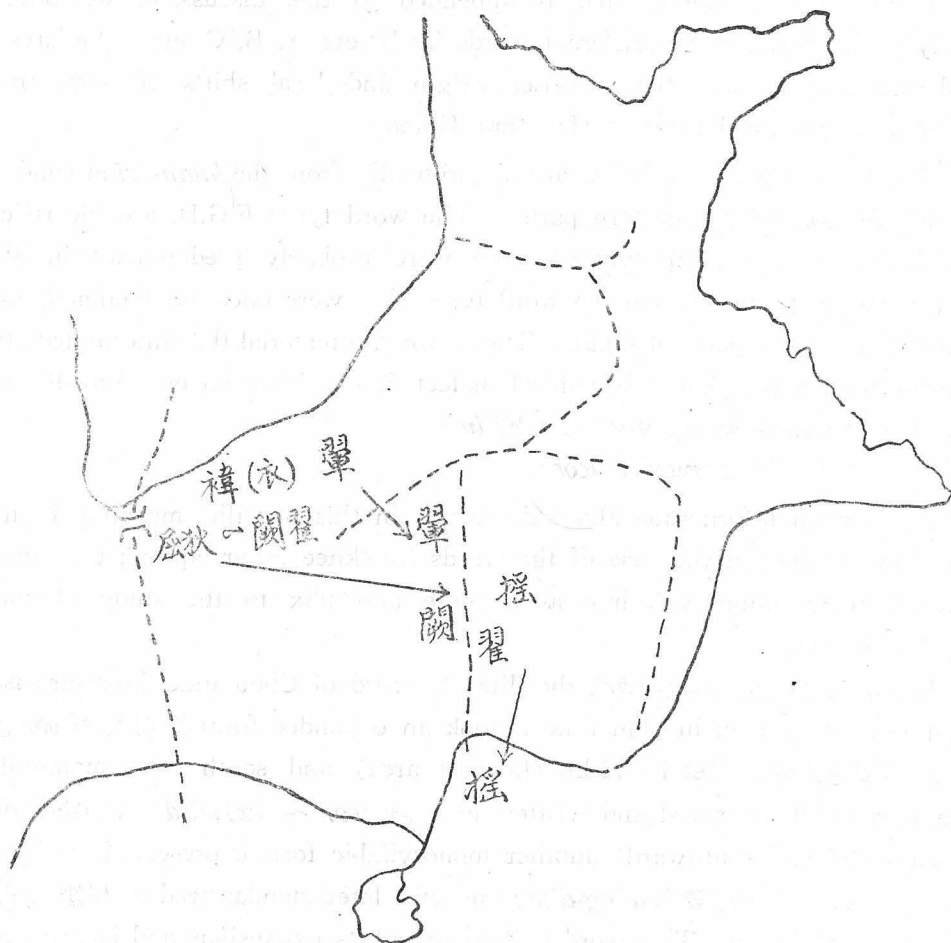
B. Nuptial, Ceremonial Robe.

The factual information about the words in this specific meaning is much more limited than in the case of the words for 'knee cover, apron'; they will be treated here in summary fashion as a mere appendix to the study of former group of words.

1. 褱 **xiwər* ~ *xiwǎd*, the literary word of Chou time literature is the oldest form we know; in Han time it took an expanded form 褱衣 **xiwər-c'iar* ~ *xiwǎd-c'ǎd*. Yet in Yi-Lo (Loyang area) and south, the monosyllabic variant was still preserved and written 翬 **xiwər* ~ *xiwǎd*. Further down (Chiang-Huai and southward) another monosyllabic form is preserved 搖 **diog*, later expanded into 搖翟 **diog-d'ioh* and still later standardized as 搖雉 **diog-c'd'iod* ~ *diog-c'd'ior*. This word 搖 **diog* and its expansions and later changes, has its origin in an earlier word, attested in literature, and probably coming from the North, viz. 揄狄 **diug-d'iek*, etc.

2. In this dialectal word distribution and their connections with earlier literary words, we can see a history of expansion, somehow parallel to that of 市 to Chiang-huai under the variant written 被. In the same way the literary word of *Yi li* 屈狄 **k'iwāt-t'iek* travelled south under the variant from 關翟 **k'iwāt-d'ioh* etc. On the basis that 關翟 **k'iwāt-d'ioh* < #* *kt'ioh* ~ *kt'iek* shows great similarities and was related with 絮襦, an indication may be seen here that 絮襦, as dialect word for 'apron', might preferably be assigned to an area close to 關翟, i.e. Ch'u.

Appended here is a sketch of the distribution of the dialect words for 'nuptial' ceremonial robe'.



Footnotes

1. *Erh ya shu* 爾雅疏, *Ssü-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 ed. ch. 5. p. 7 b. Most of the differences between readings in the exstant versions and editions are mentioned in the critical edition of *Fang yen*, which we have followed in the quotations throughout this study, viz. *Fang yen chiao-chien* 方言校箋 by Chou Tsu-mo 周祖謨. *Le Fang Yen*. Texte établi par Tcheou Tsou-mo. Pékin. 1951. Université de Paris. Centre d'études sinologiques.

2. *Li chi* 禮記, ch. *Yü tsao* 玉藻. cfr. S. Couvreur, *Li Ki ou Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies*. Ho Kien Fou. 1913, I.p. 702: 鞞下廣二尺上廣一尺長三尺,其頸五寸,肩革帶博三寸, "La partie inférieure avait deux pieds de large et la partie supérieure un pied. Les genouillères avaient trois pieds de long. Le col (ou milieu échancré des deux côtés) avec cinq pouces de large. Chacune des

deux épaules (ou angles de la partie inférieure au-dessus du col) et la courroie de cuir (à laquelle elle était suspendue) avaient ensemble deux pouces de largeur.” 一命緇鞞幽衡，再命赤鞞幽衡，三命赤鞞葱衡 “Un officier qui portait un emblème représenté sur ces vêtements avait des genouillères couleur garance et une agrafe noire... Celui qui portait deux emblèmes sur ses vêtements avait des genouillères incarnates et une agrafe noire... Celui qui portait trois emblèmes sur ses vêtements avait des genouillères incarnates et une agrafe couleur d'oignon...”

