

## THE MANILA INCUNABULA AND EARLY HOKKIEN STUDIES

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### PART 2

In the first part of this study I dealt with the earliest history of printing in the Philippines, the contributions made to it by the Chinese immigrants, and the role played by the Dominican friars.<sup>1</sup> I shall now concentrate on the Chinese studies of the missionaries and show that they are of some importance for linguists of today. In particular, they enable us to reconstruct the phonological system of one identifiable Hokkien dialect as spoken around the year 1617 and to glean interesting information on vocabulary and grammatical usage.

During the seventeenth century the ministry of the Chinese in Manila remained largely in the hands of the Dominicans. Outstanding personalities in the mission included Francisco de Herrera, who had arrived in about 1600 and died in 1644, and the well-known Juan Bautista de Morales (1597-1664). The former served, among other capacities, as vicar of Binondoc, vicar of the Parián, prior of Santo Domingo and provincial, and is said to have become fluent in both Chinese and Tagalog. Both were appointed examiners in Chinese by the provincial chapter held in 1627, and four years later Morales was reappointed to the same function.<sup>2</sup> It appears, however, that no more Chinese books were published in Manila. We should add that in 1619 the Chinese parish of Santa Cruz was transferred to the Jesuits, some of whom then also applied themselves to the study of spoken Hokkien.<sup>3</sup>

The emphasis laid on a knowledge of Hokkien changed when the Dominicans at last succeeded in establishing themselves in China. In 1626 they accompanied the Spanish expedition to northern Formosa and at once began missionary work among the natives. Their limited success was quickly undone when in 1642 the Spaniards were ejected from the island by the Dutch, but in the meantime some of the friars had crossed the Formosa Straits and set foot on the mainland. The first was Angelo Cocchi, who in 1632 started preaching at Fu-an, in north-eastern Fukien, and he was soon followed by Morales and Francisco Diaz. They had received some

<sup>1</sup> *Asia Major*, N.S. 12, 1-43.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta capitulorum provincialium* 1, 148 and 160.

<sup>3</sup> La Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, pp. 373-374, 392, 413.

training in Mandarin at a kind of language course organized in Formosa. As a lingua franca this was clearly of more use to them than Hokkien, which is not understood in Fu-an because the inhabitants of that district speak the Foochow dialect. Consequently the dictionary that Diaz and his Chinese collaborator Joachim Ko compiled in Bataan between 1640 and 1642 was in Mandarin.<sup>4</sup>

But what had happened meanwhile to the vocabularies and dictionaries of Hokkien made by the pioneers of the mission in Manila? We have seen that, according to his own testimony supported by that of Montilla, Cobo had compiled a vocabulary, but it is not known whether it survived its author. Nieva too is said to have written, "practically afresh", a grammar and a dictionary. More doubtful are the claims advanced on behalf of Benavides<sup>5</sup> and the Augustinian friar Martín de Rada (1533-1578).<sup>6</sup> The attribution of manuscript dictionaries to Alberto Collares O.P.<sup>7</sup> and Francisco Frias O.P.<sup>8</sup> is also unsubstantiated. It is, however, safe to conclude that some anonymous manuscripts were circulating among the missionaries and that they were copied and enlarged as occasion arose.

Apparently one of these manuscripts, which was entitled *Dictionarium linguae Chinensis, cum explicatione Latina et Hispanica, caractere Chinensi et Latino*, was brought to Rome at an early date. Diego Collado, the procurator of the Dominican mission in Japan, who in 1632 had his own Japanese dictionary published at the press of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, is reported to have taken care of the Chinese work at the same time, although the hope that it would be printed was never fulfilled.<sup>9</sup> I may mention here that in 1801 the Spanish linguist Hervás quoted from the introduction to an anonymous Hokkien-Spanish dictionary which he had seen in the library of Propaganda.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately that manuscript is no longer available.

Despite extensive enquiries I have been unable to find the present

<sup>4</sup> J. Dehergne, "L'île Formose au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Monumenta Nipponica* 4, 1941, 270-277; Benno M. Biemann, *Die Anfänge der neueren Dominikanermission in China*, Münster 1927, pp. 27-42, 70. Diaz's dictionary, formerly in Berlin, is now lost.

<sup>5</sup> Gio. Michele Cavalieri, *Galleria de' sommi pontefici, patriarchi, arcivescovi, e vescovi dell' Ordine de' Predicatori*, Benevento 1696, I, 521, credits Benavides with the same classification of Chinese characters into four categories that Montilla attributes to Juan Cobo ("The Manila incunabula and early Hokkien studies", Part I, p. 18).

<sup>6</sup> Gregorio de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca ibero-americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, Madrid 1913-1925, 6, 449-452.

<sup>7</sup> *Los Dominicos en el Extremo Oriente*, Barcelona 1916, p. 338. Collares arrived in Manila in 1632 and died in 1673.

<sup>8</sup> Rob. Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum* 5, Aachen 1929, p. 341. Frias came to Manila in 1679 and died in 1706.

<sup>9</sup> Leone Allacci, *Apes urbanae, sive, de viris illustribus, qui ab anno MDCXXX. per totum MDCXXXII. Romae adfuerunt, ac typis aliquid evulgarunt*, Rome 1633, p. 81, where both dictionaries are listed, the Chinese one as being "in the press".

<sup>10</sup> Lorenzo Hervás, *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*, Madrid 1800-1805, Vol. 2, p. 92.

whereabouts of an anonymous manuscript called *Diccionario de la lengua Chincheo que contiene los vocablos tambien simples que compuestos, con los caracteres generales y peculiares a questo dialecto, segun lorden del alfabeto español y las cinco tonadas chinesses*, allegedly dating from 1609. It had belonged to M. J. L. d' Hervey de Saint Denys (1823-1892), whose Chinese library was sold two years after his death, and before him to Stanislas Julien (1799-1873), who had bought it at the sale of the books of his predecessor at the Collège de France, Abel Rémusat (1788-1832).<sup>11</sup> The latter has left a detailed description of the dictionary, but does not say where he had obtained it.<sup>12</sup> The manuscript was of quarto size, containing 436 leaves of Chinese paper. Each page was divided into two columns of 24 lines by means of a rule printed in red. Apparently the title was not in the same handwriting as the text.

Chincheo is a name which originally must have stood for Chang-chou, but was generally used by Europeans to denote the Bay of Amoy and its hinterland, or even Fukien province as a whole.<sup>13</sup> A note in the dictionary explained that the relation between the Chincheo language and Mandarin was comparable to that between Basque and Castilian in Spain. Since, however, all the local Chinese had come from the province of Chincheo, a knowledge of their language sufficed for anyone in Manila.

The romanized entries of the dictionary were arranged alphabetically and further differentiated by five tones. Each entry contained a number of phrases, often amounting to more than a hundred. In practically all cases the Chinese characters were followed by the transcription and the meaning in Spanish. Judging from the title, the characters peculiar to Hokkien were well represented. Rémusat does not reproduce the characters and also suppresses the diacritical marks, so that we are unable to judge the value of the dictionary from the examples he gives. Two observations can, however, be made without risk. In the first place, the transcription agrees with that of Juan Cobo in its frequent representation of the alveolar implosive by -r:

*huar xier*, "brotar la calentura": that is *huat dziat* 發熱, "to develop a fever".<sup>14</sup>

*huar chur lay*, "brotar la yerba": that is *huat ts'ut lai* 發出來, "grass shooting forth".

Secondly, there is some evidence that the dialect described in the dictionary was closer to modern Chang-chou than to Amoy or Ch'üan-chou:

*no*, "two" : *no* (Chang), *nng* (Amoy, Ch'üan) 兩.

<sup>11</sup> Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, 2nd ed., Paris 1904-1924, col. 1629.

<sup>12</sup> Abel Rémusat, "Plan d'un dictionnaire chinois, avec des notices de plusieurs dictionnaires chinois manuscrits" (1814), reprinted in his *Mélanges asiatiques*, Paris 1825-1826, Vol. 2, pp. 87-95.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. C. P. Boxer, *South China in the sixteenth century*, London 1953, pp. 313-326, for a discussion of the confusion. See also p. 100 below.

<sup>14</sup> For the system of transcription I have adopted and my sources for the modern dialects see below.

pe, "eight" : *peh* (Chang), *pueh* (Amoy, Ch'üan) 八.

gue, "moon" : *gueh* (Chang), *geh* (Amoy), *gah* (Ch'üan) 月.

It is to be hoped that this precious manuscript will be rediscovered.

Less important, but accessible, is a manuscript on 83 leaves of Chinese paper in the Angelica Library in Rome, which was founded in 1608 by Cardinal Angelo Rocca. This was presented by its author, the Jesuit Pedro Chirino (1558-1635), to the Papal Sacrist (that is Rocca) on 31 March 1604. The title runs: *Dictionarium Sino-Hispanicum. Quo P. Petrus Chirino Societatis Jesu linguam Sinensium in Filipinis addiscebatur ad convertendos eos Sinenses qui Filipinas ipsas incolunt et quadraginta millium numerum excedunt*.<sup>15</sup>

Chirino had arrived in the Philippines in 1590 and left in 1602. He was therefore unaware of the wholesale slaughter that the Chinese, whose number he estimated at over forty thousand, had undergone in 1603. However, it was not in Manila that he had learned Chinese but in Cebu. Upon his arrival there in August 1595 he had found a Chinese quarter with more than two hundred inhabitants. In order to minister to them he applied himself to learning their language - "at which they were much rejoiced, and many came to me every day at the appointed hour to give me instruction", as he put it himself. He was also assisted by a young Christian Chinese, sent to him from Manila by the acting Governor.<sup>16</sup>

I have not seen Chirino's original manuscript, but only a copy, which is held by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Chinois 9276). It has 83 pages, with normally 20 words or expressions each, not however alphabetically arranged. No Chinese characters are given, but only the romanized pronunciation and the meaning in Spanish. Often the Spanish translation has not been filled in. The dialect represented appears to be the same as that in the dictionary described by Rémusat, e.g. *no* for "two", *pee* for "eight" (fol. 26). As the title says, this elementary wordlist was used by Chirino to learn Chinese, and it can therefore be dated with certainty in 1595. We do not know whether his teacher had previously rendered assistance to the Dominicans, although that seems likely; but we may assume that the vocabularies made by Cobo and Nieva were more extensive, because their Chinese studies had reached a far higher level.

The British Museum possesses a Spanish manuscript (Add. 25 317) which is of the greatest importance for the present inquiry. It is written on Chinese paper and has neither a general title nor a comprehensive table of contents. There is, moreover, no original foliation, and the volume has been completely rebound and the head margins cut; at present the leaves are

<sup>15</sup> Enrico Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica*, Vol. 1, Rome 1893, p. 21.

<sup>16</sup> Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabajado los padres de la Compañia de Jesus*, Rome 1604, pp. 59-60; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 12, 276-277.

numbered 1-337, each page measuring 14.5 by 10.3 cm and containing 24 lines and a catchword. Five main parts can be distinguished:

2a-224b, "Bocabulario de lengua sangleya por las letras de el A.B.C." This is a Hokkien-Spanish dictionary, arranged under about two hundred and fifty syllabic headings, each with a number of entries. There are at least fifty more monosyllables in entries not corresponding to any of the headings. A typical entry consists of a word in romanization, followed by remarks on the tone and other features of pronunciation, the meaning in Spanish, and a few phrases or compounds. Practically no Chinese characters are included; in the few cases where a character is mentioned as figuring in the margin (35a, 44a, 159a) it is not there in the present manuscript. Diacritical marks are mostly restricted to those for aspiration (a superscript *h*) and nasalization (a swung dash), whereas the tones are vaguely described rather than marked by a system of diacritics. Spelling mistakes are frequent, both in the romanized Hokkien and in the Spanish text: "material" for "manantial" (93a), "çiego" for "çielo" (98b), "oveja" and "abispa" for "abeja" (191a), "cuerpo" for "suegro" (212b), etc. Moreover, in many places words or whole sentences are repeated by mistake or a passage is interrupted (e.g. on 10a, 98a, 216b). Several entries have been left without an appropriate heading, while some headings are given twice. All this suggests that this "Bocabulario" was copied from an earlier source. It is not even a complete copy, since several words to which reference is made are not included. The dictionary records some dialect variants within Hokkien, which will be discussed below.

225a-238a, "Lo que deve saver el ministro para administrar los sacramentos", a manual consisting of five sections which deal with the administration of the sacraments of baptism, eucharist, extreme unction, matrimony and penance. Neither translation nor Chinese characters are present, but the whole text is systematically provided with diacritical marks, including those for the tones.

239a-279a, with the heading "Principio de la doctrina en sangley" and containing the romanized text and Spanish translation of the *Doctrina christiana*, but no Chinese characters. The text is an almost verbatim transcription of the edition as printed by Keng Yong and therefore a document of great interest. The language is Hokkien throughout, even in the mysteries of the rosary, where the printed edition only sparsely makes use of the special Hokkien characters.<sup>17</sup> However, the explanations of the fifteen individual mysteries are left out, and only the invocations to Mary, which largely repeat them, are transcribed. Diacritical marks are but occasionally supplied.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> "The Manila incunabula", Part 1, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> On 280a we find, written in a different hand, the title of a treatise in Spanish, beginning: "Demonstracion clarissima, en discurso sucinto y breve, de la immaculada y purissima concepcion de la virgen sacratissima Maria Madre de Dios, Reina de los Angeles y Señora nuestra . . ."

281a-313a, without a general title but beginning with a table of contents, in which the word "Manual" occurs. It consists of forms of administering the sacraments and examining those who were to receive them and is therefore similar in character to the second part of the manuscript. It is however much longer and, although some sections provide for the same occasions as the other manual, the formulas adopted are different. Hardly any diacritical marks are given, but sometimes there are interlinear translations of words or sentences. One of the main sections is called "La doctrina christiana en lengua china", representing another romanized version, but this time without translation, of the *Doctrina christiana* as we know it. In contrast to the previous version it ends with the Confiteor and therefore includes neither the catechism nor the rosary. There are few differences between what I shall call the long and the short versions apart from spelling variants, e.g. *ge/gue*, *jit/xit*, *teg/tec*, *kia/quia*.

313b-336b, "Arte de la lengua chiochiu". "Chiochiu" (*tsiō-tsiu*) represents a variant pronunciation of "Chang-chou" 漳州; in the preface to this grammar the form "Chincheo" (*tsing-tsiu*) is used, whereas the "Bocabulario" several times speaks of "those from Chanchiu" (*tsiang-tsiu*).<sup>19</sup> Although all three forms etymologically stand for one particular name, they were either applied to the prefecture and city of Chang-chou itself or to the wider area of southern Fukien. The preface does not add much to clarify the matter when it says:

"The common language of the kingdom of China is Mandarin, which is current in the whole kingdom; and also in the province of Chincheo, which has its own language, all those who can read understand Mandarin. The province of Chincheo has its own language, which is the one that is spoken here. But it should be observed that in this province there are five languages which are somewhat different from each other, as are Portuguese, Valencian, Aragonese, Castilian and others. The most common is that of Chincheo, and the one that is most widely spoken here, for which reason the grammar and dictionary will be in this language, which is better than to mix them all up - just as one should learn the language of Toledo rather than mixing up Portuguese, Spanish and so on."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Also written "Changchiu". *Tsing-tsiu* is the Ch'üan-chou pronunciation of "Chang-chou" and is written in the "Bocabulario" as "Chengchio", "Chenchiu" or "Chincheo". None of the forms quoted could have represented "Ch'üan-chou" 泉州 (*tsuan-tsiu*, *tsuā-tsiu*), let alone "Chin-chiang" 晉江 (*tsin-kang*).

<sup>20</sup> "La lengua comun del reino de China es la lengua mandarina, corre por todo el reyno, y con la provins\* de Chincheo, do ay particular lengua, todos los que saven letra entienden lengua mandarina. En la provincia de Chincheo ay particular lengua, que es la que aqui se habla. Pero a de se de advertir que en esta provincia ay sinco lenguas algo diferentez, como lo son portuguesa, valenciana, aragonessa, castellana i\*. La mas comun es la de Chincheo, y la que mas aqui se habla, por lo qual el arte y bocabulario yran en esta lengua, que es mejor que no hazer chanpurro de todas, como quien ubiesse de aprender lengua toledana que no un chanpurro de portuguez, español &\*. (My punctuation.)

Which five dialects are meant here? Are they the different languages spoken in Fukien province as a whole, including the dialects of Foochow and Hsing-hua, which are unintelligible to each other as well as to Hokkien speakers? Or does the parallel with the Romance languages of the Iberian peninsula suggest a closer relationship and are dialects of the Hokkien language itself intended? The problem is not without importance, for if the latter is the case both the grammar and the dictionary (which according to the preface was compiled at the same time) were based on the speech of one particular district. This interpretation seems to be borne out by the dictionary said to have been in the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, for its preface stated that the Chincheo language was the common language of the Chinese who were engaged in trade in the Philippines and that it had five dialects, the best of which was the one used in the metropolis.<sup>21</sup>

The grammar is divided into nine chapters, dealing with pronunciation, declension, conjugation, adverbs, other adverbial particles, conjunctions, negative particles, interrogative sentences and syntax. The first chapter sets up ten "modes" of pronunciation, which (as interpreted below) distinguish words with an open vowel, an implosive final consonant, an aspirated initial, a nasalized vowel, a syllabic velar nasal, or combinations of these features, all represented by an elaborate system of diacritical marks. In addition there are accents for the tones, only five of which, listed in the traditional Chinese order, are recognized as distinctive. The two "entering tones" in words with implosive final consonants are identified with the rising and the upper falling tones respectively. (It will be remembered that the dictionary described by Rémusat also indicated only five tones.) In the examples characters are inserted, with the express purpose of "having them read by a Sangle, <sup>22</sup> so that one may understand in practice what is put here in rules". The same advice is given in a kind of preamble, now placed at the end of the chapter, but originally forming an introduction to the pronunciation, as it refers to the "following rules" and "following examples". As such, however, it duplicates to some extent the beginning of the present chapter; moreover, it speaks of eight modes of pronunciation instead of ten. It seems therefore that this grammar was copied from two different versions.

Another interesting point in the preamble is the claim that the rules for

<sup>21</sup> Hervás, *Catálogo de las lenguas* 2, 92. It is not clear whether "metropolis" refers to Manila or to a city in China.

<sup>22</sup> "Bocabulario" 186a offers two explanations of the name "Sangle": "he who comes very often" [常來], or "those who come to trade" [商來], both expressions pronounced *siang lay*; it prefers however the latter. Cf. Governor de Sande to Philip II, Manila, 7 June 1576: "Throughout these islands they call them Sangleys, meaning people who come and go . . ." (Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino* 2, 34; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 4, 50). The term is unlikely to be of Chinese origin; see Boxer, *South China*, p. 260.

pronunciation had been "extracted from Chinese vocabularies". No Hokkien vocabularies or rhyme dictionaries dating from such an early period are mentioned in Chinese sources, but it is by no means impossible that they existed. In any case the informants of the missionaries were familiar with some of the theoretical aspects of their language.

The use of accents to denote tones in Chinese may not have been a local invention. It is well known that the Jesuits on the mainland devised a system of romanization with diacritical marks for Mandarin. Their earliest syllabary, not written before 1598, seems to be lost,<sup>23</sup> but we find the system applied in Matteo Ricci's autographs (dated 9 January 1606) as included in the *Ch'eng-shih mo-yüan* 程氏墨苑, an album of designs and illustrations on ink cakes published by Ch'eng Ta-yüeh 程大約.<sup>24</sup> Based on Portuguese, this romanization is quite different from that of the present manuscript; the diacritics consist of five tone accents, the aspiration mark and a single dot indicating a change in vowel value.<sup>25</sup> Even if the Spanish missionaries in the Philippines had borrowed the idea of tone accents from the Jesuits (which is not certain), their system as a whole must be considered original, since it was designed for a very different language.

Unfortunately, in the examples illustrating the grammatical rules of the other chapters the diacritical marks are almost all left out, and in three cases (326ab, 327a) the superscript aspiration mark is an *h*, as in the "Bocabulario", instead of the rough breathing prescribed by the "Arte" itself. Characters, too, hardly appear outside the first chapter, where no doubt they were put in by a Chinese; thus after *quě*, "cassa" (house), the informant did not write 家 but 加, representing a homonym, because he was concentrating on the sound (314b). Many errors and omissions prove that the Spanish priest did not understand the grammar, but merely copied it for his own use. The clearest examples are on 320a-321a, where six lines are misplaced and, moreover, the description of the superlative degree occurs twice.

<sup>23</sup> D'Elia (ed.), *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina* 2, 32-33. The early history of Chinese lexicography by Europeans has not been systematically studied and several problems await elucidation. It seems to me that the contribution of the Jesuits has been overestimated.

<sup>24</sup> Berthold Laufer, "Christian art in China", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 13, 1910, Erste Abteilung, pp. 100-118 and Pl. 1x-xx. The autographs have been retranslated by J. J. L. Duyvendak in *T'oung pao* 35, 1940, 385-398. In a copy of the *T'ien-chu shih-i* 天主實義 which Ricci sent to Rome soon after its publication in 1603 he romanized the beginning of both chapters; tones and aspiration are indicated in two cases (D'Elia, *Storia* 2, Pl. XVIII).

<sup>25</sup> The phonological system represented by Ricci's autographs and by the syllabary of Nicolas Trigault, the *Hsi-ju erh-mu tzu* 西儒耳目資 (1626), has been studied by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培, "Yeh-su hui-shih tsai yin-yün hsüeh shang ti kung-hsien" 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻. *Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-k'an* 1, 1930, 267-338. Cf. Lu Chih-wei 陸志韋 in *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 33, 1947, 115-128; Tōdō Akiyasu 藤堂明保 in *Tōhōgaku* 5, 1952, 99-122.

We have gathered sufficient evidence to be able to describe the manuscript as a collection of heterogeneous material copied from different sources. Proceeding now to the problem of date and authorship, we shall have to distinguish between the origin of the manuscript and that of the works in it. The *Doctrina christiana*, represented here by two romanized versions and discussed at length in the first part of this article, is no doubt the earliest of these works. A passage from it occurs in the "Arte" (332b) as well as in the "Bocabulario" (132b), the latter quoting explicitly from the *Doctrina*. It is not without significance that the Apostles' Creed in both the long and the short romanized versions follows the text as printed by Keng Yong and not the variant readings found in the *Símbolo de la fe* of Tomás Mayor.<sup>26</sup>

The differences between the two manuals for the administration of the sacraments – perhaps we should call them confession manuals, as they are to a large extent made up of interrogation – are too great for them to be of the same authorship. Apart from their contents, they also differ in the use made of the diacritical marks. The first manual is fully equipped with them, being in this respect the only part of the manuscript to conform exactly to the rules laid down in the "Arte", whereas the other manual has practically none. The latter is also distinguished by its table of contents, in which the titles of some sections are followed by "fol." and others by "fol. col.", with only the beginning of the first section filled in as "fol. 1 col. 1". Because of this slavish copying we know that the original had been written on pages of a large enough size to be divided into two columns, like the dictionary formerly in the possession of Rémusat. Until further evidence is produced it will be impossible to say more about the authorship of these manuals, but it is possible that one of them is by Domingo de Nieva, the only one of the early missionaries to whom a manual of confession is specifically attributed, together with a grammar and a dictionary.<sup>27</sup>

Was Nieva then the author of the present "Arte" and "Bocabulario"? According to the preface to the former, a dictionary was written at the same time as the grammar, but even for the "Arte" we have found some evidence that it was copied from two different versions. As Nieva's grammar may have circulated in more than one copy, revisions could have been made to any of these. The "Bocabulario" refers twice (on 29b, 134b) to an "arte" for grammatical explanations that are not found in the present grammar. As we have seen, the "Bocabulario" itself is an incomplete copy, but it still preserves traces of its original in the form of references (on 212a, 119b) to "fol. 14" and "fol. 26", which in the present manuscript correspond to fol.

<sup>26</sup> "The Manila incunabula", Part 1, p. 37. I may add that the long version does not include the gloss found on 28b of the printed edition, thus confirming that it was added at a later stage (op. cit. p. 11).

<sup>27</sup> Op. cit. p. 30.

37 and 74. The dictionary is unlikely to be of the same authorship as the first chapter of the "Arte", because it describes the tone of each word separately instead of using diacritical marks. The two works also differ in some details of transcription.<sup>28</sup> In this respect the spelling adopted in the first chapter of the "Arte" (and also in the two confession manuals) represents a simplification of the system and may therefore be more recent than the transcription of the "Bocabulario" (and the long romanized version of the *Doctrina*).<sup>29</sup> Since we can prove that the "Bocabulario" was compiled after Nieva, the "Arte" in its present form should not be attributed to him either.

The only Philippine place names that occur in the examples provided by the "Bocabulario" are Manila, Dilao and San Páloc.<sup>30</sup> The author's anonymity is never broken, even though he once uses the expression "it seems to me" (179b). He was familiar with Tagalog, as he mentions several words of that language to illustrate the usage of Chinese words (179a, 199a, etc.).<sup>31</sup> One example in the dictionary is suggestive: "In which year did you come?" - "I have come here in the year 1600" (149a).<sup>32</sup>

An interesting clue to the date of compilation is provided by some references to the naval battles between the Spaniards and the Dutch East India Company. "The Spaniards and the Dutch are always fighting fiercely" (84a),<sup>33</sup> is a statement that could hardly be applied to the Philippine area before 1609, when the Dutch blockaded Manila for the first time, and certainly not to the period after 1648, when the war came to an end. In another sentence we are told that "the Dutch had no alternative but to join battle with us and were unable to escape" (63a)<sup>34</sup> - evidently a description of a particular encounter that was of sufficient topical interest to warrant

<sup>28</sup> See below, pp. 114-115.

<sup>29</sup> The last few pages of the "Bocabulario" are distinguished from the rest by the consistent application of tone marks, the use of the simplified transcription, and shorter definitions.

<sup>30</sup> The name of Manila ("Binhila") also occurs in "Arte" 328b; the Chinese characters are given on the first page of Cobo's *Shih-lu* as 民希拉, pronounced *bin-hi-lah* in Hokkien. In the same passage I have translated 和尚王 as "bishop" ("The Manila incunabula", Part 1, p. 6), which is confirmed by "Bocabulario" 34b: *hue siō ong*, "obispo".

<sup>31</sup> It is perhaps worth mentioning that the longer of the two manuals contains some passages in Tagalog intended for the solemnization of mixed marriages (306b, 307a, 309b).

<sup>32</sup> *Lu si mi ni co lay ni*, "En que año veniste?" - *Cheg cheng lag pa ni co lay chi te*, "El año de mill y seiscientos vine aquí". According to Baltasar de Santa Cruz, *Tomo segundo de la Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon, y China del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores*, Saragossa 1693, p. 63, Francisco de Herrera had arrived in the Philippines in 1600, but I have not found this date confirmed elsewhere.

<sup>33</sup> *Hua lang cang ang mo sian siang tay kec chian*, "Los españoles y olandezes siempre andar peleando".

<sup>34</sup> "Los olandezes a mas no poder pelearon no pudieron fuir", *Ang mo cou chiang tio cang guan p'a bei chau tit* (or: *chau m li*).

mention in a dictionary. A third entry in the "Bocabulario" contrasts the cast-iron guns of the Dutch with the Spanish ones, which were made of bronze (176a).

The worst defeat suffered by the Dutch during this period took place near the entrance to Manila Bay in April 1610, when the Spaniards, heavily outnumbering their enemies, captured two ships with fifty cannon and 122 men, while the third ship was blown up. Vice-admiral François Wittert was killed, and many with him.<sup>35</sup> Seven years later, a Dutch squadron under Jan Direksz Lam lost three ships on the same stretch of water, but the other six escaped.<sup>36</sup>

Thanks to other passages in the "Bocabulario" it is possible to narrow the period of compilation yet further. The word for "horse" provides the opportunity for an explanation of the animal cycle as applied to a period of twelve years (21b-22a). Although all the animals are enumerated, it is only for the sixth and seventh that, by way of illustration, the years which they represent are mentioned: 1617 as the year of the snake and 1618 as that of the horse. It is unlikely that these examples were chosen at random. Indeed, a short description of the Festival for the Hungry Ghosts (*cho bong lang che*) contains the sentence: "In this year 1617 they hold it from 12 to 15 August" (34a).

Having thrown some light on the composition of the *Doctrina*, the manuals, the grammar and the dictionary, we now have to consider the origin of the manuscript itself. It comes as somewhat of a surprise that it was not copied by a Dominican friar, but by a Franciscan. In the printed edition of the *Doctrina christiana*, the Confiteor twice mentions a number of saints whose intercession is sought, the last one being St. Dominic. In each case the two romanized versions replace his name by that of St. Francis, except in the second passage of the short version, where, no doubt through an oversight, "Sancto Lomingo" is kept. A similar substitution has been noted in a manuscript copied about 1710 by the Jesuit José Astudillo, in which St. Dominic is replaced by St. Ignatius Loyola.<sup>37</sup>

It is not generally known that the Franciscans too worked for a time among the Sangleys and not many details of their activities are available. In 1621 Archbishop Miguel García Serrano reported to the King that, apart

<sup>35</sup> Gregorio López to Jesuit headquarters, Manila, 1 July 1610, trans. Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 17, 102-128; P. A. Tiele, "De Europeërs in den Maleischen archipel", Part 7, *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Series 4, Vol. 8, 1884, pp. 107-109.

<sup>36</sup> Lam to Directors VOC, Hirado, 11 Oct. 1617, ed. P. A. Tiele, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen archipel*, Vol. 1, The Hague 1886, pp. 170-183; Andrés de Alcaraz to Philip III, Manila, 10 Aug. 1617, trans. Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 18, 31-42. Cf. N. MacLeod, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als zeemogendheid in Azië*, Rijswijk 1927, Vol. 1, pp. 168-174.

<sup>37</sup> Antonio Domínguez, "Observaciones filológicas", in Gayo, *Doctrina christiana*, p. 112.

from the Chinese in Binondoc and the Parián, about a thousand recent converts were instructed in their own language at three Franciscan churches, two almost in the suburbs of Manila and the third somewhat farther away.<sup>38</sup> One of the suburban churches was probably that of Balete, because the provincial chapter of 1619 had admitted the Balete residence of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción "for the administration and conversion of the Chinese". It had been built by Alonso de San Antonio, who six years later was appointed minister-general of the Sangleyes.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps the manuscript should be attributed to Fray Alonso, but this is by no means the only possibility. A short distance north of Manila, the convent of San Diego in Polo included in 1649 among its twelve hundred parishioners also some Christian Sangley peasants.<sup>40</sup> In any case, the occasional interlinear translations indicate that the manuscript served its purpose, if perhaps only for a short while.

The later fortunes of the manuscript are of some interest for the history of European sinology. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it appears to have been sent to Berlin, perhaps by Andreas Cleyer, who supplied from Batavia Chinese books to the Elector of Brandenburg and his physician, Christian Mentzel.<sup>41</sup> In 1713 the librarian of the Royal Library, Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze, sent the text and Spanish translation of the Lord's Prayer in the language of Chio-chiu province to Philippe Masson. It had been taken, he said, from a very interesting manuscript, written in China by a Spanish missionary, and also containing a grammar and a dictionary of that language.<sup>42</sup> He made also a copy available to David Wilkins for inclusion in Chamberlayne's polyglot edition of the Lord's Prayer.<sup>43</sup> The text is that of the long romanized version of the Doctrina.

In the correspondence between La Croze and Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (1694-1738) there are several references to the manuscript. When Bayer

<sup>38</sup> Serrano to the King, Manila, 31 July 1622, repeating the contents of an earlier letter, Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 20, 232.

<sup>39</sup> I am grateful to Father Bibiano Báscónes Lescano, librarian of the Franciscan Seminary at Pastrana, for consulting on my behalf the unpublished *Tablas capitulares* of the Philippine province.

<sup>40</sup> "Entrada de la seráfica religión de nuestro P. S. Francisco en las islas Philipinas", ed. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino* 1, 5; trans. Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 35, 279.

<sup>41</sup> Kurt Tautz, *Die Bibliothekare der Churfürstlichen Bibliothek zu Cölln an der Spree*, Leipzig 1925, pp. 198-201; Walter Artelt, *Christian Mentzel: Leibarzt des Grossen Kurfürsten, Botaniker und Sinologe*, Leipzig 1940, pp. 22-28. How Cleyer collected these books is a question that needs further research.

<sup>42</sup> "Lettre d'un sçavant de Berlin à un ami d'Utrecht, où l'on trouve une pièce chinoise assez curieuse", *Histoire critique de la république des lettres*, Vol. 3, Amsterdam 1713, pp. 272-276. For Masson, see J. J. L. Duyvendak, "Early Chinese studies in Holland", *T'oung pao* 32, 1936, 329-340.

<sup>43</sup> Wilkins to La Croze, Amsterdam, 30 Nov. 1714, in J. L. Uhl (ed.), *Thesaurus epistolicus lacrozianus*, Leipzig 1742-1746, Vol. 1, p. 371; John Chamberlayne, *Oratio dominica in diversis omnium fere gentium linguis versa*, Amsterdam 1715, p. 94.

suggested that a knowledge of the language of Fukien might help to solve a particular philological problem,<sup>44</sup> La Croze informed him that the Royal Library in Berlin had a grammar and dictionary of the Fukien dialect, written in Spanish by somebody who was not very learned.<sup>45</sup> Bayer was interested and asked for the text of the Hail Mary,<sup>46</sup> which was sent to him in due course.<sup>47</sup> Soon he was able to see more of the manuscript, and in a letter to a friend written in 1724 he discussed the Lord's Prayer, this time copied from the short romanized version.<sup>48</sup> A few years later he was appointed a member of the newly founded Academy of St. Petersburg, where he published his large work on the Chinese language, entitled *Museum sinicum*. Among the supplementary material of the book is also a grammar of the vernacular of "Chin cheu province", together with the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, Hail Mary, Salve Regina and the Confiteor, all taken from the manuscript in Berlin.<sup>49</sup> In his lengthy introduction, the author confesses that, as he did not understand much of the original grammar, it had been translated for him into Latin by Bernardo Ribera (a Dominican who was at that time chaplain of the Spanish ambassador to Russia) and then entirely rewritten by himself. Chin cheu is identified as Ch'en-chou 郴州 in southern Hunan.<sup>50</sup> Thus, drastically edited and often misunderstood, the contents of the "Arte" were made known to the scholarly world.

But as the manuscript is now in London, how did the Royal Library in Berlin come to lose it? Suspicion falls on Julius Klaproth (1783-1835), whose signature, with the words "Finis Vocabularii linguae popularis Sinensium", is found at the end of the "Bocabulario" (224b). Already as a young man Klaproth coveted other men's dictionaries and later he became notorious for taking manuscripts from public collections.<sup>51</sup> Nobody seems to have noticed the theft of this particular manuscript, which was included in the sale of Klaproth's books in 1840, fetching fr. 80.00.<sup>52</sup> It passed to a

<sup>44</sup> Bayer to La Croze, Leipzig, 11 April 1717, *Thesaurus epistolicus lacrozianus* 1, 14.

<sup>45</sup> La Croze to Bayer, Berlin, 26 April 1717, *Thesaurus* 3, 26.

<sup>46</sup> Bayer to La Croze, Königsberg, 10 July 1718, *Thesaurus* 1, 42.

<sup>47</sup> *Thesaurus* 3, 58-59, appended to La Croze to Bayer, Berlin, 30 April 1723, but perhaps misplaced by the editor.

<sup>48</sup> "T. S. Bayeri Nachricht, von dem in mancherlen Sprachen herausgegebenen Gebeth des Herrn, oder Heil. Vater Unser", *Preussische Zehenden allerhand geistlicher Gaben*, Vol. 2, Königsberg 1742, p. 154.

<sup>49</sup> Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer, *Museum sinicum in quo sinicae linguae et literaturae ratio explicatur*, St. Petersburg 1730, Vol. 1, pp. 135-167.

<sup>50</sup> Op. cit., "Praefatio", pp. 89-91.

<sup>51</sup> Henri Cordier, "Un orientaliste allemand: Jules Klaproth", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1917, 297-308; Knud Lundbæk, "Kinesisk con amore: Danskeren P. F. Mouriers sinologiske studier i det 18. århundrede", *Fund og forskning i Det kongelige Biblioteks samlinger* 11, 1964, 138-139.

<sup>52</sup> *Catalogue des livres imprimés, des manuscrits et des ouvrages chinois, tartares, japonais, etc., composant la bibliothèque de feu M. Klaproth*, Paris 1839, Vol. 2, p. 51 (No. 200).



scholar in Ghent, P. L. van Alstein, who died in 1862.<sup>53</sup> The British Museum purchased it the following year through B. Quaritch.

A comprehensive linguistic analysis of the manuscript is not envisaged here; perhaps such an effort would be unwise as long as there remains some hope that a better original, at least of the dictionary, will be rediscovered. I am concentrating on the romanized versions of the *Doctrina christiana*, which are published as an appendix to the present study, in the first place because we have the corresponding printed edition in characters and secondly because they provide continuous passages, which we know were composed by the Chinese collaborators of the missionaries working in Manila around the year 1600. Naturally such a contextual guarantee cannot be given for the grammar and the dictionary. The latter work will supply some additional information, particularly on dialect contrasts and grammatical particles, whereas the shorter of the two manuals of confession will be used to illustrate the function of the diacritical marks, since these are only sporadically found in the romanized versions of the *Doctrina*.

For the purpose of systematic comparison I shall frequently refer to the modern Hokkien dialects. My transcription for standard Amoy is largely the same as that adopted by modern Chinese linguists.<sup>54</sup> Accordingly, *ts-* is used for both *ch-* and *ts-* of the invaluable dictionary by Carstairs Douglas; *ts'-* replaces his *chh-*; and *dz-* replaces *j-*.<sup>55</sup> The aspirated consonants are distinguished by an inverted comma and not by *-h* (*p'ai* for *phai*, etc.). I use *ɔ* for the half-open back vowel which Douglas writes as *ə*; *ue* and *ua* instead of *oe* and *oa*; *-ing* and *-ik* instead of *-eng* and *-ek*; *-ong* and *-ok* instead of *-ong* and *-ok*; *-ian* and *-iat* instead of *-ien* and *-iet*. Nasalized vowels are indicated by a swung dash (*pĩ* instead of *pĩ̃*). For practical reasons I have retained *ng* to represent the velar nasal [ŋ] and *-h* to denote the final glottal plosive [ʔ].

Some further symbols are needed for phonemes in dialects other than Amoy. I use *ɛ* for the half-open front vowel in Chang-chou. In Ch'üan-chou there appear to be two unrounded back (or central) vowels, the half-close [y] which Douglas writes as *ö*, here represented by *ə*; and a close vowel [u]

or [i], written *ü* by Douglas and here denoted by *ux*.<sup>56</sup> A similar phoneme in Chaochow will also be represented by *ux*.<sup>57</sup>

The principles underlying the transcription used by the Spanish Dominicans can be readily understood if interpreted on the basis of the phonemes of Castilian as spoken around the year 1600. However, most of the material is grossly defective, since the copyist has in all but a few cases omitted the diacritical marks which were vital in the transcription adopted. The full system of phonetic "modes" with their notation is rather primitively described in the "Arte", but can be decoded by means of the examples provided.<sup>58</sup>

- Words in the "simple mode", differentiated by five tones:  
*chuñ* 尊, explained as high or sharp<sup>59</sup>: the historical upper even tone (*yin-p'ing*).  
*chun* 船, explained as level<sup>60</sup>: the historical lower even tone (*yang-p'ing*).  
*chuñ* 准, pronounced "with some contempt as if getting angry"<sup>61</sup>: the historical rising tone (*shang-sheng*).  
*chuñ* 俊, not explained: the historical upper falling tone (*yin-ch'ü*).  
*chuñ* 恠, not explained: the historical lower falling tone (*yang-ch'ü*).
- Words pronounced "with the mouth more open than normally" and, in addition to one of the tone accents, distinguished by two dots, e.g. *quě* 加, *quě* 枷, *quě* 假. Since the words listed are all pronounced *ke* in Chang-chou, this category contrasts the half-open vowel *-ɛ* to *-e*. No examples can be found of the comparable distinction between *-ɔ* and *-o* in the modern dialects.
- Words pronounced "with an effort of the chest", differentiated by two tones, which are said to be the same as the third and fifth of those listed above. Judging from the examples given here and elsewhere, this category consists of words ending with an unreleased ("implosive") bilabial, alveolar, velar or glottal stop. Examples of the tones:  
*cuf̣t* 滑: the historical lower entering tone (*yin-ju*).  
*cuf̣t* 骨: the historical upper entering tone (*yang-ju*).

<sup>53</sup> *Catalogue des livres et manuscrits formant la bibliothèque de feu M<sup>r</sup> P. Léopold van Alstein*, Vol. 1, Ghent 1863, p. 195 (No. 2684).

<sup>54</sup> Tung T'ung-ho 董同龢, "Hsia-men fang-yen ti yin-yün" 廈門方言的音韻, *Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-k'an* 29, 1957, 231-253; id., "Ssu-ko Min-nan fang-yen" 四個閩南方言, *ibid.* 30, 1959, 729-1042; Yüan Chia-hua 袁家驊 and others, *Han-yü fang-yen kai-yao* 漢語方言概要, Peking 1960; *Han-yü fang-yin tzu-hui* 漢語方言字匯, Peking 1962; *Han-yü fang-yen tzu-hui* 漢語方言辭匯, Peking 1964. The last two works were compiled under the auspices of the Faculty of Chinese Language and Literature of Peking University. For a narrow transcription of Amoy see Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *Hsia-men yin-hsi* 廈門音系, Peking 1930.

<sup>55</sup> Carstairs Douglas, *Chinese-English dictionary of the vernacular or spoken language of Amoy, with the principal variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew dialects*, London 1873.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Huang Ting-hua 黃丁華, in *Fang-yen yü p'u-t'ung hua chi-k'an* 1, 1958, 74.

<sup>57</sup> The *Han-yü fang-yin tzu-hui* and *Han-yü fang-yen tzu-hui* distinguish in Chaochow the vowels [u] and [ɪ]. The latter is the Pekingese vowel in e.g. 恩, which Karlgren has defined as an unrounded dental apical. For Chaochow it is probably more convincing to describe it as the close unrounded central vowel [i]. It is in any case in complementary distribution with [u]; see Li Yung-ming 李永明, *Ch'ao-chow fang-yen* 潮州方言, Peking 1959, where this phoneme is denoted by *ɣ*. Note that [uŋ] and syllabic [ŋ] are also in complementary distribution.

<sup>58</sup> For convenience I have reversed the order of categories 4 and 5.

<sup>59</sup> "mas alto o con mas agudeza en la voz".

<sup>60</sup> "sustenido de suerte que no se dexa caer cosa alguna".

<sup>61</sup> "con un cierto desgaire como de uno que se enfada". This suggests a falling intonation; cf. T. Navarro Tomás, *Manual de pronunciación española*, 11th ed., Madrid 1963, p. 230.



4. Words pronounced "gutturally", that is, with an aspirated initial, for which the rough breathing (as in Greek) is used, e.g. *chun* 春, *chun* 寸.
5. Words pronounced "gutturally" and with an "effort of the chest", that is, words with an aspirated initial and an implosive final consonant, e.g. *curi* 窟.
6. Words with an aspirated initial, open vowel and implosive final consonant, e.g. *tê* 宅, *quê* 客.
7. Words pronounced with a nasal voice, that is, words with a nasalized vowel, marked with a superscript *n*, e.g. *quiã* 驚, *quiã* 行.
8. Words pronounced "nasally but close",<sup>62</sup> that is, words with syllabic velar nasal, marked with a superscript *4*, e.g. *tuŋg* 當, *tuŋg* 長.
9. Words with an aspirated initial and a nasalized vowel, marked with a superscript *2*, e.g. *chi<sup>2</sup>* 鮮, *chi<sup>2</sup>* 淺.
10. Words with an aspirated initial and syllabic velar nasal, marked with a superscript *6*, e.g. *chuŋg* 館.

The scheme provides for a total of 13 diacritics, to be used alone or in combination. Seven of these are tone accents; the others represent not so much a systematic classification as a series of single or double changes in the rules of pronunciation, thus serving a practical end. Nevertheless, they would, if consistently applied, have enabled us to make a detailed analysis of the dialect in question. Most parts of the manuscript only contain diacritical marks for aspiration and nasalization, probably because of the existence of a less developed notation. In the *Doctrina* even these are found very sporadically, no doubt owing to the indifference of the copyist. The only part which shows nearly the whole range of diacritics is the shorter of the two confession manuals. It gives no examples of the sixth and tenth modes, whereas the eighth mode is represented by the word *tuŋg* 造, that is *tng* 唐山, meaning "China". All the other categories are illustrated on the specimen page opposite.

In the following transcription the diacritics have been replaced according to the rules given above, with the tones marked in the traditional Chinese way. It should be noted that the final glottal stop is not indicated as such in the original and can only be identified through the appropriate mode. I have normalized the spelling of Spanish words, standardized *i* and *y* as *i*, and changed *qu-* (before *i* and *e*) and *c-* (before other vowels) to *k-*. A reconstructed character text is appended for reference.

tap, uar, sin' mui' 'lu ia' tioh, sin' tei xi' Persona Dios 'kiã tau t'e Santa Maria Virgen pag, lai' ch'ur, si' mia kio' lan 'pun t'au Jesucristo siu' chei<sup>2</sup> chei<sup>2</sup> kan nan k'it, lang p'ah, k'it, lang teng' si' tu' Cruz chiô' sin' bai chioh, k'ong' lai' sin' hun loh, k'u' Limbo lai' tei' sã xit, chai<sup>2</sup> oah, k'i' lai chiô' t'i k'u' tu' bu keg, Dios niô pe<sup>2</sup> toa' ch'iu, pi<sup>2</sup>

che' au' u' xit loh, lai p'oa' lang sê p'oa' lang si'<sup>63</sup> 'siô sien' huar, og, a m' sin tap, uar, sin' mui' ia sin' na<sup>2</sup> u' cheg, ge Santa Iglesia Católica 'kei sueh, si' chiong' liam 'chui lang kang cheg, ge toa<sup>2</sup> lang mia kio' Santo Papa si' tei' it, toa<sup>2</sup> Padre ong sin' a m' tap, uar, sin' mui' 'lu ia' sin' chiong Santos sa hog, im' si' liam 'chui 'ho sim lang bo toa<sup>2</sup> che' kua' cho<sup>2</sup> cheg, kiã' 'ho su<sup>2</sup> toa<sup>2</sup> tioh, par 'ho liam 'chui lang bo toa<sup>2</sup> che' kua' cho cheg, kiã' 'ho su k'it, i<sup>64</sup> ch'in ch'io' i ka ti<sup>2</sup> cho<sup>2</sup> ge a [m' sin]

tap Vár sin' mui' lù. zã tiô' lín  
tey xj Per sona. Dio si. Kiã tau t'e.  
Santa. Ma ria. Vi. Ligen. pag lai  
Chui ly mui. quio Lan pun tau He  
su quili sit to. siu chui cheg can  
nian quit Lang Pa' quit ching teng  
si' hie cu lù. cho im bay chio lang.  
Li' sin sun Lõ' cã. Lim Bo Lang  
tey xj xit chui oã. qui Lang chio.  
ty cã hie bũ quig hosi. mo pẽ ton  
chui pi che. diu xit Lõ' ray pã  
Lang se pã. Lang si siô sien. suetap  
ã m' sin' tap. Vár sin' mui' ya sin  
nã v cheg ge sin ta ylian ca to  
ti ca quie sue ty chiong liam chui  
Lang lang cheg ge. toa lang mui  
quio sahu Pã. si tey it toa Pa  
ge ong sin' a m' tap. Vár sin' mui  
Lui ya sin chiong santo. sa sog im  
si liam chui ho' sin Lang bo toa  
che' của cho cheg quia ho' su quit.  
gi chin chio' j cá ty cho ge. a  
Vim.

<sup>63</sup> I have disregarded the aspiration mark over *si*, which I cannot explain.

<sup>64</sup> The original text has *yi*.

答曰。信。問你亦着信第二別孫仔僚氏子。投胎山礁媽厘啞  
美里矧腹內。出世名叫俺本頭西士奇尼實道。受多多艱難。  
乞人打。乞人釘。死在居律上。身埋石城內。神魂落去臨墓  
內。第三日再活起來。上天去在無極僚氏娘父大手邊坐。後  
有日落來。判人生。判人死。賞善罰惡。阿不信。答曰。信。  
問亦信那有一箇山礁益禮社交刀厘咬。解說是衆濂水人共  
一箇大人。名叫山厨巴罷。是第一大巴禮王。信阿不。答曰。  
信。問你亦信衆山厨相覆蔭。是濂水好心人無大罪靠。做一  
件好事。帶着別好濂水人無大罪靠。做一件好事乞伊。親像  
伊獨自做箇。阿[不信]。

The manual gives us an opportunity to examine the tone classes of the dialect. On the page transcribed there are 166 Hokkien syllables, of which 12 lack a tone accent. The remaining 154 represent 91 different words or parts of words: 68 have the same tone class as in modern Hokkien dialects (*toa* 大, *cheg* 一, *tioh* 着 are wrong in one case each, but correct in the others), 23 differ. Tone sandhi may be responsible for some of the cases of disagreement, but the chief explanation lies elsewhere. Of the 23 syllables, 17 bear the accent of the *yin-ch'ü* tone instead of the *yang-ch'ü* found in modern dialects, and 3 are the reverse. Scribal inadvertence can be ruled out as the main cause, since most of the words concerned are attested elsewhere in the manual. Moreover, even in the chapter on pronunciation in the "Arte" we find examples of the same inversion: *ke* 下 and *kiā* 件 are marked as *yin-ch'ü*, *ke* 架 and *kiā* 鏡 as *yang-ch'ü*. I conclude that the two tones, at least in their basic form, were practically indistinguishable. The same feature occurs in modern Ch'üan-chou, where these tones are not distinctive except in their sandhi forms.<sup>65</sup>

Very little can be said about the tone values. The wording of the "Arte" and the shape of the accent suggest a rising tone for *yin-p'ing*, a mid or high level tone for *yang-p'ing*, and a falling tone for *shang-sheng*. The two entering tones are listed in the wrong order; the alleged equivalence with *shang-sheng* and *yang-ch'ü* leaves us therefore in doubt.

The few scattered diacritical marks in the Doctrina do not allow us to continue the discussion of the tones, especially as they seem to include a high proportion of copyist's errors. Fortunately the tone classes in Hokkien

are relatively stable.<sup>66</sup> The analysis will thus be confined to the initials and the finals. Examples are all taken from the Doctrina, unless otherwise stated.

When dealing with the initials, it will not be necessary to make a detailed comparison with the modern Southern Min dialects, which are remarkably uniform in this respect.

*p-* corresponds to two voiceless bilabial plosives, one aspirated, the other not. The aspirate is attested by two examples on the specimen page of the manual reproduced above (*p'ah* 打, *p'oā* 判) and can be reconstructed for the Doctrina on the basis of the modern dialects:

*p-* in *pi* 庇, *pe* 父, *pang* 放, *po* 報.

*p'-* in *pang* 香, *pang* 捧, *po* 抱, *po* 破.

*b-* when initial is pronounced in Castilian as a voiced bilabial plosive<sup>67</sup> and here corresponds to the plosive of the modern Hokkien dialects:

*b-* in *bi* 味, *bue* 未, *ba* 肉, *bo* 無.

*m-* corresponds to the bilabial nasal, which in Hokkien is usually considered as being in complementary distribution with [b], a problem that we shall discuss later. Occurrences in the Doctrina are:

*m-* in *mi* 物, *mi* 乜, *me* 夜, *ma* 媽, *mia* 命, *mia* 名, *moa* 滿, *mo* 魔.