3. 絳 * *pīwət* occurs in *Yi ching*, hexagram 47: 朱絳 ‘scarlet knee covers’. According to some commentators, it would recur in Hexagram 55 but written 沛 in 豐其沛; and as 蓍 in Hexagram 63: 婦喪其蓍 ‘she loses her head cover, (according to some ‘her apron’, ‘her wagon cover’).

4. The connection between 韡 and its dimidiative binom 蔽郝 #* *psīēt*, and the sound phrase 蔽前 #* *psian* ~ *bz’ian* would of course demand a similar reconstruction for 韡. Although the phonetic series 畢 (KYSH 486) does not show any kind of *s*, *z*-like derivations, the SW definition of 率 as 捕鳥畢 and 草 as 蓍衣, as well as the binom, already found in *Kuo yü* 國語襍俶 * *pwāt-siak* < #* *psiak* confirms the relationship between 韡 and 蔽郝.

5. 蔽郝 ‘apron’ continues to be used even in *San Kuo Chih* 三國誌 (ch. 10 *KM* ed. 1042/3), where we find the line 已以蔽郝受之 “She herself received it in her apron.”

6. 翬 alone is found in *Shih ching* ‘a kind of pheasant’ (GSR 459), and 翬雉 could be simply translated as ‘pheasant’ (a compound binom); yet, 翬 also is defined by SW 飛兒 ‘flying, soaring’ and in parallel with 搖翬, the meaning implied is probably ‘soaring pheasant’

7. The implications of the phonetic series of 屈 do not merely involve k-/t-initials but also other initials; (cfr. *SM notes*, p. 177-8).

7 a. On the reconstruction of words with the phonetic element 詹, cfr. *SM notes*, p. 171-2.

8. The meaning of 檐 ‘comfortable, well adjusted dress’ (*Lun Yü*) is not found in GSR but in the first edition of *Grammata Serica* (BMFEA 12. 1940). This meaning fits very well in the *Shih ming* text. In the *Lun Yü* passage, *Hsiang Tang* 3, it is translated by Waley as “to let [a robe] hang down”.

9. The alternation between finals in cognate words such as the kind implied here * *-iam* / * *-g*, *-k* is not as unusual and exceptional as may seem at first view, for there are quite a number of cases with such alternations e.g. 斐: 爰, 古: 敢,

咸; 舟 -iog/舟 -iam (Cfr. *Five Word Studies on Fang Yen*: The Boat and Accessories, *Monumenta Serica*, XXI, 1962, p. 227), 𦨇(=𦨇) -m: 冊 -k, etc.

10. The reconstruction $\#^* ksniug \sim g\ddot{a}niug$ and the etymological basic meaning 'to tie, to string' is confirmed in the definition of 係 in SW 繫束 $*kiat-s\ddot{i}uk < \#^* k\ddot{s}iuk$.

11. The word 韜 alone appears (once?) in *Yi-li* 儀禮 (S. Couvrenr, *Cérémonial*, Hsien-hsien 1928, p. 449) 設韜帶 "On lui met des genouillères et une ceinture." That it was felt as a binom and one word is clear from the recurrent definitions in *Yü pien* 玉篇 (韜, 韜韜也), *Kuang yün* 廣韻 (韜, 韜韜, 大帶也), *Kuang ya* 廣雅 (韜韜, 蔽膝).

12. Harada Yoshito 原田淑人 in 漢六朝の四服飾 (*Dresses and Ornaments in Han and Liu-ch'ao times*) Tokyo 1937, p. 141 discusses the 'apron' and expresses doubts about the details of this garment, but states that it was worn by men and women. On Pl. XXII, 1 a picture is reproduced of a woman with an apron, painted on a lacquer box from the finds of the Ch'ao-hsien Lo-lang tombs. Chang Mo-yüan 張末元 *Han-ch'ao fu-chuang t'u-yang ts'ü-liao* 漢朝服裝圖樣資料 (Hong Kong 1963) contains some drawings (by the author but on what kind of historical material, is not clearly stated) of women with *pi-hsi* apron (pl. 65, 66, 67) and *ch'an-yü* (pl. 35, 37, 38, 113).

13. The word 𦨇 *k'ât* is not found in SW and therefore may be suspected to be a later word and therefore void of all proving validity. Yet, in spite of that, a glance at the definitions found in the KYSH for several of these words under the series 𦨇, will show that there is a recurrent sequence *p-/k-*, and the reverse *k-/p-* in many of these definitions, which indicates a dimidiation process, so that though 𦨇 may be late it still preserved a true archaic feature. Thus 𦨇 $*b'wât$: is defined 𦨇𦨇 'dwarf'; 𦨇 *b'iet*: 𦨇𦨇 'leech'; 𦨇 *b'uât*: 𦨇𦨇, and *b'uât*: 𦨇𦨇; 𦨇 *b'uât*: 𦨇𦨇 'big horse'; 𦨇 $*b'uât$: 𦨇根 'root'; 𦨇 *p'iuot*: 𦨇𦨇 'exorcize, purify', etc.

14. Takata Chūshū 高田周忠 in his *Kcc'wzhen* 古鑑篇 17.32 lists a form of variant graph for 'knee cover', taken from the inscription 𦨇𦨇 which he reads as 𦨇(*b'jie, b'iei*) and in actual shape is 𦨇