*t-* corresponds to the two voiceless alveolar plosives, one aspirated, the other not. The aspirate is attested in the "Arte" (*t'eh* 宅) and the manual (*t'e* 胎, *t'au* 頭, *t'i* 天) and can be reconstructed elsewhere from the modern dialects:

*t-* in *to* 道, *tou* 徒, *tong* 當, *tu* 在.

*t'-* in *to* 討, *tou* 吐, *tong* 通, *tam* 貪.

*l-* corresponds to the voiced alveolar lateral, which in Hokkien is a very lax consonant, with an acoustic effect similar to [d] or the single apical flap [ɾ]. Evidently it had the same articulation in the early seventeenth century for, while *l-* is the normal notation in the manuscript, the "Bocabulario" gives the alternative spellings *liau/riau*, *lin/rin* and *lu/ru/du*, *lun/run/dun*, and the same irregularities occur in the Doctrina, as the following examples show:

*l-* in *li* 理, *liau* or *riau* 了, *riap* 粒, *liang* 量, *dian* 年, *ley* 禮, *lang* 人, *luy* 累, *loc* 樂.

*n-* corresponds to the alveolar nasal (usually regarded as being in complementary distribution with [ɲ]) as in the following cases:

*n-* in *ni* 年, *na* 那, *na* 掌, *nai* 乃, *no* 二, *nio* 娘, *nio* 讓.

<sup>66</sup> Op. cit. pp. 1041-1042; Chiu Bien-ming, "The phonetic structure and tone behaviour in Hagu", *T'oung pao* 28, 1931, 296-299.

<sup>67</sup> Bilabial *b* and labiodental *u/v* merged during the sixteenth century into [b] in absolute initial and postconsonantal medial positions, but into bilabial fricative [β] between vowels. See Amado Alonso, *De la pronunciación medieval a la moderna en español* 1, Madrid 1955, pp. 23-71.

<sup>65</sup> Tung T'ung-ho, "Ssu-ko Min-nan fang-yen", p. 796.

*ch-* corresponds to the voiceless affricates [ts], not occurring before *i*, and [tʃ], only found before *i*. It also represents the aspirates of these allophones, as attested in the "Arte" (*ch'un* 春, *ch'i* 淺) and the specimen page (*ch'in ch'io* 親像). We do not know the sound values of these Hokkien consonants in the early seventeenth century; the Castilian *ch*, though suggesting an alveopalatal, may merely have been used for lack of a better alternative.<sup>68</sup> I therefore keep the more neutral symbols:

*ts-* in *chit* 一, *cheng* 正, *chay* 財, *chu* 聚.

*ts'-* in *chit* 七, *cheng* 清, *chay* 菜, *chu* 厝.

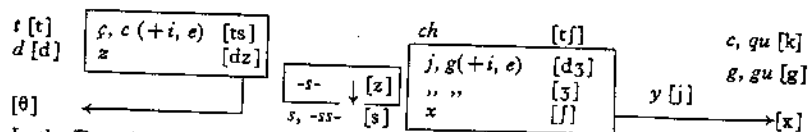
*ʃ-* and *x-* correspond to the voiced affricates [dz] and [dʒ], which are in the same kind of complementary distribution as their voiceless counterparts. This initial exists in Chang-chou, Amoy and Chaochow, but not in Ch'uan-chou; many Amoy speakers now also lack it, using [l] instead. The long version of the Doctrina and the "Bocabulario" mostly write *ʃ-*, although in the present copy the superscript *s* is often omitted; less frequently they use *x-* (sometimes again with superscript *s*). The two confession manuals, including the short version of the Doctrina, have *x-* throughout.<sup>69</sup> Examples:

*dz-* in *ʃit* 日, *xi* 二, *ʃian* 然, *ʃiac* 若, *xiog* 辱, *ʃu* 如.

*s-* and, in the short version, sometimes before back vowels also *z-* correspond to the voiceless alveolar fricative:

*s-* in *sit* 實, *san* 山, *su* 思, *zun* 順.

<sup>68</sup> A simplified account may be given here of the Castilian consonant shift, for the first stage of which see André Martinet, "The unvoicing of old Spanish sibilants", *Romance Philology* 5, 1952, 133-156. The latter half of the sixteenth century saw the completion of the gradual unvoicing of all sibilants, the affricate [dz] merging with [ts]; the apicoalveolar [z] with [s]; and the alveopalatal [dʒ] or [ʒ] with [ʃ]. Since, however, the spelling failed to keep pace with the changes in pronunciation, often two or more different letters were used interchangeably for the same sound. As a second stage in the consonant shift, [ts] developed into interdental [θ], except in parts of Andalusia and in Spanish America, where it merged with [s]; furthermore [ʃ] changed to velar [x]. For the main Castilian area the changes may be schematically represented as follows:



In the Doctrina, *ʃ* in Spanish words (*gracia*, *confirmación*, *unción*, *sacerdotal*) is rendered by Hokkien *s*. Evidently *j* had not yet been velarized, as Hokkien *s* served for this consonant also (in *jueves*, *José*, *virgen*, *Jerusalén*), but *ʃ* had already lost its plosion (cf. in general Alonso, op. cit. pp. 362-450).

<sup>69</sup> The choice of voiceless *x* and the continuant *y* (with a superscript *s* indicating that it should be pronounced as a sibilant) clearly shows the absence of a voiced affricate in Castilian. However, in Juan Cobo's translation of the *Ming-hsin pao-chien*, made in 1590, this Hokkien phoneme is still represented by *g-* (*Kec gian si* 擊壤詩, *chin-gin* 真人; fol. 49, 100). Cobo came from Consuegra, near Toledo, where the merger between [ʒ] and [ʃ] was completed later than in Old Castile.

*c-*, *k-*, *q-*, *qu-* correspond to the two voiceless velar plosives, one aspirated, the other not. These symbols are not differentiated by aspiration but based on two distinct systems of transcription. The short version writes *qu-* before *i*, *e*; and *c-* before *a*, *o*, *u*. Occasionally it has *k-* (instead of *qu-*) before *i*, but on the whole it conforms to modern Spanish usage. The long version writes *k-* before *i*, *e*; and *c-* before *a*, *o*, *u*, except that it uses *q-* before the diphthongs *ue*, *ua*. Only in three cases are these rules broken. Accordingly, the *u* in, for instance, *que* is silent in the short, but not in the long version. The *qu/c* system is applied in the two confession manuals, and also in the first chapter of the "Arte", whereas the other chapters freely use *k-* before *i* and *e*. The "Bocabulario" adheres to the *k/c/q* system.<sup>70</sup> The aspirate is attested in the "Arte" (*c'urt* 窟) and the specimen page (*c'ong* 壙, etc.) and can be reconstructed elsewhere from the modern dialects:

*k-* in *ke* (*que*) 家, *que* (*cue*) 過, *cui* 幾, *cou* 顧.

*k'-* in *kiam* (*quiam*) 欠, *qua* (*cua*) 看, *cui* 開, *cou* 口.

*g-* and, in the short version, sometimes also *gu-* correspond to the voiced velar plosive. As far as the Doctrina is concerned, *gu-* with silent *u* can only be identified in *gue* 箇, but in the "Arte" it occurs before *i* and *e*, for instance *pa guin gue lang*, "platero" (332b), that is 打銀箇人 "silversmith". The long version has *g-* throughout, as in the following examples:

*g-* in *gi* 宜, *gin* 銀, *ge* 箇, *gue* 月, *guan* 阮, *gau* 賢.

*ng-* corresponds to the velar nasal, usually regarded as being in complementary distribution with [g]. Although we do not find it in the Doctrina, there are a few examples elsewhere in the manuscript. The following words occur in the "Bocabulario": *cā ngiā*, "barreño" (41b), that is 埕仔 "earthen pan"; *ngōu sec*, "todas colores" (177b), that is 五色 "the five colours"; *ngē*, "cossa dura" or "hazer fuerça" (148b, cf. 97b),<sup>71</sup> that is 硬 "hard"; *ngē lay*, "traer del braço sobra la yjada" (168a), that is 挾來 "to carry under the arm".

*h-* corresponds to the voiceless glottal fricative sounds in modern Hokkien:

*h-* in *hi* 喜, *hue* 歲, *hap* 合, *hoc* 福.<sup>72</sup>

In addition to the initial consonants discussed above, the Southern Min dialects have the glottal plosive [ʔ]. It occurs at the beginning of an utterance or stressed syllable; elsewhere it is replaced by zero. This initial is therefore not distinctive at the syllabic level and, hardly surprisingly,

<sup>70</sup> Cobo normally writes *k-* before *i*, *e*, and twice even before other vowels, e.g. *Kei Kon* 稽康 (fol. 149).

<sup>71</sup> *Lu sim c'a ngē chio t'au*, "mas duro es tu coração que una piedra"; *chui ngē ru*, "quien te forço".

<sup>72</sup> The two versions of the Doctrina hardly ever leave out *h-* where it should be or the reverse, in contrast to Cobo's transcriptions, where such cases are frequent. A number of times *h-* is confused with *ch-*, probably through a copyist's error.

is not reflected in the transcription of the missionaries. In the following table of initials it is treated as *o*.

Voiceless stops	p (p)	t (t)	ts (ch)	k (c, k, q, qu)	o
Aspirated stops	p' (p')	t' (t')	ts' (ch')	k' (c, k, q, qu)	
Voiced stops	b (b)	l (l, r, d)	dz (j, x)	g (g, gu)	
Continuants	m (m)	n (n)	s (s, x)	ng (ng)	h (h)

In contrast to the initials, the Southern Min dialects show considerable differences in their finals. It is clearly advisable to identify the finals of the dialect represented by the Doctrina before offering any comparisons. Our first task will be to reconstruct the nasalized finals and those ending with a glottal stop, which are discriminated in the "Arte" and of which examples are given both there and on the specimen page of the manual reproduced above:

*sueh* 說, *t'ch* 宅, *p'ah* 打, *oah* 活, *loh* 落, *chiah* 石.

*t'i* 天, *sē* 生, *sā* 三, *p'ōā* 判, *kiā* 子, *chiō* 上.

Elsewhere in the manual there are examples of other glottalized and nasalized finals, which, originally marked as belonging to the third or ninth modes, can be transcribed as follows:

*mih* (231b, meaning "thing" 物), *chiah* (234b, meaning "to eat" 食).

*c'ui* (225a, meaning "to exhort" 勸), *p'ai* (227b, meaning "bad" 歹).

In order to decide whether the final of an individual syllable is nasalized we must have recourse to the modern dialects. The nasalized finals listed above all occur regularly in one or more dialects and none is bound to a particular class of initials. One class of initials is however excluded, since [b, l, g] are never found before nasalized vowels. On the other hand, initial [m, n, ŋ], at least in Amoy and Chang-chou, do not occur in syllables ending in a consonant (except the glottal stop) but only before vowels which can be nasalized.<sup>73</sup> It is from this feature that modern scholars have concluded that [b] and [m], [l] and [n], [g] and [ŋ] are in complementary distribution, in other words, constitute single phonemes.<sup>74</sup> If we adopt this principle without qualification, the presence of initial [m, n, ŋ] should be taken as evidence that the following vowel is nasalized. In some cases, however, this would result in the identification of nasalized finals occurring only after [m, n, ŋ] (and [h], which is a problem I shall not enter into here). We cannot consider them nasalized on the sole evidence of the initials, because it is precisely the supposed exclusive association with nasalized

vowels that reduces [m, n, ŋ] to the status of allophones. To put it provocatively, the presence of initial *m-* would determine the nasalization of *-au*, and at the same time the nasalization of *-au* would demonstrate that *m-* only occurs before nasalized finals! Until a more objective criterion is offered, I should prefer to regard the distribution of *b/m*, *l/n*, *ŋ/ng* as overlapping rather than fully complementary.<sup>75</sup>

Reverting now to the Doctrina, we have to decide whether to recognize a nasalized vowel in the words *mo* 魔 and *no* 二. Since such a final cannot be identified anywhere else (except possibly in *ho* 火), this seems unjustified. Moreover, in the shorter manual of confession (226a, etc.) neither word is provided with the diacritical mark appropriate to the nasal mode.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, the final in *mau* (or *bau*), "la facción y rostro", that is 貌 "appearance", and *nau*, "enojarse", that is 惱 "angry", which we find in the "Bocabulario" (143b, 148a), is not demonstrably nasalized.

The finals with glottal stop listed above can be verified by means of the modern dialects in the same way as the nasalized finals. It is possible that the list would have to be slightly increased if we had a comprehensive vocabulary of the dialect; e.g. *bau*, "dar o tomar a destajo" ("Bocabulario" 16a), appears to correspond to Chang-chou *bauh* 賈, "to bargain or contract for in the lump".

We have seen that the second and sixth modes of the "Arte" distinguish a half-open from a closer vowel, and that each can be followed by a glottal implosive. Accordingly, on the specimen page from the manual the vowel of *pe* 父 is differentiated from that of *t'e* 胎. Since the Doctrina has very few diacritical marks, this distinction cannot be observed there, nor do we find it explained in the "Bocabulario".<sup>77</sup> For individual words the open vowel will in several cases have to be reconstructed from modern Chang-chou, where the two are also distinguished. No such differentiation is indicated in the

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the cautious attitude of Yüan Chia-hua, *Han-yü fang-yen kai-yao*, pp. 244-245. Fred C. C. Peng, "Amoy phonology: Phonemicization of the three nasal consonants [m n ŋ]", *Archiv Orientalni* 34, 1966, 411-416, offers a more radical solution, denying that the nasality in the vowels following nasal consonants is phonemically significant at all. He does not, however, specify the Hokkien dialect that he discusses, nor does he provide any concrete examples.

<sup>74</sup> The specimen page from the manual gives also no indication that the finals of *muy* 問 and *mia* 名 are nasalized, but does so for *niō* 孃. Actually, in the manual this is the only word beginning with *m-*, *n-* or *ng-* which is distinguished by a nasalization sign, although the "Bocabulario" describes *moa*, "cosa llena" (146a), that is 滿 "full", as strongly nasalized. The Doctrina has *giā* 迎, where there is little doubt that the initial should be nasalized to *ng-*; cf. *cā ngiā* quoted on p. 115 above with *hia giā*, "hormiga" ("Bocabulario" 104a), that is 蟻 仔 "ant". A good example of interchangeability between *n-* and *l-* is *mī-cou/li-cou*, "monja" (149b), that is 尼姑 "nun", but there is no comment on the nasality of the vowel in *mī*. Cf. also *lo/no*, "viejo en edad" (139a), that is 老 "old".

<sup>75</sup> I suspect that the open vowel was at one stage denoted by a horizontal bar instead of two dots, which would explain some erroneous tone accents in the Doctrina, e.g. *pé* 父, *hē* 下. Traces of such usage also occur in the "Bocabulario".

<sup>73</sup> The rule is not so strict in Ch'üan-chou (see Tung T'ung-ho, "Ssu-ko Min-nan fang-yen", pp. 792-793) and does not apply at all to Chaochow.

<sup>74</sup> Nicholas Cleveland Bodman, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien*, Kuala Lumpur 1955-1958, Vol. 1, pp. 182-184; *Han-yü fang-yen tz'u-hui*, p. 14.

nasalized vowel, as in *sê* 生, *pê* (232a, meaning "ill" 病); in Chang-chou this is always an open vowel.

Much easier to recognize than the preceding is the diphthong written *-ei* (or *-ey*). Although such a final is apparently not found in the modern Hokkien dialects, all parts of the manuscript carefully distinguish it from *-e*, the "Bocabulario" explicitly so (21b, 111b, 178b).<sup>78</sup> The sound value of *-ei* is difficult to determine; in Spanish it represents [ɛi].<sup>79</sup> Another problem is the diphthong written *-ou*, not occurring in modern Hokkien but common in Chaochow, where it begins with a close variety of [o].

The remaining finals present fewer difficulties, but some features call for comment. First there is the alternation between *-t* and *-r*, the former mainly used after *i*, *ia*, *ie*, and the latter prevailing after *u*, *ua*, *a*. I have already observed that *-r*, in Castilian pronounced as a single flap [ɾ], can be regarded as a convincing representation of the alveolar implosive.<sup>80</sup> One may, however, wonder whether this unreleased final consonant was voiced, especially since *r* is interchanged with *l* and *d* to denote the voiced alveolar initial.<sup>81</sup> As regards the other final implosives, *-b* in contrast to *-p* is rare, but *-g* often serves for the velar, especially after *e*, whereas *-c* is more frequent elsewhere. It is unlikely that any of these distinctions are phonemically significant.<sup>82</sup> The same applies to the alternative forms *ue/oe*, *ua/oa*, *uan/oa*, *ian/ien*.

A phonemic solution is also desirable for the two finals which the Doctrina writes as *-eng* and *-ec* (or *-eg*). The "Bocabulario" gives the following alternative transcriptions:

*biec/bec*, "trigo", "tinta" (27a): that is 麥 "wheat", 墨 "ink".

*hiech/hech*, "carne" (104a, 13b): that is 肉 "meat".

*leg/lig*, "pasar tiempos y edadez" (133a): that is 歷 "to pass through".

Moreover, *bec*, "tinta", is said to be pronounced "with closed teeth and,

<sup>78</sup> This diphthong also occurs in Cobo's translation of the *Ming-hsin pao-chien*, e.g. *chei* 濟, *sei* 西, *key* 溪 (-i, and -y are, of course, merely spelling variants).

<sup>79</sup> Navarro, *Manual de pronunciación española*, p. 65.

<sup>80</sup> "The Manila incunabula", Part I, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> The same final consonant is sometimes rendered by *-rt*, as in *curt* (see the examples from the "Arte" quoted above) and *art* ("Bocabulario" 10a: "doblegar", which must be *at* 過, "to bend"). As these two syllables are transcribed in such a distinctly Catalan form, it is worth mentioning that Tomás Mayor was a native of Játiva in the ancient Kingdom of Valencia.

<sup>82</sup> Chiu Bien-ming, "The phonetic structure", p. 257, distinguishes between final [p, t, k] and devoiced [p̥, t̥, k̥], which he relates to the historical upper and lower entering tones respectively. It is not clear whether the distinction is postulated on etymological grounds or based on phonetic observation. Søren Egerod, *The Lungtu dialect*, Copenhagen 1956, states that the final stops in Swatow tend to be voiced (p. 16) and that in Lung-tu, a Hoklo dialect spoken in Chung-shan, Kwangtung, there are both voiced and unvoiced final stops, which are however in complementary distribution (p. 33). Tung T'ung-ho, "Hsia-men fang-yen ti yin-yün", p. 239, shows that final [b, l, g] can be the result of sandhi. Incidentally, Spaniards too pronounce final [k] in words of foreign origin as an implosive (Navarro, *Manual*, p. 138).

semi-diphthongized with an *i*" (38a),<sup>83</sup> whereas the *i* in *hieng*, "hombre bueno" (that is 行 "good conduct"), is described as "more or less absorbed so that it is hardly heard" (104b).<sup>84</sup> It is clear that the pronunciation of these finals was very close to their values in modern Amoy and Chang-chou, which are [i<sup>h</sup>g, i<sup>h</sup>k]. Structurally the vowel may be identified with that of the finals *-ip*, *-in*, especially in view of the few variant spellings of the latter occurring in the "Bocabulario":

*chep*, "servir administrando alguna cossa" (76a): that is 執 "to manage".

*chen/chin*, "verdadera" (73b, 85a): that is 眞 "real".

Examples of each of the finals, all taken from the Doctrina:

-i	in <i>pi</i>	悲, <i>ti</i>	值, <i>chi</i>	志, <i>ki</i>	忌.
-ih	in <i>mi</i>	乜, <i>mi</i>	物, <i>chi</i>	見, <i>ui</i>	爲.
-i	in <i>pi</i>	邊, <i>ti</i>	天, <i>chi</i>	鬼, <i>hui</i>	園.
-ui	in <i>tui</i>	對, <i>chui</i>	水, <i>cui</i>	光, <i>ge</i>	箇.
-ui	in <i>pui</i>	飯, <i>chui</i>	全, <i>che</i>	坐, <i>hue</i>	歲.
-e	in <i>te</i>	胎, <i>te</i>	處, <i>che</i>	節, <i>hue</i>	血.
-eh	in <i>pe</i>	八, <i>te</i>	提, <i>che</i>	過, <i>he</i>	下.
-ue	in <i>bue</i>	尾, <i>chue</i>	罪, <i>que</i>	月, <i>he</i>	下.
-ueh	in <i>bue</i>	卜, <i>sue</i>	說, <i>gue</i>	家, <i>he</i>	下.
-ε	in <i>pe</i>	父, <i>che</i>	差, <i>ke</i>	歌, <i>se</i>	性.
-εh	in <i>pe</i>	百, <i>che</i>	冊, <i>he</i>	濟, <i>chei</i>	解.
-ē	in <i>pe</i>	平, <i>pe</i>	病, <i>se</i>	獨, <i>kei</i>	啞.
-ei	in <i>bei</i>	袂, <i>tey</i>	帝, <i>ca-ti</i>	自, <i>a</i>	可.
-a	in <i>cha</i>	早, <i>ca</i>	教, <i>la</i>	蠟, <i>ca</i>	敢.
-ah	in <i>pa</i>	打, <i>ba</i>	肉, <i>sa</i>	三, <i>hay</i>	害.
-ā	in <i>ta</i>	坦, <i>ta</i>	今, <i>chay</i>	財, <i>hay</i>	害.
-ai	in <i>bai</i>	埋, <i>tay</i>	事, <i>chay</i>	財, <i>hay</i>	害.
-ai	in <i>chay</i>	俚, <i>cau</i>	九, <i>gau</i>	賢, <i>au</i>	後.
-au	in <i>tau</i>	偷, <i>cau</i>	九, <i>gau</i>	賢, <i>au</i>	後.
-ua	in <i>tua</i>	大, <i>gua</i>	我, <i>hua</i>	化, <i>oa</i>	畫.
-uah	in <i>bua</i>	抹, <i>ua</i>	活, <i>hua</i>	歡, <i>ua</i>	碗.
-uā	in <i>poa</i>	判, <i>toa</i>	旦, <i>hua</i>	歡, <i>ua</i>	碗.
-ia	in <i>tia</i>	爹, <i>chia</i>	遮, <i>sia</i>	謝, <i>kia</i>	立.
-iah	in <i>chia</i>	食, <i>chia</i>	即, <i>sia</i>	聲, <i>kia</i>	行.
-iā	in <i>t'ia</i>	聽, <i>chia</i>	正, <i>sia</i>	聲, <i>kia</i>	行.
-iau	in <i>biau</i>	妙, <i>tiau</i>	柱, <i>liau</i>	了, <i>yao</i>	要.
-o	in <i>bo</i>	無, <i>to</i>	道, <i>cho</i>	左, <i>co</i>	高.
-oh	in <i>bo</i>	莫, <i>lo</i>	落, <i>cho</i>	作, <i>hou</i>	后.
-ou	in <i>pou</i>	哺, <i>tou</i>	圖, <i>sou</i>	數, <i>hou</i>	后.
-io	in <i>bio</i>	廟, <i>kio</i>	叫, <i>hou</i>	數, <i>hou</i>	后.

<sup>83</sup> "a diente cerrado medio aditongado con la i".

<sup>84</sup> "sorbidiilla que casi no se perside".

-ioh	in tio	着	chio	石	sio	惜	
-iō	in chio	裳	chio	像	sio	想	
-u	in bu	侮	tu	在	chu	自	hu 婦
-iu	in tiu	抽	chiu	調	kiu	求	yu 又
-im	in rim	臨	sim	心	kim	今	im 飲
-ip	in chip	執	xip	入	kip	及	
-am	in tam	貪	sam	三	cam	感	am 暗
-ap	in tap	答	chap	十	cap	鴿	hap 合
-iam	in tiam	點	liam	念	kiam	謙	yam 厭
-iap	in riap	粒	chiap	接	kiap	惡	
-in	in pin	貧	rin	吝	sin	神	kin 根
-it	in p'it	畢	tit	得	sit	實	kir 乞
-an	in ban	萬	lan	俺	san	山	can 姦
-at	in bar	識	par	別	lat	力	char 賊
-uan	in toan	傳	chuan	全	guan	原	huan 反
-uat	in choar	啜	guar	月	huar	法	uar 曰
-ian	in pian	便	tian	典	sian	善	hien 顯
-iat	in riat	裂	kier	潔	hiat	血	siet 舌
-un	in bun	悶	lun	論	chun	尊	cun 均
-ut	in bur	物	lur	律	chur	出	cur 滑
-ing	in beng	明	teng	釘	cheng	鐘	keng 更
-ik	in tec	竹	cheg	燭	geg	逆	ec 或
-ang	in pang	放	t'ang	可	sang	送	cang 降
-ak	in pac	剝	bac	目	lac	六	hac 學
-iang	in tiang	杖	siang	傷	giang	仰	yang 羊
-iak	in yiac	若					
-ong	in bong	望	tong	堂	chong	葬	cong 公
-ok	in bog	牧	toc	毒	choc	作	coc 哭
-iong	in tiong	中	chiong	從	kiong	恭	
-iok	in tioc	着	chioc	足	gioc	獄	yoc 欲

Syllabic **-m** is represented by *m* 不 (in the short version often written *um*). Syllabic **-ng**, although defined in the "Arte" and represented in the shorter manual of confession as quoted above, does not seem to occur in the Doctrina at all; the following examples are taken from the "Bocabulario":

*c'ung*, "yncubrir una cosa" (67b): that is 藏 "to conceal".

*sūng*, "hielo" (198a): that is 霜 "frost".

*tung*, "açucar" (221a): that is 糖 "sugar".

Also not in the Doctrina but in the "Bocabulario" is the final **-uai**, represented by:

*quay*, "el diablo, una cossa mostruossa" (169b): that is 怪 "strange".

*uay*, "cossa tuerta como camino" (222b): that is 歪 "crooked".

Although we have thus accounted for all the finals in the two romanized versions of the Doctrina, there remain a comparatively small number of

discrepancies. In addition to scribal errors, we have to reckon with the likelihood of assimilation, as in the following cases:

*giam bong* 仰望 (30a) from *giang bong*.

*sen bo* 聖母 (2b, 27a) from *seng bo*.

*sim bay* [身] 埋 (4a) from *sin bay*.

*kiam Pilatos* 見卑勝廚 (19b) from *kian Pilatos*.

*tey yoc* 地獄 (4b, 12a, 30a) from *tey gioc*.

*can nan* 艱難 (2b, 4a) from *can lan*.

The last case is yet another example of the difference between the short version and the two manuals on the one hand and the long version and the "Bocabulario" on the other. Also to be noted are some instances of synaloepha and consonantal gemination:

*cu it* 氣憶 (2b) from *cui it*.

*sei ong* 所用 (1a) from *sei iong*.

*cheg cua* 罪靠 (6a) from *che cua*.

*cheg qui* 節氣 (6a) from *che qui*.

The following tabular survey of finals is based on the material in the Doctrina and the "Bocabulario".<sup>85</sup>

					m		ng
i	ī				im	in	ing
ih					ip	it	ik
ui	uī						
e							
eh							
ue							
ueh							
ε	ē	ei					
sh							
a	ā	ai	ai	au	am	an	ang
ah					ap	at	ak
ua	uā	uai				uan	
uah						uat	
ia	iā			iau	iam	ian	iang
iāh					iap	iat	iak
o				ou			ong
oh							ok
io	iō						iong
ioh							iok
u						un	
						ut	
iu							

<sup>85</sup> The form of this table is similar to Bodman, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien* 1, 168, but note that his *-ou* corresponds to my *-o*.

Which part of southern Fukien was the home of this dialect? No linguistic survey of the area is available, but the more important differences between the main dialects are well known. Historically these appear to be connected with the limits of the administrative control exercised by the ancient prefectures of Ch'üan-chou and Chang-chou (see sketchmap on p. 133 below). The two capitals were also cultural centres, and their dialects, particularly that of Ch'üan-chou, enjoyed a prestige which only declined after the emergence of Amoy as a modern seaport. Though originally part of Ch'üan-chou, Amoy lies in the transition zone and its dialect is in several respects intermediate between the other two.

The following table compares a number of words from the Doctrina with their corresponding forms in the three modern Hokkien dialects and the dialect of Ch'ao-an, the old prefectural city of Chaochow. The examples for most of the finals could be increased, particularly if the material in the "Bocabulario" were included; it should, however, be noted that to one final there is sometimes more than one correspondence, because the distinctions in one dialect are fewer than in another. I am not concerned with the question whether the Doctrina uses the "correct" character for a given Hokkien word, nor do I include alternative pronunciations.

	Ch'üan-chou	Amoy	Doctrina	Chang-chou	Ch'ao-an
A	處 te 胎 t'e 坐 tsə 箇 ge	te t'e tse ge	te te che ge	te t'e tse ge	to t'o tso kai
B	八 pueh 提 t'ueh 節 tsueh	pueh t'ueh tsueh	pe te che	peh t'eh tseh	poih — tsoih
C	多 tsue 細 sue 解 kue 會 ue	tsue sue kue ue	chei sei kei ey	tse se ke e	tsoi soi koi oi
D	父 pe 馬 be 假 ke 差 ts'e	pe be ke ts'e	pe be ke che	pe be ke ts'e	pe be ke ts'e

	Ch'üan-chou	Amoy	Doctrina	Chang-chou	Ch'ao-an
E	白 peh 冊 ts'eh	peh ts'eh	pe che	peh ts'eh	peh ts'eh
F	平 pi 病 pi 夜 mi 生 si	pi pi mi si	pe pe me se	pē pē mē sē	pē pē mē sē
G	尾 bə 尋 ts'ə 過 kə 歲 hə	be ts'e ke he	bue chue que hue	bue ts'ue kue hue	bue ts'ue kue hue
H	說 sah 月 gəh	seh geh	sue gue	sueh guch	sueh guch
J	度 tə 路 lə 祖 tsə 獮 k'ə	tə lə tsə k'ə	tou lou chou cou	tə lə tsə k'ə	tou lou tsou k'ou
K	量 liəng 將 tsiəng 仰 giəng 揚 iəng	liəng tsiəng giəng iəng	liang chiang giang yang	liang tsiang giang iang	liang tsiang ngiang iang
L	娘 niu 上 tsiū 像 ts'iu 想 siū	niu tsiū ts'iu siū	nio chio chio sio	niə tsiə ts'ie siə	nie tsiē ts'ie siē
M	根 kun 銀 gun 恩 un	kun gun un	kin gin yn	kin gin in	kung ngung ung
N	飯 png 酸 sng 光 kng 園 hng	png sng kng hng	pui sui cui hui	pui sui kui hui	pung sung kung hung



	Ch'üan-chou	Amoy	Doctrina	Chang-chou	Ch'ao-an
O 聚	tsur	tsu	chu	tsi	tsu
語	gu	gu	gu	gi	gu
虛	hur	hu	hu	hi	hur
餘	ur	u	u	i	ur
P 在	tur	ti	tu	ti	to
你	lur	li	lu	li	lur
去	k'ur	k'i	c'u	k'i	k'ur
許	hur	hi	hu	hi	hur

We see at a glance that the similarities with the Chang-chou dialect predominate. The words in group A show little variation from one Hokkien dialect to another, but no less than eight groups agree with modern Chang-chou and differ from Amoy and Ch'üan-chou.<sup>86</sup> Since the dialect known to the missionaries distinguished a half-open *-ε* from *-e*, groups D and E also conform to the Chang-chou dialect. This leaves only four groups to be considered.

Group O represents a number of words with final *-u* which agree with Amoy, whereas some other words, listed as group P, have the same final but differ from all three major dialects. However, nearly a century ago Douglas reported the frequent use of *-u* for Amoy *-i* in parts of T'ung-an district, particularly in Kuan-k'ou and the villages (as opposed to the town) of Amoy island. His dictionary records this pronunciation for three of the four words in group P: *tu*, "in"; *lu*, "you"; *k'u*, "to go". In the same category he gives four other words, three of which are also included in the "Bocabulario":

- tu* 猪, "pig" : *tu*, "puerco" (216b)  
*tu t'au* 鋤頭, "a hoe" : *tu tau*, "asada" (207a)  
*tu* 箸, "chopsticks"  
*hu* 魚, "a fish" : *hu*, "pescado" (110a)

It is likely that Amoy *-i* in these everyday words is due to Chang-chou influence; in the majority of cases *-u* was retained, as illustrated in group O. Inasmuch as this was a purely local development, it will not be necessary for our purpose to distinguish between the two groups. The question that remains is the western limit of the pronunciation *-u* in both O and P at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The other finals that call for comment are *-ei* and *-ou*, some examples of which are listed in C and J. The former differs from all the modern

<sup>86</sup> The velarization of final [ŋ] and [t] to [ŋ̠] and [k̠], which took place in Chaochow long ago, appears to be a recent phenomenon in Chang-chou and is not yet general.

Southern Min dialects, although it is closest to Chang-chou *-e*; the latter corresponds to Hokkien *-ɔ* and only agrees with Chaochow *-ou*. Comparisons, both within Southern Min and with other Chinese dialects, make it plausible that these diphthongs originally formed part of the Chang-chou dialect, but at this stage of the discussion it is perhaps more appropriate to examine the system of finals as established by local scholars.

Traditional Chinese scholarship has rarely, if ever, considered it worth while to undertake the systematic study of a dialect other than Mandarin. Various reasons can be adduced for this attitude; the contempt of the centralized administration for aberrant idioms is one: the belief that linguistic change meant degeneration another. However, for at least some dialects there are dictionaries, not written with any scholarly ambition but for the practical purpose of helping the common people to write correctly.

These works are arranged by finals, initials and tones, and the very brief explanations are merely intended to identify the characters. Hence they are not dictionaries in the proper sense, but handbooks for correct spelling. Adapted or invented characters as used in vernacular literature are not well represented; moreover, the number of colloquial words included is generally insufficient. The value of such handbooks depends on the classification of sounds which they establish, because unless this conforms to actual usage consultation will be difficult. Consequently they are useless to speakers of another, even if related, dialect, in which the distribution of sounds will probably be different. Furthermore the usefulness of these works decreases as structural changes take place in the dialects on which they are based.

Some of the practical limitations mentioned should be a boon to the modern linguist. Although the pronunciation of the characters is only indirectly given and the phonetic values may have to be inferred from other sources, a dictionary of this type is perhaps a more reliable guide to the sound classes of a particular dialect than many learned (and therefore archaizing) rhyme dictionaries are for Mandarin or earlier stages of the Chinese language. Written for the common people of a specific region and remaining popular for a comparatively short period, they can be very helpful to us, provided we know when and where they were compiled.

Among the southern dialects Foochow appears to be the first for which a dictionary of this kind was provided. The earliest work is the *Pa-yin tzu-i pien-lan* 八音字義便覽, which is arranged in 36 finals, 15 initials and 8 tones and is attributed to Ch'i Chi-kuang 戚繼光 (1528-1587). The authorship is however doubtful. A second work, arranged in 35 finals and attributed to Lin Wen-ying 林文英 (*chin-shih* in 1688), is entitled *Chu-yü t'ung-sheng* 珠玉同聲. A combined edition of the two dictionaries was published in

1749 and reprinted several times; I have only seen the reprint of 1841.<sup>87</sup>

The *Pa-yin* served as a model for the first recorded spelling dictionary of Hokkien, the *Hui-yin miao-wu* 彙音妙悟 by the Ch'üan-chou scholar Huang Ch'ien 黃謙. In addition to the author's own preface, there is one by a friend, which is dated 1800. The characters are arranged under 50 finals, 14 of which are assigned to the so-called "vulgar" pronunciation. Nevertheless the number of alternative readings of characters is inadequate. The book is the only available dictionary of the Ch'üan-chou dialect and has been often reprinted.<sup>88</sup>

There are several other works of the same type, but the most important and the one that concerns us directly is the *Hui-chi ya-su t'ung shih-wu yin* 彙集雅俗通十五音 in 8 *chüan*, which is arranged in 50 finals, 8 (in reality 7) tones and 15 initials. The different readings of a character are carefully distinguished by printing it in red where it represents the so-called "literary" pronunciation, and in black for the more colloquial form. It contains no preface, and the titlepage merely refers to the author as Hsieh Hsiu-lan 謝秀嵐 of the Eastern Park (Tung-yüan 東苑); unfortunately, neither the courtesy name Hsiu-lan nor the location has been identified. The oldest edition that I have seen was printed in 1818 by the Wen-lin t'ang 文林堂, but it is unlikely that this was the first edition, since we are told elsewhere that by 1820 it had already achieved a wide circulation.<sup>89</sup> There is no evidence that it was influenced by the *Hui-yin miao-wu*; on the other hand, it has adopted many of the names of the finals in the *Chu-yü t'ung-sheng* from Foochow. Provisionally I shall treat it as a compilation of about 1800. The dialect represented is that of Chang-chou.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Copies of the edition of 1841 are available in the British Museum and the former Chinese collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, now in the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds. It was published by the Fu-mei t'ang 賦梅堂, but the blocks must have originally been cut at the I-chih t'ang 益智堂, since that name is on the folds. The preface of 1749 is by Chin An 晉安, and the two works, each consisting of 4 *chüan*, occupy the upper and lower register respectively. For a linguistic analysis see Hsü Yü 許鈺 in *Nan-yang hsieh-pao* 6, 2, 1950, 25-36.

<sup>88</sup> I have two editions, kindly presented to me by Professor Wu Shou-li of the National Taiwan University. One, in 2 *chüan*, was published in 1903 by the Chi-hsin t'ang 集新堂 in Foochow; the other, not divided into *chüan*, is a lithographic reprint published in 1905 by the Hui-wen t'ang 會文堂 in Amoy.

<sup>89</sup> See the preface, dated 1820, to the *Tseng-pu hui-yin* 增補彙音, a dictionary in 6 *chüan* and 30 finals which is based on Hsieh Hsiu-lan's work and of which I have seen two early editions, that of the Ch'ung-ya t'ang 崇雅堂 (apparently the original edition) in the British Museum, and that of the Wen-te t'ang 文德堂, dated 1829, in the Bodleian at Oxford. The 1818 edition of Hsieh's own dictionary is also in the British Museum; I am using the edition of Yen Chin-hua 顏錦華 printed in 1869, which belongs to the Sinologisch Instituut in Leiden.

<sup>90</sup> Douglas, *Chinese-English dictionary of the vernacular of Amoy*, Preface p. viii, says that the *Shih-wu yin* was based on the dialect of Chang-p'u rather than that of Chang-chou city itself, but there is no evidence for this. The book has been knowingly misapplied to the Amoy dialect by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei in his *Hsia-men yin-hsi*.

We have already discussed the view of several modern scholars that the initial consonants [b] and [m], [l] and [n], [g] and [ŋ] in the dialects of Amoy and Chang-chou are in complementary distribution, because [b, l, g] never occur before nasalized finals, whereas [m, n, ŋ] are usually followed by nasalized finals. There is nothing new about this theory, for the system of 15 initials in the Hokkien dictionaries is based on the principle that [m, n, ŋ] are variants of b, l, g. Consequently, the author of the *Shih-wu yin* placed all syllables beginning with m-, n-, ng- under nasalized finals, even if he had to set up finals that did not occur after any other initial, except sometimes h-.<sup>91</sup> When drawing up the table of finals in the dialect of the Doctrina I felt that such a procedure was not fully justified, which accounts for the formal differences between my table and the list of finals of the *Shih-wu yin*. Among the finals that cannot be identified in the Doctrina and the "Bocabulario", several end with a glottal stop, others are predominantly onomatopoeic, but all are represented by very small numbers of words.<sup>92</sup> In general, therefore, the finals of the *Shih-wu yin* are comparable to those of the Doctrina; what is more, the distribution of words among the finals is, with one important exception, the same.

Let us now reconsider the differences between the dialect of the Doctrina and modern Chang-chou. First of all we note that the *Shih-wu yin* has two finals corresponding to modern Chang-chou -e. Of these finals, which I have numbered 13 and 39, only the latter comprises words ending with a glottal stop. All words which the Doctrina writes as -ei, such as those compared in group C of my table, are found under final 13; all words, except the first, that are listed as groups A (-e) and B (-eh) are found under final 39. The distinction observed by the Spanish missionaries, but apparently no longer valid today, had not yet disappeared by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

But was this a significant distinction? Doubts arise because many of the characters under final 39, including two listed in our group A (胎, 坐), are included under final 13 as well. A good example of the interchange is the word for "dwarf" 矮, which is given under both finals of the *Shih-wu yin* and occurs in the "Bocabulario" as e, "enano, niño pequeño" (95b), but also as ey, "enano" (96a). On the other hand, the practical purpose of the *Shih-wu yin* makes it unlikely that the two sounds were so similar as to be indistinguishable by the ordinary user. The spelling of the missionaries takes the difference between -e and -ei for granted; the vowels that without the diacritical marks prescribed by the "Arte" were liable to be confused were -e

<sup>91</sup> This was perhaps a voiced [h].

<sup>92</sup> None of these rare finals is included in the analysis of the Chang-chou dialect by Tung T'ung-ho, "Ssu-ko Min-nan fang-yen", pp. 850-852. Compare, however, the discussion by Chu Chao-hsiang 朱兆祥, "Hsia-yü yin-yün ti chien-t'ao" 廈語音韻的檢討, *Nan-ta chung-wen hsieh-pao* 2, 1963, 72-73.

and -e, in the *Shih-wu yin* represented by finals 39 and 5. In the dictionary of the Chang-chou dialect published in 1832 by Medhurst, whose main source was the *Shih-wu yin*, it is also finals 5 and 39 that are said to resemble each other very closely, whereas final 13 was a "peculiar sound".<sup>93</sup> Field work will perhaps yield a satisfactory answer to the problem, but for the time being we can best account for the evidence at our disposal by assuming that the final -ei represented [ei]. Under certain conditions the diphthongal glide was reduced to [e]; the words ending with a glottal stop always had the latter vowel.

As shown in group J of our table, -ou differs from modern Chang-chou -o, but is comparable to the Chaochow diphthong. Here the *Shih-wu yin* does not help us. Final 11 includes the words which in the *Doctrina* occur as -ou, and there is no interchange with final 15, which corresponds to -o and -oh. Further evidence is needed to confirm that final 11 was originally pronounced [ou]. However, the fact that it was not distinguished from -o by a diacritical mark but written as a diphthong, even by the earliest

1. 君 un ut	26. 監 ā āh* (rare)
2. 堅 ian iat	27. 結 u uh*
3. 金 im ip	28. 膠 a ah
4. 規 ui	29. 居 i ih
5. 嘉 ē eh	30. 戶 iu
6. 干 an at	31. 更 ē ēh* (rare)
7. 公 ong ok	32. 禪 uī
8. 乖 uai uai* (rare)	33. 茄 io ioh
9. 經 ing ik	34. 梔 ī ih* (rare)
10. 觀 uan uat	35. 薑 iō
11. 沽 ou	36. 驚 iā
12. 嬌 iau iauh*	37. 官 uā
13. 稽 ei	39. 鋼 ng
14. 恭 iong iok	39. 伽 e eh
15. 高 o oh	40. 間 āi
16. 皆 ai	41. 姑 (ou after n, ng)
17. 巾 in it	42. 姆 m
18. 姜 iang iak	43. 光 uang* uak* (both rare)
19. 甘 am ap	44. 門 uai* uai* (both rare)
20. 瓜 ua uah	45. 糜 (ue and ueh after m)
21. 江 ang ak	46. 鳴 (iau and iauh after n, ng)
22. 兼 iam iap	47. 簾 om* op* (both rare)
23. 交 au auh*	48. 爻 (au after m, n, ng, h [h?])
24. 迦 ia iah	49. 扛 (o and oh after m, n, ng, h)
25. 檣 ue ueh	50. 牛 (iu after n, ng)

<sup>93</sup> W. H. Medhurst, *A dictionary of the Hok-kien dialect of the Chinese language*, Macao 1832, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi. The author had learned Hokkien in Malacca and Penang.

missionaries, strongly suggests that the difference between the two was not principally one of degree of opening. It is unlikely that the first vowel of the diphthong was the same as -o, but on structural grounds I prefer not to differentiate them. For the same reason I do not use ɔ for finals 7, 14, 35 and 47. The preceding list therefore gives the finals of the *Shih-wu yin* partly as interpreted in the light of our manuscript. Finals not occurring in the *Doctrina* or the "Bocabulario" are followed by an asterisk.

The *Shih-wu yin* offers one important clue to the identity of the dialect represented by the *Doctrina*. When comparing the finals of the latter with modern Chang-chou, we discussed a major difference in the distribution of words among finals -u and -i. In this respect the *Shih-wu yin* agrees with modern Chang-chou; the examples given are all included under -i. However, the following words occur under -u as well: *ti/tu* 筴, "chopsticks"; *ti/lu* 汝, "you"; *k'i/k'u* 去, "to go"; *gi/gu* 語, "speech"; *gi/gu* 遇, "to meet". The alternative pronunciation is in each case explained as that of the "seacoast dialect" or, as I think we should interpret it, "Hai-ch'eng dialect" (*hai ch'iang* 海腔).<sup>94</sup>

As we noted above, the pronunciation -u prevailed in southern T'ung-an, which belonged to Ch'üan-chou prefecture. It now appears that at the beginning of the nineteenth century it still extended to one part of Chang-chou itself. The "Bocabulario" will serve to confirm that the dialectal incidence of -u and -i in Chang-chou prefecture is an important reason for assigning the dialect learned by the missionaries to Hai-ch'eng.

The manuscript gives dialect variants of over sixty words and, in addition, records some differences in vocabulary. More than half of the variants come from specific dialects; several are introduced as "others say" or "in other provinces" (meaning "districts", *hsien* 縣); some occur as plain alternatives.

There is, of course, the chance that the inclusion of extraneous material has affected the uniformity of the dictionary. Thus under the two entries *cou*, "borrador", *cou*, "espiga", the compiler mentions the view that the two words were not homonymous with (or related to) *cou*, "antiguo", and that the pronunciation *co* was preferable (59b-60a). Actually, in the Chang-chou

<sup>94</sup> Another reference to this dialect merely serves as a "keyword" to final 33. In all but five cases the finals are represented by words with the upper even tone and beginning with k-. When such a word was not available in the dialect of the prefectural city, the final was named after a word from a local dialect. This has also happened with finals 40 and 49, the names of which were adopted from the dialect of Ch'ang-t'ai: *kai* (corresponding to Chang-chou *kan*) and *kā* (Chang-chou *kang*). The former word is also said to follow the "Amoy pronunciation". Amoy was originally part of T'ung-an district, where -ai normally takes the place of Ch'üan-chou -ui. It is interesting that the same pronunciation seems to have prevailed in neighbouring Ch'ang-t'ai, even though it belonged to Chang-chou. The *Shih-wu yin* contains no other information about local dialects.

dialect *ko* 稿, "stalk of grain, draft", is not a homonym of *kou* > *ko* 古, "old", but in Ch'üan-chou the former word has both pronunciations. Despite the protestations in the preface to the "Arte", the missionaries were perhaps not primarily concerned with the dialect of their informants, but recorded useful knowledge wherever they found it. Therefore we cannot be certain that all entries without a variant derive from the same dialect. We shall, however, use the dictionary to show that many differences between the modern dialects can be traced back to the Ming period, thus confirming the identity of the language of the Doctrina.

The dialect most frequently mentioned is that of the "Anhays" or "those from Anhay",<sup>95</sup> which occurs 34 times, including one mention in the "Arte". The port of An-hai is less than thirty kilometres from Ch'üan-chou and has the same dialect. Its prosperous merchants were regarded as more respectable than the other Sangleys, because the foreign trade of the colony depended on their annual visits to Manila. During the uprising of 1603, the five or six hundred An-hai merchants in the Parián chose the Spanish side, but were nevertheless nearly all killed.<sup>96</sup> Encouraged by the Governor, the fleets soon resumed their visits, and the merchants from An-hai continued to hold a major share in the trade between China and the Philippines.<sup>97</sup>

The dialect of "those from Chang-chou" (the name occurs in several different forms) is quoted ten times in the "Bocabulario"; the "Arte" mentions it once, in addition to the preface. It usually agrees with the material of the Doctrina and is in three cases specifically contrasted with the dialect of An-hai (that is Ch'üan-chou). In a few instances, however, Chang-chou usage is given as a variant, not agreeing with the entry.

A third dialect, only mentioned once, was spoken in the "province of Tang hua", that is T'ung-an (*tang-uā*). Its modern form, although closely resembling Ch'üan-chou, has certain peculiarities, one of which (-u instead of -ü) has been discussed above.

In the following examples the first form represents the Chang-chou dialect, in three cases explicitly; the second is the An-hai variant. A colon precedes my own restitutions, including the character.

<i>bei/be</i> , "yngañar" (212) <sup>98</sup>	: 迷 <i>bei/be</i> , "to deceive".
<i>bei/boei</i> , "no poder" (19b)	: 袂 <i>bei/bue</i> , "cannot".
<i>kei/kuey</i> , "desatar" (125a)	: 解 <i>kei/kue</i> , "to untie".
<i>pe/pue</i> , "ocho" (154b, 18b)	: 八 <i>peh/pueh</i> , "eight".

<sup>95</sup> Once misspelt as "Conghay" (13b), another time as "Vahayes" (18b).

<sup>96</sup> Governor de Acuña to the King, Manila, 18 December 1603, ed. Pastells, *Labor evangelica* 2, 421-422; trans. Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 12, 155-157.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Governor de Silva to the King, Manila, 1 August 1621, trans. Blair and Robertson, op. cit. 20, 109.

<sup>98</sup> "Los de Anhay dizen *be*, no mas". Cf. "sei, 'pequeño' . . . otros dizen *se*" (178b), that is 細 "small".

<i>che/chue</i> , "fiesta" (34a)	: 節 <i>tseh/tsueh</i> , "festival".
<i>me/be</i> , "pulso" (33a)	: 脈 <i>meh/beh</i> , "pulse".
<i>sē/si</i> , "parir" (176a)	: 生 <i>sē/si</i> , "to beget".
<i>hue/hui</i> , "sangre" (112b)	: 血 <i>hueh/huih</i> , "blood".
<i>bou/beu</i> , "traición" (31b)	: 謀 <i>bou/beu</i> , "to plot". <sup>99</sup>
<i>ch'ou/ch'eu</i> , "trizte" (37b)	: 愁 <i>ts'ou/ts'eu</i> , "sad". <sup>100</sup>
<i>hou/heu</i> , "virtuoso" (109a, 212a) <sup>101</sup>	: 厚 <i>hou/heu</i> , "sincere".
<i>bio/beo</i> , "templo" (30a)	: 廟 <i>bio/beu</i> , "temple". <sup>102</sup>
<i>chio/cheo</i> , "pedir" (86b)	: 招 <i>tsio/tseu</i> , "to invite".
<i>chio/cheo</i> , "prestar" (29a)	: 借 <i>tsioh/tseuh</i> , "to lend".
<i>yo/yeu</i> , "medicina" (121a)	: 藥 <i>ioh/euh</i> , "medicine".
<i>teng/tan</i> , "clavo" (18b)	: 釘 <i>ting/tan</i> , "nail".
<i>an/han</i> , "termino" (101a)	: 限 <i>an/han</i> , "limit".
<i>mo/mung</i> , "cavello" (19a)	: 毛 <i>mo/mng</i> , "hair".
<i>tuy/tung</i> , "quitarse vestido" (28b)	: 褪 <i>t'ui/t'ng</i> , "to take off clothes".
<i>c'ui/cüng</i> , "poner en paz" (68a, 120a)	: 勸 <i>k'ui/k'ng</i> , "to exhort".

These instances could be increased. The dialect variation most frequently represented is -ü/-ng, in one case expressed in the general rule: "Those from An-hai all pronounce these words with -ng".<sup>103</sup> But the same rule applied, then as now, to T'ung-an, for the dictionary, after having enumerated the variants of three words in the same category, states: "These are not of much importance, because they are from the district of T'ung-an, where -ü is always changed into -ng".<sup>104</sup> The dialect of the Doctrina (which was also the basis of the "Bocabulario") must therefore be sought within the borders of Chang-chou prefecture.

We must now account for the few cases where the Chang-chou form occurs as a variant. Two of these are of minor interest,<sup>105</sup> but the third is

<sup>99</sup> The *Hui-yin miao-wu* places this word and the following two under final 餉, which according to most writers on the subject has the phonetic value [io]. From a structural point of view the Spanish transcription is attractive. Unfortunately the Ch'üan-chou dialect is not well documented.

<sup>100</sup> The *Shih-wu yin* does not contain this character, but the Chaochow pronunciation is *ts'ou*.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. *hong hou/hong heu*, "reina" (108a), that is 皇后 "empress", although the variant is not assigned to any particular dialect.

<sup>102</sup> The *Hui-yin miao-wu* places this word and the following three under final 燒, now pronounced [io]. This clearly conflicts with the transcription of the "Bocabulario", which is practically the same as in the three preceding words. The *Hui-yin* itself provides evidence of interchange, since four characters, including 謀, occur under both 餉 and 燒.

<sup>103</sup> "Los de Anhay todos hazen estas diçiones en üng" (147a, under *muy*, "preguntar", that is 問 "to ask").

<sup>104</sup> "Estos no son de mucha ynportancia porque son de la provincia de Tang hua y siempre aquel *ui* le mudan en *ung*" (198a).

<sup>105</sup> One is *ca*, "cosa singular . . . misteriosa, buena, hermosa" (40b), which appears to be 巧 "ingenious, strange" (cf. 41b). The Chang-chou variant is given

essential to the present discussion. Under the entry *lu*, "pronoun of the second person singular", the comment is made that "those from Chang-chou change this *u* into *i* and say *li*" (141a). Two other examples of the variation *u/i* are mentioned without place name:

*chu/chi*, "cozer" (90a)

: 煮 *tsu/tsi*, "to boil".

*gu tio/gi tio*, "encontrar" (98a)

: 遇着 *gu-tioh/gi-tioh*, "to meet".

According to the *Shih-wu yin*, *lu* and *gu* were thus pronounced in the "seacoast" or "Hai-ch'eng" dialect, whereas the normal pronunciation was *li* and *gi*. Most likely, therefore, the name "Chang-chou" denotes here the prefectural city, in contrast to a subordinate district.

The pronunciation *-u* in *lu* and the other words compared in our tables did not extend to the city of Chang-chou, even in the Ming period. But it is still possible that it occupied a wider area than at the time of the compilation of the *Shih-wu yin*, when it was specified as Hai-ch'eng usage. In particular, it may have prevailed in the adjacent district of Ch'ang-t'ai. There is, however, some evidence that the Ch'ang-t'ai dialect was distinguished by at least one important feature from the dialect spoken by the majority of the Chinese in Manila. As a variant of *k'ng* 藏, "to store up, to conceal", the "Bocabulario" gives the form *co*, which it describes as aspirated and nasalized, hence *k'ō*; it adds however that this form was not common but belonged to another district.<sup>106</sup> The same *-ō* can be identified in two other entries: *to*, "enpeñar"; *t'ō so*, "asucar piedra" (213b), which correspond to Chang-chou *tng* 當, "to pawn", and *t'ng sng* 糖霜, "candy" (cf. 198a, 221a). Since the final *-ō* was a peculiarity of Ch'ang-t'ai,<sup>107</sup> *k'ō*, *tō*, *t'ō* and *sō* should probably be ascribed to that dialect.

I conclude that the Hokkien dialect which was studied by the earliest Spanish missionaries and of which I have endeavoured to reconstruct the phonological system represents the vernacular of Hai-ch'eng at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

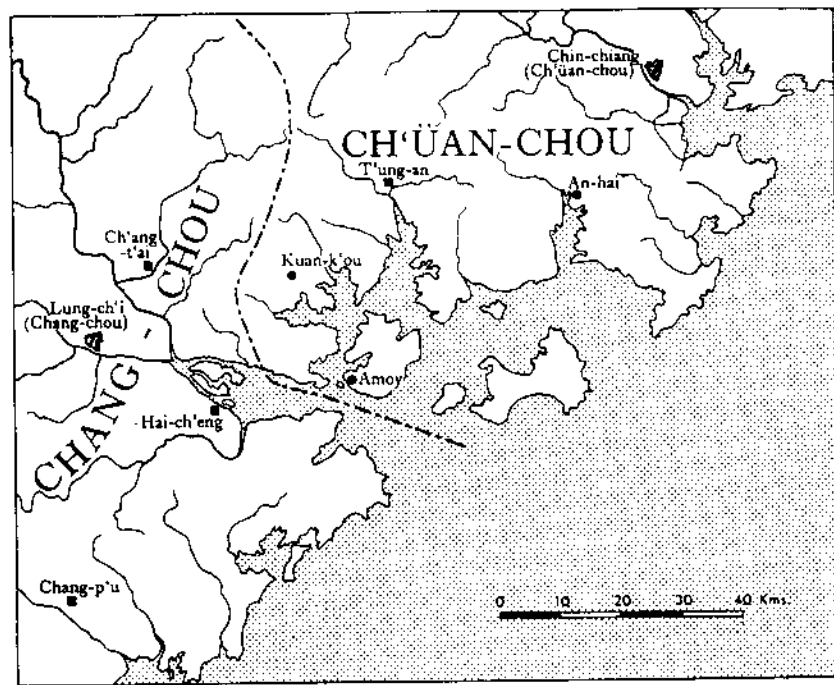
A few remarks must be made on the relation between language and script in the *Doctrina*, because the lack of uniformity in the printed text has been one of our main criteria for dating and authorship. We have seen that the adapted or invented characters used in written Hokkien colloquial

*Continued from previous page:*

as *ke*, which I cannot explain, unless it results from a confusion with *ke* 嘉, "excellent". The other case is discussed in the "Arte" and concerns the two "reciprocal particles" *sa* and *sio* 相; the latter is said to belong to the Chang-chou dialect and is rejected (328b). In the rest of the manuscript both forms are used; the "Bocabulario" prefers *sio* in some expressions (182a). According to the specimen page reproduced above (p. 111) the vowel in *sa* was not nasalized.

<sup>106</sup> "co, cargado y en la nariz, no alto, 'guardar'. Este es de una provincia; en lo comun dicen *cung* en el mismo tono" (55b). The word occurs on 67b as *c'ung*, "yencubrir"; the "Arte" gives it as an example of the tenth mode and translates it as "guardar, esconder" (316a).

<sup>107</sup> See p. 129, note 94 above.



and common in the first part of the *Doctrina* rarely occur in the mysteries of the Rosary (12b-27b), where they are normally replaced by the "standard" characters of Mandarin.<sup>108</sup> Is this merely an orthographic peculiarity or does the romanized version show the same aversion to colloquial usage?

Let us first see how the romanized version reflects the inconsistencies in the use of "standard" characters. The following table gives the number of occurrences of each transcribed form (here standardized to facilitate comparison):

他 <i>t'a</i> (28), <i>i</i> (1)	伊 <i>i</i> (1)	"he, they".
此 <i>ts'u</i> (3), <i>tsi</i> (15)	只 <i>tsi</i> (2)	"this".
與 <i>u</i> (4), <i>t'ou</i> (14)	度 <i>t'ou</i> (1)	"(give) to".
與 <i>u</i> (3), <i>kang</i> (9)	共 <i>kang</i> (2)	"with, for, from".

Two trends can be discerned. On the one hand, two different characters may represent the same word, e.g. 此 and 只 *tsi*.<sup>109</sup> Such irregularities can hardly be attributed to the printer, since they do not occur in the first part of the *Doctrina*. On the other hand, one character may represent two different transcribed forms, the second of which is colloquial, e.g. 此 *ts'u*, *tsi*;

<sup>108</sup> "The Manila incunabula", Part 1, p. 13.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. also 只 and 止 for *tsi*, "only"; 及 and 與 for *kíp*, "and".

在 *tsai* (3), *tu* (7), "at"; 要 *iau* (4), *ai* (12), "to wish". The frequency of these cases makes it unlikely that they are due to copyist's errors; the explanation should be sought in the style of the original, which is a curious mixture of Classical Chinese and Mandarin, although pronounced in Hokkien. Some of it was readily understood by the ordinary listener, e.g. *puā me* 半夜, "midnight"; *k'iap lang* 惡人, "wicked people"; *m ai pat mih* 不要別物, "do not wish anything else". Other expressions were not intelligible, such as *kun t'a hua tik* 均他化的, "all created by him"; *lu tsiang su si* 汝將死時, "when you were about to die". The inconsistencies, both in the use of characters and in the romanization, are the result of an attempt to write in an elevated but artificial style.

This, however, by no means exhausts the problem how the language was represented in the script. To mention only one aspect, duplicate readings of characters are not confined to the Rosary but occur also in the other parts of the Doctrina. I shall therefore make a few general comments.

We may first consider the part of the vocabulary which consists of substitute and auxiliary words, the so-called "empty" words of Chinese prosody. These tend to constitute a grammatical system and differ widely in form and function from one dialect to another. If such words (or "particles") are represented by characters associated with grammatical usage of a different dialect, such as Mandarin, there is a danger of ambiguity. For this reason written Hokkien vernacular resorted to the expedient of "borrowing" or adapting characters which belonged to homonymous words. Thus the word *bei*, "cannot", was written with the character 袂, which originally was only used for *bei*, "sleeve"; *guan*, "we", was written as 阮, a character belonging to the family name *guan*. Other examples are included in Appendix I of this paper.

A second group, overlapping with the preceding, comprises words which have no etymological correspondence in Mandarin or most other dialects but either derive from the non-Chinese substratum or are isolated survivals of early Chinese vocabulary – the latter solution being more attractive to local scholars who dislike illegitimate antecedents . . . Although in such cases the loan or adaptation of characters from homonyms would be justified, examples in the Doctrina are rare: *ts'u* 厝, "house"; *tā* 呷, "to speak". More often the character is borrowed from a synonym, e.g. *ts'ue* 尋, "to look for"; *k'iap* 惡, "wicked"; *bat* 識, "to know"<sup>110</sup>; *bah* 肉, "meat".<sup>111</sup> As a result one character came to represent two etymologically unrelated words: 賢 *hian* and *gau*, "wise"; 今 *kin* and *tā*, "now"; 事 *su* and *tai*, "affair".

<sup>110</sup> According to the "Bocabulario", some people said *par*, but "these from Chan-chiei" preferred *bar* (15a).

<sup>111</sup> The "Bocabulario" states that the people from "Conghay" (a mistake for "Anhay") instead of *ba* said *hiac* (13b; cf. p. 118 above).

A character can thus function as either a phonetic or a semantic loan. Even more frequently, however, it represents two (or more) words of the same derivation but disagreeing in sound, usage and sometimes also in connotation. The origin of these doublets is still a matter of speculation, but it is possible that they were introduced at different periods or social levels when Fukien was settled from the north. The phenomenon is not unknown in other Chinese dialects nor indeed in European languages (cf. English *purpose, propose; sire, senior; fashion, faction*), but in Hokkien the number of etymological pairs is so large that some regular phonetic correspondences can be formulated.<sup>112</sup> It would, however, be absurd to suggest that Hokkien possesses two phonological systems. As the two forms were written with the same character, one became known as the "colloquial", the other as the "reading" or "literary" pronunciation. These terms are appropriate to the extent that the "reading" pronunciation was used for literature in Classical Chinese; in other respects they are very misleading. On the one hand, many forms classified as "literary" are part of the spoken language, where they are fully productive even if "colloquial" counterparts are available. Moreover, two contrasting forms are rarely interchangeable but are subject to semantic and morphological differentiation, hence representing distinct words or parts of words. On the other hand, it is probable that the pronunciation applied to Classical Chinese was in many cases reconstructed from dictionaries and extended by analogy over the whole vocabulary. Such a bookish pronunciation, maintained in the schools through the medium of the characters, obviously was of no use to the reader of vernacular texts.

Since the etymological doublets in the Doctrina are all attested in modern Chang-chou, it is unnecessary to list here more than a few examples. The three forms that only occur in the Rosary should perhaps have been excluded, not on phonological grounds but because its style is not representative of colloquial usage. However, the problems of semantic dissimilation and word formation fall outside the scope of the present study.

命 <i>bing</i>	<i>mia</i>	血 <i>hiat</i> (Ros.)	<i>hueh</i>
行 <i>hing</i>	<i>kiā</i>	着 <i>tiok</i> (Ros.)	<i>tioh</i>
生 <i>sing</i>	<i>sē</i>	得 <i>tik</i>	<i>tit</i>
望 <i>bong</i>	<i>bang</i>	大 <i>tai</i>	<i>tua</i>
年 <i>lian</i> (Ros.)	<i>ni</i>	過 <i>ko</i>	<i>kue</i>
飯 <i>huan</i>	<i>pui</i>	事 <i>su</i>	<i>sai</i>

It will be asked whether the missionaries themselves were able to read Chinese characters. The evidence of the "Bocabulario" suggests that they were not. True, the characters ("letras") of a few words are described

<sup>112</sup> The most reliable tables of correspondences for Amoy are those by Ch'en Ch'ui-min 陳垂民, which are included in Yüan Chia-hua, *Han-yü fang-yen kai-yao*, pp. 254-259. For Chang-chou some rules were formulated by Medhurst, *A dictionary of the Hok-kien dialect*, pp. lvii-lxii.

(although not written down): those for *bci*, "to buy", and *bci*, "to sell", are said to be distinguished by a stroke ("rrasgillo") on top (20b); *cam*, "orange", was composed of the characters for "tree" and "sweet" (46b); "to die" and "heart" together formed the character for *bong*, "to forget" (32a). On the other hand, the different senses of a word are often placed under widely separated entries, which would not have been done by somebody familiar with the character. Paradoxically, the value of the dictionary is enhanced, at least to us, by the very ignorance of the compiler, because he was forced to restrict himself to the spoken language.

The "Bocabulario" includes some eighty instances of what it calls "the character", or "idiom of the mandarins".<sup>113</sup> These do not represent Mandarin Chinese, but the synonyms and etymological doublets traditionally known as the "literary pronunciation" of characters. In most cases the "colloquial" counterparts are also given, but it should be emphasized that, as the compiler himself repeatedly says, these "words of the mandarins" were generally used in conversation;<sup>114</sup> the theoretical information was no doubt obtained from his informants. Some examples are presented in the following table:

<i>y oc/ung chio</i> , "bestido entero" (116b)	: 衣服 <i>i hok</i> , 衣裳 <i>un tsiō</i> , "clothing". <sup>115</sup>
<i>kei/t'au</i> , "desatar" (124b)	: 解 <i>kei</i> , <i>t'au</i> , "to untie".
<i>kei sue</i> , "esplicar"	: 解說 <i>kei sueh</i> , "to explain".
<i>lip/ki lay</i> , "levantarse" (137b)	: 立 <i>lip</i> , 起來 <i>k'i lai</i> , "to rise".
<i>sou lip</i> , "cossa provechossa"	: 所立 <i>sou lip</i> , "lucrative property".
<i>co/quan</i> , "cossa alta" (170a) <sup>116</sup>	: 高 <i>ko</i> , <i>kuan</i> , "high".
<i>keng/kiā</i> , "corte" (124a)	: 京 <i>king/kiā</i> , "capital".
<i>han/quā</i> , "sudor" (101a)	: 汗 <i>han/kuā</i> , "sweat".
<i>sam/sā</i> , "trez" (174b)	: 三 <i>sam/sā</i> , "three".
<i>bec/be</i> , "trigo" (27a)	: 麥 <i>bik/bch</i> , "wheat".
<i>liog/lag</i> , "sey" (132a)	: 六 <i>liok/lak</i> , "six".
<i>cay/key</i> , "termino, sementera" (125b)	: 界 <i>kai/kei</i> , "boundary".
<i>sou/sei</i> , "cossas ralas" (193b)	: 疏 <i>sou/sei</i> , "wide apart".
<i>ga/ge</i> , "colmillo de animales" (96b)	: 牙 <i>ga/ge</i> , "tusk".

<sup>113</sup> "La letra", "lengua de mandarines" (or "palabra de mandarines", etc.), often abbreviated as *M<sup>s</sup>* or *M*. The two terms are equated on 36a, 57a, 196a.

<sup>114</sup> "Muy usada en lo comun" (48a, 57a, 101a); "muy usada y entendida de todos" (108a); etc.

<sup>115</sup> The word *un tsiō* occurs in the short romanized version of the Doctrina (7b); according to Douglas the Chang-chou form is *in tsiō*.

<sup>116</sup> The "Bocabulario" adds the interesting information that *kuan* was "placed after the noun", e.g. *chiu quan*, "arto [sic] arbol", that is *ts'iu kuan*, "high tree". A similar case of unusual word order can perhaps be detected in *hak ts'an*, "landowner"; also *hak ke si*, "owner of weapons"; *hak ts'u*, "householder"; *hak bc*, "master of a horse" (100a).

We have seen that the "Bocabulario" contains a number of dialect variants. One group not yet discussed comprises words alternating between final *-iang*, corresponding to the Chang-chou dialect, and *-iong*, which resembles modern Ch'üan-chou and Amoy.<sup>117</sup> None of these forms is assigned to any particular dialect, but some are specified as "mandarin":

<i>liang/liong</i> (M), "cossa buena" (134b, 137b)	: 良 <i>liang/liong</i> , "good".
<i>yang yoc</i> (M)/ <i>yong yoc</i> , "sustentar" (121b)	: 養育 <i>iang iok/iong iok</i> "to nourish".
<i>giang/giong</i> , "tener la vista levantada" (98b)	: 仰 <i>giang/giong</i> , "to look upwards".
<i>siang/siong</i> , "a menudo" (186a)	: 常 <i>siang/siong</i> , "continually".
<i>siang chu/siong chu</i> (M), "consertarse" (92b, 106b)	: 相 □ <i>siang ts'u/siong ts'u</i> , "to compose differences".
<i>siōn/siong</i> (M), "herir" (100b)	: 傷 <i>siōn/siong</i> , "to wound".

Since the forms with the final *-iang* as well as those with *-iong* belong to the so-called "literary" tradition, they should have been differentiated according to dialect instead. The Doctrina and most of the "Bocabulario" agree in this respect with Chang-chou;<sup>118</sup> the forms with *-iong* must therefore have been supplied by informants from Ch'üan-chou or, more specifically, An-hai.<sup>119</sup>

Doublets no longer occurring in the modern Hokkien dialects merit special attention. Admittedly the present dictionary is a very poor copy; and it seems advisable to defer consideration of some of the variants included till a more reliable version is brought to light. The following cases are however plausible in terms of comparative phonology:

<i>ti/tey</i> , "el rey" (208a)	: 帝 <i>ti/tei</i> , "emperor".
<i>hau/ho</i> , "cossa muy menuda" (105b)	: 毫 <i>hau/ho</i> , "minute part".
<i>yong/eng</i> , "eterna cossa" (96b)	: 永 <i>iong/ing</i> , "eternal".
<i>su huan/su hong</i> , "cossa quadrada" (107b)	: 四方 <i>su huang/su hong</i> , "square".
<i>huang/pang</i> , "apósito" (153a)	: 房 <i>huang/pang</i> , "room".
<i>sui huang</i> , "apósito para dormir"	: 睡房 <i>sui huang</i> , "bedroom".

<sup>117</sup> Cf. group K in the table on p. 123 above.

<sup>118</sup> A notable exception is *yong* in *ym yong* (120b), which from the long description is easily identified as 陰陽 *im iong*.

<sup>119</sup> An objection might be raised on account of the doublet *siō*, which in modern Ch'üan-chou would be *siū* (cf. group L on p. 123 above). However, the existence of final *-iū* at this early stage is not certain, and the "Bocabulario" does not mention it at all. A literary form that is definitely of Ch'üan-chou provenance is found (160b) in the terms used by the "scholars" ("los letrados") for "grandmother", *chou beu*, *gue chou beu* (that is 外祖母; for the final *-eu* see p. 131 above). Variants, attributed to the "mandarins", are *chu mo*, *guay chu mo*, which no longer exist in modern Hokkien dialects. The colloquial words were *lay po*, *gua po* (that is 內婆, 外婆).



<i>hioc/hac</i> , "aprender" (100a)	: 學 <i>hiok/hak</i> , "to study".
<i>hioc su</i> , "aprender"	: 學書 <i>hiok su</i> , "to study".
<i>hac seng</i> , "dizipulo"	: 學生 <i>hak sing</i> , "student".
<i>hac/o</i> , "aprender" (151b)	: 學 <i>hak/oh</i> , "to study".
<i>chit/chia</i> , "comer o bever" (80a)	: 食 <i>tsit/tsiah</i> , "to eat".
<i>chit chay/chia chay</i> , "hermitaños (81b)"	: 食菜 <i>tsit ts'ai/tsiah ts'ai</i> , "vegetarian".

Three of the forms listed above (*ti*, *hau*, *iong*), although missing in Hokkien, agree with modern Chaochow. In addition, the labialized initial in *huang*, which in Hokkien has given way to *hong*, is still preserved in several phonetically related words by the Chaochow dialect.<sup>120</sup> The purely bookish form *hiok* was used by Chaochow scholars in reciting classical texts<sup>121</sup> and probably served the same purpose in Hokkien. Finally the initial of *tsit*, corresponding to modern *sit*, reflects an original affricate which is lost in other Chinese dialects.<sup>122</sup> As in the rest of this paper, I refrain from drawing further inferences on the phonology of early Southern Min.

"A Luzon padre" became a byword in Hokkien for a domineering man who is always correcting others but won't take correction himself. The present enquiry, which is the first attempt to reconstruct the main outline of any southern dialect of the Ming period, stands much to gain from criticism and should display a different spirit.

<sup>120</sup> 方, 芳, 防, 仿, 訪, 紡, 放 etc.: Chaochow *huang* (cf. Foochow *xuang*), Hokkien *hong*. For 房 no form with a glottal initial has been preserved in any of the dialects mentioned (Chaochow *pang*, Hokkien *pang*). The Hokkien doublets of some of these words, *pang* or *p'ang*, are amply attested in the "Bocabulario" and the Doctrina.

<sup>121</sup> John C. Gibson, *A Swatow index to the Syllabic dictionary of Chinese . . . and to the Dictionary of the vernacular of Amoy . . .*, Swatow 1886, Introduction, pp. 6-9. These bookish forms are not mentioned in the survey of the "literary" and "colloquial" readings by Chan Po-hui 詹伯璽, "Ch'ao-chou fang-yen" 潮州方言, *Fang-yen ho p'u-t'ung hua ts'ung-k'an* 2, Peking 1959, pp. 73-82. The "Bocabulario" contains yet another form corresponding to 學, *hoc seng*, "hijo por ensenanza" (176a), that is *hok sing*, "student".

<sup>122</sup> The form *sit*, in the specialized sense "good food", also occurs ("Bocabulario" 191b).

## Appendix I: Selected Particles

The following list is intended to serve two purposes. The first is to explain the role of some of the adapted characters used in the first part of the Doctrina (as in other Southern Min literature); the second is to facilitate a comparison with the systems of grammatical particles in modern Amoy and Chaochow.<sup>123</sup> Since the Doctrina is short and, moreover, omits several enclitics, the material has been supplemented from the "Arte" (A) and the "Bocabulario" (B). The latter is much the richest source of information, despite the absence of characters and diacritical marks. Examples are taken from all parts of the work (more than eighty percent of which can be easily understood) and not necessarily from the entries where they are explained. I have not added characters to words and phrases unless they occur in the Doctrina, but transcribe all quotations according to the rules followed in the main part of this article.

<i>gua</i> 我, I, my, me	<i>guan</i> 阮, we, our, us; my (B.99b)
	<i>lan</i> 俺, our (inclusive)
<i>lu</i> 你, you, your	<i>lun</i> , you (plural); your (B.141b)
<i>i</i> 伊, he, his, him	<i>in</i> , they, their, them; his (B.119a)
<i>ka ti/ka ki</i> 獨自, self, alone (B.42a, 91a)	
<i>i ge hak sing</i> , his disciples (B.94b)	
<i>Dios ge hok</i> 僚氏箇福, the blessing of God	
<i>sou guan ge hok</i> 所愿箇福, the blessing which he promised	
<i>Dios hua ge</i> 僚氏化箇, created by God	
<i>sā ge</i> 三箇, three	
<i>bo ge k'ah tua</i> 無箇可大, none is greater than the others	
<i>tsi</i> 只, this —, these —	<i>hu</i> 許, that —
<i>tsi ge</i> , this (B.97b)	<i>hu ge</i> , that (B.97b)
	<i>hu si</i> 許時, then
<i>tong kim</i> 當今, now	<i>hu tang si</i> , then (B.179a, 201b)
<i>tā</i> 今, now (B.199a)	<i>hu tā si</i> , then (A.327b, B.199a)
<i>an tsi/an tsi sē</i> , like this (B.8b)	<i>an hu/an hu sē</i> , like that (B.8b)
<i>tsi te</i> , here (B.78b, 207a)	<i>hu te</i> , there (B.109b, 207a)
<i>an tsi te</i> , this way (A.328a, B.7b)	<i>an hu te</i> , that way (A.328a, B.7b)
<i>tu tsi te</i> , here (A.328a)	<i>tu hu te</i> , there (A.328b)
	<i>tu hu te loh</i> , there (B.138b)
<i>tu te</i> , here, present, alive (B.45a, 167a, 216b)	
<i>tsiong lang tong tu te k'uā hi</i> , everybody is watching the play (B.103b)	

<sup>123</sup> The similarities with Chaochow are very striking. Cf. the six articles on particles in Amoy by Huang Ting-hua in *Chung-kuo yü-wen* 1958, 1, 21-24; 2, 81-84; 4, 189-196; 1959, 12, 571-574; 1961, 12, 23-29; 1963, 4, 298-308; Bodman, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien*; Li Yung-ming, *Ch'ao-chou fang-yen*; J. Campbell Gibson, *Manual of Swatow vernacular*, 2nd ed., Swatow 1923.

- mui hong tu te*, the door is sealed (B.108a)  
*hui hui tu te*, the garden lies waste (B.115a)  
*tsia*, here (B.3a, 80a) *hua*, there (B.3a, 109b)  
*tsiah*, to this extent, so — (B.80a, 181b) *hiah*, to that extent, so — (B.104a)<sup>124</sup>  
*tsiah si* 即是, so —, very much (B.80b, 40a)  
*tsiah ge*, these (B.81b) *hiah ge*, those (B.104a)  
*tsiō*, of this kind (B.85b)<sup>125</sup> *hiō*, of that kind (B.104b)<sup>126</sup>  
*an tsiō/an tsiō sē*, in this way (B.8b) *an hiō/an hiō sē*, in that way (B.85b)  
*an iō*, as follows (B.94b, 99b)

- tsi tsui/si tsui* 是誰, who, whom (A.319a, B.78b)  
*si tiang*, who (A.319b)<sup>127</sup>  
*ti* 值, which —  
*ti ge*, which one (B.114b, 202b)  
*ti lang*, who (B.164b)  
*ti si* 值時, when  
*ti te k'u* 值處去, has gone where (A.334b)  
*lu kuā lang te k'u*, where has your master gone (B.167a)  
*ti te loh* 值處落, where  
*te loh*, where (B.216b, 167b)  
*tu te loh*, where (B.138b, 195a)  
*si mih* 是也, what, which — (B.180b, A.319b)  
*mih tai* 也事, why (B.144b)  
*mih su*, what, why (B.144b)  
*tsai ni* 何年, how  
*tso ni* 做年, how (B.88b, 92a)  
*tso ni iō*, how (B.121a, 149a)  
*dsuah*, to what extent, how many (B.121b, 160a)  
*kui ge* 幾箇, how many  
*kap* 合, to join, with (B.43b-44a)  
*kang* 共, with, for, from (B.52ab, A.330ab)  
*k'it* 乞, to give, to, for (somebody); to enable, to let (somebody do something);  
to undergo (somebody's action)  
*k'it lang bat* 乞人識, they enable man to know  
*k'it lang ting* 乞人釘, he was crucified by man  
*k'it gua no*, give it to me! (B.20a)  
*kang gua k'it no*, ask me for it! (B.20a, 109b)  
*lu bueh si mih k'it gua*, what do you want from me (B.131a)

<sup>124</sup> B. adds that this word, which had no character, was common in Chang-chou but was rarely used elsewhere.

<sup>125</sup> Stated to be derived from *tsi*.

<sup>126</sup> Stated to be derived from *hu*.

<sup>127</sup> Stated to be An-hai usage; hence Ch'üan-chou dialect.

- so k'a k'it i k'uā uah*, rub his legs so as to make him comfortable (B.192b)  
*k'it tsa bou bci*, to be seduced by a woman (B.20b)  
*t'ou* 度, to give, to, for (B.215a, A.335a)  
*gua kang lu t'ou*, I asked you for it (B.137b)  
*na* 那, only; if (B.147b-148a, A.329b)  
*na u* 那有, only; *na si* 那是, only  
*tsiu tso*, even if (B.88b, 109a)  
*bong*, tolerable, although (B.32b)  
*bong si p'uā su ai tsik huat*, although he is the judge we want to punish him (B.33a)  
*bueh* 卜, intend to, will (A.324b)  
*ai* 愛, to love, want to (B.4b)  
*ci* 會, can, be able  
*ci tso tit* 會做得, can be done (B.19b)  
*bci* 袂, cannot  
*bci k'u til*, cannot go (A.329b)  
*t'ang* 可, may, suitable for (B.201b-202a)  
*m t'ang* 不可, should not  
*k'o ling* (or *lian*) 可伶, to pity<sup>128</sup>  
*k'ah* 可, comparatively  
*iau k'ah piau ti dzit*, still more beautiful than the sun (B.40a)  
*ling* 寧, it is better that  
*ling k'o bue tsut si*, it would be better if he had never been born (B.134a)  
*kai tit* 該得, ought to get  
*kai tloh*, ought to, must (B.52b)  
*hap kai* 合該, ought to, properly (B.53a)  
*hap kai tloh*, should (B.101b)  
*tloh* 着, right, must, to hit, to succeed (B.210a-211b)  
*m tloh* 不着, wrong  
*boh* 莫, do not! (B.27b)  
*au boh tit tsai huan*, do not sin again! (B.124b)  
*bue* 未, not yet  
*bat* 識, to know, to be used to doing (B.15ab, 154a)  
*u* 有, to have, to have done (B.221b)  
*u siu kan lan* 有受艱難, he underwent sufferings  
*bo* 無, not to have, not to have done (B.29b)  
*bu kik* 無極, infinite<sup>129</sup>  
*m tsing*, not to have done (B.74b)

<sup>128</sup> B.57a explains that *k'o* was "lengua o letra de mandarines" corresponding to *t'ang* in ordinary language; several expressions with *k'o* were however commonly used.

<sup>129</sup> According to B.123a, *bu* was literary ("letra"). In ordinary language *bu kik* was replaced by *kau kik*, "to the utmost", except when speaking of God.

- tsun* 悔, time, at the time when (B.94b, A.327b)  
*hu tsun iā*, at that moment (B.94b)  
*tso lang tsun* 做人悔, when he became man  
*mo kui bueh bei guan sim tsun* 魔鬼卜迷阮心悔, when the devil is about to tempt our hearts  
*liau* 了, end, to finish, after having  
*bo liau* 無了, without end  
*huan hue liau* 反悔了, I have repented  
*tso lang liau* 做人了, after he had become man  
*la*, final particle expressing a situation reached  
*k'u la*, he has gone (B.131b)  
*tsi ts'u bueh to la*, this house is about to collapse (B.90a)  
*tso liau la*, I have done it some time ago (B.222a)  
*gua liam king liau la*, I had already finished praying (A.324b)
- hou* 否, or not?  
*me*, final particle turning a positive statement into a question (B.144a)  
*lu ho me*, how are you? (B.144a)  
*ma*, final particle expressing surprise (B.143a)  
*i si la ma*, is he really dead! (B.143a)  
*no*, final particle expressing an imperative (A.325b)  
*ts'i t'au k'u no*, go to the market! (B.77a)  
*ts'u sue gua no*, let the house to me! (B.196a)  
*boh tā no*, do not speak! (A.333a)  
*ne*, final particle after sentences containing a specific question word or a shortened alternative  
*kin tuā dzit t'an dzuah ne*, how much did you earn today? (B.201a)  
*mih tai m sci ne*, why don't you wash? (B.5a)  
*liah tioh a m ne*, have they caught him? (B.210b)  
*lu kang tsa bou ho a bo ne*, have you been intimate with a woman? (B.157a)  
*a*, particle with exclamatory force (B.3a)  
*ai tsiah si ho a*, oh how wonderful! (B.4b)  
*i tā si mih a*, what does he say? (B.180b)  
*ngia/iā*, ㄋㄧㄚ, diminutival and familiarity suffix (A.322a)<sup>130</sup>  
*kin iā* (others said *kan iā*), boy, slave (B.50b, 126b)  
*huan iā*, Tagalogs (B.25a)  
*kap iā*, young pigeon (B.43b)  
*sā ngia*, coat (B.173b)  
*bo ngia/bo iā*, hat (B.28b, 162b)  
*k'a tsing t'au ngia*, toe (B.41a)  
*loh hou iā*, it rains a little (B.109a)

<sup>130</sup> After words ending in a vowel more often *ngia* than *iā*; after consonants only *iā*. Cf. *piersonya* (*piat sun iā*), "person", in the *Doctrina*.

## Appendix II

*Doctrina christiana en letra y lengua china*

In this combined edition, the character text follows the *Doctrina* published about 1605 by Keng Yong (and photolithographically reprinted in 1951). As a rule abbreviated characters are replaced by their full forms, but characters adapted to Hokkien vernacular are retained. I also keep the original punctuation marks, supplementing them where necessary (especially towards the end).

The two versions of the romanized text have been copied from the manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 25 317). I retain the few scattered tone marks, but replace the aspiration sign (a superscript *h*) by an inverted comma. Where nasalization is indicated by means of a swung dash this is preserved, but superscript *n*, which has the same function, is changed. The swung dash over syllabic *m* is also kept. In Spanish words, syllabic division is not maintained and the first letter is transcribed as a capital; all abbreviations are expanded.

Notes refer to alterations in the original manuscript. They also offer conjectured characters when the romanized text differs significantly from the printed edition. Mistakes in the romanized text are not normally indicated or corrected.

1a 俺有冤家。本頭僚氏救阮。因爲山礁居  
 guan u uan ke pun tao Diosi kiu guan yn ui Santa Cu-  
 guan u uan que pun tau Diosi quiu guan in ui Santa Co-

律氏。記號。父子并卑厘廚山廚。力助阮。  
 lusi ki ho pe kia pen Piritu Santo lar chan guan  
 lutsi qui ho pē qia pen Pilitu Santo lat chan guan

啞民西士。

Amen Jesus

Amen Jesu

俺爹你在天上。你賜乞阮稱美你名。你  
 lan tia lu tu t'i chio lu su kir guan cheng suan lu mia lu  
 guan tia lu tu ti chio lu su quit guan cheng zoan lu mia lu

國賜來乞阮。你賜乞阮只地上。順守你  
 cog su lay kir guan lu su kir guan chi tey chio sun siu lu  
 cog su lay qit guan lu su qit guan chi tey chio zun siu lu

命。親像在天。日日所用箇物。今日日  
 beng chin chio tu t'i chio yit yit sei ong ge mi kin toa yit  
 beng chin chio tu t'i chio xit xit sou iog gue mi quin toa xit

你賜乞阮。你亦赦阮罪。親像阮赦得罪  
 lu sū kir guan lu ya sia guan chue chin chio guan sia teg chue  
 lu su quit guan lu ya sia guan chei<sup>1</sup> chin chio guan sia tec chue

阮人。魔鬼卜迷阮心。你莫放乞阮做。  
 guan lang mo cuy po bee guan sim chun lu bo pang kir guan cho  
 guan lang mo cuy bue bey guan sim chun lu bo pang qit gua cho

寧救阮苦難。啞民西士。

leng quiu guan cou lan Amen Jesus

leng quiu guan cou lan Amen Jesus

山礁媽厘啞。僚氏保庇你。你有大呀勝  
 Santa Maria Diosi po pi lu lu u toa Gala-  
 Sancta Malia Diosi po pi lu lu u toa Gala-

舍滿滿。本頭僚氏在你心內落。僚氏賜  
 cia moa moa pun tao Liosi tu lu sim lay lo Diosi su  
 gia moa moa pun tao Diosi tu lu sim lay lo Diosi su

福乞你。勝過衆婦人。你子西士氏。亦受  
 hoc kir lu seng que chiong hu xin lu kia Jesusi ya siu  
 hoc quit lu seng cue chiong hu xin lu qia Jesu ya siu

僚氏箇福。山礁媽厘啞。美里矧。僚氏娘  
 Diosi ge hoc Santa Maria Virigen Diosi nio  
 Diosi gue hoc Sancta Malia Viligen Diosi nio

奶。你共僚氏求人情。乞阮罪人。啞民西  
 ley lu cang Diosi kiu xin cheng kir guan chue lang Amen Je-  
 ley lu cang Diosi quiu xin cheng quit guan chue lang Amen Je-

士。

sus

sus

我信僚氏娘父。變化無窮。化天化地。亦  
 gua sin Diosi nio pe pieng hua bu kiong hua ti hua tey ya  
 gua sin Diosi nio pe pian hua bu qiong hu ti hua tey ya

信西士奇尼實道。僚氏娘父。那有只一  
 sin Jesu Kiristo Diosi nio pe na u chi cheg  
 sin Jesu Christo Diosi nio pe na u chi cheg

子。伊是俺本頭。投胎在山礁媽厘啞美  
 kia y si lan pun tao tau t'e tu Santa Maria Vi-  
 quia y si guan pun tau tau te tu Santa Malia Vi-

1 Originally *chei cua*, but *cua* crossed out; probably *chue* intended.

2a 里矧腹內。是卑尼廚山廚化箇。是山礁  
 rigen pág lay si Piritu Santo hua gē si Santa  
 ligen pag lay si Pilitu Sancto hua ge si Santa

媽厘啞美里矧生箇。乞本事卑勝廚。枉  
 Maria Virigen se ge kir Punsu Pilato ong  
 Malia Viligen se ge quit Ponçio Pilato ong

法釘死在居律上。埋石墳內。落去臨  
 huar teng si tu Culut chiō bai chio cong lay lo cu Lim.  
 huar teng si tu Culur chio bay tu<sup>1</sup> chio cong lay lo cu Lim.

暮內。第三日。再活起來。上天去在無極  
 bong lay tey sā xit chai ua ki lay chiō t'ī cū tu bu kec  
 bo lay tey sa xit say ua qui lay chio ti cu tu bu quec

僚氏娘父大手邊坐。後落來。判人  
 Diosi nio pe toa chiu pi che au lo lay poa lang  
 Diosi ni pe toa chiu pi che au u xit<sup>2</sup> lo lay poa lang

生。判人死。亦信僚氏卑厘廚山廚。亦信  
 sē poa lang si ya sin Diosi Piritu Santo ya sin  
 se poa lang si ya sin Diosi Pilitu Sancto ya sin

一箇山礁益禮社。交刀厘咬。亦信衆山  
 cheg gē Santa Ecclesia Catolica ya sin chiong San-  
 cheg ge Sancta Yglesia Catolica

廚相覆蔭。亦信僚氏赦人罪。亦信死身  
 to sa hoc im ya sin Diosi sia lang chue ya sin si sin  
 ya sin Diosi sia lang chue ya sin si sin

後有日再活起來。亦信有性命。永世無  
 au xyt<sup>3</sup> chāy ua ki lay ya sin u se mia eng si bo  
 au xit chay ua qui lay ya sin u se mia en si bo

1 在 2 有日 3 x written across original v

了。啞民西士。

liau Amen Jesus

liau Amen Jesus

仙礁媽厘啞。僚氏聖母娘娘。你是阮娘  
 Santa Maria Diosi seng bo nio nio lu sy guan nio  
 Santa Malia Diosi seng bo nio nio lu si guan nio

奶。慈悲可伶阮。阮惜你甚甜。阮仰望你。  
 ley chu pi co leng guan guan sio lu sim ti guan giang bong lu  
 ley chu pi co leng guan guan sio lu sim ti gu guan bong lu

看怙你。聖母娘娘。阮是姨媽子孫。阮是  
 quā cou lu sen bo nio nio guan si Eba kia sun guan si  
 cua cou lu seng bo nio nio guan si Eva quia zun guan si

貶罪人。開聲叫你。阮只世上艱難所在。  
 pieng hue lang cui sia kio lu guan chi si chio can lan sou chay  
 pien hue lang cui sia quio lu guan chi tey<sup>1</sup> chio can nan sou chu

吐氣切氣憶着你。你是阮恩人。慈悲目  
 tōu cui che cuy it tio lu lu si guan yn lang chu pi bac  
 tou cuy che cu it tio lu lu si guan yn lang chu pi bac

瞞看顧阮。阮貶罪滿了。賜乞阮見你子  
 chiu qua cou guan guan pien hue moa liao su kir guan ki lu kia  
 chiu cua cou guan guan pien hue moa liao su quit guan qui lu kia

西士氏。山礁媽厘啞。你卽是慈心。你共  
 Jesusi Santa Maria lu chia si chu sim lu cang  
 Jesusi Santa Malia lu chia si chu sim lu cang

僚氏求人情。乞阮受西士奇尼實道所  
 Diosi kiu xin cheng kir guan siu Jesu Kirisito sou  
 Diosi quiu xin cheng quit guan siu Jesu Christo sou

愿箇福。啞民西士。

guan gē hoc Amen Jesus

guan gue hoc Amen Jesus

3a 僚氏有十四件事實。衆人着信。先七件  
Diosi u chap si kia su sit chiong lang tio sin seng chit kia  
Diosi u chap si kia su sit chiong lang sin seng chit quia

乞人識僚氏根因。第一件。着信一位僚  
kir lang bar Diosi kin yn tei it kia tio sin cheg ui Dio-  
quir lang bar Diosi quin in tei it kia tio sin cheg ui Dio-

氏。無極大。變化無窮。第二件。着信一位  
si bu keg toa pieng hua bu kiong tei xi kia tio sin cheg ui  
si bu quec toa pien hua bu quiong tei xi quia tio sin cheg ui

僚氏。獨自是娘父。第三件。着信一位僚  
Diosi ka ki si nio pe tei sā kia tio sin cheg ui Dio-  
Diosi ca qui si nio pe tei sa quia tio sin cheg ui Dio-

氏。獨自是子。第四件。着信一位僚氏。獨  
si ka ti si kia tei si kia tio sin cheg ui Diosi ta  
si ca qui si quia tei si quia tio sin cheg ui Diosi

自是卑尼廚山廚。第五件。着信一位僚  
ki si Piritu Santo tei gou kia tio sin cheg ui Dio-  
si Pilitu Sancto tei gou kia tio sin cheg ui Dio-

3b 氏。化成天地萬物。第六件。着信一位僚  
si chua chiā t'i tei ban bur tei lac kia tio sin cheg ui Dio-  
si hua chia ti tey ban bur tei lag quia tio sin cheg ui Dio-

氏。能赦人罪。第七件。着信一位僚氏。報  
si e sia lang chue tei chit kia tio sin cheg ui Diosi po  
si ei sia lang chue tei chit quia tio sin cheg ui Diosi ey

善人上天去受福。後七件。乞人識俺本  
siang lang chio t'i cu siu hoc au chit kia kir lang bar lan pun  
lang chio ti cu siu hoc au chit quia quir lang bar lan pun

頭西士奇尼實道。做人箇所行。第一件。  
tao Jesu Kirisito cho lang gē sou kia tei it kia  
tau Jesu Christo cho lang ge sou kia tei it kia

着信俺本頭西士奇尼實道。做人悖。投  
tio sin lan pun tau Jesu Christo cho lang chūn t'āu  
tio sin lan pun tau Jesu Christo cho lang chun tau

胎山礁媽厘啞。美里矧腹內。是卑尼  
t'e tu<sup>1</sup> Santa Maria Virigen pac lay si Piri-  
te tu Santa Malia Viligen pag lay si Pili-

廚山廚化箇。第二件。着信俺本頭西士  
tu Santo hua ge tei xi kia tio sin lang pun t'au Jesu  
tu Santo hua gue tei xi quia tio sin guan pun tau Jesu

奇尼實道。是山礁媽厘啞。美里矧生箇。  
Kirito si Santa Maria Virigen se ge  
Christo si Santa Malia Virigen se gue

第三件。着信俺本頭西士奇尼實道。受  
tei sa kia tio sin lan pun tao Jesu Kirisito siu  
tei sa kia tio sin guan pun tau Jesu Christo siu

多多艱難。乞人釘死在居律上。埋  
chei chei can lan kir lang teng si tu Culu chio bai  
chei chei can nan quit lang teng si tu Colur chio sim<sup>2</sup> bay tu<sup>3</sup>

石壙內。愛贖人罪。救人神魂上天。第  
chio cong lay ay sioc lang chue kiu lang sin hun chio t'i cu tei  
chio cong lay ay sioc lang chue quiu lang sin hun chio ti cu<sup>4</sup> tei

四件。着信俺本頭西士奇尼實道。落去  
 si kia tio sin lan pun tau Jesu Kiristo lo cu  
 si quia tio sin guan pun tau Christo Jesu lo cu

臨幕內。古時得道人神魂。望伊來。牽伊  
 Limbong lay cou si tec to lang sin hun bang y lay can y  
 Limbou lay cou si tec to lang sin hun bang y lay bang y

出去。第五件。着信俺本頭西士奇尼實  
 chur cu tei gou kĩa tiō sin lan pun tau Jesu Kirisi-  
 chur cu tei gou kia tio sin guan pun tau Jesu Chris-

4b 道。第三日再活起來。第六件。着信俺本  
 to tei sã xit chay ua ki lay tei lag kia tio sin lan pun  
 to tei sa xit chai ua ki lay tei lag kia tio sin guan pun

頭西士奇尼實道。上天去。在無極僚氏  
 tau Jesu Cristo chio ti cu toa bu keg Diosi  
 tau Jesu Christo chio ti cu tu bu quec Diosi

娘父大手邊坐。第七件。着信俺本頭西  
 nio pe toa chiu pi che tei chit kia tio sin lan pun tau Je-  
 nio pe tua chiu pi che tei chit quia tio sin guan pun tau Je-

士奇尼實道。後有日落來。判人生。判人  
 su Kirisitto au u xit lo lay poa lang se poa lang  
 su Christo au u xit lo lay poa lang se poa lang

死。賞善人上天去受福。因爲是順僚氏  
 si siang siàn lāng chio tĩ cu siũ hōc ŷn ui si sũn Diosi  
 si sian sien lang chio ti cu siu hoc yn ui si zun Diosi

律法。問罪人落去地獄內。受刑法。永世  
 lur huar muy chue lāng lo c'ũ tey gioc lay siu heng huar eng si  
 lur huar muy chue lang lu cu tey yoc lay siu heng huar en si

無了。因爲是逆僚氏法度。啞民西士。  
 bo liau yn ui si geg Diosi huar tou Amen Jesus  
 bo liau in ui m̃ tan Diosi huar tou Amen Jesus

5a 僚氏律法。總有十件。先三件。是尊敬僚  
 Diosi lur huar chong u chap kia seng sa kia si chun keng Dio-  
 Diosi lur huar chon u chap kia si chun queng Dio-

氏。後七件。是和順衆人。第一件。惜僚氏  
 si au chit kia si ho sũn chiong lang tei it kia sio Diosi  
 si au chit quia si ho zun chiong lang te it kia sio Diosi

勝過各衆物。第二件。不可亂咀誓。第三  
 seng que cog chiong bur tei xi kia m̃ t'ang loan chiu chua<sup>1</sup> tei sa  
 seng cue cog chiong mi tei xi quia um̃ tang luan chiu chua tei sa

件。尊敬禮拜好日。不可作工夫。第四件。  
 kia chun keng ley pai ho xit m̃ tang cho cang hu tei si kia  
 quia chun queng le pay ho xit m̃ tang cho cang hu tei si quia

孝順父母。第五件。不可害死人。第六件。  
 hãu sũn pẽ bo tei gou kia m̃ t'an hay si lang tei lag kia  
 hau zun pe bo tei gou quia um tang hai si lang tey lag quia

不可姦淫等事。第七件。不可偷提。第八  
 m̃ t'an can ym teng su tei chit kia m̃ t'an tau tẽ tei pẽ  
 m̃ tang can im teng su tei chit kia m̃ tang tau te tei pe

5b 件。不可生事害人。亦不可說白賊。第九  
 kia m̃ t'an seng su hay lāng ya m̃ t'an sue pe char tei cau  
 quia um tang seng su hay lang ya m̃ tang sue pe char tei cau

件。不可思想別人妻。第十件。不可貪圖  
 kia m̃ t'an su sio par lang che tei chap kia m̃ tan tám tou  
 kia um tang siao sio pat lang chei tei chap kia m̃ tang bau



別人財物。只十件律法。合上那有二件  
 par lang chay bur chi chap kia lur huar hap chio na u no kia  
 par lang chay bur chi chap quia lur huar chap chiong na u no quia

事。一件惜僚氏勝過各衆物。一件惜別  
 su chit kia sio Diosi seng que cog chiong bur chit kia sio par  
 su cheg quia sio Diosi seng cue cog chiong mi cheg kia sio par

人。親像惜你獨自。啞民西士。

lang chin chio sio lu ka ti Amen Jesus  
 lang chin chio sio lu ca ti Amen Jesus

仙礁益禮社律法。總五件。第一件。禮  
 Santa Ecclesia lur huar chong u<sup>1</sup> gou kia tei it kia ley  
 Santa Yglesia lur huar chong u gou quia tei tt quia le

拜并好日。着看綿卅完全。第二件。年年  
 pay peng ho xit tio qua Missa uân chuan tei xi kia ni ni  
 pay peng ho xit tio cuâ Missa oan choan tei xi quia ni ni

3a 着解罪一過。險死悖。亦着解罪。第三件。  
 tio kei chue cheg que hiam si chun ya tio kei chue tei sa kia  
 tio quey chue cheg cue hiam si chun ya tio quey chue tei sa quia

俺本頭西士奇尼實道。再活起來節氣。  
 lan pun t'au Jesu Kirisitto châi ua ki lay che quy  
 guan pun tau Jesu Christo chay ua qui lay cheg qui

着食腰加厘實爹。第四件。山礁益禮社。  
 tio chia Ucarisittia tei si kia Santa Ecclesia  
 tio chia Eucalisittia tei si quia Santa Yglesia

教人有日減減。着減減。亦不可食肉。第  
 ca lang u xit kiam tui<sup>2</sup> tio kiam tui ya m̃ tan chia ba tei  
 ca lang u xit kiam tui tio quiam tui ya m̃ tang chia ba tei

五件。地上所生箇物。着先送入廟感謝  
 gou kia tey chio sou seng ge mi tio seng sang xib bio cam sia  
 gou kia tey chio zou seng ge mi tio seng sang xip bio cam sia

僚氏。亦着加一抽。巴禮該得。啞民西士。  
 Diosi ya tio ke it tiu Pare cay tit  
 Diosi Amen Jesus

山礁益禮社。有七件微妙。總名沙膠覽  
 Santa Ecclesia u chit kia bi biau chong mia Sacala-  
 Santa Yglesia u chir quia bi biau chon mia Sacra-

6b 民廚。賜乞人呀勝舍。赦人罪靠。第一件。  
 mento su kir lang Galacia lang chei coa tei it kia  
 mento su quit lang Gracia sia lang cheg cua tei it kia

茅知氏冒。是巴禮共人濂水。第二。公  
 Mautisimo si Pare cang lang liam chui tei xi kia<sup>1</sup> Con-  
 Baptismo si Pale cang lang liam chui tei xi quia Con-

丕馬常。是巴禮王共人打十字號。抹山  
 pirmacion si Pare ong cang lang pa chap xi ho bua San-  
 pimassion si Pale ong cang lang pa chap xi ho bua San-

廚油。乞人專心信僚氏道理。第三件。卑  
 to yu kir lang chuan sim sin Diosi to li te sa kia Pe-  
 to iu quit lang hoan sim sin Diosi to li tei sa quia Pe-

尼珍舍。是巴禮共人解罪。第四件。腰加  
 nitensia si Pare cang lang kei chue tei si kia Yauca-  
 litencia si Pale cang lang quey chue tei si quia Euca-

厘實爹。是巴禮做綿卅。念經了。俺本頭  
 risittia si Pare cho Missa liam keng riau lan pun tau  
 listia si Pale cho Missa liam queng liau lan pun tao

西士奇尼實道在許阿實爹內落。第五  
 Jesu Kirisito tu hu Hositia lay lo tei gou  
 Jesu Christo tu hu Hositia lay lo tei gou

件。一氏治馬溫常。是人險死悵。巴禮共  
 kia Itsitima Uncion si lang hiam si chun Pare cang  
 quia Extrema Unçion si lang hiam si chun Pale cang

7a 伊抹山廚油。第六件。阿陵沙西羅達。是  
 y bua Santo yu tei lag kia Uren Saselotal si  
 y bua Santo yu tei lag quia Olen Saseldotal si

巴禮王陞人做巴禮。第七件。馬直文畔。  
 Pare ong seng lang cho Pare tei chit kia Matitbunnio  
 Pale ong seng lang cho Pale tei chit quia Matimonio

是巴禮共人牽手。啞民西士。

si Pare cang lang can chiu Amin Jesus  
 si Pale cang lang can chiu Amen Jesus

僚氏教人可憐人。有十四件事。先七件。  
 Diosi ca lang co leng lang u chap si kia su seng chit kia  
 Diosi ca lang co rien lang u chap si quia su seng chit quia

是可憐人身。第一件。人有飢餓。我可憐  
 si co leng lang sin tei it kia lang u ki go gua co leng  
 co rien lang sin tei it quia lang u qui go gua co rien

去賑濟伊。第二件。人有口渴。我可憐施  
 cu chin chey y tei xi kia lang u cou qua gua co leng si  
 cu chin chey tei xi quia lang u chui cua gua co rieng si

水乞伊。第三件。人有典賣為奴。我可憐  
 chui kir y tei sa kia lang u tian bei ui lou gua co leng  
 chuy quit y ti sa quia lang u tien bey ui lou gua co rien

7b 為伊贖身。第四件。人欠衣裳。我可憐捨  
 ui y sioc sin tei si kia lang kiam y chio gua co leng sia  
 ui y sioc sin tei si quia lang quiam un chio gua co rien sia

施乞伊。第五件。人有疾病。我可憐去看  
 si kir y tei gou kia lang u cheg peng gua co leng cu qua  
 si quit y te gou quia lang u chit pe gua co rien cu cua

顧伊。第六件。人無依倚。我可憐留宿我  
 cou y tei lag kia lang bo y ua gua co leng lau sua gua  
 cou y tei lag quia lang tio y ua gua co rien lau zoa gua

厝。第七件。人死暴露。我可憐為伊埋葬。  
 chu tei chit kia lang si po lou gua co leng u y bay chong  
 chu tei chit quia uy y bay chong

後七件。是可憐人神魂。第一件。人蒙愚  
 au chit kia si co leng lang sin hun tei it kia lang bong gu  
 au chit quia<sup>1</sup> si co rien lang sin hun tei it quia lang bong gu

暗。我可憐教伊道理。第二件。人識道理  
 am gua co leng ca y to li tei xi kia lang bar to li  
 am gua co rien y to luy tei xi quia lang bar to li

8a 未明。我可憐教示伊真。第三件。人做不  
 bue beng gua co leng ca si y chin tei sa kia lang cho m̃  
 bue beng gua co rien ca si y chin tey sa quia lang cho um

着。我可憐教訓伊。莫乞伊再做。第四件。  
 tio gua co leng cau hun y bo kir y chay cho tei si kia  
 tio gua co rien cau chun y bo quit y chai cho tei si quia

人有得罪我。我可憐讓伊。莫怨恨。第五  
 lang u tec chue gua gua co leng nio y bo uan chun tei gou  
 lang u tec chue gua gua co rien nio y bo uan chun tei gou

1 uy y bay chong au chit quia misplaced and crossed out.

件。人有恥辱我。我可怜讓伊。莫報怨。第  
kia lang u ti xioq gua gua co leng nio y bo po uan tey  
quia lang u ti tioc gua gua co rien nio y bo po uan tey

六件。人有憂悶。我可怜爲伊改悶。第七  
lag kia lang u yu bun gua co leng ui y kei<sup>1</sup> bun tei chit  
lag quia lang u yu bun gua co rien ui y quey bun tei chit

件。我可怜人。求僚氏保庇生人。賜乞伊  
kia gua co leng lang kiu Diosi po pi se lang su kir y  
quia gua co rien lang quiu Diosi po pi se lang su quit

8b 呀勝舍。亦保庇瀟水死人。賜乞伊 受  
Galajia ya po pi liam chui si lang su kir y siu  
Galajia ya po pi liam chuy sy lang su quit y y siu

噉囉哩仔。啞民西士。

Goloria Amen Jesus  
Gloria Amen Jesus

七條犯罪根源。第一根源。驕傲肆志。  
chit tiau huan chue kin guan tei it kin guan kiu go su chi  
chit tiau huan chue quin guan tei it quin guan quiu u go su chi

第二根源。貪財鄙吝。第三根源。行淫邪  
tei xi kin gua tam chay pi rin tei sa kin guan cheng im sia  
tei xi quin guan tam chay pi lin tei sa quin guan heng im sia

穢。第四根源。忿氣怨恨。第五根源。哺嘸  
oe tei si kin guan hun ki uan hun tei gou kin guan pou choar  
oe tei si quin guan hun qui uan hun tei gou quin guan pou chuar

無厭。第六根源。妒忌賢富。第七根源。懶  
bu yam tei lag kin guan tou ki hiam hu tei chit kin guan lan  
bu iam tei lag quin guan tou qui hien hu tei chit quin guan lan

9a 情閑逸。啞民西士。

to han it Amen Jesus

to han it Amen Jesus

我是得罪人。我共僚氏合山礁媽厘啞。

gua si teg chue lang gua cang Diosi hap Santa Maria

gua si tec chue lang gua cang Diosi cab Santa Malia

微里矧。山綿牙亞勝江奚。山羨茅知實

Virigin San Migue Alacangge San Juan Maptisit-

Viligen San Miguel Alacangel San Juan Baptiz-

踏。并山廚亞褒實道黎氏。山敵羅。山塔

ta peng Santo Aposittolesi San Pelo San Pab-

ta Santo Apostolesi San Pelo San Pa-

羅。并山哆羅明敖。共衆山廚氏。亦共巴

lo peng San Palansisco<sup>1</sup> cang chiong Santosi ya cang Pa-

lo peng San Francisco cang chiong Santosi ya cang Pa-

禮你認我罪。我心想悔。咀話悔。做事悔。

le lu xin gua chue gua sim sio chun ta ua chun cho su chun

le lu xin gua chue gua sim sio chun ta oe chun cho chun

多多過。做即是不着。是我罪。是我罪。我

chei que cho chia si m̄ tio si gua chue si gua chue gua

chey chey que cho chia bi um tio si gua chue si gua chue gua

當今反悔了。愛改過。求山礁媽厘亞。微

tong kim huan hue liau ay kei que kiu Santa Maria Vi-

tong quim huan hue liau ay quey cue quiu Santa Malia Vi-

里矧。山綿倪。啞勝江奚。山羨茅知實踏。

rigin San Migue Acange San Juan Mautisitta

ligen San Miguel Alcange San Juan Baptizta

9b 井山廚亞褒實道黎<sup>1</sup>氏。山敝羅。山塔羅。

peng Santo Apositolesi San Pelo San Pablo

peng Santo Apostolezsi San Pelo San Pablo

井山哆羅明敖。亦求衆山廚氏。大家共

peng San Palansisitco ya kiu chiong Santosi tai ke cang

Sancto Lomingo yau quiu chong Santosi tay que cang

僚氏求人情。赦我罪。巴禮你替西士奇

Diosi kiu xin cheng sia gua chue Pale lu tê Jesu Ki-

Diosi quiu xin cheng sia gua chue Pale lu tey Jesu Ch-

尼實道。我求你。你共我解罪。你亦求僚

risito gua kiu lu lu cang gua kei chue lu ya kiu Dio-

risto gua quiu lu lu cang gua quey chue lu ya quiu Dio-

氏赦我罪。啞民西士。

si sia gua chue Amen Sesu

si sia gua chue Amen Jesus

問答道理。你是濂水人否。答曰。感謝僚

lu si liam chui lang hou tap uar cam sia Dio-

氏恩德。是濂水人。只名濂水人偁年說。

si in tec si liam chui lang chay ni sue

10a 答曰。人信僚氏道理。親像山礁益<sup>1</sup>禮社。

tap uar lang sin Diosi to li chin chio Santa Ecclesia

阮媽教人。只山礁益禮社偁年說。答曰。

guan ma ca lang chi Santa Ecclesia chay ni sue tap uar

衆濂水人。共一大人。名叫巴罷。濂水人

chiong liam chui lang cang chit toa lang mia kio Papa liam keng<sup>1</sup>

尊敬是誰。答曰。尊敬僚氏。天地是僚氏

chun quen chi chui tap uar chun keng Diosi ti tey si Diosi

否。答曰。不是。那是僚氏化箇。天地會保

hou tap uar m̄ si na si Diosi<sup>1</sup> hua ge ti tey ei po

庇人否。答曰。袂。不是誰保庇人。答曰。那

pi lang hou tap uar bei si chui po pi lang tap uar na

是僚氏會保庇得人。會責罰得人。天地

si Diosi ey po pi tit lang ey cheg huar tit lang ti tei

有起頭 否。答曰。有。僚氏有起頭 否。

u ki tau a bo tap uar u Diosi u ki tau a bo

答曰。無。僚氏是乜物。答曰。僚氏第一大。

tap uar bo Diosi si mi mi tap uar Diosi tei it toa

第一好。第一賢。僚氏有幾箇。答曰。一箇。

tei ho tei it gau Diosi u cui ge tap uar cheg ge

別孫 有幾箇。答曰。三箇。叫是乜名。

Perssona<sup>2</sup> u cuy guē tap uar sa ge quio si mi si mia

10b 答曰。僚氏父。僚<sup>1</sup>氏子。僚氏卑尼廚山廚。

tap uar Diosi pe Diosi kia Diosi Piritutu Santo

只三箇別孫仔。有箇可大否。答曰。無箇

chi sa ge Piersonya u ge ca toa hou tap uar bo ge

可大。都平大。都平好。都平賢。只三箇別

ca toa tou pe tua tou pe ho tou pe gau chi sã ge Pier-

孫仔。總名叫是乜名。答曰。名叫山治氏

sona chong mia kio si mi mia tap uar kio Santisi-

馬知咩力。值一箇別孫仔做人。答曰。第  
ma Tinilat ti cheg ge Piersonya cho lan tap uar tei

二別孫仔僚氏子。落來做人。伊做人了。  
xi Piersona Diosi kia lo lay cho lang y cho lang siu

名叫是也。答曰。名叫西士奇尼實道。伊  
mia kio si mi tap uar mia kio Jesu Kilitsito y

做人也事。答曰。愛教人真正僚氏道理。  
cho lang mi tay tap uar ay ca lang chin chia Diosi to li

替人罪靠。人有是也罪靠。答曰。第一祖  
t'e lang chei coa lang u si mi chei coa tap uar tei it chou

公。祖婆。早時逆僚氏法度。所累子孫。有  
cong chou po cha si geg Diosi huar tou sou lui kia sun u

11a 只罪靠。人獨自做不着。亦有罪靠。俺本  
chi chei coa lang ca ki cho m̃ tio ya u chei coa lan pun

頭西士奇尼實道。伊做人悖。有娘父否。  
tau Jesu Kirisitto y cho lang chun u nio pe hou

答曰。無。有娘奶否。答曰。有。伊娘奶叫是  
tap uar bo u nio ley bo tap uar u si

也名。答曰。名叫山礁媽厘啞美里矧。只  
mi mia kio Santa Maria Virigen chi

名美里矧做年改說。答曰。伊是得道婦  
mia Virigen cho ni kei sue tap uar y si tec to hu

人。平生不識男人氣味。伊不識男人氣  
xin peng seng m̃ bar lan yin ki bi y m̃ bar lam xin ki

味。做年會生子。答曰。是卑尼廚山廚化  
bi cho ni ei se kia tap uar si Pitu Santo hua

箇。俺本頭西士奇厘實道。做人了。後有  
ge lan pun t'au Jesu Kirisitto cho lang liau u

受艱難否。答曰。有受艱難。乞人釘死在  
siu can lan hou tap uar u siu can lan kir lang teng si tu

11b 居律上。愛替人罪靠。救人神魂上天去。  
Culu chio ay te lang chei coa kiu lang sin hun chio t'i cu

伊死了。身值處去。答曰。埋在石壙內。伊  
y si liau sin ti te cu tap uar bay tu chio cong lay y

神魂值處去。答曰。落去臨暮內。落去臨  
sin hun ti te cu tap uar lo cu Limbong lay lo cu Lim-

暮內也事。答曰。牽古時得道人神魂上  
bong lay mi tay tap uar can cou si tec to lang sin hun chio

天去。俺本頭西士奇尼實道。死後有日  
ti cu lan pun tau Jesu Kirisitto si au u yit

再活起來否。答曰。有日再活起來。值時  
chay ua ki lay hou tap uar u yit chay ua ki lay ti si

活起來。答曰。第三日活起來。值處去。答  
ua ki lay tap uar tei sa yit ua ki lay ti te cu tap

曰。上天去。上天去值處落。答曰。在僚氏  
uar chio ti cu chio ti cu te te lo tap uar tu Diosi

娘父大手邊坐。俺本頭西士奇尼實道。  
nio pe toa chiu pi che lan pun tau Jesu Kirisitto

上天去了。後有日再落來否。答曰。有日  
chio ti cu liau au u yit chay lo lay hou tap uar u yit

12a 再落來。值時。答曰。僚氏獨自知。落來也  
chay lo lay ti si tap uar Diosi ca ki chay lo lay mi

事。答曰。落來判人生。判人死。叫人死身  
tay tap uar lo lay poa lang se poa lang si kio lang si sin

再活起來。賞善人。身共神魂上天去受  
chay ua ki lay siang sian lang sin cang sin hun chio ti cu siu

福。問罪人。身共神魂落去地獄內。受刑  
hoc muy chue lang sin cang sin hun lo c'u tey yok lay siu heng

法。永世無了。衆山廚做年相福蔭。答曰。  
huar eng si bo liau chiong Santo cho ni sa ho im tap uar

濂水好心人。做好事。帶着別好心人。做  
liam chui ho sim lang cho ho su toa tio par ho sim lang cho

一件好事乞伊。親像伊獨自做箇。僚氏  
cheg kia ho su kir y chin chio y ka ti cho ge Diosi

值時赦人罪靠。答曰。巴禮共伊濂水悌。  
ti si sia lang chey coa Pare cang lang<sup>1</sup> liam chui chun

巴禮共人解罪悌。許時僚氏赦人罪靠。  
Pare cang lang kei chue chun hu si Diosi sia lang chei coa

12b 人神魂會死否。答曰。袂死。永世無了。巴  
lang sin hun ei si bei tap uar bei si eng si bo liau Pa-

禮捧起阿實爹是也物。答曰。俺本頭西  
re pang ki Ossitia si mi mi tap uar lan pun tau Je-

士奇尼實道箇身。巴禮捧起銀鍾內是  
su Kirisitto ge sin Pare pang ki gin chiong lay si

也物。答曰。西士奇尼實道箇血。  
mi mi tap uar Jesu Christo ge hue

教人數珠 微妙道理。全數珠一百五  
ca lang sou chu keng<sup>1</sup> bi biau to li chui sou chu chit pe gou

十粒。是念啞迷媽厘啞。十五粒。是天  
chap riap si liam Abe Maria chap gou riap si liam<sup>2</sup> ti

上俺爹。此數珠。分作三分。首一分五十  
chio lan tia chu sou chu hun choc sa hun siu chit hun gou chap

粒啞迷媽厘啞。五粒天上俺爹。是山礁  
riap Abe Maria gou riap ti chio lan tia si Santa

媽厘啞。得意道理。第一件。是天人山呀  
Maria tec y to li tei it kia

13a 勝迷。奉命降下。與山礁媽厘啞報喜。乃  
稱之曰。亞迷媽厘啞。汝有呀勝舍充滿。  
本頭僚氏在汝心中。媽厘啞聽見此言。  
忽有驚動。天人乃慰之曰。僚氏極厚愛  
汝。僚氏子要投胎汝腹內。他既出世。汝  
與之表名曰。西士氏。媽厘亞答天人曰。  
我乃微里矧。平生不識男人情意。何如  
能爲此大事。天人復謂媽厘亞曰。汝不

須驚疑。此事乃卑尼廚山廚化的。媽厘  
 啞聽見此言。乃謙細答天人曰。我乃僚  
 13b 氏婢僕。隨本頭僚氏主意。斯時僚氏子  
 便投胎於腹中。仙礁媽厘啞。我念此十  
 Santa Maria gua liam chi chap  
 粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺爹。送與汝。  
 riap Abe Maria cheg riap ti chio lan tia sang tou lu  
 因爲汝最謙細。天人山呀勝迷。降下與  
 yn ui lu choe kiam sei Angel Galabe cang he cang  
 汝報喜。說僚氏要選汝爲他聖母。啞。山  
 lu po hi sue Diosi ay suan lu ui ta seng bou San-  
 礁媽厘亞。微里矧。爲最清潔。爲最標致。  
 ta Maria Virigen ui choe cheng kiar ui choe piau ti  
 香至極。我今求汝。汝賜我能謙細。稱汝  
 pang chi kec gua ta kiu lu lu su gua leng kiam sey cheng lu  
 14a 意。能受汝子之福。啞民西士。第二件。是  
 y leng siu lu kia ge hoc Amen Jesus tei xi kia  
 山礁媽厘亞。既受孕。知他表姊山礁依  
 沙迷。他乃年老。亦受孕有六箇月。就往  
 探他。依沙迷歡喜。迎接媽厘啞。與媽厘  
 亞敘話。時他孕子山羨茅知實踏在腹  
 中。翻胎踴躍。歡喜感謝僚氏恩德。赦他

祖累之罪。依沙迷亦歡喜。高聲稱讚曰。  
 山礁媽厘亞。汝最好命。僚氏賜福與汝。  
 勝過衆婦人。腹內汝子是西士氏。更有  
 僚氏大福。依沙迷又曰。我無功勞。因何  
 14b 賜此最大人之母。來探我。山礁媽厘啞。  
 聽見此話。斯時神魂歡喜。感謝僚氏恩  
 德。因我謙細。僚氏故選我爲他母。方知  
 僚氏惜謙細人。惡驕傲人。山礁媽厘亞。  
 Santa Maria  
 我念此十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺  
 gua liam chi chap riap Abe Maria cheg riap ti chio lan  
 爹。我送與汝。因爲汝往探汝表姊山礁  
 tia gua sang u lu yn ui lu ong tiam lu piau chi Santa  
 依沙迷。他乃年老。亦受胎有六箇月。山  
 Ysabel tâ nay ni lau ya siu tay lag ke gue San  
 羨茅知實踏。在他腹內。汝子赦他祖累  
 Juan Baptisitta chay ta pac lay lu kia sia ta chou luy  
 之罪。啞。山礁媽厘亞。汝甘至極。我今求  
 chi choe a Santa Maria lu ti chi keg gua kiu  
 15a 汝。汝賜與我汝子來探我神魂。赦我罪  
 lu lu su u gua lu kia lay tam gua sin hun sia gua chei  
 靠。啞民西士。第三件。是山礁媽厘亞。受  
 coã Amen Sesus tei sa kia



孕九箇月時。與山須習同往默嶺報名。  
 無人留宿他。遇見一馬房。就在此中安  
 歇。至半夜時。孕子西士氏出世。他無艱  
 難。甚是歡喜自在。是時豪光爛燦。中夜  
 如晝。有多天人。吹簫奏樂。降報與牧羊  
 人知情。牧羊人便往探之。至則參拜西  
 15b 士氏。後揚衆週知。山礁媽厘亞。我念此  
                     Santa Maria gua liam chi  
 十粒亞迷媽厘啞。一粒天上俺爹。我送  
 chap riap Abe Maria chit riap ti chio lan tia gua sang  
 度汝。因爲汝往 默嶺報名。無人留宿  
 tou lu yn ui lu ong tam<sup>1</sup> Behlen po mia bo lang lau suā  
 汝。汝在馬房中安身。至半夜汝子西士  
 lu lu tu bē pang lay<sup>2</sup> an sin chi poa me lu kia Jesu  
 氏出世。汝無艱難。極有歡喜。豪光燦爛。  
 chur si lu bo can lan keg u hua hi ho cong chan lan  
 天人與牧羊人。來 探汝子西士氏。稱  
 tian yin kip bog yang yin lay pai<sup>3</sup> tam lu kia Jesusi cheng  
 羨他。顯揚他。啞。山礁媽厘亞微里矧。汝  
 suan tâ hien<sup>4</sup> yang ta a Santa Maria Virigen lu  
 光至極。我今求汝。汝賜我如牧羊人。歡  
 cui chi keg gua kiu lu lu su gua yu boc yan yin hua

1 探 2 內 3 拜 4 I have suppressed a swung dash over hien.

喜稱羨汝。爲着汝要作貧人。啞民西士。  
 hi cheng suan lu ui tio lu ay cho keng<sup>1</sup> lang Amen Jesus  
 16a 第四件。是山礁媽厘亞。伊子西士氏。出  
 tei si kia  
 世四十日。從古時禮法。抱往禮拜中。送  
 還僚氏。亦行貧人禮儀。送一對鴿仔。感  
 謝僚氏贖伊子。有一得道人。名曰。時冥  
 王。與一得道婦人。名曰。安那。他久待要  
 見西士氏。時一見。無極歡喜。大家作樂。  
 在彼禮拜中。顯揚作證西士氏。是俺真  
 正本頭。仙礁媽厘啞。我念此十粒啞迷  
                     Santa Maria gua liam chu chap riap Abe  
 媽厘啞。一粒天上俺爹。送與汝。因爲汝  
                     Maria cheg riap ti chio lan tia sang tou lu yn ui lu  
 16b 子西士氏。出世四十日。汝從古禮。抱汝  
 kia Jesusi chur si si chap yit lu chiong cou le po lo  
 子入禮拜。送還僚氏。汝亦行貧人禮儀。  
                     ley pay sang huan Diosi lu heng pin yin re gy  
 送一對 鴿仔。贖汝子出來。有一得道  
 sang cheg tui pe<sup>2</sup> cap sioc ta<sup>3</sup> chur lay u cheg tec to  
 老者。名曰。時冥王。與一得道婦人。名曰。  
 lo chia beng uar Sibengyon cheg tec to hu yin beng uar

安那。久待要見汝子西士氏。他見時。大  
 Ana kiu tai ay ki lu kia Sesa ta ki si tay  
 家作樂。高聲顯揚汝子西士氏。乃我等  
 ke choc loc co seng hian yang lu kia Jesu nay gua cheng  
 真正本頭。啞。山礁媽厘啞。微里矧。清潔  
 chin chia pun tau Santa Maria Virigen cheng kiat  
 至極。我今求汝。汝賜與我神魂清潔。要  
 chi kec gua ta kiu lu lu su gua sin hun cheng kiet yau  
 17a 從汝古禮。效汝好所爲。啞民西士。第五  
 chiong lu cou re hau lu ho sou ui Amen Jesus tei gou  
 件。是西士氏。於十二歲時。與母山礁媽  
 kia  
 厘亞。山須習。同往西呂沙陵禮拜內。後  
 山礁媽厘亞。回家尋不見西士氏。與山  
 須習三晝夜煩惱。後尋見在彼原禮拜  
 內。坐在上位。與年高者相辯論。教僚氏  
 正道。山礁媽厘啞看見。極其喜慰。謂西  
 士氏曰。爲人子。當順父母之命。汝何故  
 使我與汝父。受此等煩惱。西士氏就與  
 17b 伊母山礁媽尼亞回家。山礁媽厘亞。我  
 Santa Maria gua  
 念此十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺爹。  
 liam chap riap Abe Mariya cheg riap t'i chio lan tia

我送與汝。因爲汝子西士氏於十二歲  
 gua sang tou lu yn ui lu kia Jesu u chap yi hue  
 時。與汝同往西呂沙陵禮拜中。汝回家  
 si tong lu ong Jerusalem ley pay tiong lu hue lay<sup>1</sup>  
 尋他不見。汝與山須習。三晝夜極煩惱。  
 hue ta m̄ ki lu cang San Josef huan lo san tiu ya<sup>2</sup>  
 後至第三日。尋見在原禮拜內。坐在  
 chi tei sa yit chue ki tu guan ley pay lay che ki tu  
 上位。與年高者辯論。教人僚氏正  
 chio ui cang dian co yu tec<sup>3</sup> chia pien lun ca lang Diosi cheng  
 理。汝看見。歡喜不勝。汝子西士氏。便  
 to<sup>4</sup> li lu quā ki hua hi pur seng lu kia Jesusi pian  
 與汝同。啞。山礁媽厘啞。微里矧。好至極。  
 u lu hue Santa Maria Virigen ho chi kec  
 我今求汝。汝賜我能如汝煩惱。要尋見  
 gua ta kiu lu lu su gua leng yu lu huan lo yau chue ki  
 18a 西士氏。使我死後。升天見他面。啞民西  
 Jesus su gua si au seng tian ki ta bin Amen Je-  
 士。此五件。得意道理。當侖挨氏。與衰  
 sus chu gou kia tec y to li Lune liam<sup>5</sup> kip Sue.  
 微氏日念。  
 bisse yit liam  
 中一分。有五件。是山礁媽厘亞。與西士  
 tiong chit hun u kia si Santa Maria cang Jesu

奇尼實道。憂悶事實。第一件。是俺本頭

Kirisitto yu bun to li<sup>1</sup> tei it kia

西士奇尼實道。於三十三歲時。心念世人有多罪惡。一夜往園中念經。懇求僚

18b 氏大父。乞赦世人罪惡。因爲煩惱甚極。

遍身血汗。流出至地。及半夜間。孚勝氏同引兵人。來拿西士奇尼實道。綁他手。縛他眼。打他嘴邊。受人凌辱他不開口。

願隨人去。山礁媽厘啞。我念此十粒亞  
Santa Maria gua chi chap riap A-

迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺爹。我送與汝。因  
be Maria<sup>2</sup> cheg riap ti chio lan tia gua sang tou lu in

爲汝子西士氏。於三十三歲時。自思世  
ui lu kia Jesu u sa cha sa hue si chu su su

人罪重。一夜往園中。三次念經。煩惱甚  
yin chue tiong it ya ong hui tion sam chu liam ken huan lo sim

極。遍身流出血汗。叩拜僚氏大父。乞  
kec pien sin riu chur hiat han cau pay pay<sup>3</sup> Diosi tua pe kiet

19a 赦人罪。至半夜。兵人來拿。受人綁縛推  
sia chi poa me peng lang lay na siu lang pac<sup>4</sup> chui

拖。啞。山礁媽厘亞。微里矧。汝慈心至極。  
tui a Santa Maria Virgen lu chu sim chi kec

1 道理 2 I have deleted a repetition of *gua chi chap riap Abe Maria*.

3 拜 4 c written across original n.

我今求汝。汝賜我有關心念經。莫使惡  
gua kiu lu su gua yu guan sim liam keng boc su kiap

鬼來迷我。啞民西士。第二件。是俺本頭  
cui lay bey gua Amen Jesus tei yi kia

西士奇尼實道。於綿挨氏早。被兵人送  
見本事卑勝廚。惡人妒他。生事害他。作  
虛證證他。齊聲放鵬他。卑勝廚就綁西  
士奇尼實道於大柱上。毒打五千餘。遍

19b 身破裂。血流不止。山礁媽厘啞。我念此  
Santa Maria gua liam chi

十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺爹。我  
yi chap riap Abe Maria cheg riap ti chio lang tia gua

送與汝。因爲汝子西士氏。於綿挨氏早。  
sang tou lu yn ui lu kia Jesu Viernessi cha

被人綁送往見卑勝廚。惡人生事害  
pi peng<sup>1</sup> lang pan sang ong kiam Pilatos kiap lang seng su hay

他。作虛證證他。被本事卑勝廚綁在大  
ta cho hu cheng cheng ta pi Ponsu Pilato pang chai toa

柱上。毒打他五千餘。遍身破裂。血流不  
tiao chio toc ta gou cheng u pian sin po riat hiat riu pur

止。啞。山礁媽厘亞。微里矧。僚氏聖母。我  
chi Santa Maria Virrigen Diosi seng bo gua

今求汝。汝賜我要效汝子受艱難。有  
kiu lu su kir<sup>2</sup> gua hau lu kia siu can lan yu

忍氣。啞民西士。第三件。是俺本頭西士  
yim ki Amen Jesus tei sa kia

20a 奇尼實道。被惡人討荊籬。籬他頭。討竹  
杖與他執。討紅衣與他穿。衆惡人假跪  
他。朝拜他。侮弄他。執他竹杖打他。齒笑  
他。乃孚留氏皇帝。山礁媽厘啞。我念此  
Santa Maria gua lian chi

十粒啞迷媽厘啞。一粒天上俺爹。我送  
chap riap Abe Maria cheg riap t'i chio lan tia gua sang

與汝。因爲汝子西士氏。被惡  
tou lu yn ui lu kia Jesusit Kilisittosu pi kiap

人討荊籬。籬他頭。着之長紅衣。與之竹  
lang to chi cou cou ta tau tioc chi tiang hong y u chi tec

杖。執他手。使自打他。惡人假跪朝拜他。  
tiang chip ta siu su ta chu t'a kiap lang ke cui tiau pai

俱是侮弄他。啞。山礁媽厘亞微里矧。汝  
cu si<sup>1</sup> bu long ta a Santa Maria Virigen lu

乃我等慈母。我今求汝汝賜我不要只  
nai gua teng chu bo gua kiu lu lu su gua m̃ ay chi

20b 世上假歡喜。止要如我本頭受艱難。啞  
si chio ke hua hi chi yau yu lan<sup>2</sup> pun tau siu can lan A-

民西士。第四件。是俺本頭西士奇尼實  
men Jesus tei si kia

道。被惡人做一居律氏。極大極重。令西  
士奇尼實道自負往彼山。名膠勝貓留。  
伊母山礁媽厘啞。跟隨伊去。煩惱甚極。  
亦有多婦人爲他涕泣哀傷。西士奇尼  
實道。負重居律氏。血流沿路。顛倒難堪。  
因爲僱一人。名曰。心文時黎娘。替他負

21a 去。山礁媽厘啞。我念此十粒啞迷媽尼  
Santa Maria gua lian chi chap riap Abe Mari-

亞。一粒天上俺爹。我送與汝。因爲汝子  
a cheg riap t'i chio lan tia gua sang tou lu in ui lu kia

西士氏。被惡人做一重大居律氏。使他  
Jesu pi kiap lang cho chit tang toa Culusi su ta

自負到山。他負居律氏。一路顛倒難堪。  
chu hu to san ta hu Culu chit lou tian to lan cam

汝亦隨他去。汝極煩惱哀哭。啞。山礁媽  
lu ya suy t'a c'u lu kec huan lo ay coc Santa Ma-

厘啞。汝乃我等慈母。要可怜我。我今求  
ria lu nai gua teng chu bo yau co reng gua gua kiu

汝。汝賜我常憶 汝子西士氏。  
lu su gua siang it tio<sup>1</sup> lu kia Jesu Kilitsito

如與之負重居律氏一狀。啞民西士。第  
yo u chi hu tiang Curusi cheg poa Amen Jesus tei

1 I have changed original *assi* to *si*. 2 俺

1 若

- 21b 五件。是俺本頭西士奇尼實道。往至山  
gou kia  
上。被兵人剝盡衣裳。拿他倒在居律上。  
釘他手足。後將居律氏豎起。他因重勞  
口渴。說要飲水。惡人聽見。便與他酸醋  
苦膽。西氏奇尼實道。綿挨氏十二點鐘  
時。被人釘在居律上。至三點鐘時。魂乃  
離身死矣。他死時。天昏地震。日月失明。  
廟幃自裂。石自相觸。人亦大家捶胸。天  
下諸物。均爲之痛傷。因爲俱是他化的。  
山礁媽厘啞。我念此十粒啞迷媽厘啞。  
Santa Maria gua liam chi chap riap Abe Maria  
22a 一<sub>1</sub>粒天上俺爹。我送與汝。因爲汝子西  
chit riap t'í chio lan tia gua sang tou lu yn ui lu kia Je-  
士氏。往至山上。被人剝盡衣裳。將他手  
su ong chi san chio pi lang pac chic y chio Chiang t'a siu  
足釘在居律上。他渴。說要飲水。惡人聽  
chioc teng tu Culu chio t'a quã sue ay im chui kiap lang t'ia  
見。便討酸醋苦膽與他。他綿挨氏日午  
ki pin to sui chou cou ta u t'a Viernesi gou  
十二點鐘。被人釘。至三點鐘乃死。他死  
chap xi tiam cheng pi lang teng chi sa tiam cheng nay si ta si

- 時。天昏地震。日月失明。廟幃自裂。石自  
tiam hun tei chin yit guar sit beng biau ui chu riat chio chu  
相觸。人自捶胸。天下萬物。俱爲之痛傷。  
sa toc lang chu tui cheng tian te ban bur ui chi tong siang  
因爲均他化的。啞。山礁媽厘啞微里矧。  
yn ui cun ta hua tec Santa Maria Virrigen  
汝最慈悲。我今求汝。汝賜我要如汝子  
lu hue chu pi gua kiu lu su gua ay yu lu kia  
22b 西士氏。手足釘在彼居律上。不要此世  
Jesu siu chioc teng chay Culu chio m̃ ay chi si  
上之物。止要受艱難。至死能升天上。啞  
chio chi bur chi siu can lan chi su leng seng tian chio A-  
民西士。此五件憂悶道理。當媽羅值時  
men Jesus chi gou kia yu bun to li Mate  
與綿挨氏日念。  
Vienesi yit liam  
尾一分有五件。是山礁媽厘啞作樂事  
bue cheg hun u gou kia si Santa Maria choc loc su  
實。第一件。是俺本頭西士奇尼實道。死  
sit tei it kia  
後第三日。獨自復生。他身輕清標致。豪  
23a 光燦爛。無有可比。先往見伊母山礁媽  
厘亞。與之解憂。亦見他學生。及得道男

女諸人。使之齊同歡喜。山礁媽厘亞。我  
Santa Maria gua

念此十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺爹。  
liam chi chap riap Abe Maria chit riap ti chio lan tia

我送與汝。因爲汝子西士氏。死後第三  
gua sang tou lu yn ui lu kia Jesu si au tei sa

日復生。身極清潔。豪光燦爛。先見汝。與  
xit hoc seng sin kec cheng kier ho cong chan lan seng ki lu

汝解憂。亦見他學生。及得道諸人。使之  
ke yu ya ki y<sup>1</sup> hac seng kip tec to chu yin su chi

大家歡喜。啞。山礁媽厘亞。微里矧清潔。  
tay ke hua hi Santa Maria Virigen cheng kiat

我今求汝。汝賜我神魂如復生清潔。莫  
gua kiu lu su gua sin hun yu hoc seng cheng kiat bo

23b 使再能得罪。啞民西士。第二件。是俺本  
su chai leng tec chue Amen Jesus tei xi kia

頭西士奇尼實道。復生至四十日。要升  
天時。分付伊學生。分遍天下。教人僚氏  
道理。與人淨水。西士奇尼實道當伊學  
生面前。日中獨自升天。有彩雲蔽他身。  
後看不見。衆天人迎接西士奇尼實道。  
坐在僚氏大父右手邊。作樂難言。山礁

Santa

24a 媽厘亞。我念此十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一<sup>1</sup>粒  
Maria gua liam chap riap Abe Maria chit riap

天上俺爹。我送與汝。因爲汝子。阮本頭  
ti chio lan tia gua sang tou lu yn ui lu kia

西士奇尼實道復生。至四十日。欲升天  
Jesu Kirisitto hoc seng chi si chap yit yoc seng t'ian

時。囑他學生。分遍天下。教人僚氏正道。  
si chioc ta hac seng hun tien he ca lang Diosi cheng to

與人淨水。囑畢。卽當衆學生面前升天。  
cang lang cheng sui p'it chiu<sup>1</sup> chiong hac seng bin chen seng tien

有彩雲遮他。後看不見。衆天人迎接他。  
u chai hun chia ta au gua m̃ ki chiong tian yin geng chiap ta

作樂難言。西士奇尼實道。在僚氏娘父  
choc loc lan gien Jesu Kirisitto tu Liosi nio pe

右手邊坐。啞。山礁媽厘亞。汝乃僚氏聖  
yu chiu pi che Santa Maria lu nai Diosi seng

母。亦乃我慈母。我今求汝。汝賜我此  
bo ec nay gua teng<sup>2</sup> chu bo gua kiu lu lu su chi

世上。不要別物。只要思憶天上寶貝。得  
si chio m̃ ay par mi chi ay su it ti chio po pue tit

24b 見伊面。啞民西氏。第三件。是俺本頭西  
ki y bin Amen Jesus tei sa kia

士奇尼實道。升天去。山礁媽厘亞。與衆  
啞褒士多黎氏。同一家專心念經。仰候

卑尼廚山廚。至第十日。卑尼廚山廚。降  
下其家。時有暴風震雷。有火舌遍宿衆  
學生頭上。賜之大呀勝舍。聰明靈通盡  
諸天下音語。可傳正道。山礁媽尼啞。我  
Santa Maria gua

念此十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺爹。  
liam chi chap riap Abe Maria chit riap t'i chio lan tia

25a 我送與汝。因爲汝子西士。上天去。後第  
gua sang tou lu yn ui lu kia Jesu chio ti cu au tey  
十日。汝與衆啞褒士多黎氏聚同一  
chap xit lu tang chiong hac seng<sup>1</sup> teng chu tong it

家。念經時。卑尼廚山道降下。有迅雷風  
ke liam keng si Piritu Santo cang he yu sin lui hong  
烈。有火舌宿在衆啞褒士多黎氏頭上。  
riet yu ho siet soa tu chiong Apositolesi tau chio

賜之大呀勝舍。有靈通。使之能言天下  
su chi toa Galacia leng tong tian hē

萬邦之語。可以傳授僚氏正教。啞。山礁  
ban pang chi gu co y toan siu Diosi cheng cau Santa

媽厘亞。汝乃我等慈母。極要庇蔭我。我  
Maria lu nay gua teng chu bo kec ay pi ym gua gua

今求汝。汝賜我能受卑尼廚山廚呀勝  
kiu. lu su gua leng siu Piritu Santo Gala-

舍。有壯力。能爲好事。專心要顯揚汝子  
gia u chong lec leng ui ho su choan sim hien yang lu kia

25b 西士氏道理。啞民西士。第四件。是山礁  
Jesu to li Amen Jesu tei si kia

媽厘亞。於六十三歲時。西士氏差一天  
人。名曰。山呀勝迷。降報與山礁媽尼啞  
曰。僚氏要援汝身共神魂升天。山礁媽  
厘亞。極歡喜感謝僚氏恩德。於將死時。  
僚氏變化。使衆啞褒士多黎氏。齊同來  
見。山礁媽尼啞與之慰悶訖。無疾痛艱  
難。止是思憶僚氏。乃氣絕身死。衆啞褒  
士多黎氏恭敬埋之。後至三日。有一學  
生後來。開看其身尸不見。是西士氏援  
26a 他身與神魂。同升天堂受福。山礁媽厘  
Santa Mari-

啞。我念此十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上  
a gua liam chi chap riap Abe Maria chit riap ti chio  
俺爹。我送與汝。因爲汝於六十三歲。  
lan tia gua sang tou lu yn ui lu lag chap sa hue si<sup>1</sup>  
汝子西士氏。差一天人。名曰。山呀勝迷。  
lu kia Jesu che tien yin San Galabe

降下。報說僚氏要援汝身與神魂。齊登  
cang he po sue Diosi ay uan lu sin cang sin hun teng

天堂受福。汝將死時。汝子西士氏變化。  
tian tong siu hoc lu Chiang su si lu kia Jesu pien hua

使他衆學生齊至。汝與他慰悶畢。汝無  
su ta hac seng chei chi lu cang t'a ui bun pit lu bo

疾痛艱難。止是思憶僚氏。氣絕身死。衆  
can lan chi si su it Diosi ki chuar heng si chiong

啞褒士多黎氏恭敬埋汝。後至第三日。  
hac seng kiong keng bai lu au chi tey sa xit

26b 有一啞褒士多黎氏。開看汝身尸不見。  
u chit hac seng cui qua lu sin si m̃ ki

乃汝子西士氏援汝身與神魂。同登天  
nai lu chia Jesu uan lu sin cang sin hun tong teng t'ian

堂受福。啞。山礁媽厘亞。汝乃我等恩人。  
tong siu hoc Santa Maria lu nay gua teng yn yin

我今求汝。汝共僚氏求人情。賜我  
gua ta kiu lu lu su gua<sup>1</sup> cang Diosi kiu yin cheng su gua

只世上。能爲好事。及貶罪完。援我升  
si chio leng ui ho su kip pien chue uan moa<sup>2</sup> uan gua seng

天見汝面。與汝同歡慶。啞民西士。第五  
tien ki lu bin u lu tong huan keng Amen Jesu tei gou

件。是山礁媽厘亞。在天上賜之大福。受  
kia

大赦羅里耶。勝過衆天人。衆山廚氏。封

27a 之爲太后。萬獻作樂。永遠無窮。山礁媽  
Santa Ma-

厘亞。我念此十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天  
ria gua liam chi chap riap ti

上俺爹。我送與汝。因爲汝在天上。僚氏  
chio lan tia gua sang tou lu yn ui lu tu ti chio Diosi

父。僚氏子。僚氏卑尼廚山廚。封汝爲太  
pe Diosi kia Diosi Spiritu Santo hong lu ui tay

后。賜汝大福。勝過衆天人。衆山廚氏。啞。  
hou su lu tay hoc seng que chiong t'ien yin chiong Santo

山礁媽厘亞。汝乃僚氏聖母。我今求汝。  
Santa Maria lu nay Diosi sen bo gua kiu lu

汝共僚氏求人情。賜我有呀勝舍。能  
lu su<sup>1</sup> cang Diosi kiu yin cheng su gua u Galasia leng

爲好事。死後得升天。受赦羅里耶。啞民  
ui ho su si au tec seng tien siu Goloriya Amin

西士。此五件作樂道理。當綿高黎氏與  
Jesu chi gou kia choc loc to li si<sup>2</sup> Mecolesi cang

27b 沙無呂念。  
Sabalo yit<sup>3</sup> liam

人要念數珠。先須至誠畫十字號。然後  
lang ay liam sou chu su chi seng oa chap yi ho yian au

念十粒啞迷媽厘亞。一粒天上俺爹。至  
liam chap riap Abe Maria chit riap ti chio lan tia chi



完且歇。思彼一件事實。誠心送與山礁  
uan chia he su pi it kia su sit seng sim sang tou Santa

媽厘亞。託他求人情了。又寬寬再念隨  
Maria toc ta kiu yin cheng yu quan quan chay liam sui

件送。如此極有所益。或念至五件完。一  
kia sang yu chian kec u sou ec hec liam chi gou kia uan chit

齊送亦好。只宜至誠寬寬念。細想彼十  
che sang ya ho cay gi chi seng quan quan liam sei sio pi chap

五件微妙道理。不可無關心。徒慣口  
gou kia bi biau to li m̃ tan bo quan sim sim tou quan cou

念滑。欲之速完。如此者雖念。有何益哉。  
liam cur yoc chi soc uan sui liam ho ec chay

28a 凡衆濂水人。禮拜并好日。須宜看綿卅  
chiong liam chui lang ley pai peng ho xit tio<sup>1</sup> qua Misa

完全。如遇禮拜好日。不看綿卅。有罪。雖  
uan chuan yu gu ley pay ho xit m̃ quã Missa yu chue sui

來看。若不至完。其罪同。人入禮拜內。  
qua m̃ chi uan choan<sup>2</sup> ki chue tong lang xip ley pai

要看綿卅時。巴禮若抱冊過左手邊了。  
quã Missa Pare po chē que cho chiu pi

衆人皆起立。雖看綿卅則爲不及。  
chiong lang kai ki kia lang<sup>3</sup> sui lay<sup>4</sup> quã Missa cheg ui pur kip

無益而有罪矣。人來看綿卅。巴禮未  
sui quã bo so tit<sup>5</sup> lang sui<sup>6</sup> lay quã Missa Pare

高冒牙。未與衆人打十字號。若先出去。  
bue cang chiong lang pa chap xi ho yiac seng chur c'u

有罪。開具一年衆好日。合該看綿卅。如  
yu chue cay cu chit ni chiong ho yit hap cay quã Missa cou<sup>1</sup>

28b 違有罪。西士奇尼實道出世好日。做新  
ui yu chue Jesu Kirisito chor si ho yit cho sin

年好日。三位皇帝好日。迎西士奇尼實  
ni ho xit sa ui hong tey ho xit giã Jesu Kirisit-

道在沙膠覽民廚好日。山礁媽厘啞送  
to to Sacalamento ho xit Santa Maria sang

子往禮拜做民尼踏蠟燭好日。山礁媽  
kia ong ley pay Benita la cheg ho xit Santa Ma-

厘啞出世好日。山礁媽厘啞受孕好日。  
ria chur si ho xit Santa Maria siu yn ho xit

29a 山礁媽厘啞上天好日。山敝羅山塔羅  
Santa Maria chio ti ho xit San Pelo San Palo

好日。已上此等好日。合該看綿卅。不可  
ho xit chu teng ho yit hap cay qua Missa m̃ tãng

作工夫求利。與犯禮拜日同罪。其餘雖  
cho cang hu u yu<sup>2</sup> ley pai yit t'ang chue ki u

是好日。不合該看綿卅。亦可作工夫。人  
ho yit m̃ qua Missa bo chue<sup>3</sup>

若自願要看綿卅。更好更有所益。若  
yiac chu guan ay guã u sou tit<sup>4</sup> ec

不看亦無罪。人或疾病。或伏事病人。不  
hec oc say pe lang

得身離。或遇遠禮拜。雖是好日。不看綿  
hec uan ley pai sui si ho xit m̃ quā Mis-

29b 卅 無罪。衆入教人。一年止有合該減  
sa ya<sup>1</sup> bo chue chiong liam chui<sup>2</sup> lang cheg ni chi u hap cay kiam

減九日。西士奇尼實道出世時。先一日。  
tui cau yit Jesu Kirisito chur si seng chit xit

當減減。高黎氏馬入齊時。各七箇綿挨  
tong kiam tui Colesima xip chai yit u<sup>3</sup> chit ge Vierne-

氏。并入齊盡。一箇沙無呂。是微希里  
si chi chin yu<sup>4</sup> chit ge Sabalo si Bigili-

啞。此共九日。當減減。如違有罪。其餘雖  
a chu cang cau xit cay<sup>5</sup> kiam tui yu ui yu chue u sui

是綿挨氏微希里啞。若不減減無罪。只  
Viernesi Bigilia yiac m̃ kiam bo chue chi

是不食肉而已。人若自願要減減更  
si m̃ tang<sup>6</sup> chia ba u lang<sup>7</sup> chu guan kiam tui keng

好。更有所益。人遇減減之日。早飯不可  
ho gu kiam tui yit cho huan m̃ tan

食。止食午飯。黃昏食點心。可食半碗飯。  
chia chi chia gou huan hong hun si<sup>8</sup> tiam sim chi<sup>9</sup> chia poa ua pui

或食一菜菓。或一盃酒。不可食別物。  
hec chia<sup>10</sup> chia chit chay que hec chit pue chiu m̃ t'ang chia par mi

30a 人或病。或年<sup>1</sup>老。或作重勞工夫。或婦  
lang hec u pe ni lau hec tiong lo cang hu hec hu

人有孕。乳幼兒。或人未及二十一歲。若  
yin u yn yu xi hec lang bue u chap y<sup>1</sup> hue yiac

不減減無罪。  
m̃ kiam tui bo chue

凡諸入廟者。已受僚氏聖教矣。或臨難  
chiong<sup>2</sup> xip bio lang<sup>3</sup> siu Diosi seng cau hec rim lan

險死之時。如無巴禮可與他解罪。須當  
hiam si si yu bo Pare tang cang y<sup>4</sup> kei chue su

仰望思憶僚氏。看怙他慈悲心。愛赦人  
giam bong Diosi quā cou y chu pi kir sia lang

罪。亦宜心想記憶。凡汝自己所作之罪。  
chue ya tong<sup>5</sup> sim sio ki it huan lu chu ki sou choc chue

心內痛戚煩惱。因為得罪咱第一本  
lui<sup>6</sup> sim tiong<sup>7</sup> tong cheg huan lo si ui tec chue lan pun

頭僚氏。論地獄之艱難。浩大罔極。但是  
tao Diosi lun<sup>8</sup>

得罪僚氏。尤加醜甚地獄。是以人想苦  
30b 切時節。宜驚<sup>1</sup>怖僚氏。勝於憂懼地獄。故

當真心誠意。與僚氏苦求赦宥。言曰。本  
guen uat pun

1 亦 2 減水 3 日有 4 有 5 該 6 可 7 有人 8 時  
9 止 10 者

1 有十二 2 衆 3 人 4 伊 5 當 6 內 7 中  
8 The following paragraph has a different arrangement and appears to be corrupt: *tey yoc si y yin siō cou che si che gi keng pou chia tey yoc chi can lan ui si tec chue Diosi sou k'iam cou tong chin sim tui tui Diosi cou kui sia yu ki chue.*

頭僚氏。我乃不孝。不聽咱爹僚氏汝言  
tao Diosi gua si<sup>1</sup> pur hau m̃ tia lu gien

語。我乃頑民。違逆僚氏你規誠。我甚歹  
gua si guan bin ui geg lu cui cay gua sim

人。得罪本頭僚氏汝。是我不着。是我不  
tec chue Diosi si gua m̃ tio si gua m̃

着。是我卽是不着。噫。我得罪僚氏你。慈  
tio si gua cha si m̃ tio lu chu

悲可伶我。本頭僚氏 旣我真正娘父。  
pi co leng gua pun tau Diosi lu<sup>2</sup>

赦我罪過。我想反悔了。愛改過。不敢再  
sia gua chue co gua sio huan hue riau chai ke que m̃ ca chai

得罪汝。後或遇着巴禮。我愛共伊解罪。  
tec chue lu hec gu Pare gua kiu<sup>3</sup> y kei chue

31a 入教者。若有人每夜靜思其罪。永常從  
liam chui<sup>4</sup> chia yiac u lang buei ya cheng su ki chue eng chiong chiong

此經文而念之。妙之極也。但不可徒念  
chu keng xi liam biau kec ya t'an pur co tou quan

慣口。只宜心口如一。追悔己罪。呼嗟嘆  
cou liam<sup>5</sup> chi gi sim yu c'ou<sup>6</sup> it tui hue ki chue

息。決意而不欲再踏前愆者。則其受益  
boc<sup>7</sup> chay tap chian k'ien chec ki siu ec

安有量哉。如有巴禮在焉。雖己哀悔。亦  
an yu liang chay yu Pare chai yan sui ki ay hue ya

當解罪。不可恃己知悔而不解也。  
tong kei chue m̃ t'an si ki ti hue yi pur kei y